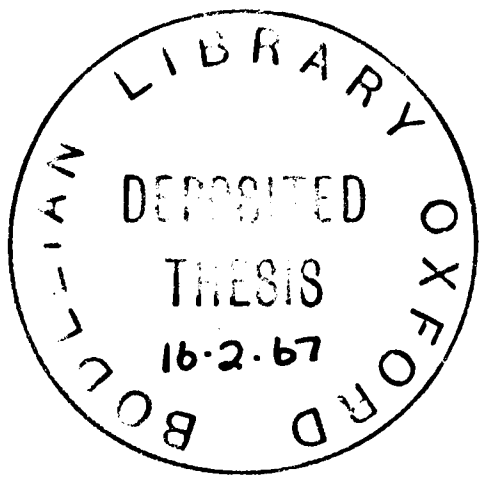
G U T H L A C :

an edition of the Old English prose life

together with the poems in

the Exeter Book

[MT 1967]



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I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1 Vita sancti Guthlaci

a : DATE

In the early part of the eighth century a certain Felix, catholice congregationis uernaculus[1], 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[2]. 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.[3]

A firmer terminus a quo is possible. Felix tells us that Guthlac died in 714 (the date given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle[4]), that he was translated (for the first time) twelve months later and that Aethelbald of Mercia visited his sepulchre sometime in the year

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[1] Vita 4 [2] Vita 47 ff., 387 ff., and 1025 ff. [3] Colgrave 1956, p. 19 [4] 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 <u>presentem ad usque diem</u>[1], 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 <u>terminus a quo</u> not earlier than 721, that is not earlier than the recognised <u>terminus ad quem</u> for Bede's prose life of Cuthbert[2].

It is often argued that Felix's life of Guthlac cannot have been written before Bede's <u>Historia Ecclesiastica</u> 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[3]. The early documentation for Mercian affairs available to him was slight it seems for, apart from

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[1] <u>Vita</u> 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[1]. 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[2] 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[3]. With these considerations in mind it becomes obvious that the attractive dates c. 730-40 put forward for Felix's life of Guthlac by B. Colgrave[4] and now

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[1] Jones 1947, pp. 48 and 187-9 [2] Jones 1947, pp. 49 and 194-5
[3] Bolton 1959, p. 37 and fn. 1 suggests verbal parallels between the Vita and Bede's history, but otherwise Felix's independence of the history is generally accepted; see further below [4] Colgrave 1956, p. 19

confidently cited by later writers[1] should perhaps be extended about nine years at either end, that is eighteen years in all, to c. 721-49[2].

b : 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[3]. Observation of this sort may have prompted Mabillon's mistaken heading for the prologue of the Vita :

Prologus ad regem Ethelbaldum[4]

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, Ecgburh 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.[6]

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[1] e.g. by Loyn 1962, p. 287 [2] i.e. 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) [3] Darby 1940, p. 9
[4] For an account of the ensuing discussion see Commentary note for Life 2 [5] Vita chapter 46 and see Appendix 3 under Aelfwald
[6] 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 (c. 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 Ælfwald spoke of to Boniface, but we do not know which one. Why Ælfwald 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 son[2]. Eogburh 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 monastery[3]. 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

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[1] Colgrave 1956, p. 16 [2] Plummer 1896, II. p. 107 thinks Alfwold may have been Aldwulf's half-brother, but the genealogy listed in Sweet 1885, p. 171 reads Aelfwald Alduulfing. See further Appendix 3.
[3] See 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 [4] Plummer 1896, II. p. xxxvi

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[1]. 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[2], 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

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[1] See 1.2 for further discussion of this problem. [2] Colgrave 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 Gonser and Kurtz; the major sources identified by him are usefully summarised in the introduction to his edition of the Vita[3]. 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.

c : 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 :

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[1] Kurtz 1926, p. 126 [2] Colgrave 1956, p. 51 [3] ibid, pp. 16-17

quas a frequentatoribus eius uuilfrido & cissan audiui.
eodem ordine quo conperi. easdem res narrare curabo. 389

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.[1]

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[2]. 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 :

aestiuis temporibus die quo missa sancti bartholomei
uenerari debet. 343

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 :

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[1] Colgrave 1956, p. 182 [2] See further II.3/b and III.2/a

> Dein peracto itinere: die .viii. kalendarum septembrium quo sancti bartholomei sollempnitas celebrari solet: in cuius suffragio omnia incoepta heremi habitandi ex diuina prouidentia inchoauerat crugland peruenit; 361

Felix's apparent inconsistency here has worried many editors of the Vita. The Bollandists[1] avoid the problem by omitting altogether from their text in the Vita Sanctorum the sentence :

> Contigit enim diuina dispensante prouidentia: ut estiuis temporibus die quo missa sancti bartholomei uenerari debet. insulam crugland beatus guþlac deuenisset: qui in sancti bartholomei auxiliis cum omni fiducia heremum habitare coeperat; 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.

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

[2] Colgrave 1956, 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 Cabrol and Leclerc 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 presented 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 uita[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

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[1] Vita 387

at this point in the Vita, ends in a curious way :

> þa þe ða se eadiga wer his þone getrywan freond geseah
> ða wæs he mid gastlicre gefeannesse 7 on heofoncundre
> blisse swiðe gefeonde 7 þa æfter þam fleah se haliga
> guðlac mid þam apostole sancte bartholomei to heofona
> rices wuldre 7 hine se hælend þær onfeng 7 he þær
> leofað 7 rixaþ in heofona rices wuldre a butan ende
> on ecnesse amen fiat:7

These lines should be compared with :

> Sanctus uero guthlacus aduentum fidelissimi auxiliatoris
> sui persentiens. spiritali lætitia repletus gauisus est;
> Tunc deinde bartholomeus cateruis satellitum iubet: ut
> illum in locum suum cum magna quietudine sine ulla offens-
> ionis molestia reducerent; 554

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 swiðe 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 sigewong[1], follow the description of this

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[1] Glc 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[1]. 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[2]. Perhaps this episode in which Guthlac's patron saint plays so large a part was among the most important pieces of information 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 B.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.[3]

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[4], whereas the earlier poet presents 'a greatly performing, never hesitating champion of the Almighty Overlord'[5]. Noting that the early pictorial representations of Guthlac often show him with a whip[6] in his hand, Kurtz goes on to speculate :

> May not these figures represent an older tradition that Felix modified?[7]

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[1] See III.2/a further. [2] Kurtz 1926, p. 113 [3] Kurtz 1926, p. 144 [4] Kurtz 1926, p. 146 fn. 64 [5] Kurtz 1926, p. 145 [6] For a fuller account of the occurrences of a scourge in connection with Guthlac see Appendix 2, section 12, under SCOURGE. [7] Kurtz 1926, p. 113 fn.19

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 Infernus, 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 him[1]. St Bartholomew gives Guthlac a scourge also in the hell-gates scene in the poem by Henry of Avranches[2] and the incident is important enough for the scribe to direct special attention to it by writing in his margin :

De aduentu Bartholomei cum flagro.[3]

The tradition that Bartholomew gave Guthlac a scourge is again illustrated on the Longchamp seal[4], and Guthlac holds a whip both in the statue on the west front of the abbey[5] and in the central compartment of the quatrefoil over the great west door[6]. 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

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[1] Warner 1928, pp. 11-22 [2] lines 561 ff. [3] Bolton (1954 thesis) gives this theme as no. 64 in his 'Distribution of the Incidents' table, citing only this passage. [4] Warner 1928, p. 23 [5] Schnebbelie 1800, p. 18 et alia [6] Stukeley 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.[1]

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

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[1]Stenton 1947, p. 178 [2]Vita 161 [3]Vita 166

generations above Penda in the Mercian genealogies[1] and later in the Vita he again alludes to Guthlac's kingly descent[2]. The child was christened Guthlac ex appellatione illius tribus quam dicunt guthlacingas[3] and other evidence suggests that such a family was indeed once famous[4]. 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[5]. 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[6]. His mother's name is given as Tette and, beyond her nobility, no details about her origins emerge[7].

A sister, Pege, is first mentioned by Felix in his account of Guthlac's death[8]; she is supposed to have lived as a hermit at Peakirk. 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[9]. 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

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[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[1], but there is no evidence to support W. de Gray Birch's suggestion that she may have assumed as great if not greater importance than her brother in some traditions[2]. The name Pege is an uncommon one in Old English records, but is probably cognate with p(a)ega, a man's name also found infrequently[3].

Guthlac himself, as a boy, spent nine years as a soldier before entering religious life[4]. He must have become quite a well known leader for, as Colgrave points out[5], 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[6]. 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'[7], 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[8]. 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[9]. However, although successful

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[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 [3]Redin 1919, p. 106 and p. 117 [4]Vita 243 [5]Colgrave 1956, p. 3 [6]See Appendix 2, section 10. [7]Whitelock 1951, p. 87 [8]Stenton 1947, p. 211 fn. 2 [9]Vita 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 Crowland[1] and, after the saint's death, went to his sepulchre to mourn him[2]. Part of this exile coincided with Ceolred's reign[3]. 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

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[1] *Vita* 746 ff., 831 ff., 923 ff. and 1033 ff. [2] *Vita* 1211 ff.
[3] *Vita* 1034

should not be overemphasised, especially as the case for the readmission of an Aelfthryth to church privileges was considered at the Council of Mercia in 705[1]. 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[2]. Her successor is also named in the Vita, Ecgburh, daughter of Aldwulf of East Anglia, and she appears to have regarded Crowland as a dependency 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 Northumbrian succession after Ecgfrith[3], 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 obedience, for Felix tells us twice that Guthlac received the Petrine tonsure there[4].

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 inconsistency may have arisen through some scribal omission or substitution

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[1] Haddan and Stubbs 1869, III. pp. 273-4 [2] Eckenstein 1896, p.109
[3] Colgrave 1956, p. 191 [4] Vita 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 Ecgburh's and Ecgberht's gifts need not be taken as evidence for Felix's carelessness in gathering together and using his materials[1].

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 Aethelbald are Ecga[2] and Offa[3], 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[4] and we know less of them than of the paterfamilias from the people of the Wissa cured of blindness after Guthlac's death[5]. Offa may, however, still have been with Aethelbald after he came to the throne of Mercia, for a man of that name is among the witnesses of several of his charters[6]. We assume that the Wilfrid who in one chapter accompanies Aethelbald to Crowland[7] is that abbot Wilfrid whom Felix twice cites as one of his chief informants[8] 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[9]. A young East Anglian nobleman Hwætred is the central character in another episode and was,

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[1] See further the note for Life 889 in the Commentary. [2] Vita 832 ff. [3] Vita 923 ff. [4] Vita 651 ff. [5] Vita 1287 ff. [6] Stenton 1947, p. 299 [7] Vita 746 ff. [8] Vita 49 and 388 [9] Vita 722 ff.

Felix tells us, freed by Guthlac from possession[1]. The name is common enough in Old English records and the incident paralleled in many saints' lives, so we cannot be sure if this Hwætred is anything more than a mere cipher.

The bishop who consecrated Guthlac and his oratory[2] had with him a secretary Wigfrith, unknown except from the two episodes in the Vita in which he appears. The existence of Hædda 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[3]. Yet, the monks of Crowland themselves confused this Hædda with Hæddi, a contemporary bishop of Winchester[4].

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[5], Beccel who once thought to slay Guthlac[6] but who remained with him faithfully to his death and was entrusted with his dying confidences[7], the anchorite Ecgberht to whom, as to Pege, the secret of the angel of consolation might be told[8], and perhaps the donor of a second shroud[9], and Cissa, Guthlac's successor although brought up a pagan and, together with Wilfrid, most valued of Felix's informants[10]. As in Pege's case, stories gathered about these men in later chronicles of Crowland history. It is perhaps as well that only Beccel ever acquired separate acta of his own, for the life

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[1] Vita 783 ff. [2] Vita 950 ff. [3] Colgrave 1956, p. 190; and see note for Life 655 in Commentary. [4] Stenton 1947, p. 49 fn. 3
[5] Vita 328 ff. [6] Vita 598 ff. [7] Vita 1061 ff. [8] Vita 1146
[9] Vita 1208-9 [10] Vita 49 and 388

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 sancti Guthlaci 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

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[1] Gould 1897, X. p. 139; and see Appendix 1.

[2] Vita 571 ff.

[3] See the note for Life 388 in the Commentary.

to higher ground[1]. There may still have been quite a large fenland population in the fifth century as E. Colgrave infers[2], 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[3]. 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.[4] 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[6]. 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[7] and he wished to emulate them. Tatwine showed him the way to an island :

> quam multi inhabitare temptantes. propter incognita heremi monstra et diuersarum formarum terrores reprobauerunt; 331

(The description enhanced the attractions of the place in Guthlac's eyes.) On the island there was a tumulus agrestibus glebis coacerv-

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[1] Salway 1963
[2] Colgrave 1956, p. 1
[3] Darby 1940, p. 7
[4] ibid. p. 9
[5] ibid. p. 12
[6] Darby 1934, p. 190
[7] Vita 312

atus[1] and there Guthlac lived, building a hut over something like a cisterna[2] 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[3]. The remnant of a chapel on this site is thought to have existed still in the early eighteenth century[4], but by 1856 a little stone cottage stood 'on a little hillock, where was St Guthlake's Cell and Burial'[5]. 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[6], his earlier opinion seems generally to be accepted to-day[7].

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 membership of a brotherhood; and after his death Cissa succeeded him as anchorite at Crowland. Apart from Felix's Vita, the only early documents of any length concerned with Guthlac are the Old English materials of the Exeter Book, the Vercelli Book and Cotton Vespasian D xxi,

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[1] Vita 390 [2] Vita 392 [3] Colgrave 1956, pp. 181-3 [4] Stukeley 1724, p. 32 [5] Griesley 1886, p. 2 [6] ibid. p.3; it is worth note that he quotes from Stukeley's papers a comparison with the building of Lichfield cathedral on St Chad's cell.
[7] Moore 1879, pp. 132-3, Birch 1883, p. xlii and 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 recognise 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 Benedictine way of life.

d : ORIGINALITY OF FELIX

The interesting suggestion is made by C.W. Jones that Felix wrote his Vita sancti Guthlaci for a lay audience or at least for the public church rather than cloistered monks[1]. 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 inspiration (not so much, I believe, as some commentators would maintain) he compensates for with rule and form.[2]

Felix's dependence on earlier writings has been well illustrated many times, particularly in the monographs of Gonser[3], Kurtz[4] and Colgrave[5],

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[1] Jones 1947, p. 86 [2] ibid. p. 55 [3] Gonser 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 century[3], 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 life[4]. This Abbrevatio was, like Felix's life itself, written into

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[1]Bolton 1959, p. 37 [2]Colgrave 1956, p. 18 [3]See Appendix 2, section 1/a. [4]See Appendix 2, section 3/a

the collection of Crowland 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 Crowland abbot but, though it was obviously popular, it need not as Bolton[1] suggests it did, have become 'the textus receptus at Croyland 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.[2] His vocabulary reflects also the influence of Aldhelm and through him of the Hisperica Famina[3]. 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[4]. 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

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[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.

e : DATE OF GUTHLAC'S DEATH

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 coepit. et iterum octaua die iiii. feria .iiii. etiam lumine paschalis festi. finita egritudine ad dominum migrauit; 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 martyrology[1] and of the later Latin calendars[2] 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 8th[3]. Thus, the date 714 for Guthlac's death given in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle[4] can be supported from Felix by consultation of the Easter tables.

In some sources the date of Guthlac's death is given as 715[5] which stems from the reading found only in the Douai manuscript of the Vita[6] (after emisit in line 1163 of the text here edited) :

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[1] See Appendix 2, section 3/a. [2] See Appendix 2, section 8. [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.'

> anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri DCCXV (and above the numerals septingentesimo quinto decimo).

The influence of this reading is shown not only in mediaeval documents, for example in the history of Ordericus Vitalis[1], 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[2]. 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."[3]

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.[4]

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.

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[1] le Prévost 1838, II. p. 277 [2] DCB I. p. 826 [3] Jones 1947, p. 86 [4] ibid. p. 219 note 13

2 The foundation of Crowland Abbey

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 Pege, Cissa and perhaps Beccel and Ecgberht.

> Transactis enim sepulturę eius bis senis mensium orbibus : inmisit in animum sororis ipsius : ut fraterhum corpus alio sepulchro reconderet; Adgregatis ergo fratribus presbiterisque necnon et aliis ecclesiasticis gradibus. die exitus ipsius aperientes sepulchrum . inuenerunt .. 1198

A monastery of the laura type[1], 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 Beccel, to anchorites living near-by (Pege, 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 membranes quosdam scribens. cum ad finem scripturam suam deflexisset. extra domum recedens. quando in quodam oratorio orationibus incumberet : 658

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[1] A.H. Thompson 1923, pp. 2 and 4

The oratory mentioned here is perhaps the church consecrated by Hædda[1] and the oratory in which the saint's sepulchre was placed[2]. The visiting scribe was given some separate apartment, as was Aethelbald, for we are told that after Guthlac's death he stayed in

> quadam casula qua ante uiuente guðlace hospitari solebat : 1250

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 Orderious 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 Vita of Guthlac. He attributes it to :

> Felix quidam, Orientalium Anglorum episcopus, natione quidem Burgundus[3]

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 Vita, he gives a summary of traditions of the early foundation of Crowland he

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[1] Vita 990 [2] Vita 1302 [3] le Prévost 1840, II. p. 268

had learned from Ansgot, the sub-prior[1]. 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 uncrowned 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 præsentia episcoporum, procerumque 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, cœnobium condidit, ornamentis et fundis, aliisque divitiis locum ditavit, ad honorem Dei et sancti anachoritæ, quem valde dilexerat, pro dulci consolatione, quam ab eo, dum exulabat, multoties perceperat. Eumdem itaque locum omni vita sua dilexit, nec unquam post primam instaurationem, quam idem rex fecit, sedes Crulandiæ religiosorum habitatione monachorum usque in hodiernum diem caruit.[2]

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[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, Orderic 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 refounded 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 Aeðhelred (in some such form as Aeðered) 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

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[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. Hædda, bishop of Lichfield and Leicester, is confused (in the eleventh picture) with his contemporary Hæddi, 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

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[1] See Appendix 2, section 8; 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[1], but the foundress of Coldingham, though earlier (died 683) was even more widely known[2], These slips are of the same order as Orderic's identification of Felix with the first bishop of Dunwich[3]. 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)[4]. The psalter and scourge become important motifs in Henry of Avranches' hexameters on Guthlac, and he adds a new Pege story, no doubt in explanation of words Felix put into Guthlac's mouth :

> perge ad sororem meam pegiam. et dices illi.
> quia adeo aspectum ipsius in hoc seculo uitaui:
> ut in eternam coram patre nostro in gaudio
> sempiterno ad inuicem uideamus; 1125

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[5], but the disputes continued. In 1415 Richard Upton was

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[1]Colgrave 1956, p. 179 [2]Bede HE iv. 19, Cuthb x; Eddius Wilf. 37, 39 etc. [3]Page 1934, 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, Edred and Edgar. 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 sempects and the story of Thurkytel's arrival which gave birth to the proverb 'curteys' Crowland.

3 the poems of the Exeter Book

a : 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[1]. 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

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[1] 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 emending 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 Shook[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 sancti

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[1]1949 [2]1950 [3]1960 and 1961

Guthlaci 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[1]. A notable omission in the period fully covered by this monograph is a paper by Liebermann[2] who identifies some few verbal resemblances between this poem and the Vita and later discussions of value have been published by Gerould[3], Howard[4] and Kurtz[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.[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

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[1] 1908 [2] 1892 [3] 1916 and 1917 [4] 1930 [5] 1926
[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

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[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 <u>soðfæstra sawle</u>. In the end the themes of the beginning, never entirely lost throughout the poem, become important again and a carefully wrought structure is apparent.

b : GUTHLAC B

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 Guthlaci 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 mors in adam data est[1] 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[2]. 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 Beccel's journey to Pege (the ship description suggests rather wide water ways in the fens) have long been admired, as has Beccel's message to Pege in which the text is interrupted.

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[1] Vita 1069 ff. [2] Compare Phx 485 ff. and MBo 27.11; see further III.2/d.

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 Pege's grief, the return of Pege and Beccel 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.

o : BRIEF COMPARISON

In themes, 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 Pege, 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 searocægum 1145, bancofa 1025, wyncondel 1213, wæghengist 1329, sandhofe 1186, deaðwege 991 or sundplegan 1314. The A poet's use in his poem of teonsmiðas 205 (similar in effect to Exo 43 hleahtorsmiþum) and the phrase lege besencte 624 (or even of the manuscript lege beseencte 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[1]. 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[2].

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[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[1]. No attempt will be made here to itemise 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 summarised. 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[2]. 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[3]. In the same way his use of verses of the type geseah hæt ge on eorðan 712 in the first half-line (indeed of the Sievers A type in general) seems idiosyncratic[4]. 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 scennedne 1361[5] and ædl in geweod 940[6] again mark out the

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[1] See III.3 [2] See further III.2/e [3] See the note for Gle 24
[4] See the note for Gle 67 and 34 and 35. [5] See III.3/a [6] See III.3/a

metre of Guthlac B from Guthlac 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, restrict- 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)[1]. 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[2]. By comparison with the second Guthlac poem, Guthlac A is plain. It has no passage like the extended similes found in

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[1] III.3/a. 42 [2] Clubb 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[1]. 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 poculum mortis figure[2] his use of the theme of man's fall[3] or of the phrase wopes hring[4] or even of the idea implicit within adloman[5]. 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 fnæst ne fyres blæst
ne hægles hætu ne hrimes dryre 16

He points out that such a mode 'was found out by an artist, before it was repeated by a school'[6]. 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.

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[1] Glc 1273 ff. [2] common to Glc B and And and Phx [3] common to Glc B and And 1171 hellehinca and see commentary 912 [4] common to Ele, Chr II, And and Glc B [5] compare Glc 830 and And 867 [6] W.P. Ker 1904, p. 171;

4 the Old English prose translation of the Vita

The Old English prose life of St Guthlac 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[1].

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[2], 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

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[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 Wærferð 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-Drichthelm 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 Guthlaci[3].

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[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 Athanasius and Evagrius lives of the saint.

[3] See further III.3/a.

5 other pre-Thurkytel evidence for the cult

Outside the Old English writings of some length and the Vita sancti Guthlaci 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[1]. Notes of Guthlac's death appear in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle and in the early related chronicles[2]. Possible forged records of a Guthlac occur among the signatures in two charters ascribed to Ethelred of Mercia[3]. 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[4].

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 kingdon. Other

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[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 Lindsey[1].

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 vanished[2]. There is no evidence to connect these short notes on Guthlac and Pege with the Old English translation of the Vita[3].

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[1]See Appendix 2, section 3/a; many of these details depend on examination of martyrology made by C. Sisam 1953, pp. 209-20

[2]See Appendix 2, section 3/a

[3]ibid. and see also II.3/a.

6 the Benedictine Abbey of Crowland

a : THURKYTEL'S FOUNDATION AT CROWLAND

The tenth century foundation of an abbey at Crowland is traditionally placed in Edred'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[1], 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 Eliensis (ii.31) is probably to be identified with the founder of Crowland; and, as he was a friend of Dunstan, Aethelwold and Oswald, the abbey must have been Benedictine from this foundation.

The earlier traditional dating[2] 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 Aebered (for Aebelred) with Edred or that the date of the foundation of Bedford was by mistake applied

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[1] These 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).

[2] Knowles and Hadcock (1953, p. 63) state that the abbey was refounded in Edred'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 trustworthy knowledge of the details of this foundation may already have been lost by the twelfth century when the chronicler Ralph de Diceto lists among descriptions of monastic houses and churches :

> Ecclesia quæ 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 sempects advanced to establish the continuity of the abbey from the days of Aethelbald. Even the information given by him that Cissa, Bettelm (i.e. Beccel), Ecgberht and Tatwine remained to the end of their lives in separate cells near Guthlac's oratory has the appearance of happy invention from the meagre details given by Felix.

b : A NOTE ON THE LATER HISTORY OF THE ABBEY

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

> .. pars ecclesiæ cum officinis et vestibus et libris, multisque aliis rebus necessariis repentino igne combusta est.[2]

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

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[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 together at a much later date, perhaps even as late as the fifteenth century[1]. No trust therefore can be placed in its story of duplicate 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[2]. 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[3] 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[4] 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'[5]. 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 thirteenth century; by the dissolution only eighteen of them remained[6].

The earliest genuine charter extant for Crowland abbey is a

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[1] See further Appendix 2, section 7/a. [2] This seems first to have been pointed out by Riley 1854, p. x [3] c. 1142-72 [4] Page 1934 [5] Page 1934, p. 9 [6] Page 1936, p. xiii

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].

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[1] See particularly Appendix 2, sections 7, 8, 9 and 12

7 elaboration of the Guthlac legend at Crowland

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 Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ[1]. During his stay at Crowland prior Wulfine asked Orderic to make an abbreviated version of Felix's life of Guthlac. This abbrevationem 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 anachoritæ prolixo et aliquantulum obscuro dictatu; quæ pro posse meo breviter dilucidavi, fratrum benigno rogatu, cum quibus quinque septimanis Crulandiæ commoratus sum, venerabilis Goisfredi abbatis caritativo jussu.[2]

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[3].

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[1] See Appendix 2, sections 4/a and 7/a; [3] also Colgrave 1956, p. 11
[2] le Prévost 1840, II. p. 268 [3] ibid. p. 279, fn. 1

Unfortunately, with only the Bollandist text evidently available to him, le Prévost cannot have known how true his remark was, for certain details[1] make it clear that Orderic was using either the Douai text of Felix or some manuscript closely related to it. The Abbrevatio, 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[2].

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)[3]. Both these additions were made to the manuscript some twenty years after this translation[4].

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

> 1237 Obiit dominus Henricus de Longo Campo, abbas Croylandiae, ad cuius petitionem magister Petrus Blesensis, archidiaconus Bathoniensis tunc eloquentissimus, vitam sancti Guthlaci heroico stylo, et magister Henricus metrico stylo venustissime dictaverunt.[5]

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

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[1] e.g. the form of Guthlac's father's name in the phrase ex patre Penvaldo (p. 268), or the dating of Guthlac's death anno ab incarnatione Domini DCC°X°V°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[1]. 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[2]. 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 Pege in the form of Satan (lines 692ff.). Descriptions are more extended and lengthy digressions appear, for example on ambition (after the Beccel 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[3].

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[4]. The contents of the final

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[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 shrine[2]. 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 loses[4].

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[1] See Warner 1928, p. 18

[2] Wormald 1952, p. 263

[3] See also Appendix 2, section 6

[4] See Appendix 2, section 12 under PSALTER.

8 **the cult outside Crowland from the tenth century church reformation onwards**

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]. F. 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

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[1] For a brief discussion of the writings of the earlier period see I.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, collectars, 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 abbreviation 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 abbrevatio 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 Ecgburh chapter which contains some details of East Anglian history. More popular accounts

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[1] e.g. the Resting-Places of English saints noted in Appendix 2, section 9/a. [2] Wordsworth 1898, p. 156; see Appendix 2, section 11.

[3] Appendix 2, section 7/a [4] 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 [5] Appendix 2, section 7/a

[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 Gesta Pontificum of William of Malmesbury, the Chronicon of John Brompton and in Higden's Polychronicon[1].

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[2]. 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[3] and that he came Of the march of Walis[4]. All share a mistaken notion[5] 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 Wynkyn de Worde in 1516[6].

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[1] Appendix 2, section 7/a the note for Life 47. [2] Appendix 2, section 3/b [3] Compare [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

9 enlargement of minor figures of the cult

Of the minor figures of the cult only Beccel acquired acta of his own. These, put together perhaps by an Alexander Essibiensis in the early part of the thirteenth century[1], are a strange agglomeration of material in the Felix tradition[2] and of legendary matter[3]. 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), Ecgberht 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[4]. Ingulf's attractive anecdotes about Pege, discussed already in this introduction[5], are to be found nowhere else but in this chronicle.

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[1]Pits 1619, p. 295 attributes to this man :
Vitam S Bertelini, Librum vnum. Quoniam quantū 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/c; and Appendix 3 under Pege.

10 a note on interest in Guthlac in the modern period

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 :

> .. 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].

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[1] For Crowland 1539 (see Knowles and Hadcock 1953, p. 63) [2] Foxe (in Cattley edition) 1837, I. book ii, p. 357 [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 Christianised 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-

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[1] Gould 1897, IV. p. 169 [2] Kingsley [1868] p. 308

Saxon records.

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 prediasolution) printed legendaries[1] instead of from Felix's Vita sancti Guthlaci. 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 Anglie[3].

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[1]This question is discussed by Bolton in his 1954 dissertation.

[2]See II. 1/A for a brief account of the previous editions of the Vita.

[3]See Appendix 2, section 4/b.

II

PROSE LIFE

1 Account of the Latin text

a : 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[1]. The earliest edition, by d'Achéry and Mabillon[2], 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[3]. The text in the Bollandist Acta Sanctorum[4] 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.[5]

From this Bollandist text Gonser[6] prints below the Old English translation the passages which to him seemed to lie behind that translation,

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[1] Colgrave 1956 [2] d'Achéry and Mabillon 1672, pp. 263–84 Saec. III, Part I, and 1734, pp. 257–75 Saec. III, Part I [3] v. Colgrave 1956 p. 45 [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[1].

Both the early English editions of the Vita are based on British Museum manuscripts. Gough[2] uses the Harleian MS 3097, supplying from Cotton Nero E i (part 1) the final sentences and list of contents which the Harley text does not contain. Birch's[3] 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 1)[4]. 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[5].

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

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[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.[1] 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 389 is printed by W.F. Bolton[2] 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.

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[1] Colgrave 1956, p. 56 [2] Bolton 1963, pp. 64-66

b : 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 389 to Cotton Nero E i 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

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[1] Birch 1881 [2] Colgrave 1956, pp. 46 f. [3] Bolton 1961, p. 303
[4] Bolton 1963, pp. 64-66 [5] Bolton 1961, p. 302

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 grouping of the texts. Certainly it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions 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 compared. 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. Colgrave. 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 omitted 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. Gonser's of the Life. His examples of phrases omitted in the group I texts, but translated in the Old English version, are :

abrenuntians saecularibus pompis 276-7(82,n.51-54)
þa forlet he ealle þas woruldglenga 138(111)

sub abbatissa nomine ælfðryð 280(84, n.6-9)
under ælfðryðe abbodyssan 141(111)

per nuntium alterius fidelis fratris precipiens 1017-8(146,n.45-47)
heo gesende þa gretinge be sumum arwyrðe lifes broþor 711-2(158)

For group II he cites :

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

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

paucis 336(88,n.28)
feawe 187(114),

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

ad perpetuę beatitudinis militiam 379(92,n.17-19)
to eamhade þæs ecan lifes 223-4(117)

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

Corpus Christi College 307 joins group III in omitting :

regnum 1263(166,n.11)
þæt rice 929(172)

and, again like them, reads roris instead of florię 1150 (156,n.47)

where the Life gives biostman 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)

spirituum 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 þam 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 dicens 559(108,n.9) where the Old English has cwædon 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[1].

It is unfortunate that Bolton has misunderstood which texts are

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[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 A^2, 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 bis westen appears in Life 819, the Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389 text of the Vita has heremum 1139 : the article bis perhaps answers to hoc in Corpus Christi College Cambridge 307 or to hanc 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 hyder, Life 379 cwædon or Life 825 mín).

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 Gonser'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 examplar : 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 ,viiii., 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 perpetuę beatitudinis militiam 379
to camphāde þæs ecan lifes 117

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

uiri dei 976 (dei omitted)
þæs gōdes mannes 678

hæc dicta mea 1145 (mea omitted)
mīn word 825

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

autem 1098 (omitted)
forþon 772

enim 1100 (omitted)
forþon 774

dicta 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)
Dæihten me ys on þa swyþran healfe 336

causas 937 (causam in rest)
þone intingan 642

roris 1150 (floris in rest)
blostman 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

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

heremum 1140 (CCC 307 has hoc and Harlean 3097 and Douai hanc)
þis westen 819

transmisit 1012 (The verb is missing in the group I texts, 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.)
sende 708

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 389, Nero E i and TCD B.4.3)
gode 125

psalmis. canticis. ymnis. orationibus. 300
sealmas geleornod. 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 nuncupatur inserted by them, Douai 852 and Harleian 3097 might possibly lie behind the Old English)
þe ys gecweden 140

Non me 1031 (Arras, Boulogne and Nero E i read Nonne which is closer to the Old English)
Swylce nys eac 723

in angustiis 1241 (meis added only in Arras and Boulogne manuscripts)
in minum unydnysse 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 / þær 18

prædestinatum 202 / forestihtod 72

In tantum 789 / swa swyþe 529

spirituum infestatio : aut commisorum 911
oððe fram þam awyrgdan gaste geswencte 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 then to B. Colgrave's second group (Harleian 3097 and Douai 852) and his fourth group (Nero E i, T.C.D. B.4.3, 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)
Þy ylcan nama ys nemned 168

oæli 514 (omitted)
heofones 341

nonne legisti 726 (omitted also in Harleian 3097 and Douai 852)
Ne leornodest þu 492

sedes 801 (pedes only in Royal 13 A xv)
to halgum mynstre 538

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 :

munera 214 / þa gife 84

insula media in palude posita 336
was þæt land on middan þam westene ... geseted 186

paucis 336
swyþe 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 Gonser'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 :

regi 3 (Harleian and Douai MSS read regni)
kyning 3

in meditullaneis brittanię 317 (Harleian and Douai MSS give a more specific indication of locality, reading Mediterraneorum Anglorum for meditullaneis.)
on bretone land 167

locum 335 (Harleian and Douai insulam)
stowe 185

famulus 1072
þeow 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 hanc (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 fenlands 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 gode) where dei appears in the remaining texts of this troup, its omission of ante 647 (Life 449 iu) which it shares with CCC 389 (not noted in Colgrave's collations) and its omission of mentis 414 (Life 246 on þam mode) which it shares with T.C.D. B.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 B.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 48 yldestan (where they have all lost the word antiqua from Vita 166) or Life 443 ad eac ewylce (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 dilecto in line 1 (other Vita texts here have dilectissimo and

Life 2 leofestan) 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 Nec s.erat mora 633 and 759 by Life 437 Næs þa nan hwil to þam þæt and Life 510 Næs þa nænig 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.

c : Manuscript

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 G.2 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 : Hic liber scriptus ante conquestum. 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 ix^{a} gradu tercio V

The contents are listed lower down by a hand described as twelfth century by James[3] and Colgrave[4] :

Vita sancti pauli primi 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.

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[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 : collation 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} H, 6^{r} P, 18^{r} I and 22^{v} F. 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 Guthlaci this punctuation has been superseded by a revising hand. The later system is often

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[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 reconstruct the punctuation system of the scribe in these circumstances, and therefore the reviser's intention is as closely followed as possible. 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 Guthlaci. Five Old English glosses (on folios 34^{v}, 35^{v} (2), 41^{r} and 41^{v}) are contemporary with the Latin text[1]. Names, places and key-passages (also only in the second life) are underlined with a thin red line and on folio 55^{r} crouland has been scrawled in the right hand margin against the text's cruland ; these are the usual Parkerian marks. At the top of 57^{v} a mostly illegible scrawl begins Eadli... and its offset on folio 58^{r} seems to show final -m. Folio 17^{r} is blank, as is 66^{v} (given wrongly by Colgrave as 67^{b}), except for the beginning of an alphabet (A to N) in green capitals and beneath it a sixteenth century scribble (the first word illegible, but the name apparently is edvurde Wyllyams).

The life of St Guthlac fills folios 18^{r} to 66^{r}. Lections for his octave are marked in the outer margins on 57^{v}, 58^{r}, 59^{r}, the fourth is missing, 61^{v}, 62^{v}, 63^{r} and 63^{v}, i.e. from chapters 1, li and lii (lines 1072 ff.). The following abbreviations are used :

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[1] Ker 1957, p. 113, but Colgrave 1956, p. 52 assigns them to the eleventh century.

WORDS		
	apostolicam	aptícā
	cristum	ıhū
	deus	ꝺs̄ [ꝺī : ꝺei , ꝺō : ꝺeo]
	dominus	ꝺn̄s̄ [ꝺn̄m : ꝺominum , ꝺn̄o : ꝺomino]
	domus	ꝺom̊
	ecclesia	ȩccta
	episcopo	epō
	esse	ēe
	est	ē , .ē , ÷
	esset	ēēt
	fratres	FR̄S
	lectio	t [in outer margins of Vita]
	liquore	liqRe
	kalendarum	kt , klkū
	nomen	nom̄
	non	n̄
	nostras	nr̄ās [nr̄ām : nostram etc]
	omnes	om̄s [om̄i : omni etc]
	post	p̊
	propias	pRpas
	propter	~~pp~~
	qua	aq [aq̄m : quam etc]
	que	q·
	quomodo	Quom̊
	quoniam	q̄m , qūo
	quoque	q̄q

et reliquia	et rel̃i, et rel̃, et rl̃t
sancti	sc̃i [sc̃s : sanctus etc)
ęculi	sc̃li [sc̃la : sæcula etc]
septembrium	septemb̃, sept̃b
sicut	sic̃
spiritus	sp̃s [sp̃m : spiritum etc]
sunt	s̃t
supradictum	sup̃a dict̃
tunc	t̃c
uero	u̇
uestra	uR̃a [uRę : uestRę etc]

LETTERS etc

tilde	m n
	-eR- -eR -ent
con-	c, ĉ, ɔ
per-	ꝑ
pro-	p̄
pro-	ꝓ
-us	⅂
-ur	2
-rum	4
-us	ȝ

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 :

34^{v}	(469)	strofus	:	frøte
35^{v}	(495)	raucosonis	:	hasgrumelum
	(496)	horrescere	:	hlyban (Colgrave 1956, p. 54 misrecords Meritt's reading for this gloss)
41^{r}	(643)	strinebant	:	scriccettan
41^{v}	(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 hasrunigendum in the compound, this must be noted here. For a discussion both of this and the possible relationship between hlyban and Life 325 hleoþrode : Hly 96 hleoðrode, see the commentary.

2 Account of the Old English manuscript

a : 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[1]. 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 prepared for the scribe, although the cutting down of the Vespasian manuscript obscures this. The separate histories of these membra disiecta have been admirably described by Mr Ker both in an article of that name[2] and in his catalogue[3] where the two manuscripts are entered together 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

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[1] Wanley 1705, p. 245 [2] Ker 1938, pp. 132-3; it should be noted that Crawford 1922, p. 441, had already confirmed Wanley's assumption.
[3] Ker 1957

near the time in which the book was first assembled (including once an English gloss of the Latin gloss on folio 66^{v} 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 1542 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 2^{r} 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 xxi, for the 1617 list records that Cotton had not yet received back

Nennij Historia et uita Sancto Cuthlaci.

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 Ves D xxi, but some confusion arose over no. 81, presumably because it was out on loan to Mr Lylle. The number Claudius B. iy 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. iy in the catalogue. Both, as S.J. Crawford[1] 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

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[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 8^{r}, 11^{r} and 15^{r} 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 1^{r} and the manuscript was given by him to the Bodleian in 1639. It was there given the press-mark 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.

b : A short description of the manuscript

Laud Miscellany 509 + Vespasian D xxi folios 18-40 contain 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 prologus alfrici monachi in Vita sancti Guthlaci

at the top of 18^{r}. If the manuscript ever contained other saints' lives, these have disappeared. The Vita Guthlaci was separated from the preceding matter sometime in the late sixteenth or very early seventeenth 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 1^{r} - 33^{v} 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-iv, 1-142, (143); collation of folios 1-141 : 1^{10} (6 missing), $2\text{-}12^{8}$ (6, leaves 4 and 5 are half

sheets, as are leaves 3 and 6 in quires 8 and 10), 13^{10}, $14-17^{8}$ (a leaf in quire 17 is misbound and the folios should be read in the order 132, 134-9, 133) and 18^{8} (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 15^{r} lines 8-21 and 15^{v} lines 1-10 and a third hand in 17^{r} lines 11-23. Initials 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 66^{v}), 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 iv^{v} and the old Cottonian table of contents appears upside down on i^{v}. After these leaves were reversed, a new table of contents was written on i^{r}. Folios 142 and 143 are blank.

Laud's inscription of ownership, dated 1638, is written at the

foot of folio 1^{r} 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^{r} 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^{r} - 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 Sigwerd of Eastheolon.

Cotton Vespasian D xxi 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 :

Nenii Historia Britonum Vita S. Guthlaci 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 :

> Nennij Historia et uita Sancto Guthlaci. 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^{r}. Sir Robert Cotton's signature appears at the top of folio 1^{r} and again on 18^{r}, an indication perhaps that folios 1-18 and 18ff. of Vespasian D xxi were first placed together 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^{r} is the only place in which the Nennius 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^{r} and i* is pencilled 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 Nennij in quo plura continentur quam in alijs.

2 Vita Sancti Guthlaci per Alfricum monachum. Saxonice. ad Alfwoldum Regem Orientalium Anglorum. Translatio est Felicis.

3 Iuventi Sedulij versus litteris fugientibus sed vetustis.

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

A nineteenth century count is found on endbinding i^r in pencil :

1^*, 71 Fols. Total 72 . Exd T W Inne 1884

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 1^r appears the signature Robertus Cotton Bruceus. Two systems of numbering are present in this section of Vespasian D xxi, 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 15^r.

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.

c : Cotton Vespasian D xxi, folios 18-40

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 (30^{v}, 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), $19\text{-}20^{8}$ 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^{r} (as Rob. Cotton Bruceus) 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^{r} (A), 24^{r} (B) and 40^{r} (D). The expected signature on 32^{r} has most likely been cut away. The top half of a letter appears at the bottom right of 23^{v} and may have been B 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 7, ꝥ (at line 870 þæt is written out in full), þõn for þonne (as 19^{v} line 8, Life 71; but cf. 23^{r} line 22 where it is written in mistake for þone, Life 229); the tilde is used most often for an omitted nasal, but also in æfꝫ for æfter, cw̃ 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^{r} is given by Crawford[1] and a facsimile from 134^{v} by Ker[2]. Both long and low s 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 ð 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. I.10, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (5232) and Bodleian, Laud Miscellany 482[3]. The open topped e 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 þ and ð. The ends of descenders turn to the left. Separate æ occurs once for the ligature in aegiptum on 24^{v} line 12. More abbreviations are used in Latin quotations than in the Old English text, and among the

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[1] Crawford 1922, opposite p. 372 [2] Ker 1957, plate vi [3] Ker 1957, p. xxxi [4] Ker 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 following 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. 20^{r}). 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/C.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 þ but other abbreviations and special letter forms may be used when a line must be properly filled. Lengthened letters to fill out a line occur occasionally, for example lengthened diagonal stroke in n of waron (where a capital is used for this lengthening) 20^{r} 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 .IIII. 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 34^{r}, line 21. The lines of capitals which introduce the prologue, the material after the paragraph number .IIII. (23^{v}, line 18) and the miracle of the two greedy brothers who hid their flasks of ale (32^{r}, line 7) are in the same ink as the text. The life ends at the top of 40^{v}, 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.

d : 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 twibil 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 18^{r} :

Incipit prologus alfrici monachi vita sancti Guthlaci

The ascription of the life to Aelfric is found also in the Cottonian table of contents still in Vespasian D xxi (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^{v} beside where the life begins

> Vita Sancti Guthlaci Croilansis
> Incipit Liber de vita sancti Guthlaci stremu/
> issimi ac perfectissim anachorit/

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^{v} of Harleian 3097 :

> ffelix crowlansis floruit ad 730.
> v. Bibl Cott
> 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.

e : 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 (i.e. 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 hic omnino convenit cum God. Bibl. Bodleiana qui inscribitur LAVD.E.19, adeo ut uterque Cod. videtur ab eodem librario scriptus.[1]

He does not, however, record the thirteenth/fourteenth century ascription of the translation to Aelfric which is written at the top of folio 18^{r} 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 Felicem Croylandensem monachum primum Latine scripta et deinde ab incerto scriptore Saxonice 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 Guthlaci anachoretæ, per Felicem Croylandensem monachum primum scripta, et deinde ab incerto scriptore Saxonice versa.[2]

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/

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[1] Wanley 1705, p. 245 [2] Catalogue 1802, p. 478

fourteenth century heading on folio 18^{r} 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]

(Fortunately 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 Wülcker in his Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächs-

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[1] Schnebbelie 1800, p. 10 [2] Goodwin 1848, p. iv [3] Klipstein 1849, I.386

ischen Literatur gives it new life in a curious form :

> Wanley nahm an, dass die ags. Übersetzung von Aelfric sei, weil die Hs. Vesp. in derselben Hand geschrieben sei wie Aelfrics Pentateuch (in der Bodl. Laud. E 19).[1]

Althouth his mistaken reading of Wanley is pointed out by Gonser in his edition of the life[2], the influence of Wülcker'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 Guthlaci ... Some have thought the Vespasian version to be by Ælfric: it might at least be construed as AElfrician.[3]

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[1] Wülcker 1885, p. 492 [2] Gonser 1909, p. 32 [3] Anderson 1949, p. 347

f : The Vercelli Book homily

MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript commonly called the Vercelli 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 him[1] and the description given in Ker's catalogue[2]. Sisam's paper on the marginalia of the manuscript is very important, for his observation that the neumed responses of folio 24^{v} 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 century[3]. 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 Vercelli 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,

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[1] 1913 and 1932 [2] Ker 1957, pp. 460-4 (no. 394) [3] Sisam 1953 pp. 113-8 [4] Krapp 1902, pp. 171-2 and Ker 1950, pp. 17-25

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 75^{v} 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.

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[1]Peterson 1953, p. 559 [2]Peterson 1953, p. 565 [3]Ker 1957, p. 461 [4]See further III.2/a ; FINAL NOTES

The Guthlac homily begins on the eighth line of folio 133^{r}, the preceding line being left empty to mark the end of Elene. The beginning of the homily is marked by a large capital Þ which spans the space contained by five lines of script. This initial Þ is the only large capital of the homily. The text ends on folio 135^{v}; 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[1] 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[2] 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 7him for naht dyde and wæs 118 is written both

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[1]Ker 1957, p. 464 [2]Ker 1950, p. 22 and fn 4

as the last word on folio 135^{r} and as the first word on the verso. This may perhaps explain the unusual repetition in the linked verbs weest 7 weccest 59, although the phrase is left unchanged in my text. The readings er 52 (where Gonser records est), wyta 124 (where Gonser records wita) and scufanne 126 (where Gonser records sceofanne) 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 underlining have been supplied as a reading guide after the fuller punctuation 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'[1]. Despite his assertion that the translation is often 'groundlessly ascribed' to Aelfric, Klipstein a few years later is less convinced that Aelfric was not the translator[2]. 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

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[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].

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[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

3 Earlier discussion of the Old English life

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 Guthlaci', 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.M. 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.

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[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

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[1] Goodwin 1848, p. v [2] Goodwin 1848, p. iii [3] ibid. p. v
[4] ibid. p. iv [5] Mistakes common to Goodwin and Gonser are geradne 36 (MS geræadne), Swile 37 (MS Swyloe), þone 229 (MS þõn), þone 460 (MS ðone), hæfde 781 (MS hǽfde), gelice 782 (MS gelioe), sæde 859 (MS sǽde); forms of the name Guðlac 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[1].

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[2] 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[3] 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

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[1] Klipstein 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 (pp. 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 discussion[1] 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, Hieronymous, Gregory and Aldhelm. Several of the individualities of Felix's style are summarised (the hapax legomena 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

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[1] Liebermann 1892, pp. 246-7

of Jarrow is taken as interpolation, but weight is placed upon the phrase vernaculus 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

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[1]Liebermann 1892, p. 247 [2]See 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 Gonser'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 Gonser 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 Bollandist 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 Englands 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, kürzendes 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 anglischen Dialekt des Originales besser bewahrende und der gemeinsamen Urhandschrift näher 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 Gonser'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[1].

I. Geisel's Basel dissertation of 1915 was designed zur Ergänzung von Gonsers Buch dienen, as she points out in her foreword[2]. She prefaces 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 f there is no mention of the forms fulluhtes 92, fulluhtbæbes 718, fulwihtebæbes 78, and forþan/forþon, whether as adverb, conjunction or accompanied by the þe, does not appear). Numerous smaller inaccuracies in reporting Gonser's text can be found. The letter ð is never, by intention, recorded, so that to ascertain the correct form of any word

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[1] Förster 1913, p. 86 [2] Geisel 1915, p. 4

in her glossary which contains b, 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 Vercelli 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[1], 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[2].

Gerould agrees with earlier critics in regarding the translation as made in the tenth century[3]. 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

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[1]Geisel 1915, p. 6 [2]Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 55 [3]Gerould 1916, p. 385 [4]Gonser 1909, p. 51, fn 1

> been added at least some of the later miracles performed at his shrine.[1]

In Englische Studien for 1917[2] 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 century[3] and its original described as West Mercian[4]. 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.

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[1] Gerould 1916, p. 112 [2] Kern 1917, pp. 1-8 [3] Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 25 fn 2 and p. 50 fn 1 [4] ibid. 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[1] and F. Wolpers[2] 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.[3]

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[1] Loyn 1962, p. 287 [2] Wolpers 1964, p. 151 [3] Colgrave 1956, p. 19

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[1], 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[2]. 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 ausgesprochenen poetischanglischen Charakter haben with the usual equivalents of West Saxon prose texts, the occasional use of mid with the

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[1] Goodwin 1848, p. v [2] Gonser 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 Urübersetzung, 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 mænigre : Vita 489 macilenta; Life 319 woh nebb Hly 89 woh nebb : Vita 490 fronte torua; and Life 339 hi hine læddon on þam ongryrlican fiðerum betwux þa cealdan faca bære lyfte Hly 109 hine ... lyfte : Vita 511 horridis alarum stridoribus, inter nubifera gelidi aeris spatia illum subuehere coeperunt) 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 þa feng [to þam] medmycclan bigleofan Hly 76 þa ... andleofone as a translation of Vita 473 tunc ... uictum suum quotidianum uesci coepit, but it is more likely that the translator was here paraphrasing the phrase Gonser omits (adsumpta ordeacii panis particula), an impression supported by the next words in the Old English texts.

B. Kürzungen

Life 316-25 (hi ... stefnum Hly 87-96 wæron ... stefnum) is cited as typical of the resümierenden 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 obustis. bucilla crassa. pectore ardua. 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 hlæw : Vita 390 tumulus;

Life 243 Mid by he þa his yfelnysse mægen. 7 grymnysse attor [todælde] Hly 14 Mid ... teldað : Vita 410 Cum enim omnes nequitie sue uires uersuta mente temptaret, with enim omitted;

Life 255 he sylfa nyste hwider he wolde mid his mode gecyrran 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 swa 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 þæt he ne tweode, ac þæt he wære anræd : Here the translator may have wished to convey rather more of the meaning of Vita 433 preceptis spiritalibus than given by Life 268 mid wordum.

Life 274 hu he gode geowemlicost mihte lybban : Here the translator adds a new detail in explanation of the more general wording of the Latin he has already translated.

Life 295 þæt þu be on swa tela mycele forhæfdnysse ahebbe : It should be noted that forþon ... ahebbe 294-5 provides a translation for Vita 462-3 Ieiunium ... sit and that this clause, described by Gonser as additional, expresses by paraphrase Felix's variation of Ieiunium by abstinentie castimonia.

Life 303 forþon ... scyppend : 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 þam þe he ealle þa ydele ongeat : Against this should be placed Vita 471 ne ullus locus consentiendi illis in eo uideretur; 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 oþþe gif he þæt nolde þonne woldon hi hine mid maran þysmerum 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 ... geoyrran; 257 efne ... mube; 262-64 7 ... sceawode; 295-96 ac ... man; 304-5 beforan ... aidlode; 310-11 se ... costunga; 322 mycele ... greate; 323-25 and ... stefnum; 329-30 hi ... westenes; 358 forwyrde tuddre and 367-68 hi ... gehyddon.

All these examples are valid as evidence that both Life and Homily derive from a common Urübersetzung, 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 worde, hwilum ondgit of andgite, in the words from Alfred's preface to the Cura Pastoralis[1] - as well as the common ancestry of the Life and Homily.

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[1]Sweet 1871, I. 6, line 19

c : 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 Predigteingangsformal, and he suggests

> Das Wort sprecenan mag eben von unserem Homileten 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 sprecenan without referrent (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

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[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 :

> Ac hie sylfe in heolster hyddon. þa þe ða se eadiga wer his þone getrywan freond geseah. ða wæs he mid gastlicre gefeannesse 7 on heofoncundre blisse swiðe gefeonde.* 7 þa æfter þam fleah se haliga guðlac mid þam apostole sancte bartholomei to heofona rices wuldre. 7 hine se hælend þær onfeng. 7 he þær leofað 7 rixaþ in heofona rices wuldre. a butan ende on ecnesse. 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 eadigan were sancte GVTHLACE on ealra worulda woruld áá buton ende on ecnysse. AMEN.

The phrase a butan ende on ecnesse 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 rixaþ mid fæder 7 mid suna. 7 mid ðam haligan gaste on wuldre 7 on wyrðmynde áá butan ende on ecnesse :7 (folio 116^{v}, end of homily xxi)

> Se ðe leofað 7 ricsað aa b[utan ende on ec] nesse;
> (fólio 120^{v}, 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 sancte bartholomei to heofona rices wuldre. 7 hine se hælend þær 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-

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[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 a announcement 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 390-552[1]. 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. Whatever 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,

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[1]See 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/d) 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.

d : Homily and Life (lines 228-370) contrasted

In his comparison of the Homily and Life Gonser[1] 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 Verschiedentheiten 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

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[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 Gonser 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

Gonser (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 sprecenan / Vita 390 præfata;

239 : Hly 10 arest / Vita 400 coeperat (the pluperfect in Old English being rendered often by a preterite + ar);

241 : Hly 12 gengde geond þæt græswang / Vita 409 per uasti aetheris spatia (similar but scarcely equivalent);

272 : Hly 40-41 syððan . . sceotode / Vita 439-41 Ex . . nequiuerunt;

310 : Hly 80 7 wide geond þæt land wæddon / Vita 475 late loca mestis questibus impleuerunt;

310 : Hly 83 þy gewunelican þeowdom / Vita 481 adsueto more;

340 : Hly 111 upgelæded / Vita 513 deuentum;

349 : Hly 119-21 7 nalas . . upgeotan / Vita 522-6 Non solum . . uidebantur.

The two remaining passages noted by Gonser as occurring only in the Homily are :

290 : Hly 59 7 weccest to forgifenesse þinra gylta / Vita 459 ff. does not contain anything equivalent to the phrase following weccest 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 swencst (itself an emendation made by him in the Life) for wecst in this line. See further the note in the Commentary.

370 : Hly 142-6 7 þa . . fiat / 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 þara werigra gasta / Vita 476 inmundorum 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 C placed after them.

229 bone ylcan : Hly 2 bone ylcan hlæw / Vita 392 in cuius (which corresponds only with bone ylcan, common to both Old English texts)

232 hus : Hly 4–5 hus 7 eardungstowe (C)

240 mid þan gewunelican beawe : Hly 11 mid by þe he by gewunelican þeowdome (C)

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

244 mid þan : Hly 15 mid by atre (C)

254 gewundod : Hly 25 gedrefed 7 gewundod (compare entries for 329 and 332 below and see II.4/C.3)

258 7 clypode : Hly 28 7 þus cleopode

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

271 mid gastlicre blisse gefylled : Hly 38–9 on gæstlicre blisse 7 heofoncundre gife swiðe gefeonde (C)

279 ýra wæpna : Hly 46–7 ussa wæpna stræla (C)

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

290 eft : Hly 60 þonne eft

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

305 þa : Hly 75 þa sona

306 ydele : Hly 76 idle 7 unnytte

306 feng mǽdmycelan : Hly 76 feng to bære tæla mycelan (C)

310 7 se eadiga : Hly 80 7 he se geadiga

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

312 he : Hly 83 he guðlac

323 : Hly 94 swa ungemetlice hrymdon 7 (probably expansion in Homily)

329 lǽddon : Hly 100 bæron 7 læddon

332 swencton : Hly 103 læddon 7 swencton

334 mid máran bysmerum swencan 7 costian : Hly 105-6 mid maran brogan bysmrigan 7 wǽcan (C)

342 : Hly 113-4 bær ða ondrysenlican fiðeru ongen cuman . .
(Gonser gives this as one of four examples of mistaken readings in the Homily; see further in the Commentary)

351 Þa se eadiga : Hly 123 þa he se eadiga

356 Mid by : Hly 128 mid by be

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

359 þæt : Hly 131 þæt ðæt (perhaps scribal duplication in Hly; compare the note for Hly 118 wæs in the Commentary)

367 Hi þa swyrgedan : Hly 138 hie ða þa werigan

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

The curious passage Hly 16-18 of bendum . . cempan which by position corresponds with of . . cempan 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 þæt he . . ongan : 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 þa mæran . . dyde : Hly 21 (C)

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

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

304 after þam wordum : Hly 74 (cannot be attributed unequivocally to Vita 469 Quo facto

309 þæt hi oferswiðde 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 hwile : 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 appearahce, for most often it is impossible to judge whether or not the readings of the Life stood in the original translation.

231 waterseað : Hly 4 seaþ / Vita 393 cisterna

235 ealle his dagas his lifes : Hly 8 ealle dagas his lifes

242 efne swa : Hly 14 swa / Vita 408 ceo

249 Mid þam he þa : Hly 19 He ða

251-2 7 þa maran . . bonne : Hly 23 (probably expansion in Life, for there the following clause is positive whereas both Hly and Vita contain negative adverbs)

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

256 þæt he : Hly 27 he

258-9 In tribulatione . . englisc : Hly 28 (C)

260 ic þe to clypige : Hly 29 ic clypige

274 gode gecwemlicost mihte libban : Hly 43 mihte gecwemlicost (libban added in emendation; see further C)

276 sprecon 7 cwedon : Hly 45 cwedon

278 7 bær : Hly 46 bær

281 ær geþoht hæfdest : Hly 50 geðoht hæfdest

297-8 gehiwode 7 gefrætwode : Hly 67 gehiwode

299 þurh six daga fæsten : Hly 69 syx daga fæsten / Vita 465-6 sex diebus

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

303 forþon þe : Hly 73 forðan (compare the entries for 305 and 325)

305-6 for þam þe : Hly 75 forðan

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

317 mycele heafda : Hly 88 heafdu / Vita 488-9 capitibus magnis (omission from Hly at some stage of transmission must be recognised; C)

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

325-6 to þam þæt : Hly 97 to þam

335 se eadiga wer guðlac : Hly 106 se eadiga wer

337 fram þe : Hly 108 (C)

345 hi hine gebrohton : Hly 116 (this phrase varies geleddon 344 : Hly 116 geleddon which answers to Vita 518 perducunt)

347-8 ealra þara tintrega 7 þara wîta : Hly 118 ealra þara tintrega

350-1 mid manigfealdum wîtum : Hly 123 manigfealdum tintregum

353 mid mycelre cleopunge : Hly 125 micelre clypunge

356 synnum 7 gyltum : Hly 128 synnum

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

358 dust. 7 æcsan. 7 ysela : Hly 131 dustes æcsan / Vita 541 faville cineris (C)

361 sceolon ge : Hly 133 (clause without finite verb unusual in Hly, so phrase seen in Life may have been omitted by scribe; C)

362 Hig þa sona þa awyrgedan : Hly 134 hie þa werigan

366 for bære fægernysse : Hly 139 for bære fægernesse (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 engelicre, MS ongelicre and Hly 87 on onsyne, MS onsyne; and of dittography in Hly 82 7 him for naht dyde, MS 7hI fornaht dyde 7him fornaht dyde, and Hly 118 wæs, MS wæs / (new folio) wæs.

SOME OTHER DIFFERENCES

An attempt has been made elsewhere (II.4/F.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.

(i) PHRASE

235 forðgelæstende wæg : Hly 8 forðgelæste / Vita 398 exigebat

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

287-8 abwean wylt : Hly 56 ofaðwea (C)

285 7 bær : Hly 54 7 þa ær

288 þa ærgefremedan synna : Hly 57 ða ærran fremednesse yfelra leahtra / Vita 456 ante commissa crimina (C)

289 swa mycele swa : Hly 58 swiðor swa / Vita 458 Quanto

291 swa mycele swa : Hly 60-1 swa micole swiðor swa / Vita 459 quanto

293 gestihst : Hly 62-3 hist astreaht / Vita 461 prostratus iacueris (C)

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

346 þa fulnysse þæs smyces 7 þa byrnenda lega 7 bone ege bære sweartan deopnysse : Hly 117 þa smicendan þrosmas þara byrnendra liga 7 bone ege bære sweartan nywylnesse / Vita 519-20 Ille uero fumigantes. æstuantis inferni catueruas prospectans (C)

350 þara ārleasra manna sawla : Hly 122-3 þa sawla arleasra manna / Vita 527 animas impiorum

352 wæs . . afyrht : Hly 124 onbræc / Vita 529 horresceret (C)

358-9 dust. 7 ascan. 7 ysela : Hly 131 dustes ascan / Vita 541 fauille cineris (C)

362-3 to þam eadigan woldon : Hly 134-5 to ðam gegearwodon / Vita 544 . . precingentibus (C)

365-6 betwuhx þa dymnysse þeostru : Hly 137 betuh þa dimman þystro / Vita 546 medias furue noctis . . tenebras (C; see note for line 7)

(ii) WORD ORDER WITHIN CLAUSE

255 hwider he wolde . . gecyrran : Hly 25 hwider he . . cyrran wolde

264 7 he . . swiþe bliþe wæs . . : Hly 33 7 he wæs þa sona se eadiga . .

290 fæstlicor getrymed : Hly 60 getrymed fæstlicor

302 Syn mine fynd min drihten god . . : Hly 72 Min dryhten god syn mine fynd . . / Vita 468 conuertantur inimici mei . .

316 hi wæron : Hly 87 wæron hi

318-9 7 ruge earan. 7 hi hæfdon . . : Hly 89 7 hæfdon ruge earan (C)

331 þæt him wæs eal se lichama gewundod : Hly 102 þæt eal se lihhoma wæs gewundod

351-2 . . þa micelnysse geseah bara wítu : Hly 124 . . geseah þa micelnesse bara wyta

356 þe ongean : Hly 128 ongen þe

359 þæt ge mín ahton geweald : Hly 131 þæt ðæt ge min geweald ahton

(iii) WORDS WITHIN CLAUSE AND SENTENCE

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

273-4 mid by . . þe : Hly 42-3 þa . . ða

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

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

279-80 We nu heononforð nellað þe . . : Hly 49-50 wene ic þæt we ðe furðor ne wyllan . . (C)

286 þa : Hly 55 þa ðe

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

299 þam þe gelice . . : Hly 68 þane man gelice . . (C)

308-9 Ða þa awyrigedan . . hig þa . . : Hly 78-9 ða þa werigan . . hie . .

310-1 7 se . . costunga : Hly 80-2 7 he se . . dyde / Vita 475-6 (each text shows signs of independent revision; C)

314 comon : Hly 85 com

315 7 hi on ealce healfe inguton : Hly 86 7 him on elce healfe inguton (C)

322-3 7 hæsrunigendum stefnum : Hly 93-4 7 has hrymedon on heora cleopunge 7 hie swa ungemetlice hrymdon 7 (Life reading nearer Vita 495; C)

324 þæt him þuhte þæt hit . . : Hly 95 þæt hit þuhte þæt hit . . (C)

326-7 hi þa .. eallum limum gebundon : Hly 97 hie ða . . eallum limum gebundenum / Vita 498-9 ligatis membris suggests that Life is here rephrased; (C)

334 oþþe gif he þæt nolde þonne . . : Hly 105 oððe gif he þæt nolde þæt . . (this passage not in Vita; readings suggest that þæt has replaced þonne in Hly)

345 to . . gebrohton : Hly 116 to . . helledures (expansion probable in Life; see Commentary further)

352 þa wæs he . . . afyrht : Hly 124-5 7 hine . . . onþræc

363 swylce hi hine þær in sceofan woldon : Hly 135 swylce hine man þær in scufan wolde / Vita 543 ueluti ad trudendum illum in . . (Hly the more likely to reflect wording of translator here)

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 buhte 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/P 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.

4 Language

A : Introduction

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 Ælfric, 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 ys instead of is (and he quotes the figures 315 : 39 given by Wilkes), is found also in the life of Guthlac where ys 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 Guthlaci 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 indication 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 existence 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 indicates, as would have been guessed without its existence, that the original 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 Wortschatz der ae. Guthlacübersetzung, 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 anglischen 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.

B : 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 twiendlice 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 clensienne 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 Vleeskruyer (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, begitest 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 g before b, d or n (Campbell §243), for example abræd 919, behydigne 814, foresæda 460, forsædan 186, onbræd 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 afþancas 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, o does appear, generally where these are such forms as normally occupy low sentence stress : bonan 23, bonne always, hwon six times, mon 77, 88, tosomne 344 and in the verbal prefix (whereas an- is general in nouns). Instances of o are otherwise sporadic, for example gesomnode 106 and togesomnade 872, and a similar picture of the Laud Miscellany 509 is presented by Wilkes (1905, p. 82) who notes that there a is general and gives sporadic instances of ætsomne and tosomne 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 o 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 e in the declension of adjectives is seen in rade 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 far 798, fare 779, farendum 116 (see Campbell §160 (4)).

(f) The sel- group appears throughout the Life as syl- : syleb 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 §325-6). This group is represented in Laud Miscellany 509 both by syl- and by the earlier West Saxon group sil- (Wilkes 1905, p. 128).

(g) The mily- group is generally represented by ne-, for example nelt 424, 817 and nellað 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 r, for example bysene 30, 477, bryttise 395, brytisc 388, bysmrian 280, gebysmrod 385, cyrclice 872; but the rounding is by no means

general in these circumstances and many forms retain i, 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 y for 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, b and m, after s and þ and before g' (Sprockel 1965, p. 34). This observation provides an explanation for such forms as byssum 904, hys 6 times, ys throughout, nys 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 ÿ 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 ÿ from īe or from mutated ū occur (see below B.3/i), but also many instances of the rounding of ī where a phonetic explanation for the rounding cannot be envisaged. Examples for i are genyberaþ 739, gescylde 211, scyld 211, scylde 445, synderlice 179.

The rounding is seen less often for ī than for ī. Examples in

the neighbourhood of a labial or r are hrybera 437, swynes 442 and twyfealdan 266 (with i, however, becoming y 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.

(i) The late West Saxon tendency for ȳ both from mutated ū and īe 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 ȳ to appear as ī before h, c and g and groups containing them (Campbell §316). The forms filian 774, hiht 139, 624, 742, gehihte 824, ilce 134, hince 695, and probably gingran 96 (Campbell §316 fn 2), are other instances of this change. It should be noted that gingran 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 i reflects West Saxon palatal umlaut (a change found also in Kentish, Campbell §304), as for example cniht 731, cnihtum 204, cnihtlicu 99, cnihtwisan 94, rihte 3, or the West Saxon i-umlaut of ea, for example almihtig 218, hlihhende 611, miht 354, 386, or the East Saxon i-umlaut of ie, for example forestihted 72, forestihtode 218; these last examples could alternatively be described as the result of Anglian smoothing. The Ie resulting from i-umlaut appears

as ĭ in digle 179, 187, diglan 216, 509, digelnysse 196, geciged 22, afligeð 465, onlihtod 266.

Instances of the isolative change are however few; and the short vowel in girnde 150 and the long in gimde 133, 335 may have fallen in with the forms noted in B.2/a. Apparently ĭ is the normal vowel resulting from the mutation of io before w in West Saxon (see Campbell §300 fn 2 and SB 107, note 5) and this is seen in forms such as gehiwode 297 or niwnysse 878. See also 3/d for ēo in such forms. Examples of isolative unrounding of ȳ 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 ȳ to appear as the monophthongisation of ĭe. The West Saxon i-umlaut of ea is reflected in ahwyrf 428, cyrran 913, gecyrran 259, etc, of eo or io in afyrreð 740, andlyfene 239, 479, byrhtnysse 365, etc, of ēa in alyfað 822, gehyrsum 17, gelyfde 743, etc, and of īo in ansyne 12 times, gesyne 448, bystrum 221, bystre 20, 126, 367, etc. The West Saxon īe resulting from vowel contraction is reflected in fynd 302, frynd 939, getyd 153, bry 517, 535, 556.

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

in near 494. (See Campbell §151.)

(l) The late West Saxon levelling of ǣ into the past system of rǣcan (where Anglian retains ā) is seen in gerehte 516.

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

(n) The late West Saxon smoothing (Campbell §312) of ea appears in astrehte 691, astrehtom 63, beget 503, eestre 168, gefehst 292, drehte 543, 566, rehte 730, gerehte 592, 730 and geseh 122. Similar smoothing of ēa is probably reflected also in nehst 758, nextan 4 times, genehlice 645, nehfreonde 534, nehþeode 47 and nehþeode† 619. Although these latter forms could be explained alternatively as representing the Anglian smoothing of ēo, this explanation seems less likely within the context of this text; either must be granted possible. Many instances of this smoothing in Laud Miscellany 509 are listed by Wilkes (1905, p. 138).

(o) The i-umlaut of o appears sporadically in forms of morgen : ærenmergen 813, ærnemergen 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 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

-ina- and -ana-, which are related by gradation'.

(p) The West Saxon tendency to level under wur- the group w + short vowel + r is seen in wurþigan 156, gewurþod 889, wurðað 205, wurþode 98 and wurðmynt 948. Campbell (§322) points out that levelling when the vowel is y is rarely seen. One instance occurs in the Life : wurma 438; and other examples are listed for Læud Miscellany 509 by Wilkes (1905, p. 126).

3 non West Saxon features

(a) Anglian ē appears once for primitive Old English ā(where West Saxon has ē 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 beget 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 cestre 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, Hatton 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 i-umlaut of ēa is reflected in dremdon 581 and also in unebnysse 779 and unedȝnysse 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/a above) rather than of Anglian i-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 i-umlaut of ea has taken place. See Campbell §200.

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

The Anglian i-umlaut of īo may be reflected in such forms as steowed 58, steowod 64, getreowa 261, getreowan 271, 368, gebeoded

487, 576, etc, but, as Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 115) points out, ēo is not uncommon in such forms in West Saxon texts. If, indeed, the mutation there of ĕo is ĭo and if ĭo had in these words been replaced early enough by ĕo 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 i. 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 neoðan 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 underneoþan 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 a would normally be expected. This eagospind 767 shows an umlaut not found in the Mercian dialect of the Vespasian Psalter Gloss where æ resulting from the fronting of a is retained before c and g (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 haga and its compounds, for example Rushworth Gospels 21, 33 and Lorica Glosses 34, this form cannot be described any more precisely than non-West Saxon.

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

In eghwonen 316 ē is from ǣ, the i-umlaut of ā. The fronting of the consonant g was prevented, or perhaps removed, because another consonant followed; instead Anglian smoothing to ē appears (Campbell §233).

See B.2/i and B.2/n 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/n and 3/b). The form seeðnysse 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 hale 790 shows Anglian retraction of g general before l + consonant (see Campbell §143). Compensatory lengthening probably followed upon the loss of χ, 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 ēo for ēa appear in leofe 577 and asweoll 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 hwærf 203 and perhaps also in slaðe 606 is the result of late Old English monophthongisation (Campbell §329). The spelling ea for æ in heafdon 65 also illustrates this tendency.

The tendency towards this late Old English monophthongisation of ĕa is reflected also in forms where ĕa is a back spelling for ē : streale 245, 247, ealce 315; and in lafa 584.

Although it would be possible to explain the vowel of glæwlice 15 as an inverted spelling due to the effect of this monophthongisation

(as SB §126 (1) note 2), this form may reflect an earlier phonological process by which the diphthong ǣu had approximated to the Old English ēa diphthong, with analogical reintroduction of -w- (see Campbell §273).

5 a note on the accents of the manuscript

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 ā, ǣfen, ār, ārgefremed, ārra, etc. Rather less often a mark will occur over the second element in a compound noun : forð-fóre 747, 815, 869, 873, 905, lareowdóme 152, morgengebedtída 380, norðdǽl 341, norðrǽ 172, ælcrǽce 97, wisdóm 683. In some sixty instances the verbal prefix is unmarked and stress is indicated by an accent placed above the root syllable, for example abǽde 28, abídan 333, abréd 919, ahóf 795, 841, alǽded 772, alǽdon 475, etc. In a few cases the mark is placed over the second syllable in an adjectival or adverbial form : foresǽde 460, gelíce 320, geréd 186, ormǽdum 851, unméta 342 and unmættra 252. The mark occurs also above a secondary syllable which contains a long vowel in the loanword ambrósie 862 and

above both vowels in the compound adjective ánræd 269.

The verbal prefix is less often marked for emphasis than is the root, in finite forms seven times in all : ǽgewealdon 287, ǽhengon 399, ǽidlode 305, ǽwunode 557, 834, ǽbolode 349 and ǽngyrede 634; and in non-finite forms six times : ǽnforgitende 732, mísorocet 322, geán-rotsod 778, ofǽnumene 744, ǽngeendodan 839 and ǽnoferswybed 278. The prefix un- is marked also in adjectives and adverbs : ǽngelic 847, ǽngeliclice 847, ǽngeornfulne 899, ǽngewunelican 921, ǽnmanige 164, 312, etc; and in the noun ǽnebnysse 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 : béarn 836, bewínde 802, 806, hánd 61, gelámp 312, 748, 768, nólde 802, sang 784, bórn 633, 648 and, in a secondary syllable, in ansúndne 875. However, these forms are perhaps best regarded as emphatic, for accent marks occur over quite a fewmore vowels where no such explanation is available : ét 585, béd 693, bílwite 101, beféran 801, créft 669, créfte 279, dége 236, 256, 295, 848, 860, gyrstandége 669, fégernysse 367, féder 768, 809, 907, frégn 767, glédnysse 901, héfde 253, 781, héfdon 321, héofonum 801, hréfena 442, lúflice 714, nales þæt án þæt 432, mégen 158, 243, mégne 891, méssan 784, scóle 107, scúnode 727, tér 533, wés 247 and wrǽce 397. See the Commentary for notes on gódes 678, worulde 949 and áá 949. Accent marks appear also in verb forms where the root syllable is short : awǽcede 624, beswícen 430, for-hógode 308, gecóren 893, geslégen 852, geslégene 881, gestýred 907, upahófen 486 and, where a lengthening group follows the vowel, onbærndest

C : 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/ja stems is illustrated by the genitive singular forms fennas 187, sealm-sangas 214, hlawas 230 and by the nominative plural forms gastes 362, 387 and lsces 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 -un in benun 640, and two forms in -an, weolcan 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, medmycclan 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 dsn þan oðron 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 : þa andweardum 825 and to þam ecum gefean 843. One instance of -on in the weak noun declension should be noted here : ds þeowon 940.

(e) Some forms described in the glossary as dative singular are instances of the endingless locative : dæg 300, 772; wodnesdæg 758; and ham six times. This description should apply also perhaps to the 4 examples of mergen in the text and to ærenmergen 814 and ærnemergen 820.

(d) Once -a appears for the normal -e to be expected in a neuter a stem noun : worda 514. Final -a for -e is seen also in mægda 933. One example of -e for the -a general in the genitive plural may appear in cyrelice endebyrdnysse 872, but see Commentary. In burh godes gyfu 421 the noun inflexion may stand either for the accusative or dative singular -e.

(e) The dative inflexion has altogether disappeared in þam orð 830 which reflects contraction also in the non-inflected forms of the accusative singular : orð 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 blod 842 can be described as an accusative form. Similar loss of inflexion very likely explains the noun form in of þam in 511, but see Commentary for a longer note on this word.

(f) The weak genitive plural inflexion of nǽddrena 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 yldrena 44, 436, 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 blostman 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 ancersetle 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, mildheortnysse 473, unclænnysse 570, untrumnysse 766, mettrumnysse 769, ongitenysse 770, unebnysse 778, untrumnysse 792, godcundnysse 865 (see Commentary) and glædnysse 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 -n appears in the accusative singular hys agene lichama 530 but cannot be argued with any certainty for nama 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 hædda 660 and dative Be bam halgan biscope sancte hædde 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 ō-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.

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

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

The only forms of nouns in -nd- where mutation would be expected show the mutation : npl. frynd 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 anmode 924, forhtlice 919, 921; nsn witedomlice 500, forwyrde 358 (see Commentary); n/apln cuðe 587, towearde 203. Conversely -e is absent where it might be expected in the nplm unhyrsum 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

mennisce 729, asf ana 51, asn unmeta werod 342, dsf of his agenra handa 480, gpl clænere gebanca 213.

(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 discussion of this tendency in noun inflexions.

(c) Two weak adjective forms show (as Gonser 1909, p. 98 points out) loss of final -n : þa byrnenda lega 346 and þa maran 7 unmettra synna 252. To these examples can be added þæs foresprecena wræccan 933 and perhaps þone sadiga wer 571 (but see note for these words in the Commentary). Compare the examples of loss of this consonant in weak nouns, see C.1/h above.

(d) The genitive plural inflexion appears in three places as -a instead of -ra : þara andwearda 658; þara æfwearda 658; and þara wynsumesta blostman stenc 831; and perhaps also with -e for -a in cyrclice 872 (see also C.1/d).

3 vowels of inflexions in verbs

(a) All instances of the plural subjunctive inflexion -en have been levelled away to -on in the Life. Distinctive subjunctive verb forms cannot therefore be recognised any longer in the preterite plural verb forms which are thus ambiguous. (The only overt plural subjunctive 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 syncopation is found frequently in second and third person singular forms of the present indicative in strong verbs (for example _geseeð_ 891), forms without the syncope (and some of these showing the effects of _i_-umlaut) also appear, for example _afligeð_ 465, _drigast_ 291, _dreogeð_ 89, _begitest_ 737, _begytest_ 739. A mixture of this sort can however appear in West Saxon texts (Campbell §734).

(c) Unsyncopated 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 _hafast_ 423 and _hafað_ 428 in the _Life_; contrast _hæfst_ 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 _wenu_ may have appeared in the scribe's examplar, 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 _eardedon_ 282, _fandedon_ 278 and _wunedon_ 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 gesigefæstod 310.

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

(h) The late West Saxon -a- prevails in the inflexion of the inflected infinitive : forlætanne 723, axianne 811, scufanne 354, sendanne 356, secganne 822 against clænsienne 296 and forlætenne 656. Universal -enne 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 -on is suggested by the appearance of pt pl genaman 380 and inf weopon 382; see the Commentary and compare II.4/C.1(b) above.

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

4 adverbial inflexions

(a) The adverbial inflexion -e is absent from fæger 15. Both the previous editors normalise this form.

(b) The accusative singular neuter adjective lang 172 is probably used adverbially (see also Commentary). It would be possible to regard fæger 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 -nysse in the nominative singular see 1/h above.

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

(c) The verbal prefix ġe- appears once as ġ, in ġbær 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 ancerum 827, bysmerum 334, eardedon 282, and, in secondary word elements of reduced force, earfeðum 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 i or y, as in miccle 65, miccles 647, wætre 558, etc, but is by no means unusual in other circumstances, for example cyrcan occurs 6 times for one instance of cyricean 556, also egsan 352, 400, egsum 180, etc. Loss arises also after a short vowel and before a consonant group, for example æbelstan 48, 52, efstan 123, efston 620, monð 935, orð 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 ancra 545, 885, ancran 827. It is worth note that, except in the common adjective halig (which may have been influenced by the cognate verb -hālgian), 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 i̯ and u̯ after a short syllable to ii̯ and uu̯ is found throughout the Life, for example awyrigeda 304, awerigedan 247 (and many other examples in this word), and swalawan 481, swalewan 485. Like ig of earlier origin this ii̯ can be monophthongised to i, as in filian 774, awyrgdan 541, 662, etc. The late West Saxon svarabhakti vowel may be seen in ecere 5, sumere 436, 455 and bissere 223 and as a connecting vowel in fulwihtebæbeg 78, gemyndelicre 887, etc. (See Campbell §365-67).

D : Consonants

1 g

For the loss of g after front vowels in accented syllables see B.2/b. The late West Saxon tendency for i to become ii is noted in C.6/d. 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, wurðigan 156, hasrunigendum 322, lifigendum 916 beside blissiende 485, bysmrian 280, cunnian 671, etc.

Unvoicing of final g is indicated by the form binc 508 and may also be shown by the -gc of fengc 702, hringc 927, lengc 25, 543, 929, onfengc 85, bingc 36, 509, 840, 844. This -gc is extended to inflected forms also : ahengce 470, bigengea 364, 671, bigengean 176, kyningce 903, gretingce 5, onfengce 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, arfæstlice 704, eagospind 776, and consonants, rade 144 and rædlicnysse 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, heannysse 340, 376,

846, although widely considered as pointing towards an early date (see Vleeskruyer 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 hn to nn 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 n

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 þām to þan, as for example ds m/n þan 18, 175, 445, etc and once in plural þan 143 (see Sprockel 1965, p. 59 fn 1).

4 intrusive consonants

Intrusive b 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 gestunum has been confused with gestundum; intrusive t appears in mistlice 98.

5 Loss of x

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

6 w

The not infrequent loss of w between another consonant and u (Campbell §470) is seen in tuxum 440 beside twuxan 320.

Negated verbs with loss of w occur only in the declension of the verbs willan and 'to be' : for examples of næs, nære and nys see under wesan in the glossary; for nelt, nellað 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 ĕ is normally represented therefore by i, for example begiten 454, begitest 757, forgifenysse 601 or less often by y, as in scyld 211, scylde 445, scyran 417. The diphthongisation of ĕ̄ is usually ĕ̆a, as in forgeaf 433, geaf 702, ongean 343, 356, 460, ongeaton 145, sceare 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 ēa resulting from initial palatalisation can become ē, as in cestre 168, beget 503, geseh 122.

A glide vowel does not always appear before back vowels after the new palatal sċ and is absent for example from scole 107, scotungum 210, sculdra 487 and scunode 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 t + d, for example gefylst 174, ungegret 200, miscrocet 322. The final unvoicing reflected in behealt þu 796 may be a sandhi feature : contrast geheald þu 825. Occasionally it is argued that the presence in an Old English text of words with -fn- not assimilated to mn (e.g. by Vleeskruyer 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 acsan 359, axianne 811, acsode 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.

E

A brief account of the main phonological features of interest in the Guthlac homily of the Vergelli 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 e 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 e 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 (Bülbring §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 Vercelli Book, can be emphasised as evidence for an early West Saxon recension of this homily.

2 late West Saxon features

(a) The e of nellað 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 i̯ in the neighbourhood of labials, liquids and r 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 i̯e in most positions where this would have appeared. The West Saxon i-umlaut of ea (the breaking of æ) is reflected in cyrran 26, gecyrred 73, cyrde 22, etc, and of ea (which arose through initial palatalisation) in scyppend 74. Palatal umlaut is reflected in syx 69 (see Campbell §305). The West Saxon umlaut of ēa (< au) is seen in hrymedon 93,

hrymdon 94, gymde 106, etc, and perhaps in onsyne 75, 87, 88 (which may alternatively have developed from *sahni). The i-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 ȳ to be replaced by ī 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 palatisation of g are noted in E.1/b above. This palatalisation of g occurs in geaf 131, ongeat 76, sceal 64 and of g in ongeaton 78.

Palatal glides are found before all back vowels, for example sceancan 92, geond 12, 80, geondstregde 14, sceotode 41, etc. In geara 2, 51, the West Saxon restoration of ā 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 iu 2, 51.

(g) The late West Saxon development of a + nasal in reduced stress to æ is seen in mænego 85 and mænigre 88 (but see also Commentary) - Campbell §193(d) and fn 4. Alternatively the forms can be explained as representing the i-umlaut of a, due to the suffix -ig (instead of suffix -ag) - Sprockel 1965, p. 15.

(h) For the West Germanic a before a nasal consonant a is general in the homily : andswarude 129, andweardan 61, began 10, land 80, etc; o appears only in words usually in low sentence stress

such as ond- prefix, þonne 6 times, tosomne 115, lichoman 70 (see Campbell §333).

3 non West Saxon features

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

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

(c) The unrounding of the second element of eo is seen in tesla 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 ofergeotol 118 shows this umlaut in a non-West Saxon context.

(e) Anglian ē for ǣ appears in wecgean 58, wegst 59 and wecgest 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 ĕ̄ and ĕ̆a 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 -ig- for -i- is found frequently in infinitives and present participles : alifigean 8, bysmrigan 104, clænsigeanne 66, witigende 107, etc. The breaking of ĭ 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/h 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 hyðe 120 and possible loss of final -n in a 64 and in ða werigea 128 (but see also the Commentary). The compound ancersetl 5 shows the West Saxon tl rather than the Anglian ld found so often in the poetic codices. The late Old

English tendency for initial *gĕa* and *ĕa* to fall together (Campbell §303) is reflected in *earo* 133, *geadige* 80 and *geardodan* 51. The older *beg* 48 stands beside 7 instances of *be* for the accusative singular of *bē*.

F : Vocabulary

1 It is now generally agreed that the earliest form of the Old English translation of Felix's Vita Guthlaci 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 Vespasian 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 Vercelli 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 eorhwinnendan 17, græswang 13, heolstre 140, onbræc 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 gefeonde 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. Vocabulary 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 texts 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. Gonser (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 vocabula ry. 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 abædan, rec, semninga, wære, 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 Vleeskruyer's edition of the Chad homily (Vleeskruyer 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 ws. 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 envisualised for the Blickling Homilies by Menner (1949, pp. 56-64) and Willard (1960, p. 41).

AC The use of ac 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 ac, Klaeber 1950, p. xcv, Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 26). There are in the Life 12 examples (see glossary for list) of ac 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). Vleeskruyer (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 bregean with the Life 362 egsian. He does not note Hly 16 brogan (emended out of the text by Gonser) nor Life 180 brogum.

(GE)CYRRAN 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)cyrran is represented 6 times in the Life and 3 in the Homily; it is found also with other verbal prefixes (as oncyrred 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 cige.

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

NALÆS ÞÆT AN ÞÆ·T.

(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 Aelfric'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).

FORδFAR 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 _ascian_ x 9) is not unexpected in a text heavily revised in the eleventh century.

GÆSTLI$\eth$NES This noun, found in _Life_ 916 _gæstliþnesse_, 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 _gæliðnes_ 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 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[1], 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. 29) 'more current in Anglian than WS'; in this respect it is comparable with the cognate verb (ge)feon 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 gefeannesse.

GEWINN 'toil' The noun gewinn in the sense 'toil' is represented 6 times in the Life and the verb winnan 'work' occurs in the Hly 17 earhwinnendan. 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.

HEAH- compounds are, according to Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 29), common in Mercian prose. He gives among his examples Life 47 hehþeode. The same word is seen in the manuscript at line 619 but is emended in the text to nehþeode. 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.

HLEOÞRIAN The preterite hleoþrode is found in Life 325 and Hly 96. Both hleoþrian and the cognate noun hleoþor are generally described as poetic and Anglian (Sweet 1896 under hleoþor, 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.

HWÆTHWEGO 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)ugo in West Saxon texts. The element is twice represented in the Guthlac texts, at Life 795 and 835 hwæthwego. 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-xliv) 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 Ælfredian 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. Vleeskruyer (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 (osuga) 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 105 iumanna (MS ~~ge~~-). Klaeber (1904, p. 433) suggests that the compound is Anglian, as does Jordan (1906, p. 66 fn 2) who notes that the instance in MtB 1.23 is one of four Anglian words in that text. The word may have been poetic.

LEORNIAN Klaeber (1904, pp. 367 ff.) observes that this verb is not used in the sense 'read' in classical West Saxon, but Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 31) notes one example in the Preface to the Old English Boethius (geleornode 8) and compares Pastoral Care 4.20. The sense is perhaps obsolescent in the late Old English period. Vleeskruyer points out that examples occur in the Gathlac texts; they appear only in the Life (suitable contexts not appearing in the Homily). See examples listed in the glossary under leornere, leornian and leornung.

MEDMYCEL The adjective is described by Hecht (1900, II. 153 and fn 9) as im klassischen ws. nicht heimisch and is regarded as Anglian in character by Scherer (1928, p. 16). Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 31) thinks the adjective characteristic of Mercian, but finds examples of it also in Northumbrian (in the Durham Ritual) and in the West Saxon Benedictine Rule (one example only : (me)dmycclum 106.6. He points out that, although used by Ælfric, the word was obviously unfamiliar to late West Saxon scribes and notes that against Life 306 ~~m~~dmycelan

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. xliv-xlix). Gonser (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.

Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 31 fn 3) suggests that the prepositional formulae incorporating mid were unfamiliar to late Old English scribes, for often þa or þa þa 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.

NÆNIG / NAN In West Saxon texts nan is preferred to nænig. A tendency existed for revisers of old writings to substitute nan for nænig (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 nænig 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 recognise that it can indicate age but not dialect, for Sisam (1953, p. 294) quotes Alfredian examples which show that the form nænig was evidently general in Old English in earlier times.

NALÆS ÞÆT AN ÞÆT See EAC SWYLCE.

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 Æðelwold and Ælfric. On the other hand he observes that it is very common in the Dialogues and the Old English Bede. The verb cannot serve by itself as an indication of dialect origin, but may perhaps be allowed to reinforce the evidence of more certain Anglian forms. There are two instances of the verb in the texts, Life 632 and 790 geneosian.

-NES 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 recognise 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 deopnysse. These examples illustrate the general tendency for proportionately more obsolescent forms to appear in the Homily than the Life.

REC 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 _smic_ in later manuscripts (citing III. 1803). The noun appears once only in the Old English Guthlac translation in _Hly_ 74 _rec_ and the scribe may have expected it at line 121 where he writes _receas tunge_ (for _rescetunge_, see Commentary). In both instances the corresponding passages are absent from the _Life_.

SCEÞÞAN / DERIAN The verb _sceþþan_ 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/cild** or **frignan/ascian** for example (Jordan 1906, p. 7) and cannot usefully be drawn. The root is represented once in _Life_ 652 _sceðnysse_.

SCYNDAN 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. Gonser (1909, p. 49) quotes the form among those words he groups under the description _poetisch-anglisch_, here referring to Klaeber to justify his inclusion of it in this list.

SEAÐ / PYTT The form _seað_ 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 _seað_ is noted by Jordan (1906, p. 97), on whose judgment presumably Gonser depends in placing the word among those given the description _poetisch-anglisch_

(1909, p. 49). 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 anglisch gefärbten Texten wie Vita Guthlaci, 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 færlice once at line 64; in the Homily, however, semninga occurs 5 times and the fær- forms not at all.

SMYLTNES The form smyltnysse 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 snyttru 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

Life: snyttro 684 and 901 and wisdom 44 and 683.

STRÆL / 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 Cynewulf (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.

YMBSELLAN This word has recently been reinstated as evidence for Anglian origin, for the reference to its use by Wulfstan given in Rauh (1936, p. 13) does not appear in the corpus now attributed to him (Menner 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 Hly 17 earhwinnendan. See discussion of gewinn 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 ancersetl; dremdon 581; goldhord 894; Hly 15 grœswang (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); nydbearf 596; Hly 125 onbræc (poetic according to Gonser 1909, p. 51, but see Commentary); sigefæsta 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 wæðdon (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 : adreah 83 (and 3 instances of dreogan forms; the verb is thought obsolescent by Hecht 1900, II. p. 156); æfter þon in adverbial phrases and prepositional formulae x 19 (compare with entry for mid above);

æfæstnysse 672 (Hecht 1900, II. p. 151 fn 3 thinks æfæst infrequent in Old English); æfbancas 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 clypunge and Life 353 cleopunge (compare the beot- forms where the eleventh century reviser apparently cuts the earlier instance but finds the second less strange and allows it to remain); ehtnysse 113, 726; gegyrelan 234 (used in late West Saxon by ÆElfric but otherwise infrequent); Hly 14 geondstregde; Hly 116 gomum; geunrotsod 778 and 926 (compare Hecht 1900, p. 142); Hly 120 hyðe; 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); leaslicetunge 98 (see Commentary); onbærndest 355; Hly x 4 ondrysenlic- but Life not at all (see the list of apparent synonyms in F.4); Hly 121 recestunge (see Commentary); tælnysse 26; Hly x 2 þeaw (Hecht 1900, p. 156 shows this word being replaced and see note for Life 240); ungebeawe 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 ætfealh 12 : befeal 241

afylled 91 : gefylde 320; afylled 113 : ymbseald 342

awyrgeda 74 : awyrigeda 304 (compare entries for werig- / Hly)

B bærndest 127 : onbærndest 355

begferede 78 : bileofode 307 (compare entry for feorh / Hly)

begman 10 : ongan 238

bemurnon 79 : sorhgodon 309

bæron 108 : tugon 327

betweoh 95 : betweox 325; betuh 101 : betwux 330; betuh 110 : betwux 339; betwuh 122 : betwux 349

bidan 103 : ábidan 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.

bregean 134 : egsian 362

bysmrigan 105 : different phrasing in Life. Hly 105 mid maran brogan bysmrigan 7 wæcan : Life 334 mid maran bysmerum swencan 7 costian

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

cyrran 26 : gecyrran 255

cunedon 47 : fandedon 278

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

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

drefde 119 : abolode 349; gedrefed 20 : gedrefed 248 (only occurrence 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 : reðelice 319; egeslice 87 : egslice 319; egeslicum 95 : egeslicum 325 (note different reading in only one of 3 instances)

eardodan 54 : wunedon 286 (but both use eardian 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.

eft swa 27 : efne swa 257; Swylce eft 82 : Swylc 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 fæste 27 : fæstlice 258; fæste 39 : fæste 272

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

feond 74 : gast 304 (but both use feond forms in two other places, v. Hly 12 and 72)

feorh 78 : lif 307 (with verb change, compare entry for begferede / Hly)

feng 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)

frætwigean 69 : gefrætwian 299

gefyldon 86 : fyldon 315

fyrena 23 : synna 250 (Life does not use fyren 'sin')

G gebundenum 98 : Life 327 gebundon has changed construction

gefeannesse 142 : gefean 369 (Life has no instance of this hapax legomenon)

genipa 113 : beostra 342

gemetegung 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

geswencendnesse 29 : geswincnysse 259

gomum 116 : -stowum 345 (See entry for tintreges / Hly)

geaf 131 : sealde 359

græswang 13 : This and the following word are in a clause not found in Life.

grimmesse 14 : see note for previous word.

gylta 59 : in phrase absent from Life.

H heofoncundre 39 : gastlicre 271; heofoncundre 142 : heofonlican

369; (but Life 751 heofoncundan is one instance of word)

heolstre 140 : þeostre 367

hracan 91 : þrotan 320

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

hyðe 120 : clause absent from Life

I in : on + acc. 39 : 272, 132 : 360; + d. 1 : 228, 30 : 260, 37 : 270, 53 : 284, 55 : 286, 140 :367; + acc/d. 127 : 367

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

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

leglican 120 : corresponding passage absent from Life

M 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

misscrence 93 : miscrocet 322 (see Commentary)

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

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

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

ofergeotol 118 : forgitende 347

ofslogon 56 : ofaslógon 287

on - see under in above; in both texts on predominates, but it is proportionately better represented in the earlier manuscript.

ondrysenlice 90 : fule 319; ondrysenlice 92 : ongristlice 321; andrysenlicum 110 : ongryrlican 339; ondrysenlican 114 : corresponding passage absent from Life. (The adjective ondrysenlic is not used in the Life.)

onþræc 125 : wæs .. afyrht 352

R rec 74 : smic 304

rescetunge† 121 : corresponding passage absent from Life

S seald 126 : geseald 354

semninga 113 : færinga 342 (but Life has semninga forms x 3)

seaþ 4 : wæterseað 231; seaþe 4 : seaðe 231

smicendan 117 : corresponding passage absent from Life

sprecenan 1 : adjective absent from Life

swefles 121 : corresponding passage absent from Life

swiðra 113 : swiðlicra 342

swiðlice 124 : swyðe 352

T tealа 65 : tela 295; tealа 76 : méd- 306

teldað 15:todæleð 243

tintreges 116 (gomum) : tintrehstowum 345; tintrega 118 : tintrega 348; mid .. tintregum tintregud[123] : tintregedon 351

togenes 115 : ongean 343 (ongean found more often than togeanes x 2 in Life)

þ þohte 6 : gebohte 233

gebence 73 : oncnawe 303

þeowdome 11 : þeawe 240 ; þeowdom 83 : phrase absent in Life (but compare meaning of Life þeowdom 82

þingum 2 : wilnunga 230

bisma 117 (emended to brosma) : corresponding passage absent from Life

gebygde 77 : bigede 307

hit þuhte 95 : him þuhte 324 (construction change)

gebyddon 115 : gegaderodon 344 (note that Life has one other instance of this verb gegaderod 533 and no example of þydan)

þystran nihte 103 : þystrunge 332 (different phrasing)

U ungebwærnessum 95 : corresponding passage absent from Life

unnytte 76 : corresponding passage absent from Life

upgelæded 111 : see entry for læddon / Hly.

upgeotan 121 : corresponding passage absent from Life

W wæcan 106 : Life has different verb pair

wæddon 80 : corresponding passage absent from Life

weccean 58 : wæccan 289; wecst 7 weccest 58 : swinost 290

wurpon 100 : bewurpon 329

werigan 19, 108 : awerigedan 247, 338; werigan 78 : awyrigedan 308; werigra 85 : awyrigedra 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.

Y ylding 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 betweox 325 etc (see under betweoh/Hly) have the vowels to be expected before breaking consonants, either eo (< io < ī) 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 prefixes 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.

wītedōmlīc 'prophetical' : Life 257, 500, 572 and Hly 28 witedomlice.

(b) in Life only

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

cnihtlīc 'boyish, childish' : cnihtlicu 99, cnihtlice 96

cnihtwīse 'boy's way' : cnihtwisan 94

crǣcetung 'cawing' : crǣcetung 442; note in Commentary.

ēarfþ 'stream' : ēaribas 170; note in Commentary.

efenhæfdling 'equal, comrade' : efenhæfdlingas 107; compare efenhēafda forms.

geblīþe 'happy' : gebliþe 754; discussed in the Commentary.

*gerisen 'seizure, seizing' : gerisne 738; discussed in the Commentary.

gebēot 'howling' : gebeot 442; cognate with þēotan 'roar, howl'.

gewitfæst 'sane' : gewitfæst 626

hēhþēod 'noble people' : hehþeode 47 (but not at line 619)

hlūttorlīcnys 'purity, sincerity' : hluttorlicnysse 145; compare hlūttornes forms.

lēaslīcetung 'dissimulation' : leaslicetunge 98; compare WW 388.33 Dissimulari, leasliccettan.

miscrōcet 'crooked' : miscrocet 322; see Commentary for one possible Middle English example.

nēhfrēond 'relation' : nehfreonda 534; compare the Old Norse nǽfrændi.

*ongryrlīc 'horrible' : ongryrlican 339; BT suggest that this may be a mistake for ongryslican, as ongristlice 321 occurs in this text. However, it will be seen from T.4 that the four instances of the adjective ondrysenlic in the Homily do not always have the same form against them in the Life. Although this ongryrlican 339 appears nowhere else, the occurrence of the simplex gryrelic 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.

*slēfan 'slip on' (?) : slefde 645; discussed in the Commentary.

tintrehstōw 'place of torture' : tintrehstowum 345

trēowgewrid 'thicket of trees' : treowgewrido 171; compare under gewrid in F.5/a above.

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

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

ungegrēt 'unsaluted, ungreeted' : ungegret 200; compare simplex grētan.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(c) in Homily only

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

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

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

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

*misscrence 'withered' : misscrence 93; discussed in Commentary.

*onbrigan 'grow frightened' : onbræc 125; discussed in the Commentary.

C

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

EGE	dative singular	:	unmetlicre ege 324
EGESA	dative singular	:	for bæra egsan 352
FULTUM	dative singular	:	mid godcundre fultume 174
MOR	nominative plural	:	unmætre moras 169
ÞOFTSCIPE	dative singular	:	on gastlicre þoftscipe 483, 575
NAMA	accusative singular	:	burh þa halgan naman 710

Old English neuter nouns

EGLAND	dative singular	:	to bære forespreccenan eglande 551
GESTUN	dative plural	:	ungemetlicre gestundum 323
GESWINC	dative singular	:	mid woruldlicre geswince 83

substantives in congruance with unhistorical masculine or neuter attributive forms

Old English feminine nouns

ADL	nominative singular	:	se adl 757
GESPRAEC	dative singular	:	hlihhende gespræce 611
ONGITENYS	nominative singular	:	þes ongitenysse 770
SNYTTRO	genitive(?) singular	:	heofonlice snyttro 683
TID	dative (?) singular	:	on arfæstlice tíde 704
TURF	dative (?) singular	:	under ane tyrf 612
ÞENUNG	dative singular	:	to þam ylcan benunge 885-6
UNGEÞWÆRNYS	dative singular	:	fram þisum ungeþwærnysse 452

Old English masculine noun

ÞEODSCIPE	accusative singular	:	on þæt þeodscipe 544

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 gewince 83 it could be argued that the scribe gives this reading in mistake for geswincnysse, 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 etymogically 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 þes cwenes 44.68 (Clark's edition, page and line reference) and the accusative þone 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 evinced', that is 'normal OE'. 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, femine, and neuter.

He argues that neutralization is to be seen as a tendency of the Rushworth Gospels and of the Ancren Riwle, the Ayenbite and Orm, but suggests that in the Lindisfarne 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 :

unmetlicre ege 324; for bere egsan 352; mid god-
cundre fultume 174; on gastlicre boftscipe 483, 575
and to bere forespreecenan eglande 551.

So probably does mid woruldlicre geswince 83. Two other instances of -re in historically unjustifiable positions do not, however, conform 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 within its context :

and hi ba swá ungemetlicre gestundum foron 7 swá
unmetlicre ege 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 reason for the error. The scribe had used this same adjective two lines previously in the genitive form, unmetre mycelnysse 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 halgan naman 710

The previous editors emend ba to bone. Certainly there are no examples 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 þa 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 :

> hlihhende gesprace 611; heofonlice snyttro 683; on ærmestlice tide 704; under ane tyrf 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 þe sumum arwyrðe lifes broþor 712.) The examples of þam and þisum 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 þa of line 710, no emendation is made. Similarly, no change is made in the manuscript forms se adl 757 and þes ongitenysse 770 as these cannot in this text be described with any conviction as the results of scribal error.

The emphatic demonstrative function of þæt noted first by von Glahn (1918, p. 37) is seen in on þæt þeodscipe 544.

(b) A few other phrases in which the possibility of gender change is not a problem should be noted together :

Seo strange sæ . 7 mycele 27 (nominative for accusative ?);

þone broþor sarig 463 (adjective without accusative inflexion?);

Eac þone eadiga wer 571 (accusative article where nominative to be expected ?);

þæs andlyfene 928
þæs eahtoþan dæge 756
þises rice 928
) (where the genitive case inflexion does not appear in the manuscript readings);

þone gast 843 (where previous editors think emendation from þone 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 þe 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. Vleeskruyer (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 Guthlac, an imitative and more or less compilatory 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 eallum limum gebundenum

Hly 68 gedafenað þane man

which suggest a wording more under the influence of the Vita text than do

Life 327 eallum limum gebundon

Life 298 gedafenað þam

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 Guthlaci. 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) :

> .. überwiegend anglischen und wohl merzischen Charakter. Zeitlich gehen die Originale wohl weiter (teilweise vielleicht noch ins 9. Jahrh.) zurück; auf alle Fälle gehören sie der Zeit vor Aelfric und Wulfstan an und charakterisieren sich, ähnlich wie die Blickling-Homilien, durch eine primitivere, 'enge' Übersetzungstechnik lateinscher Vorlagen, wenn auch diese noch nicht für alle Predigten ermittelt worden sind.

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 *dafenian* with an accusative instead of the dative usual outside other Old English translations. To these can perhaps be added *Hly* 95 *hit buhte* and the place of *þæt* in the clause *Hly* 7 *ac on fellenum gegyrlan þæt he wolde ealle ..* The use of the nominative group in *Hly* 66 *bið to glænsigeanne 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 *Homily* he twice, if not three times, duplicates some word or phrase (see the notes for *wecst 7 weccest* 59, *7 him for naht dyde* 81 and *wæs* 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 cige 29,

dreah 7 drefde 119, cunedon 7 costedon 47, weest 7 weccest 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 parallelled 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 Übersetzungswerken häufig findet, kommt in unserem Stücke 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 Aelfric'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 Guthlaci 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 translator. This suggestion can be put forward only because loss and excision 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 Vercelli 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 simplification 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 þa sona þone halgan wer eallum limum gebundon. 7
> hi hine tugon 7 lædon. 327

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 þu beon gemyndig*

Vita 1257 *noli timere* : *Life* 923 *ne wylt þu þe onrædan*

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, *tacn* 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 þas þing* 817 or *alyfað* 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 n (see C.1/h and C.2/c) and the indication of the unvoicing of final g 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 F.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 F.2 for an examination of those in which confidence has often been placed and F.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 afweardan 824, afwearda 658, anwyldnysse 11, arwurðnysse 865, 884, deaþberendan 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 Layamon'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 Guthlaci 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, Kln/Klipstein, Gsr/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 xxi, together with homily xxiii from the Vercelli Book

Vita sancti Guthlaci from MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389

VRVM WEALDENDE RIHTGELYFENDVM A WORVLDa woruld mimum þam leofestan (18r)
hlaforde ofer ealle oðre men eorðlice kyningas . alfwold east-
engla kyning . mid rihte 7 mid gerisenum rice healdend . Felix
þone rihtan geleafan gesette eallum geleafullum godes folcum .
7 ecere gesundfulnysse hælo 7 gretingce gesend . þinum wordum
7 bebodum ic hyrsumode . Ða boc ic gesette þe þu tæhtest†. Þe
life þæs arwurðan gemynde GVÐHLACES hluttrum wordum 7 tacnum .
Ic forþan halsige 7 bidde þone gelæredan 7 þone geleafullan .
gif he her hwylc hleahterlic word onfinde . þæt he þæt us ne
wite . Ac gemune 7 geþenceælc þara tælendra . 7 hleahterfulra

1 opening V a large green capital 5 gesend : Gdn em. gesende
6 tæhtest, MS ahtest, Gdn em. tæhtest, Gsr em. ahstest 7 þæs :
Gdn, Gsr em. þære 8 geleafullan : Gdn geleaffullan

INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN VITA SANCTI GVTHLACI (18r)

IN DOMINO DOMINORVM domino meo mihi præ ceteris regalium primatuum
gradibus dilectissimo . aelfuualdo regi orientalium anglorum rite
regimina regenti . felix†catholicæ congregationis uernaculus
perpetue prosperitatis in cristo salutem*; Iussionibus tuis
obtemperans libellum quem de uita patris beatæ memoriæ guthlaci
conponi præcepisti . simplici uerborum uimine textum . non
absque procacitatis inpudentia*institui ; Ea tamen fiducia coram
obtuli . obsecrans ut si ullatenus ut fore arbitror illic uitiosus
sermo aures eruditi lectoris perculserit . litteram in fronte*
paginæ ueniam poscentem intendat ; Reminiscatur quoque efflagito

1 red rubric, IN VITA added in black ink overhead 2 IN DOMINO
DOMINORVM green, initial I large decorated capital, following letters
filling first line of script 4 *s.ego 5 *s. mitto
8 * i. uerecundia 10 *i.in principio

þæt on worde† godes rice ne wunað† ac on ánwylnysse þæs halgan geleafan.
7 þa hælo middaneardes . Ac gemune 7 geþence . na fram idelum
þancum geþoht . ac fram fiscerum gebobod 7 gesæd . Ac gif hwylc
man ure angin 7 weorc tæle . swa ic menige wat on angelcynne
mid þam fægerum stafum gegylde . fæger 7 glæwlice gesette . þæt
hig þas boc self settan mihton . ne wíte he þonne us swa neode
7 hæse gehyrsum . 7 word gefyldon . Forþan lá þu leornere gif
þu mid þan þeawe tælendra me hleahtrige . warna þe sylfne þær

---

11 þæt on worde godes, MS þa on godes : Gdn, Gsr em. þæt on wordum godes; wunað, MS wuniað : Gdn, Gsr em. wunað 12 Ac gemune : Gdn, Gsr em., omitting Ac 15 fæger : Gdn, Gsr em. fægere 16 sylf : Gdn em. sylfe; swa neode : Gdn em. swa (we) neode 17 gehyrsum : Gdn em. gehyrsumodon

quia regnum dei non in uerborum facundia sed in fidei constantia
persistit ;† Salutem dominum quidem seculo non ab oratoribus sed (18v)
a piscatoribus predicatum fuisse sciat ; Sancti quoque hieronimi
dicta meminerit : qui rem ridiculam esse arbitratus est : ut sub
regulis donati grammatici uerba cælestis oraculi restringeret ;
Sed si forsitan alius animositatis nostrę fastibus hoc opus nos
arripere inputat : dum alii plurimi anglorum librarii coram ingen-
iositatis fluenta inter flores rethoricę per uirecta litturaturę
pure liquide lucideque riuantur . qui melius luculentiusue con-
ponere ualuerunt : sciat nos hoc oposculum non tam uolentię quam
oboedientię gratia incędisse ; Propterea laboris mei uotis o
lector quisquis es faueas . sin etiam . ut adsolet fieri more
obtrectatoris successeris : Caue ut ubi lucem putaueris ne a

16* redigeret uel reuocaret

þu þe hleahtres wene þæt þu þær semninga ne wurðe mid dymnysse
þystro ablend . þæt bið blindra þeaw þonne heo† on leohte beoð
þæt hig sylfe nyton buton hi on þeostrum dwelion . ‡ On halgum (18ᵛ)
gewrihtum bið oft unwisdom geciged . forþon se fruma ealles
yfeles ærest þonan cymð . For þisum þingum þonne þu leornere
ic þe manige þæt þu þa fremdan ne tæle . þe læs þu fram oþrum
eft swá fremde getæled sig . Ac þy læs ic lengo þone þanc
hefige þara leornendra mid gesegenum þara fremdra tælnysse swa
swa seo strange sæ . 7 mycele oferliðe . 7 nu becume to þære
smyltestan hyðe . GVÐLACES lifes . Forþon þu abæde æt me þæt

---

19 þe : caret mark and þe supplied above the line 20 heo : MS he, Gdn, Gsr em. hi 22 unwisdom geciged : Gdn, Gsr em. unwisdom blindnes geciged 27 swa seo : Gdn, Gsr em. swa ic

tenebris obceceris . id est ne cum rata* reprehenderis ignorantię
tenebris fuscæris ; Moris enim cecorum est cum in luce per-
ambulant : tunc in tenebris errare putant . lucem enim nesciunt . ‡ (19ʳ)
sed in tenebris semper oberrant ; Cæcitas enim ex parte in script-
uris ignorantia est ; ut apostolus dixit cecitas ex parte contigit
in israhel . donec plenitudo gentium subintraret ; Origo quidem
totius mali ab ignorantia uenit . quapropter admoneo te lector ut
aliena non reprehendas . ne ab aliis quasi alienus reprehendaris ;
Sed ne sensus legentium prolixę sententię molesta defensio obnubet .
pestiferis obtrectantium incantationibus aurea obturantes . uelut
transuadato uasti gurgitis æquore . ad uitam sancti guthlaci stilum
flectendo quasi ad portum uitę pergemus ; Quoniam igitur exigisti a

---

25* i.dicta

ic þe wríte 7 sæde be þære drohtnunge guðlæces 7 his lifes
bysene . Ic þe forþon hyrsumode 7 ic forþon wríte swa me þa
dihteras sædon þe his lif geornost cuðon . Ærest hwylc wære
se fruma oþþe on hwylcum ende he hit eft gelædde . for þisum
þingum ic þas bec sette . þæt þa þe his lif þæs eadigan weres
cuðon þæt him þonne þig geneahhor his lifes to gemyndum come .
7 þam oðrum þe hit ær ne cuþon swá swá ic him rúmne weg 7
gerædne tæhte . Þas þingc þe ic her on wríte . ic geleornode
fram gesegenum þæs arwyrðan abbodes wilfrides . Swilce eac

---

33 bec : Gdn, Gsr em. boc 36 gerædne : Gdn, Gsr geradne
37 Swilce : Gdn, Gsr Swilc

me ut de uita sancti guthlaci uel conuersatione tibi scriberem .
quemadmodum coeperit . quidue ante sanctum propositum fuerit .
uel qualem uitæ terminum habuerit : prout a dictantibus idoneis
testibus quos scitis audiui . addendi minuendique modum uitans .
eodem ortothemio* depinxi ; Ad huius utilitatis commodum hunc ‡ (19v)
codicellum fieri ratus sum . ut illis qui sciunt ad memoriam tanti
uiri nota reuocandi fiat : His uero qui ignorant uelut late
passe uię indicium notescat ; Non enim sine certissima inquisitione
rerum gestarum aliquid de tanto uiro scribebam : Nec tandem ea
quę scripsi sine subtilissima indubiorum testium sanctione
libratim scribendo quibusdam dare presumsi : Quin potius dili-
gentissime inquirens quantacumque scripsi inuestigaui a reuerent-
issimo quodam abbate uuilfrido . et a presbitero purę conscientię
ut arbitror cissan uel etiam ab aliis qui diutius cum uiro dei

---

41* i.positione

manige oðre me þæt sædon þe mid þam eadigan were wæron 7 his
lif hira eagum ofersawon . Ne tweoge ic aht þa mine dihteras
þæt hi mihton gemunan 7 eall asecgan þa wundru þises eadigan
weres . wæron hi swiðe wide cuðe 7 mære geond angelcynnes
land . Ic forþon þimum bebodum hyrsumede 7 þin word 7 willan
hæbbe gefylled 7 þæt gewrit þisse andweardan hyrðe†. swa ic
mihte mid wisdome minra foregengena ‡ 7 þære yldrena gesette . (19r)
þone fruman on þam fruman ic gesette . 7 þone ende in þam ende . .I. 45

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43 andweardan hyrðe. : MS andweardan . hyrde 44 minra : Gdn minre, em. minra; þære : Gdn em. þæra 45 .I. is maroon

conuersati uitam illius ex parte nouerant ; Ergo quantacumque
de uitę ipsius ortonomia stilo perstrinxero . minima de magnis .
pauca de plurimis audisse estimate ; Non enim ambigo illos
dictatores non omnia facta illius potuisse cognoscere : nec ab
illis tota dictata me descripsisse glorifico . sed ut tanti uiri
tantique nominis ‡ relatio conpleatur prout ubique miracula (20r)
ipsius fulserunt percontamini . referentibus ut singulis quę
nouere percunctantibus sequentis libelli materia adgregetur ;
Igitur eximię dilectionis tuę imperiis obtemperans . textum
presentis cartulę prout potui digessi : Maioris scientię auctor-
ibus maiorem partem linquens . principium in principio. finem
in fine conpono ;
EXPLICIT PROLOGVS

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63 red rubric

INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA LIBRI SANCTI GUTHLACI ANACHORITE .

.I. De temporibus parentum illius et uocabulis eorum ; 65

.II. De origine et mansione patris ipsius ;

.III. De legali adiunctione parentum illius

.IIII. De conceptione et epidendarum dierum cursu

.V. De prodigio in tempore natiuitatis ipsius manifestato

.VI. De turbis uidentibus et admirantibus signum 70

.VII. De manu ab aere missa ostium domus in qua natus est signante

.VIII. De uaria sententia stupentis turbe ‡ (20^{v})

.VIIII. De rumigerulo illius prodigii famine ;

.X. De baptismate illius et uocabulo sibi ex appellatione patrie indicto ; 75

.XI. De nutrimento illius et edoctione in aula paterna ;

.XII. De modestia infantie illius et puerili simplicitate ;

.XIII. De docibilitate et sagacie mentis ipsius ingenio discentium artium ;

.XIIII. De illius oboedentia senioribus et dilectione erga illum 80 coetaneorum ;

.XV. De omnibus de illo testimonium referentibus et gratia diuina in uultu ipsius radiante ;

.XVI. De repentina commutatione ipsius

.XVII Quomodo tertiam partem predate gaze possidentibus † 85

.XVIII Quomodo spiritalibus stimulis instigatus se dei famulum fieri deuouerit ;

.XVIIII Quomodo relictis comitibus suis solus uiam pergens hrypadun

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64 red rubric; the numerals, dotted either side usually, are red; chapter heading capitals alternately green and violet 85 verb missing; other texts have some such form as remittebat

peruenerit ;

.XX. Quomodo tonsuram apostolicam accipiens ab omni sicerato liquore se abstinuerit ;

.XXI. Quomodo ob id omnibus cohabitantibus aspero odio habebatur et postea eius mansuetudinem dinoscentes in affectum sui animos omnium conuertit ;

.XXII. Quomodo psalmis monasticis disciplinis gratia inlustrante inbuebatur ;

.XXIII Quomodo uniuersorum proprias uirtutes imitare studebat ; ‡ (21r)

.XXIIII Quomodo post biennium clericatus sui heremum petiuit ;

.XXV Quomodo a proximis habitatoribus heremi in missa sancti bartholomei usque in cruglond deductus est ;

.XXVI Quomodo fratres resalutare dehinc hrypadun remeauit ;

.XXVII Quomodo rursus die .viii. kalendarum septembrium qua sancti bartholomei missa celebrari solet crugland reuersus est ;

.XXVIII Quomodo ortonomiam uitæ ducebat ;

.XXVIIII Quomodo primam temptationem desperationis a satana pertulerit ;

.XXX. Quomodo illum satanas pseudosodalitate ieiunare docuit ;

.XXXI Quomodo corporaliter maligni spiritus ad portas inferni illum assportauerunt ;

.XXXII Quomodo bartholomeus illic sibi apparuit . et reportare illum iussit ;

.XXXIII Quomodo inmensa quietudine ad sedes suas ab inmundis spiritibus reportatus est ;

.XXXIIII Quomodo fantasticas turbas satellitum cantato primo uersu .lxvii. psalmi fugauit ;

.XXXV Quomodo prophetico spiritu funestas cogitationes alicuius uenientis clerici interimere se uolentis cognoscebat ;

.XXXVI Quomodo nocte quadam maligni spiritus in diuersarum ‡ (21v) bestiarum formis illum terrebant

.XXXVII Quomodo coruus cartulam in media stagni dimisit nec illam aqua ledere ualuerunt ;

.XXXVIII Quomodo ad uocem illius alites heremi et pisces paludis ueniebant ;

XXXIX De hirundinibus in scapulis iosius 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;

.XLIIII Quomodo duobus clericis ad se uenientibus binas quas in uia abscondebant monstrauit ;

.XLV. Quomodo comitem postquam melo suo induit uulnere spinule sanauit ;

.XLVI. Quomodo uuigfritho uerba que illo absente dicebat prouidentie spiritu renarrauit ;

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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 headdan officium sacerdotale accepit ; ‡ (22^r)

.XLVIII Quomodo ecgburge interroganti illum cuis heres loci eius post se foret respondisse fertur in gente pagana fuisse nec ad huc baptizatum ;

.XLVIIII Quomodo exulem aethilbaldum ad se uenientem consolatus est et regnum sibi futurum promisit et inimicos suos subtus calcaneum suum redactos prophetauit ;

.L. Qualiter egrotus temptamenta pertulerit uel quomodo de sua sepultura commendauerit quę nouissima mandata sorori commendauit aut inter uerba orationis spiritum quomodo emisit ;

.LI. Qualiter corpus ipsius sine corruptione post .xii. menses repertum est ;

.LII. Quomodo post obitum suum æthilbaldo tunc exuli uisione nocturna se ostendit et regnum sibi a domino per intercessionem ipsius donatum monstrauit et ad hæc confirmanda signum dedit ;

.LIII. Quomodo cæcus qui tot dierum uoluminibus lucem a tenebris discernere nequibat tactu salis ab eo sacrati inluminatus est ; ‡ (22^v)

IN NOMINE TRINO ET DIVINO INCIPIT LIBER DE VITA SANCTI GVTHLACI STRENVISSIMI AC PERFECTISSIMI ANACHORITAE

159, 160 red rubric

On þam dagum æþelredes þæs mæran kyninges myrcna . Wæs sum
æþela man on þære hehþeode myrcna rice . se wæs haten penwald .
he wæs þæs yldestan . 7 þæs æþelstan cynnes þe iclingas wæron
genemnede . He wæs for worulde welig 7 myccle gestreon hæfde .
7 þa þa he welegost wæs 7 mæst gestreon hæfde . ða gyrnde he
him his gemæccan to nymanne . He him þa ana geceas on þære mædena
heape þe þær fægerost wæs . 7 æþelestan kynnes . seo wæs gehaten
TETTE . 7 hi þa samod wæron oð þone fyrst þæt god foresceawode .
þæt þæt wif mid bearne geeacnod wæs . Þa se tima com þæt heo þæt

46 O large maroon capital 47 æþela : Gdn em. æþel; hehþeode : Kern em. nehþeode 51 ana : Kln, Gsr em. ane; þære : Gdn em. þæra

FVIT ITAQUE in diebus aethelredi inlustris anglorum regis quidam
uir de egregia stirpe merciorum cognomine penuualh : cuius mansio
in mediterraneorum anglorum partibus diuersarum rerum fluxu pre-
dita constabat ;
Huius etiam uiri progenies : per nobilissima illustrium regum
nomina ab origine icles digesto ordine cucurrit ;
Itaque cum iuuenilis æui uiridante uigore florebat . adoptatam
sibi coetaneam uirginem ‡ inter nobilium puellarum agmina . con-
decentibus* nuptiarum legibus uxorem duxit uocabulo tette : quę
a primeuis rudimenti sui diebus in puellari uerecundia uiuere
studebat ;• Euolutis ergo aliquorum temporum curriculis quibus
se coniugalis uiris conditionibus indidissent :
Contigit humana cogente natura . ut concipiens pregnasset ; Per-
actis uero mensium epidendarum cursibus . cum parturiendi tempus

161 F decorated capital, length of written space; VIT large green capitals; ITAQUE violet capitals 165 H green 166 antiqua omitted after nomina only in this and three most closely related texts 167 I violet 169 condecentibus : MS condecentisbus; ruel condecentibus 173 C green

bearn cennan scolde . þa semninga com tacn of heofenum . 7 þæt
bearn† swytelice mid inseglum beclysde . efne men gesawon ane hand
on þam fægerestan readan hiwe of heofonum cumende . 7 seo hæfde ane
gyldene róde 7 was æteowod manegum mannum . 7 helde toweard toforan
þæs huses duru þær þæt cild inne acenned was . Ða men þa ealle þe
þæt gesawon þiderweard efeston þæt hig þæt tacen swutelicor geseon
woldon 7 ongitan . Seo hánd þa gewende mid þære róde up to heofonum .
Ða men þa ealle þe þæt tacen gesawon . hi hi þa ealle on eorðan

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56 bearn, MS tacn : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. bearn

immineret . et uiscera nixandi insoia ignota uiolentia uexarentur : 175
extimplo prodigium diuinum cælestis oraculi portentum . circum-
adstantibus et undique concurrentibus turbis uidebatur ;· Nam pius
omnitenens fururorum prescius cui omnia prœsentia persistunt :
sigillum manifestandi militis sui interne memorationis indicium
premisit;· ‡ 180

5 Igitur cum nascendi tempus aduenisset : mirabile dictu ecce humana (23^{v})
manus croceo rubri nitoris splendore fulgescens . ab æthereis
olimpi nubibus ad patibulum cuiusdam crucis . ante ostium domus qua
sancta puerpera future indolis infantulum enixa est : porrecta
uidebatur ; 185

6 Cumque insolito stupore omnes ad prospiciendum miraculum concurrere
certabant :

7 En subito signato prædicte domus ostio . æthereas in auras manus
reducta abscessit ; Hoc nouo stupefacti prodigio : omnes qui
intererant in loco sancte apparitionis prostrati . supplices 190

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181 I violet 186 C green 188 E violet

astrehton . 7 god bædon þæt he heom geswutelian scolde hwæt þæt
tacn 7 þæt forebeacn beon scolde þe him þær swá færlice æteowod wæs .
Þa hi þa þæt † gebed gefylled heafdon . þa com þær sum wif mid miccle (19^{v})65
rædlicnysse yrnan of þam huse þe þæt cild inne acenned wæs . 7
cleopode . 7 cwæð þus to þam mannum . Beoð ge staþolfæste 7
gehyrte forþan þæs toweardan wuldres man on þisum middanearde her
is acenned . Þa hi þa men þæt word gehyrdon . þa sprecon hig heom
betwynan . þæt þæt wære godcundlic tacn þe þær ætywed wæs . forþon 70
þe þæt bearn þær acenned wæs . Sume hig þonne cwædon þæt þurh god-
cunde stihtunge in þære ece eadignysse him wære seo gifu forestihtod
þæs haliges tacnes þe him æt his acennednysse ætywod wæs . Wæron

pronis uultibus dominum glorię magnificabant ;

8 Transactis uero orationum deprecationibus : conuertentes* ad inuicem
uersari ceperunt : quidnam esset hoc nouum* quod scrupulum multis
excitauit ; Illis ergo cum inmenso stupore uariis sermocinat-
ionibus multa inter eese conferentibus : ecce ex aula propiante 195
qua supra † dictus infans nascebatur . mulier inmensa uelocitate (24^{r})
currens clamabat ; stabilitote : quia futurę glorię hinc mundo
natus est homo ; Alii uero hoc audientes : ex diuino presagio
ad manifestandam nascentis gloriam . illud prodigium fuisse per-
ibebant ; Alii uero sagacioris sententię coniecturis promere 200
coeperunt . hunc ex diuina dispensatione in eternę beatitud-
inis prœmia prędestinatum fore ;

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192 *i.simul uertentes 193 *s. prodigium 192 T green
193 nouum : caret mark and nouum supplied above

men swiþe wundriende be þære wisan 7 be þam tacne þe þær ætywed
wæs . 7 efne ær þon þe sunna on setl eode . hit wæs ofer eall
middelengla land cuð and mære . .II.
Ða þæs ymbe eahta niht þæs þe mon þæt cild brohte to þam halgan
þwéale fulwihtebæþes . Ða wæs him nama sceapen of þæs cynnes
gereorde . 7 of þære þeode guþlac swa hit wære of godcundlicre
stihtunge gedón . þæt he swa genemned wære . forþon swá þa wisan
leorneras seogað on angelcynne þæt se nama standeð on feawum
gewritum . GVÐLAC se nama ys on romanisc. belli mánus . forþon
þeah he mid woruldlicre geswince menige earfoðnysse adreah . 7

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76 .II. maroon 77 Ð : red capital 78 fulwihtebæþes : Kln, Gsr em. fulwihtbæþes 81 feawum : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. twam 83 woruldlicre : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. woruldlice

Erat ergo magna admirantium turba : in tantum ut illius miraculi
uagabundus rumor priusquam luciflua solis astra occiduis finibus
uergentur . mediterraneorum anglorum totos pene terminos impleret ;
/D Igitur decursis bis quaternis dierum uoluminibus : cum ad salu-
taris lauacri sacratas undulas propinquasset . ex appellatione
illius tribus quam dicunt guthlacingas proprietatis uocabulum
uelut ex celesti consilio ‡ guthlac percoepit : quod ex quali- (24v)
tatis compositione assequentibus meritis conueniebat ; Nam ut
illius gentis gnari perhibent : anglorum lingua hoc nomen ex
duobus integris constare uidetur . hoc est guth et lac : quod
romani sermonis nitore personat belli munus . quia ille cum
uitiis bellando munera æterne beatitudinis . cum triumphali*

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203 E violet 206 I green 208 quam : MS quam 209 celesti : MS celestẽ 213 *superabili uel uincibili

þeah mid geeyrrednysse þa gife þære ecan eadignysse mid sige eces
lifes onfenge . 7 swá mid þam apostolum cwepende . Beatus uir qui
suffert temptationem quia cum probatus fuerit ‡ accipiet coronam (20r)
uite quam repromisit deus diligentibus sé . þæt ys on englisc .
Eadig mon bið owęð he se þe her on worulde manigfealdlice geswinc-
nysse 7 earfoðnysse dreogeð forþon mid þam þe he gecostod bið and
geswenced . þonne onfehð he ecum beage . 7 þæt god gehet eallum
þam þe hine lufiað . Æfter þon þe he wæs aþwegen mid þam þweale
þæs halgan fulluhtes . Þa wæs he eft to þære fæderlican healle
gelædd . 7 þær gefedd . mid þam þe seo yld com þæt hit sprecan
mihte æfter cnihtwisan þonne wæs he nawiht hefig . ne unhyrsum his
yldrum on wordum . ne þam þe hine feddon . nænigum oþþe yldran

---

91 Æfter : Gdn After

infulâ* perennis uitæ percepisset : secundum apostolum dicentem :
beatus uir qui suffert temptationem : quoniam cum probatus fuerit
accipiet coronam uitæ . quam repromisit deus diligentibus se ;
11 Postquam ergo sacrati fontis limphis spiritalibus diuino gubernante
numine abluit parentum delicta : infans mire indolentię . nobilibus
antiquorum disciplinis aulis in paternis imbuebatur ;
12 Igitur transcensis infantię sue temporibus : cum fari pueriliter
temptabat : nullius ‡ molestię parèntibus nutricibusue seu coetaneis (25r)

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215 *i.dignitate; and in margin i.victoria triumphus 218 P violet

obbe gingran . Ne he cnihtlice galnysse næs begangende . ne idele spellunge folclicra manna . ne ungeliclice oleounge . ne leaslicetunge . ne he mistlice fugela† sangas ne wurþode . swa oft swa onihtlicu yldo begæd . Ac on his sceарpnysse þæt he weox . 7 wearð glæd on his ansyne . 7 hluttor 7 clæne on his mode . 7 bilwite on his þeawum . ac on him wæs se scima gastlicre beorhtnysse swa swyðe scinende þæt ealle þa men þe hine gesawon on him geseon mihton þa þing þe him towearde wæron . Ða wæs æfter siðfate þæt

97 folclicra : Gdn folcriora 98 fugela : MS fugelas, Gdn, Gsr em. fugela, Kln em. fugol(sangas) 103 wæron : n squat capital with long cross stroke to fill out line

paruulorum coetibus fuit : non puerorum lasciuias . non garrula matronum deliramenta . non uanas uulgi fabulas . non ruricolarum bardigiosos* uagitus . non falsidicas parasitorum frivulas . non uariorum uolucrum diuersas crocitus ut adsolet illa ætes imitabatur :

13 Sed eximia sagacitate* pollens* . hilari* facie . sincera mente.

14 mansueto animo : simplici uultu : in pietate* parentibus : in oboedentia senioribus . in delectione conlactaneis . neminem seducens . neminem increpans . neminem scandalizans . nulli malum pro malo reddens . æquanimis utebatur ;

15 Erat enim in ipso nitor spiritalis luminis radescens : ut per omnia omnibus quid uenturus esset monstraretur ;

Igitur cum adolescentię uires increuissent : ‡ et iuuenili in (25r)

224 deliramenta : MS i written over earlier e 225 bardigiosos : MS bardigiosas, o over subpunoted a; *i.stultas; frivulas : MS friþolas, ƿ over subpuncted b, o turned into u 227 *.i.capacitate *.i.lucens. ; *.i.alacri. 228 *i.pollens

mægen on him weox . 7 gestiþode on his geoguðe . þa gemunde he
þa strangan dǽda þara iumanna† 7 þara woruldfrumena he þa swa he
of slǽpe onwoce wearð his mod oncyrred . 7 he gesomnode miccle
scǽle 7 wered his geþoftena and hys efenhæfdlingas . 7 him sylf
to wæpnum feng . þa † wræc he his æfþancas on his feondum . And (20v)
heora burh bærnde 7 heora túnas . oferhergode . 7 he wíde geond
eorþan menigfeald wæl felde 7 sloh 7 of mannum heora æhta nam .
þa wæs he semninga innan manod godcundlice 7 læred þæt he þa word
hete . ealle þa he swa he het þriddan dǽl agifan þam mannum þe he hit
ǽr ongenæmde . Ða wæs ymbe nigon winter þæs þe he þa ehtnysse

105 iumanna, MS unmanna : Gsr em. iumanna; þara : Gdn þæra
112 he swa he het : Gdn, Gsr em. he swa genam, he het, Kln em. þa he swá het –; ǽr : Gdn ær 113 ongenæmde : Kln em. ongename

pectore egregius dominandi amor feruesceret . tunc ualida pristin-
orum heroum facta reminiscens : ueluti ex sopore euigilatus mutata
17 mente . adgregatis satellitum turmis sese in arma conuertit ; Et
cum aduersantium sibi urbes et uillas . uicos et castella . igne
ferroque uastaret : conrasis* undique diuersarum gentium sociis
inmensas predas gregasset :
Tunc uelut ex diuino consilio edoctus . tertiam partem adgregate
gaze possidentibus remittebat ;
18 Igitur transcursis .viiii*. circiter annorum orbibus . quibus per-
secutorum aduersantiumque sibi hostium famosum excidium crebris
uastationum fragoribus peregisset : tandem defessis uiribus post
tot predas . cedes . rapinasque arma triuerat ;

239 *i. 243 *nouem

begangende wæs . se eadiga GVTHLAC 7 he hine sylfne betweox þises
andweardan middaneardes weolcan dwelode . þa gelamp sume niht mid
þam þe he com of farendum wege . 7 he hys þa werigan lima reste .
7 he menig þing mid his mode þohte . Þa wæs he færinga mid godes
ege onbryrd . and mid gastlicre lufan his heorte innan gefylled .
7 mid þy he gebohte þa ealdan kyningas þe íu wæron . he awóc þurh
earmlicne deað 7 þurh sarlicne utgang . þæs mánfullan lifes þe
þas woruld forleton . 7 þa micclan welan þe hig ær hwilon ahton .
he geseh on hrædlicnysse ealle gewítan . 7 he geseah his agen lif

---

115 weolcan dwelode : MS weolc 7welode, Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. as above, Kern retains MS; niht : Gdn, Kln em. nihte 119 7 mid þy he gebohte þa ealdan kyningas þe íu wæron, he awóc þurh, : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. 7 mid þy he awóc, he gebohte þa ealdan kyningas þe íu wæron þurh

Itaque cum supradictus uir beate memorie † guthlac inter dubios (26r)
uoluentis temporis euentus . et atras caligosę uitę nebulas
fluctuantis inter seculi gurgites iactaretur :
Quadam nocte dum fessa membra solitę quieti dimitteret . et adsueto
more uagabunda mente sollicitus curas mortales intenta meditatione
cogitaret : Mirum dictu . extimplo uelut* perculsus pectore . spirit-
alis flamma . omnia precordia supramemorati uiri incendere
coepit ; Nam cum antiquorum regum stirpis suę per transacta retro
secula miserabiles exitus flagitioso uitę termino contemplaretur .
necnon et caducas mundi diuitias contemptibilemque temporalis
uitę gloriam peruigili mente consideraret : tunc sibi proprii

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247 I green 252 *s.esset

dæghwamlice to þam ende efstan 7 scyndan . Ða wæs he sæmninga mid
þam godcundan egesan innan swá swyþe onbryrded . þæt he andette
gode gif he him þæs mergendæges geunnan wolde . þæt he his
þeow beon wolde . Mid þy þære nihte þystro gewiton . 7 hit dæg
wæs . þa arás he 7 hine sylfne getacnode insegle cristes rode . Ða
bead he his geferum . þæt hi fundon him oðerne ealdorman 7 latteow
hira geferscipe . 7 he him andette 7 sæde þæt he wolde beon cristes ‡ (21r
þeow . mid þam þe his geferan þas word gehyrdon þa wæron hi swiþe
wundriende 7 swyþe forhte for þam wordum þe hi þær gehyrdon . þa hi

obitus sui imaginata forma ostentat . et finem ineuitabilem breuis
uitę curiosa mente horrescens . cursum quotidie ad finem ‡ cogit- (26v
abat . immo etiam audisse se recordabatur : ne in hieme uel
sabbato fuga uestra fiat ; Hæc et alia his similia eo cogitante :
Ecce subito instigante diuino numine . se ipsum famulum dei* uent-
19 urum fore si in crastinum uitam seruasset deuouet ; Ergo exutis
umbrosę noctis caliginibus : cum sol mortalibus ægris igneum
demouerat ortum . et matutini uoluores auino forcipe pipant : tunc
indutos artus agresti de spatulo surgens arrexit : et signato
cordis gremio . salutari sigillo se comitantibus precepit : ut
ducem alium itineris sui elegissent . nam se diuinę seruituti
destinasse perhibebat ; Hoc audito comites ipsius : inmenso per-

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262 *cristi

ealle to him aluton 7 hine bædon þæt he næfre þa þing swa gelæste
swa he mid wordum geowæð . he þa hwæþere heora worda ne gimde . ac
þæt ilce þæt he ær geþohte þæt he þæt forðlæstan wolde . barn him
swá swyþe innan þære godes lufan þæt nalæs þæt an þæt he þas woruld
forseah . ac swilce hys yldrena gestreon 7 his eard . 7 þa sylfan
his heafodgemacan þæt he þæt eall forlet . Þa he wæs feower 7
twentig wintra eald . þa forlet he ealle þas woruldglenga . 7
eallne his hiht on crist gesette . 7 þa æfter þon þæt he ferde to
mynstre þe ys gecweden hrypadún . 7 þær þa gerynelican sceare onfeng .
Sancte petres þæs apostoles under ælfðryðe abbodyssan . 7 syþþan

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132 swa gelæste : Gsr em. swa ne gelæste

culsi stupore . supplicibus obsecrationibus : ne hoc quod dicebat
incepisset exorabant ; qui contemptis eorum precibus : in eo quod
inceperat inmotus perstabat ; Ita enim in illo ✝ diuine gratie
inflammatio flagrabat . ut non solum regalis indolentie reuerentiam
despiceret . sed et parentes et patriam comitesque adolescentie
sue contempsit ; ·
Nam cum ætatis sue .xxiiii.* annum peregisset . abrenuntians secul-
aribus pompis . spem indubitate fidei fixam in cristo tenebat :
exin cepto itinere relictis omnibus suis . monasterium hrypandun
usque peruenit : in quo misticam sancti petri apostolorum proceris
tonsuram accepit . sub abbatissa nomine ælfðryð ;

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271 incepisset, 272 inceperat : first e tall over earlier i
274 *uigesimu quartu 278 suis : caret mark with suis supplied above

he to soeare 7 to þam munuclife feng . hwæt he nænigre wǽtan
onbítan nolde þe druncennysse þurhcóme . And þa for þan þingum
hine þa broðra hatedon þy he swá forhæbbende wæs . 7 þa rade syþþan
hi þa hluttorlicnysse his modes . 7 þa clænnysse his lifes ongéaton .145
þæt hig ealle hine lufedon . Wæs he on ansine mycel . and on
lichaman cléne . wynsum on his mode . 7 wlitig on ansyne he wæs
liðe 7 gemetfæst on his worde . 7 he wæs geþyldig 7 eadmod . 7 á
seo godcunde lufu on hys heorrtan hat 7 byrnende .† mid þy he þa wæs

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142 wǽtan : Gdn wætan 149 MS lacks full stop

Ac deinde accepto clericali habitu : preterita piacula expiare
certabat ; Ab illo enim tempore quo apostolicę tonsurę indicium
suscepit . non ullius inebriati liquoris . aut alicuius delicati
liquaminis haustum . excepto communicationis tempore gustauit ;
27 Hac igitur ex causa omnibus fratribus illum cohabitantibus aspero 285
odio habebatur : ‡ probantes autem uitę illius sinceritatem . et (27v)
serenę mentis modestiam : cunctorum animos in affectum sue cari-
tatis conuertit ; Erat enim forma precipuus : corpore castus :
facie decorus : mente deuotus : aspectu dilectus : sapientia in-
butus : uultu floridus : prudentia preditus : colloquio blandus : 290
temperantia clarus : interna fortitudine robustus : censura iustitię
stabilis : longanimitate largus : patientia firmus : humilitate
mansuetus : caritate sollicitus ; Ita, enim omnium uirtutum decorem
sapientia in eo adornabat : ut secundum apostolum sermo illius
semper sale diuinę gratię conditus fulgebat ; 295

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283 delicate : MS delicatę

in stafas 7 on leornunge getogen . þa girnde he his sealmas to ‡ 150
leornianne . þa wæron þa wæstmberendan breost þæs eadigan weres mid (21ᵛ)
godes gife gefyllede 7 mid þam lareowdome þæs hean magistres godes .
þæt he wæs on godcundlicen þeodscipe getyd . 7 gelæred . mid þam
þe he wæs twa gear on þære leornunge . Þa hæfde he his sealmas
geleornod . 7 canticas . 7 ymnas . 7 gebeda after cyriclicre 155
endebyrdnysse . þa ongan he wurðigan þa godan þeawas þara godra
on þam life.†eadnysse 7 hyrsumnysse.†geþyld . 7 þolemodnysse 7
forhæfednysse his lichaman . 7 ealra þara godra dægen he wæs
begangende . Þa ymbe twa winter þæs þe he his lif swa leofode

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157 † stops not in MS 157 eadnysse : Gdn 'perhaps a mistake for eadmodnysse'

22 Cum enim litteris edoctus psalmorum canticum discere maluisset ;
tunc frugifera supramemorati uiri precordia roscidis roris
cælestis imbribus diuina gratia ubertim rigabat : Summis autem
prouidentibus ‡ magistris . auxiliante gratia diuina . sacris (28ʳ)
23 litteris et monasticis disciplinis erudiebatur ; Igitur psalmis . 300
canticis . ymnis . orationibus . moribusque ecclesiasticis per
biennium inbutus : proprias singulorum secum cohabitantium uir-
tutes imitari studebat ; Illius enim oboedientiam . istius
humilitatem . ipsius patientiam . alterius longanimitatem .
illorum abstinentiam . utriusque sinceritatem . omnium temper- 305
antiam . cunctorum suauitatem : et ut breuius dicam . omnium
in omnibus imitabatur uirtutes ;
24 Decursis itaque bis denis bis binisque alternantium mensium

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307 uirtutes, MS uirtu tes allows for hole in parchment

under munuchade þæt he þa ongan wilnian westenes 7 sundersetle . mid þy he gehyrde seogan 7 he leornode be þam ancerum . þe geara on westene 7 on sundorsettlum for godes naman wilnodon 7 heora lif leofodon . Þa wæs his heorte innan þurh godes gifu onbryrdod . þæt he westenes gewilnode . Þa wæs sona ymbe unmanige dagas þæt he him leafe bæd æt þam heowum þe þær yldest wæron þæt he feran moste . .III.

Ys on bretone lande sum fenn unmætre mycelnysse þæt onginneð fram grante ða naht feor fram þære cestre . Þy ylcan nama ys nemned

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162 wilnoden : Cgr em. wunodon 166 .III. maroon 167 Y green capital; 168 Þy : Kln, Cgr em. ðære

circulis . quibus sub clericali habitu uitam inmense moderantię peregit . heremum cum curioso eximiæ sollicitudinis animo petere mediabatur ; Cum enim priscorum monachorum solitariam uitam legebat ; tum inluminato † cordis gremio . auida cupidine heremum (28v) querere feruebat ; Nec plura* . interuenientibus aliquorum dierum cursibus . cum seniorum licita uolentia . incepto æternę prosperitatis itinere solitudinem inuenire perrexit ;

DE HEREMO PALVSTRI .

Est in meditullaneis britannię partibus inmense magnitudinis aterrima palus ; quæ a gronte fluminis ripis incipiens . haut

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313 *s.dico 316 red capitals; beside these has been written finis in ink of underliner

granteceaster . þær synd unmætre moras hwilon sweart wætersteal
7 hwilon fúle ćariþas yrnende 7 swylce eac manige ealand 7 hreod
7 beorhgas 7 treowgewrido 7 hit mid menigfealdan bignyssum widgille
7 lang ‡ þeneð 7† wunað on norðsé . mid þan se foresprecena wer 7 (22r)
þære eadigan gemynde guðlac† þæs wídgillan westenes þa ungearawan
stowe þær gemette þa wæs he mid godcundre fultume gefylst and þa
sona þan rihtestan wege þyder to geferde . þa wæs mid þam þe he
þyder com þæt he frægn þa bigengean þæs landes . hwær he on þam
westene him eardungstowe findan mihte . †mid þy hi him menigfeald þing
sædon be þære wídgilnysse þæs westenes þa wæs tátwine gehaten .†sum

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169 unmætre : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. unmæte 172 þeneð : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. þurh; 7 added as em. here after þeneð 173 guðlac†, MS guðlaces : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. guðlac 174 godcundre : †Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. godcunde 177 .† : stop not in MS 178 .† : stop not in MS

procul a castello quem dicunt nomine gronte : nunc stagnis . nunc
flactris . interdum nigri flui uaporis laticibus necnon et crebris 320
insularum nemorumque interuenientibus : flexosis riuigarum anfract-
ibus ab austro in aquilionem mare tenus longissimo tractu protend-
itur ; Igitur cum supradictus uir beate memorie guthlac illius
uastissimi heremi inculta loca conperisset : cælestibus auxiliis
25 adiutus . rectissima callis tramite tenus* usque perrexit ; ‡ Con- 325(29r)
tigit ergo cum a proximantibus accolis illius solicitudinis experient-
iam sciscitaretur : illisque plurima ipsius spatiosi heremi inculta
narrantibus : ecce quidam de illic adstantibus nomine tatuuine .

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325 *i.illuc 327 *s.loca 320 flui : MS fusi, l above and caret mark, s subpuncted 320 between laticibus and nec scribe allows for hole in parchment 321 MS has in margin riuige dicitur ubi con/gregatur aqua

man sæde þa þæt he wiste sum ealand synderlice digle þæt oft menige
men eardian ongunnon . ac for menigfealdum brogum 7 egsum . 7 for
annysse þæs widgillan westenes þæt hit nænig man adreogan ne mihte .
Ac hit alc forþan befluge . mid þam þe se halga wer guðlac þa
word gehyrde . he bæd sona þæt he him þa stowe getæhte . 7 he þa
sona swá dyde . Eode þa on scip 7 þa ferdon begen þurh þa rugan
fennas oþ þæt hi comon to þære stowe þe man hatað cruwland . wæs
þæt land onmiddan þam westene swá gerád geseted þæs foresædan
fennas swyðe digle . 7 hit swyþe feawe men wiston buton þam anum
þe hyt him tæhte . swylc þær néfre nænig† man ær eardian ne mihte

184 swá : Gdn swa Gdn, Kln em. feawa 187 fennas : Gdn, Kln em. fennes; feawe : 188 nænig : MS menig, Gdn, Kln nænig, Gsr em. nænig

se scisse aliam insulam in abditis remotioris heremi partibus con-
fitebatur : quam multi inhabitare temptantes . propter incognita
heremi monstra et diuersarum formarum terrores reprobauerunt ; Quo
audito uir beatę recordationis guðlac . illum locum monstrari sibi
a narrante* efflagitat* ; Ipse enim imperiis uiri dei annuens* :
arrepta piscatoria scaphula . per inuia lustra inter atrę paludis
margines cristo uiatore ad prædictum locum usque peruenit ; Crug-
land dicitur insula media in palude posita . quæ ante paucis pro-
pter remotioris heremi inculta* uix nota habebatur ; Nullus hanc

333 *i.demonstrante; *i.postulat; *i.consentiens 337 *s.loca: the other manuscripts have solitudinem after heremi

ær se eadiga wer GVTHLAC to com for þære eærdunga þara awerigedra
gasta . 7 he þa se eadiga wer guþlac forhogode sona þa costunge
þæra awerigedra gasta . 7 mid heofonlicum fultume gestrangod wearð . (22v)
betwyx þa fenlican gewrido þæs widgillan westenes . þæt he ana
ongan eardian . Þa gelamp mid þære godcundan stihtunge þæt he on
þa tíd sancte bartholomei þæs apostoles þæt he com to þam ealande
forþan he on eallum þingum his fultum sohte . And he þa gelufode
þa stowe digelnysse . 7 he þa gehet þæt he wolde ealle dagas his
lifes þær on þam ealande gode þeowian . mid þy þe he þa unmanige

189 GVTHLAC : Gdn, Kln, Gsr guðlac 190 guþlac : Gdn, Kln, Gsr guðlac 196 þa : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. þære 197 þy þe he : Gdn, Kln þy he

ante famulum cristi guthlacum solus habitare ‡ colonus ualebat : (29v)
propter uidelicet illic demorantium fantasias demonum . in qua
uir dei guðlac contempto hoste . celesti auxilio adiutus . inter
umbrosa solitutidinis nemora solus habitare coepit ; Contigit
enim diuina dispensante prouidentia : ut æstiuis temporibus die
quo missa sancti bartholomei uenerari debet . insulam crugland
beatus guþlac deuenisset : qui in sancti bartholomei auxiliis cum
omni fiducia heremum habitare coeperat ; Igitur adamato illius
loci abdito situ uelut a deo sibi donato : omnes dies uitę suę
illic degere directa mente deuouet ;
21 Aliquot itaque diebus illic permanens : omniaque †illius loci

340 celesti : MS celestę 348 omniaque illius : MS omniaq. quęcumque illius, quęcumque with almost every letter subpuncted

dagas þær wæs . þa geondsceawode he þa þing þe to þære stowe belumpon . Þa þohte he þæt he eft wolde to þam mynstre feran 7 his gebroðra gretan . forþan he ær fram heom ungegret gewat . Þa þæs on mergen mid þan hit dæg wæs þa ferde he eft to þam mynstre þa wæs he þær hundnigantig nihta mid þam broðrum . 7 þa syþþan he hig grette . he þa eft hwærf to þære stowe þæs leofan westenes mid twam cnihtum . Þa wæs se eahtoða dæg þæs kalendes septembres . þe man on þa tíd wurðað . sancte bartholomei þæs apostoles . þa se eadiga wer guðlac com to þære foresprecenan stowe . to cruwlande forþon he his fultum on eallum þingum ærest to þam sundorsetle

diligenti inuestigatione considerans . uersari coepit : ut ad sodalium suorum conloquium ueniret : quos sibi eximię fraternitatis caritas in gremio catholicę congregationis iungebat ; ‡ nam (30r) quos ante insalutatos dimittebat . iterum salutaribus preceptis commendare disposuit ; Interea mortalibus ægris lux crastina demouerat ortum : cum ille inde egressus remeare coeperat ; Itaque interuenientibus ter trigenarum dierum curriculis quis sodales suos fraternis commendabat salutationibus : ad supradictum locum quasi ad paternę hereditatis habitaculum . binis illum comitantibus
27 pueris unde peruenit regressus est ; Dein peracto itinere : die .viii. kalendarum septembrium quo sancti bartholomei sollempnitas celebrari solet : in cuius suffragio omnia incoepta heremi habitandi ex diuina prouidentia inchoauerat crugland peruenit ;

sohte . Hæfde he þa on ylde six 7 twentig wintra þa he ærest se
godes cempa on þam wes-ene mid heofenlicre gife geweorðod gesæt . †
þa sona wið þam scotungum þara werigra gasta þæt he hine mid
gastlicum wæpnum ge† scylde . He nam þone scyld þæs halgan gastes (23r)
geleafan . 7 hyme on þære byrnan gegearowode þæs heofonlican
hihtes . 7 he him dyde heolm on heafod clænere geþanca . 7 mid
þam strælum þæs halgan sealmsangas á singallice wið þam awerigedum
gastum sceotode 7 campode . 7 nu hwæt ys swa swiþe to wundrianne

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209 geweorðod gesæt : MS ge-/weorðod. Ge sæt : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. as here 210 scotungum : MS over ng scribe has written i 213 clænere : Gdn, Gsr em. clænera, Kln clænra 214 sealmsangas : Gdn, Kln em. sealmsanges

Erat ergo annorum circiter .xxvi: cum inter nebulosos remotioris
heremi lucos . cum cælesti adiutorio ueri dei miles esse propos-
uit : dein precinctus † spiritalibus armis aduersus teterrimi (30v)
hostis insidias scutum fidei . loricam spei . galeam castitatis .
arcum patientię . sagittas psalmodię . sese in aciem firmans
arripuit ; Tante enim fiducię erat . ut inter torridas tartari
turmas sese contempto hoste iniceret ; O quam admiranda est

þa diglan mihte ures drihtnes . 7 his mildheortnysse domas . hwa
mæg þa ealle asecgan . Swa se æþela lareow ealra þeoda sanctus
paulus se apostol þone ure drihten ælmihtig god forestihtode to
godspellianne his folce . he wæs ær þon ehtere his þære halgan
cyrcan . 7 mid þan þe he to damascum ferde þære byrig þæt he wæs
of þam þystrum gedwolum abroden iudea ungeleafulnysse mid þam
swege heofonlicre stefne . Swa þonne þære arwurðan gemynde guðlac
of þære gedrefednysse þissere worulde wæs geleded to camphade
þæs ecan lifes . IIII.

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224 IIII. metallic

diuinæ miserationis indulgentia . et quantum glorificanda sit
paternæ dilectionis prouidentia . en in quantum laudanda sit
æterne deitatis predestinatio . quam inscrutabilia sunt perpetui
iudicis arbitria ut apostolus confirmat : quam inscrutabilia sunt
iudicia eius . et inuestigabiles uiæ ipsius et reliqua ; Nam
sicut egregium doctorem gentium damascum pergentem quem ante
æcula euangelium filii sui nuntiare predestinauit . de tenebrosa
iudeorum erroris caliginæ cælesti uoce deduxit : sic et sanctæ
memoriæ uirum † guthlac . de tumido æstuantis seculi gurgite .
de obliquis mortalis æui anfractibus . de atris uergentis mundi
faucibus . ad perpetuæ beatitudinis militiam . ad recti itineris
callem . aduerti luminis prospectum perduxit : et non solum præ-
sentis seculi famosa uenerantia beauit* . sed in gaudio perennis
gloriæ æterna beatitudine constituit : Sicut apostolica ueritas
deprompsit ; quos predestinauit . hos et uocauit . et quos uoc-
auit . illos glorificauit . et reliqua ;

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281 *s.illum

28 QVALITER IN SCISSO LATERE TVMVLI SVPERINPOSITO TVGVRIO HABITABAT : VEL QUOMODO ORTONOMIAM VITAE HABVIT HEREMITALIS .

Igitur ut de sancti guthlaci solitaria uita . sicut proposui scribere exordior . quas a frequentatoribus eius uuilfrido et cissan audiui . eodem ordine quo conperi . easdem ‡ res narrare curabo ; (31v)
Erat itaque in præfata insula tumulus agrestibus glebis coaceruatus ; quem olim auari solitudinis frequentatores . erga causam lucri illic defodientes adquirendi scindebant : in cuius latere uelut cisterna in esse uidebatur : in qua uir beatę memorię guthlac desuper inposito tugurio habitare coepit ; Vitæ scilicet illius hæc 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 pelliceis uestibus omnes dies solitariæ conuersationis suę exigebat ;

385, 386 red , except ‡, black revision punctuation 387 I green

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1 Mme : homily opens with large capital on eighth line of folio 133v and is preceded by one empty line
7 wolde : Cgr em. nolde

Be þam halgan were hu he eardode on þære stowe .

ONGINNE IC NU BE ÞAM LIFE ÐAES EADIGAN WERES guðlaces swa swa ic gehyrde secgan þa þe his lif cuðon . wilfrid . 7 CISSA . þonne secge ic swá efter þære endebyrdnysse .† wæs þær on þam ealande sum hlaw mycel ofer eorðan geworht þone† ylcan men iu geara for feos wilnunga gedulfon 7 bræcon . þa wæs þær on oþre sidan þæs hlawas gedolfen swylce mycel wæterseað wære . On þam seaðe ufan se eadiga wer GVTHLAC him hus getimbrode . sona fram fruman þæs þe he þæt ancersetle ‡ gesæt . þa geþohte he þæt he naðor ne wyllenes hrægles . (23ᵛ) ne línenes brucan nolde . ac on fellenum gegyrelan . þæt he wolde ealle his dagas his lifes alifian . 7 he hit swá forðgelæstende wæs .

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225 red 226 O large red capital, followed by black capitals filling line 228 . This stop not in MS 229 þone : MS þōn, Gdn, Gsr þone 230 hlawas : Gdn em. hlawes 231 O half size red capital, outside writing space 233 ancersetle : Gdn, Gsr em. ancersetl

Wæs þær in þam sprecenan iglande sum mycel hlæw of eorþan geworht þone ylcan hlæw iu geara men bræcon 7 dulfon for feos þingum . ða wæs þær on oðre sidan ðæs hlæwes gedolfen swylce mycel seaþ . on þam seaþe ufan se eadiga wer guðlac him hus 7 eardung-stowe getimbrode . sona on fruman þæs ðe he þæt ancersetl gesæt . þa þohte he þæt he nawðer þara ne wyllenes hrægles ne linenes brucan wolde ac on fellenum gegyrlan þæt he wolde ealle dagas his lifes alifigean 7 he hit swa forðgelæste .

Cotidianę ergo uitæ ipsius tanta temperantia fuit : ut ab illo
tempore quo heremam habitare coeperat . excepta ordeacii panis
particula . et lutulentæ aquæ poculamento . post solis occasum ‡ (32r)
nullius alicuius alimenti iusbus uesceretur ; Nam cum sol occiduis
finibus uergeretur : tunc annonam paruam mortalis uitę cum gratiarum
actione gustabat ;

29 QVALITER ILLVM ZABVLVS INSTIGATIONIBVS DESPERATIONIS TEMPTAVIT •

Sub eodem denique tempore quo prefatus uir beatę memorię heremitari
initiauit : cum quadam die adsueta consuetudine . psalmis . cant-
icisque incumberet : tunc antiquus hostis prolis humanę . ceo leo
rugiens per uasti aetheris spatia . tetra numina commotans . nouas
artes nouo pectore uersat ; Cum enim omnes nequitię suę uires
uersuta mente temptaret : tunc ueluti ab extenso arcu uenenifluam
desperationis sagittam totis uiribus iaculauit . quousque
in cristi militis umbone* defixa pependit ; Interea cum telum
toxicum atri ueneni sucum infunderet : ‡ tum miles cristo totis (32v)

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405 red 406 S violet 414 *s.mentis

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10 began . : Gsr indicates MS loss here, but see commentary 15 þa : Gsr inserts after þa pronoun his
16 of bendum 7 of brogan : Gsr em. of gebendum bogan; wæs his costunge ða he ða þam earhwinnendan strǽle : Gsr em. ða he ða his costunge strǽle

Æ lce dæge wæs his bigleofan swylc to gereorde of þære tíde þe he þæt westen eardigan ongan þæt he nawiht ne onbyrigde buton berene hlaf 7 wæter . 7 þonne sunne wæs on setle . þonne þigede he þæs andlyfenes† þe he bigleofode . Sona þæs þe he westen eardigan ongan . þa gelamp hit sume dæge mid þan gewunelican þeawe his sealm sang 7 his gebedum befeal . þa se ealda feond mancynnes efne swa grymetigende leo . þæt he his costunga attor wíde todæleð . Mid þy he þa his yfelnysse mægen . 7 grymnysse attor [*] þæt he mid þan þa menniscan heortan wundode . þa semninga swá he of gebendum bogan his costunge streale on þam mode gefæstnode þæs cristes cempan . Ða he þa se eadiga wer mid þære geættredan streale gewundod wæs . þæs awerigedan gastes . Ða wæs his mod

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236 to gereorde : Gdn, Gsr em. gemetegung 237 berene : Gdn em. berenne 238 þæs : Gdn, Gsr em. þa 239 andlyfenes : MS and-lyfene 240 mid þan : Gdn, Gsr em. mid þy he þan 241 mancynnes efne : Gsr em. mancynnes gengde geond þæt græswang efne 243/4 attor þæt : Gdn em. attor todælde þæt, Gsr em. attor teldode,þæt

ælce dæge wæs his ondleofenes swylc gemetegung of þære tide þe he þæt westen ærest eardigean began . þa gelamp hit sume dæge mid þy þe he þy gewunelican þeowdome his sealmas sang 7 his gebedum ætfealh . þa se ealda feond mancynnes gengde geond þæt græswang . swa grymetende leo . þæt he his costunga attor wide geondstregde . Mid þy he þa yfelnes mægen 7 his grimnesse attor teldað þæt he mid þy atre þa menniscean heortan wundað . þa semninga swa he of bendum 7 of brogan wæs his costunge ða he ða þam earhwinnendan strǽle on þam mode gefæstnode þæs cristes cempan . þa he ða se eadiga wer mid þære geætredan strǽle gewundod wæs . þæs werigan gastes . þa wæs his mod

sensibus turbatus . de eo quod inceperat desperare coepit : et huc illucque turbulentum animum conuertens . quo solo sederet nesciebat ; Nam cum sua ante commissa crimina immensi ponderis fuisse* meditabatur : tunc sibi de se abluere non posse uidebatur ; In tantum enim desperare coepit : ut infinitum et inportabile opus se incepisse putasset ; Dein cristi famulus trium dierum uicissitudinibus . quo se uerteret nesciebat ; Die autem tertio aequenti nocte . cum ualidissimus miles cristi rubusta mente pestiferis meditationibus resisteret . uelut prophetico spiritu psallere coepit . in tribulatione inuocaui dominum . et reliqua ; Ecce beatus bartholomeus

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415 inceperat : MS first e changed from i 417 *s.ea

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26 æfterfyllendan : Gsr em. æfterfylgendan 27 eft : Gsr em. efne

þæs eadigan weres swiðe gedrefed on him . be þam onginne þe
he ongan þæt westen swá ana eardigan . Mid þam he þa hine hider
7 þyder gelomlice on his mode cyrde . 7 gemunde þa ærran synna 7
leahtras . þe he gefremede . 7 geworht hæfde . 7 þa máran 7
unmættra him sylfa dyde þonne he wende þæt he hi æfre gebetan
mihte . Óa hæfde hine seo deofollice strǽl mid ormodnysse gewundodne .
wæs se eadiga wer guðlac mid þære ⁊ ormognysse þri dagas gewundod þæt (24^{r})
he sylfa nyste hwider he wolde mid his móde gecyrran . Ða wæs þy
þryddan dæge þære æfterfylgendan nihte þæt he þam tweogendum
geþohtum fæstlice wiðstód . 7 efne swá witedomlice muþe þæt he
sang 7 clypode to gode . 7 cwæð . In tribulatione mea inuocaui
dominum . & reliqua . þæt ys on englisc . Min drihten on minre
geswincnysse ic þe to clypige ac gehyr þu me 7 gefultuma me on
minum earfeðum . Ða wæs sona æfter þon þæt his se getreowa fultum

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252 unmættra : Gdn em. unmættran

þæs eadigan weres swiðe gedrefed on him be þam onginne þe he ongan
þæt westen swa ana eardigan . He ða hine hider 7 þyder gelomlice
on his mode cyrde 7 he gemunde þa ærran fyrena 7 leahteras þe he
gefremede 7 geworht hæfde . he wende þæt he hie æfre gebetan ne
meahte . ⁊a wæs se eadiga wer guðlac mid þære ormodnesse swa
gedrefed 7 gewundod þæt he sylfa ⁊ nyste hwider he mid his mode (134^{r})
cyrran wolde . þa wæs ðy ðriddan ðæge þære æfterfyllendan nihte
þæt he ðam wolberendan geþohtum fæste wiðstod 7 eft swa he
witedomlice muðe sang 7 þus cleopode to gode 7 cwæð . min drihten
mid minre geswencendnesse ic clypige 7 cige ac gehyr ðu me 7 me
gefultuma in minum earfeðum . ða wæs sona æfter ðam þæt his se

fidus auxiliator in matutinis uigiliis sese coram obtutibus obtulit illius : nec sopor illud erat . sed palam splendentis celicolę agnouit uultum ; Igitur uir prefatus ueluti miles inter ‡ densas (33^{r}) acies dimicans : cum celeste adiutorium angelicę lucis aduentasse persensisset : extimplo discussis nefandarum cogitationum nebulis . inluminato turbulenti pectoris gremio : uelut triumphali uoce psallebat aiens ; dominus mihi adintor est : et ego uidebo inimicos meos ; Exin sanctus bartholomeus coram eo persistens . illum preceptis spiritalibus confortare coepit : pollicens ei in omnibus tribulationibus adiutorem sui uenturum se fore ; Sanctus autem guthlac his auditis et creditis fidelissimi amici sui dictis . spiritali gaudio repletus . indissolutam eximię ualitudinis spem in domino iesu defixit ; Nam ex primi certaminis triumphali successu . spem futurę glorię . uictorię robusto pectore firmabat ; Ex illo enim tempore numquam zabulus aduersus illum desperationis arma arripuit : quia ab illo semel infracta ‡ contra illum ultra (33^{v}) preualere nequiuerunt ;

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32 on engelicre, MS ongelicre : Gsr em. on engellicre 34 cuman : Gsr indicates loss of material here 35 him : Gsr em. he 39 swiðe gefeonde, MS swiðefeode with ḡ written in over e of swiðe : Gsr em. swiðe gefeonde 41 wið hine : Gsr omits in emendation

him to com . sanctus BARTHOLOMEVS . 7 nalæs þæt he him on slæpe
stywde ac he wæccende þone apostol on engellicre fægernysse geseah
7 sceawode . 7 he þa sona se eadiga wer guðlac swiþe bliþe wæs
þæs heofonlican cuman . 7 him sona his heorte 7 his geþanc eall
wæs onlihtod . 7 he þa hrædlice þa yfelan 7 þa twyfealdan geþohtas
forlet . 7 hine se heofonlica cuma frefrode . sanctus bartholomeus .
and hine mid wordum trymede 7 strangode . 7 hine het þæt he ne
tweode . ac þæt he wære anræd . 7 þæt he him on fultume beon
wolde on eallum his earfeðum . Þa se halga guðlac þas word gehyrde
his þæs getreowan freondes . þa wæs he mid gastlicre blisse
gefylled . 7 his geleafan fæste on god sylfne getrymede . 7 fæstnode .

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264 swiþe : Gdn swiðe

getrywa fultum him to com sanctus bartholomeus 7 nalas þæt he him
on slæpe ætywde ac he wæccende þone apostol on en gelicre† fægernesse
geseah 7 sceawode 7 he wæs þa sona se eadiga wer swiðe feonde
þæs heofonlican cuman . frefrede hine þa sanctus bartholomeus
7 hine mid wordum trymede 7 strangode 7 hine het þæt him ne
tweode no ac þæt he wære anræde 7 he him on fultume beon wolde
in eallum his earfeðum . ða he se haliga guðlac þas word gehyrde
his þæs getrywan freondes ða wæs he on gæstlicre blisse 7
heofoncundre gife swiðe gefeonde† 7 his geleafan fæste in god
sylfne getrymede 7 fæstnode . syððan seo tid wæs þæt næfre þæt
deoful eft wið hine þære ormodnesse wæpnum on hine sceotode .

QVOMODO ILLVM ZABVLVS PSIVTHACODALITATE IEIVNIVM DOCERE TEMPTAVIT.

Quadam quoque die dum de conuersationis suę cotidiano moderamine meditaretur : subito coram illo uelut ex aere lapsi effereis uultibus duo zabuli . humano habitu se obtulerunt : ac ueluti cum familiari fiducia loqui cum illo exorsi sunt dicentes ;. nos experti sumus te . et fidei tuę ualitudinem conperimus : perseuerantiamque patientię tuę inuincibilem probantes . uariarum artium aduersus te arma suscepimus : propterea insultare tibi ultra desistere conamur : et non solum propositi tui ortonomias disrumpere nolumus : sed te antiquorum heremitarum conuersationes erudiemus ; Moyses etenim et helias . et ipse humanę prosapiei,

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43 libban : gecwemlicost stands at the end of a MS line and libban is supplied as em. Gsr here supplies lifian and also gode after he 43 unoferswiðde, MS nu oferswiðde : Gsr records nu oferswiðde which he em. unoferswiðde 48 þec, MS mec mec : Gsr em. þe; wene ic : Gsr em. Wen is 50 ðær : Gsr em. ðæs; þær : Gsr em. þæs 52 ær : Gsr reads æst

Swylce eac gelamp on sumne sæl . mid þy he be þære drohtnunge
smeade his lífes . hu he gode geæwemlicost mihte lybban . Ða
comon semninga twegen deoflu to him of þære lyfte slidan 7 þa to ‡ 275 (24v)
him cuðlice sprǽcon 7 cwǽdon . We syndon gewisse þines lifes 7
þines geleafan trumnesse we witon . 7 eac þin geþyld we cunnon
únoferswyþed . 7 þær we þin fandedon . 7 costodon . þæt we mid
manigfealde crǽfte úra wǽpna wið þe sendon . We nu heononforð
nellað þe leng swencan ne þe bysmrian . nalæs þæt an þæt we þe 280
þæs nu nellað lettan þæs þu ær geþoht hæfdest . Ac we þe eac
wyllað secgan be þam eallum þe iu geara westene eardedon . hu hi
heora lif leofodon . Moyses ærest 7 helias hi fæston . 7 swylce

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273 S green; þære : Gdn þære 275 þære : Gdn þære 276 sprǽcon : Gdn sprǽcon 279 úra : Gdn em. úre; wǽpna wið : Gdn em. wǽpna strǽla wið 282 westene : Gdn, Gsr em. westen

swylce eac gelamp on sumne sæl þa he ymb ða drohtunga smeade his
lifes hu he mihte geæwemlicost libban† . ða coman þær semninga
tu deoflu of þære lyfte slidan 7 þa mid cuðlicum wordum ðus
cwædon . we syndon gewisse þines lifes 7 þines geleafan trum- 45
nesse we witon 7 þin geþyld eac we cunnon unoferæwiðde† . þær
we þin cunedon 7 costedon þæt we mid manigfealdum cræfte ussa
wæpna strǽla wið þec† sendan . wene ic þæt we ðe furðor ne wyllan
leng swencan ne ðe mid brogan bysmrian ac nales þæt an þæt we
ðe ðær nu nellað lætan þær ðu geðoht hæfdest . Ac we ðe eac 50
wyllað secgan be ðam eallum þe iu geara westen geardodan hu
hie heora lif lifdon . Moyses ær 7 elias hie fæston 7 swylce

saluator . primo omnium ad ieiunii fastigia ‡ conscenderunt : (34r)
sed et famosi illi monachi habitantes ægyptum humanę infirm-
itatis uitia . in abstinentię framea interimebant ; Et idcirco
si tu uis ante commissa crimina abluere . et imminentia necare :
carnem tuam abstinentię flagellis adflige : et animi tui olent-
iam ieiunii frange farcibus ; Quanto enim in hoc sæculo frang-
eris . tanto in perpetuum solidaris : et quanto in presenti
adfligeris* . tanto in futuro gaudebis ; Nam cum in ieiunio
prostratus iacueris . tunc excelsius coram deo eleuaris ;

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460 *s.te 458 farcibus : fascibus in some other texts

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55 eallum : Gsr em. ealle 58 þinne, with second n supplied above in MS and caret marking its place; weccean : Gsr em. wecean 59 wecst 7 weccest : Gsr em. swencst and wecest 62 gefist,: MS forgifest : Gsr em. gefehst

eac se hælend ealles middaneardes on westene he fæste . 7 eac swylce þa mæran munecas þa mid aegiptum wæron 7 þær on westenum wunedon . þa þurh heora forhæfdnysse on heom ealle uncyste ofaslógon 7 ácwealdon . þonne gif þu þæt wilnast þæt þu of þe þa ærgefremedan synna aþwéan wylt þonne scealt þu þinne lichaman þurh forhæfdnysse wæccan forþon swa myccle swa þu þe her on worulde swyþor swincst swá þu eft byst on ecnysse fæstlicor getrymed . 7 swá myccle swá þu on þisum andweardan life má earfoða drigast . swá myccle þu eft on toweardnysse gefehst . 7 þonne þu on fæsten her on worulde gestihst . þonne bist þu ahafen for godes eagum .

288 ærgefremedan : Gdn ærgefremedan 289 wæccan : Gsr em. wæcean 290 swincst : Gsr em. swencst

eac se hælend ealles middangeardes in westene he fæste 7 swylce eac ða mæran munecas þe mid egiptum wæron 7 þa ær in westenum eardodan . þa ðe þurh heora forhæfednesse in him eallum uncysta ofslogon 7 acwealdon . þonne gif ðu þæs wilnast þæt ðu of ðe ða errran fremednesse yfelra ‡ leahtra ofaðwea þonne scealt þu (134^{v}) þinne lichaman þurh forhæfednesse weccean forþan swiðor swa ðu þe her on worulde wecst 7 weccest to forgifenesse þinra gylta swa ðu þonne eft bist in ecnessum getrymed fæstlicor 7 swa micle swiðor swa ðu on þyssan andweardan life ma earfeða dreogest swa micle þu eft in towyrdnesse gefist† 7 þanne þu bist on fæsten her on worulde astreaht þonne byst ðu áhafen for godes eagan

Ieiunium ergo non bidui aut tridui . aut cotidiane abstinentie castimonia sit* : sed septenariarum* dierum ualida castigatio ieiunium est ; Sicut enim sex diebus deus mundi plasmam formauit . et septimo die requieuit : ita etiam hominem decet sex diebus per ieiunii plasmam spiritu reformari : † et septimo (34^{v}) die comedendi carni requiem dare ; His auditis beatus guthlac : exurgens psallebat ; conuertantur inimici mei retrorsum et reliqua ; Quo facto : hostis strofosus* uelut fumus a facie eius uacuas in auras euanuit ; Ille uero zabuliticum magisterium des-

463 *s.tibi; *uel.septimanarum 469 *frete

64 a : Gsr em. an 66 fyrste : Gsr em. fyrstes 69 syx : Gsr em. burh syx 70 ða : Gsr Þa

forþon þin fæsten ne sceal beon þæt an twegra daga fyrst oþþe þreora
oþþe ælce dæge þæt þu þe on swá tela mycele forhæfdnysse ahebbe . ac 295
on seofon nihta fyrstes fæste † ne biþ to clænsienne þone man . Swa (25r)
on six dagum ærest god ealles middaneardes fægernysse gehiwode 7
gefrætwode . 7 on þam seofoþan he hine reste . Swa þonne gedafenað
þam þe gelice þurh six daga fæsten þone gast gefrætwian . 7 þonne
þy seofoðan dæg mete þicgan 7 his lichaman restan . Ða se eadiga 300
wer guðlac þas word gehyrde . þa aras he sona 7 to gode clypode 7
hyne gebæd 7 þus cwæð . Syn mine fynd min drihten god á on hinder
gecyrde . forþon ic þe ongite 7 oncnawe forþon þe þu eart min scyppend .
þa sona æfter þam wordum se awyrigeda gast efne swá smic beforan
his ansyne áidlode . He þa forseah þa deofollican lare . for þam 305

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295 on swá tela : Gdn, Gsr em. swá on tela 296 on : MS caret mark and on supplied above 299 þam þe : Gsr em. þam men 300 dæg : Gdn em. dæge; his lichaman : Gdn em. þone lichaman

forðan þin fæsten ne sceal beon þæt a twega daga fyrst oððe þreora
oððe ælce dæge þæt ðu ðe swa on tealа micelre forhæfdnesse ahebbe 65
ac on seofon nihta fyrste fæsten bið to clænsigeanne se man . swa
on syx dagum ærest god ealles middangeardes fægernesse gehiwode
7 on þam seofoðan hine reste . swa þonne gedafenað þane man
gelice syx daga fæsten þone gast frætewigean 7 þonne þy seofeðan
dæge mete þycgan 7 his lichoman restan . Ða he ða se eadiga wer 70
þas word gehyrde . þa aras he sona 7 to gode cleopode 7 hine
gebæd 7 þus cwæð . Min dryhten god syn mine fynd a on hinder
gecyrred . forðan ic þe ongite 7 geþence . forðan þu eart min
scyppend . þa sona se awyrgeda feond efne swa rec beforan his
onsyne áidlode . he þa sona forseah þa deofollican lare . forðan 75

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 intell-
egentes ; lacrimoso clamore . flebili ululatu . diuersisque
singultibus plangentes ; late loca mestis questibus impleuerunt ;
Exinde uir dei inmundorum spirituum fantasmate percepto ; ubique
certandi brauio contempsit ;•

3/ QVOMODO CORPALITER MALIGNI SPIRITVS AD PORTAS INFERNI ILLVM ASPORTAVERVNT ‡ (35r)

Per idem fere tempus paucis interuenientibus dierum cursibus . cum
uir beatę memorię guthlacus adsueto more uigil inintermissis ora-
tionibus cuiusdam noctis intempesto tempore perstaret ; en subito
teterrimis inmundorum spirituum cateruis . totam cellulam suam
impleri conspexit ; Subeuntibus enim ab undique illis ; porta

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478/9 red capitals 479 ASPORTAVERVNT : MS ASSPORTAVERVNT with first S erased 480 P violet

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76 he, MS hie : Gsr em. he; idle : supplied above script in MS with caret marking its place 80 bet : cross-stroke through þ is partly obscured in facsimile 82 dyde, MS dyde 7him for naht dyde. : Gsr omits one instance of phrase in emendation; unmanega : Gsr em. unmanege 86 him : Gsr em. hie

þe he ealle þa ydele ongeat . Ac þa feng mædmycclan bigleofan .
þæt wæs to þam berenan hláfe . 7 þone þigede 7 his lif bileofode .
Ða þa awyrigedan gastas þæt ongeaton þæt he hig ealle forhógode 7
heora lara . hig þa þæt mid wependre stefne sorhgodon . þæt hi
oferswiðde wæron . 7 se eadiga wer swá gesigefæstod wearð þæt he 310
þa bysmornysse forhogode heora lára 7 heora costunga . Swylce eac
gelámp on sumne sæl ymb únmanige dagas þæt he wæccende þa niht
on halgum gebedum awunode . þa on þære nihte stilnysse gelamp
semninga . þæt þær comon mycele meniu þara awyrigedra gasta . 7 hi
eall þæt hus mid heora cyme fyldon . 7 hi on ealce healfe inguton 315

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306 ydele : MS scribe has added idel above; feng médmycclan : Gdn em. feng tó médmycclan, Gsr em. feng to þam medmycclan

he† þa ealle idle 7 unnytte ongeat . Ac þa feng to þære teala
myclan andleofone þæt wæs to þam berenan hlafe 7 þone geþygde 7
his feorh bigferede . ða þa werigan gastas þis ongeaton þæt he
forhogode hie 7 heora lara . hie þæt mid wependre stefne bemurnon
7 wide geond þæt land wæðdon 7 he se geadige wer swa gesigefæsted 80
þa bysmornesse ealle forhogode þara werigra gasta 7 him for naht
dyde†. Swylce eft gelamp on sumum sæle ymb unmanega dagas þæs þe
he guðlac þy gewunelican þeowdom wæccende þa niht in halegum
gebedum wunode . þa on þære nihte stilnesse gelamp semninga þæt
þær com micel mænego þara werigra gasta . 7 hie eal þæt hus 85
mid heora cyrme gefyldon . 7 him on ælce healfe inguton .

patebat ; Nam per criptas et cratulas intrantibus : non iunctura 485
ualuarum . non foramine cratium illis ingressum negabant : sed
celo terraque erumpentes . spatium totius aeris fuscis nubibus
tegebant ; Erant enim aspectu truces . forma terribiles . capit-
ibus magnis . collibus longis . macilenta facie . lurido uultu .
squalida barba . auribus hispidis . fronte torua . trucibus 490
oculis : ore foetido . dentibus equineis . gutture flammiuomo .
faucibus tostis . labro lato . uocibus † horrisonis . comis (35v)
obustis . bucilla crassa . pectore arduo . femoribus scabris .
genibus nodatis . cruribus uncis . talo tumido . plantis auersis .
ore patulo . clamoribus raucisonis* ; Ita enim inmensis uagitibus 495
horrescere* audiebantur : ut totam pene a celo in terram inter-
capedinem clangisonis* boatibus* implerent ; Nec mora* ingruentes*

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495 *hasgrumelum
496 *hlyþan
497 *i.clamoribus; *s.erat; *.inrumpentes

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87 on onsyne, MS onsyne : Gsr em. on onsyne 88 heafdu : Gsr inserts micle before heafdu; manigre : Gsr em. mægere 93 tán : Gsr tan

ufan 7 neoðan 7 eghwonen . hi wæron on ansyne egslice and ‡ hig (25^{v})
hæfdon mycele heafda . 7 langne sweoran . and manigre ansyne . hi
wæron fúlice 7 orfyrme on heora beardum . 7 ruge earan . 7 hi
hæfdon woh nebb 7 reðelice eagan . 7 fúle muðas . 7 heora toþas
wæron gelíce horses twuxan . 7 him wæron þa þrotan mid lege gefylde. 320
7 hi wæron ongristlice on stefne . hi hæfdon woge sceancan . 7
mycele cneowu . 7 hindan greate . 7 miscrocet tan . 7 hæsrunigendum
stefnum . and hi þa swá ungemetlicre gestundum foron 7 swa
unmetlicre ege þæt him þuhte þæt hit eall betweox heofone 7
eorðan hleoþrode þam egeslicum stefnum . næs nænig yldend to 325

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317 manigre : Gdn, Gsr em. mægere 318 .7 ruge earan. 7 hi hæfdon woh nebb 7 : Gdn, Gsr em. 7 hi hæfdon ruge earan 7 woh nebb 7 322 7 miscrocet tan : Gdn reads miscrocetton; Gdn, Gsr em. misscrence tán 323 -runigendum : Gdn, Gsr em. hrymedon on; ungemetlicre : Gdn, Gsr em. ungemetlicum 324 unmetlicre : Gdn, Gsr em. unmetlice

ufan 7 neoþan 7 æghwænon . wæron hie on onsyne† egeslice 7 hæfdon
heafdu 7 lange sweoran 7 mænigre onsyne . wæron fulice ‡ 7 (135^{r})
orfyrme on heora bearde . 7 hæfdon ruge earan 7 woh nebb .
egeslice eagan 7 ondrysenlice muðas . 7 heora teð wæron horses 90
tuxum gelice 7 him wæron þa hracan lige afylled 7 hie wæron
ondrysenlice on stefne . 7 hie hæfdon wó sceancan 7 micle cneowo
7 hindan greate 7 misscrence tán . 7 has hrymedon on heora
cleopunge 7 hie swa ungemetlice hrymdon 7 foran mid forhtlicum
egesum ungeþwærnessum þæt hit þuhte þæt hit eall betweoh heofone 95
7 eorðan hleoðrode þam egeslicum stefnum . næs þa nænig ylding to

domum ac castellum : dicto citius uirum dei prefatum ligatis
membris . extra cellulam suam duxerunt : et adductum in atre
paludis coenosis laticibus inmerserunt ; Deinde* assportantes
illum per paludis asperrima loca . inter densissima ueprium
uimina . dilaceratis membrorum conpaginibus trahebant ; Inter
hec cum magnam partem umbrose 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.eum 502 dilaceratis : MS ḋ̨laceratis

103 bidan, MS bindan with n sub- and superpuncted 104 ana, with second a apparently on erasure 105 hine : not in MS and supplied in em. by Gsr 106 wæcan : Gsr wacan

þam þæt syþþan hi on þæt hus comon hi þa sona þone halgan wer
eallum limum gebundon . 7 hi hine tugon 7 læddon . ut of þære
cytan . And hine þa læddon on þone sweartan fenn 7 hine þa on þa
orwehtan wæter bewurpon 7 besencton . æfter þon hi hine læddon on
þam reðum stowum þæs westenes . betwux þa þiccan gewrido þara
bremela þæt him wæs eall se lichama gewundod . Mid þy hi þa lange
on þære þystrunge hine swa swencton þa læton hi hine ane hwile
abidan . 7 gestandan .† heton hine þa þæt he of þam westene gewite
oþþe gif he þæt nolde þonne woldon he hine mid maran bysmerum swencan
7 costian . He þa se eadiga wer guðlac heora worda ne gimde . ac
he mid witegiende muðe þus cwæð . Drihten me ys on þa swyþran

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329 orwehtan : Gdn, Gsr em. horwihtan 332 swa : Gdn swa
333 . not in manuscript

þam syðþan hie in þæt hus comon hie ða sona þone halgan wer
eallum limum gebundenum hine tugon 7 læddon ut of ðære cytan ond
hie hine on þæt swearte fenn læddon 7 hine on þa horwihtan wæter
wurpon 7 besencton . æfter þam hie hine bæron 7 læddon æfter
reðum stowum þæs westenes betuh þa þiccan gewridu þara brymela
þæt eal se lichoma wæs gewundod . mid þy hie ða lange on þære
þystran nihte hine swa læddon 7 swencton þa leton hie hine bidan
ana 7 gestandan . heton hine þa þæt he of ðam westene gewite
oððe gif he þæt nolde þæt hie hine woldon mid maran brogan
bysmrigan 7 wæcan . he ða se eadiga wer heora worda ne gymde .
ac he mid witigende muðe þus cwæð . dryhten me is on ða swiþran

est mihi non commouear ; 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 perstare uiderent : horridis alarum stridoribus . inter
nubifera gelidi aeris spatia illum subuehere coeperunt ; Cum
ergo ad ardua aeris culmina deuentum est : horrendum dictu .
ecce septemtrionalis cæli plaga fuscis atrorum nubium caligin-
ibus nigrescere uidebatur ; Innumerabiles enim inmundorum
spirituum alas : in obuiam illis de hinc uenire cerneres* ;
Coniunctis itaque in unum turmis . cum inmenso clamore leues
in auras iter uertentes : supramemoratum cristi famulum guth-
lacum ad nefandas† tartari fauces usque perducunt ; Ille uero (36ᵛ)

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516 *mutauit personam patientis in personam legentis.

healfe forþon ic ne beo oncyrred ‡ fram þe . Þa æfter þan þa (26r)
awerigedan gastas hine genamon 7 hine swungon mid isenum swipum .
7 þa æfter þon hi hine læddon on þam ongryrlican fiðerum betwux þa
cealdan faca þære lyfte . þa he þa wæs on þære heannysse þære lyfte .340
þa geseah he ealne norðdæl heofones . swylce he wære þam sweartestan
wolcnum ymbseald swiðlicra þeostra . Þa geseah he færinga unmæta
werod þæra awerigedra gasta him ongean cuman . 7 hi þa sona þær
tosomne gegaderodon . and hi þa sona ealle þone halgan wer geleddon
to þam sweartum tintrehstowum helleduru hi hine gebrohton . Þa he 345

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337 oncyrred fram þe. : Gsr em. oncyrred· 342 unmæta : Gdn, Gsr em. unmæte 345 helleduru : Gdn em. helle dura

healfe forðam ic ne beo oncyrred . þa æfter ðam þa werigan gastas
hine genamon 7 hine swungon mid isenum swipum 7 þa æfter þam hine
læddon in þam andrysenlicum fiðerum betuh ða caldan facu þære lyfte .110
þa he ða wæs on þære heannesse þære lyfte up gelæded þa geseah he
ealne norðdæl heofones swylce he were þam sweartestum wolcnum
afylled swiðra genipa . þa geseah he semninga þær ða ondrysenlican
fiðeru ongen cuman þara werigra gasta 7 unmæte weorod hyra þær
coman togenes 7 hie sona þær tosomne geþyddon . hie ða sona þone 115
halgan wer gelæddon to ðam sweartum tintreges gomum helledures . ða he

fumigantes . æstuantis inferni cateruas prospectans : omnia tormenta quę prius a malignis spiritibus perpessus est : tamquam non ipse pateretur obliuiscebatur ; Non solum enim fluctuantium flammarum igniuomas gurgites . illic turgescere cerneres : immo etiam sulphurei glaciali grandine mixti uortices* globosis sparginibus sidera pene tangentes uidebantur ; Maligni ergo spiritus inter famillantium uoragimum atras cauernas discurrentes : miserabile fatu . animas impiorum diuersis cruciatuum generibus torquebant ; Igitur uir dei guthlac cum innumerabiles tormentorum species horresceret . satellitum sibi uelut ex uno ore turmę clamabant dicentes ; ecce nobis potestas data est te trudere in has poenas :

---

520 cateruas : cauernas in many other texts 525 *i.uoragines aqu- gloss in outer margin of 36v : Tria sunt flumina inferni . acheros quod sine gaudio interpretatur . ex quo nascitur secundum stix .i. tristitia rursus exista oritur cocitus quod luctas interpretatur

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117 hrosmas, MS þismas : Gdn suggests þrosmas 118 ofergeotol, MS wæs ofer geotol : Gsr omits wæs in em. 120 ⁊ : Gsr em. ac ; rescetunge, MS receastunge : Gsr receas tunge 122 inhruron, in MS h supplied above with caret marking its place 123 tintregudon, MS tintregud : Gsr em. tintregudon 124 wyta : Gsr wita 126 cwædon : Gsr cwǽdon; scufanne : Gsr reads scafanne which he em. scufanne

þa þær geseah þa fulnysse þæs smyces 7 þa byrnenda lega 7 þone ege þære sweartan deopnysse . he þa sona wæs forgitende ealra þara tintrega 7 þara wíta þe he fram þam awyrgedum gastum ær dreah 7 ápolode . Hi þa sona þa awyrgedan gastas betwux þa grimlican lege inhruron 7 feollon . 7 þær þara árleasra manna sawla mid manig- 350
fealdum wítum getintregodon . Ða se eadiga GVTHLAC þa micelnysse geseah þara wítu . þa wæs he for þæra egsan swyðe afyrht . Ða cleopodon sona þa awyrgedan gastas mid mycelre cleopunge 7 þus cwǽdon . us ys miht geseald þe to sceofanne on þas wítu þisse

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346 byrnenda : Gdn em. byrnendan 349 lege : Gdn, Gsr em. lega 352 wítu : Gdn, Gsr em. wíta

ðær geseah þa smicendan þrosmas† þara byrnendra liga 7 þone ege þære sweartan nywylnesse . he ða sona wæs ‡ †ofergeotol ealra þæra tintrega (135v) þe he fram þam werigum gastum ær dreah 7 drefde 7 nalas þæt án þæt he þær þa leglican hyðe ðæs fyres upþyddan geseah 7 eac þa fulan resce- 120
tunge† swefles þær geseah upgeotan . hie þa sona þa werigan gastas betwuh ða grimlican ligeas inhruron 7 feollon 7 þær þa sawla arleasra manna manigfealdum tintregum tintregudon†. þa he se eadiga wer guðlac geseah þa micelnesse þara wyta 7 hine for þy ege swiðlice onþræc . ða clypedon hie sona þa werigan gastas micelre clypunge 125
7 þus cwædon . Us is miht seald þe to scufanne on ðas witu þysse

et illic inter atrocissimarum gehennarum tormenta uariis
cruciatibus nobis te + torquere commissum* est ; En ignis quem (37r)
accendisti in delictis tuis te consumere paratus est : en
tibi patulis hiatibus igniflua herebi ostia patescunt ; Nunc
stigię fibrę te uorare malunt : tibi quoque æstiui acherontis
uoragines horrendis faucibus hiscunt ; Illis hęc et alia
plurima his similia dicentibus : uir dei minas eorum despic-
iens . immotis sensibus . stabili animo . sobria mente .
respondens aiebat ; uæ uobis filii tenebrarum . semen cain .
fauillę cineris : si uestrę potentię sit istis me tradere
poenis . en presto sum : ut quid falsiuomis pectoribus uanas
32 minas depromitis ? Illis uero ueluti ad trudendum illum
in presentium tormentorum gehennas sese precingentibus :
ecce sanctus bartholomeus cum inmenso cælestis lucis splendore
medias furuę noctis infuso lumine interrumpens tenebras :

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533 *i.licitum

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130 tuddor : Gsr em. tuddre 132 hwan mid : Gsr em. hwan sceolon ge mid

deopnysse . 7 her þæt fyr þæt þu sylfa on þe onbærndest . 7 for
þinum synnum 7 gyltum . helleduru þe ongean openað . Hid þy þa
awyrgedan gastas þisum wordum beotodon . Ða andswerode he heom þus .
7 cwæð . ‡ wa eow þeostra bearn 7 forwyrde tuddre . ge syndon dust . (26ᵛ)
7 acsan . 7 ysela . hwa sealde eow earman þæt ge min ahton geweald
on þas witu to sendanne . hwæt ic her eom . andweard . 7 gearu .
andbidige mines drihtnes willan . for hwon sceolon ge mid eowrum
leasum beotingum me egsian . Hig þa sona þa awyrgedan gastes to þam
eadigan woldon swylce hi hine þær in sceofan woldon . Ða semninga
com se heofones bigengca se halga apostol sanctus BARTHOLOMEVS mid
heofonlicre byrhtnysse . and wuldre scinende . betwuhr þa dimnysse

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355 7 her þæt fyr : Gdn em. 7 her is þæt fyr 358 bearn : Gsr em. bearnum; tuddre : Gdn em. tudder 361 andbidige, MS 7bidige; mines : Gdn nimes 362 gastes : Gdn em. gastas

neowolnesse 7 her þæt fyr þæt ðu sylfa in þe bærndest 7 for þinum
synnum helleduru ongen þe openað . mid þy þe ða werigea gastas
þyssum wordum sprecon 7 him swa to beotodon þa andswarude he him
7 him to cwæð . wa eow þystra bearnum 7 forwyrde tuddor . ge 130
syndon dustes acsan . hwa geaf eow yrmingum þæt ðæt ge min
geweald ahton in þas witu to sendanne . Hwæt ic eom her andweard
7 earo 7 bide mines dryhtnes willan . for hwan [*]mid eowrum
leasum beotingum me bregean . hie þa werigan gastas hine to ðam
gegearwodon . swylce hine man þær in scufan wolde . þa semninga 135
com se heofones biggenga . se haliga apostol . sanctus bartholomeus
mid heofonlicre beorhtnesse 7 wuldre scinende betuh þa dimman

sese ab æthereis sedibus radiantis ‡ olimpi coram illis aureo (37^{v})
fulgore amictus obtulit ; Maligni ergo spiritus non sustinentes
cælestis splendoris fulgorem : frendere . fremere . fugere .
tremere . timere coeperent ; Sanctus uero guthlacus aduentum 550
fidelissimi auxiliatoris sui persentiens . spiritali lætitia
repletus gauisus est ; Tunc deinde sanctus bartholomeus
cæteruis satellitum iubet : ut illum in locum suum cum magna
quietudine sine ulla offensionis molestia reducerent ; Nec
mora* . preceptis apostolicis obtemperantes . dicto citius iussa 555
facessunt ; Nam illum reuehentes cum nimia suauitate . 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 conuenienter audie-
batur : ibunt sancti de uirtute in uirtutem et reliqua ; Immin- 560
ente ergo ‡ aurora cum sol nocturnas cælo demouerat umbras : (38^{r})
præfatus 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

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555 *s.erat

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139 for, not in MS : Gsr supplies for here 145 rixaþ : Gsr rixað; á : Gsr a 146 fiat :⁊ The homily, and collection, ends 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 reagent used in modern times.

þeostru þære sweartan helle . Hi þa awyrgedan gastas ne mihton for
þære fægernysse þes halgan cuman þær awuniah ac hi sylfe on þeostre
gehyddon . Þa se eadiga wer GVTHLAC his þone getreowan freond
geseeah . þa was he mid gastlicre blisse 7 mid heofonlice gefean
swiðe bliþe . Þa æfter þam het se halga apostol sanctus BARTHOLOMEVS 370
7 heom bebead þæt hi him wæron underþeodde . þæt hi hine eft
gebrohton mid smyltnysse on þære ylcan stowe þe hi hine ær ætgenamon .
7 hig þa swa dydon . 7 hine mid ealre smyltnysse swa gelæddon .
7 on heora fiðerum bæron 7 feredon . þæt he ne mihte ne on sciþe
fægeror gefered beon . Mid þy hi þa comon onmiddan þære lyfte 375
heannysse . Þa comon him togeanes haligra gasta heap . 7 hi
ealle sungon 7 þus cwædon . Ibunt de uirtutute in uirtutem . &
reliqua . Þæt ys on englisc . Halige men gangað of mægene on
mægen . Þa hit þa on mergen dagian wolde . þa asettton hi hine eft (27r)
þær hi hine ær genaman . Þa he þa his morgengebedtíde wolde gode 380

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369 heofonlice : Gdn reads MS heofonlicre and em. heofonlice
380 genaman : Gdn em. genamon

þystre þære sweartan helle . hie ða þa werigan gastas ne meahton
for† þære fægernesse þes haligan cuman þær gewunigean . Ac hie
sylfe in heolstre hyddon . þa he ða se eadiga wer his þone 140
getrywan freond geseah ða wæs he mid gastlicre gefeannesse
7 on heofoncundre blisse swiðe gefeonde 7 þa æfter þam fleah
se haliga guðlac mid þam apostole sancte bartholomei to heofona
rices wuldre 7 hine se hælend þær onfeng 7 he þær leofað 7
rixaþ in heofona rices wuldre á butan ende on ecnesse amen 145
fiat :7

gefyllan . þa geseah he þær standan twegen þara awerigdra gasta
weopon swyþe 7 geomerian . mid þy he hi ahsode for hwan hi weopon .
þa andswarodon hi him 7 þus cwædon . wit wepað forþon þe uncer mægn
eall þurh þe ys gebrocen . 7 we þe nu ne moton to cuman . Ne to þe
nane spræce habban . ac on eallum þingum þu unc hæfst gebysmrod . 385
7 ure miht eall oferswyþed . Da æfter þam wordum hi gewiton ða
awyrgedan gastes efne swa amic fram his ansyne .
hu þa deofla on brytisc sprecon .
Þæt gelamp on þam dagum cenredes merena kyninges . þæt brytta þeod
angolcynnes feond þæt hi mid manigum gewinnum 7 mid missenlicum 390
gefeohtum þæt hi angolcynne geswencton . Þa gelamp hit sumre nihte

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382 weopon : Gdn, Gsr em. wepan 387 gastes : Gdn em. gastas
388 hu maroon, rest of title red 389 Þ maroon

inpenderet : paulisper lumina deuertens . a sinistra stantes duos 565
satellites lugentes . sibi pre ceteris aliis notos conspicit ; 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 ; Hæc dicentes . uelut fumus a facie eius euanuerunt ; 570

34 QVOMODO FANTASTICAS DEMONVM TVRMAS QVI SE BRITTONICAM EXERCITVM
SIMVLAVERE ORATIONIBVS FVGAVIT •

Contigit itaque in diebus kenredi merciorum regis : cum brytones (38)
infesti hostes saxonici generis . bellis . predis . publicis-
que uastionibus anglorum gentem deturbarent : quadam nocte 575

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569 *s.tibi 571/2 red rubric 573 C green

þa hit wæs hancred 7 se eadiga wer guðlac his uhtgebedum befeal .
þa wæs he sæmninga mid leohte ælæpe swefed . þa onbræd he GVÐLAC
of þam slæpe . 7 eode þa sona ut 7 hawode 7 herenode þa gehyrde
he mycel werod þara awyrgedra gasta on bryttisc sprecende . 7 he
oncneow 7 ongeat heora gereorda for þam he ær hwilon mid him wæs on
wræce . Ða sona after þon he geseah eall his hus mid fyre afylled .
7 hi hine after þon ealne mid spera ordum afyldon . 7 hi hine on
þam sperum up on þa lyft ahengon . þa ongeat sona se stranga
cristes cempa þæt þæt wæron þa egsan 7 þa witu þæs awyrgedan
gastes . he þa sona unforhtlice þa strale † þara awerigdra gasta (27v)
him fram asceaf . 7 þone sealm sang . Exurgat deus & dissipentur .

gallicinali tempore . quo more solito uir beate memorie guthlac
orationum uigiliis incumberet : extimplo cum uelut imaginato
sopore opprimeretur : uisum est sibi tumultuantis turbe audisse
clamores ; Tunc dicto citius leui somno expergefactus . extra
cellulam qua sedebat egressit : et arrectis auribus adstans uerba
loquentis uulgi : brittannicaque agmina tectis succedere cognoscit ;
Nam ille aliorum temporum preteritis uolumnibus inter illos
exulabat : quoadusque eorum strimulantes loquelas intellegere
ualuit ; Nec mora* . per palustria* tectis subuenire certantes .
eodem pene momento omnes domus suas flamma superante ardere con-
spicit ; † illum quoque intercipientes acutis hastarum spiculis : (39r)
in auras leuare coeperunt ; Tum uero uir dei . tandem hostis pell-
acis millenis artibus millenas formas persentiens : uelut prophet-
ico ore sexagesimi septimi psalmi primum uersum psallebat . exurgat

584 *s.erat ; *s.loca

& reliqua . sona swá he þæt fyrmeste fers sang þæs sealmes . þa
gewiton hi swa swa smic fram his ansyne . Mid þy se eadiga wer
GVÐLAC swa geloomlice wiđ þam awerigedum gastum wann 7 oampode .
þa ongeaton hi þæt heora mægn 7 weorc oferswyþed wæs .

Be beccelle þam preoste .

Wæs sum preost þæs nama wæs beccel þa com he to þam halgan were 7
hine bæd þæt he hine to him genáme . 7 þæt gehet þæt he eadmodlice
wolde on godes þeowdome be his lárum lyfian . He þa se awyrgeda
gast þæs yloan preostes heortan 7 geþanc mid his searwes attre

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407 maroon 408 W red

deus et reliqua ; Quo audito . dicto uelocius . eodem momento .
omnes demoniorum turbę uelut fumus a facie eius euanuerunt ;

35 QVALITER PROPHETICO SPIRITV COGITATIONES MALIGNAS CLERICI CVIVSDAM
INTELLEGEBAT

Post non multum temporis . cum uir uitæ uenerabilis guthlac . contra
insidias lubrici hostic sæpe certando triumphabat : ecce zabulus
uires suas fractas conperiens . nouas uersutias aduersus eum sub
toxico pectore uersari coepit ; Erat enim quidam clericus nomine
beccel . ‡ qui se ipsum famulum fieri tanti uiri sponte obtulit . (39r)
ac sub disciplinis ipsius caste deo uiuere proposuit ; Cuius
precordia malignus spiritus ingressus . pestiferis uanę glorię

592/3 red rubric 594 P purple

geondsprengde† 7 mengde . lærde hine se awyrgeda gast þæt he guðlac
ofsloge 7 acwealde . 7 þus on his heortan gesende . Gif ic hine
ofslea . 7 acwelle . þonne mæg ic eft ágan þa yldan stowe æfter
him . 7 me þonne woruldmen arwurðiað swa swa hi hine nu doð . Ða
gelamp hit sume dæge þæt se yldra preost com to þam eadigan were
þæt he hine wolde scyran . swá his gewuna wæs ymbe twentig nihta .
þæt he hine wolde þwean . þa wæs he swyðe oflysted þæt he þæs
eadigan weres blod agute . he þa sona GVTHLAC geseah þa láre
þæs awyrgedan gastes . swa him ealle þa toweardan þing þurh godes
gifu wæron gecydde . 7 eac swylce þa andweardan . 7 he mihte þone
man innan geseon . 7 geondsceawian swá útan . 7 he owæð þus to

412 geondsprengde, MS geond/spregde : Gdn, Gsr em. geond sprengde
419 GVTHLAC : Gdn, Gsr Guðlac

fastibus illum inflare cepit : c 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 cum
maxima regum principumque uenerantia habiturus foret ; Quadam
ergo die cum prefatus clericus uirum dei guthlac ut adsolebat
post 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 futu+rorum prescientiam manifestabat ; (40r)
conperto noui sceleris piaculo : illum scisitari coepit dicens ;

609 * .i.magna

him . Eala þu min beocel ‡ to hwan hafast þu bedigled under þam dysigan breoste þone awyrgedan feond . for hwon nelt þu þæs biteran attres þa deaþberendan wæter of þe aspiwan . ic þæt geseo þæt þu eart fram þam awyrgedan gaste beswicen . 7 þa manfullan smeaunge þinre heortan . manna kynnes costere 7 middaneardes feond hafað acenned on þe þa unablinnu þæs yfelan geþohtes . Ac ahwyrf þe fram þære yfelan lare þæs awyrgedan gastes . Þa ongeat he sona þæt he wæs fram þam awyrgedan gaste beswicen . feol 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 forgeaf . ac eac swylce he him gehet þæt he him wolde beon on fultume on eallum his earfeþum .

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430 þam : Gdn þan

o mi beccel . ut quid hebido sub pectore antiquum hostem occultas ? quare amari ueneni mortiferas limphas non uomis ? scio enim te a maligno spiritu deceptum : quapropter flagitiosas meditationes . quas tibi generis humani hostilis criminator inseruit . ab illis conuertendo confitere ; Tum ille cum se a maligno spiritu seductum intellexisset : prosternens se ad pedes tanti uiri guthlaci . delictum suum lacrimabili uoce confessus . supplex ueniam orabat ; Itaque uir beatę memorię guthlac non solum illius culpę ueniam indulsit : sed in futuris tribulationibus adiutorem illius se uenturum fore promisit ;

Hu þa deofla ferdon .

Þæt gelamp sumere nihte þa se halga wer guðlac his gebedum befeal . þa gehyrde he grymetigenda hryþera 7 misliora wildeora . Næs þa nan hwil to þam þæt he geseah ealra wihta 7 wildeora . 7 wurma hiw inouman to him . Æresť he geseah leon ansyne . 7 he mid his blódigum tuxum to him beotode . Swylce eac fearres gelicnysse . 7 beran ansyne þonne hi gebolgene beoð . Swylce eac nǽddrena híw .

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435 maroon title 436 Þ green 437 grymetigenda : Gdn, Gsr em. grymetunga

ℋ QVOMODO NOCTE QVADAM MALIGNI SPIRITVS IN DIVERSARVM BESTIARVM FORMIS ‡ ILLVM TERREBANT (40ᵛ)

Verum quia superius quantum isdem uenerabilis uir guthlac aduersus ueras apertasque diabolíticas insidias ualuit explicauimus* ; nunc quoque quid aduersus simulaticias malignorum spirituum fraudes prœualuit exponemus* ; Isdem fere temporibus . cum uir sepe memoratus quadam nocte in assiduis orationibus assueto more perstaret ; ingenti sonitu totam insulam qua sederet tremere circum putebat ; Deinde parui temporis interuallo succedente . ecce subito uelut concurrentium armentorum crepitum cum magno terrę tremore domui succedere exaudiebat ; Nec mora* domum ab undique inrumpentes . uariorum monstrorum diuersas figuras introire prospicit ; Nam leo rugiens dentibus sanguineis morsus ‡ rabidos inminebat ; Taurus uero mugitans . unguibus (41ʳ) terram defodiens ; cornu cruentum solo defigebat ; Vrsus denique infrendens . ualidis ictibus brachia commotans uerbera promittebat ; Coluber quoque squamea colla porrigens .

625/6 red rubric 628 *i.narrauimus 630 *i.tractauimus 633 ‡s.erat 624 finis is written beside TERREBANT

7 swynes grymetunge . 7 wulfa geþeot . 7 hræfena crœcetung .
and mislice fugela hwistlunge . þæt hi woldon mid heora hiwunge .
þæs halgan weres mod awendan . He þa ✝ se halga wer guþlac hine (28ᵛ)
gewæpnode mid þan wæpne þære cristes rode . 7 mid þam scylde
þæs halgan geleafan . 7 forseah þa oostunge þara awyrgedra
gasta 7 þus cwæð . Eala þu earma wiðerwearda gast þin mægn ys
gesyne . 7 þin miht ys gecyþed . þu nu earma wildeora . 7
fugela 7 wyrma hiw ætywes . þu iu þe ahofe þæt þu woldest beon
gelic þam ecan gode . Nu þonne ic bebeode þe on þam naman þæs
ecan godes . se þe worhte . 7 þe of heofones heannysse awearp .
þæt þu fram þisum ungeþwærnysse gestille . þa sona æfter þon
ealle þa ætywnysse þara awerigdra gasta on weg gewát .

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442 crœcetung : Gdn, Gsr em. crœcetunge 449 earma : Gsr em. earmra; ætywes : Gdn em. ætywest 452 þisum : Gdn, Gsr em. Þisse
453 gewát : Gdn em. gewáton, Gsr em. gewiton

indicia atri ueneni monstrabat ; Et ut breui sermone concludam :
aper grunnitum . lupus ululatum . equus hinnitum . ceruus anxatum .
serpens sibilum . bos balatum . coruus crocitum . ad turbandum
ueri dei uerum militem : horrisonis uocibus strinebant* ; Sanctus
itaque cristi famulus armato corde signo salutari . hæc omnia fant-
asmatum genera despiciens . his uocibus usus aiebat ; o miserrime
satan : manifesto sunt uires tuę . nonne nunc miserarum bestiarum
hinnitus . grunnitus . crocitusque imitaris . qui æterno deo te
assimilari temptasti ? Idcirco impero tibi in nomine iesu ✝ cristi (41ᵛ)
cui te de cælo damnauit : ut ab hoc tumultu desistas ; Nec mora*
dicto citius uniuersum fantasma uacuas in auras recessit ;

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643 *scriocettan 649 *s.erat

Hu þæt gewrit begiten wæs .

Ðæt gelamp on sumere nihte . þæt þær com sum man to þæs halgan weres
sprǽce . mid þy he þær dagas wunode . þa gelamp hit þæt he sum
gewrit awrat on cartan . þa he þa hæfde þæt gewrit awriten . þa
eode he ut . Ða com þær sum hrefen inn . sona swá he þa cartan
geseah þa genam he hig sona 7 gewat mid on þæne fenn . Sona swa se
foresǽda cuma ongean com . þa geseah he done hrefen þa cartan
beran . þa wæs he sone swyðe unbliþe . Ða wæs on þam ylcan

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454 title mixed red and metallic red ; begiten : Gdn begæn, gives correct reading p. vi 455 Ð metallic 456 þær dagas : Gsr em. þær unmanige dagas 460 done : Gdn, Gsr þone

37 QVALITER CORVVS CARTVLAM INTER VNDAS STAGNI DIMISIT : NEC ILLAN
ORANTE GUHTLACO AQVAE LEDERE VALVERVNT ;

Contigit quoque sub cuiusdam temporis cursibus . cum alius dei famulus ad colloquium uenerabiles uiri dei guthlaci peruenisset : aliquot diebus in insula prefata hospitari coepit ; Quadam autem die membranos quosdam scribens . cum ad finem scripturam suam deflexisset . extra domum recedens . quando in quodam oratorio orationibus incumberet : ecce quidam coruus accola eiusdem insulę intrans domum predicti hospitis . ut cartulam illic prospexit* . rapido* forcipe arripuit ; Prefatus uero hospes cum uisus suos forte ‡ foris deuertisset . uolantem alitem cartulam in ore suo (42r) portantem prospicit : confestimque cum cartulam suam defuisse conperit . ab alite coruo raptam fuisse cognoscit ; Denique eadem

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651/2 red rubric 659 *s.eam 660 *uel rabido; *i.bile

timan þæt se halga wer GVTÞLAC ut of his cyrcan eode ⁊a
geseah he þone broþor sarig . þa frefrode he hine 7 him to
cwæð . ne beo þu broþor sarig . Ac swa se hrefen þurh
þa fennas upp afligeð . swá þu him æfter row . þonne metest
þu þæt gewrit . næs þa nænig hwil to þan þæt he to scipe eode ‡ (29ʳ)
se yloa þe þæt gewrit wrat . Mid þy he þurh þa fenland reow . þa
com he to sumum mere þe wel neah þæt egland wæs . þa wæs þær

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462 GVTÞLAC : Gsr Guðlac 468 þæt egland : Gsr em. þam eglande

hora sanctus guthlac extra oratorium egrediebatur : qui cum pre-
fatum fratrem subita mestitia correptum prospiceret . 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 hæc alitem longe in austrum uolantem cernebant : qui cursum
suum inter stagnosa paludis lygustra deflectens : sese subito
ab eorum obtutibus uelut euanescens abdidit ; Sanctus uero guth-
lac firmam fidem firmo pectore gestans : fratri prefato præcepit .
ut nauiculam in contiguo portu ‡ positam conscendisset : et ut (42ᵛ)
inter densas harundinum conpages . 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 hreodbed þa hangode seo carte on þam hreode
efne swa hig mannes hand þær ahengce . 7 he sona þa bliþe feng
to þære cártan . 7 he wundriende to þam godes were brohte . 7
he þa se eadiga wer GVTHLAC sæde þæt þæt nære his geearnung . ac
godes mildheortnysse . Weron on þam ylcan yglande twegen
hrefnas gewunode to þæs gifre þæt swa hwæt swa hi mihton gegripan
þæt hi þæt woldon on weg alædan . 7 he þeah hwæþere heora

media planitie stagni unam harundinem curuato cacumine stantem :
quæ stagni tremulis quassabatur undique limphis : in cuius* fast-
igio æquiperatas scedulas æquali lance pendentes . uelut ab
humana manu positas cerneres . mirabile dictu . tangi non tacto
contiguis uidebantur abundis ; At ille frater arripiens de harund-
ine cartam . cum magna admiratione grates deo persoluens . uener-
antiam ualidæ fidei . de eo quod contigit uenerabili uiro guthlaco
conferens : unde egressus domum reuersus est ; Prefatus uero
cristi famulus ✝ guthlac : non sui meriti quod contigit . sed (43r)
diuinæ miserationis fuisse firmabat ;

38 QVOMODO NEQVITIAM CORVORVM PERTVLERIT : ET QVALITER AD VOCEM
ILLIVS AVES HEREMI ET PISCES PALUDIS VENIEBANT

Erant igitur in supradicta insula 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 .

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679 *s.conspicit 688/9 red rubric 690 E green

gifernysse ealle æbær 7 geþolode . þæt he eft sealde mannum
bysene his geþyldes . 7 nalæs þæt an þæt him þa fugelas
underþeodde weron ac eac swa þa fixas . 7 wilde deor þæs
westenes ealle hi him hyrdon . 7 he hym dæghwamlice andlyfene
sealde of his agenra handa . swa heora gecynde wæs .
Hu þa swalawan on him sæton 7 sungon .

476 æbær : Gsr em. abær 480 agenra : Gdn, Gsr em. agenre
481 maroon

uarias eorum iniurias perferens . longanimiter pio pectore
sufferebat : ut non solum in hominibus exemplum patientię ipsius
ostenderetur : sed etiam in uolucribus . et inferis . manifesta
esset ; Erga enim ✝ omnia eximię caritatis ipsius gratia habund- (43v)
abat in tantum : ut incultę solitudinis uolucres . et uagabundi
cœnosi paludis pisces . ad uocem ipsius ueluti ad pastorem
ocius nantes uolantesque subuenirent ; De manu enim illius
uictum : prout uniuscuiusque natura indigebat uesci solebant :
Non solum vero terrę aerisque animalia illius iussionibus obtemp-
erabant : immo etiam aqua aerque ipse dei uero famulo oboediebant ;
Nam qui auctori omnium creaturarum fideliter et integro spiritu
famulatur : non est mirandum si eius imperiis ac uocibus omnis
creatura deseruiat ; At plerumque idcirco subiectæ nobis creaturę
dominium perdimus : quia domino uniuersorum creatori seruire
negligimus : secundum illud . si oboedieritis et audieritis me :
bona terrę comedetis et reliqua ; item ; si habundauerit fides
uestra ut gra✝num sinapis et reliqua ; (44r)

39 QVALITER HIRVNDINES IMPERIIS EIVS OBTEMPERABANT

708 uocibus : uotis appears in texts other than small group to which this belongs

Þæt gelamp sume siþe þæt þær com sum arwurþe broðor to him þæs nama
wæs WILFRIÐ se him wæs geara on gastlicre þoftscipe geþeoded . Mid
þan þe hig þa on manegum gesprǽcum heora gastlic lif smeadon þa
comon þær sæmninga in twa swalewan fleogan . 7 hi efne blissiende 485
heora sang up ahofon . 7 þa efter þon hi setton unforhtlice on þa
sculdra þæs halgan weres guðlaces . 7 hi þær heora sang up
ahofon . 7 hi eft setton on his breost and ‡ on his earmas 7 on (29v)
his cneowu . Ða he þa WILFRIÐ lange þa fugelas wundriende
beheold . þa frægn hine wilfriþ for hwon þa wildan fugelas þæs 490
widgillan westenes swa eadmodlice him on sæton . He þa se halga

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483 gastlicre : Gdn, Kln em. gastlicum, Gsr em. gastlice 484 gastlic : Kln em gastlice

Libet etiam beatissimi dei famuli guthlaci quoddam spiritale mirac-
ulum explicare* ; Contigit enim quadam die : cum quidam uir uener- 715
abilis nomine uuilfrithus . iamdudum uiro dei guthlaco spiritalis
amicitiæ federe copulatus ut adsolebat cum eo loqueretur : Forte
duæ hirundines subito domum intrantes : uelut cum indicio magnæ
letitiæ auino forcipe flexosi gutteris carmen canentes . ueluti ad
adsuetas sedes deuenissent . sese non hesitantes humeris uiri dei 720
guthlaci inposuerunt : ac deinde cantulis uocibus garrulantes .
brachiis . genibus . pectorique illius insedebant ; Vuilfriðus
uero stupefactus : efflagitata sermocinandi licentia . sciscitari
ab illo coepit : ut quid inculte solitudinis uolucres . humani
successus insueti ‡ illam propiandi fiduciam habuerunt ; Sanctus 725(44v)

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714 L purple; [1]s.me 715 *i.narrare

wer GUÐLAC him andswarode 7 him to cwæð . Ne leornodest þu
broðor wilfriþ on halgum gewritum þæt se þe on godes willan his
lif leofode . þæt hine wilde deor 7 wilde fugelas þe near
wæron . 7 se man þe hine wolde fram woruldmannum his lif libban
þæt hine englas þe near comon . for þon se þe woruldlicra manna
spræce gelomlice wilnað . þonne ne mæg he þa engellican sprece
befeolan .

uero guðlacus e contra respondens aiebat ; nonne legisti quia qui
deo puro spiritu copulatur . omnia sibi in deo coniunguntur . et
qui ab hominibus cognosci denegat . agnosci a feris et frequent-
ari ab angelis querit ? Nam qui frequentatur ab hominibus :
frequentari ab angelis nequit ; Tunc adsumens quandam uentinulam :
posuit in eam festucam ; Quod cum alites prospicerent : uelut
notato signo inbuti . illic nidificare coeperunt ; Cumque ueluti
unius horę spatio transacto . adgregatis quisquiliis nidum fund-
arent : sanctus guðlacus exsurgens . sub testitudine tecti quo
sederet uentinulam posuit ; Volucres uero quasi adepto propris
mansionis loculo : illic manere coeperunt ; Non enim sine licita
uolentia uiri dei . locum nidificandi sibi eligere presumebant ; ‡ (45^{r})
Sed in unoquoque anno petentes mansionis indicium : ad iurum dei
ueniebant ; Nulli ergo absurdum sit . a uolucribus formam
oboedientię discere : cum salomon dicit ; uade piger imitare
formicam . considera uias eius . et disce sapientiam illius ;

ymb þa glofan þe þa hrefnas bæron .

Swylce eac gelamp sume siþe witedomlice wundor be þisum halgan were . wæs sum foremæra man æþelan kynekynnes on myrcna rice þæs nama wæs æþelbald . þa wolde he to þæs halgan weres spræce cuman . beget þa æt wilfriðe þæt he hine to þæm godes were gelædde 7 hi þa sona on scipe eodon . 7 ferdon to þam yglande þær se halga wer GVTHLAC on wæs . Þa hi þa to þam halgan were comon . þa hæfde wilfrið forlæten his glofan on þam scipe . 7 hi þa wið

499 maroon title 500 S green; witedomlice : Gdn, Gsr em. witedomlic

40 QVOMODO DOMI SEDENS : DVAS MANICAS SVAS A CORVIS PREDATAS INTELL-
EXIT ET ITERVM RESTITVTAS FORE IN EADEM HORA PREDIXIT •

Necue tacendum quoque esse arbitror . quoddam prefati uiri pro-
uidentię miraculum ; Erat itaque sub eodem tempore . quidam
exul de inclita merciorum prole . uocabulo aethelbaldus qui
quadam die ut adsolebat uirum dei uisitare malens . comite
prefato uuilfrido : adepto rate usque insulam predictam per-
uenit ; Vuilfridus uero ratis de prora saltu terram petens :
ambas manicas suas in puppi ‡ dimisit ; Ac deinde ad colloquium

742/3 red rubric, : black 744 N green

þone halgan wer spræcon . he þa se eadiga wer GVTHLAC acsode hi
hwæðer hi ænig þinc æfter heom on þam scipe forleton . swa him
god ealle þa diglan þinge cuð gedyde . þa andswarode him wilfrið
7 cwæð þæt he forlete his twa glofan on þam scipe . Næs þa nænig
hwil to þan sona swa hi ut of þam † in eodon . þa geseegon hi þone (30r)
hræfn mid þan sweartan nebbe þa glofe teran uppe on anes huses
þace . He þa sona se halga wer guðlac þone hrefn mid his worde
þreade for his reþnysse . 7 he þa his worda hyrsumode swa fleah se
fugel west ofer þæt westen . he þa wilfrið mid gyrde of þam huses

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509 þinc : Gdn em. þinge 511 in : Gdn em. inne 514 worda : Gdn em. worde 515 þam : Gdn, Gsr em. þæs

sancti uiri uenientes . postquam ad inuicem se salutauerunt :
inter alia sermocinandi colloquia . suoramemoratus uir beatæ
memoriæ guthlacus . cui dominus absentia presentabat : uelut
prophetię spiritu inflatus . cum domi sedisset et nil* aliud
excepto domus uestibulo prospicere potuisset . subito ab illis
sciscitari coepit : utrumne rem ullam in naui dimisissent :
Cui uuilfriðus respondens . duas manicas suas illic obliui-
scendo se dimisisse aiebat ; Ille uero coruos suos tunc manicas
possedisse : sicut euentus rei probauit dicebat ; Nec mora*
extra domum egredientes : conspiciunt coruicini sobolis atrum
predonem in fastigio cuiusdam casæ inprobo forcipe manicam
lacerare ; Sanctus autem guthlacus alitem leui sermone con-
primebat : ueluti criminis sui conscius † esset ; ales manicam (46r)
in culmine casæ linquens . uelut fuga facta occiduas in auras
uolabat ; Vuilfriðus uero de culmine tecti in summitate uirgæ

hrofe þa glofe gerahte . swylce næs eac nænig hwil to þam sona
comon þær þry men to þære hyðe 7 þær tacn slogon . þa sona eode
se halga wer guðlac út to þam mannum mid bliðum andwlite 7 góde
mode . he þa spæc wið þam mannum . mid þan þe hi faran woldon .
þa brohton hi forð ane glofe sædon þæt heo of anes hrefnes muþe
feolle . he se halga wer guþlac sona to smerciende feng . 7
heom his bletsunge sealde 7 hi eft ferdon . 7 he eft ageaf þa
glofe þam þe hi ær ahte .

manicam deducere fecit : ac deinde conperiens tanti uiri potentię
fuisse alteram sibi reddere sicut et illam : sollicitus de
alterius manicę damno fieri coepit ; At uir dei illum egrota
mente dammum rei grauiter 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 hæc uerba ecce tres uiri fratres
pulsato signo ante portam prefatę insulæ steterunt : ad quos
dicto uelocius sanctus guthlacus ut adsolebat hilari uultu
successit ; Nam semper gratia eximiæ caritatis in ore et ipsius
uultu fulgebat ; Salutatis uero ‡ fratribus : confestim unus (46^{v})
eorum inclinata sibi ceruice . efflagitata uenia : forte in uia
quandam manicam . de uncis pedibus corui dimissam inuenisse se
fatebatur : et manicam sibi ostendit ; Guthlacus parumper sub-
ridens . de manu illius manicam : tenuit et admiratus diuinę
clementię benignitatem loquente spiritu gratias egit : ac deinde
salutatis illis . sicut ante promisit uuilfrido manicam reddidit ;.

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772 *s.dico 777 inclinata : MS inclinatę

Hu hwætred his hæla onfeng .

Wæs on eastengla lande sum man æþeles cynnes þæs nama wæs hwætred . 525
Mid þy he þa dæghwamlice mid arfæstnysse his ealderum underþeoded
wæs . hit gelamp sume siðe þa he æt his fæder hame wæs þæt hine
se awyrgeda gast him on eode þæt he of his gewitte weard . 7
hine se awyrgeda feond swa swyþe swencte mid þære wodnysse þæt he
hys agene lichama mid irene ge eac mid his tóþum blodgode . 7 530
wundode . 7 nalæs þæt an þæt he hine sylfne swa mid þam wælhreowum
tóþum wundode ac eac swa ‡ hwylcne swá he mihte þæt he swá gelíce (30ᵛ)

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524 maroon; hæla : Gdn, Gsr em. hælo 525 W maroon 527 hine : Gsr omits in emendation 530 agene lichama : Gdn em. agenne lichaman

41 QVOMODO QVENDAM QVADRIENNEM A MALIGNO SPIRITV VEXATVM PRISTINE SALVTI RESTITVIT

Fuit itaque in hisdem fere temporibus in orientalium anglorum 785
terminis . quidam iuuenis nomine huuætred . inclitæ quidem ut
ferunt sobolis ; Qui cum quotidianę pietatis parentibus iura
inpenderet . quadam die domi sedens : subito illum nequam
spiritus grassari* coepit ; In ‡ tantum autem inmensa dementia (47ʳ)
uexabatur : ita ut membra sua propria . ligno . ferro 790
unguibus . dentibusque prout potuit laniaret ; Non solum
enim se ipsum crudeli uesania decipiebat : quin etiam omnes
quoscumque tangere potuisset . inprobi oris morsibus

783/4 red rubric 785 F purple 789 *inpugnare
792 decipiebat : decerpebat in a few texts

tēr . Þa gelamp sume sīþe þæt þær wæs mycel menigo manna gegaderod
his maga 7 eac oþra his nehfreonda . þæt hi hine woldon gebindan
7 don hine gewyldne . he þa genam sum twibil* . 7 mid þan þry men
to deaðe ofsloh . 7 oþre manige mid gesarode . wæs þa feowor
gear þæt he swā wæs mid þære wodnysse swiðe geswenced . þa wæs
he æt nextan genumen fram his magum . 7 to halgum mynstre gelæd
to þon þæt hine mæssepreostas 7 bisceopas wið þa wodnysse þwean
7 clænsian sceoldon . 7 hi hwæþere on menigum þingum ne mihton
þa yfelan mægn þæs awyrgdan gastes ofadrifan . Þa æt nextan hi

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533 sīþe : Gdn sibe 535 *bipenne 536 wæs : Gdn þæs

lacerabat ; Eo autem modo insanire coepit : ut eum prohibere
aut alligare nullius ausibus impetraretur ; Nam quodam tempore
congregata multitudine . cum alii illum ligare temptarent* .
arrepto limali bipenni : tria uirorum corpora loetabundis
ictibus humo sternens mori coegit ; At cum bis binis annorum
cursibus dira peste uesania uastaretur . et exerti macilentia
arido in corpore uires distabuerunt : tum demum a parentibus
suis ad sacratas sedes sanctorum adductus est . uti a sacerdot-
ibus episcopisque ‡ sacratis fontibus lauaretur ; Cum ergo nullus (47ᵛ)
eorum pestiferum funesti spiritus uirus extinguere ualuisset :
tandem exploratis reprobatisque omnium remediorum stigmatibus .

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796 *inciperent 804 *cicatricibus

eft ham ǽnrote mid þam mæge ferdon . 7 hi him deaþes swyðor
uþon þonne he lengc þa men drehte . Þa wæs æt nextan gemærsod
se hlisa on þæt þeodscipe þæt on þam fenne middum on anum eglande
þe cruwland hatte wære sum ancra þæt missenlicum mægnum for gode
weohse . hi þa sona þa hi þær þone halgan wer acsodon . þohton
þæt hi woldon þær þone man gebringan gif þæt godes stihtung wǽre
þæt hi þær ǽre findan mihton . 7 hi hit swa gefremedon ferdon
þyder þæt hi comon to sumum yglande þe wel neah wæs þam eglande
þe se godes man on wæs . 7 þær wǽron on niht mid þan seocan men
þa hit þa on mergen dæg wæs . þa comon hi to þære foresprecenan

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543 he : MS caret mark with he supplied above 544 þæt þeod-scipe : Gdn em. þone þeodscipe, Gsr em. þam þeodscipe 545 þæt : Gdn, Gsr em. þe 551 þære : Gdn, Gsr em. þam

domum reuersi sunt ; Quadam uero die cum mesti parentes nati
mortem plus quam uitam optarent : fama uolat : quendam heremitam
in medii paludis insula cruland sedisse : cuius rumor diuersis
uirtutum generibus fines pene totius britannię longe lateque
replebat ; Quo conperto ; orto mane illuc ducere uexatum certo
consilio parant ; Excusso ergo opacę* noctis caligine . cum sol
aureum cælo demouerat ortum : ligatis membris uexatum ducentes
ceptum iter radere* coeperunt ; Vesperascente uero die cum illuc
iter deuertissent . in quadam insula haut procul a cruland ‡ (48^{r})
noctem duxerunt : ac denique iubare exorto : ad portum predicte

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810 * tenebrose 812 *arripere

eglande 7 þa mid ⁊ þan gewunelican heawe tacen elogon . he þa (31ʳ)
sona se halga wer GVÞLAC to heom eode mid healice mægne godes
lufan . þa hi þa heora intingan him wepende sædon . þa wæs he
sona mid mildheortnysse gefylled . Genam þa sona þone untruman
man 7 hine lædde into his cyricean 7 bær þry dagas singallice on
his gebedum ġewunode . þa on þam briddan dæge þa sunne up eode
þa babode he hine on gehalgedum wætre . 7 bleow on his ansyne
7 mid þan eall þæt mægn þæs awyrgedan gastes on him gebræc .
7 he þa se ylca man swa he of hefegum slæpe raxende awoce . 7
he eft to his hælo feng . 7 ham ferde . 7 him næfre syþþan þa
hwile þe he leofode seo adle ne eglode .

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562 adle : Gdn em. adl

insulę subuenientes . pulsato signo colloquium tanti uiri efflag- 815
itabant ; Ille autem more suo eximie caritatis ardore feruescens .
sese coram illis obtulit ; At cum ipsi causam suam a primordio
explicarent : uir dei parentum sollicitudinem . et uexatę human-
itatis labores miserescens . uelut paterno pectore illis propiti-
ari coepit ; confestim enim uexati manum arripiens . intra oratorium 820
suum duxit . et illic continuis trium dierum ieiuniis . flexis
genibus orare coepit : tertia uero die orto solo sacrati fontis
undis abluit . et inflans in faciem eius spiritum salutis . omnem
ualitudinem maligni spiritus de illo reppulit . Ipse autem uelut
qui de æstuantis gurgitis fluctibus ad portum deducitur : longa aus- 825
piria imo de pectore trahens . ⁊ ad pristinæ salutis ualitudinem re- (48ᵛ)
ditum se esse intellexit ; Ab illo enim tempore usque in diem exitus
sui : nullius molestię inquietudinem ab inmundo spiritu pertulit ;

Be aþelbaldes gefere .

Swylce eac gelamp on sumne sæl þæt þæs foresprecenan wræccan
aþelbaldes gefere þæs nama wæs ecga þæt he wæs fram þam
awyrgedan gaste unstille . 7 swá swyþe he hine drehte þæt he
his sylfes nænig gemynd ne hæfde . hi þa his magas hine to þam
godes men gelæddon . Þa sona þæs þe he to him com . þa begyrde
he hine mid his gyrdele . næs þa nænig hwil to þan . sona swa
he wæs mid þam gyrdele begyrd . eal seo unclænnysse fram him

563 maroon title; gefere : Kln em. geferan 564 S red
566 unstille : Kln em. unstill 569 gyrdele : Gdn gyrðele
570 unclænnysse : Gdn, Kln em. unclænnys

42 QVOMODO COMITEM SUBZONA SVA SIBI DONANDO AB INMUNDI SPIRITVS
INFESTATIONE DICTO CITIUS SANAVIT •

Alio quoque tempore cum prefati exulis æðelbaldi comes quidam
uocabulo ecgga . ab inmundi spiritus ualidissima uiolentia 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 *inpugnaretur 835 *meditandi 837 s.eum
829/30 red rubric 831 A green

gewæt. 7 him syþþan mæfre seo adle ne eglode . Eac þon se[+]
eadiga wer GVÐLAC witedomlice gaste weox 7 fremede . 7 he þa
toweardan mannum cydde swa cuðlice swa þa andweardan .
be þam abbode .
Þæt gelamp sume siþe þæt þær com sum abbod to him [‡] þe him wæs 575 (31[v])
geæra on gastlicre þoftscipe geþeoded . þa he þa þyder ferde
þa wæron his handþegnas twegen . bædon hyne þurh leofe bene
þæt hi mosten on oðerne weg faran 7 sædon þæt him þæs neod

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571 adle : Gdn, Kln em. adl; Eac þon se, MS Eac þone : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. Eac se 574 maroon title 575 green 576 gastlicre : Gdn em. gastlicum, Gsr em. gastlice 577 leofe bene : Gsr em. leafbene

ablatam . animumque sibi integre redditum persensit : se quoque
illo cingulo semper precingens . usque in ultimum diem uitę suę 840
nullam a satana molestiam perpessus est ;

43 QVALITER CVIVSDAM ABBATIS MINISTRORVM LONGE SE POSITORVM OCCVLTVM
CRIMEN MANIFESTANDO PRODEBAT[*] .

Cepit etiam inter ista uir dei guthlac prophetię spiritu pollere .
futura predicere . presentibus absentia narrare ; Aliquibus 845
enim diebus cum quidam abbas ut adsolebat ad uerbocinium prefati
uiri deuenire proposuit : incepto itinere duo ministri ipsius
simulata cuiusdam causę necessitate . abbatis licentiam posce-
bant . ut aliam uiam qua causa cogebat deuertissent ; Ille

842/3 red rubric 844 C purple 845 *i.manifestabat

wǽre 7 eac þearf . þa geuþe him þæs se abbod þæs þe hi hine
bǽdon . Þa he þa se abbod þær com to þære sprǽce þæs eadigan
weres guðlaces . Mid þan hi þa sylfe betweonum dremdon . of
þam willan haligra gewrita . þa betwyx þa halgan gewritu þe hi
sprǽcon . Þa cwæð GVÞLAC to him ac hwyder gewiton þa twegen þe
ǽr fram þe cyrdon þa andswarode he him 7 cwæð . hi bǽdon lǽfa
ǽt me . wæs heom oþer intingan þæt hi hider cuman ne mihton .
He þa guðlac him andswarode swa him god ealle þa toweardan þing

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581 dremdon : Gdn, Gsr em. drencton 584 lǽfa : Gdn, Gsr em. lǽfe 585 intingan : Gdn, Gsr em. intinga

autem illis concessa licentia . quo proposuit perrexit ; Ac deni-
que aduenientе illo ad colloquium ‡ uiri dei guthlaci . cum sese (49ᵛ)
alterutrum diuinarum scripturarum haustibus inebriarent : sanctus
guthlac inter alia ab illo scisсitari coepit aiens ; ut quid duo
isti clerici quos uocabulo nuncupauit . ut absolebant huc te com-
itari noluerunt ? Abbas autem illos efflagitata licentia alterius
causm necessitate . in alteram uiam deuertisse dixit ; At uero
sanctus guthlac : cui dominus ex diuina inspiratione absentia

onwreah . þæt him wæron swa cuðe swa þa andweardan . Ongan him
þa secgan þone sið þara broþra 7 him cwæð to . hi ferdon þær to
sumre wydewan ham 7 þær wæron ondrencte mid oferdrynce . 7
nalæs þæt an þæt he him þone heora siþ sæde . Ac eac swilce be
heora andleofone . ge eac swilce þa sylfan word þe hi þær
sprecon eall he be endebyrdnysse him gerehte . Mid þan þe se
abbod his bletsunge hæfde onfangen . he þa eft ferde . mid þy

presentebat : paulisper demissa* fronte subridens . uultum
deflexit ; Abbas autem cum persensisset quod uiro dei aliter
persentaretur : obsecorans eum in nomine iesu . ut euidenter*
monstraret . quod sibi de illis uisum est . suppliciter roga-
bat ; Guthlac uero supplicibus obsecrationibus amici . qui
sibi spiritali foedere in cristo copulabatur adnuens* : iter
eorum in ordine sibi pandere coepit ; dicebat enim illos ‡ ad (50r)
cuisdam uiduę casam deuertisse : et dum non adhuc tertia hora
esset . in delicatis uiduę fulcris inebriari coepisse ; Non
solum ergo uir dei iter illorum a primordio narrabat : quin
etiam uictum eorum et uerba ex ordine monstrando explicauit ;
Non aliter enim sibi ex diuino numine presentabatur : quam
ut helisæo cognitio furti facti gezi deo manifestante monstrat-
um est ; In tantum enim gratia diuina spiritus in eo pollebat :
ut absentia presentibus . et futura preteritis ut presentia
arbitraretur ; Abbas itaque percentis salutaribus documentis
uiri uenerabilis guthlaci . remeabili cursu domum migrauit ; Cum

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858 *i.inclinata 860 *manifeste 863 *indicans.

þe þa foresprecenan broþra eft to þam abbode comon . þa fregn
he hi hwær hi wæron . þa andswarodon hi him 7 cwædon þæt hi
wæron on heora nydþearfum swyðe geswencte . þa axode he hi
hwæþer † hit swá wære . þa swóron hi swiðe þæt hit swa wære . þa (32r)
cwæð he to him . Ac to hwon sweriað git mán . ac wæron æt
þisse wydewan hame 7 þær þus yncer lif leofodon . 7 þisum
wordum þus þær spræcon . þa ongeaton hi heora misdæda . feollon
þa to his fotum 7 him forgifenysse bædon 7 him andetton þæt
hit wære swa he ær sæde .

ut adsolebant duo prefati clerici ministerio abbatis obuiarent :
omnes de domu exceptis illis duobus discedere iussit ; Cumque
in domu sederent . ab illis abbas ubi moram hesterne diei † (50v)
duxerunt . sciscitabatur ; illi simulato pectore : in alicuius
amici sui casa se moratos esse dicebant ; Abbas autem illos
fuisse in domu uiduæ quam proprio uocabulo nuncupauit : alium
sibi nuntiasse aiebat ; Illi contradicentes . cum maxima
procacitate illius dicta negabant ; Abbas uero eorum inpud-
entiam conprimens* : nota signa monstrando : culpam suam confit-
eri iussit ; Ipse autem cum contra nota indicia recalcitrare*
nequissent : tandem se solo prementes . iter suum uno eodemque
ordine . quo uir dei ante narrauit confessi sunt ;

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883 *corripiens 884 *i.obsistere 885 *i.in fine

Be þam broþrum þe him to comon .

COMON EAC SWYLCE TWEGEN BRODRA to him on sumne sæloof sumum
mynstre . þa hi þa þyderweard ferdon . þa hæfdon hi mid heom
twa flaxan mid ælað gefylde . þa gewearð him betweonan þæt hi
þa gehyddon under anre tyrf . þæt hi þonne hi ham ferdon hæfdon
eft mid him . Þa hi þa to him comon . þa trymede he hi mid his
lare 7 mid his manunge heora heortan intimbrede . Mid þan þe
hi manig þing heom betweonum spræcon . Þa se eadiga wer guðlac
mid bliþum andwlitan 7 hlihhende gespræce he cwæþ to heom .

603 maroon title small, maroon capitals 604 C large, OMON EAC SWYLCE TWEGEN BRODRA 611 hlihhende : Gdn em. hlihhendre

44 QVOMODO DVOBVS CLERICIS AD SE VENIENTIBVS FASCINAS BINAS QVAS IN VIA ABSCONDERENT LVDIBRI VERBORVM FAMINE PROPHETICE MONSTRAVIT ;

Venerunt quoque his fere diebus de quodam monasterio duo uiri
fratres : ut sancti guthlaci uerba doctrine audirent ; Nam ‡ 890 (51r)
illo tempore tanti uiri fama ubique notabunda uagauit ; Deinde
cum insulam deuenissent . habentes secum binas flasculas celia*
impletas . facto consilio illas in uia sub quodam* palustri
sablone absconderunt : ut iterum reuertentes . iter suum illa
annona releuarent ; Cumque prefati fratres uerbocinio uen- 895
erabilis uiri potiti uterentur . et salutaribus preceptis
illos ammoneret* . hilari uultu . leuiter subridens . ludibri
famine uerborum . inter alia ab illis sciscitabatur dicens :

887/8 red rubric 889 V green 892 *i.coruisa 893 *uel a 897 *s.cum

For hwon behydde git þa flaxan under ane tyrf . 7 for hwon ne
læddon ge hi mid inc . Hi þa swyðe wundrodon þara worda . þæs
halgan weres . 7 to him luton 7 hine bletsunge bædon . and he
hi gebletsode . 7 hi þa eft ham ferdon . Wæs on þa sylfan tid
þæt þone foresprecenan wer missenlices hades men sohton ægðer
þara ge ealdormen . ge biscopas . 7 abbodas . 7 ælces hades .
heane . and rice . 7 nalæs þæt an þæt hine men sohton of þære ‡ (32ᵛ)
nehþeode† mercna rice . ac eac swylce ealle þa þe on bretone
wæron þe þisne eadigan wer hyrdon þæt hi æghwonon to him efston
7 scyndon . 7 þa þe wæron aþer oþþe on lichaman untrumnysse

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619 nehþeode, MS hehþeode : Kern em. nehþeode

ut quid filioli huc portare noluistis binas flasculas . quas
sub agreste glebe umbraculo abdidistis ? Quo audito . illi
inmenso stupore perculsi . se solo sternentes : ueniam perpetrati
criminis orabant ; Sanctus uero guðlac subleuatis eorum ceru-
icibus ueniam indulsit : pacem concessit . iter signauit ; ✣ (51ᵛ)
QVALITER RVMOR VIRTVTVM IPSIVS FINES BRITTANIAE PERVAGAVIT :
VEL QVOMODO COMES QVIDAM TACTV VESTIS ILLIVS SANATUS EST .
Sub hisdem quoque temporibus . ad uirum dei guthlacum multi diuers-
orum ordinum gradus . abbates . fratres . comites . diuites .
uexati . pauperes : non solum de proximis merciorum fini-
bus : uerum etiam de remotis brittanie partibus . fama nimirum
uirtutum eius acciti* confluebant : quos aut corporum egritudo .

904-5 red rubric 906 S purple 910 *aduocati

oððe fram þam awyrgdan gaste geswencte 7 numene oþþe oþrum
yfelum þe manna cynn† mid missenlicum sorgum 7 sarum útan
ymbseald ys . 7 on heora menigum se hiht awácode þe hi to him
genamon . forþan næs nænig untrum þæt he ungelacnod fram him
ferde . nænig deofolseoc þæt he eft wel gewitfæst ne wære . ne
on nænigre untrumnysse þæt he eft gehæled him fram ne ferde .
Be aþelbaldes gefere .
Ðæt gelamp mid þan þæt manige men for missenlicum þingum him

623 cynn, MS cynnes : Gdn, Gsr em. cynn 624 menigum : Gdn, Gsr em. nænigum 628 maroon title 629 Þ red

aut inmundorum spirituum infestatio* : aut commissorum errorum
professio : aut aliorum quorumcumque criminum : quibus
humanum genus adluiter* causa uexabat : prout uniuscuiusque
necessitas cogebat . a tante sanctitatis uiro se consolandos
fore sperabant . nec illos uana spes fefellit ; Nam nullus
ab illo* egrotus sine remedio : nullus uexatus sine salute :
nullus tristis sine gaudio : nullum* tedium sine exhor+tatione : (52r)
nulla mestitia sine consolatione : Nulla anximonia sine con-
silio ab illo reuersa est . sed uera caritate pollens . omnium
labores cum omnibus unanimiter pertulerat ; Contigit ergo cum
omnes diuersis partibus uariis causis . ad tanti uiri collo-

911 *i.uestatio 913 *i.contammatur 916 *s.reuersus est
917 *s.fuit

to comon . þa betweox oþre com þær þæs foresprecenan wræccan
æþelbaldes gefera þæs nama wæs OVA þæt he wolde þone halgan
geneosian 7 wiþ gesprecan . Þa gelamp hit þan æfteran dæge þæs
þe he þyder on þære fóre wæs þa eode he ofer sumne þórn an niht .
þa besloh se þorn on þone fot . 7 swa strang wæs se sting þæs
þornes þæt he eode þurh þone fot . 7 he þa uneaðe þone sið
geferde . 7 þurh mycel gewinn he to þam foresprecenan eglande
becom . þær se eadige wer guðlac on eardode . 7 mid þan þe he
þær on niht wæs . þa asweoll him se lichama ofer healf fram þam
lendendum oþ þa fet 7 swa sarlice he wæs mid þam sare geswenced .

quium ab undique confluebant : ueniebat inter alios quidam
comes predicti exulis æthelbaldi oba nomine . ad uerbocinium
beati uiri guthlaci : et cum alia die quædam loca spinosa per-
lustraret . sincelle agrestia rura gradiendo : inruit in quandam
spinulam . sub inculte telluris herbis latentem : que medilanium
plante ipsius infigens . tenus talum rumpendo totius pedis crat-
em perforauit ; Ille denique contra uires ceptum iter carpens .
ad insulam predictam in qua uir dei domino militauit . laborios-
issime peruenit : et cum illic noctem unam exegisset . inflat-
ico tumore dimidia pars ‡ corporis ipsius a lumbis tenus plantam
turgescebat ; In tantum enim noui doloris molestia augebatur :

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927 ‡ i.usque 932 augebatur : alternative readings are angebat(ur).

þæt he naðer þara ne gesittan ne standan mihte . Mid þy he þæt
þam godes were sæde guðlace þa bebead ⁊ he þæt hine man to him (33ʳ)
gelædde . þa he þa wæs broht to him . þa sæde he him þone
intingan þurh hwæt he erest swa gedæmest wære . 7 hu him erest
þæt earfoð on become . he þa sona guðlac hine sylfne ongyrede .
7 þæt reaf þe he genehliee on him hæfde he hine slefde on þone
foresprecenan man næs þa nænig hwil to þon sona swa he mid þan
hrægle swa miccles weres gegyred wæs . þa ne mihte þæt þæt
sar aberan . he þa sona se ylca þorn efne swa swa stræl of
bogan astelleþ swa he of þam men afleah . 7 on þa fyrle gewat .

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640 Mid þy he þæt : Gdn, Ger em. Mid þy man þæt 642 he him : Gdn em. he to him 645 hine : Ger em. hit 648 stræl : Gdn, strǽl

ut sedere aut stare . uel iacere nequisset ; Nam feruente membrorum
conpagine . ab imis ossuum medullis inmenso ardore coquebatur : ut
morienti similior quam languenti uideretur ; Quod cum uiro dei
guthlaco nuntiaretur ; illum ad se duci precepit : ac deinde cum
causam uexationis sue 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 : quousque procul quasi iaculata institit ;

7 þa sona on þa sylfan tíd eall se swyle 7 eall þæt sár gewat
fram him . 7 he sona to þa sylfan tíd mid bliþum mode to þam
halgan were spræc 7 he eft þanon ferde butan sceðnysse æniges
sáres . Swylce eac gelamp þæt ealle þa men wundrodon þe þas
þing gehyrdon 7 hi on þon wuldredon 7 heredon heofones god .
Be þam halgan biscope sancte hædde .

Swylce nys eac mid idele to forlætenne þæt wundor þæt [*] þurh
witedomes cræft wiste 7 him cydde forþon him wæs þurh godes gife
seald . þæt he þa word þara æfwearda swa geara wiste swa þara

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654 on þon : Gdn on þan 655 maroon title; hædde : Gsr em. Hæddan 656 S green; [*] a subject may have dropped out of this clause 657 cræft wiste 7 him cydde : Gdn em. cræft he wiste and cydde, Gsr em. cræft he wiste and mannum cydde

Eademque hora omnis tumidi feruoris uiolentia ex omnibus membrorum ipsius conpaginibus † secessit ; Confestimque exsurgens (53r)
pede reducto gradiri coepit : et postera die allocuto uiro dei
guthlaco . qui totius sui corporis ex unius membri languore
damnum* patiebatur* . hilari animo sine ullius ualitudinis*
molestia pergebat ; Tunc omnes qui testimonio uirtutis intererant . uiri dei ualitudinem fidei mirantes gloriam domino
reddebant ;

46 QVALITER VVIGFRIDO VERBA QVAE ILLO ABSENTE PROMERAT . PROVIDENTIAE SPIRITV SIBI RENARRAVIT

Nec me preterire silentio libet . quoddam miraculum oresagæ
prouidentiæ uenerabilis uiri guthlaci . cui ex diuina donatione
largitum est : ut uerba absentium quasi scripta uideret .

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946 *i.periculum; *s.antea; pro egritudinis

andwearda þe him foran gesæde wæron . Gelamp sume siþe þæt
sum biscoep to him ferde þæs nama wæs hædda efne swa swa he
wære mid heofonlicre þeahte gelæred þæt he to þære sprǽce ferde
þæs godes mannes . þa hæfde se biscoep mid hine on his gefersciᵹe
sumne man gelǽredne þæs nama wæs wigfriþ mid þan he þa betweox
þa oðre þæs biscoepes ‡ þegnas þyder ferdon . þa ongunnon hi fela (33ᵛ)
þinga be þam halgan were sprecan 7 fela þinga be his wundrum
sædon . Sume hi þonne sædon þa heardlicnysse his lifes þa
wundor þe he worhte . sume hi þonne twiendlice be his life
sprǽcon . 7 þæt cwǽdon þæt hi nyston hwæðer he on godes mihte
þa þing worhte . þe þurh deofles crǽft . þa þa hi þas þing þus
heom betweonon sprǽcon . þa cwæþ se witega to heom . Ic mæg

664 ferdon : Gdn, Gsr em. ferde

cogitationesque presentium uelut locuta cognosceret ; Cum enim
quidam episcopus Leadde nomine . quasi cælesti consilio inbutus .
ad colloquium uenerabilis uiri guthlaci ueniret : habuit
quidem secum ‡ in comitatu suo uirum librarium uuigfriþ nomine : (53ᵛ)
qui cum inter alios episcopi ministros equitabat : alii eorum
coram illo de uirtutibus et miraculis tanti uiri guthlaci
mirari coeperunt : alii asperitatem* uitæ ipsius et perseuer-
antiam . uirtutesque per illum factas ab ullo alio ante
inauditas disputabant : alii in cuius uirtute miracula* illa
quæ faciebat dubitanter erumebant ; uuigfriþ autem se posse

961 *i.duritiam 963 s.faceret 964 *i.eructabant

cwæð he ounnian 7 gewitan hwæþer he biþ bigengca þære godcundan æfæstnysse . forþon ic wæs lange betwux sceotta folc eardiende . 7 ic geseah þær manige gode 7 on godes þeodscipe wel heora lif læddon . 7 hi manigum wundrum 7 tacnum þurh godes mihte beforan manna eagum scinon of þara manna life þe ic þær geseah ic mæg ongitan hu gerád þises mannes lif ys hwæþer he þurh godes miht þa wundor wyrceð þe he þurh deofles miht deð . Mid þy þa þe foresprecena bisceop to þære spræce becom þæs gódes mannes guðlaces hi þa sylfe betweonum indrencton mid þam cerenum þære godspellican swetnysse . wæs on þam eadigan were guðlace seo

678 þe : Gdn, Gsr em. se; gódes : Gdn em. Godes, Gsr godes

discernere et scire : utrum diuinę religionis cultor esset . aut pseudosanctitatis simulator . si umquam illum uidisset pollicebatur ; Dicebat enim se inter scottorum populos habitasse : et illic pseudoanachoritas . diuersarum religionum simulatores uidisse : quos predicere future . et uirtutes alias facere . quocumque numine* nesciens conperit* ; Alios quoque illic fuisse narrabat*† uerę religionis cultores : signis uirtutibusque plurimis pollentes . quos ille crebro alloqui uidere . frequentareque solebat . ex quorum experientia . aliorum religionem discernere se potuisse promittebat ; Ergo cum predictus episcopus ad colloquuim uenerabilis uiri dei guthlaci peruenisset ; fraternis salutionibus peractis . sese alterutrum haustibus euangelici nectaris circumfundere coeperunt ; Erat autem in uiro dei guthlaco (54r)

beorhtnys þære drihtnes gife swa swyþe scinende þæt swa hwæt
swa he bodode . 7 lærde swa he of engcellicre spræce þa word
bodode 7 sæde . wæs eac swiðe mycel wisdom on him heofonlice
snyttro þæt swa hwæt swa he gelærde þæt he þæt trymede mid þa
godcundan haligra gewrita . ‡ 7 he þa semninga se biscop on 685 (34r)
midre þære spræce þe hi heom betwux smeadon . eadmodlice to
þam godes were geleat 7 hine geornlice bæd 7 halsode þæt he
þurh hine sacerdlice þenunge onfengce þæt he hine moste
gehadigan . to mæssepreoste . 7 to þenunge drihtnes weofodes .
He þa sona guðlac his benun geþafode . 7 he hine sylfne to 690

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683 sæde : Gdn ræde 685 godcundan haligra gewrita : Gdn, Gsr em. godcundan bysena haligra gewrita; biscop : Gdn bisceop 690 benum : Gdn em. benum

diuinæ gratiæ luculentia* in tantum : ut quicquid predicar-
et : uelut ex angelico ore expressum uideretur ; Erat in eo 980
tantæ sapientiæ affluentia* : ut quecumque diceret . diuin-
47 arum scripturarum exemplis firmaret ; Ergo predictus epis-
copus . postquam colloquiis illius potitus est . et melle
dulciora præcepta sapientiæ ipsius gustauit : ecce repente
in medio sermone , submisso ‡ ceruice supplex adiurare illum 985 (54r)
coepit . ut sacerdotale officium per eum susciperet ; Guthlac
uero petitionibus episcopi nolens resistere . ocius se

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979 *i. claritas 980 *i.manifestatum 981 *i.habund-
antia

eorðan astrehte . 7 þæt cwæð þæt he wolde þæs þe godes willa
wære 7 þæs biscopes . þa hi þa hæfdon þa þenunge gefylled 7
he wæs gehalgod swá ic ær sæde . he þa se biscop bæd þone
halgan wer þæt he scolde to gereorde fóm mid him . 7 he þa
swa dyde þeah hit his life ungeþeawe wære . þa hi þa to
gereorde sæton . swa ic ær sæde . þa locode GVTHLAC to þam
biscopes þegnum þa geseah he þone foresprecenan broðor wigfrið
cwæð þa þus to him. 7 nu broþor wigfrið ac hwylc þince þe
nu þæt se preost sig be þam þu gyrstandæge cwæde þæt þu woldest
gecunnian hwæþer he wære gód oþþe gál . he þa sona wigfrið

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696 þam : Ger em. þæs 697 broðor : Gdn broþor 698 þince : Gdn em. þincð 700 gód : Gdn god

solo prosternens ; uolentię illius se oboediturum esse promittit ; Episcopus autem ouanti* animo exsurgens . consecrata prius ęcclesia . fidelem sacerdotem summo deo sacrauit ; Peractis ergo consecrationum obsequiis ; rogatu summi pontificis . contra rem solitam uir dei illo die prandium uenire cogebatur ; Adpositis ergo dapibus postquam prandere coeperunt . aspiciens sanctus guthlac predictum fratrem uuigfridum procul sedentem . inquit ; o frater uuigfride . quomodo tibi nunc uidetur ille clericus . de quo hesterno die iudicare promisisti ? Vuigfrið uero hæc miratus confestim

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989 *i.gaudenti

arás 7 þa to eorþan leat . 7 his synne him andette . he þa
sona se halga wer him togeanes fengc . 7 him his miltse geaf
7 sealde . Wæs halgung þæs eglandes cruwlande 7 eac þæs
eadigan weres GVTHLACES on árfæstlice tíde . fif dagum ær
sancte bartholomeus mæssan . 705
Be ecgburhe abbodysse . ‡ (34^{v})
Swylce eac gelamp sume siþe þæt seo arwyrðe fæmne ECGBVRH abbodysse
aldwulfes dohtor þæs cyninges sende þam arwurðan were guðlace

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704 GVTHLACES touched up with metallic red; árfæstlice : Gdn, Gsr. em. hárfæstlice 706 title metallic; ecgburhe abbodysse : Gdn, Gsr em. ecgburhe abbodyssan, Kln em. ecgburge abbodissan 707 S red

exurgens . se totum solo . tota mente prosternit . supplexque
ueniam precatus sese ‡ pecasse fatetur ; Mirantibus omnibus (55^{r})
qui intererant . stupescere ad inuicem coeperunt : Sanctus 1000
guthlac dicebat . conprobamini alterutrum sciscitantes . si
quis uestrum mihi hæc nuntiauit ; Contigit ergo consecratio
insulę cruland . et constitutio beati guðlaci in officium
sacerdotale . in autumnali tempore . retro computatis* quinque
diebus : ab illo die quo missa sancti bartholomei celebrari 1005
solet ;

48 QVOMODO ECGBURGE INTERROGANTI SE RESPONDISSE FERTVR HEREDEM
POST SE VENTVRVM IAM PAGANVM FVISSE .

Alterius denique temporis prelabentibus circulis reuerentissima
uirgo uirginum cristi ecgburg abbatissa . alduulfi regis 1010
filia . ad sublimium meritorum uenerabilem uirum guþlacum

1004 *i.enumeratis

leadene þruh 7 þær scytan to . 7 hine halsode þurh þa halgan
naman þæs upplican kyninges þæt after his forðfore man his
lichaman moste ingesettan . heo gesende þa gretinge be sumum
arwyrðe lifes broþor . 7 hine het þæt he him geaxian sceolde .
hwa þære stówe hyrde æfter him beon sceolde . Mid þan he bære
arwyrðan fæmnan grétinge lúflice onfeng . Þa be þon þe he
geaxod wæs . hwa þære stówe hyrde æfter him beon scolde . þa
andswarode he 7 cwæð . þæt se man wære on hæþenum folce . 7

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709 þa : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. þone 710 forðfore : Kln em. forð-fare 712 arwyrðe : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. arwyrðes; broþor : Gdn, Kln breþer 714 be þon þe : Kln em. be þam-þe

sarcofagum plumbeum lintheumque in eo uolutum transmisit :
quo uirum dei post obitum circumdari rogabat : ‡ adiurans per (55ᵛ)
nomen terribile ac uenerabile superni regis . seque ad
patibulum dominicę crucis erigens . in indicium supplicis
deprecationis extensis palmis . ut in officium predictum uir
per dei illud manus susciperet : per nuntium alterius fidelis
fratris precipiens . ut hoc indicium coram illo faceret
supplici rogatu mittebat ; Addidit quoque ut ab illo sciscit-
aretur : quis loci illius post obitum suum heres futurus
foret ; Qui cum sanctæ uirginis fidele munus gratulanter
susceepisset . de eo quod interrogatus est respondisse fer-
tur . illius loci heredem in gentili populo fuisse : nec-

þa git nære gefullod . ac þeah hwæþere þæt he þa sona com 7
þa gerymu sceolde onfon fulluhtbæþes . 7 hit eac swa gelamp .
forþon se ylca .cissa. se þe eft þa stowe heold he com þæs ymb
litel fæc on bretone 7 hine man þær gefullode swa se godes wer
foresæde .
Be aðelbalde þam kyninge .
Swylce nys eac mid idelnysse to forlætanne þæt wundor þe þes
halga wer GVTHLAC foresæde 7 mannum cydde . Wæs on sumre tíde

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717 com : Gdn, Kln, Csr em. come 722 maroon title 723 S red; forlætanne : Gdn forlætenne

dum ad baptismatis lauacrum deuenisse . sed mox futurum fore
dicebat ; Quod spiritu prouidentie dixisse* euentus future
rei probauit ; Nam ipse cissa qui nunc nostris temporibus
sedem guthlaci uiri dei possidet : post annos ‡ ut et ipse (56r)
narrare solet . lauacrum baptismatis in britannia percepit ;
49 QVALITER EXVLEM AD SE VENIENTEM CONSOLATVS EST ET REGNVM
SIBI MOX FVTVRVM FORE PREDIXIT •
Non me quoque supramemorati uiri guthlaci . uatedico* pectore
quoddam spiritale presagium narrare piget ; Quodam enim tempore

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1025 *s.eum 1031 *i.prophetico

þæt com se foresprecena wræcca to him aþelbald . 7 hine ceolred
se kyning hider 7 þider wíde aflymde . 7 he his ‡ ehtnysse 7 his (35r)
hatunge fleah 7 scúnode . Þa com he to þære spæce þæs halgan
weres guðlaces . þa þa se mennisce fultum him beswác . hine
þeah hwæþere se godcunda fultum gefrefrode . Mid þy he þa to
þam godes were com . 7 he him his earfoða rehte . þa cwæð
guðlac þus to him. Eala min cniht þinra gewinna 7 earfoða
ic eom únforgitende . ic forþon þe gemiltsode . 7 for þinum
earfoðum ic bæd god þæt he þe gemiltsode . 7 þe gefultomode .

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728 mennisce : Gdn, Gsr em. mennisca

cum exul ille quem supra memorauimus . æthelbald . huc illuc-
que persequente illum ceolredo rege in diuersis nationibus
iactaretur : alia die deficiente uirium ipsius ualitudine
suoriumque* inter dubia pericula . postquam exinanite uires
defecere : tandem ad colloquium sancti uiri guthlaci ut
adsolebat peruenit : ut quando humanum consilium defeciss-
et diuinum adesset ; Illo uero cum beato uiro guþlaco
loquente : uir dei uelut diuini oraculi inter‡pres . pand- (56v)
ere quæ uentura essent sibi ex ordine coepit dicens : O mi
puer laborum tuorum non sum expers . miseriarum tuarum ab
exordio uitæ tuæ non sum inscius . propterea miseratus calam-
itatis tuæ rogaui dominum ut subueniret tibi in miseratione

1036 *s.sociorum

7 he þa mine bene gehyrde . 7 he þe syleþ rice 7 anweald þinre
þeode . 7 þa ealle fleoð beforan þe þa þe hatiað 7 þin sweord
fornymeð ealle þine þa wiþerweardan . forþon drihten þe biþ
on fultume . Ac beo þu gebyldig forþon ne begitest þu na þæt
rice on gerisne woruldlicra þinga . ac mid drihtnes fultume
þu þin rice begytest . forþon drihten þa genyþerað þe þe nu
hatiað . 7 drihten afyrreð þæt rice fram him 7 hæfð þe gemynt .
7 geteohhod . þa he þas word gehyrde . he þa sona æþelbald his

sua : et exaudiuit me . et tribuit tibi dominationem gentis
tuę . et posuit te principem populorum : et ceruices 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 aduersarios tuos :
et ideo confortare quia dominus adiutor tuus est ; Patiens esto
ne declines in consilium quod non potest stabiliri : non in
prœda nec in rapina regnum tibi dabitur : sed de manu domini
obtinebis* ; Exspecta eum cuius dies defecerunt : † quia (57r)
manus domini opprimit illum : cuius spes in maligno posita
est : et dies illius uelut umbra pertransibunt ; Hæc et
his similia eo dicente . ex illo tempore æthelbald spem

1047 *i.reuocabit uel retorquebit 1053 *s.eam

hiht 7 his geleafan . on god sylfne trymede . 7 he getrywode
7 gelyfde ealle þa þing þe se halga wer foresæde . þæt rice
beoð onwende 7 ofánumene 7 hit á to þam ende efesteð . 7 se
rica 7 se heana se gelæreda 7 se ungelærda . and geong 7 eald
ealle hi gelice se stranga deað forgripeð ‡ 7 nymð . (35^{v})
Be þæs halgan weres lifes lenge 7 be his forðfóre .
Þa gelamp hit on fyrste æfter þissum þæt se leofa godes þeow

743 rice : Gdn, Gsr em. ricu 747 maroon title; forðfóre : Gdn forðfore, Kln em. forðfare 748 Þ green

suam in domino posuit : nec uana spes illum fefellit ; Nam eodem
modo . ordine . positioneque omnia quę de illo uir dei predix-
erat et non aliter contigerunt : sicut presentis rei presens
effectus conprobat ;

50 QVANTA EGROTVS TEMPTAMENTA PERTVLERIT : AVT QVID DE SVA COMMEND-
AVERIT SEPVLTVRA . QVAE NOVISSIMA MANDATA SORORI COMMENDAVIT : &
INTER VERBA ORATIONIS SPIRITVM QVOMODO EMISERIT .

Verum quoniam humanum genus ab initio mortalis miseriæ cotidie
ad finem decurrit . mvtatisque temporibus generationes et
regna mvtantur . ad quem terminum dominus et seruus . doctus
et indoctus . ‡ iuuenis et senex . pari condicione demergitur : (57^{v})
et licet meritis poenis premiisque disiungamur . tamen nobis
omnibus restat exitus idem ; Nam sicut mors in adam data
est: ita et in omnes dominabitur : quisquis enim huius
uitæ saporem gustauerit . amaritudinem mortis euitare ne-
quit ; Contigit ergo inter hæc postquam dilectus dei famulus

1061/3 red rubric, internal punctuation and & added in black 1065 and 1066 mvtatisque, mvtantur : v above from o 1072 I.I. in margin

GVTHLAC æfter þon fiftyne gear þe he gode willigende lædde his
lif . þa wolde god his þone leofan þeow of þam gewinne þisse
worulde yrmþa gelædan to bære ecan reste þæs heofoncundan rices .
Þa gelamp on sumne sæl mid þy he on his cyrcan æt his gebedum
wæs . þa wæs he semninga mid adle gestanden . 7 he sona
ongeat þæt him wæs godes hand to sended . 7 he swyþe gebliþe
hine het gyrwan to þam ingange þæs heofonlican rices . Wæs he
seofon dagas mid þære adle geswenced . 7 þæs eahtoþan dæge

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749 þon fiftyne gear : Kln em. þam fiftyne gearum 756 Gdn, Kln, Gsr emend dæge to dæges

geþlacus ter quinis annorum uolumnibus deuoto famulatu superni
regis solitariam duxerat uitam : ecce dominus iesus cum fam-
ulum suum de laboriosa huius uite seruitute ad perpetue
beatitudinis requiem adsumere uoluisset . quadam die cum in
oratorio suo orationibus uacans perstaret : subito illum
intimorum stimulatio corripuit ; Statimque ut se subita
infirmitate diri languoris uir dei arrectum persensit .
confestim manum domini ad ‡ se missam cognouit : tunc se
ouante spiritu ad perennis regni gaudia preparare coepit ;
Septem enim diebus dira egritudine decoctus : octaua die

he wæs to þam ytemestan geladed . þa gestod hine se adl þon
wodnesdæg nehst eastron 7 þa eft þan ylcan dæge on þære
eastorwucan he þæt lif of þam lichaman sende . Wæs sum broðor
mid him þæs nama wæs beccel þurh þone ic þa forðfore ongeat
þæs eadigan weres . Mid þy he þa com þy dæge þe hine seo adle
gestod . þa acsode he hine be gehwilcum þingum . þa andswarode
he him lætlice 7 mid langre sworetunge þæt orð of þam breostum
teah . þa he þa geseah þone halgan wer swa unrotes modes .
þa cwæð he to him. hwæt gelamp þe nywes nu ða . Ac þe on

757 se : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. seo 758 wodnesdæg : Gdn, Kln em. wodnesdæge; eastron : Kln eastran 760 forðfore : Kln forð-fare 761 adle : Gdn, Kln em. adl

ad extrema peruenit ; Si quidem .iiii*. feria ante pascha
egrotare coepit . et iterum octaua die iiii*. feria .iiii*.
etiam lumine paschalis festi . finita egritudine ad dominum
migrauit ; Hibitabat ergo cum eo sub illo tempore unus
frater beccel nomine : cuius relatione hæc de obitu uiri
dei guthlaci descripsimus ; Qui cum illo die inchoate mol-
estie ad eum ueniret . coepit illum uirum dei ut adsolebat
de aliis interrogare ; Ille autem tarde respondens . demum
cum sermone suspirium traxit ; Cui ipse frater inquiens
ait ; domine mi : quid noui tibi accidet ? an forte

1083 †ta 1084 *ta; *to 1086 .II. marked in outer margin

þisse mihte sum † untrumnysse gelamp . þa andswarode he him 7 him (36r)
cwæð to . ædle me gelamp on þisse nihte . þa frægn he eft hine .
wast þu min fæder þone intingan þinre ædle þþe to hwylcum
ende wenest þu þæt seo mettrumnysse wylle gelimpan . þa
andswarode he him eft se halga wer 7 him cwæð to . þes 770
ongitenysse minre untrumnysse ys . þæt of þisum lichaman sceal
beon se gast alæded . forþon þan eahtoþan dæg bið ende þære
minre mettrumnysse . forþon þæt gedafenað þæt se gast beo
gegearwod þæt ic mæg gode filian . þa he þa þas word gehyrde

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766 untrumnysse : Gdn, Kln em. untrumnys 767 ædle : Gdn, Kln em. ædl 769 mettrumnysse : Gdn, Kln em. metrumnys 770 þes : Gdn, Kln, Gsr em. þeos; ongitenysse : Gdn, Kln em. ongitenys 772 dæg : Gdn, Kln em. dæge

nocte hac ulla te infirmitatis molestia tetigit ? At ille :
etiam inquit molestia me tetigit nocte hac ; Quem item
interrogans ait ; scisne pater mi tuę infirmi†tatis causam ? 1095(58v)
aut quem finem huius molestę egritudinis esse putas ? cui
uir dei respondens inquit ; fili me . languoris mei causa
est ut ab his membris spiritus reputetur ; Finis autem in-
firmitatis męę erit octauus dies . in quo peracto huius uitę
cursu debeo dissolui . et esse cum cristo ; Expedit enim 1100
sarcina carnis abiecta agnum dei sequi ; His auditis .

1098 reputetur : alternative reading is separetur

se foresprecena broðor beccel . he þa swyþe weop 7 geomrian ongan 7 mid mycelre uneðnysse his eagospind mid tearum gelomlice leohte . þa frefrode hine se godes wer GVTHLAC 7 him cwæð to . Min bearn ne beo þu na geunrotsod forþon ne bið me nænig únefnysse þæt ic to drihtne minum gode fare . Wæs swa mycel rumnes on him þæs halgan geleafan 7 swa mycele he to þære godes lufan hæfde . þæt se cuþa 7 se uncuþa ealle him wæs gelice gesegen on gódum dædum . Þa þæs ymbe feower niht com se forma easterdæg . he þa se eadiga wer guðlac on þære

776 eagospind : Kln em. eagspind 778 únefnysse : Gdn em. únefnys, Kln em. unéfnys 780 rumnes : Kln em. rumnys 781 hæfde : Gdn, Gsr hæfde 782 gelice : Gdn, Gsr gelíce

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prediotus frater : flens et gemens . crebris lacrimarum riuilis mestas genas rigauit ; Quem uir dei consolans ait ; fili mi tristitiam ne admittas : non enim mihi labor est ad dominum meum cui seruiui in requiem uenire æternam ; Tantę ergo fidei fuit . ut mortem quæ cunctis mortalibus timenda formidandaque uidetur . ille uelut requiem aut premium laboris iudicaret ; Interea decursis quaternarum dierum articulis : dies paschę peruenit . in qua uir dei contra uires

his mettrumnysse gode lac onsægde and mæssan sáng 7 syþþan he
þa déorwyrþan lác of†frode cristes blodes . þa ongan he þam 785 (36^{v})
foresprecenan breþer godspellian . 7 he hine swa swyþe deoplice
mid his láre ineode þæt he nǽfre ær ne syþþan swylc ne gehyrde .
Mid þan þe seofoða dæg com þære his mettrumnysse . þa com se
foresprecena broðor on þære sixtan tíde þæs dæges þæt he hine
geneosian wolde . þa gemette he hine hleonian on þam hale his 790
cyrcan wið þam weofode . þa hwæþere he ne mihte wið hine
sprecan . forþon he geseah þæt his untrumnysse hine swyþe
swencte . þa þeah hwæþere he hine æfter þon bæd þæt he his word
to him forlete ær þon þe he swulte . he þa se eadiga wer guþlac
hwæthwego fram þam wage þa werigan limu ahóf cwæð þa þus to 795

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788 After þe Gdn, Kln, Gsr, Btn insert se 792 untrumnysse : Gdn, Kln em. untrumnys

exsurgens . immolato dominici corporis sacrificio et † gust- 1110 (59^{r})
ato sanguinis cristi libamine . prefato fratri uerbum dei
euangelizare coepit ; qui numquam ante neque post tam magnam
profunditatem scientię ab ullius ore audisse testatur ; Deni-
que cum septimus dies infirmitatis ipsius deuenisset : prefatus
frater illum circa horam sextam uisitauit . inuenitque eum 1115
recumbentem in angulo oratorii sui contra altare : nec tamen
tunc 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 ; 1120

him . mín bearn . nu ys þære tíde swiþe neah . ac behealt þu
min þa ytemestan bebodu æfter þon þe min sawl of þam lichaman
fére . þonne far þu to minre swustor 7 hyre secge þæt ic
forþon her on middaneardе hire ansyne fleah 7 hi geséon nolde
þæt wyt eft on héofonum beféran godes ánsyne unc eft gesáwon . 800
7 hi bidde þæt heo minne lichaman on þa þrúh gesette . 7 mid
þære scytan bewínde þe me ecgburh onsende . nólde ic þa hwíle
þe ic leofode mid línenum hrægde gegyred þeon ac nu for lufan
þære cristes fæm+nan þa gife þe heo me sende ic wylle to þon (37r)
dón þe ic heold . þonne se lichama 7 seo sawul hi todæleð . 805
þæt man þone lichaman mid þam hrægle bewínde . 7 on þa þruh
gelecge . Þa se foresprecena bróðor þas þing gehyrde . he þa

fili mi quia tempus nunc propinquat : ultima mandata mea in-
tende ; Postquam spiritus hoc corpusculum deseruerit . perge
ad sororem meam pegian . et dicas illi . quia ideo aspectum
ipsius in hoc seculo uitaui : ut in æternam coram patre † (59v)
nostro in gaudio sempiterno ad inuicem uideamus* ; Dicas quoque 1125
ut illa corpus meum inponat in sarcofago . et in sindone in-
uoluat . quam mihi ecgburg mittebat ; Nolui quidem uiuens ullo
lineo tegmine corpus meum tegere . sed pro amore dilecte
cristi uirginis que hæc munera mittebat . ad uoluendum corpus
meum reseruare curaui ; Audiens autem hec prefatus frater . 1130

1125 *s.nos 1129 *s.mihi 1130 .III. in outer margin

wæs þus sprecende . Ic þe halsige min se leofa fæder nu ic þine untrumnysse geseo 7 ongite 7 ic gehyre þæt þu þas woruld scealt forlætan þæt þu me secge be þære wisan þe ic næfre ær næs gedyrstig þe to axianne of þære tide þe ic ærest mid þe on þisum westene eardode . ic þe gehyrde sprecan on æfenne 7 on æren-mergen ic nat mid hwæne . Forþon ic þe bidde 7 halsige þæt þu me næfre behydigne 7 sorhfulne be þisse wisan ne læte æfter þinre forðfore . He þa se godes wer mid langre sworetunge þæt ord of þam breostum teah . andswarode him þa 7 cwæð . Min bearn nelt þu beon gemyndig þas þing þe ic ær nolde nænigum woruldmen secgan þa hwile þe ic lifigende wære . ic hit þe wylle nu onwreon 7 gecyþan . Þan æfteran geare þe ic his

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811 þisum : Kln em. þissum 812 æren- : Kln em. ærne-
815 forðfore : Kln em. forðfare

exorsus 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 uespere et mane audiebam nescio cumquo ; propterea adiuro te . ne me sollicitum* de hac re post obitum tuum dimittas ; Tunc uir dei post temporis interuallum anhelans ait ; fili mi de hac re sollicitari* noli ; quod enim ‡ uiuens ulli hominum indicare nolui . nunc tibi manifestabo ; A secundo etiam anno quo

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1136 *i.curiosum 1138 *i.curare

westen eardode þæt on æfen 7 on ærnemergen god sylfa þone
engcel minre frofre to me sende . se me þa heofonlican gerÿno
openode . þa nanegum men ne alyfað to secganne . 7 þa
heardnysse mines gewinnes mid heofonlican engellicum sprǽcum
ealle † gehihte . þe me æfweardan gecydde 7 geopenode swa þa
andweardum . 7 nu min bearn . þæt leofe geheald þu min word
7 þu hi nænigum oþrum men ne secge buton pege minre swustor 7
ecgberhte þam ancran gif þæt gelimpe þæt þu wiđ hine gesprece .
þa he þas word sprǽc . he þa his heafod to þam wage onhylde .

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820 god sylfa : Kln em. God-sylf; ærnemergen : Btn em. æren-
mergen 821 engcel : Kln em. engel 824 æfweardan : Kln
em. æftweardan, Gsr þa æfweardan, supplying þa 825 andweardum :
Gdn, Kln, Gsr, Btn em. andweardan

heremum habitare coeperam . mane uespereque semper angelum
consolationis meę ad meum colloquium dominus mittebat :
qui mihi mysteria quę non licet homini narrare monstrabat .
qui duritiam laboris mei cælestibus oraculis subleuauit :
qui absentia mihi monstrando ut presentia presentabat ; O
fili hæc dicta mea conserua . nullique alio nuntiaueris
nisi pegię . aut ecgberhto anachoritę . si umquam in coll-
oquium eius tibi uenire contigerit . qui solus hæc sic
fuisse cognoscet ; Dixerat . et ceruicem parieti flectens

1148 *s.hæc

7 mid langre swoɾetunge þæt orð of þam breostum teah . Mid þy
he eft gewyrpte . 7 þam orð onfeng . þa com seo swetnys of
þam muðe swa þæra wynsumesta blostman stenc . 7 þa þære efter-
fylgendan nihte mid þan þe se foresprecena broðor nihtlicum
gebedum befeall . þa geseah he eall þæt hus útan mid mycelre
beorhtnesse ymbseald . 7 seo beorhtnys þær áwunode oð dæg . þa
hit on mergen dæg wæs . he þa se godes wer eft styrede hwæthwego
7 þa weregan leomu up ahof . þa owæð he to him þus . Min béarn
gearwa þe 7 þu on þone sið fére þe ic þe gehét . forþon nu ys
seo tíd þæt se gást sceal forlætan þa weregan limo 7 to þam

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829 Mid : Gdn mid 830 orð : Gdn, Kln em. orðe 831 wyn-
sumesta blostman : Gdn, Kln em. wynsumestra blostmena 833
mid : Kln omits 836 weregan : Kln em. werigan 837 þe
7 þu : Gdn, Kln em. þe þæt þu 838 forlætan : Gdn forlætan

longa suspiria imo de pectore traxit . refocilatoque rursus
spiritu cum parumper anhelaret . uelut melliflui floris odorat-
us de ore ipsius procedisse sentiebatur : ita ‡ ut totam domum (60ᵛ)
qua sederet nectarius odor inflaret ; Nocte uero sequenti
cum prefatus frater nocturnis uigiliis incumberet : igneo can-
dore a medio noctis spatio usque in auroram totam domum cir-
cumsplendescere 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

ongeendodan gefean wyle geferan to heofona rice . Da he þa þas
þinga sprec he þa his handa aþenede to þam weofode 7 hine
getrymede mid þam heofonlican mete . cristes lichaman 7 his
blod . 7 þa after þon his eagan to heofonum ahof . 7 his earmas
aþenede † 7 þa þone gast mid gefean 7 blisse to þam ecum gefean (38r)
ferde þes heofonlican rices . betwux þa þinga se foresprecena
broðor geseah eall þæt hus mid heofonlicre byrhto geondgoten 7
he þær geseah fyrene torr†up of þære eorþan to heofones heannysse
þes beorhtnys wæs eallum oþrum ongelic . 7 for his fægernysse
þæt seo sunne sylf æt middum dæge eall hira scima wæs on blæco

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842 blod : Gdn, Kln em. blode 843 þone : Gdn, Kln, Gsr, Btn em. se 844 ferde : Gdn, Kln em. sende 846 fyrene : Gdn, Kln em. fyrenne; torr : MS topp, Gdn, Kln, Gsr, Btn em. torr 848 hira : Gdn, Kln, Gsr, Btn em. hire

decursis huius uitę terminis . ad infinita gaudia spiritus
transferri malit* ; Dixit* . et extendens manus ad altare
maniuit se communione corporis et sanguinis cristi : atque
eleuatis oculis ad cælum . extensisque in altum manibus :
animam ad gaudia perpetuę exultationis emisit . Inter hęc
prefatus frater subito cælestis luminis splendore domum
repleri . turremque uelut igneam e terra in cælum erectam
pro†spicit . in cuius splendoris conparatione cum tunc (61r)
sol in medio cælo steterit* . uelut lucerna in die palles-

1160 *uel magis uult; *s hæc 1167 *uel starqu

geeyrred . 7 engcellice sangas geond þære lyfte fæco he
gehyrde . 7 eall þæt igland mid mycelre swétnysse wunderlices
stences ormédum wæs gefylled . He þa se forespreecena broþor
sona mid mycelre fyrhte wæs geslégen éode þa on scip 7 þa
ferde to þære stowe þe se godes wer ær bebead . 7 þa com to
þege 7 hire þa eall þa þing sæde æfter endebyrdnesse swa se
broðor hine het . þa heo þa gehyrde þone broþor forðferedne
heo þa sona on eorðan feoll 7 mid mycelre hefignysse gefylled
weard þæt heo word gecweþan ne mihte . Mid þan heo þa eft hig
gehyrte . heo þa of þam breostum inneweardum lange sworetunge

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851 ormédum : Gdn, Gsr em. ormétum 854 sæde : Gdn sæde

cere uidebatur ; Cantibus quoque angelicis spatium totius aeris
detonari audiebatur : insulam etiam illam diuersorum aromatum
odoriferis spiraminibus inflari cerneres ; Deinde supramemor-
atus frater inmenso formidine tremefactus : eximii splendoris
coruscationem sustinere non ualens : arrepta nauicula portum
requirit . ac deinde quo uir dei preceperat certo itinere
perrexit ; Deueniens cuoque ad sanctam cristi uirginem peg-
ian : fraterna sibi mandata omni ex ordine narrauit ; Illa
uero his auditis : uelut in precipitium delapsa se solo pre-
mens . inmensi meroris molestia medullitus emarcuit : linqua
siluit . labrum obmutuit . omnique uiuali uigore uelut ex
animis euanuit ; Post uero interuentum temporis ceu somno
expergefacta : ‡ imis de pectoris fissuris longa suspiria

teah . 7 þa þam wealdende þanc sæde þæs þe he swá wolde . hi
þa þan æfteran dæge æfter þam bebode þæs eadigan weres . hi
becomon to þam eglande . 7 hi ealle þa stowe 7 þa hus þær
gemetton mid ambrósie þære wyrte swetnysse gefylde . hi þa þone
halgan wer on þreora daga † fæce mid halgum lofsangum gode bebead .
7 on þam þriddan dæge swa se godes wer bebead hig þone lichaman
on cyrcan mid arwurðnysse bebyrgdon . A wolde seo godcundnysse
arfæstlice mannum† openlice stywan on hu mycelum wuldre he wæs
se eadiga wer syþþan he bebyrged wæs . forþon þe he ær beforan

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859 sæde : Gdn, Ger sæde 862 hi : Gdn, Kln, Ger om. hec
865 A wolde : Gdn, Kln Awelde, Ger om. þa wolde 865–6 godcundnysse arfæstlice mannum, MS godcundnysse arfæstlice manna Gdn, Kln, Ger om. godcunde arfæstnys mannum

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trahens . arbitrio omnipotentis grates egit ; Postera uero
die secundum præcepta beati uiri insulam deuenientes . totum
locum omnesque domos uelut ambrosiano odore repletas inuen-
erunt ; Illa uero dei famula trium dierum spatiis fraternum
spiritum diuinis laudibus celo commendabat : tertia die sec-
undum præceptum illius felicia membra in oratorio suo humo
tecta condiderunt ;

51 QVALITER CORPVS IPSIVS SINE CORRVPTIONE POST .XII. MENSES RE-
PERTVM EST .

Volens autem diuina pietas latius monstrare quanta in gloria
uir sanctus post obitum uiueret . cuius ante mortem uita

1188/9 red rubric 1190 V green; in outer margin .V.

manna eagum swa manigum wundrum scean 7 berhte . Mid þy he þa
wæs twelf monað bebyrged æfter his forðfore . Þa onsende god
on þæt mod þære drihtnes þeowan þæt heo wolde eft þone
broðorlican lichaman on oðre byrgene gesettan . heo þa þyder
togesomnode godes þeowa 7 mæssepreosta 7 cyrclice endebyrdnysse .
bæt þy ylcan dæge þæs ymbe twelf monað þe seo forðfore þæs
eadigan weres wæs . hi þa þa byrgene untyndon þa gemetton hi
þone lichaman ealne ansundne swa he ær wæs . 7 þa gyt
lifigende were . 7 on liþo bignyssum 7 on eallum þingum þæt
he wæs slæpendum men geliera mycele þonne forðferedum swylce

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869 forðfore : Kln em. forðfare 872 cyrclice : Gdn em. cyrclicre, Kln cirelicre, Gsr em. obre cyrclice 876 liþo bignyssum : Gdn, Kln em. liþa bignyssum, Gsr liþobignyssum

sublimibus crebrisque miraculorum indiciis populis tribibus
gentibus late ubique fulgebat : addidit eterne commemoration-
is indicium ; Transactis enim sepulture eius bis senis mensium
orbibus : ‡ inmisit in animum sororis ipsius : ut fraternum 1195 (62r)
corpus alio sepulchro reconderet ; Adgregatis ergo fratribus
presbiterisque necnon et aliis ecclesiasticis gradibus . die
exitus ipsius aperientes sepulchrum . inuenerunt corpus tot-
um integrum quasi adhuc uiueret : et lentis artuum flexibus
multo potius dormienti quam mortuo similius uidebatur ; sed 1120

eac þa hrægl þære ylcan niwnysse þe hig on fruman ymbe þone
lichaman gedón wæron þa hi þas þing gesawon þe þær samod æt
wæron þa wæron hi swiðe forhte for þig þe hi þær gesawon . 7 880
hi swa swyðe mid þære fyrhte wæron geslægene þæt hi naht sprecan
ne mihton . Ða heo þa seo cristes þeowe PEGE þæt geseah . þa
wæs heo sona mid gastlicere blisse gefylled 7 þa þone halgan ‡ (39r)
lichaman mid þære arwurðnysse cristes lofsangum on oþre scytan
bewand þa ECGBRIHT se ancra ær him lifigende to þam ylcan 885
þenunge sende . Swylce eac þa þruh nalæs þæt hi eft þa on
eorðan dydon . ac on gemyndelicre stowe 7 on árwyrþre hi þa
gesetton . seo stow nu eft fram AÐELBALDE þam kyninge mid

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885 þam : Gdn, Kln, Ger em. þære

et uestimenta* omnia quibus inuolutum erat non solum intem-
erata . uerum etiam antiqua nouitate et pristino candore
splendebant ; Quod ubi qui intererant prospexerunt : statim
stupefacti trementes steterunt . adeo ut uix fari potu-
issent . uix miraculum intueri auderent . et uix ipsi 1205
quid agerent nossent ; Quod ubi cristi famula pegia pro-
spexit . spiritali gaudio commvtata . sacratum corpus cum
diuinarum laudum uenerantia in sindone quam eo uiuente
ecgberhtus anachorita in hoc officium mittebat reuoluit ; ‡ (62v)
Sed et sarcofagum non humo terre condidit . imo etiam in 1210
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 ys arwurðlice gewurþod . þær se
sigefæsta lichama þæs halgan weres gastlice resteþ . 7 se man
se þe þa stowe mid ealle his mægne gesecð . þonne þurh þa
þingunge þæs halgan weres he gefremeð 7 þurhtyhþ þæt he
wilnað . Se eadiga wer guðlac he wæs gecoren man on godcundum
dædum 7 ealra gesnyttra goldhord . 7 he wæs gestæþþig on his
þeawum . swylce he wæs on cristes þeowdome swa geornfullice
abysgod þæt him næfre elles on his mode næs . buton cristes

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894 gestæþþig : Kln gestaeðig

miris ornamentorum structuris in uenerantiam diuine potentie
edificatum conspicimus : ubi triumphale corpus tanti uiri
usque in hodiernum temporis cursum feliciter pausat . per
cuius intercessionem miserationis diuine indulgentiam quisquis
integra fide pulsauerit inpetrabit ; O uirum beate memorie .
o magistrum diuine gratie . o uas electionis . o medicum
salutis . o preconem ueritatis . o thesaurum sapientie ; O
quanta grauitas . quanta dignitas in uerbis et confabulation-
ibus illius erat ; quam alacer* . quam efficax* in discernend-
is causis fuit ; quam in absoluendis scripturarum questionibus
promptus et facilis . quam inremisso famulatu deo seru-
iret . in tantum ut numquam in illius ‡ ore nisi oristus . (63r)

1216 .VI. in margin 1220 *promptus; *agilis. uel capax

lof ne on his heortan butan ár-fæstnys . ne on his mód-e butan
syb 7 lufu and mildheortnes . ne hyne nan man yrne† geseah ne
ún-geornfulne to cristes þeowdome . ac á man mihte on his
andwlitan lufe 7 sibbe ongytan 7 á wæs swetnys on his mód-e 990
7 snyttro on his breostum 7 swá mycel gl-ædnysse on him wæs .
þæt he á þam cuðum 7 þam uncuþum wæs gelice gesegen .

Be æþelbalde kyningce .

ÆFter þyssum geæcsode æþelbald se foresprecena wræcca on
feorlandum þæs halgan weres fórðfóre . sancte guþlaces . forþon 905
he ana ær þon wæs hys gebeorh ‡ 7 frofor . þa wæs he semninga (39ᵛ)

898 yrne : MS yrre, Kln, Gsr em. yrne 901 gl-ædnysse : Gdn, Kln em. gl-ædnys 903 maroon title 904 Æ maroon

numquam in illius corde nisi pietas . nihil in ipsius animo
nisi caritas . nisi pax . nisi misericordia . nisi indulgent- 1225
ia perstabat ; Nemo uidet illum iratum . nemo elatum . nemo
superbum . nemo commotum . nullus merentem : sed unus idemque
semper permanens lstitiam in uultu . gratiam in ore . suau-
itatem in mente . prodentiam in pectore . humilitatem in
corde preparabat : ita ut extra humanam naturam notis ignot- 1230
isque esse uideretur ;·

52 QVALITER POST OBITVM SVVM AEÐELBALDO SE OSTENDIT . ET QVE
VENTVRA ESSENT SIBI PER SIGNA MANIFESTAVIT ·

Postquam ergo prefatus exul æthelbaldus in longinquis region-
ibus habitans obitum beati patris guthlaci audiuit . qui ante 1235
solus refugium et consolatio laborum ipsius erat : subita

1232/3 red rubric; .VII. in outer margin 1230 preparabat : alternative readings with verb præfero

mid unrotnysse gestyred . ferde þa þider to þære stowe þær
þæs godes weres lichama on wæs . forþon he gehyhte þurh þone
halgan wer þæt him god sealde his gewinnes frofre . þa he þa to
þære byrgene com þæs halgan weres . he þa wepende mid tearum
þus cwæð . Min feder hwæt þu canst mine yrmþa þu me wære
symble on fultume on minum unyðnyssum . hwider wylle ic me
nu cyrran . hwa frefreð me gif þu me forlætst . Mid þy he
þa þas þing 7 manig oþer æt þære byrgene wepende sprec . þa
seo nihtlice tid com . þa wæs he þær on sumum huse inne þe he

arreptus mestitia ad corpus ipsius peruenit : sperans in
domino † dari sibi refocilationem aliquam laboris sui . per (63^{v})
intercessionem tanti uiri guþlaci ; Qui cum ad sepulchrum
illius successisset* . lacrimans aiebat ; pater mi : tu scis
miserias meas . tu semper adiutor mei fuisti : te uiuente
non desperabam : in angustiis adfuisti mihi . in periculis
multis per te inuocabam dominum et liberauit me ; modo quo
uertam faciem meam ? unde erit auxilium mihi ? Aut quis con-
siliabitur mecum pater optime ? Si me dereliqueris quis me
consolabitur ? in te sperabam : nec me spes fefellit ; Hæc
et multa alia proloquens sese sternebat . et supplex orans .
crebris lacrimarum fluentis totum uultum rigabat ; Nocturnis
autem adpropiantibus umbris . cum in quadam casula qua

1240 * peruenisset 1248 .VIII. in outer margin

ær þe GVTHLACE lifigendum hwilum on gæstliþnesse wunode . Þa
he þa on þam huse inne wæs . þa wæs he on þam ánrotan móde
hider and þyder þencende . him þa æt nyxtan wæron þa eagan
mid þam slæpe betyned . He þa færinga forhtlice abræd . þa
geseah he ealle þa cytan innan mid heofonlice leohte gefylde . 920
Mid þan he þa wæs forhtlice geworden . for þære úngewunelican
gesihþe . Þa geseah he þone eadigan wer GVTHLAC on engellicre
ansyne him beforan standan 7 him cwæð to . ne wylt þu þe
ondrædan . ac beo þu ánræde . forþon god þe ys on fultume .

ante uiuente guðlaco hospitari solebat : pernoctans mestam 1250
mentem huc illucque iactabat . parumper nocturnis ‡ oration- (64r)
ibus transmissis . cum lumina leui somno demitteret . subito
expergefactus totam cellulam in qua quiescebat inmensi lum-
inis splendore circumfulgescere uidit ; et cum ab ignota
uisione terreretur : extimplo beatum guþlacum coram adstant- 1255
em angelico splendore amictum prospicit : dicentem ei ; noli
timere . robustus esto . quia deus adiutor tuus est :

7 ic forþon to þe cóm . þurh mine þingunge god þine bene
gehyrde . ac ne beo þu geunrotsod forþon dages synt gewitene
þinra yrmða ⁺ forþon ær sunne twelf monða hringe útan ymbgán (40ʳ)
hæbbe þu wealdest þises ríces† þe þu hwile æfter wunne . 7
nalæs þæt an þæt he him þæt rice towerd sæde . ac eac þa lengce
his lifes he him eall gerehte .

928 ríces, MS rice ; Gdn, Gsr em. ríces

propteres ueni ad te quia dominus per intercessionem meam ex-
audiuit preces tuas ; Noli tristari . dies enim miseriarum
tuarum preterierunt : et finis laborum tuorum adest ; Nam
priusquam sol bis senis uoluminibus annalem circumuoluerit
orbem : sceptris regni donaberis ; Non solum autem ut ferunt
regnum sibi prophetauit . sed et longitudinem dierum suarum .
et finem uitę suę sibi in ordine manifestauit ; Illo uero e
contra dicebat ; ⁺ domine mi . quod signum mihi erit quia (64ᵛ)
omnia sic eueniant ? Guthlacus respondit ; signum hoc tibi
erit ; cum crastina dies aduenerit . antequam tertia hora
fiat . his qui in hoc loco habitant unde non sperant solacia
alimentorum donabuntur ; Hæc dicens* sanctus uir : et lux quę
coram apparuit ab oculis illius æthelbaldi recessit ; Nec
mora dicta effecta secuta sunt ; nam priusquam tertia diei
hora propinquasset . signum in porta pulsatum audierunt :
hominesque illic insperata solacia portantes conspiciunt ;

1261 annalem : MS annſlem 1269 *s.erat

Þas tacna god geworhte þurh 930
þæs halgan weres geearnunge æfter þon þe he forðfered wæs 7
bebyrged .

Wæs sum hiwscipes† man þæs foresprecena wræccan . aþelbaldes

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932 Kln supplies chapter heading : Be Aethelbaldes hiwscipes-man
933 W red; hiwscipes, MS hisscipes : Kln, Gsr em. hiwscipes; foresprecena,: Gdn, Kln em. forespreceran

Exin ipse omnia quæ sibi dicta erant recordans . indubitata
spe futura fore credebat : fidemque inseducibilem in uaticiniis 1275
uiri dei defixit ; Nec illum fides fefellit ; Ex illo enim
tempore usque in hodiernum diem : infulata* regni ipsius fel-
icitas per tempora consequentia de die in diem crescebat ;
53 QVALITER CECVS QVIDAM POST OBITVM ‡ IPSIVS PER SACRATAM AB EO (65r)
SALEM SANATVS EST . 1280
Nec etiam defuncto ac sepulto cristi famulo guðlaco . signa uir-
tutum . ac sanitatum quę per illum uiuentem dominus hominibus
donabat : per inuocationem intercessionis ipsius ubique candes-
cere presentem ad usque diem cessauerunt . ut qui uiuens pomposis
uirtutum rumoribus se eleuare noluit . quanti meriti uel quantę 1285
ualitudinis erat . post obitum suum per plurima miraculorum
trophea monstraretur ; Erat namque quidam uir paterfamilias .

1277 *decorata 1279/80 red rubric 1281 N green
1284 *ornamentosis

on þære mægþa wisse . þæs eagan wæron mid fleo 7 mid dimnesse
twelf monð ofergán . Mid þy his læces hine mid sealfum lange
teolodon . and hit him nawiht to hælo ne fremede . Þa was
he innan godcundlice manod þæt gif hine man to þære stówe
geladde CVTHLACES þæt he þonne his hælo 7 gesihþe onfengce .
Næs þa nænig hwil to þon þæt him his frynd on þære stowe brohton
to oruwlande . and hi þa gesprecon to þære cristes þeowan
PEGAN . and heo þæs mannes geleafan trumne 7 fæstne gehyrde .

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935 ofergán : Kln em. ofergang ; læces : Gdn, Kln em. læcas
939 þære : Gdn, Cer þære 940 þære : Gdn, Cer þære

in prouincia uuissa . cuius oculi bis senis mensium orbibus
adempto uisendi numine fuluis albuginis nubibus tegebantur :
ita ut splendentis diei lumina a furuo noctis caligine
cecernere nequiret ; Cui cum reprobatis pigmentorum foment-
is medendi salutem desperaret . perpetuamque sibi luminis
orbanitatem insinere conperit . tandem inuento salubri con-
silio ad corpus † sacratissimum uiri dei gublaci . se duci
rogauit dicens ; scio certe et confido . quia si aliquid de
rebus ab eo sacratis lumina mea tetigerit . cito sanabar . et
uisus oculorum meorum mihi reddetur ; Amici autem illius ut
ipse rogauerat fecerunt . duxerunt quidem illum ad portum
insulæ oruglond ; et illio ascensa naui deuenientes insulam .
adpetierunt colloquium uenerabilis cristi uirginis pegiæ ;
Cuæ feruentis fidei illius . spem indubitatam comperiens .

1290 *deliberare 1292 *priuationem 1293 *pal lumine

þa lædde heo hine on þa cyrcan þær se arwyrða lichama inne
wæs GVTHLACES . genam þa þæs gehalgodan sealtes þe GVTHLAC ær
sylf gehalgode . 7 wætte 7 drypte in þa eagan . 7 þa ær heo
oþerne dropan on þæt oþer eage dyde . þa mihte he mid þan 945
oðron geseon . 7 on þam ylcan inne he gearlice oncneow hwæt
þær inne wæs . 7 he hal 7 gesund ham ferde . Sy urum drihtne
lof 7 wuldor 7 wurðmynt . 7 þam eadigan were sancte GVTHLACE
on ✝ ealra worulda woruld áá buton ende on ecnysse . AMEN . (40ᵛ)

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946 geseon : Gdn geseon 949 worulda woruld : Gdn, Kln, Ger em. worulda woruld

intra oratorium quo corpus beati guthlaci recumberet duci* per-
misit ; Illa quoque partem glutinati salis a sancto guthlaco
ante consecratam arripiens : in aquam offertoriam leui rasura
mittebat ; Ipsam denique aquam cum intra palpebras cæci gutta- 1305
tim stillaret : mirabile dictu ad primum tactum primę gutte
detrusis cæcitatis nubibus . oculis infusum ✝ lumen redditum (66ʳ)
est ; Priusquam enim alterius oculi palpebris salutaris limpha
infunderetur . quicquid domi* esset in ordine narrabat : uisum-
que sibi in eodem momento donatum* fatebatur ; Deinde postquam 1310
diu clausas gratia per gratiam frontis reclusit fenestras .
cognouit inuentum olim quod perdidit lumen : dux se ducentibus
factus est . reuertens rursus ; Exin ubi lucem de fonte luminis
hausit . ibat quo uenerat . nec sic* reuersus ut erat : uidet-
que uidentes . quos prius uidere negauit . grates deo per- 1315
solvens dignas quas* nullus reddere nescit ;
EXPLICIT LIBER SANCTI GVTHLACI ANACHORITAE .

1302 *s.eum 1309 in domo 1310 * esse 1311 i.deus
1313 *s.erat 1316 s.scit 1317 red/black rubric

COMMENTARY

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 18^{r} and beside it, in a thirteenth/fourteenth century hand, are found the words :

Incipit prologus alfrici monachi in uitam sancte Guthlaci

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 V, the first of twenty-three sectional capitals, a row of smaller capitals following. See further II.2 (especially c).

Vita 1 is the prologue title found at the head of folio 18^{r} in Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389. An account of this manuscript will be found in II.1 (especially c).

1 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 1. Adjectives qualifying God are frequently placed after the noun, for example almihtig especially, and RIHTGELYFENDVM 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 eallum geleafullum godes folcum 4 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.

1 A WORVLDa woruld : An Old English phrase on (ealra) worulda woruld, 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 n 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 WRRVLD 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 WORVLDa in its

attempt to represent as clearly as possible the letter forms used by the scribe.

2 eorðlice kyningas : The placing of this phrase in apposition to men brings the Old English version into line with the contents 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 þam leofestan hlaforde 1. 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 Wortdoppelung in the Life. His other examples are the word-pairs þone gelæredan 7 þone geleafullan 8 and cleopode, 7 cwæð 67. 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/G.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 . . . folcum. : The translator may have misunderstood the phrase Vita 4 catholicę congregationis uernaculus 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 tæhtest, 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 acsian. He presents the emendation ahstest 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 ahsodest 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 *ähste. His preference for Goodwin's tæhtest, based on a comparison of it with Vita 7 præcepisti, is followed in this edition.

7 bæs arwurðan gemynde GVÐHLACES : Both previous editors emend the article bære which would agree with the phrase immediately following, arwurðan gemynde. (The noun gemynd, 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 bæs 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 gemynde (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 bæs may be regarded as qualifying GVÐHLACES, 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; bære drihtnes gife 681; to þam godes men 567; to þam godes were 687; bære drihtnes þeowan 870; seo cristes þeowe 882; and bære cristes fæmnan 804.

Sometimes the article is accompanied by an adjective :

> se leofa godes þeow 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 þam biscopes begnum 696

but also when it denotes some thing :

> þa stowe digelnysse 196; þæs halgan gastes geleafan 211; þa dimnysse þeostru 366; of þam 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 Wülfing 1901, I. p. 50 for Alfredian examples). The phrase to þam biscopes begnum 696 is emended by Gonser to to þæs biscopes begnum, whereas Goodwin here retains without comment the manuscript's þam. Editorial inconsistency is marked in the small group of these forms remaining for examination :

> þa stowe digelnysse 196 : Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser all emend þa to bære.

þæs 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.

þa dimnysse heostru 365 : No emendation of þa is made by either Goodwin or Gonser. It should be noted that Hly 138 þa dimman heostru may show a revision of a phrase similar to the reading of the Life.

of þam huses hrofe 365 : Both Goodwin and Gonser emend þam to þæs. This particular instance only is noted by Kern (1917, p. 7) who, comparing the phrase with to þam biscopes hegnum 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 þære 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 þone gelæredan 7 þone 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 hleahterlic 9 is the mixing of hleahtor and leahtor noted by Kern from a vocabulary :

WrW 251.14 and hleahtra '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 þæt on worde godes rice ne wunað, MS þa/ ongodes rice newuniad :

Goodwin's emendation of this clause by þæt on wordum godes rice ne wunað 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 emendation for the sake of sense, but prefer to retain the manuscript worde (instead of their wordum) because it is parallel with ánwylnysse. The mistake might easily have arisen during the revision of the text.

12 Ac gemune 7 gebence : Of this phrase Goodwin writes :

> The words, ac gemune and gebence, are repeated apparently by mistake; from idelum hancum, 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 Gonser, though Vita 13 quidem can be set against it.

Gonser suggests that the structure of this whole passage would be improved by changing na 13 to nan but does not incorporate this emendation into his text, recognising that the phrases 7 ha halo ... gesad 12-13 which surround Ac gemune 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/G.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 hancum : The word hanc 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. Gonser does not comment on the form and Geisel simply

lists þancum as the dative plural of þanc '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 þancerum, an agent noun paralleling fiscerum 13, should be read, but the entire phrase fram idelum þancum geþoht 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 gegyldе and gesette agree with boc, adds :

> - fægere and glæwlice 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 . . . gegyldе 15 and fæger 7 glæwlice 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 hig 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 . . . gehyrsum : Goodwin emends the text to swa we neode and hæse gehyrsumodon, 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 emendation on grounds of sense. The phrases of the manuscript are certainly 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 gehyrsumodon would be an attractive emendation if other examples of so radical an abbreviation were found in this manuscript, and the examples listed 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 gehyrsum is within its context best described as an adjective; for lack of accusative plural masculine inflexion see II.4/C.2(h).

19 hleahtres : Kern (1917, p. 3) suggests that this should be changed to leohtes, quoting Vita 24-25 Caue . . . obcecaris in support of his emendation. However, the Old English version cannot always be equated with the Vita in this way and as hleahtres 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 . . fuscaris 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 geciged : Both Goodwin and Gonser insert blindnes 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 Cæcitas is not essential.

27 seo strange sæ, 7 mycele : Goodwin, followed by Gonser, substitutes ic 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 pergemus 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 ic . . hefige 25-26.

27-28 to bere . . lifes : Gonser, noting that the phrase GVÐLACES lifes is marked off from the preceding phrase in the manuscript by stops, comments that die Worte sind also wohl als Apposition gedacht but does not introduce into his text the emendation from lifes to 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 Vita 35-36 ad . . uitę.

31 hwylc wære : 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) : his liif, hwelc were, cuðlicor ascineð, gif . .. for the use of hwylc here is by no means unusual.

32 oþþe : Gonser points out that both here and in the Chad homily (see Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 162, line 4) oððe has the co-ordinating function of Latin uel. Compare also 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.

33 bec : For other irregularities in nouns of the 'mutated' class in this text see II.4/C.1(i).

34 **his lifes** : The nominative singular **lif** would better fit normal Old English sentence structure, but **lifes** should not be emended as it reflects the case of Vita 42 **tanti uiri**. Goodwin compares **barn him swá swybe innan bære godes lufan** 135 which stands against **Vita** 272 **Ita enim in illo diuine gratie inflammatio flagrabat** (see further the note for this passage), as does Gonser. To these examples Gonser adds **nu ys bære tíde swíbe neah** 796 which answers to **Vita** 1121 **tempus nunc 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 **bære tíde**; the noun **tempus** of the Latin should not be used to suggest the interpretation of the phrase as genitive.

36 **on wríte** : Kern (1917, p. 3) notes that the use of **writan** with **on** may here be ascribed to the influence of **Vita** 48 **quantacumque scripsi**. He compares the use of **onwriting** 'inscribtione' in the **Lindisfarne Gospels** gloss for **Luke** I. 10. 8 and refers also to Swaen's remarks on **on gemynde** 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 Kroesch 1929, p. 63).

37 **wilfrides** : See the note for **WILFRIÞ** 483 and also Appendix 3.

38 **hæt** : As the text stands **hæt** must be referred back to **has binge** 36.

43 bisse andweardan hyrðe., MS bisse andweardan,/ hyrde : 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 hyrðe 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 cartule 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.

Schlutter (1909, p. 323) points out that the same word as in this passage may appear in a glossary :

WrW 119-29 aegida caprae vellem gatbuccan hyrðe

and infers from his two examples of the form a feminine noun hyrð 'pellis', cognate with the Old High German form herdo. The glossary entry should however be quoted in this form :

Capra aegida, gatbuccan hyrde.

and the noun to be inferred is hyrd rather than Schlutter's hyrð (but

see Meritt 1954, p. 154 where heorðа is advanced; Meritt does note corroboration given to this interpretation of gloss by Old High German gloss aegida : geizfel).

45 .I. : 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 regular 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 æbela : Goodwin's emendation of this weak adjective to the strong form æbel, although it secures a poetic sounding compound, is unnecessary as the word is preceded by sum.

47 on bære hehþeode myrcna rice / Vita 162 de egregia stirpe merciorum : The Old English phrase bære hehþeode may be explained either as dative singular and in apposition to rice or as genitive singular, for which compare æbelan kynekynnes on myrcna rice 501 / Vita 746 de inclita merciorum prole. The former interpretation is preferred, for a similar pattern of words appears in of bære nehþeode mercna rice 619 / Vita 908 de proximis merciorum finibus, whereas the genitive phrase of line 501 precedes the preposition on.

The conflicting use of hehþeode 47 and hehþeode 619 (this manuscript form is emended to nehþeode 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 Mercia, 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 hehbeode 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 hehbeod 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 -diacon, -engel, -gerefa, -setl and brym).

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-Fahel '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 icinglas : 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 anan (if the preceding þa is treated as the article rather than an adverb) or to ane (with þa 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 -a 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 tacn : 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 substitution of one recently written word for the form which appeared before him in this context may explain the manuscript tacn.

56 mid inseglum beclysde : This is apparently a technical phrase with the meaning 'sealed up with seals' and is parallelled in a passage from a sermon by Wulfstan :

> unyðe þe wæs, þæt þu hit eall ne mihtest gefæstnjan
> 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 places 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 . . wæs 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 Þa . . 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 . . wæs does not summarise Vita 192-5 Transactis . . conferentibus; instead other details are again given. Life 65 Þa .. 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.

69ff. Goodwin thinks the next two sentences in the translation defective and quotes Vita 198 Alii... 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 diuine dispensatione in perpetue 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 skimped 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 þæs haliges tacnes 73 'of / by virtue of that holy sign'. The emendation is both simple and neat, but þæs haliges tacnes 73 does not support the construction put upon it. The phrase must be taken with seo gifu (as the punctuation in Gonser's edition indicates).

71 Sume hig : Gonser regards this as an unusual usage (sollte 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 þam .. nænigum 95 and ealle .. þriddan dæl 112.

76 This .II. is the second of the four sectional numbers written

in his manuscript by the scribe. Compare the note for line 45.

78 fulwihtebæþes : Both Klipstein and Gonser emend this variant form for fulluhtbæþ, giving fulwihtbæþes in their texts. This connecting vowel e (< 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 gublac : This gublac is in apposition to nama 78 and should be set against Vita 209 guthlac; 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 Guthlacingas (Vita 208 guthlacingas) see Appendix 3.

80 þa wisan leorneras : 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 Gonser (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 generally 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 understood. Compare the note for line 388 and see examples from Alfredian texts in Wülfing (1901, II. §797).

82 belli munus : This symbolical interpretation of the name Guthlac 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 guthlacingas 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 beadulac, feohtlac, heaðulac, 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 struggles are contrasted with his earning of the gift of eternal life mid gecyrrednysse 84. In reading the passage a pause should be supplied

between ys and on; then the lines forbon . . onfengc 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 Guthlacingas.

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 woruldlicre : 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 geswincnysse 260), it is probable that the form shows the extension of -re as a case marker for the dative singular. See further II.4/G.1(a).

85 apostolum : This word was used in Old English either with its Latin inflexions or with the inflexions of an Old English a-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 scyppendum 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 þæt : Although it would be possible to interpret this form as suggesting that þæt 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 cild/ Vita 219 infans which in unserer 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.

94 cnihtwisan : For a note on this nonceword and on cnihtliou 99 and cnihtlice 96 see II.4/F.5(b).

98 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 uolucrum 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 fugolsangas is attractive (he suggests that -as is the result of dittography), but the compound is not elsewhere recorded in Old English

99 ac on his sceárpnysse þæt he weox : Goodwin supposes the ellipsis of ða wæs or ða gelamp to explain the presence of þæt. 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 pleonastic use of þæt in Old English is well attested, particularly in translations.

103 towearde : As this word should by position agree with þa þing, the inflexion should be noted. See II.4/C.2(a).

105 iumanna, 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 iumonna gold, MBo 1.23 giomonna gestrion (qui olim vixit), Leechdoms iii. 430, 32 swa geomen cwædon and, cited by Wülfing (1901, II. §607), of iumanna gewritum from the Old English Bede.

105 he þa : 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 efenhæfdlingas : For a note on this word see II.4/F.5(b).

106-7 7 he . . efenhæfdlingas / Vita 237 adgregatis 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 him 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 :

> Þa wæs he semninga innan manod godcundlice and læred
> þæt he þa word hete, eall þa he swa ge nam he het
> þriddan dæl agifan þam mannum þe he hit ær ongename.

Working from this he proposes the passage should be read :

> Þa wæs he semninga innan manod godcundlice, and læred
> þæt he þa word hete - ealle þa he swa het:- þriddan
> dæl agifan þam mannum þe he hit ær ongename.

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 ongenæmde in contrast with benæman 'berauben' and niednæman 'mit Gewalt nehmen'.

112 þriddan dæl : 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 Dryhthelm, 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 sæcularibus pompis 275.

112 hit : The pronoun refers back to dæl 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 weolc 7welode : This emendation, made by Goodwin, Gonser and Klipstein, is necessary for a word governed by betweox 114 to appear in the text. Graphically the emendation is suitable, for it presupposes a misgrouping of the letters and (behind the manuscript 7) 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 weledę seems to correspond to Vita 249 iacteretur, that the formula occurs frequently in Old English texts and that the manuscript welode should be interpreted as the preterite of wilwan 'wälzten' to be expected in Anglian (see also BT under wilwan I A). Unfortunately for this explanation betweox 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 boe this noun has accusative singular forms both with and without -e.

119 he awǫc : 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. þa micclan welan 121 is by position ambiguous, serving both as a second object to gebohte 119 (the interpretation suggested by Vita 256 diuitias) and as the object of geseh 122. To change the position of he awǫc (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 awōc 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 gelæste : Gonser places ne before this verb but Kern (1917, p. 4) points out that this emendation is unnecessary for næfre 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 bære 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.

136 his yldrena gestreon : Again the Life adds a detail not found in the Vita (compare parentes 274).

138 wintra : Gonser'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.

140 hrypadun : 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.

141 ælfðrydðe : Nothing else is known of this woman but for a discussion of persons who might be connected with her see Appendix 3.

142 druncennysse : 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 mildheortnysse 473, unclænnysse 570, untrumnysse 766, 792, mettrumnysse 769, ongitenysse 770, ánebnysse 778, godcundnysse arfæstlice 865 and glædnysse 901; the footnotes for these lines should be con-

sulted. 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 þan : It should be noted that this is the only instance of þan for the dative plural in the Life.

141 Sancte : Old English retained the genitive singular masculine sancti (from Latin sanctus) before names and, as a result of the reduction in the variety of vowels in unaccentuated syllables, sancti > 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 þy . . gelæred 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 gefyllede 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 gife 152.

157 on þam life : This phrase means 'in that [religious] life'; for the restricted use of lif in this way see BTs under lif 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 ðm to dm; he adds that this emendation is more likely than eadnysse because ðn does not become dn.

The combinative change from ð 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 eaþnes, 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 suauitatem 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 eigentümliche Neigung zur Variation. Similar failures in agreement between linked words are found elsewhere in Old English (for examples, including this passage, see Klaeber 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 þæs (see II.4/G.1(b) for these forms).

162 wilnodon : Goodwin translates this verb as having for its object the group on westene 7 on sundorsettlum. 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 gebinged).

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 1), 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 Þy : Both Klipstein and Gonser emend Þy to ðære, as Þy is not in agreement either with ea or ceastre. Kern (1917, p. 5) objects to Gonser's ðære ylcan because with it the text acquires the sense deren name Granteceaster genannt wird instead of deren name Granteceaster ist. He therefore suggests that ðe ðy 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 ylca may be seen at line 230; and the dative singular nama shows early loss of final -n in the weak declension of nouns. See II.4/C.1(h).

169 granteceaster : see Appendix 3 under Cambridge.

169 unmætre moras : The form is emended to unmæte by Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser. The manuscript unmætre 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).

169 sweart wætersteal : 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 Vgl 39 ðæt wigsteall and oð ðæt treowsteall (Kemble 1839, V. 297. 24), show the late Old English spread of þæt 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/C.2 (a)), the phrase sweart wætersteal is glossed as singular; within its context this interpretation is not unsuitable.

The compound wætersteal is recorded only here; similar in formation and meaning is the Vercelli Book form meresteallum of the seventh homily (noted by Förster 1913, p. 169). See also II.4/F.5(b).

170 earibas : This word is recorded only here; in form it is paralleled by a gloss wæterriþan 'laticem' (cited in BT from Hpt Gl. 418.25) and by a gloss wæterriðe 'aquario' (Meritt 1945, p. 56.

63.2). These two words are the only recorded instances of either rið or riþe 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 þeneð 7 wunað on norðsæ, MS þeneð wuneð on norð sæ : Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser all emend þeneð to þurh which they prefix 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 þeneð 'sich ausdehnt' should be retained and instead finds a mistake in wunað which he thinks stands for suðan / Vita 322 ab austro. His note on this crux ends :

> Noch wörtlicher wäre suðan norð oð sæ aber diese änderung ist wohl unnötig.

The change however from wunað to suðan is perhaps too great. Although reasonable graphically (through confusion of the insular forms of w and s with resultant rearrangement of other letters in the word), the phrase suðan on norðsæ is unsatisfactory. The adverb suðan 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 wunað to suðan 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 wunað on norðse should be set against Vita 322 ab austro in aquilionem mare [. .] protenditur and that the hint for þeneð should be found in Vita 322 tractu. The form þeneð is to be taken as the third person singular present indicative, þennan 'extend', rather than an otherwise unrecorded noun *þenoð 'expanse'. As two finite verb forms standing together in this way are not elsewhere a marked syntactical feature of the Life the sign 7 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 bære eadigan gemynde guðlac, MS bære 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 godcundre fultume : The adjective is emended to godcunde 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 þa wæs . . sæde / Vita 328 ecce . . 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. Loneliness (annysse 181) is not mentioned by Felix as one of the terrors of the island and where his settlers rebrobauerunt 331 the island, the Life tells us that no man could endure its loneliness, but hit ælc forþan 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 cruwland : See Appendix 3 under Crowland.

187 fennas : The form shows the late West Saxon falling together of -es 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 nænig, 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 nænig man answers to Vita 337 Nullus. 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 þa tíd 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 þa stowe digelnysse / Vita 345 adamato illius loci abdito : Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser all emend þa to þære, 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 Beccel, Ecgberht or any other anchorites noted in the Vita.

204 se eahtoða dæg bæs 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 geweorðod gesæt., MS ge/weorðod . 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 bæt 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 regarded 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 þæs 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 þæs halgan gastes, geleafan (with geleafan apparently in apposition to gastes). The phrase may be interpreted by treating þæs 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 þæs should be taken with geleafan and compare þæs 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 tæcþ. ðæt we sceolon gelyfan on ðone Halgan Gast (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 Bwf 2973 ac he him on heafde helm ær 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 clænere : 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 clænera and by Klipstein to clænra.

214 sealmsangas : 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 scotian 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

the Life.

217-8 sanctus paulus : Few Latin inflexions appear in the Life .

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 xv); 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 Vercelli 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/c.

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 emended 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. 7 CISSA are regarded as in apposition with ba be 227 rather than as accusatives with secgan 228.

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 by origin Germanic and some scholars have identified in it the element *kis- cognate with Old English ceosol '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 þam sprecenan : The adjective sprecenan, absent from the Life, corresponds to Vita 390 præfata 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 eorðan : Gonser (p. 47) points out that Hly 1 of eorþan probably reflects the original translation as it is closer to Vita 390 agrestibus glebis coaceruatus than is Life 229 ofer eorðan. 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 þone ylcan, MS þon̄ ylcan : Both Goodwin and Gonser print without comment þone. 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 þonne. Compare Goodwin's silent expansion of þa̅ 430 to þan.

230 wilnunga : Hly 2 þingum : 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 hlawas : Goodwin, normalising his text, emends this form to hlawes, but compare the note for line 214 and see II.4/C.1(a).

232 hus : Hly 4 hus 7 eardungstowe : It seems that the reviser who prepared the text now extant in Cotton Vespasian D xxi often cut out words which seemed superfluous : compare also lines 232, 260, 271, 280, 288, 311, 349, etc. The word eardungstow occurs once in the Life (eardungstowe 177), and so need not be considered foreign to the vocabulary of the original translator.

233 ancersetle : Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this form to ancersetl, but see II.4/C.1(g).

Hly 10 wolde : Gonser emends this form to nolde (the form used in Life 234), but compare the note for line 132.

235 ealle his dagas 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 dagas his lifes 196. Compare also such phrases as his lif þes eadigan weres 33; in line 235 the superfluous his has most likely been cut by the homilist.

236 to gereorde : 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 bæt ... ongan 240, his eye most likely slipping from one began in his exemplar down to another (compare Gonser p. 43).

237 berene : Goodwin emends to berenne, but compare agene 530, fyrene 846 and see II.4/C.~~2(f)~~ 1(k).

237-8 bæs andlyfenes, MS bæs 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 Hly 10.) Both Goodwin and Gonser, believing the noun should be feminine, emend þæs to þa; Toller (BTs under andleofen) suggests that þæs stands for þas, 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 þæs. I have preferred to retain the manuscript þæs and argue haplography of final -s in andlyfenes.

239 bigleofode should perhaps be two words; see the note for bileofode 307.

240 mid þan : Goodwin and Gonser emend the text here to read mid by he þan, 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 þan þe he þan gewunelican þeawe his sealmas sang ...

for sealm 240 does not reflect the number of Vita 407 canticis so well as does Hly 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.

240 beawe : Hly 11 beowdome / Vita 407 consuetudine : Gonser (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 beaw 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.

241 mancynnes : Gonser emends gengde geond þæt græswang into the Vespasian text from the Homily, although the Vercelli words do not translate Vita 409 per uasti 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 todæled preserves the tense of Vita 410 uersat, whereas Hly 14 geondstregde does not.

Hly 14 græswang : This is one of the two poetic words noted by Gonser (p. 51) as found in the Homily but not in the Life (the other being Hly 125 onbræc). It is interesting that the compound is found otherwise only in Phx 78 and Jln 6, that is in verse from a

manuscript linked by contents closely with the Vercelli Book.

242 his oostunga attor : The translator apparently anticipates the description of the arrow of despair which follows in the Vita.

Hly 14 yfelnes : Life 243 yfelnysse : Although the Life shows that for the translator yfelnysse was a genitive dependent upon mægen, the homilist may have regarded his yfelnes as in apposition to mægen and the first of three objects of teldað. No emendation therefore is made to the Vercelli text here.

243 [*] A finite verb has probably fallen out here, corresponding to Hly 15 teldað. 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 (teldað 15) does not appear in the Vespasian text, I hesitate to place Gonser's teldode in this lacuna. Goodwin's todælde, inferring haplography on the part of the scribe, has much to recommend it.

Hly 15 teldað : Schlutter (1909, p. 324) attributes Hly 14 his grimnesse attor teldað to the translator's misunderstanding of Vita 410 nequitię suę 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 ... teldað) 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 teldað (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 Mabillon'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 þa menniscan heortan wundode : Hly 15 þa menniscean heortan wundað : 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 þa 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 arcu 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 bendū 7ofbrogan wæs his costunge ðaheða þam earh winnendan strele onþam mode gefæstnode 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 þam earhwinnendan mode is to be interpreted 'the faintly striving soul', but notes that earh- can also be connected with the Old English earh 'arrow'. Gonser 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 strel :

> Dieses ist in der Tat ein in der Prosa wenig gebrauchtes, 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 :

> semninga swa he of gebendum bogan, ða he ða his costunge strale on þam mode gefæstnode þæs

As a result of this emendation the compound earhwinnendan 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 sagittam, 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 arcu; 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 Mid þam . . þonne / Vita 417-8 Nam cum . . tunc : 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 þa.

251-2 þa . . dyde : This clause, absent from the Homily, apparently picks up the content of Vita 417 inmensi ponderis.

For the loss of -n in unmettra 252 see II.4/C.1(h).

253 ƿa . . gewundodne : This simple statement contrasts with Vita 418-20 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 þri 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 gewundod 254 of the Life is to be compared with the linked participles in Hly 25 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/G.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 Leechdoms 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 swā 257 : Hly 27 eft swa : Compare Swylce eac 311 : Hly 82 Swylce 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 . . earfeðum : 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 engelicre, MS ongelicre : 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 Guthlac was awake or asleep (for this sense of gelic see BT under gelic III). The reading of the Life, on engellicre 263, suggests that a simple error of haplography lies behind the Homily reading (compare Vita 428 angelice). Gonser's emendation of the Hly 32 ongellicre to on engellicre 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 gefehst 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 emend the Homily text in any way, for an object has been supplied for Hly 34 frefrede which is given for subject sanctus bartholomeus. In the Life this verb has for its subject se heofonlica cuma to which sanctus bartholomeus 267 stands in apposition.

272 gefylled / Vita 436 repletus : Whereas mid gastlicre blisse gefylled 271-2 answers closely to Vita 436 spiritali gaudio

repletus, the Hly 38-9 on gæstlicre blisse 7 heofoncundre gife swiðe gefeonde 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 swiðefeode partially corrected : The scribe has only partly corrected his swiðefeode; he has squeezed between e and f a g with a tilde above, but no nasal stroke appears above o.

Hly 40-41 syððan . . 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 ða . . 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.

Gonser 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 . . lybban : This clause is one of the places pointed out

by Gonser (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 gecwemlicost 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.

Hly 45 unoferswiðde, MS nu oferswiðde / Vita 448 inuincibilem : Gonser emends the manuscript reading of the Homily to unoferswiðde. 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 unoferswiþed). Kern (1917, p. 6) suggests that the participial adjective of the Homily should be further emended to unoferswiðed, but this normalisation is not accepted into the text presented here.

279 ūra wæpna / Vita 449 arma : Goodwin emends this phrase to ūre wæpna strǽla, remodelling it on the reading of the Homily. The addition is unnecessary for the sense and is not supported by the Vita parallel; Gonser 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 wið þec, MS wið mec / 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 þec, rather than Gonser's þe, is made because mec stands in the manuscript; these older pronoun forms occur frequently in the Vercelli Book.

Hly 48-9 wene ic þæt we ðe furðor ne wyllan leng swencan : Gonser recognises that some confusion lies behind these words and, following the suggestion made by Goodwin, emends the opening words to Wen is þæt . . The agreement between the wording in Vita 449-50 propterea . . conamur and Life 279 We nu . . þysmrian 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 leng 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 wēn 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 poss-

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 nū as wēnu and transcribed this as (ic) wēne; being unable to make sense of the passage, he altered ne willað (or ne willan) of his original to bæt wē ne wyllan.

This hypothesis is framed in order to obtain in these texts one example of the Anglian inflexion -u (-o) 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 nu (which would probably stand together in any case) the insertion of ic 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.

3 and 4.

Hly 50 ðær . . bær : Gonser, following Life 281 þæs . . þæs, 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 necessary with the Hly 50 lætan '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 bær ðu geðoht hæfdest is elliptic, the verb þencan is often used in Old English without a following verb of motion (for examples see BT under þencan 6(b)).

282 westene : Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this form to westen which appears in Hly 51, but see II.4/C.1(g).

Hly 51 geardodan : Compare Hly 80 geadige and see II.4/E.6.

Hly 52 ær : It should be noted that Gonser records the reading æst. This word is certainly difficult to see in the facsimile edition but the visible descender does not support his reading. See also II. 2/f.

287 þa 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 ða arran fremednesse yfelra leahtra (for fremednes appears frequently in the early Old English translations), but answers more closely to the Vita 456 ante commissa crimina than does the Homily wording.

289 wæccan : Gonser's emendation of this infinitive to wæcean presupposes a misreading of ce as cc . The manner of emendation may have been suggested to him by the form Hly 58 weccean, although he finds this form also requiring emendation to wecean. With these infinitives he compares also Hly 59 weccest which he emends to wecest and he notes that some confusion may have arisen between the verbs wæccan 'waken' and wǣcan 'afflict'. Because this doubling appears 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).

290 swincst : Gonser emends this form to swencst, noting that it cannot be from the verb swincan which is used intransitively only. The manuscript form probably reflects the unvoicing of [g] before the voiceless spirant which Campbell represents by s (see Campbell §480 (3)) and is therefore the second person singular present indicative of swingan; no emendation is needed.

Hly 59 wecst 7 weccest : Gonser, following a suggestion made by

Goodwin, changes the first of these forms to swencst (the form emended into the Life by him) and at the same time emends weccest to wecest. He points out, in support of his emendation, that the verbs swencan and wæcan are found linked in other religious writings. It must be admitted that the emendation can be explained on the ground that s 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/G.3.

Hly 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 drīgian 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 *drīgian with the Old Norse verb drýgja. Hern (1917, p. 6) points out that this speculation is unnecessary, noting that drigast should be taken as a by-form of drigst. 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).

292 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 necessary. 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 examplar. It seems possible that the scribe had before him gefist which he misread and connected with Hly 59 forgifenesse. Both Vita 460 gaudebis and Life 292 gefehst support this emendation.

293 gestihst : This is not from gestihtian 'bestimmen' (as glossed by I. Geisel), but from gestigan 'climb, descend'. The figurative extension is unusual, so may reflect the original translation of the Vita, although the simpler Hly 62-3 bist [. .] astreaht follows more closely the Latin prostratus iacueris.

294 an : Although it would be possible to argue here that an represents 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 Æ WORVLDÆ woruld in the opening lines (see also the note for this phrase). It is curious 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 fyrste : Gonser silently emends this form to the genitive fyrstes which stands in the corresponding passage of the Life, but on may be regarded as governing fyrste in the Homily and no emendation is necessary. It is interesting to note that where in the Homily a nominative and infinitive follow bið 66, in the Life the inflected infinitive has its own object.

Hly 68 þane 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 Wülfing (1894, I. p. 196). See also II.4/G.

299 *þam þe gelice* : Gonser emends *þam þe* to *þam men*, but does not give his reasons for thinking this change necessary, though these can be understood from his note *Zu erwarten wäre 'þam men'* for *Hly* 68 *þane man*. It is possible to regard *þam* as a pronoun and to treat *þe* as an enclitic before *gelice*; no emendation is therefore considered necessary. For *þe* in both form and use compare *þe near* 494, 496, and see II.4/G.1(b).

Hly 69 *syx daga fæsten* : At the head of this phrase Gonser inserts *þurh*, the preposition which appears in *Life* 299 and corresponds to *Vita* 466 *per*. The phrase may however be understood as the subject for *gedafenaþ* 68. Although it is usual in Old English for impersonal verbs to occur without a subject, the passages listed in BTs under *gedafenian* 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/C.1(c)).

303 *forþon . . scyppend* : *Hly* 73 *forðan . . scyppend* : The *Vita* 469 *et reliqua* has been replaced by a translation for *Psalms* lv. 10 *ecce cognoui quoniam Deus meus es*. Compare the note for line 260.

Hly 74 *rec* : *Life* 304 *smic* : For a note on these words see II.4/F.3 and 4.

305 *áidlode* : Hly 75 *áidlode* : Gonser notes that this verb is used only transitively elsewhere, but other examples of its intransitive use are to be seen in BTs under *ā-īd(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.

306 *feng medmycolan bigleofan* : The simplex *fon* is generally followed by the preposition *to* in Old English, but, because it governs the dative in Bwf 2989 *he þam frætwum 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 þam* (which suggests he considers that *médmycclan* is a weak adjective). For the falling together of *-an* and *-um* see II.4/C.1(b).

306 *médmycclan* : Hly 76 *to bære teala myclan* : 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 klassichen ws. nicht heimisch* suggests that the reverse is true. See further II.4/F.2.

307 *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 bīlĕofa 'Nahrung', das zu ahd. bīlibi gehört.

Hly 78 bigferede : Gonser 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 ein leben führen, but discards this approach because he can find no use of fōr in Old English for 'food', whereas both Old High German fuora 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 þæt land wæðdon : Some such clause, corresponding to Vita 475 late loca mestis questibus impleuerunt, must have stood in the original translation, though whether or not wæðdon stood in that version cannot be known. The verb wæðan is recorded otherwise only from verse : Ele 1273, Exo 480, MBo 19.15 and Rdl. 36.5. The Exodus verse wide wæðde 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 þæt hi . . wæron see II.3/d.

Hly 80 geadige : Compare the note for geardodan 51 and see II.4/E.6.

310 gesigefæstod : Gonser suggests that this participle should perhaps be emended to gesigefæstnod, but the form is to be connected with the infinitive sigefæstan. Compare the inflexions of onbryrdod 163 and onlihtod 266 noted in II.4/C.3(f).

Hly 82 7 him for naht dyde, MS 7hI for naht dyde 7him for naht dyde. : The scribe apparently wrote this clause twice by mistake as later in the Homily the verb wæs 118, and duplication may explain also the unusual linked duplicated verbs weost 7 weccest 59. See also II.4/G.3.

Hly 82 unmanega : This form is emended to unmanege by Gonser, but for

the levelling of -a and -e see II.4/E.5.

Hly 83 by gewunelican þeowdom / Vita 481 adsueto more : See the note for Life 240. The absence of dative inflexion from þeowdom, unusual in the Homily, should be noted.

315 cyme : Hly 86 cyrme : 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 cyrme 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 onsyne : 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 ansyne of Life 316 shows subsequent change, but this speculation is not discussed in his commentary.

317 mycele heafda / Vita 488 capitibus magnis : Gonser emends Hly 88 heafdu to micle heafdu because an adjective stands both in the Life and the Vita. The word has obviously been omitted by mistake, whether by this scribe or some predecessor cannot be known, but is not emended into the text here because it is not essential for the sense.

Some freedom is apparent between Life and Homily in the wording of this passage. For example, where both Hly 88 lange and Vita 489 longis are plural, langne sweoran 317 is singular. Compare Hly 89 bearde / Vita 490 barba and beardum 318.

317 manigre ansyne : Hly 88 manigre onsyne : 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 mægere in his text, without any further explanation in the commentary. The adjective mæger 'meagre' is little known from Old English texts; one example is given for the Leechdoms 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.

318 7 ruge earan : Both Goodwin and Gonser 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.

319 woh nebb : Hly 89 woh nebb : Gonser (p. 36) suggests that the translator confused the Vita 490 torua 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 equineis (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 BT under nebb III) which Vita 490 fronte implies.

319 toþas : Similar analogical extension of the unmutated vowel and the apparent assimilation of the noun to the masculine strong a-nouns is illustrated by Fhx 407 toþas, SlB II toþas and PPs 57.5 toðas. For other analogical changes in the vowels of accented syllables in this declension in the Life see II.4/C.1(i).

Hly 93 misscrence tán : Gonser remarks that this phrase ganz gut zu 'plantis aversis' passt and concludes therefore that misscrence must have stood in the original translation. The word is glossed as 'aversus' gekrümmt by I. Geisel. Neither discusses Goodwin's suggestion that misscrence may be related to gescrencan 'cause to shrink, destroy'. The form is however entered in BT under misscrence 'shrivelled' where it is compared with gescrence 'withered, dry', an adjective which occurs only in the gloss hond gescrengce uel dryge for manum aridam (Skeat 1874, Luke vi.8) and a similar interpretation is given the forms in the NED under MIS[1] - 8. This explanation of the adjective gains further support from the description of the onset of an attack of gout in Leechdoms iii. 48, 28 Ða tan scrinceb up.

The form *miscrence '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 misscrence of the manuscript). This *miscrence must be regarded as cognate with cranc-stæf 'crank' and crencestre 'female weaver' and perhaps also with cring '(?) a kind of shoe'; all are forms noted only once for Old English and should be regarded as cognate with the causative *crengan which most likely existed beside cringan 'yield, give way' and which is reflected in the Middle English crengen, 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 homilist's misscrence by 'withered'.

322 *miscrocet tan*, MS *mis crocettan* : This passage is the source for the BT entry *miscrocettan* 'to make a horrible noise' (found also in Bosworth's earlier dictionary) and for Sweet's **miscrācettan* 'croak horribly' (with the asterisk showing that he doubts the existence of the form and a note that *ā* should perhaps be *ō*). 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 *gecrōcod* is listed as a *hapax legomenon* by Napier (1903, p. 292) from a twelfth century text and the *miscrocet* of *Life* 322 is probably cognate with this form. Middle English forms reflecting an Old English **crōc* are well attested : see MED under *crok* (and especially the use in nicknames 7[b] *Archil Crocfot* and *Willelmus 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 *clamoribus raucisonis* : Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this phrase to *7 hás 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

anacolothun 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 þuhte : 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 hleoþrode : Hly 96 hleoðrode : The gloss hlyþan 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 beofend 'furtum', which denote action rather than agent.

Hly 98 eallum limum gebundenum / 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 anacoluths 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, the i-umlaut of o in the Germanic suffix, giving Old English -ehte). Compare eagospond 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 ane as faulty. Life 332 ane 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 Vercelli 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 oððe . . wæcan : 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 Gonser 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.

334 mid maran bysmerum : Hly 105 mid maran brogan : Compare the note for line 280 : Hly 49; see also II.4/F.3 and 4. For a note on the adjectival inflexion see II.4/C.1(b).

337 fram þe : Goodwin points out that these words do not appear in the corresponding passage of the Homily and adds 'they come in awkwardly enough in the text'. This is however no reason to omit them, as does Gonser in his text.

Hly 113 ondrysenlican : 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 þa 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 Þa 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.

339 ongryrlican : For a note on this nonceword see II.4/F.5(b).

342 unmæta : This inflexion is normalised by both Goodwin and Gonser, but see II.4/C.2(a).

Hly 116 gomum / Vita 519 fauces : The gomum 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 Termini 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 Glc 559 heldore).

Hly 117 brosmas, MS bismas : Goodwin suggests that brosmas should be

read for the manuscript bismas. The manuscript form is however retained 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 -n 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 deopnysse 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 period. See further II.4/F.3 and 4.

Hly 118 wæs : This verb stands both as the last form on folio 135^{r} and as the first on 135^{v} and is an obvious duplication on the part of the scribe. Compare the note for Hly 82.

Hly 119-21 7 nalas . . upgeotan / 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 7 eac 120 to ac eac but, though this brings the passage into line with Hly 31 and Hly 49, the homilist's tendency to substitute 7 for the more complicated connectives shown in the Life may explain the appearance of 7 eac in line 120.

Hly 120 þa leglican hyðe : 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 hyðe should be interpreted in the manner suggested by Kern (1917, p. 6), as yðe / Vita 523 gurgites. For the initial h compare the note for orwehtan 329 and see II.4/D.2.

Hly 120 þa fulan rescetunge swefles, MS for rescetunge has receastunge :

Gonser prints for the form here emended receas tunge, noting that 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 hrǣcetung 'vomitus' as suited to the context, explaining that behind the receas tunge printed by Gonser might have lain receastunge. He suggests that the 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 foetidos sulphuris vomitus spargi in aerem.

In addition he speculates that the translator had before him for Vita 525 uortices the word vomitus, or that he es wenigstens zu finden geglaubt, and that he simply omitted translating Vita 524 glaciali grandine mixti. I. Geisel enters receastunge as one word under the headword rec, does not identify its case, and equates it with hrœce-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 tunge 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 rescetunge. The word rœscetung occurs both in simplex form and as the second element in a compound in Old English texts (see BT under rœscetung the entry from a glossary hrœscetunga 'coruscationes', under ligrœscetung '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 rœsc 'a heavy shower', ligrœsc, ligetrœsc, rœscan 'move quickly, quiver' and rœscettan '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 s of the manuscript form as Schlutter had to and the form summarises well the weighty description given in the Vita.

Hly 122 ligeas : Kern (1917, p. 6) suggests that lege 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 lege 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 torquebant and is therefore preferred to an explanation which assumes scribal omission of wæron.

352 witu : Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this form to wita, but see II.4/C.1(d).

Hly 125 onþræc : Gonser notes that this verb is found only here. He connects it with the weak verb onþracian, but his additional comment zurückgehend auf ein ags. verloren gegangenes 'þrahan' oderare is difficult to substantiate. Elsewhere he (p. 51) describes onþræc as poetical in character. I. Geisel glosses the form as the third person preterite singular of the weak verb onþracian without adding any further comment. It will be found listed under the form *onþriegan in the glossary to the Homily. Examples of words cognate with it are onþracung 'fear', onþræclic 'horrible', geonþracian '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 þæt fyr : 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 hēr II for the adverb in the sense 'behold'.

Hly 128 ða werigea gastas, MS ðaweri / geagastas with briefly rising stroke from top of a before g. The weak adjective does not otherwise show loss of -n in the Homily, but compare Hly 64 a.

358 þeostra bearn 7 forwyrde tuddre : Hly 130 þystra 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 eow 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/C.1.g). Like Hly 130 tuddor, however, it may show levelling of -re and -or.

Hly 131 dustes acsan / Vita 541 faulle cineris : The Homily reading answers more closely to the Latin than does dust. 7 ascan 7 ysela 359-60, which may therefore have been rephrased during revision. It should be noted that reminiscence of Job xxx. 19 favillæ et cineri 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 eormen '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 : Gonser 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 Gonser suggests, have omitted sceolon

ge, the phrase found in Life 361. See also II.2/f.

362 egsian : Hly 134 bregean : Compare the note for 280 : Hly 49 and see II.4/F. 3 and 4.

Hly 134-5 hie . . 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 hine has replaced an earlier hie; the phrase to ðam 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 ðam being read as a preposition + article, with the subsequent extrapolation of sadigan woldon from the gegesawodon of the exemplar. Some such train of events would, at any rate, explain why woldon 363 has the prägnante 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 -es and -as in the Life see II. 4/C.1(a).

365-6 *þa dimnysse beostru* : Hly 137-8 *þa dimman bystro* : For a note on the agreement of the article with *beostru* rather than with the descriptive genitive in line 365, see the note for *þæs arwurðan gemynde GVÐLACES* 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/f.

367 *ac . . gehyddon* : 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 *þa þe* : 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 gefeannesse* and Hly 143 *þam apostole*; and conjectural readings are given silently in the presented text. It should be noted that Gonser's *ð* as the last letter of Hly 145 *rixaþ* 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/c.

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 naui and suggests that some such phrase as ne on wæne 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 nec 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 weopon 382.

380 morgengebedtída : The compound is recorded only here for Old English. Pogatscher (1899, p. 13) explains this form by *morgengebet(stunde).

382 weopon : 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 preterite form which occurs shortly afterwards, although it might be explained 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 gastes : For other examples of -as and -es being levelled see II.4/C.1(a).

388 brytisc : Here and at line 395 (bryttisc) 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. $1^{\dagger b}$) one reference to the use of the adjective to denote a language, from the 1662 Act of Uniformity :

> That 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 explains (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 cenredes : See under Cenred in Appendix 3.

391 angolcynne : Gonser 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 þeowdom. WrW I. 129.32.

400 þæt wæron : For other examples of þæt 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 re-arrangement 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. Gonser (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 Beccel 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 beccelle : 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 Beccelm- forms, give forms similar to the beccel 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 Penwald),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. Beccel 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 attre .. : 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 torico pectore 596). The material of this chapter of the Vita is fully if freely reproduced in the Life. The devil's suggestions to Beccel 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 / spregde : The emendation of the manuscript spregde made by both Goodwin and Gonser 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 sprengan is common enough in Old English but the compound geondsprengan may have been unfamiliar in the late period. It is found perhaps three times in all according to BTs : here, in R.Ben.I.12.1 where the manuscript reads geondsprecend, and as an emendation in Rdl 26.8 geondsprengde where the manuscript has geond speddropan and can be interpreted without this insertion.

415 swa ... doð : Gonser suggests that this doð and deð 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 dōn VIII). The Old English foreshadowing of the later auxiliary usage, illustrated in BTs under dōn VII, is not represented in this text.

416-18 Gonser points out that the translator's com ... þæt 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. Gonser also notes that þæt he hine wolde þwean 418 appears to be ein überflüssiges (interpoliertes?) Anhängsel. The clause is explanatory

and necessitated by the translator's paraphrase of his exemplar.

428 þa 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 ungeswikendlice and untolætendlice respectively. Hecht (1900, p. 150, fn 4) points out that 'blinnan' nebst Zusammensetzungen und Abteilungen wird von H[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 þam : Goodwin's silent expansion of the manuscript þā to þan is by no means wrong as this scribe uses both þam and þan 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 skilfully.

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 Guthlaci, extracts from each are given below.

> Evagrius (PG 26, columns 835 ff.)... rugiebat leo, accedere uolens; taurus mugitu et cornibus minebatur; serpens sibilum personabat, luporum impetus

ingerebantur: pardus discolori tergo auctoris sui callidates uarias indicabat: truces omnium uultus, et uocis horrida dirus auditis.

... leonum, taurorum, luporum, aspidum, serpentuum, scorpionum, necnon et pardorum atque ursorum.

Earlier Latin version (Garitte 1939, p. 25) ... leo rugiebat, uolens insilire in eum, taurus uolebat uentilare cornibus, coluber repens non adtingebat, et lupus de impetu suo retinebatur (et in toto omnium) serpens torquebat se et sibilabat super eum; et simul omnes terribiles erantina et sono suo.

... leonum et ursorum, leopardorum, colobrium, taurorum, aspidum, scorpionum et luporum.

It seems possible that some manuscript of this earlier version was current in England in Felix's time.

437 grymetigenda : 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 therefore unnecessary to emend here.

442 cræcetung : The noun is recorded only here by BT; there is one example of the cognate verb crakettan in the Dialogues 118.25 (in Hatton 76; Cambridge MS has cræcettan). Both Goodwin and Gonser emend cræcetung to cræcetunge.

448 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 displayest..." 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).

449 ætywes : Goodwin's emendation to ætywest 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.

451 se þe worhte : The translation adds a detail here not present in the Vita.

452 fram þisum ungeþwærnysse : Goodwin and Gonser follow the accepted Old English rules of agreement in emending þisum to þisse, 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/G.1.

453 gewát : The subject of the clause suggests that a plural verb should follow. Goodwin suggests the curious form gewáton and Gonser the normal gewiton. However, in two other places in the text þa occurs where a nominative singular feminine is to be expected, at lines 12 (where this interpretation of þa is doubtful) and at line 557 (where the word may alternatively be understood as an example of pleonastic þa 'then') and the usage may possibly be a feature of late Old English. SB (337n.4) point out that þa 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 gewát (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.

454 begiten : The begæm of Goodwin's text is corrected by him on p. vi of his edition.

455–80 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 aliquorum 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 þæt egland : Gonser emends the text to neah þam eglande,

pointing out that neah usually governs the dative. The inconsistency both of the text as to use of case following neah and of Gonser 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 Wæron ... 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 :

Hær is nedran swæg,
wyrmas gewunade. 102

against which he puts the explanation "adders have their home here". Comparable also is a verse from the Paris Psalter :

And heora tungan tornewidum
neode serwað, swa oft nædran doð,
and him aspidas, strene wyrmas,
under welerum is gewunad fæste. 139.3

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.

476 æbær : Gonser's emendation aber brings the form into line with the other examples of this prefix in the text; see II. 4/C.5d.

480 agenra : 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 ... nequit 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 Beccel 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 (Gl0 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 WILFRIÐ : This uir uenerabilis (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

uuilfrido). 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 gastlicre : Goodwin and Klipstein present the emendation -um and Gonser prefers an instrumental -e, but compare line 596 where they make similar changes. See II.4/G.1(a) for discussion of this form.

484 gastlic : Klipstein's emendation gastlice is without foundation in the grammar of normalised late West Saxon.

492 leornodest : 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 þam þe hi ær ahte 523) to accord with this omission and the absence of Guthlac's assurances about the second glove (Vita 766 ac ... tituþasset 772).

501 æþelan : 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 sum and no change or further explanation is necessary. See also II. 4/C.1(b).

500 witedomlice : Goodwin and Gonser normalise to witedomlic, but for the considerable confusion of inflexions in this text see II.4/C.2(a).

508 þinc : Goodwin follows the form which occurs soon afterwards for his emendation þincc. Both illustrate late Old English unvoicing of this consonant, a common feature of the manuscript. See further II.4/D.1.

511 ut of þam in : Vita 760 extra domum : Goodwin suggests that emendation from in to 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 30^{r}, 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 on þam 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 worda : Goodwin's worde illustrates again the normalising tendency of his text. See II.4/C.1(d).

515 of þam huses hrofe : 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 tacn slogon : The phrase answers to Vita 773 pulsato signo. It is found again in tacen slogon 552 where the same ablative absolute phrase appears in Vita 815. The word tacn in these two contexts is glossed in BT (under tācn III) as 'a sign to attract attention, a signal' and the translation 'gave a signal by striking' is proposed. The word tacn may however have been extended semantically under the influence of signum, as the entry in BTs under bell-tac(e)n suggests :

sona swa hy þæt belltacen gehyrað þære nigoðan tide,
þæt is seo nontid (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 Glc 735 tacnum (see the note in Comment-are for section III).

519 spæc : This form and spæce 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 . . nehfreonda/ Vita 796 multitudine;

536 7 obre manige mid gesarode ;

543 þonne he lengc þa men drehte;

546-8 hi . . gefremedon/ perhaps inspired by Vita 809 certo consilio parant;

552 mid gewunelican leawe/ 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 wependе.

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 verbiage 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 wependе the result of a misunderstanding of Vita 817 a primordio, although such a mistake is difficult to account for. I prefer to regard wependе as one of the additions made in the retelling of the story in English.

527 hinе : The form is omitted by Gonser as an emendation; the

pronoun, although in the wrong case, by position anticipates him 528 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 -nn- in such forms; compare berene 237, fyrene 846 and see II.4/C.2(k). The noun is normalised by Goodwin to lichaman, but is best left unchanged as the loss of final -n 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 Eo . . impetraretur 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 hiene eac gewildne ged yd / et captus est (Sweet 1883, p. 132 line 22 and p. 133)
>
> and þonne he hine hæfð gewyldne, þonne aginð he sylf sigan, oððe afylð. (Bright 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.

535 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 mægn : Schlutter (1909, p. 324 and fn 1) suggests that mægn arises from the translator's misunderstanding of Vita 803 uirus 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 þa yfelan mægn could be regarded as another example of the free treatment of the Vita in the Life.

542 þonne . . drehte : Gonser points out that the construction is unusual, suggesting a translation of the clause should begin

als dass er länger . . This embellishment of the tale has resulted in an awkward construction, though it would have been simple to place after þonne the genitive singular of some word with the meaning 'life', to continue the parallelism provided by Vita 806 mortem plus quam uitam.

544 on þæt þeodscipe : Both Goodwin and Gonser normalise this reading, the former giving an accusative article þone and the latter a dative þam for þæt which stands before a noun historically masculine. See further II.4/G.1(a).

546 acsodon : This form is given a separate entry in BTs (under āscian 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 þæt : The relative does not agree with its antecedent sum ancra 545 and is therefore emended to þe 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 þe is used only when the antecedent is animate and þæt when it is inanimate (see McIntosh 1947, p. 74). Klaeber (in his note for Bwf 15 : 1950, p. 125) points out that the occasional occurrence of þ̄ for þe 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 þæt is generalised as the relative in early Middle English in texts from a more northerly area than the Peterborough Chronicle (for example, þe has been completely replaced by þæt 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 bære : Goodwin and Gonser normalise this article to þam , but see further II.4/G.1(a).

552 tacen slogon : See the note for tacn slogon 517.

557 þa sunne : In this text þa is by position ambiguous, but it is better interpreted as the adverb 'then' used pleonastically than as the late Old English spread of þa 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 racsan) and BTs (under raxan), 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 Vita 825 longa suspiria imo de pectore traheng. See NED under RAX and RASK; the meaning 'yawn' is given only for the latter of these forms.

Life 560 raxende 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 NED for the frequentatives RAXLE and RASKLE. The forms RAX and RAUX 'To stretch' are noted by Halliwell (1878 edition cited) who also records 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 adle : Instances of 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 gefere : Only Klipstein normalises this form to geferan. Gonser 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 hædde 655, þege 826 and 854 and of abbodysse 706. See fur-

ther II.4/C.1(h).

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 þam godes men : See the note for line 7.

571 Eac þon se, MS Eac þone : 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 þon (see the first entry under ēac 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 þon and the following demonstrative was as a result unconsciously omitted. The emendation Eac þone se is put forward on these grounds, but with the caveat that in the Life an apparent example of þone 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 motion and incident found in the Life, emphasising that these cannot be due to a misunderstanding of the original, and as well (p. 94) examines ba . . sede 595–602 to illustrate how freely the Latin is sometimes worked. The outline of the story must have been well known, both from the Vita and from the story about St Benedict (see Kurtz 1926, p. 117 fn 35 for a comparison of the incident with Gregory's account of the 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 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 Elisha's, have disappeared and reported speech is for the most part turned into direct speech.

576 gastlicre : Compare the note for line 483 where this phrase occurs again with etymologically unjustifiable gastlicre. In both places the adjective is normalised by the earlier editors, but see further II.4/G.1(a).

577 hondbegnas : This compound occurs also in the Old English Bede and in XSt 483 (see BT under handbegen). A comparable use of hand as a limiting element in compound words appears in Bwf 1481 hondgesellum, Bwf 2596 handgesteallan and in other more frequently recorded words such as handpreost, handscolu, handboc. 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.

577 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.

Gonser suggests the emendation leafbene which is, he himself notes, a nonceword; he therefore adds rather unhelpfully vielleicht ist 'leaf' als Glosse zu 'ben' aufzufassen. Schlutter (1909, p. 326) criticises Gonser'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 causę 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 causae necessitate . . licentiam poscebant. J.J. Camp-

bell's observation (1951, pp. 369-70) that leafa 165 and lǽfa 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 drēman 'rejoice' (cognate with drēam) appear in the standard dictionaries and are cited particularly from religious verse and psalter translations. The emendation seems unnecessary.

584 lǽfa : 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 ĕ̄a and ĕ̄, for which see II.4/B.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 hām), but does not insert ham into

his text. Compare the note for line 456 where, for similar reasons, Gonser suggests and makes an addition to the text.

606 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 pertulerat 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 Wæs .. 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 7 þa ... 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 þa þe 621 is without referrent, because the clause should be bound to a main clause. In line 623 the manuscript reading cynnes may point to the translator'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 catalogues (compare 436 ff.).

606 þa geweard him betweonan : Gonser suggests that this impersonal construction is found only with the accusative, but see BT under geweorþan 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 recorded in L.H. Dodd's glossary for Napier's edition of Wulfstan's sermons. The word may no longer have been current in religious writings of the late Old English period. Schlutter (1909, pp. 326-7) deals at some length with Sweet's judgment quoted by Gonser (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/G.1(a).

619 nehþeode, MS hehþeode : 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 (neahþeoda 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 hehþeode). Kern suggests also the emendation Mercarice (for mercna 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.

620 scyndon : See the note for scyndan 123.

623 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.

624 menigum : Both Goodwin and Gonser prefer the emendation nænigum to the manuscript reading. It is obvious from Gonser's selections from the Vita that he equates 624-5 7 ... genamon with Vita 915 nec illos uana spes fefellit, 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 awecode, 'awaken' or 'fall off'.

628 gefere : See the note for line 563.

629-54 : 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 Ofa : 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 þurh 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 þurh hwæt as in apposition to þone intingan (and compare the co-ordinate clause 7 hu .. become).

645 þæt reaf ... hine : Gonser emends hine to hit but the lack of agreement may have arisen through the reviser's substitution of þæt 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 slefde : The verb slēfan is in the NED (under SLEVE v.) described as 'of uncertain relationship' and this slefde 645 is noted hesitantly as the only instance of the verb in Old English. Both Toller (see BTs under slēfan) and Holthausen (AEW under slīefan) connect the verb with the Old English words slȳf and slȳfa for 'sleeve' and Toller suggests also that it is cognate with slīpan 'to slip something on or off'. Other Old English words most likely closely related to slēfde are : WrW I. 47. 22 'Soccus, socc, slebescoh; WrW I. 277. 29 'Soccus', slypescoc (compare Modern English slipshod and the 1615 slip-shoe recorded by Halliwell); WrW i. 16. 47 Geslefed mamulentus uel maniceatus; and the adjective WrW i. 40. 20, 21 slef-leas (also in the Benedictine Rule 89. 13). These forms are all listed in BT.

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} 'cleave'), 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 EDD (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 5 '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 gown on and gang wi' the. Nhp. 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 astelleþ : Gonser notes für astielleþ?, 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 Gonser vermutet astielleþ von astiellan abspringan. 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 þa hraþe astylde of his

rmste (Cambridge manuscript; Hecht 1900, p. 21 line 28); the corresponding clause of the Hatton manuscript reads 7 he þa of his bedde forð ærmsde. 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 fyrlen 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 Solil-oquies : for þære firle 66.32.

652 sceðnysse : See II.4/F.2 and 3 for discussion of the obsolescent and perhaps Anglian character of this word.

655 hædde : Gonser normalises this form to Hæddan and in line 706 changes abbodysse to -an, yet retains the manuscript forms of gefere 563, 628 and pege 826 and 854. See the note for line 563.

For a brief note on Bishop Hædda, 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 Hædda figures in the Life. (The manuscripts, listed by Colgrave(1956, p. 144 fn 15) are : CCCC 307, CCCC 389,

Arras 812, Boulogne 637, Cotton Nero E i (pars i) and TCD B.4.3.) The interwoven stories of Wigfriδ's doubt of Guthlac's sanctity and Hædda'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 þæt 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 æfweardа : For a discussion of this inflexion see II.4/C.2(d). Compare andweardа 659 and wynsumestа 831.

663 wigfriδ : The name is a common one in Old English, but there is no evidence to connect this follower of Hædda with any particular contemporary. See also Appendix 3.

664 ferdon : The verb is plural by the attraction of betweox ... 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.

667 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 Wigfrið's mouth, but with a notable omission. Felix's strictures on the false hermits of the sceotta folc have disappeared; instead Wigfrið 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.

672 sceotta folc : This phrase describes the Irish either in Scotland or in Ireland, and Wigfrið'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.

673 7 on ... : The subject ellipsis, so prevalent in this text, should be noted.

677 be he burh deofles miht deð : The verb deð stands for wyrceð; compare the note for doð 415. Contrast 668–70 where no attempt is made to balance the hwæber clause.

678 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.

678 þes gódes manneg : 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 gōd 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 godes is glossed under gōd 'God'.

681 bære drihtnes gife : See the note for line 7.

683 heofonlice snyttro : If the phrase is regarded as dependent on wisdóm 683, the adjective heofonlice would have to be described as another instance of the spread of -e through oblique forms of attributive words in this text (see II.4/G.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 heofonlic. As however the phrase may be interpreted as in apposition to wisdóm, the inflexion of heofonlice need not be discussed further.

685 mid þa godcundan haligra gewrita : Goodwin remodels this phrase upon Vita 980-1 diuinarum scripturarum exemplis, giving for it mid þa 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).

687 to þam godes were : See the note for line 7.

689 messepreoste : Gonser 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 'presbyter'. The findings of MacGillivray (1902, pp. 97 ff.) who points out that exceptions to this rule are rare or poetic should be compared.

690 benun : Goodwin's normalisation of this form to benum is not followed by Gonser; see II.4/C.1(b).

691 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 Hædda is summarised shortly, so that the story moves quickly to the saint's questioning of Wigfriþ.

695 ungebeawe : 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).

696 to þam biscopes þegnum : See the note for line 7.

698 þince þe : Goodwin changes þince to þincð, but the manuscript

bince 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 -es 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 hædde 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/G. 1(b).

704 ærfæstlice : 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 Ecgburh'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 described. Colgrave (1956, p. 191) notes that Vita 1016 ad patibulum dominicæ crucis 'seems to refer to an attitude of prayer common especially 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 nunc nostris temporibus to Life 719 eft is surely significant.

707 ECGBURH : 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 Aelfflæd's questions to Cuthbert about Ecgfrith's successor in Northumbria (chapters 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 Felix 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.1. For a note on Aldwulf see Appendix 3.

709 _burh ða halgan naman_ : For a note on this phrase see II.4/0. 1(a).

710 _forðfore_ : 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 _ðe sumum arwyrðe lifes broþor_ : The adjective _arwyrðe_ is emended by Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser to _arwyrðes_ to agree with _lifes_; 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/C.1(b). The dative singular _broþor_, normalised by the previous editors to _broþer_, is also retained because other analogical changes are seen in the declension of mutated nouns. Compare the note for _beo_ 33 and see II.4/C.1(i).

717 _com_ : Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser emend 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 _cume_. 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 þæt . . nymð 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 ceolred : Aethelbald succeeded peacefully to the throne after the death of this second cousin (see further under Ceolred in Appendix 3½). 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 I.2 passim).

727 space : Compare the note for spæc 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 mennisca by both Goodwin and Gonser. See also II.4/C.2(a).

730 to þam godes were : See the note for line 7.

732 unforgitende : 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 gerīsen (or -ne) which is described as a neuter noun. The word is obviously connected with the verb (ge)rīsan 'seize, take' (cognate according to Holthausen with rāsian); in AEW gerisen is listed as a feminine noun. Toller (see BT under rīsan) indicates that these forms may be connected also with rēs. Few examples of the verb rīsan are cited in BT andBTS and they are noted generally from the Old English Bede, the Rushworth Gospels gloss and vocabularies. See further II.4/F.5(b).

743 þæt rice : Both Goodwin and Gonser make the unnecessary emend-

ation ricu, but see II.4/C.1(d) and 2(a). Gonser suggests that something may have dropped out of the Old English text at this point, perhaps ein oder mehrere Zeilen from before þæt. 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 Gonser argues that some words may have dropped out from before þæt 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 Pege 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.

747 se leofa [illegible] beow : See the note for line 7.

754 geblibe : Gonser notes that this word is found only here. In BTs it is glossed as either an adjective or an adverb. Comparison with blibe 264 and 369 where this adjective may in both places have replaced a participial adjective and with 271 where Hly 142 gefeonde 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(h).

756 bæs eahtoban dæge : Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser emend dæge to dæges. 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 wodnesdæg : There is no need here to change this form from the locative to the dative, as Goodwin's emendation to wodnesdæge implies; see II.4/C.1(c).

763 mid langre sworetunge bæt/orð of þam breostum teah : As Gonser 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 Pege'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 untrumnys 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 unclænnysse 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 þeos 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 wodnesdæg 758 and see also II.4/C.1(c).

776 eagospind : The omission of h- before the vowel of an accented syllable is parallelled 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 hecga- (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 þæt . . dædum : Gonser points out that this clause does not translate Vita 1106-7 ut . . uideretur and compare line 902 / Vita 1230-1. In both places the infrequent passive use of the verb

geseon appears with the sense 'seem' (see BTs under gesēon 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, Gonser 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 hwæthwego : See II.4/F.2 for a note on this word which occurs again in line 835.

796 behealt þu : Gonser notes the unvoicing of the final consonant, comparing synt 926. See also II.4/D.8 and contrast geheald þu 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 pege 826. Redin (1919, pp. 106 and 117) compares this name with the slightly commoner man's name P(a)ega (for example pega 337 in Liber Vitae and pæga from a charter in Sweet 1885, pp. 163 and 441), but mentions no other woman called Pege from

Anglo-Saxon England. 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 pege 826, 854 with PEGAN 941). Colgrave (1956, p. 155 fn 32) records for Vita 1123 pegian variant forms found in other manuscripts (Pegan, Pegean and Pegam) which indicate that the -i- of such forms as pegian 1123 reflects an earlier e which followed ġ. 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 bære cristes fæmnan : See the note for line 7.

804-5 ic wylle to þon dón þe ic heold : Gonser notes that the verb dón 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 þe 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 þon

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 . . todæled 805 (the words a cliché in Old English religious writings) modifies bewinde 806 and bæt may once have stood before this clause, anticipating bæt 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 that 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 hwæne : 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 godes wer : See the note for line 7.

815 mid . . teah : See the note for line 763.

817 nelt þu beon gemyndig / Vita 1138 sollicitari noli : A similar use of the Old English verb willan appears in line 923 where ne wylt þu þe ondrædan translates Vita 1257 noli timere; see also II.4/G.4.

817 gemyndig þas þing : The earlier editors place heavy punctuation between gemyndig and þas þing, obscuring how closely this passage seems to be related to the Vita. As a result of this editorial practice gemyndig 817 is described (in BTs under gemyndig 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 þas þing 817; with þas þing an integral part of the preceding clause the inconsistency could have arisen simply. Compare the notes for 93, 112, 171, etc.

822 alyfað : Gonser, comparing Vita 1142 licet, explains that -að stands for -eð. He notes also that examples of this Latinate construction appear in the Old English Bede; many instances will be found listed in BTs under ālīfan.

824 gehihte : Goodwin retains the manuscript form, noting that as hiht 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 gelīhtan 'to assuage physical pain' I(1)a) apparently thinks gehihte a scribal error for gelihte. Kern (1917, p. 8), comparing forþon he gehyhte 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 gehyhtan is used only intransitively in Old English, but we may have here a foreshadowing of the early Middle English transitive verb hihten. This verb, of obscure origin, appears first in the Trinity College Cambridge homilies. It is described in the NED 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 HIGHTLE 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 þo ateliche sinnes. 71
> Þat burh folc hihten þe hege strete and bi engen it mid palmes. 89
> Alle þos winnen huihten his wurðshipe. 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 **sfweardan** : The word may be interpreted as a substantival use of a weak adjective. Gonser's emendation is unnecessary.

825 þa 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 ecgberhte : This is the first time Ecgberht is named in the Life / Vita 1146 ecgberhto. 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 mid ... teah : See the note for line 816.

830 orð : Goodwin and Klipstein emend orð 830 to orðe as a disyllabic form would be expected in this position. See II.4/C.1(e).

831 blostman : Gonser notes Goodwin's unconscious normalisation of this form in his text to blostmena. 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 æfweardа 658, andweardа 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 hwæthwego : See the note for 795.

837 gearwa þe 7 þu on þone siþ fére : Goodwin and Klipstein emend þe 7 þu to þe þæt þu. Gonser points out that the emendation is unnecessary and explains fére 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[1] as well as in late West Saxon texts (see Campbell §752).

842 blod : Like lichaman 841 the noun stands in apposition to the dative þam 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 þone 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 fēran 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 fēran. Bolton is right not to regard the form as a causative use of fēran (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(f).

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 r as p in an unfamiliar word in Old English script is a simple graphical error. The emendation is made by all the editors.

847 *þæs . . ongelic* : 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.

847 *for his fægernysse* : 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 BTs under B(10)). Without consultation of *Vita* 1166 *in cuius splendoris comparatione ...* the preposition might be given the more widely used meaning 'because of'.

848–49 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).

851 *ormedum* : Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this form to *ormetum* as the usual form of this adjective is *ormēte*. This intervocalic *d* is otherwise unparalleled within the word and can scarcely represent voicing of *-t-*.

853 *se godes wer* : See the note for line 7.

855 þa 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 (ymbseald 834 / Vita 1155 circumsplendescere). Paraphrase is responsible for the expression in 278 and in 855 the English version gives a specific cause for Pege'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 hē 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 hig 864.

864 se godes wer : 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 godcundnysse arfæstlice mannum openlice ætywan (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 þa. However, it seems easier to accept the manuscript reading as a solitary example of a for ac (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 misreading of a final -u with stroke for nasal above being argued), necessary for the sense and made in the previous editions. The phrase seo godcundnysse 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 godcundnysse is parallelled sufficiently throughout the text for no further comment to be needed on Gonser's acceptance of Goodwin's arfæstnys.

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 Guthlaci, lines 1190-95.

> Þæt wolde ða openlicor æteawan seo godcunde arfæstnes, in hu myclum wuldre se Dryhtnes wer Cuðbyrht æfter his deaðe lifde; ⁊ þæs his líf ær ðam deaðe mid healicum tacnum heofenlicra wundra openade 7 æteawde. Ða wæs ymb endlefen géar þæs ðe he bebyrged wæs, ðætte God onsende in ðara broðra mod, þæt heo woldan his bán geneoman 7 úp ofer eorðan adón.
>
> (Miller 1891, p. 374)

> Uolens autem latius demonstrare diuina dispensatio, quanta in gloria uir Domini Cudberct post mortem uiueret, cuius ante mortem/ uita sublimis crebris etiam miraculorum patebat indiciis, transactis sepulturae eius annis XI, inmisit in animo fratrum, ut tollerent ossa illius ... (Plummer 1896, I. 276)

870 bære drihtnes þeowan : See the note for line 7.

872 cyrclice endebyrdnysse / Vita 1197 aliis ecclesiasticis gradibus : Goodwin, followed by Klipstein, emends cyrclice to cyrclicre, to match the partitive genitives linked to the phrase. Gonser, comparing the Latin aliis, reads obre cyrclice endebyrdnysse 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 dagas 456 and the note for line 593. Geisel

both beowa and mæssepreosta as accusative plural forms and each of obre cyrclice endebyrdnysse as accusative singular. The manuscript forms are here retained and interpreted as genitive plural forms. The adjective cyrclice shows inflexional confusion of a sort already noted throughout the text (see further II.4/C.2(d) and the noun levelling 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 gena lifde, 7 he wæs begendlic in ðæm geðeodnessum leoða, þæt he wæs myccle gelicra slæpendum menn þonne deadum. Swylce eac ealle ða hrægl, þa ðe he mid gegearwad wæs, nales ðæt an þæt hie ungewemmed wæron, ah swylce eac swa hwit 7 swa neowe wunderlice steawdon, swa he ðy ilcan dæge mid gewered wære. a þæt ða brodor gesawon, þa wæron hie swiðe forhte gewordne, 7 ða efestton ðæm biscope to cyðenne 7 secgenne ða ðing ðe hie ðær 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 indutum erat, non solum intemerata, uerum etiam prisca nouitate et claritudine miranda parebant. Quod ubi uidere fratres,nimio mox timore perculsi, festinarunt referre antistiti, quae inuenerant.

875-76 gwa . . were : Gonser suggests that two constructions are fused here, noting that it is necessary in Gedanken ein 'swylce' zu ergänzen. The gwa 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/C.1(d) for levelling of -a and -e. Gonser prefers to retain the manuscript form and reads libebignysgum, 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 seo cristes beowa : See the note for line 7.

884 on obre scytan / Vita 1208 in sindone : Colgrave (1956, p. 194) points out that in all the Vita texts the gift attributed to Eegburh in chapter 48 (Vita 1012 and compare Guthlac's words in Vita 1126)'seems here to have been attributed to the anchorite Eegberht'. He considers the possibility that Eegberht'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 :

> Sacratissimum ergo corpus cum multa ueneratione et diuinis [laudibus] alia syndone inuoluunt, quam adhuc eo

> 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 þam ylcan þenunge : Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser emend the article to bære, 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 geseoð : 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.

896 **elles** : Gonser suggests that **elles** stands for **elleshwæt**, 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 cristes lof** should be compared with **nisi cristus**.

898 **yrne**, MS **yrre** ; This emendation is made by both Klipstein and Gonser. Compare the note for **sarig** 463 where the appositional form has been allowed to stand. Here an emendation is made because the adjective **ungeornfulne** 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).

902 The clause does not as Gonser 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.'

904-32 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 solacia 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 gæstlicnesse : 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 : Gonser points out that the sentence demands forhtlic. The form might be explained as a scribal error for forhtlic (with the -e 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 þu þe ondrædan / Vita 1256-7 noli timere : See the note for line 817.

927 <u>ær sunne twelf monða hringc utan ymbgan hæbbe</u> / <u>Vita</u> 1261-2 :

The Latin metaphor is, as Gonser (p. 85) notes, followed directly in the <u>Life</u>. 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 circulus (Plummer 1896, I. p. 241)
>
> 7 sona sende þurh ealle Peohta mægðe þa nigontýnlican hringas rihtra Eastrana. 7 het fordilgian ðurh ealle ða gedwolhringas feower 7 hundeahtatig geara. (I. 470, ll. 18ff.)
>
> Statim namque iusso puplico mittebantur ad transcribendum, discendum, obseruandum, per uniuersas Pictorum prouincias circuli paschae decennouenales, oblitteratis per omnia erroneis LXXX et IIII annorum circulis. (I. 346)

It is noted in the NED (under RING sb.[1] 14) that <u>hring</u> appears in Old English glosses against <u>orbis</u> or <u>spira</u>, but phrases of the <u>geares hring</u> 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 <u>round</u>, is common in English literature from the seventeenth century onwards (see NED under ROUND sb.[1] 13).

924 <u>anræde</u> : See II.4/C.2(a).

928 <u>bises rices</u>, MS <u>bises rice</u> : The emendation adopted by Goodwin and Gonser is here followed, haplography of <u>s</u> being argued. Compare the emendation at line 237 and see II.4/C.1(b).

930 Þas tacna ... : If a corresponding passage is sought in the Vita, lines 1281 ff. should be compared (signa...); yet, within the context of the English version this sentence may be accepted as referring back to Guthlac's prophecies to Aethelbald.

933-47 Wæs ... 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 considerably 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 followers, 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 s before s is a simple enough error of dittography and the whole phrase obviously is to be equated with Vita 1287 uir paterfamilias.

933 forespreccna : For loss of inflexional -n compare nama 168 etc. and see II.4/C.2(c).

933 bæs foresprecena wræccan, æbelbaldes : 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 bære mægða wissa : This province is generally placed in the Norfolk area. The people of the prouincia Wissa lived on the lower reaches of the rivers Wissey and Nene and the province was most likely named from the river Wissey; see Stenton 1947, pp. 291-92, Schram 1950, p. 346 and Colgrave 1956, p. 195. See also Appendix 3.

Gonser notes the dative singular mægða; for a discussion of the falling together of -e and -a in this text see II.4/C.1(d).

935 twelf monð : For the endingless accusative plural see Sievers Brunner 290 note 1. The syncopation is a late Old English feature. See further II.4/C.6(b).

935 læces : Goodwin and Klipstein normalise this form to læcas, but see II.4/C.1(a).

939 him : This early example of him as direct object should be noted.

940 to bære cristes beowon : See the note for line 7.

944-46 7 ba . . geseon : 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 oþer . . oþer construction should be equated with the Latin alter . . alter, translates :

> und ehe sie einen zweiten Tropfen in das eine Auge träufelte, 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 oþer 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 oðron : For -on for -um see II.4/C.1(b).

946 on þam ylcan inne : The word inne is glossed by Geisel under inne (adverb and preposition innen), but see BT 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/c for a comparison of the endings of the Life and the Homily.

949 worulda : 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 aa buton ende : This is the only place in this text where the scribe uses aa (or indeed aa) for the word 'ever' and it could therefore be argued th[illegible]e wished to distinguish this aa from the inflexional a which [illegible]ad mistakenly marked. However, aa is found frequently in Old [illegible]ish 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^{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/c.