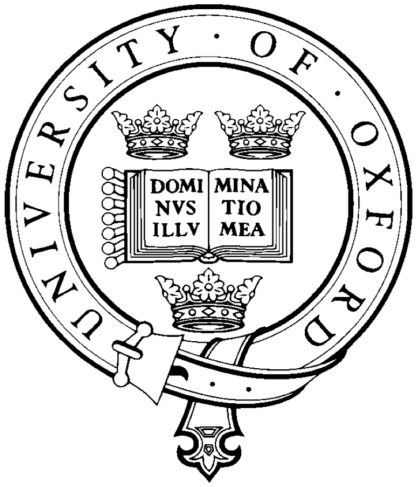
Soldiering for Christ:
The Role of the *Miles Christi* in Four Old English Saints' *Lives*



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Geherað nu, men þa leofstan, hwæt her segð on þysum bocum be þam halgan.[1]

For my grandfather
Dr. Glenn M. Cahilly

[1] Opening to the *Life of Pantaleon* in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii.

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Abstract

This dissertation studies the diverse approaches to 'soldiering for Christ' in Anglo-Saxon hagiographical narratives of warrior-saints. The investigation selects a group of four saints — Martin of Tours, Guthlac of Crowland, the Apostle Andrew, and Placidas–Eustace — as case studies of non-royal warrior-saints who are celebrated in anonymous Old English prose and poetic *Lives* that engaged diverse audiences. Medieval hagiographers associated each of these saints with literal as well as spiritual warfare and appear to have used the saint's association with warrior culture to define Christianity's relationship to a martial ethos. The Old English narratives concerning these four saints are analysed by comparing the vernacular texts to their sources and intertextual parallels while also placing the compositions, transmissions, and audiences of the Old English accounts in their historical contexts. In doing so, the analyses find that there was a range of perspectives surrounding Christian warrior culture which were produced and copied in tandem, from peaceful and nonviolent portrayals in the ninth-century *Martinmas*-homily and various Anglo-Saxon narratives on Guthlac, to the apparent advocacy of Christian violence for converting or subduing pagans reflected in the ninth-century poem *Andreas,* the tenth-century prose *Life of Andrew*, and the late tenth- or early eleventh-century *Life of Eustace*. Texts presenting conflicting attitudes towards Christian warrior culture are transmitted in similar contexts and time periods, sometimes within the same manuscript, suggesting that no cohesive ideology concerning *milites Christi* developed throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. Moreover, the works on Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace illustrate that Old English depictions of spiritual warfare were heavily indebted to models inherited from Scripture and early Christian texts, indicating that Christian militancy was not the result of a 'Germanisation' of the faith. Rather this dissertation argues that Anglo-Saxon hagiographers were individually responding to their historical context, source material, and intended audiences to define what it meant to soldier for Christ.

Acknowledgements

Standing in the steam of the sugarhouse boiling maple sap, I have continually been asked when the following research will be submitted and the syrup consumed on 'the doctor's orders'. Like the maple harvest which depends on a whole community to turn the watery sap into something fullbodied, I am only able to answer those sugarhouse inquisitions affirmatively because of the support that innumerable saintly people have given me. First thanks goes to Professor Andy Orchard, whose inspiration, mentorship, and supervision over a decade and through three degrees have steered me towards more rewarding research than I would have thought myself capable. Andy's guidance has been made all the richer by Dr. Francis Leneghan, Dr. Hattie Soper, Dr. Daniel Thomas, and the rest of the 'Beer and *Beowulf*' scholars whose advice and suggestions have uncovered insightful paths of investigation and shone light into the dark recesses of Old English Literature. I am further grateful to Professor Jane Roberts for her advice and for giving me advance access to *Guthlac: Crowland's Saint*. My sincere thanks are likewise owed to the fellows of Lincoln College, namely Professor Henry Woudhuysen, Professor Peter McCullough, Dr. Daniel McCann, and Dr. Timothy Michael, for their encouragement and tutelage during my first forays into teaching.

The academic support these scholars provided me would have borne little if it were not for the amazing communities and people who have made Oxford a home. The students and staff of Lincoln College gave me the best of enviroments to pursue my research. I have been graced with a company of friends and comrades whose smiles, laughter, stabilising hands, and silence kept my morale high through the completion of this project. I owe a deep gratitude to you all. Likewise, this whole endeavour would never have been achievable without my family — my parents Monica and Randall as well as my siblings Randy and Mary, who continue to lift me toward greater heights and show me the immense range of possibility. I am also immensely grateful to my partner Aisling, who stood by me from start to finish, sounding ideas, reading endless drafts of my drivel, pushing me to pursue opportunities and ensuring that I stayed focused.

Without you all, I would probably still be standing in the wisps of steam instead of bottling the flowing nectar at its heart.

Short Titles and Abbreviations

Ælf.CHom. I	*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, First series* Ed. Clemoes, 1997. Cited by page number: line number.
Ald.uirg(carmen)	Aldhelm, *De uirginitate II Carmen* Ed. Ehwald 1919, 326–471. Cited by page: line number.
Ald.uirg(prosa)	Aldhelm, *De uirginitate* Ed. Ehwald 1919, 226–323. Cited by page: line number.
ASC	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:* *a Collaborative edition*, in 17 volumes Ed. Dumville, Keynes et al., 1983–2004. Cited by Chronicle, year (editor, page number).
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASPR	The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, in 6 volumes. Ed. Krapp and Dobbie, 1931–1942.
BHL	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* Ed. Bollandists, 1898–1901. Cited by entry number: column number.
BL	London, British Library
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
Collationes	*Cassiani opera: Collationes XXIIII*, CSEL 13 Ed. Petschenig, 1886. Cited by *Collatio* number: section number.
Conta Faustum	Sancti Aureli Augustini: Contra Faustum Ed. Zycha, 1891. Cited by book: chapter number.
Councils and Synods	*Councils and Synods, with other Documents: volume I* Ed. Whitelock, 1981. Cited by page number.
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

De ciuitate Dei	*S. Aurelii Augustini episcopi De civitate Dei, libri XXII* Ed. Dombart, 1981. Cited by book: chapter number.
De insitutis	*Cassiani opera: De institutis coenobiorum*, CSEL 17 Ed. Petschenig, 1888. Cited by book: chapter number.
DMLBS	*The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* Ed. Latham, Howlett, Ashdowne *et al.*, 2015.
DOE	*The Dictionary of Old English: A to I* online Ed. Cameron, Healey *et al*., 2019.
DOE Corpus	*The Dictionary of Old English online Corpus* Ed. Cameron, Healey *et al*., 2019.
DROB	Douay–Rheims Online Bible http://www.drbo.org/
ELN	*English Language Notes*
Hexameron	*Hexameron of St Basil* Ed. Norman, 1849. Cited by page number.
HE	*Bede, Historia ecclesiastica* Ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 1969. Cited by book: chapter number.
Wulf.Hom.	*The Homilies of Wulfstan* Ed. Bethurum, 1957. Cited by page: line number.
Laws	*Laws of the Kings of England*, Ed. Robertson, 1925. Cited by page number.
LS	*Old English Lives of Saints* Ed. Clayton and Mullins, 2019. Cited by volume: page number.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
NM	*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*
OEMart.	*The Old English Martyrology* Ed. Rauer, 2013. Cited by page number.

PG	*Patrologia Graecia Cursus Completus*, in 161 volumes Ed. Migne, 1857–1866. Cited by volume: column [col.] number.
PL	*Patrologia Latinae Cursus Completus*, in 221 volumes Ed. Migne, 1844–1865. Cited by volume: column [col.] number.
Regula	*La Règle de Saint Benoît*, volumes I and II Ed. Neuville, 1972. Cited by volume: page number.

Throughout the dissertation, Old English poems are cited by the line-numbers provided within the following editions.

Andreas	*Andreas: An Edition* Ed. North and Bintley, 2016.
The Battle of Maldon	*The Battle of Maldon* Ed. Scragg, 1981.
Beowulf	*Klaeber's Beowulf: Fourth Edition* Ed. Fulk, Bjork, and Niles, 2008.
Christ I–III; *Exeter Book Riddles*; *Juliana*; *Seafarer*; *Vainglory; Wanderer*	*The Exeter Book,* ASPR 3 Ed. Krapp and Dobbie, 1936.
Christ and Satan; Genesis A and *B*	*The Junius Manuscript*, ASPR 1 Ed. Krapp, 1931.
Dream of the Rood; *Elene*; *Fates of the Apostles*	*The Vercelli Book*, ASPR 2 Ed. Krapp, 1932.
Guthlac A and B	*The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book* Ed. Roberts, 1979.

An Editorial Note

The translations of the Latin and Old English quotations throughout the dissertation are my own unless stated otherwise. Translations of passages from the Vulgate Bible are supplied from the Douay–Rheims Online Bible. I have silently removed accents and other diacritics from the Latin and Old English quotations throughout the work and have hyphenated compound nouns and adjectives where the meaning of the separate constituents is evident. Latin orthography has been standarised to level *i* for *j,* miniscule *u* for *v*, and majuscule *V* for *U* unless it precedes a vowel, while the ligature *æ* and *e*-caudata [*ę*] have been standardised to *ae*.

Chapter One

The Paradox of Soldiering for Christ in Anglo-Saxon England

Labora sicut bonus miles Christi Iesu.
'Labour as a good soldier of Christ Jesus.'
II Timothy 2:3

The analogous nature of good soldiering and the pursuit of spiritual perfection inspired scriptural and patristic writers to use military language to portray ideal Christian devotion, and in so doing, integrate warrior culture into Christianity. The idea of metaphorically fighting to abstain from sin and remain devoted to God is firmly established in Scripture. Job 7:1, for instance, says that 'the life of man upon earth is a warfare, and his days are like the days of a hireling' (*militia est uita hominis super terram, et sicut dies mercenarii dies eius*).[1] Such martial characterisations of the pious life continue into the New Testament through the Pauline Epistles. In I Timothy 1:18, Paul bids Timothy to heed Scripture 'that thou war in them a good warfare' (*ut milites in illis bonam militiam*); in I Timothy 6:12, Timothy is called to 'fight the good fight of faith' (*certa bonum certamen fidei*); in Philippians 2:25, Paul calls Epaphroditus 'my fellow soldier' (*commilitonem meum*), which is repeated in Philemon 1:2, when Paul refers to Archippus as 'our fellow soldier' (*commilitoni nostro*). Paul describes himself as a 'soldier of Christ' (*miles Christi*) in II Timothy 4:7–8, when he characterises his devotion as:

> Bonum certamen certaui, cursum consummaui, fidem seruaui. In reliquo reposita est mihi corona iustitiae, quam reddet mihi Dominus in illa die, iustus iudex: non solum autem mihi, sed et iis, qui diligunt aduentum eius.
>
> 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord the just judge will render to me in that day: and not only to me, but to them also that love his coming.'

[1] The biblical origins of the concept of spiritual warfare are discussed in Zacharias Thundyil, 'A Study of the Anglo-Saxon Concept of the Covenant and its Sources with Special Reference to Anglo-Saxon Laws and the Old English Poems: *The Battle of Maldon* and *Guthlac*', PhD. Dissertation (University of Notre Dame, 1969), pp. 266–72; Katherine Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 9–28.

Paul depicts life on earth as a battle, after which, if fought well, one attains salvation. In this battle, the *milites Christi* don the 'armour of faith' described in Ephesians 6:11–17:[2]

> Induite uos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare aduersus insidias diaboli, quoniam non est nobis colluctatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersus principes et potestates, aduersus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiae in caelestibus. Propterea accipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo, et in omnibus perfecti stare. State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induti loricam iustitiae, et calceati pedes in praeparatione Euangelii pacis. In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere, et galeam salutis assumite, et gladium spiritus quod est uerbum Dei.
>
> 'Put you on the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and power, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places. Therefore take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand in all things perfect. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of justice, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. In all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit (which is the word of God).'

This spiritual armour protects the *miles Christi* against demonic temptation and sin, which are conceived as 'arrows' following the imagery of the Psalms — as found in Psalm 11:2, which says the darts of sin pierce the hearts of the faithful to drive them away from pious living. Subsequent writers built upon this imagery and continued to compare devotion with combat. The concept of spiritual reward being the fruits of victory against temptation appears in the fourth century through Augustine of Hippo's assertion in *De agone christiano* ('On the Christian Struggle') that 'the crown of victory is not promised save to those who battle' (*corona uictoriae non promittitur nisi certantibus*),[3] which seems to adapt Revelations 2:10, in which those who endure tribulation receive 'the crown of life' (*coronam uitae*). This invokes the idea that spiritual *coronae*

[2] John Hermann provides a full analysis of spiritual arms in 'Some Varieties of Psychomachia in Old English I', *The American Benedictine Review* 34:1 (1983), 74–76, and 'Some Varieties of Psychomachia in Old English II', *The American Benedictine Review* 34:2 (1983), 209–18.
[3] Joseph Zycha, ed., *Sancti Aureli Augustini*, CSEL 25 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), p. 101.

uictoriae could only be achieved through spiritual combat reminiscent of physical battle. So prevalent is this conception that Bolton notes that 'spiritual combat is not only for apostles, ascetics, and martyrs; it is the general condition of Christian life.'[4]

Portrayals of psychological conflict developed a formulaic lexical tradition, referring to those striving for the highest levels of devotion as 'soldiers of Christ'. Military language, especially the Latin terms *miles*/*militare* ('soldier' / 'to soldier') and *pugnare* ('to fight'), and the Old English terms *cempa*/*campian* ('fighter' / 'to fight') and *gewinn* ('battle'), were appropriated to refer to the pursuit of religious perfection.[5] Magennis further argues that the idea of fighting became synonymous with service, and that the phrase *miles Christi* was equitable with *seruus Christi*/*þeow Cristes* ('servant of Christ').[6] This equation of fighting and service is apparent in works on monastic life such as the sixth-century *Regula Benedicti*, which use the terms 'servant' or 'soldier of Christ' interchangeably to characterise disciplined devotion removed from society and to justify the benefits monks provide for the wider faithful community. However, the concept of spiritual warfare is simultaneously employed to describe secular ideals of worship as well, such that the metaphor of soldiering for Christ applies equally to anyone who aspires to spiritual perfection.[7] This is particularly evident in the *Lives* of saints.

Hagiographical texts offer a range of perspectives on admirable behaviour for the sanctified. As Delehaye identifies, a hagiographical 'document should be of a religious nature and should aim at edification' so humans might attain places in heaven.[8] Each saint, despite being typologically linked to every other saint as

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[4] W.F. Bolton, 'The Background and Meaning of *Guthlac*', *JEGP* 61:3 (1962), 597–98.
[5] Joyce Hill, 'The Soldier of Christ in Old English Prose and Poetry', *Leeds Studies in English* 12 (1981), 59–69; Joyce Hill, 'On the Semantics of Old English *Cempa* and *Campian*', *Neophilologus* 67 (1983), 273–76; Eugène Manning, 'Le Signification de 'militare-militia-miles' dans la Règle de Sant Benoit', *Revue Bénédictine* 72 (1962), 135–38; Stephen Morris, 'OE *Cempa* in Cynewulf's *Juliana* and the Figure of the *Miles Christi*', *ELN* 17:2 (1979), 81–84.
[6] Hugh Magennis, '*Godes Þeow* and Related Expressions in Old English: Contexts and Uses of a Traditional Literary Figure', *Anglia* 116 (1998), 139–70.
[7] Smith, *War*, pp. 71–111.
[8] Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. Donald Attwater (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), p. 2. Delehaye's work provides a useful introduction to hagiography and its composition, while Michael Lapidge offers an overview of the Anglo-Saxon approaches to hagiography in 'Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Verse Hagiography', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24 (1988), 249–60; and 'The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Cambridge Companion to*

well as to Christ,[9] illustrates a distinct way to pursue salvation and reflects the perspective of the individual hagiographer, influenced by his or her historical context. Based on the large number of extant manuscripts containing legends of saints and the range of narrative traditions, it is clear that saints' *Lives* were very popular.[10] Those saints' *Lives* that use the language and imagery of 'soldiering for Christ' likewise present varying views on how warrior culture relates to Christianity. In no place is this tension between warrior culture and religious devotion explored more than the accounts of warrior-saints (those who served in the military during their lives or were associated with the military by their hagiographers).

Stories of such saints appear throughout the Anglo-Saxon literary tradition in Anglo-Latin and vernacular works of prose and poetry. From the anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* in the seventh century, to the *Life* of King Oswald embedded in the *HE* and Felix's *Vita S. Guthlaci* in the eighth century; from Cynewulf's eighth- or ninth-century poem *Elene*,[11] to Ælfric of Eynsham's Old English accounts of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, and St Maurice with the Theban Legion at the beginning of the eleventh century, Anglo-Saxon accounts of warrior-saints appear in diverse collections of homilies, poems, chronicles, and hagiographies. The manuscripts that preserve *Lives* of warrior-saints in England reflect the influence of hagiographies from the continent — particularly Carolingian collections of material that made their way to England during the

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Old English Literature, *second edition*, ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2013), pp. 251–72.

[9] For more information on the typological and figurative nature of hagiography, see the exposition on saints being members of the same body in the anonymous *Vita S. Gregorii*, Bertram Colgrave, ed. *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1968), p. 130. See too Sarah Downey, 'Intertextuality in the Lives of St Guthlac', PhD. Dissertation (University of Toronto, 2004), pp. 20–25; James Earl, 'Typology and Iconographic Style in Early Medieval Hagiography', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 8:1 (1975), 15–46; Thomas D. Hill, 'Imago Dei: Genre, Symbolism, and Anglo-Saxon Hagiography', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 35–50; Peter Jackson, 'Ælfric and the 'Vita Patrum' in Catholic Homily I. 36', in *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson (London: King's College London, 2000), pp. 259–72.

[10] Delehaye, *Legends*, pp. 16–39.

[11] Robert Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), pp. 60–65 and 351–68, and 'Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date', in *The Cynewulf Reader*, ed. Robert E. Bjork (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 15–18, dates Cynewulf between 750–850, preferring to place his poems in the ninth century. Yet this opinion is not universally accepted. Patrick Conner, 'On Dating Cynewulf', in Bjork (2001), pp. 46–47, for example, places Cynewulf in the tenth century.

ninth and tenth centuries.[12] Collections like the eighth-century homiliary of Paul the Deacon and the ninth-century Cotton–Corpus Legendary — on which many of Ælfric's works in the late tenth century seem to have been based[13] — as well as the ninth-century *Expositio libri comitis* of Smaragdus and the homiliary of Haymo of Auxerre disseminated knowledge of *milites Christi* in England.[14] These compilations provided Anglo-Saxon writers with a range of sources that were suitable for private reading, conversion into sermons, and vernacular translation. Jackson and Lapidge argue that the Cotton–Corpus Legendary, in particular, represents the body of hagiographical material that formed the basis for the Anglo-Saxon *Sanctorale*.[15]

The Old English homiliaries, legendaries or sundry *Lives* of *milites Christi* that were composed from the eighth to the eleventh centuries were likely aimed at multiple audiences, both lay and clerical.[16] Hewish has shown that different

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[12] Nancy Thompson discusses Carolingian influences on the Anglo-Saxon homiliaries in 'The Carolingian *De Festiuitatibus* and the Blickling Book', in *The Old English Homily*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 97–119; and in '*Hit Segð on Halgum Bocum:* The Logic of Composite Old English Homilies', *Philological Quarterly* 81:4 (2002), 388–89.

[13] Malcolm Godden, 'Ælfric's Library', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), I:681–84; Thomas N. Hall, 'The Development of the Common of Saints in the Early English Versions of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary', in *Anglo-Saxon Books and the Readers*, ed. Thomas N. Hall and Donald Scragg (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), pp. 35–36; Joyce Hill, 'The Benedictine Reform and Beyond', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), p. 158; Joyce Hill, 'Mapping the Anglo-Saxon Intellectual Landscape: The Risks and Rewards of Source–Study', in *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval England*, ed. Michiko Ogura (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014), pp. 53–58; Michael Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', in Szarmach (1996), p. 123; Cyril Smetana, 'Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary', *Traditio* 15 (1959), 164 and 180–81; Patrick Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary Preserved in B.L. MS Cotton Nero E i + CCCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts', DPhil. Dissertation (University of Oxford, 1979); and Patrick Zettel, 'Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts Ælfric', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 17–37.

[14] Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', *ASE* 21 (1992), 203–37.

[15] Michael Lapidge and Peter Jackson, 'The Contents of the Cotton–Corpus Legendary', in Szarmach (1996), pp. 131–46.

[16] Marcia Dalbey, 'Themes and Techniques in the Blickling Lenten Homilies', in *The Old English Homily and its Background*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978), p. 237; Milton McC. Gatch, 'The Unknowable Audience of the Blickling Homilies', *ASE* 18 (1989), 105, 108 and 114–15; Helen Gittos, 'The Audience for Old English Texts: Ælfric, Rhetoric and the Edification of the Simple', *ASE* 43 (2014), 231–66; Malcolm Godden, 'Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles', *Leeds Studies in English* 16 (1985), 93–94; Mechthild Gretsch, 'Winchester Vocabulary and Standard Old English: The Vernacular in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 83:1 (2001), 41–87; Stephanie Hollis, 'Anglo-Saxon Secular Learning and the Vernacular', *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 69: 1 (2012), 8–18 and 40–41; Paul E. Szarmach, 'Sermons and Saints: from the Late Tenth to the Eleventh Century', in *A Companion to British Literature*, ed. Heesok Chang, Robert DeMaria, and Samantha Zacher (Chichester: Wiley–Blackwell Publishing, 2014), I:48; Charles Wright, 'Old English Homilies and Latin Sources', in Kleist (2007), p. 39; E. Gordon Whatley, 'Lost

manuscripts were produced with varying purposes, characterising, for example, the late tenth-century Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII) as a reading book, while she demonstrates that the late tenth-century Blickling Homiliary (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Library, W.H. Scheide Collection, 71) and eleventh-century Junius Homiliary (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 + 86) are books that had a liturgical context.[17] The varied audiences and presentations of hagiographic and homiletic collections suggest that Anglo-Saxons readily engaged with concepts of Christian warrior culture, whether as a layman receiving a lesson through a sermon on a feast day,[18] a bishop studying Christian poems that inspire him to execute his pastoral duties,[19] or a monk contemplating the nature of devotion in the *Lives*.[20]

Despite the ubiquity of *milites Christi* in the surviving Anglo-Saxon literary corpus, studies of militancy in hagiography have been relatively limited. There have been multiple investigations of Ælfric's attitude towards warrior culture,[21]

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in Translation: Omission of Episodes in Some Old English Prose Saints' Legends', *ASE* 26 (1997), 197 and 207–08; E. Gordon Whatley, 'Pearls Before Swine: Ælfric, Vernacular Hagiography and the Lay Reader', in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. Thomas N. Hall (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 176–82. Richard Kelly, *Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003), pp. xxix and xlvi, also supports a lay audience and pastoral context for the Blickling homilies although it is unclear how he came to this conclusion or whose research he consulted, as Samantha Zacher, review of Kelly, ed., *Blickling Homilies*, *Notes and Queries* 53:2 (2006), 216–18, demonstrates.

[17] Juliet Hewish, 'Living on the Edge: A Study of the Translations of the Life of St Martin in Old English, Middle Irish, and Old Norse–Icelandic', PhD. Dissertation (University College Dublin, 2005), pp. 120–24.

[18] Robin Ann Aronstam, 'The Blickling Homilies: A Reflection of Popular Anglo-Saxon Belief', in *Law, Church, and Society*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Robert Somerville (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp. 272–77; Mary Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 207–42; Mary Clayton and Juliet Mullins, ed. and trans., *Old English Lives of Saints* (Cambridge, MA; London, U.K.: Harvard University Press, 2019), I:xxiv–xxv; Jane Elizabeth Jeffery, *Blickling Spirituality and the Old English Vernacular Homily: A Textual Analysis* (Lewiston, N.Y: Mellen, 1989), pp. 12–17; Judith Gaites, 'Ælfric's Longer *Life of St Martin* and its Latin Sources: A Study in Narrative Technique', *Leeds Studies in English* 13 (1982), 36; Joseph Hamilton, 'A Critical Edition of the Blickling Homily on St Martin of Tours', PhD. Dissertation (Graduate College of Bowling Green State University, 1979), p. 15; Kelly, *Blickling Homilies*, pp. xv–xx; Lapidge, '*Ælfric's* Sanctorale', pp. 115 and 124; Andre Mertens, *The Old English Lives of St Martin of Tours: Edition and Study* (Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2017), pp. 93, 123 and 149; Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Blickling Homilies Revisited: Knowable and Probable uses of Princeton University Library, MS Scheide 71', in *The Genesis of Books*, ed. Matthew T. Hussey and John D. Niles (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 106–15.

[19] Gittos, 'Audience', 239; Francis Leneghan, 'Teaching the Teachers: The Vercelli Book and the Mixed Life', *English Studies* 94:6 (2013), 642 and 653.

[20] Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching', 226; Hill, '*Imago Dei*', 37–38; Samantha Zacher, 'Reading the Style and Rhetoric of the Vercelli Homilies', in Kleist (2007), p. 181.

[21] James Earl, 'Violence and Non-Violence in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric's 'Passion of St Edmund'', *Philological Quarterly* 78 (1999), 125–49; Hugh Magennis, 'Warrior Saints, Warfare

which provide a window into how some Anglo-Saxons perceived soldiering for Christ, but these are restricted to the perspective of a single composer at a specific moment in the Anglo-Saxon period. Few studies have explored the theme's varying manifestations in the anonymously produced saints' *Lives*. Damon's survey, for instance, presumes two prevailing perspectives on warrior-saints before the eleventh century: one following Sulpicius's rejection of violence in favour of purely spiritual warfare; the other accepting that royal saints could fight as secular warriors.[22] Examples of diversity in conceptions of militant Christianity throughout this thesis illustrate the limitations of such 'determined accounts of the material.'[23]

Moreover, the neglect of anonymous Old English prose legends of *milites Christi* is a recurring issue in studies that attempt to generalise Anglo-Saxon approaches to hagiography. This is perhaps due to the opinion that the anonymous prose saints' *Lives* are 'nothing of great value,'[24] dismissed as close translations of their Latin source.[25] As a result, examinations of Christian warrior culture in Anglo-Saxon literature—like those of Cherniss,[26] Hermann,[27] and Lee[28] — have tended to focus on poetic legends, such as Cynewulf's *Elene* and *Juliana*, and on the ways the literary elite applied heroic poetic diction and Germanic *comitatus* social structures to Christian narratives — as seen in Cynewulf's *Christ II* or the *Dream of the Rood*.[29] Studies focusing on the poetic *Lives* constrain our understanding of Anglo-Saxon approaches to the *miles Christi* tradition by

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and the Hagiography of Ælfric of Eynsham', *Traditio* 56 (2001), 27–51; E. Gordon Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence: Military Men in Ælfric's Lives of Saints', in *Source of Wisdom*, ed. Charles Wright, Frederick Biggs, and Thomas N. Hall (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 217–30.

[22] John Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors* (Hampshire; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).

[23] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, p. 22.

[24] Gordon Hall Gerould, *Saints' Legends* (Boston; New York: Riverside Press Cambridge, 1916), p. 112.

[25] Robin Norris, 'Introduction', in *Anonymous Interpolations in Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Robin Norris (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2011), p. 1.

[26] William Cherniss, *Ingeld and Christ: Heroic Concepts and Values in Old English Christian Poetry* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972).

[27] John Hermann, *Allegories of War: Language and Violence in Old English Poetry* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989).

[28] Alvin Lee, *The Guest-Hall of Eden: Four Essays on the Design of Old English Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

[29] Cherniss, *Ingeld and Christ*, pp. 219–21; Peter Clemoes, 'Cynewulf's Image of the Ascension', in Bjork (2001), pp. 110–12; Dennis Green, *The Carolingian Lord* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), pp. 275–303.

considering only how a select group of English society engaged with militant Christianity.

Beyond the poetic *Lives* and those produced by Ælfric, there are over thirty anonymous prose saints' *Lives*,[30] not to mention a plethora of homiletic and martyrological references that reflect Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards saints and warrior culture. While it is necessary to consider the poetic *Lives* and their readership, they constitute a small proportion of the corpus of hagiographical material and are not representative of diverse audiences in the same way that the prose *Lives* are. With this in mind, the following thesis will analyse prose accounts that have been largely overlooked in modern discussions of the *miles Christi*, despite their apparent popularity during the educational programmes of Alfred in the ninth century, and the tenth-century Benedictine Reform.[31]

Through analysing Old English prose and poetic *Lives* alongside the Latin narratives that they adapt, this thesis will provide evidence that varied — and at times contradictory — perceptions of *milites Christi* and Christian warfare were held simultaneously. To this end, the anonymous Anglo-Saxon narratives on Martin of Tours, Guthlac of Crowland, the apostle Andrew's journey to Mermedonia, and Placidas–Eustace are seen to exemplify the range of Anglo-Saxon perspectives concerning soldiering as a pious Christian. While the anonymous prose and poetic narratives concerning these four saints are a small sample of the corpus of Old English hagiographical material, they share characteristics that make them appropriate for comparison. Each of these non-royal male saints are associated with warrior culture through their participation in literal or metaphorical soldiering, and are characterised as *miles Christi*. The very names Martin, Guthlac, and Andrew have martial etymologies, which medieval hagiographers knew and worked into their narratives.[32] Martin, Guthlac, and Eustace begin life as aristocratic warriors who give up secular soldiering to devote themselves to Christ, while the apocryphal story of Andrew

[30] Donald Scragg, 'The Corpus of Anonymous Lives and Their Manuscript Context', in Szarmach (1996), pp. 209–26.
[31] Hill, 'Benedictine Reform', pp. 155–58; Hollis, 'Secular Learning', 23.
[32] For a discussion on the interpretation of 'Martin', see Bernard Peebles, 'A Medieval Latin Development of the Etymology of St Martin's Name', in *Paradosis*, ed. Henry Fletcher III and Mary Schulte (New York: Fordham University Press, 1976), pp. 189–95. For discussion of 'Guthlac' see pp. 137–38; and of 'Andrew' see pp. 141 and 170 below.

in Mermedonia depicts the apostle giving up his life as a leader of a band of disciples to serve Christ's mission. In service to God, the four saints are said to fight against the devil in a warlike manner. All of the saints are presented in conflict as missionaries and soldiers who defeat temptation, convert pagans and pagan places, or kill heathens in holy war. The *Lives* of Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace thus provide a comparative basis for our investigation of how different Anglo-Saxons approached the idea of the *miles Christi* in narratives concerning warrior-saints. Throughout this dissertation it will become evident that Anglo-Saxon hagiographers altered the earlier narrative traditions surrounding these four saints to emphasise or downplay the saints' soldiery according to their perception of Christian militancy.

The texts surrounding Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace also reflect different approaches to translating and transmitting saints' *Lives*. Adapters, translators and copyists of vernacular hagiographical texts flourished in the late Anglo-Saxon period.[33] Although the Old English texts these hagiographers produced were 'dependent to one degree or another on medieval Christian Latin prototypes and exemplars,'[34] each was reworked within the composer's individual editorial programme. Moreover, Bredehoft argues that in refashioning a narrative for an audience, the hagiographer altered the story to reflect that audience's needs and perspectives.[35] In closely analysing a medieval translation in its context, there are at least three levels of understanding the text that should be addressed when identifying its themes: that of the original source; that of the source's initial translator; and that of the text's surviving witnesses.[36] Each layer of transmission imbues the narrative with new meanings, imagery, intertextual references, and language that is relevant for contemporary audiences. Meanwhile, an adaptation often omits aspects of the source narrative that would

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[33] Hugh Magennis, 'Listen Now All and Understand: Adaptation of Hagiographical Material Vernacular Audiences in the Old English Lives of St Margaret', *Speculum* 71:1 (1996), 27; Scragg, 'Corpus of Anonymous Lives', pp. 224–25.
[34] Hill, 'Imago Dei', 35.
[35] Thomas Bredehoft, *Authors, Audiences and Old English Verse* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 18–31.
[36] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 13; Michael Lapidge, 'The Edition of Medieval Latin Texts in the English–Speaking World', *Sacris Erudiri* 38 (1998–1999), 218; Hans Sauer, 'Language and Culture: How Anglo-Saxon Glossators Adopted Latin Words and their World', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 8 (2009), 467; Donald Scragg, 'Source Study', in *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 39–40.

not resonate in the context it is produced or reproduced, thereby refocusing the narrative. The version of the prose *Life of Guthlac* in the Vercelli Book — which removes large portions of the eighth-century legend to relate only Guthlac's fight against demonic assailants — is a case in point.

By changing the connotations of the words translated and omitting sections altogether, even a supposedly literal rendering of the source text can provide a unique reading of the narrative.[37] As Lapidge states, 'the purpose of the comparative approach is to accentuate, through counterpoint, the distinctive and individual features of a particular work of literature.'[38] We will see, for example, that the *Life of Eustace* deepens the resonance of the narrative for late tenth-century audiences and imbues the saint's military campaigns with religious righteousness by refashioning the term *barbari* ('savage people') as *hæðenas* ('heathens'). By comparing versions of the same narrative, we can then identify intertextual influences introduced with each composition.[39]

There are caveats, however, to acknowledge when conducting comparative source study, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon period.[40] A challenge arises from uncertainty regarding the source material available to the Old English composer and its exact form in the manuscripts that individual adapters consulted. In the vast majority of cases, the exemplar used does not survive or is unknowable.[41] As every manuscript recension differs in some way, it is difficult to state definitively whether a given alteration to a story stemmed from the Anglo-Saxon adapter or from the Latin exemplar. Similarly, versions of the source that come after the adaptation might provide faithful reflections of an older source.[42]

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[37] Whatley, 'Lost in Translation', 187–208.
[38] Michael Lapidge, 'The Comparative Approach', in. O'Brien O'Keeffe (1997), 34.
[39] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 2–11.
[40] Hill, 'Mapping', pp. 49–64, and Scragg, 'Source Study', pp. 43–49, analyse other risks and shortcomings of comparative source study.
[41] J. E. Cross, 'Saint-Omer 202 as the Manuscript Source for the Old English Texts', in *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source. The Gospel of Nichodemus and The Avenging of The Saviour*, ed. J. E. Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 82–104, and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'The Text of Aldhelm's Enigma no. C in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 697', *ASE* 14 (1985), 61–73, demonstrate instances in which the exemplar for Anglo-Saxon texts is identifiable and extant.
[42] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 143–62; Thompson, '*Halgum Bocum*', 385–86; Charles Wright, 'Latin Sources', 34.

In the absence of identifiable witnesses for either the Latin sources or the original Old English adaptations, one can only to compare the extant recensions to copies of potential source texts which would have been available in Anglo-Saxon England. This is easier in some cases than others. For instance, there are many surviving versions of Sulpicius Severus's *Martiniana*, which appear to have been widely distributed. These are relatively uniform, and provide comparatively safe witnesses to the ninth-century *Martinmas*-homilist's source. The Anglo-Saxon source for the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew and Matthew*, on the other hand, is lost and all surviving witnesses differ from the Old English adaptations to a degree that none can be used definitively as the source. Instead, the surviving versions represent close analogues of the Old English narratives.[43] Appreciating these hurdles, the following study introduces each saint's tradition with a discussion of the historical context of the *miles Christi*'s cult and the sources concerning the saint known in Anglo-Saxon England. In the case of Martin, Guthlac, and Eustace, the extant versions of the Cotton–Corpus Legendary provide a witness of the texts likely known to the hagiographers.

It is further evident that stories were altered using references to texts familiar to the composers or compilers. In borrowing, imitating, or referencing other works, hagiographers imbed their narrative within the wider context of those works and deepen the meaning of their own composition. Intertextual references that introduce themes or imagery from other works into a saint's legend further suggest that a range of sources that do not share 'close verbal similarity' should also be considered in a comparative study.[44] The narrative tradition of the *miles Christi* is particularly rich in such intertextual allusion, as *Lives* compare and contrast warrior-saints with other hagiographical and secular legends. In doing so, individual hagiographers engage with and reinterpret traditions surrounding warrior culture. Therefore, throughout the following study, the anonymous Old English narratives of Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace are compared with their identifiable sources and the contexts of their

[43] See pp. 143–47 below for a fuller discussion of the Anglo-Saxon source for the apocryphal *Acta Andreae*.
[44] Patrick Conner, 'Source Studies, the Old English *Guthlac A* and the English Benedictine Reformation', *Revue Bénédictine* 103:3–4 (1993), 381–83; Jane Roberts, '*Guthlac A*: Sources and Source Hunting', in *Medieval English Studies*, ed. George Kane, Edward Kennedy, Ronald Waldron, and Joseph Wittig (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), p. 3.

textual transmissions to analyse how each hagiographer reshaped the traditions they inherited.

In the next chapter we will see how some Roman hagiographers and theologians, from at least the fourth century, appear to advocate Christian and clerical violence through the veneration of military-saints, the adoption of Christian ritual in the imperial army, forceful conversions of heathens, and the codification of 'just war' ideals. This assimilation of secular militancy in the Roman and Anglo-Saxon Church developed in tandem with beliefs that *milites Christi* were exclusively metaphorical soldiers. This brief survey of early medieval attitudes towards soldiering for Christ, along with the saints' *Lives* analysed in this thesis, illustrate how it is impossible to either ascribe a uniform 'Anglo-Saxon' perception of soldiering for Christ or to argue that one cohesively develops throughout the period, as some have claimed previously.[45]

This is made clear by studying Anglo-Saxon narratives on *milites Christi* chronologically. If we were to approach our investigation of Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace based on the date their Latin legends were composed, we would start with the second- or third-century *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos*, then turn to Sulpicius Severus's fourth-century *Martiniana*, followed by Felix's early eighth-century *Vita Guthlaci*, and end with the late eighth-century legend of Eustace. If, however, we were to order our investigation by the dating of the Old English adaptations, we would begin with the eighth- to ninth-century poem *Guthlac A*, followed by *Andreas*, the *Martinmas*-homily, and back to Guthlac with the *Life of Guthlac*, all of which date to the late ninth-century, turning afterwards to the tenth-century *Life of Andrew*, and concluding with the late tenth- to early eleventh-century *Life of Eustace*. Either of these chronological approaches would result in a confused discussion of Christian attitudes toward militancy, vacillating between the rejection and advocacy of Christian violence. I have opted instead to order the following study based on the level of acceptance of Christian warrior culture reflected in the Old English texts,

[45] See, for example, J. E. Cross, 'The Ethic of War in Old English', in *England Before the Conquest*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 277–82; John Damon, 'Sanctifying Anglo-Saxon Ealdormen: Lay Sainthood and the Rise of the Crusading Ideal', in Hall (2002), pp. 194–95; Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Heroic Values and Christian Ethics', in Godden and Lapidge (2013), pp. 107–25.

moving from the relatively pacifist portrayal of Martin to the presentation of Eustace engaged in warfare. This order allows us to analyse a particular saint's narratives together, and coherently chart the spectrum of attitudes held in Anglo-Saxon England. While this contrived order appears to present a cohesively developing perspective of Christian militancy, each chapter places its narratives both in their historical context and in relation to the legends of other *milites Christi*. By emphasising the temporal and thematic relationships between warrior-saints and their sources, I suggest that we should not think of an 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Germanic' approach to militant Christianity, but instead of individual perceptions of how appropriate warrior culture is for the faithful.

Chapter Two discusses the origins of the *miles Christi* tradition and varying attitudes towards Christian involvement in warfare from the fourth century onwards. The theological, canonical, literary, and hagiographical perspectives discussed in the chapter will reappear in the subsequent studies of Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace as tropes and philosophies that the anonymous narratives adapted. The Sulpician *Martiniana* tradition — which was a fundamental influence on later portrayals of the *miles Christi* — and its reworking into an Old English *Martinmas*-homily are the focus of Chapter Three. The chapter considers how the homily omits aspects of Martin's life that concern his conflict with demons or internal Church politics in order to focus on the saint's nonviolence. At the same time, the homily contrasts the saint with pagan antagonists and their bellicose behaviour. We will see how the anonymous reworking celebrates Martin's removal from warrior culture and maintains that Christianity cannot embrace militarism.

The end of the *Martinmas*-homily contains a passing reference to the concept of spiritual warfare — an idea explored in more depth through the narratives concerning Guthlac in Chapter Four. Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*, its Old English prose translation, and the Exeter Book poem *Guthlac A* all champion an ascetic life detached from secular warfare, but employ metaphorical imagery of the *miles Christi* tradition to describe Guthlac's spiritual conflicts against demons. Even as Guthlac uses the spiritual arms introduced in the Pauline *Epistles* to ward off demonic attackers who psychologically and physically wound him, all three narratives highlight the saint's nonviolent devotion.

In contrast, the Old English adaptations of the *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos* discussed in Chapter Five present a *miles Christi* who is vindictive and willing to use force to master the enemies of Christ. Where the *Martinmas*-homily minimises references to spiritual warfare, *Andreas* and the Old English *Life of Andrew* rework the *Acta*-narrative to imbue their legends with militaristic language and imagery. In the Old English accounts of Andrew, the apostle is a heroic and conquering assailant, overpowering demons and hyperbolically militarised Mermedonian heathens. This complicates Damon's assertion that before the eleventh century, 'only kings could be both holy and warlike,'[46] and Cross's insistence that 'no hagiographer would ever speak of the possibility of earthly glory … in battle.'[47] *Andreas* is also seen to use more diverse secular imagery than *Guthlac A* to frame Andrew as a champion in the *caelestis militia* ('heavenly army') who performs a 'deed of valour' (*ellen-weorc*) by violently converting the Mermedonians. As such, *Andreas* further demonstrates that there was no uniform poetic tradition for presenting soldiers of Christ.

The religious warrior culture of the Old English *Andrew*-narratives is, however, still largely metaphysical and the saint's aggressive actions facilitate conversion. In the legend of Placidas–Eustace, considered in Chapter Six, we find a *miles Christi* imbedded in military society, devoting himself to God while wielding a sword. The Old English adaptation of the Latin legend reframes Eustace's enemies as heathens ripe for slaughter rather than conversion, and presents the saint as a quasi-monastic warrior in a secular army. As such, the portrayal of Eustace represents a strain of the *miles Christi* tradition that embraces physical violence and champions Christian ideals of war, ultimately culminating in the crusading ideal at the end of the eleventh century. The final chapter reflects upon the mosaic of perspectives on the relationship between secular pursuits, violence, and the ideal Christian life in the anonymous Old English *Lives*. In this, it is evident that the Anglo-Saxon narratives of Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace display a range of responses to Paul's direction to 'Labour as a good soldier of Christ Jesus', building upon and adapting the diversity of traditions inherited from patristic predecessors.

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[46] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 23 and 57–61.
[47] J. E. Cross, 'Oswald and Byrhtnoth: A Christian Saint and a Hero who is Christian', *English Studies* 46 (1965), 99–103.

Chapter Two

Origins of the *Miles Christi*, Clerical Violence, and the Theory of Just War

As the tradition of *miles Christi* grew from the Pauline *Epistles*, the allegorical use of militaristic imagery for an individual's struggle against temptation developed. Writers like the fourth-century Iberian poet Prudentius, whose *Psychomachia* depicts the soul as a battlefield on which virtues slaughter sins, became popular and widely disseminated throughout Europe.[1] Hermann, Orchard, and Wieland variously highlight the importance of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* for Anglo-Saxon writers, a focus that is reflected in richly illustrated copies of the *Psychomachia* with Old English glosses,[2] such as those in BL, Add. 24199, and BL, Cotton Cleopatra C. viii.[3] Anglo-Latin and Old English texts of all genres for diverse audiences built upon the *Pyschomachia*'s personification of temptation and its militarisation of the faithful's resistance to it.[4] Lines 382–409 of Cynewulf's poem *Juliana*, preserved in the tenth-century Exeter Book, for example, conceive of sin as a 'barrage of arrows' (*flan-þracu, earh-faru*) fired during a battle (*beadu, cumbol-haga, guþ*) for the soul.[5] Elsewhere in the Exeter Book, *Guthlac A* portrays demonic and angelic forces vying over the saint's soul (lines 114–40a), *Christ B* repeats the image of temptation as an *earh-faru* (line 759), and lines 37–39 of *Vainglory* characterises the soul as a 'fortress' (*burg-weal*) that falls to 'treacherous arrows' (*inwit-flan*).

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[1] H. J. Thomson, ed. And trans., *Prudentius*, Loeb Classical Library 387 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), I:274–342.
[2] Hermann, 'Varieties of Psychomachia I', 77–85; Hermann 'Varieties of Psychomachia II', 188–95 and 206; Hermann, *Allegories*, pp. 8–32; Andy Orchard, 'Conspicuous Heroism: Abraham, Prudentius, and the Old English Verse *Genesis*, in *Heroes and Heroines in Medieval English Literature*, ed. Leo Carruthers and André Crépin (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 45–58; Gernot Wieland, 'The Origin and Development of the Anglo-Saxon Psychomachia Illustrations', *ASE* 26 (1997), 169–86.
[3] For other attestations of the *Psychomachia*, see Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35; CCCC 23; CCCC 223; Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 2. 51 (1155), pt. i; Durham, Cathedral Library, B. IV. 9; BL, Cotton Titus D. xvi; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 3. 6 (S.C. 2666); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 697 (S.C. 12541); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 29336 (1); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8085.
[4] James Doubleday, 'The Allegory of the Soul as Fortress in Old English Poetry', *Anglia* 88 (1970), 503–08.
[5] Matthew Coker, 'Voicing the Supernatural in Anglo-Saxon England', DPhil. Dissertation (University of Oxford, 2019), pp. 175–79.

As is apparent in these poetic examples from the Exeter Book, the arrows of temptation that the devil fires at the faithful are the most common reference to spiritual warfare in Anglo-Saxon literature.[6] Aldhelm of Malmesbury's prose *De laude uirginitate* in the seventh century refers to the 'poisoned arrows of sin and terrible spear of iniquities' (*uenenatisque piaculorum spiculis et dira facinorum framea*).[7] Lines 1745–47 of *Beowulf* contain references to the devil's arrows and their spiritual effect.[8] Portrayals of metaphorical warfare are also found in Old English prose, like Vercelli IV, which calls on the faithful to shield themselves with spiritual armour.[9] These images of the spiritual armaments of heaven and hell appear again in the anonymous Old English *Lives* of Martin, Guthlac, and Andrew,[10] as the saints equip themselves with the armour of God to ward off temptation. Such portrayals of spiritual warfare worked to 'transform the mundane into the mythical' and reframe what it meant to be heroic for Christian Anglo-Saxon audiences.[11]

Widespread patristic use of military imagery negates the exceptionalism that commentators like Albertson or Russell place on Germanic aristocrats as those who 'tended to regard Christianity in terms of their warrior code,'[12] and demonstrates that concepts of a militant Christianity were established well before it was introduced to the Germanic peoples. As Smith summarises:

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[6] Fuller discussions of the 'arrows of sin' motif in Anglo-Saxon literature are found in Charles Abbetmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (Minneapolis: H.W. Wilson, 1903), pp. 35–37; Mark Atherton, 'The Figure of the Archer in *Beowulf* and the Anglo-Saxon Psalter', *Neophilologus* 77 (1993), 653–56; Peter Dendle, *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 33–35; John Hermann, 'The Recurrent Motifs of Spiritual Warfare in Old English Poetry', *Annuale Mediævale* 22 (1982), 11–19; Hermann, *Allegories*, pp. 40–43; Eric G. Stanley, 'Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and *The Penitent's Prayer*', *Anglia* 73 (1955), 418–22.

[7] *Ald.uirg(prosa)* 242: 4. Byrhtferth quotes this passage in his *Life of Oswald*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), p. 196.

[8] Fulk, Bjork, and Niles, ed., *Klaeber's Beowulf*, p. 215; Dorothy Whitelock, *The Audience of Beowulf* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 80–82.

[9] Donald Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 102–04.

[10] See pp. 81–86, 112–30, 153–58 and 163–67 below.

[11] Hermann, 'Recurrent Motifs', 20.

[12] Clinton Albertson, *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Heroes* (Bronx: Fordham University Press, 1967), p. 16; James Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 169–208. See also Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, pp. 60–62 and 80; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'War and Peace in the Earlier Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 25 (1975), 168–74; Hermann, 'Recurrent Motifs', 20–24 and 31–34; Hermann, 'Varieties of Psychomachia II', 205–09.

> Christ and the apostles were also venerated as warriors, not because of a Germanic tendency to recast Christian virtue in a militaristic mold but because generations of deeply Roman patristic interpreters had unambiguously suggested this interpretation.[13]

Likewise, White demonstrates that Byzantium had developed traditions of warrior-saints intertwined with the ethos of the imperial army without the influence of Germanic peoples.[14] Although texts like the *Dream of the Rood*, the ninth-century Old Saxon *Hêliand*, and *Andreas* frame Christ's relationship with his followers as that between a Germanic warlord and the retainers in his *comitatus*,[15] — a Germanic company of warriors bound to a warlord with reciprocal duties to provide loyalty and service in exchange for honour and wealth[16] — such cultural assimilation seems to have arisen largely from the desire to reframe inherited narratives in settings familiar to northern audiences.[17]

The depictions of spiritual armour and the *comitatus* of Christ, whether presented in Scripture, Christian poetry, or allegorical literature, are essentially metaphysical.[18] They do not provide examples of how a pious person physically fights the 'good fight'. It is through saints' legends with their combination of historical fact and faith, that models of how one corporally and metaphysically

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[13] Smith, *War*, pp. 37 and 16–38. See also Thundyil, 'Convenant', p. 259.
[14] Monica White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 1–93.
[15] Megan Cavell, 'The Binding of Religious Heroes in *Andreas* and the *Hêliand*', *English Studies* 96:5 (2015), 507–12; Michael Cherniss, 'The Cross as Christ's Weapon: The Influence of Heroic Literary Tradition on *The Dream of the Rood*', *ASE* 2 (1973), 241–52; Green, *Carolingian Lord*, pp. 275–78 and 296–303; G. Murphy, *The Saxon Savior: The Germanic Transformation of the Gospel in the Ninth-Century Heliand* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 3–8, 57–62 and 96–103; G. Murphy, ed., *The Heliand: The Saxon Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
[16] Richard Abels, ''Cowardice' and Duty in Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (2006), 29–49; Paul Battles, ''Contending Throng' Scenes and the *Comitatus* Ideal in Old English Poetry, with Special Attention to *The Battle of Maldon* 122a', *Studia Neophilologica*, 83:1 (2011), 41–51; David Clark, 'Notes on the Medieval Ideal of Dying with One's Lord', *Notes and Queries* 58:4 (2011), 475–84; Roberta Frank, 'The Ideal of Men Dying with their Lord in *The Battle of Maldon*: Anachronism or Nouvelle Vague', in *People and Places in Northern Europe, 500–1600*, ed. Niels Lund, Peter Sawyer, and Ian Wood (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991), pp. 95–106; Green, *Carolingian Lord*, pp. 69–79, provide overviews of the *comitatus* social structure.
[17] Michael Alexander, *Old English Literature* (London; Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983), p. 163; Cherniss, *Ingeld and Christ*, pp. 151–70; Earl, 'Violence and Non-Violence', 142–43; Roberta Frank, 'North Sea Soundings in *Andreas*', in *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 2–10; Lee, *Guest-Hall*, pp. 3 and 11–14; T. A. Shippey, *Old English Verse* (London: Hutchinson, 1972), pp. 114–27.
[18] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 4–5.

fights for Christ emerge.[19] Continental and Anglo-Saxon exegetes read hagiographical legends with an eye to extract a multiplicity of meanings from a single text and to understand the literal, moral, allegorical or typological, and anagogical truths which could be applied to both one's physical actions as well as spiritual alignment.[20] In other words, the *miles Christi*'s fight could simultaneously be read as a metaphorical struggle against temptation and as literal blows landed against the enemies of Christianity. As such, when narratives like Athanasius of Alexandria's *Life of Antony* or Felix's *Vita Guthlaci* depict saints fighting devils in their desert retreats,[21] the fights have both physical and spiritual ramifications that leave their bodies bruised and their souls more purely fixed in virtue.[22] The multifarious nature of the imagery and circumstances in hagiography seem to facilitate literal approaches to the idea of 'soldiering for Christ', especially after the acceptance of Christianity in the Roman Empire.

Apostles and saints who lived in the context of persecutions during the first three centuries of Christianity could enact their faith and mastery of temptation through martyrdom. The narratives of martyrs both glorified extreme devotion to Christ and showed how sacrificial resistance to wicked secular authority led to conversion and the strengthening of Christendom.[23] The stories of such saints were popular in Anglo-Saxon England and were adapted into Old English verse, as with Cynewulf's poem *Juliana*, which relates the life of Juliana of Nicomedia (285–304). There are also numerous prose accounts of soldier-saints, such as the *Old English Martyrology*'s account of Theodosius and

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[19] Delehaye, *Legends*, pp. 3–9 and 49–78; Earl, 'Typology and Iconography', 16–19; Godden, 'Problem of Miracles', 87–94; Hill, 'Imago Dei', pp. 35–36.

[20] See Jacob Hobson, 'Exegetical Theory and Textual Communities in Late Anglo-Saxon England', PhD. Dissertation (University of California, Berkley, 2017), pp. 1–7, and Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1991), pp. 204–19, for overviews of patristic and Anglo-Saxon exegetical approaches to interpreting literature. Bernard Robinson provides an overview of Bede's exegetical perspectives and sources in 'The Venerable Bede as Exegete', *Downside Review* 112 (1994), 201–06 and 221.

[21] Evagrius translated Athanasius's *Life of Anthony* into Latin by 374, witnessed in Anglo-Saxon context through Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 48. For Guthlac's fight over the Crowland *beorg*, see pp. 123–36 below, and Benjamin Kurtz, 'From St Antony to St Guthlac: A Study in Biography', *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 12:2 (1926), 128–40.

[22] Graham Jones, 'Ghostly Mentor, Teacher of Mysteries: Bartholomew, Guthlac and the Apostle's Cult in Early Medieval England', in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 139; Rosemary Woolf, 'Saints' Lives', in *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. Eric G. Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), p. 55.

[23] Clayton and Mullins, ed., *Lives*, I:xvii–xviii; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 217–19.

the Sixteen Soldiers, whom the Emperor Claudius martyred in first century, or Vitalis of Milan, who is killed sometime before the second century.[24] Once persecution in the Roman Empire ended during the fourth century, however, new ways of attaining a martyr's crown were sought. Evangelical missions to convert pagans provided an opportunity not only to emulate the apostolic calling to expand Christendom but also to achieve martyrdom, as Boniface's mission to convert the Frisians in the eighth century demonstrates.[25] Similarly, the growth of asceticism and monasticism championed in fourth-century *Lives* like Evagrius of Antioch's *Vita Antoni*,[26] or Sulpicius Severus's *Vita Martini*, provided ways in which *milites Christi* could renounce the world and attain sanctity by living lives internally fighting those forces that would drag them into apostasy.[27]

The *Lives* of 'military saints' — those who fought in the secular military but were later considered saints, such as the early fourth-century saints Demetrius, Theodore, and George — provided different models.[28] These saints are said to have practiced saintly asceticism and devout faith while in their military positions.[29] In continuing to fight in the army, despite being Christian, military-saints highlight the paradox of 'soldiering for Christ' and seem to reflect the conflicting philosophies concerning the relationship between Christianity and militancy. As Erdmann notes, 'the question early Christianity posed was not whether religion was a valid basis for war, but whether it was possible for a Christian to fight at all.'[30] Any secular action could be considered a contradiction of Christ's separation of heavenly and worldly matters in the injunction to

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[24] *OEMart.* 88 and 204.
[25] John Hermann, 'Boniface and Dokkum: Terror, Repetition, Allegory', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 22 (1995), 1–4; Hugh Magennis, 'Conversion in Old English Saints' Lives', in Roberts and Nelson (2000), pp. 293–94.
[26] P. Bertrand and Lois Gandt, ed., *Vitae Antonii versiones Latinae: Vita beati Antonii abbatis Euagrio interprete. Versio vetustissima*, CCSL 170 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 3–103.
[27] Christopher Jones, 'Envisioning the *Cenobium* in the Old English *Guthlac A*', *Mediaeval Studies* 57 (1995), 271.
[28] Michael Whitby, '*Deus Nobiscum*: Christianity, Warfare, and Morale in Late Antiquity,' in *Modus Operandi*, ed. Michel Austin, Jill Harries, and Christopher Smith (London: University of London, 1998), pp. 201–205; White, *Military Saints*, p. 3.
[29] John Helgeland, 'Christians and the Roman Army A.D. 173–337', *Church History* 43:2 (1974), 156–63, provides an overview of active Christian involvement in the Roman army before Contstantine.
[30] Carl Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 5.

'render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's' (Matthew 22:15–22; Mark 12:13–17; and Luke 20:20–26).

Although the Pauline Epistles establish much of the militaristic language of the *miles Christi*, they also state that, 'No man, being a soldier to God, entangleth himself with secular businesses; that he may please him to whom he hath engaged himself' (*Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis saecularibus: ut ei placeat, cui se probavit*, II Timothy 2:4). Many early Church writers adopted this perspective. For example, in a letter to Bishop Rusticus of Narbonne dated 458×459, Pope Leo I writes that 'He who wishes to involve himself with the worldly army is not free from the Devil's snares' (*non est liber a laqueis diaboli qui se militia mundana uoluerit implicare*).[31] Commentators on the *Regula Benedicti*, similarly separate secular and spiritual warfare. In his *Expositio in regulam Sancti Benedicti*, Smaragdus of Saint-Michael (c. 760–840) says, 'certainly there are secular soldiers, and there are soldiers of Christ' (*sunt enim milites saeculi, sunt et milites Christi*).[32]

Many hagiographical accounts of *milites Christi* likewise distinguish between worldly military service and service in God's metaphorical army. Although Sulpicius Severus states that the aim of his *Vita Martini* is to inspire others to join the 'celestial army' (*caelestem militiam*),[33] he also works to remove Martin from the secular warrior ethos and provide a pacifist model for warrior-saints.[34] The purely allegorical understanding of soldiering for Christ was repeated throughout the Anglo-Saxon period in such accounts as the late seventh-century *Vita Cuthberti*,[35] Felix's early eighth-century *Vita Guthlaci*,[36] Willibald's eighth-century *Vita Bonifacii*,[37] the anonymous *Martinmas*-homily in

[31] *PL* 54: col. 1207a; James Brundage, 'Crusades, Clerics, and Violence: Reflections on a Canonical Theme', in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), I:154.
[32] Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert, ed., *Smaragdi Abbatis Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti* (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1974), pp. 13–15. See also Bolton, 'Background', 599; Smith, *War*, pp. 94–95. Conner, 'Source Studies', 384–85, and Hill, 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', 203–37, demonstrate the importance of Smaragdus in Anglo-Saxon England.
[33] Philip Burton, ed., *Sulpicius Severus' Vita Martini* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 94.
[34] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 21–26.
[35] Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940).
[36] See pp. 127–36 below.
[37] C. H. Talbot, trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Being the Lives of SS. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba, and Lebuin, together with the Hodoeporicon of St Willibald and a Selection from the Correspondence of St Boniface* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1981), pp. 25–62.

the ninth century, and Byrhtferth's *Vita Oswaldi* from the early eleventh century, which present their saints as rejecting worldly service to become nonviolent *milites Christi* in the 'army of the Lord' (*exercitus Domini*).[38]

At the same time, other exegetes and hagiographers were more accepting of Christian involvement in worldly warfare.[39] After the adoption of Christianity as a state religion in the fourth century, Christian soldiers and citizens were permitted to openly practice their faith, and the secular authorities began to advance the faith with imperial might. A well-known example of the Roman Empire's promotion of Christianity for Anglo-Saxons was Emperor Constantine's mother, St Helena, whose expedition to recover the True Cross was believed to have been backed by the Roman military, as commemorated in Cynewulf's poem *Elene*.[40] The growing number of military saints and the use of Christian iconography in the army, most famously Constantine's use of the Chi-Rho sign on the shields of his soldiers at the Battle of Milvian Bridge in 312,[41] illustrate the wider acceptance of *milites Christi* who killed while devoted to Christ.[42]

With the rise of Christianity in secular leadership and military forces, innovative interpretations of the New Testament were required to mitigate the contradiction between the largely nonviolent teachings of Christ and the secular need for executioners and standing armies.[43] Augustine of Hippo and Ambrose of Milan (340–397) provided subtle distinctions by adapting classical concepts of 'just war' for Christian ends as well as by separating an individual's private and public lives.[44] Augustine argues in the *De ciuitate dei* (XIX: 7) and his letter

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[38] Lapidge, ed., *Life of Oswald*, pp. 79, 105 and 170.
[39] Helgeland, 'Roman Army', 150–56, demonstrates that most Church Fathers, particularly Tertullian and Origen, critiqued Christian involvement in the army because of the army's idolatrous practices, not the shedding of blood. See also David Lenihan, 'The Just War Theory in the Work of Saint Augustine', *Augustinian Studies* 19 (1988), 40–41.
[40] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 111–23; Hermann, 'Boniface and Dokkum', 8–10; Magennis, 'Conversion', pp. 296–98.
[41] Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall, trans., *Eusebius: Life of Constantine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 80–86.
[42] Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 22–26; Whitby, '*Deus Nobiscum*', pp. 194–204; White, *Military Saints*, pp. 20–36 and 64–68.
[43] Helgeland, 'Roman Army', 149–63; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 224–26.
[44] For overviews of early patristic just war code, see Brundage, 'Clerics and Violence', I:147–49; Maria Grazia Cammarota, 'War and the 'Agony of Conscience' in Ælfric's Writings', *Mediaevalistik* 26 (2013), 88–89; Lawrence Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy in the History and Canon Law of Western Christianity* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 90–94; Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 8; Lenihan, 'Just War', 40–58; Frederick Russell, *Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge

Contra Faustum (XXII: 74–76) that what one did in fulfilling his duty to the state, such as fighting in the army, did not impact one's soul as long as the individual only followed orders and did not personally attach himself to the action.[45] By removing personal action from vocational obligation, a Christian could serve in the military — even under a pagan leader — provided they only killed while obeying an order.[46]

The Augustinian idea of separating professional from personal life seems to have been accepted by some hagiographers in Anglo-Saxon England. The ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*, for instance, describes St Victor as a 'soldier of Caesar Antoninus, but he believed in Christ' (*Antoninus cempa þæs caseres, ac he gelyfde on Crist*).[47] In Chapter Six, we see the tenth-century Old English *Life of Eustace* presents a saint similarly serving under the pagan Emperors Trajan and Hadrian in battle while refusing to offer sacrifices to pagan gods and, as a consequence, becoming martyred.[48] In Ælfric's eleventh-century translation of the *Passio Sancti Mauricii*,[49] Ælfric introduces Maurice and his Christian company as 'very Christian men, following that Emperor [Maximianus], [who] then had to go on a military campaign, just as all men did' (*swiþe cristene menn, þam casere folgiende*, *forþan þe hi sceoldon fyrdian, swa swa eall folc dyde*).[50] Maurice and his legion affirm that they distinguish their personal morality and religion from their work in their response to the pagan Maximianus's messenger, saying: 'we are ready to sally forth to fight alongside that emperor, but we do not wish to turn to his sacrifices' (*we synd gearwe to gefeohte forð mid ðam casere, ac we nellaþ gecyrran to his onsægednyssum*).[51]

At the same time that Augustine argues that Christians can separate their private and professional lives, he attempts to clarify what military actions can be considered justified and therefore mitigate the moral implications of following

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University Press, 1975), pp. 4–27; Christopher Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom, Holy War and the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 98–107.

[45] For an analysis of these texts see Lenihan, 'Just War', 44–46 and 50–52.

[46] This position was one which was hotly debated throughout the medieval period. For an overview of the early debate see Cammarota, 'Agony of Conscience', 89 and 106.

[47] *OEMart.* 104.

[48] See pp. 203–07 below.

[49] *LS* III: 42–54.

[50] *LS* III: 42.

[51] *LS* III: 46.

an order to kill.[52] Throughout Augustine's works, 'war is waged so that peace may be attained' (*bellum geritur ut pax acquiratur*) and as a means of maintaining the status quo.[53] However, nowhere does Augustine provide a cohesive 'code' of war, only disparate comments scattered throughout his works. A more comprehensible code is provided by other theologians who adapted pre-Christian legal philosophies to argue that it was both permissible and right for a soldier to physically protect the Christian community, or to reestablish an equilibrium between states through war.[54] The sixth-century Iberian bishop Isidore of Seville distilled these patristic writings on 'just war' with Cicero's ideas from *De republica* into a succinct definition in his *Etymologiae* (XVIII:1.2):[55]

> Iustum bellum est, quod ex praedicto geritur de rebus repetitis, aut propulsandorum hostium causa. Injustum bellum est, quod de furore, non de legitima ratione initur.
>
> 'Just war is that which is waged from a proclamation for the retaking of property or for the sake of warding off enemies. Unjust war is that which is begun out of anger with no legitimate reason.'

In Isidore's definition, war is 'just' only if it is in *defence*, and waged dispassionately as a response to attack or to reclaim property that was stolen. War that is 'unjust' is carried out with irrational anger or a sinful motive. These ideas were disseminated widely throughout Europe and provided moral rationalization and a legal framework within which Christians could conduct warfare.[56]

With the framework for justifying war, the Christianisation of rituals practiced within the army and increasing threats posed to Christian kingdoms by

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[52] *Epistola ad Marcellium* in *PL* 33: cols 531–32; *Epistola ad Bonifacium* in *PL* 33: cols 855–57; *Contra Faustum* XXII: 70–76; and *De ciuitate dei* V: 24; XIV: 15; XIX: 7 and 12. For overviews of Augustine's theory of just war, see Lenihan, 'Just War', 42–52; Wallace-Hadrill, 'War and Peace', 161–62; Russell *Just War*, 4.
[53] *PL* 33: col. 856; John Langan, 'The Elements of St Augustine's Just War Theory', *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 12:1 (1984), 27–30; Lenihan, 'Just War', 47–48.
[54] Cross, 'Ethic of War', pp. 274–77; Cammarota, 'Agony of Conscience', 93 and 100–01; Smith, *War*, pp. 9–28; Ben Snook, 'Just War in Anglo-Saxon England: Transmission and Reception', in *War and Peace: Critical Issues in European Societies and Literature 800–1800*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Nadia Margolis (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 105–08 and 119–20.
[55] Wallace Martin Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi etymologiarum siue originum, Libros XI–XX* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), II:273.
[56] Cross, 'Ethic of War', pp. 269–72.

heathen invaders, war developed a religious dimension as divinely approved.[57] Although, 'just war' or *bellum iustum* (a war having legal and secular justification) and 'holy war' or *bellum sacrum* (a war undertaken for purpose of God and with direct ecclesiastical justification or authority) may have originally been two separate things, by end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the Crusades, these concepts had become synonymous for many theologians.[58] Yet the blending of these concepts is founded on the Old Testament wars which drew on God's *authoritas*. The idea that God's favour was manifested in victory on the battlefield, as is seen in the fifth-century pseudo-Augustine letter *Graui de pugna*:[59]

> Graui de pugna conquereris: dubites nolo, utile tibi tuisque dabo consilium: arripe manibus arma; oratio aures pulset Auctoris, quia quando pugnatur, Deus apertis coelis prospectat, et partem quam inspicit iustam, ibi dat palmam.[60]
>
> 'You complained about the serious fighting: I don't wish you to doubt, I shall give to you and yours useful counsel: snatch up arms with hands; may [your] prayer strike the ears of the Creator, since when there is fighting, God looks down from the clear heavens, and discerns which side is just, and gives that side the palm of triumph.'

The *Graui de pugna* mollified the guilt of Christian generals by stating that divine approval for their actions would be manifest in their success. This idea that the divine was directly concerned with earthly battles is as old as war itself, but it became entrenched in Christianity with the acceptance of Christian violence and the rise of Christian prayers to God for victory in battle.[61] The Anglo-Saxon notion of 'holy war' combined classical and biblical ideas of war, placing the

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[57] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Christianity and the Morality of Warfare During the First Century', in Bull and Housley (2003), I:178; Erdmann, *Origin*, 26–27; Friedrich Prinz, 'King, Clergy, and War at the Time of the Carolingians', in *Saints, Scholars and Heroes: Studies in Medieval Culture in Honor of Charles Jones*, ed. Margot King and Wesley Stevens (Collegeville, Minnesota: Saint John's Abbey and University, 1979), II:310–18; Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom*, p. 106; White, *Military Saints*, pp. 49–63.

[58] Cowdrey, 'Morality of Warfare', I:175–76; Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 3; John France, 'Holy War and Holy Men: Erdmann and the Lives of the Saints', in Bull and Housley (2003), I:207; Russell, *Just War*, p. 2.

[59] Cowdrey, 'Morality of Warfare', I:178.

[60] *PL* 33: col. 1098.

[61] Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 28–30; Clare Stancliffe, 'Oswald, 'Most Holy and Most Victorious King of the Northumbrians', in *Oswald*, ed. Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), pp. 50–51; Whitby, '*Deus Nobiscum*', pp. 194–99; White, *Military Saints*, pp. 37–40.

authority of killing with God and blending the boundaries of *bellum iustum* with *bellum sacrum*.[62] Hagiographical narratives, from the eighth-century account of King Oswald of Northumbria to the early eleventh-century attestation of the poem *Judith* (lines 154–58) in the Nowell Codex, demonstrate that many Anglo-Saxons throughout the period adopted this belief that God's favour was manifested through victory on the battlefield.[63]

Non-Christian enemies were consequently dehumanised and demonized as 'just' enemies in the edicts of the Curia and propaganda of Christian states.[64] White shows how secular soldiers in the Byzantine Empire were called *milites Christi* and given the same status as martyrs when they died in battle against the 'infidel' during the reign of Heraklios (610–641).[65] In a letter to the German bishops dated 878×879, Pope John III (872–882) went a step further in presaging the indulgences of the crusades, saying those who die fighting in wars against pagans would be purged of sin as such war amounted to good deeds and penance.[66] The belief that one was always 'just' in fighting pagans, heretics and rebels is seen early in Anglo-Saxon records through Bede's account of the synod at Augustine's Oak in 603.[67] When the British clerics will not accept the customs of the Roman Church, Augustine of Canterbury tells them 'if they do not wish to accept peace with their brothers, then they would have to accept war from enemies' (*si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi*). This threat is then realised when King Æthelfrith kills the monks of Bangor-Is-Coed because they opposed Roman practices, and prayed on behalf of the British army at Carlegion.

The idea that heretical or heathen peoples were legitimate enemies of Christendom is also found in texts produced in the context of the Viking

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[62] Cowdrey, 'Morality of Warfare', I:177–78; Kent Hare, 'Christian Heroism and Holy War in Anglo-Saxon England', PhD. Dissertation (Louisiana State University, 1997), pp. 6 and 20–24; Russell, *Just War*, pp. 23–25; Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom*, pp. 102–03.
[63] *HE* II: 2; *LS* III: 2–4.
[64] Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 10; France, 'Holy War', I:203; Russell, *Just War*, pp. 28–33.
[65] White, *Military Saints*, pp. 49–63. Compare to Pope Leo IV's statement in a letter to the Frankish army that those who died defending Christendom 'would not be denied the kingdom of heaven' (*quisquis … in hoc belli certamine fideliter mortuus fuerit, regna illi cœlestia minime negabuntur*), *PL* 115: col. 657.
[66] *PL* 126: col. 816; France, 'Holy War', I:198–203; Timothy Powell, 'The 'Three Orders' of Society in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 23 (1994), 114; Russell, *Just War*, pp. 9–20.
[67] *HE* II:2. Stancliffe, 'Most Holy', pp. 76–80, discusses other instances of Anglo-Saxon attacks on Christian Britons until the time of Bede.

incursions in the ninth century and the late tenth century.[68] Pezzarossa demonstrates that the ninth-century translator of the *Old English Prose Psalms*, for instance, reworked the Book of Psalms to promote a martial response to the Vikings by linking them to biblical assailants on Israelites.[69] A century later in the midst of another wave of viking invasions, Ælfric's adaptation of the Isidorian code of 'just war' exemplifies the demonisation of heathen hostiles:[70]

> Secgað swa þeah lareowas þæt syndon feower cynna gefeoht: *iustum*, þæt is rihtlic; *iniustum*, unrihtlic; *ciuile*, betwux ceastergewarum; *plusquam ciuile*, betwux siblingum. *Iustum bellum* is rihtlic gefeoht wið ða reðan flot-menn, oþþe wið oðre þeoda þe eard willað fordon. Unrihtlic gefeoht þe of yrre cymð.[71]
>
> 'Nevertheless, the teachers say that there are four kinds of war: *iustum*, that is just; *iniustum*, [that is] unjust; *ciuile*, [that is] between townspeople; *plusquam ciuile*, [that is] between kinsmen. *Iustum bellum* is just war against those cruel seamen, or against other people who wish to destroy [one's] land. Unjust war is that which comes from anger.'

This representation of the code of 'just war' appears in Ælfric's *Passio Machabeorum*, a narrative largely concerned with Judas Maccabeus's defeat of Israel's earthly enemies and which glorifies the killing of unbelievers.[72] Ælfric repeats the emphasis on just war being a dispassionate response to an attack and refers to vikings as the sort of people who engage in unjustified rapacious warfare.[73] The notion that pagans were enemies without rights is further evident in the law-code *Æthelred VI* (*c.* 1008), which condemns pagans and calls for their expulsion or destruction, reflecting the xenophobic influence of Ælfric's contemporary and pastoral correspondent, Wulfstan archbishop of York and

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[68] See pp. 207–12 and 217–25 below.
[69] Lucrezia Pezzarossa, 'The Ideology of War in Early Medieval England: Three Case Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature', PhD. Dissertation (University of York, 2013), pp. 108–121.
[70] Cross, 'Ethic of War', pp. 271–72; France, 'Holy War', I:196–97. Earl, 'Violence and Non-Violence', 134–47, argues to the contrary, claiming that Ælfric advocated nonviolence and martyrdom in response to the Viking invasions.
[71] *LS* II: 326.
[72] Clayton and Mullins, ed., *Lives*, I:xv, xviii–xxii; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 219–23. John Halbrooks, 'Ælfric, the *Maccabees*, and the Problem of Christian Heroism', *Studies in Philology* 106:3 (2009), 263–84, argues that Ælfric particularly reworked *Maccabees* to emphasise *pietas* as essential for Christian heroism.
[73] Cammarota, 'Agony of Conscience', 93 and 100–01; Marcia Dalbey, 'The Good Shepherd and Soldier of God: Old English Homilies on St Martin of Tours', *NM* 85:4 (1984), 434; Whatley 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 221–24.

bishop of Worcester (d. 1023).[74] Ælfric further assuages secular guilt for fighting in his Latin letter to Wulfstan in which he says that 'the order of [secular] fighters ought to defend with arms our homeland from the incursions of enemies' (*ordo bellatorum debet armis patriam nostram ab incursibus hostium defendere*).[75] Recent commentators argue that eleventh-century works like Ælfric's *Passio Machabeorum* aimed to de-stigmatise killing in 'just war', thereby diminishing the 'crisis of faith' for soldiers who were confronted by the paradox of being both good nonviolent Christians as well as necessary defenders of England.[76] Although arguments that secular Christian warriors were duty-bound to fight on behalf of Christian communities are found throughout the period, particularly in works describing an ideal Christian society,[77] it was not universally accepted that the spiritual *milites Christi* could fight physically.

Ælfric explicitly condemns clerical involvement in physical warfare at the end of his *Passio Machabeorum*.[78] Here, Ælfric states that one should read the Old Testament and the wars of the Israelites as allegories of the spiritual warfare waged against the devil by holy men after the New Testament:[79]

> Þæt ealde [godes] folc sceolde feohtan þa mid wæpnum and heora gewinn hæfde haligra manna getacnunge þe todræfað þa leahtras and deofla heom fram on ðære niwan gecyðnysse þe crist self astealde.[80]
>
> 'The ancient people of God had to fight with weapons, and their struggle had the signification of the holy men who drive off those shameful ones and the devils from themselves in the New Testament which Christ himself set forth.'

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[74] Jonathan Wilcox, 'St Brice's Day Massacre and Archbishop Wulfstan', in *Peace and Negotiation*, ed. Diane Wolfthal (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), pp. 87–90. Russell, *Just War*, p. 8, shows that this notion was established in the Roman Empire. See also pp. 207–12 below.
[75] *Councils and Synods*, 252.
[76] Cammarota, 'Agony of Conscience', 89–91, 95 and 100; Damon, 'Sanctifying', pp. 188 and 197–98; Snook, 'Just War', pp. 109–10 and 115.
[77] Nicholas Brooks, 'Arms, Status and Warfare in Late–Saxon England', in *Ethelred the Unready*, ed. David Hill (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), p. 81; Simon Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids of 1006–7 and 1009–12', *ASE* 36 (2007), 166–69; Inka Moilanen, 'The Concept of the Three Orders of Society and Social Mobility in Eleventh-Century England', *English Historical Review* 553 (2016), 1337–39; Powell 'Three Orders', 112; Wallace-Hadrill, 'War and Peace', 169.
[78] *LS* II: 325–34.
[79] James MacGregor, 'The Ministry of Gerold d'Avranches: Warrior-Saints and Knightly Piety on the Eve of the First Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 29:3 (2003), 226–28; Halbrooks, 'Christian Heroism', 283–84; Powell, 'Three Orders', 110–11.
[80] *LS* II: 326 and 395.

Ælfric insists that clerics should not read the wars of the Old Testament literally to justify clerical involvement in battle, but should interpret the wars as symbolic of a Christian's metaphysical struggle with sin.[81] Ælfric further clarifies the spiritual nature of the cleric's fight through his treatise on the three orders of society that immediately follows his *Passio Machabeorum*, and his discussion of 'just war' in a section variously titled *Item alia, qui sunt oratores, laboratores, et bellatores* or *De tribus ordines saeculi*.[82] Here he is clear that while secular warriors (*bellatores*) can fight physical enemies, clerics (*oratores*) are to abstain from worldly warfare:[83]

> *Oratores* synd þa ðe us to Gode geðingiað, *bellatores* synd þa ðe us to burga healdað and urne eard beweriað wið onwinnendne here. Nu swincð se yrðlincg embe urne bigleofan and se woruld-cempa sceall winnan wið ure fynd, and se Godes þeowa sceall symle for us gebiddan and feohtan gastlice wið þa ungesewenlican fynd. Is nu forþy mare þæra muneca gewinn wið þa ungesewenlican deofla þe syrwiað embe us þonne sy þæra woruld-manna þe winnað wiþ ða flæsclican and wið þa gesewenlican gesewenlice feohtað. Nu ne sceolon þa woruld-cempan to þam woruldlicum gefeoht þa Godes þeowan neadian fram þam gastlican gewinne forðan þe him fremað swiðor þæt þa ungesewenlican fynd beon oferswyðde þonne ða gesewenlican, and hit bið swyðe derigendlic þæt hi Drihtnes þeowdom forlætan and to woruld-gewinne bugan, þe him naht to ne gebyriað. Iulianus, se wiðer-saca and se wæl-hreowa casere, wolde neadian preostas to woruldlicum gecampe, and eac þa halgan munecas ...[84] Godes þeowas sceolon unscæððignysse healdan swa swa Crist astealde þurh hine sylfne þa bysne þa þa he het Petrum behydan his swurd and gehælde þurh his mihte þæs mannes eare þe Petrus of asloh, and geswutelode his godnysse. Nu se munuc þe bihð to Benedictes regole and forlæt ealle woruld-ðinge hwi wile he eft gecyrran to woruldlicum wæpnum and awurpan his gewinn wið þa ungesewenlican fynd his scyppende to teonan? Se Godes þeowa ne mæg mid woruld-mannum feohtan gif he on þam gastlican gefeohte forð-gang habban sceall. Næs nan halig Godes þeowa æfter þæs hælendes þrowunga þe æfre on gefeohte his handa wolde afylan ac hi forbæron ehtnysse arleasra cwellera and heora lif sealdon mid unscæþþignysse for Godes geleafan and hi mid gode nu lybbað forðan þe hi furþon noldon ænne fugel acwellan.[85]

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[81] A summary of early exegetic interpretations of the Old Testament is in Smith, *War*, pp. 10–16.
[82] *LS* II: 334–36. For development of the concept of the 'Three Orders of Society' in England, see Moilanen, 'Social Mobility', 1331–52; Powell, 'Three Orders', 105–10.
[83] Cammarota, 'Agony of Conscience', 93–94; Powell, 'Three Orders', 118–24.
[84] Omitted here are Ælfric's examples of wicked secular authorities who forced *oratores* to fight and were consequently punished.
[85] *LS* II: 334–36.

> *'Oratores* are those who intercede for us with God, *bellatores* are those who hold our fortresses for us and ward off an invading army from our land. Now the field labourer toils for our sustenance, and the worldly warrior must guard against our enemies, and the servant of God must always pray for us and fight spiritually against those invisible enemies. Now, therefore, greater is the fight of the monks against the invisible devils — who conspire around us — than that of the worldly warriors who fight against corporeal [foes] and visibly fight against those visible ones. Now, never must those worldly warriors compel the servants of God to that worldly fight from the spiritual contest, for it will benefit them more greatly that the invisible rather than the visible enemies be overthrown, and it is more harmful that they abandon the Lord's service and bow to the worldly fight which does not pertain to them at all. Julian, the persecuting and bloodthirsty Caesar, wished to force priests to worldly fighting and also those holy monks … God's servants must cleave to harmless innocence just as Christ set forth through his own example then when he ordered Peter to sheath his sword and healed the ear of the man whom Peter had struck through his might and made manifest his goodness. Now, the monk who bends to the rule of Benedict and abandons all worldly things, why will he afterwards turn to worldly weapons and cast aside his fight against those unseen spirits as an insult to his maker? The servant of God may not fight with worldly men if he shall have set forth into that spiritual fight. There was not any holy servant of God after the passion of the Saviour who ever wished to soil his hands in fighting but they forbore the persecution of Godless killers and gave their lives with blamelessness for faith in God and they now live with God because they were not willing to kill a single bird.'

Ælfric argues that the spiritual warfare of clergy and the physical warfare of secular soldiers complement each other,[86] although he emphasises that the spiritual warfare of the *oratores* is always superior to the physical warfare of the *bellatores.*[87] He repeats the canonical ruling against clerical involvement in warfare that bars any cleric from taking up worldly weapons again after devoting himself to God.[88] This separation of spiritual and worldly fighting is also explicit in Ælfric's translation of the *Hexameron of Basil*, which compares the *woruldlice wæpna* ('worldly weapons') that *woruld-cempan* ('worldly fighters') wear to those spiritual weapons of monks who are 'the thegns of Christ fighting

[86] Cammarota, 'Agony of Conscience', 92–93.
[87] Moilanen, 'Social Mobility', 1337–38.
[88] For analyses and texts of early canonical prohibitions of clerical fighting see Duggan, *Armsbearing*, pp. 95–100; Daniel Gerrard, *The Church at War: The Military Activities of Bishops, Abbots, and other Clergy in England, c. 900–1200* (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 257–59; Prinz, 'Clergy and War', II:303–04.

against devils' (*Cristes ðegnas campiende wið deoflu*).[89] In his *Hexameron*, Ælfric again places spiritual warfare above physical warfare as he says:

> Se munuc sceal geanbidian his edleanes æt Gode, and beon himsylf ælfremed fram eorðlicum dædum, and hine ne abysgian mid woruldlicum bysgum gif he campian sceal Criste on eornost.[90]
>
> 'The monk must expect his reward from God, and be himself removed from earthly deeds, and he shall not be engaged with worldly pursuits if he must fight for Christ in earnest.'

Here, Ælfric implies that the true soldier of Christ must separate himself from secular warfare.

Ælfric's concern extended beyond monastic clerics to address the secular Church. His pastoral letters to Wulfstan and to Bishop Wulfsige of Sherbourne reflect a deep concern for distancing clerics from the secular realm.[91] In his third letter (993×995) to Wulfsige he says 'let no priest abandon his godliness, neither take to worldly talk nor bear weapons' (*ne preost … forlæte his godcundnysse, ne ne fo to woruld-spræcum, ne he wæþna ne werige*).[92] The statement is emphatic in censuring those that would fight while being an *orator*, emphasised through the redundant uses of the negation *ne.* This theme is expanded in the section titled *De bellico aparatu* ('Concerning military preparation') in his Latin letter (1002×1005) to Wulfstan:

> Ordo bellatorum debet armis patriam nostram ab incursibus hostium defendere, et ordo oratorum, id sunt clerici et monachi et episcopi, qui electi sunt ad spiritalem militiam, debent orare pro omnibus, et seruitiis seu officiis Dei semper insistere, et fidem catholicam predicare et sancta charismata dare fidelibus. Et omnis qui ad istam militiam ordinatur, etsi antea secularia arma habuit, debet ea deponere tempore ordinationis et assumere spiritalia arma, loricam iustitiae et scutum fidei et galeam salutis et gladium spiritus, quod est uerbum Dei, et bellare uiriliter contra spiritalia nequitia. Qui ad istam militiam perueniat et uult postea secularibus armis uti contra hostes carnales, nonne erit apostata, recedens a militia Dei ad militiam secularem? Ergo non potest in amabus militiis simul stare, quia illa manus quae humanum sanguinem effuderit

[89] *Hexameron,* 26 and 34–38.
[90] *Hexameron*, 36.
[91] *Councils and Synods*, 244 and 253.
[92] *Councils and Synods*, 212.

non potest digne Domini calicem sanctificare. Nec saltim baculo licet episcopum quequam percutere, sicut in ipsius electione dicit apostolus: 'non percussorem', nec litigare, sicut idem dicit: 'Seruum Dei non oportet litigare, sed mansuetum esse ad omnes.' Et Dominus dixit Petro carnaliter adhuc sapienti: 'Mitte gladium in uaginam, omnes qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt.' Non dixit gladio occiduntur, sed gladio peribunt. Nam et canones docent, si clericus in bello ceciderit, ut nullus pro eo missam faciat. Iterum dicent canones ut clericus armis utens degradetur. [93]

'The order of [secular] fighters ought to defend with arms our homeland from the incursions of enemies, and the order of those who pray — those are clerics and monks and bishops who are chosen for spiritual warfare — they ought to pray for everyone, and to dwell in either the services or offices of God, and to preach the catholic faith, and to give with faith the saintly gifts of grace. And all who are appointed to that military service, although he had previously held secular arms, ought to set them aside at the time of his ordination and assume spiritual arms, the breastplate of justice and the shield of faith and the helmet of wholeness and the sword of the Spirit — which is the word of God — and he ought to war manfully against spiritual iniquity. He who comes to that fight and wishes afterwards to use secular arms against corporeal enemies, surely he will be apostate, forsaking the military service of God for the secular warfare? Therefore it is not possible to stand in both armies at once, since that hand which shall have poured forth human blood is not able to sanctify the chalice of the Lord with dignity. Nor to any extent is it permitted to strike anyone with the staff of a bishop, just as the apostle says of this in the lection, 'do not strike', nor [is it permitted] to quarrel, as the same thing says, 'the servant of the Lord must not quarrel, but be mild to all men' (II Timothy 2:24). And the Lord told Peter this wisdom while alive, 'Put the sword into the sheath, for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' (Matthew 26:52) He did not say they would [literally] be felled by the sword, but perish by the sword. For the canons teach, if the cleric falls in battle, then no mass may be said for him. Elsewhere the canons say that the cleric is deprived of his rank through the use of arms.'

At the time, Wulfstan asked Ælfric to translate this letter into Old English so that it could be used for the pastoral care and training of wider, eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon audiences, which Ælfric did with some slight alterations that accentuated the censure of clerical violence.[94] In both versions of the letter, Ælfric defines clerics as monks, bishops or those 'who are chosen for spiritual warfare' (*qui electi sunt ad spiritalem militiam*), and places clerics in the tradition of *milites Christi* through descriptions of spiritual armour. Ælfric explicitly calls

[93] *Councils and Synods*, 252; see also Whitelock's introduction to the letter on pp. 243–47.
[94] *Councils and Synods*, 296–300.

on all clerics who have carried secular arms to lay them down and renounce their worldly connections, rejecting the possibility of one being both a physical and spiritual fighter simultaneously. The letters share their injunction against clerical involvement in secular activities with the collection of canon laws referred to as the *Excerptiones pseudo-Ecgberti*,[95] which was compiled in Wulfstan's scriptorium.[96] As Powell summarises, these eleventh-century canonical works argue that the 'division between the clergy and the order of warriors is absolute and extends beyond warfare to any form of physical chastisement.'[97]

While we have seen that the injunction against *milites Christi* participating in worldly conflict appears throughout the late antique and early medieval period, from the second-century Pauline Epistles and fifth-century theologians like Augustine of Hippo to Ælfric's pastoral letters in the early eleventh century, other churchmen held less critical views of clerical involvement in worldly affairs. Fowler suggests that Wulfstan interpreted canon law to mean that clergy were banned from bearing weapons in church buildings, but not banned from wielding them altogether.[98] This distinction existed as early as the Council of Arles (*c.* 314), which decrees that 'those who bear arms in times of peace' (*qui arma proiciunt in pace*) ought to be barred from church, but does not ban the bearing of arms during war.[99]

In his treatises and letters, Ælfric notes the perspectives of those who argue that clerics can be active soldiers, indicating that in the eleventh century 'some clergy felt it a Christian duty to serve God by serving the king, on the field of battle as well as in prayer.'[100] Ælfric confronts the idea of an armed Church in

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[95] See sections 160 and 165 in recension B in J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, ed., *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1999) pp. 167 and 169–71.
[96] Andy Orchard, 'The Library of Wulfstan of York', in Gameson (2012), I:698. Roger Fowler, ed., *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), I:xli–xlii, and Whitelock, *Councils and Synods*, pp. 245–46, believe that Ælfric used the *Excerptiones* as his source in these letters although Cross and Hamer, *Wulfstan's Canon Law*, pp. 17–22; and 'Ælfric's *Letters* and the *Excerptiones Ecberhti*', in *Alfred the Wise*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Bately with Malcolm Godden (Rochester, NY; Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 6–12, have argued that Wulfstan was borrowing from Ælfric, and left the passages largely unaltered in his compilation of canon law.
[97] Powell, 'Three Orders', 118, also 112–13. Moilanen, 'Social Mobility', 1344–51, postulates that this rigid division of society arose as a response to the Viking threat and to nostalgia for the past. See also Cross, 'Ethic of War', pp. 280–82.
[98] Fowler, ed., *Canons*, p. 36.
[99] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 70–75.
[100] Powell, 'Three Orders', 127; Moilanen, 'Social Mobility', 1339–43.

his Old English letter to Wulfstan by refuting two justifications for clerical violence. The first uses biblical precedent for holy men who wielded worldly weapons. The second is based on the necessity of serving the worldly king as the arbiter of God's earthly kingdom.[101] While we do not have records of how these two points were argued, Ælfric's rebuttals provide indirect evidence that Peter's attack on Malchus and the wars of the Old Testament were used to justify ecclesiastical involvement in warfare.

Philosophies that are tolerant of clerical violence also grew as the Church's acquisition of extensive land holdings and authority over communities of clerics and laymen necessitated ecclesiastical involvement in the defence of its territorial property.[102] From the fifth century, aristocrats in episcopal offices manipulated or ignored canon laws banning participation in war, arguing that the ban against clerical violence was restricted to the lower clergy.[103] The late fifth-century *Vita Germani* by Constantius of Lyon, and Bede's eighth-century adaptation of it, provide an early account of episcopal participation in warfare in an Anglo-Saxon context.[104] Both narratives recount how the fifth-century bishops Germanus and Lupus acted as generals who directed the Britons in their fight against the invading Picts and Saxons, and imbued their army with divine favour and righteous fervor through baptising the soldiers before battle. According to Bede, the battle resulted in a victory without bloodshed and the bishops protected the peace of the Christian Britons 'having overcome the enemies either invisibile or seen in the flesh' (*superatisque hostibus uel inuisibilibus uel carne conspicuis*).

The account of Germanus and Lupus alongside the focus on aristocratic activity in early Anglo-Saxon hagiography together show that clerical involvement in warfare was tolerated, if not promoted, in England from at least

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[101] *Councils and Synods*, 297–98; Powell, 'Three Orders', 122–29.
[102] Duggan, *Armsbearing*, pp. 19–23 and 59–62; Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 6–7.
[103] Brundage, 'Clerics and Violence', I:149; Erdmann *Origin*, pp. 25–26; France, 'Holy War', I:195 and 205; Gerrard, *Church at War*, pp. 29–33 and 157; Powell 'Three Orders', 126–27; Prinz, 'Clergy and War', II:302–17; Russell *Just War*, p. 34.
[104] *HE* I:20; B. Krusch and W. Levison, ed., *Passiones uitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingicarum cum supplemento et appendice*, MGH SRM 7.1 (Hanover; Leipzig: Hahnian, 1919), pp. 263–65. See also Nick Higham, 'Constantius, St Germanus and Fifth-Century Britain', *Early Medieval Europe* 22:2 (2014), 113–17 and 128–30.

the eighth century.[105] Later, men like Dunstan of Canterbury (909–988) and Æthelwald of Winchester (904×909–984), who 'sought to exercise supreme power over both Church and state simultaneously' through their influence on Kings Eadred and Edgar,[106] or Wulfstan, who was a central figure in the courts of both Æthelræd and Cnut,[107] used their resources for war efforts and to politically manipulate foreign policy.[108] These Church figures provided tenth- and eleventh-century contemporaries with living examples of *oratores* who soldiered for God by involving themselves in secular affairs in addition to their religious observances.

While the Western Church was increasingly embroiled in warfare after the fifth century, secular authorities tasked with conducting war efforts were becoming gradually intertwined with Church administration and spiritual duties.[109] In particular, the elevation of the king above the tri-part division of society as the head of a Christian state with ecclesiastical as well as secular duties — articulated in Anglo-Saxon England by King Alfred in the ninth century[110] — contributed to the boundary-blurring between the orders of *oratores* and *bellatores*.[111] Klaniczay, Rollason, and Thacker demonstrate that pious kings throughout Europe were presented and venerated as saintly paragons of both secular and spiritual affairs.[112] Although inspired initially for

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[105] David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publishing, 1989), pp. 93–100.
[106] Ben Snook, 'Bishops and Pawns: Parallels between 'Caesaropapism' and Crusading Ideology in Tenth-Century England and Thirteenth–Century Denmark', *Quaestio Insularis* 8 (2007), 155–67 and 177.
[107] Orchard, 'Library of Wulfstan', I:694–700, summarises Wulfstan's literary influences, while Wilcox discusses Wulfstan's political involvement in 'St Brice's Day', pp. 79–91.
[108] See, for instance, the 1002×1005 will of Archbishop Ælfric in *Councils and Synods*, 239. John Damon, 'Advisors for Peace in the Reign of Æthelred Unræd', in Wolfthal (2000), pp. 57–78, argues that churchmen were primarily advocates of peaceful relations with vikings during the reign of Æthelred, but his use of evidence is limited and his argument fallible when considered in the context of the St Brice's day massacre. See also Keynes, 'Abbot', 169–208.
[109] With particular reference to this development in the Carolingian empire, see Janet Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), pp. 117–31.
[110] Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 23–26 and 33, believes that the *Lives* of King Edmund developed the idea that the king had special role as both head of state and priest; although Powell, 'Three Orders', 104–09, attributes this to Alfred and Asser; while Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 28 and 39–61, argues that the shift arose from the cults of royal martyred-warrior-saints like Oswald and Edwin.
[111] Catherine Cubitt, 'Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints', *Early Medieval Europe* 9:1 (2000), 59–63, and 78–83; Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 23–28.
[112] Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 81–89; David Rollason, 'The Cults of Murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 11 (1983), 1–16; Alan Thacker, 'Kings,

political ends, the cults of martyr warrior kings gained wider popularity outside of their locality or kingdoms.[113] Cults of kings and treatises on ideal Christian kingship justified a saintly monarch's participation in worldly affairs as necessary for the protection of their people's spiritual wellbeing.[114] The belief that kings were both priests and secular authorities provided instances in which 'bearing arms as a cleric was not only allowed, [it was] almost commended.'[115]

Oswald of Northumbria exemplifies the dual nature of the ideal Christian king, being both a warrior and a spiritual leader.[116] Oswald was a pious Christian who, according to Bede (672–735), writing nearly a century later, was integral to converting Northumbria to Christianity during his reign from 634–641×642.[117] Oswald's warring was sanctioned as the unavoidable defence of Christian peoples against enemies of Northumbria, and in support of the Northumbrian Church under Bishop Aidan.[118] Bede portrays Oswald as an English Constantine, dedicating his actions to Christ as he defends his country against invasion and promotes Christianity as a spiritual father of the kingdom.[119] As Oswald states before the battle at Heavenfield against the Christian Welsh King Cadwallon:[120]

Saints, and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History* 10 (1985), 2–20. Cubitt, on the other hand, argues that the cults of royal saints arise from 'spontaneous lay devotion' in her article 'Sites and Sanctity', 53–58.

[113] For example, see the growth of the cult of King Oswald outside of England in Annemiek Jansen, 'The Development of the St Oswald Legends on the Continent', in Stancliffe and Cambridge (1995), pp. 230–40; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 86 and 168–170; Alan Thacker, '*Membra Disjecta*: The Division of the Body and the Diffusion of the Cult', in Stancliffe and Cambridge (1995), pp. 114–19 and 126.

[114] For Augustine's conception of ideal kingship, see *De ciuitate Dei* V: 24; and George Lampe, 'St Augustine's Theory of Kingship', *Theology* 36:212 (1938), 102–06. See also Powell, 'Three Orders', 125–27.

[115] Powell, 'Three Orders', 128.

[116] *HE* II:20–III: 12; *LS* III: 2–20; Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, ed. And trans., *Adomnan's Life of Saint Columba* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961), pp. 198–202. For an overview of material on King Oswald see Roberta Bassi, 'St Oswald in Early English Chronicles and Narratives', in *Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Loredana Lazzari, Patrizia Lendinara, and Claudia Di Sciacca (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), pp. 535–55; Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 42–57.

[117] *HE* III: 5–12. Stancliffe analyses Oswald's political and religious impact on Northumbria in 'Most Holy', pp. 46–61 and 80–83.

[118] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 42–55; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 82–85. Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom,* pp. 104–05, finds that Oswald's *Vita* was marred by warrior culture as a result of the Germanisisation of Christianity, mixed with martial ideals and imagery.

[119] Stancliffe, 'Most Holy', pp. 40–42 and 61–66; Thacker, 'Membra Disjecta', p. 112.

[120] *HE* III: 2.

> 'Dominum omnipotentem uiuum ac uerum in commune deprecemur, uti nos ab hoste superbo ac feroce sua miseratione defendat, scit enim ipse quia iusta pro salute gentis nostris bella suscepimus.'
>
> "Let us together pray to the living and true God almighty, that he defend us, in his mercy, from an arrogant and savage enemy, for he knows so himself, since we wage just wars for the safety of our people."

As his faith deserved (*meritum suae fidei*), Oswald wins the battle and is able to create a Christian kingdom with the help of Bishop Aidan. Bede later describes Oswald's death on the 'Maserferth' battlefield fighting the pagan Penda as both a defence of the Christian state, as well as a martyrdom in which Oswald prays for the souls of his army (*nam cum armis et hostibus circumseptus iam iamque uideret se esse perimendum, orauit ad Dominum pro animabus exercitus sui*),[121] before he 'was killed by pagans while fighting for his country' (*pro patria dimicans a paganis interfectus est*). As Stancliffe shows, Oswald was undoubtedly involved in other battles and, if her identification of 'Maserferth' as Oswestry is correct, also conducted offensive campaigns into neighboring Christian kingdoms.[122] Yet Bede's selective account of the king's life and the reframing of his battles as 'just' and 'holy' transformed Oswald into a 'most holy and most victorious king' (*sanctissimum ac uictoriosissimum regem*), and a *miles Christi* for others to emulate.[123]

Stories of royal saints, along with narratives like the fourth-century accounts of the Forty Soldier-Martyrs of Sebaste, suggest that Christians accepted and approved of lay sanctity for military men,[124] especially those who received martyrdom as soldiers.[125] The *Lives* and cults of such secular saints also indicate that many accepted Christian violence, and that one could straddle the clerical and secular orders of society,[126] despite the efforts of hagiographers like Ælfric who tried to separate the orders and distance warrior-saints like King

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[121] *HE* III: 12.
[122] Stancliffe, 'Most Holy', pp. 56–70; Claire Stancliffe, 'Where was Oswald Killed?', in Stancliffe and Cambridge (1995), pp. 84–96.
[123] *HE* III:7.
[124] Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 46–47; Stephen Mitchell, 'Hagiography and the Great Persecution in Sebastea and Armenia Minor', in *Early Christianity in Asia Minor and Cyprus: from the Margins to the Mainstream*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Philipp Pilhofer (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 54–57; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 228–30.
[125] Stancliffe, 'Most Holy', pp. 38–42; Thacker, '*Membra Disjecta*', pp. 97–112.
[126] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 60–62; Moilanen, 'Social Mobility', 1347–51.

Oswald from their secular soldiery.[127] Although it is unclear when the cults of laymen began to be universally venerated, the popularity of military saints like Demetrius and Theodore established holy models of soldiering for Mediterranean audiences from at least the fourth century.[128] White believes that the veneration of military saints then increased during the ninth and tenth centuries around Byzantium,[129] while Damon argues that the cults of Anglo-Saxon aristocratic saints who were active warriors became more established in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.[130] However Oswald's cult in the seventh century, Cynewulf's *Elene* from the eighth or ninth century, accounts of warrior-saints in the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*,[131] and the tenth- or eleventh-century *Life of Eustace* suggest that laymen were venerated throughout the period. Likewise, it seems that Anglo-Saxon noblemen were interested in finding sanctified models of warfare, attested in the focus on warfare in the ninth-century *Old English Prose Psalms*,[132] and in the influence the secular patrons Æthelweard and Æthelmær had on Ælfric's eleventh-century *Lives of Saints*.[133]

The developments in Christian approaches to violence in pastoral treatises, canons, and saints' *Lives* suggest that the injunction against fighting physically as a *miles Christi* was not universally followed. Meanwhile, the popularity of the 'mixed life' approach to devotion, in which one's internal or contemplative spiritual state is harmonised with one's actions and active occupation in the world, encouraged clerical involvement in at least some worldly activites.[134] Writers like John Cassian (360–435) and Gregory the Great

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[127] Mary Clayton, 'Ælfric and Æthelred', in Roberts and Nelson (2000), pp. 67–88; Clayton and Mullins, ed., *Lives*, I:xvii–xxi; Cross, 'Oswald and Byrhtnoth', 94–99; Earl, 'Violence and Non-Violence', 133–39. Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 557–58, argues that Ælfric's portrayal of Oswald advocates for a martial response to the Vikings.
[128] Whitby, '*Deus Nobiscum*', pp. 194–99; White, *Military Saints*, pp. 26–29.
[129] White, *Military Saints*, pp. 64–93.
[130] Damon, 'Sanctifying', pp. 186, 191 and 207.
[131] See, for example, saints Adrian, Forty Soldiers of Sebaste, Vitalis, Victor Maurus, Victor of Cilicia, Victor of Marseilles, Romanus, Maurice and the Theban Legion, Mennas, and Heliodorus, *OEMart.* 60, 88, 100, 104, 142, 156, 186 and 214.
[132] Pezzarossa, 'Ideology of War', pp. 116–21.
[133] Damon, 'Sanctifying', p. 203; Paul E. Szarmach, 'The Vercelli Homilies: Style and Structure', in Szarmach and Huppé (1978), p. 259; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 217 and 230.
[134] For an overview of the 'mixed life' ideal in Augustine and Gregory the Great's works, see Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism: The Teaching of SS Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard on*

(540–604) advocate this twofold ordering of life,[135] a model popularly presented for Anglo-Saxon audiences through Sulpicius's portrayal of Martin of Tours as a bishop who maintains monk-like asceticism.[136] In the next chapter we will see the eighth-century *Martinmas*-homilist alter the portrait of the saint inherited from Sulpicius's *Vita Martini* both to promote the 'mixed life' ideal of an ascetic missionary, and to distance the saint from metaphysical and worldly warrior cultures. In doing so, the anonymous homilist reframes Martin as a mild-hearted and nonviolent spiritual father who attends to the wellbeing of the communities surrounding him.

Contemplation and the Contemplative Live (London: Constable and Co., 1922), pp. 195–241. For a discussion of the ideal in Anglo-Saxon England, see Leneghan, 'Teaching the Teachers', 632–36.

[135] Marcus Adriaen, ed., *S. Gregorii Magni: Moralia in Iob, libri XXIII–XXXV*, CCSL 143b (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), p. 1420; Marcus Adriaen, ed. *Sancti Gregorii Magni: Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, CCSL 162 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), pp. 229–30. Robert Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 17–33; Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, pp. 49–55.

[136] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 68; Juliet Hewish, 'Eastern Asceticism versus Western Monasticism: a Conflict of Ideals in the Old English Translations of the Works of Sulpicius Severus', *Quæstio Insularis* 4 (2003), 119–20; Markus, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 178–87; Robert Markus, 'Augustine and Gregory the Great', in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 41–47; Juliet Mullins, 'La place de Saint Martin dans le monachisme anglo-saxon', *Annales de Bretagne* 119:3 (2012), 60–66.

Chapter Three

The Peaceful Soldier: The Anonymous *Martinmas*-Homily

It is hard to overestimate the influence that the story of Martin of Tours had on the early medieval conception of how to soldier for Christ.[1] Sulpicius Severus wrote the first biography of his sanctified contemporary and acquaintance, Bishop Martin of Tours, between 396 and 397.[2] Sulpicius's *Vita S. Martini* is what Hill would classify as a 'primary vita' or contemporary account of Martin's life from his childhood, through his military service and education under Saint Hilary, to his establishment as bishop of Tours.[3] After Martin's death in 397, Sulpicius supplemented his biography of Martin in his *Dialogi* and three *Epistulae*, which include *gesta* that further illustrate Martin's sanctity as well as describing his last days. In these works, Sulpicius presents Martin as a devoted missionary *miles Christi*, who can heal both physical and spiritual afflictions while confronting belligerent pagans and corrupt bishops.[4] As Sulpicius writes in his *Dialogi*, one should 'consider that [Martin] was a soldier who fought from a disadvantageous position and yet emerged the victor' (*puta enim istum fuisse militem, qui pugnauerit in iniquo loco et tamen uictor euaserit*).[5] Throughout his trials, Martin strives to disavow any connection to the secular world, despite being a soldier in the Imperial Roman army and having been elevated to the company of the secular aristocracy by his episcopal position. Sulpicius's Martin trades the warrior culture of the imperial army for that of the heavenly host.

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[1] Martin's widespread influence is demonstrated by Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 2–11; Allan McKinley, 'The First Two Centuries of Satin Martin of Tours', *Early Medieval Europe* 14:2 (2006), 173–200; and Raymond Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 119–40.

[2] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 53. For fuller discussions of Sulpicius's life, historical context, and works see Philip Burton, *Sulpicius Severus' Vita Martini* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 9–25; Richard Goodrich, *Sulpicius Serverus: The Complete Works* (New York; Mahwah, New Jersey: Newman Press, 2015), pp. 8–12; Hamilton, 'Blickling Homily', pp. 51–70; Andre Mertens, *The Old English Lives of St Martin of Tours* (Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2017), pp. 5–55; Clare Stancliffe, *St Martin and his Hagiographer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 71–80.

[3] Hill, 'Imago Dei', p. 36. The most recent study and edition of Sulpicius's *Vita* is in Burton, ed., *Vita Martini*, pp. 92–128. An edition of Sulpicius's *Epistulae* is provided by Jacques Fontaine, ed., *Sulpice Sévère: Vie de Saint Martin* (Paris: Cerf, 1967), I:316–44. A translation of all of Sulpicius's works is found in Goodrich, trans., *Sulpicius*, pp. 23–249.

[4] For a discussion of the themes in the *Vita* see Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 2–26; Burton, *Vita Martini*, pp. 25–46; Fontaine, *Sulpice Sévère: volumes II and III*; Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 16–28.

[5] Jacques Fontaine, ed., *Gallus: dialogues Sur Les "Vertus" de Saint Martin* (Paris: Cerf, 2006), p. 200.

Martin even tells the Emperor Julian in the *Vita*, 'I am a soldier of Christ: it is not permitted for me to fight' (*Christi miles sum: pugnare mihi non licet*, lines 94–95). As a peaceful *miles Christi*, Martin has power over the natural world and community that surround him, resists the temptation of 'worldly pomp', and is ever the model of mild-hearted Christian faith.

Sulpicius's collected works formed the basis of the *Martiniana* (material concerning the life of St Martin) and were widely transmitted, making Martin especially well known in Ireland and England.[6] From the fifth century onwards, churches dedicated to him were established throughout Europe,[7] inspired by Sulpicius and the works of writers like Paulinus of Périgueux, whom Bishop Perpetuus of Tours (461–491) commissioned to produce a metrical version of Sulpicius *Martiniana*,[8] Venantius Fortunantus, whom queen Radegund (520–587) also commissioned to compose a metrical life of Martin,[9] and especially Gregory of Tours, who produced four prose books of Martin's *miracula*.[10] Collections of the Sulpician *Martiniana*, along with this later material, were gathered into volumes referred to as *Martinelli* devoted to the saint. These books were likely brought with missionaries who followed in Martin's evangelical footsteps and disseminated the Sulpician model of soldiering for Christ.[11]

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[6] Fontaine, ed., *Gallus*, pp. 194–98. For analysis of the dissemination of Martin texts on the continent, see Hewish, 'Medieval *Vita Martini*', 29–43, and for the extant copies of the *Martiniana* in England see idem, 43–51; and Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 84–207.

[7] Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 31–42; Juliet Mullins, 'Trouble at the White House: Anglo-Irish Relations and the Cult of St Martin', in *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations before the Vikings*, ed. James Graham-Campbell, and Michael Ryan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 113–22; Mullins, 'La place de Saint Martin', 55–61; Stancliffe, *St Martin*, pp. 361–62; P. A. Wilson, 'The Cult of St Martin in the British Isles', *The Innis Review* 19:2 (1968), 135 and 141.

[8] Michael Petschenig, ed., *Paulini Petricordiae quae supersunt*, CSEL 16 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1888), pp. 17–159; Alston Chase, 'The Metrical Lives of St Martin of Tours by Paulinus and Fortunatus and the Prose Life by Sulpicius Severus', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 43 (1932), 51–76; McKinley, 'First Two Centuries', 185–89; Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 43–46.

[9] Friedrich Leo, ed., *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati, presbyteri Italici: opera poetica*, MGH AA 4.1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 293–370; Burton, *Vita Martini*, p. 8; Chase, 'Metrical Lives', 57–63; Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 50 and 56–59; Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 48–49. Michael Roberts provides a detailed analysis of Venantius's metrical *Vita* and his creation of an 'epic' for Martin's life, in 'Venantius Fortunatus's Life of Martin', *Traditio* 57 (2002), 129–87.

[10] Giselle de Nie, ed., *Gregory of Tours: Lives and Miracles* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2015), pp. 422–854.

[11] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 84–91; Mullins, 'White House', pp. 114–15 and 119–23. Earl, 'Typology and Iconography', 40–46, and Robert Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 23 (1994), 5–17, suggest that Irish ecclesiasts were highly influential for Anglo-Saxon understandings of hagiography and iconography.

The earliest mention of Martin in an Anglo-Saxon source is found in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which describes two churches dedicated to the Gallic saint.[12] Bede mentions the ancient church in Canterbury consecrated to Martin, which became the first church in the sixth-century mission of Augustine of Canterbury.[13] This 'church having been made in antiquity in honour of Saint Martin, while the Romans were still living here in Britain' (*ecclesia in honorem sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Brittaniam incolerent*) indicates that by Bede's lifetime the veneration of Martin was already established as an ancient cult in Anglo–Saxon minds. While there is archeological evidence to indicate that this church was certainly in use before the arrival of the Frankish Queen Bertha and her chaplain Liudhard,[14] many scholars ascribe Martin's association with the church in Canterbury to Bertha, which would date the cult of Martin in England to the sixth century.[15] Bede also notes that a second 'very famous' sixth-century church, used as the base of Nynian's mission in northern England, was also 'distinguished by the name and church of the bishop saint Martin' (*sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesia insignem*).[16] Although the veracity of the eighth-century claim that Nynian consecrated his church to Martin is debatable, such references reflect Martin's popularity in England from the very beginning of the Christianisation of Anglo-Saxons.[17] Regardless, the cult of Martin spread quickly in England, clearly witnessed in surviving Anglo–Saxon calendars, which record Martin's feast day as the 11th of November as well as the

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[12] Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 74–85 and 90–93, notes extant Anglo–Saxon objects or relics and Old English texts which reference Martin.
[13] *HE* I:26; Wilson, 'Cult of St Martin', 129.
[14] Nicholas Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400–1066* (London: Hambledon, 2000), p. 95.
[15] Nora Chadwick, 'Early Culture and Learning in North Wales', in *Studies in the British Early Church*, ed. N. Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 110–11; McKinley, 'First Two Centuries', 196; Wilson, 'Cult of Martin', 133; Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2006), pp. 122 and 157. Hewish supports the theory of Bertha restoring the church but also supposes the dedication could have come from Augustine of Canterbury and not Liudhard, in 'Living on the Edge', pp. 124–25. Mertens, *Lives,* pp. 57–62, argues that Martin's cult was present in England via Irish popularity of the saint, though believed Bertha enhanced the cult.
[16] *HE* III:4.
[17] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 126; Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 57–60; Mullins, 'White House', pp. 113–19. Wilson, 'Cult of St Martin', 133, finds the Nynian claim unsubstantiated though Robin Collingwood and John Myres argue that Nynian had indeed dedicated his church to Martin in *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 310.

ordinatio and *translatio* of Martin on the 4th of July, often in illuminated or rubricated script.[18]

Martin was similarly prominent in the literary landscape of early England. Gneuss and Lapidge have identified several *Martinelli* manuscripts with English provenances, suggesting that the *Martiniana* were relatively well-known among the Anglo-Saxons.[19] The celebrity of Sulpicius's works in particular is further evident in the impact they had on Anglo-Latin writers such as Aldhelm of Malmesbury, who condensed episodes from Sulpicius's works in his prose *De uirginitate* in order to present Martin as a paragon of charity, empowered through his purity (*uirginitas*) to perform miracles.[20] Sulpicius's works also influenced many subsequent hagiographies composed in England, such as the *Vita S. Cuthberti*, Felix's *Vita S. Guthlaci*, the Mercian *Life of Chad*, and Abbo of Fleury's *Passio S. Eadmundi*,[21] which echoed the style of Sulpicius's prose and borrowed motifs or passages from the *Martiniana* to associate aspects of their saints' experience with that of Martin.[22]

Beyond the *Martiniana*, several Old English accounts of Martin's life survive, including: the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*;[23] an anonymous ninth-century homily for *Martinmas* with three extant manuscript witnesses;[24]

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[18] Francis Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* (London: HBS, 1934/1988). See also Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 123 and 139–41.

[19] Gneuss and Lapidge, *Handlist*, cite several extant *Martinelli* manuscripts with Anglo-Saxon provenance or ownership. Among these are BL, Cotton Nero E. I; BL, Cotton Tiberius D.iv; BL, Add. 40074; Hereford, Cathedral Library O.VI.11; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 489; Avranches, Bibliothéque Municipale, 29; as well as numerous copies of Sulpicius's *Martiniana* which survive in other collections of saints' *Lives*, such as CCCC 9. See Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 91–100, and Mertens, *Lives,* pp. 64–74, for discussions of these manuscripts.

[20] *Ald.uirg(prosa)* 260–62; Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, trans., *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1979), p. 85. For Sulpicius's influence on Aldhelm see Christopher Abram, 'In Search of Lost Time: Aldhelm and *The Ruin*', *Quaestio Insularis* 1 (2000), 35–36; Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 127; Andy Orchard, 'Aldhelm's Library', in Gameson (2012), I:592.

[21] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 127–29.

[22] For example, see Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 45–48, 89, 96 and 101, for discussion of Martin's influence on Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*.

[23] *OEMart.* 214; Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 90–93.

[24] The *Martinmas*-homily in the Vercelli book, titled 'Homily XVIII', is found in Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 57–62; and Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 289–309. The text in the Blickling Homiliary has been printed in Hamilton, 'Blickling Homily', pp. 51–70; Kelly, ed. and trans., *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 211–22; Richard Morris, *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth century from the Marquis of Lothia's Unique ms. A.D. 971* (London: EETS, 1880), pp. 210–26. A facsimile of the Blickling version is in Rudolph Willard, ed., *The Blickling Homilies* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1960), fol. 127r–35v; and the manuscript available online through the Princeton University Digital Library, http://pudl.princeton.edu. John Chadbon provided an edition of the

and Ælfric's two accounts composed at the end of the tenth century.[25] Martin is the only saint Ælfric includes in both his *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*, indicating that Martin was very important in the Anglo-Saxon *sanctorale* as a model for both lay and ecclesiastical audiences.[26] Analyses of the Old English texts concerning Martin tend to focus on how Ælfric has approached the *Martiniana* and reworked the theme of the *miles Christi* in his accounts of Martin, giving comparatively little attention to the earlier anonymous homily.[27] Those that have discussed the theme of the *miles Christi* in the *Martinmas*-homily have generally considered it to focus on the pacifist deeds of a mild-hearted missionary,[28] while it 'deemphasises the military theme.'[29] As Szarmach suggests, the homilist portrays Martin as a 'saintly man of God, working miracles, converting unbelievers, and teaching by word and deed.'[30] Throughout this chapter we will see how the homily removes the saint from metaphorical warrior culture, omitting the *Martiniana*'s martial imagery and epithets like *miles Christi* to curate an image of devotion which rejects manifestations of militant Christianity.

The late tenth-century Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXVII) contains the earliest extant copy of this *Martinmas*-text as Vercelli XVIII, among its collection of twenty-three homilies and six religious poems,[31] and the late tenth-century Blickling Homiliary (Princeton, Scheide Library, MS 71), incorporated the homily with the title *To Sancte Martines Mæssan* ('For the Mass

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Junius text in 'Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Junius 85 and 86: An Edition of a Witness to the Old English Homiletic Tradition', PhD. Dissertation (University of Leeds, 1993), pp. 179–91, although Mertens has more recently printed the Junius text in *Lives*, pp. 180–207, along with a comparison of the three extant versions of the homily on pp. 401–31.

[25] For an overview of Ælfrician *Martiniana* as well as recent editions of Ælfrician material on Martin, see Mertens, *Lives,* pp. 104–44, 266–389, and 432–49. Ælfric's longer *Life of Martin* also appears in *LS* III: 84–182.

[26] Judith Gaites, 'Ælfric's Longer *Life of St Martin* and its Latin Sources', *Leeds Studies in English* 13 (1982), 23.

[27] Dalbey, 'The Good Shepherd', 424–34; Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 259–74; Gaites, 'Longer *Life*', 24–35; Gordon Gerould, 'Ælfric's Lives of St Martin of Tours', *JEGP* 24:2 (1925), 206–10; Karin Olsen, 'Beggars' Saint but No Beggar: Martin of Tours in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*', *Neophilologus* 88 (2004), 461–72; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 218–19. Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 31–40, and Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 124–29, assert that Ælfric reshapes the *Martiniana* to make it more applicable for Anglo-Saxon audiences as well as reduce the warrior aspects of the saint.

[28] Dalbey, 'Good Shepherd', 422–34; Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 259–64; Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', 182–86; Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 34–38. Zacher, on the other hand, sees the Vercelli homily on Martin focusing on his role as a solider of Christ, 'Rereading the Style', p. 177.

[29] Magennis 'Warrior Saints', 37, also 34–39.

[30] Szarmach, 'Style and Structure', pp. 259.

[31] Mertens, *Lives,* pp. 96–99; Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies,* pp. xx–xxxix.

of Saint Martin') as Homily XVII of its collection.[32] A third witness for the homily is found in the eleventh-century homiliary, now split between Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 + 86.[33] The Blickling and Junius collections are generally taken to have been compiled in South-East England, likely near Canterbury, or by a scribe from that region.[34]

Jeffery and Szarmach have argued that Martin's *Vita* was translated in the tenth century, [35] while Scragg suggests that the version of the *Martinmas*-homily known to the Vercelli compiler was produced in the mid to late ninth century in either Northumbria or Mercia.[36] Scragg's suggestion rests on the ninth-century abbreviation of *Men ða leofstan* as a square M with a macron, a shorthand that is almost exclusively used in Vercelli XV–XVIII, with which the *Martinmas*-homily appears to be grouped, as well as in the ninth-century homiletic fragment in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63.[37] Hewish's analysis, based on linguistic and contextual evidence, also dates the original adaptation of Sulpicius's *Vita* to the 890's, when the Mercian Plegmund became archbishop of Canterbury (*c.* 890–923) and perhaps brought the homily with him.[38] Hewish argues that the homily's transmission was contemporary with the composition of the Old

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[32] For general information on Blickling manuscript see Hamilton, 'Blickling Homily', pp. 1–7; Mertens, *Lives,* pp. 99–102; and Williard, *Blickling Homilies,* pp. 18–49, especially 40.
[33] Chadbon, 'Editions', pp. 3–90, provides a thorough codicological and paleographical analysis of the Junius manuscript; while Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 102–04, and Scragg, 'Corpus of Anonymous Lives', p. 211, give general overviews of the manuscript. See also Hiroshi Ogawa, 'The Retoucher in MSS Junius 85 and 86', *Notes and Queries* 41:1 (1994), 6–10, for an analysis of the manuscript's seventeenth-century readership.
[34] Hamilton, 'Blickling Homily', p. 6, and Donald Scragg, 'The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 307, date the Blickling homilies to the late ninth century with Anglian word forms. Wilcox, however, postulates the Blickling homilies were composed in South-Eastern dialect but compiled in Lincoln in 'Blickling Homilies Revisited', pp. 103–06; while Mertens, *Lives*, p. 176, has argued that most of the language is West Saxon. Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching', 222–27, and Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 144–58, note that it is difficult to identify the exact origin of the homilies given the palimpsestic nature of their transmission which results in Anglian, Mercian, and West Saxon word forms.
[35] Jeffery, *Blickling Spirituality*, p. 2; Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, p. xx. Kelly, *Blickling Homilies*, pp. xxiii and 193, avoids dating the Blickling homilies, suggesting they were from the opening or ending 'thresholds' of tenth-century Benedictine reform. Mertens, *Lives*, p. 145, dates the composition to 900–950.
[36] Donald Scragg, 'A Ninth-Century Old English Homily from Northumbria', *ASE* 45 (2016), 39–49. For similar arguments dating anonymous Old English homilies and saints' *Lives* to the ninth century, see Hamilton, 'Blickling Homily', pp. 3–7; and Stefany Wragg, 'The Early Texts of the Cult of Saint Guthlac', *English Studies* 100:3 (2019), 262–68.
[37] Donald Scragg discusses the *Martinmas*-homily's relationship to Vercelli XV–XVII in 'The Compilation of the Vercelli Book', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. Mary Richards (New York; London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 324–26 and 331.
[38] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 159–77; *ASC* F (Baker, 75).

English *Historia Ecclesiastica* and glosses of the 'Rushworth Gospels', based on shared vocabulary like *aswoltenes* ('death'), which primarily occur in these works and in the *Martinmas*-homily.[39] Throughout the tenth century the text was copied and its word-forms partially modernised with late West-Saxon spellings, contemporary with the compilers of the Vercelli, Blickling, and Junius collections.[40]

The anonymous homilist used a version of Sulpicius's *Vita S. Martini* and third *Epistula* in composing his story, yet the exemplar does not survive.[41] The original *Martinmas*-homily has also not survived, although Napier's study of the homily's transmission-history shows how the three extant copies of the homily are related.[42] Based on his analysis of the varying readings presented in each version, Napier concludes that none of the scribes of the extant texts had access to the same source, each of which were themselves removed from the original composition.[43] Since each witness of the *Martinmas*-homily is at some points more accurate and at others more flawed in comparison with the other extant copies, all versions of the *Martinas*-homily must be used together when analyzing the homily. This study will primarily focus on the text preserved in Junius 86, because it offers a more complete rendering of the homily than that found in the Blickling Homiliary, in addition to preserving the Latin interpolations, and some readings that are closer to the Latin than Vercelli XVIII.[44] However, I shall note where appropriate those places where the Vercelli or Blickling texts provide superior readings.

The paratactic nature of the homily's prose and the avoidance of subordinate clauses, although criticised by Gaites and Ogawa,[45] ensured that the

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[39] *DOE* s.v. *a-sweltan* notes thirteen occurences of the term: four in the Rushworth Glosses; three in the mid tenth-century BL, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii glosses; twice in the *Martinmas*-homily; and once in the Old English Bede, *Adrian and Ritheus*, *ASC* A, and an eighth-century CCCC 144 gloss.
[40] Hamilton, 'Blickling Homily', pp. 2–7; Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 160 and 186; Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 101 and 401–02.
[41] Scragg suggests that the *Martiniana* which the homilist used had non-Sulpician material in the text, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 290.
[42] Arthur Napier, 'Notes on the Blickling Homilies. I. St Martin', *Modern Philology* 1:2 (1903), 303–08. See also Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching', 222; Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies,* pp. xxvi and 289.
[43] Napier, 'Notes on the Blickling', 303–04. Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 160–01; Mertens, *Lives of St Martin,* pp. 94–95*;* Scragg, 'Source Study', p. 40; Scragg, 'Blickling Manuscript', p. 308.
[44] See Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 401–31, for a comparison of the three extant *Martinmas*-texts.
[45] Gaites, 'Longer *Life*', 38; Hiroshi Ogawa, 'The Use of Old English *Þa* in the Ælfrician and Non-Ælfrician *Lives of St Martin*', *Anglia* 114:4 (1996), 461 and 472.

homily was accessible for unlearned or lay audiences. Sulpicius's prose often uses complex grammatical structures, and presumably would not have been suitable for oral recitation or unlearned audiences.[46] However, the approachable language of the *Martinmas*-text is appropriate for its use as part of the Mass for Martin's feast day, a purpose indicated in the title *To Sancte Martines Mæssan* and its direct pastoral addresses to a plural audience. The intended audience for the homily is not stated, although its placement among other pastoral texts suggests that it could be used in a liturgical context as well as for private contemplation by mixed audiences.[47]

Commentators arguing that the Blickling homilies were used as preaching texts have particularly focused on the formulaic address to *men þa leofstan* ('dearest men') at the opening of many homilies, including the Vercelli and Blickling versions of the *Martinmas*-homily, as evidence that the homily was intended for public presentation.[48] The *Martinmas*-homily similarly ends with an address to the audiences who 'hear' (*we nu geherað*) the story to reform their lives and honour Martin, a feature which would support the text's function as a publicly presented narrative, even if its primary purpose in the Vercelli Book was private devotion.[49] The story of Martin's life would have been relevant for educating many audiences, since he was a confessor-saint with strong monastic and military ties, providing a model for clerics who could follow his 'mixed life' approach as an uncompromising monk-bishop,[50] as well as for those laymen seeking to live a pious life.[51]

The model of Martin as an ascetic missionary-bishop removed from warrior culture seems to have been particularly aimed at the secular clergy and

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[46] Burton provides a detailed analysis of Sulpicius's prose-style in *Vita Martini,* pp. 40–81.
[47] See pp. 4–6 above.
[48] Scragg, 'Northumbrian Homily', 43, notes that this opening was a very common one for anonymous homilies; and Mary Swan calls *Men þa leofstan* the 'commonest of Old English homiletic address', arguing that it was integral to the ritual experience of preaching shared betwen preacher and audience, 'Constructing Preacher and Audience in Old English Homilies', in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 181 and 179–188. Samantha Zacher disagrees, seeing the formula related to *Broðor mine* and reflecting a monastic audience, *Preaching the Converted: The Style and Rhetoric of the Vercelli Book Homilies* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 38–39.
[49] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 122.
[50] Mullins, 'Martin dans le monachisme', 61–70. See Chapter Two, pp. 39–40 for introduction to 'mixed-life' approach.
[51] Dalbey, 'Themes and Techniques', pp. 221–25; Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 48.

aristocratic audiences.[52] In support of the idea of a lay audience for the homily, Aronstam notes that, '[i]t is the public rather than the monastic aspect of Martin's life that the homilist finds significant.'[53] After his appointment as bishop, the saint's miracles in the homily are primarily public, rather than private actions.[54] Of all of the miracles that the homilist chooses to include in his composition only one, the revival of the catechumen, takes place in a monastic or ecclesiastical setting, while all the other miracles occur in public spaces and affect laymen and the secular Church. The *Martinmas*-homily also removes many aspects of the *Martiniana* which would have been more relevant for clerical audiences, such as Martin's confrontation with Arian heretics (*Vita* lines 142–49),[55] or other bishops (*Vita* lines 193– 217, 423–26 and 605–20), suggesting that the homilist had public audiences in mind with the reworking of the narrative. The homily's omission of Martin's habit of attending upon his servant while in the army as if their roles were reversed, further reflects the homilist's consideration of aristocratic audiences who may have felt the call to make themselves subservient to their social inferiors too degrading.[56]

The homily gives particular hope to catechumens in suggesting that one could be saved in the eyes of God through pious action in suggesting that Martin, although only christened, elevated his spirit through good works (*ac he wæs gecristnod … hwæðere he þæt gerene ðare halgan fulwihte mid godum dædum geheold and fullode,* lines 30–31). Martin thus demonstrates how newly converted laymen could still be sanctified by removing themselves from the secular military. The *Martinmas*-composer might have seen Martin, whose *Vita*

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[52] Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 39; Mertens, *Lives,* pp. 59 and 109. Antonette Healey argues Junius 85 + 86 was for lay audiences in *The Old English Vision of St Paul* (Cambridge, Mass: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978), p. 15. Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 123, maintains that the manuscript could also have been for clerical private reading.

[53] Aronstam argues that texts were aimed for the 'popular mind' rather than monastic context, 'Blickling Homilies', p. 277.

[54] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 184.

[55] Citations and quotations from the *Vita Martini* refer to the text and line numbers in Burton, ed., *Vita Martini*.

[56] Hewish, 'Eastern Asceticism', 124–26, notes that all anti-authoritarian episodes were omitted from the homily, suggesting a mixed audience of monks and lay people, 'consistent with the emphasis upon community values is the concern demonstrated in these translations with obedience and humility.' Olsen, 'Beggar's Saint', 461–70, argues that Ælfric similarly omits aspects of the *Martiniana* that compromised Martin's secular authority. Whatley, 'Lost in Translation', 203–05, notes the omission as well as similar avoidances of class-equality in the *Life of Machutus*.

depicts a society where significant portions of the population were pagan, as an example for Anglo-Saxons to peaceably convert pagan Scandinavian settlers, as Alfred seems to have attempted.[57] In the late ninth-century Danelaw, pagan Scandinavians were still adopting Christianity after Guthrum's defeat in 878, and conversion efforts in the Danelaw seem to have continued through the tenth century.[58] For instance, the *ASC* entry for 927 (930) notes that Æthelstan received pledges from all kings in Britain to renounce idol-worship,[59] suggesting that missionary work in England was still ongoing in the early tenth century.[60]

In the late tenth century, a new wave of pagan influence arrived in England with the resurgence of viking incursions. It is in the context of this second period of viking threats that the compilers of the Vercelli, Blickling, and Junius homiliaries all worked, and the conflict may explain their particular interest in missionary saints like Martin and Andrew.[61] The idea of a peaceful missionary saint would have likely resonated with ninth- to tenth-century Mercians or Northumbrians, who had interactions with pagan inhabitants and itinerants, and the newly converted Scandinavian settlers. As the portrait of a Christian converting those pagans who lived alongside him, the homily reworks the Sulpician narrative to provide audiences with a model of the *miles Christi* who assimilates pagans into the Christian community, and protects it from discord. By altering the connotations of the words while translating, and

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[57] Richard Abels, 'King Alfred's Peace-Making Strategies with the Vikings', *Haskins Society Journal* 3 (1991), 30–34.

[58] Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia', *ASE* 24 (1995), 215–20; Peter Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 166–73; Shashi Jayakumar, 'Some Reflections on the 'Foreign Policies' of Edgar 'the Peaceable'', *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History* 10 (2001), 25; Dorothy Whitlock, 'The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw', *Saga-book of the Viking Society* 12 (1937–1945), 159–76; David Wilson, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in Northern England', *Journal of British Archaeological Association* 30:1 (1967), 37–46. Dalbey, 'Good Shepherd', 433–34, notes interest in Martin as an example for converting Scandinavians at the end of the tenth-century as well.

[59] *ASC* D 926 (Cubbin, 41). The thirteenth-century Icelandic *Egils Saga* also provides evidence of Æthelstan's evangelism in recounting his request that Þórólfr and Egill are prime-signed upon entering his service, suggesting that the memory of Anglo-Saxon evangelical attitudes toward Scandinavians in the tenth century was prevalent enough to survive for four centuries in the Icelandic literary record. Bjarni Einarsson, ed., *Egils Saga* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2003), pp. 71–72. For a fuller discussion of the transmission and survival of saga traditions in Iceland and Scandinavia, see Shami Ghosh, *King's Sagas and Norwegian History: Problems and Perspectives* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 83–87.

[60] See also Edmund's conversions of kings Anlaf and Rægnald *ASC* A 942 (Bately, 73).

[61] Wilcox, 'Blickling Homilies Revisited', p. 106, posits that there was a large Norse population around Lincoln and areas associated with the Blickling homiliary production.

omitting episodes from the *Martiniana*, the *Martinmas*-homilist also refocuses the Sulpician narrative to present the saint as constant in his peaceful humility, attentive to the physical as well as spiritual wellbeing of the community around him, and removed from warrior culture. In doing so, the homilist reveals a discomfort with the idea of Christians 'soldiering', even for Christ.

The homilist's authorial ability has received mixed criticism. Ogawa, in specific reference to '*þa*' clauses, says that the 'homilist writes in a style which suggests, if anything, crudeness and a lack of sensitivity.'[62] Gaites, comparing the *Martinmas*-homily unfavourably with Ælfric's fuller *Life*, criticises it as having a 'narrative technique [that] can only be described as clumsy,' as well as a 'slavish adherence to Sulpicius.'[63] While most other commentators are somewhat less pejorative, most regard the homily as a literal translation of Sulpicius's text.[64] Napier, who says that the 'translation is free',[65] and Szarmach, who argues that it adapted a 'lengthy and sophisticated' text for homiletic conventions,[66] are notable exceptions to the generally disparaging view of the homilist's prose. Although it is undoubtedly the case that the *Martinmas*-homily is deeply indebted to the *Martiniana* and that it attempts to translate closely those aspects of the Latin source it uses, it is also clear that the homilist was not 'slavishly' bound to his source, but readily manipulated it.[67] As a result, the composer's influence on his work is subtle, appropriating the story with brief interjections and word choices rather than a complete remodeling of the narrative. In this way, Martin's life was reworked to bring it 'more in line with the conventions of hagiography than Sulpicius's original collection.'[68]

Where Sulpicius and Ælfric aim to present a comprehensive picture of Martin's life,[69] the *Martinmas*-homilist focuses his narrative on select aspects of

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[62] Ogawa, 'Old English *Þa*', 461.
[63] Gaites, 'Longer *Life*', 37–38.
[64] Hamilton, 'Blickling Homily', p. 35; Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 182; Mertens, *Lives*, p. 149; Ogawa, 'Old English *Þa*', 458–61; Scragg, 'Corpus of Anonymous Lives', p. 210; Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. xxxvii and 290.
[65] Napier, 'Notes', 303.
[66] Szarmach, 'Style and Structure', pp. 258–59 and 263.
[67] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 260–63; Kelly, *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 192–93; Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 37–39.
[68] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 101.
[69] Burton, *Vita Martini*, pp. 25–40, and Goodrich, *Sulpicius*, pp. 9–11, argue that Sulpicius's editorial programme presents a biography of Martin rather than a 'step-by-step guide to the ascetic life.' For discussions of Ælfric's approach, see Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 266–68; Gerould,

Martin's character and accomplishments, specifically his magnanimity as a missionary, healer, and Church leader.[70] This refocusing of the *Martiniana* was accomplished primarily through the *Martinmas*-homilist's programme of omission, what Whatley called the 'conscious reshaping of the text.'[71] A comparison between those episodes preserved in the *Martinmas* text and those found in the Sulpician *Martiniana* highlights how the homilist adapted the *Vita S. Martini* and Sulpicius's third epistle to Bassila. The tables below note all the identifiable portions or episodes of Suplicius' *Vita S. Martini* and *Epistulae* which the source homily seems to have used. Details presented in **bold** also appear in the Old English homily.

Table I: Episodes from the *Vita S. Martini*

1. **Martin's childhood is marked by devout habits and the desire to be baptised** (*Vita* lines 34–45).
2. **Martin is forced into military service but serves 'like a monk' and is beloved to some soldiers, while he is ridiculed by others** (*Vita* lines 46–61).
3. In the army, Martin attends to his own servant rather than be served by him (*Vita* lines 49–51).
4. **On entering the city of Amiens during winter, Martin divides his cloak with a beggar and has a vision of Christ the following night** (*Vita* lines 62–81).
5. **Martin receives baptism,** but continues military service (*Vita* lines 81–87).
6. Martin confronts Emperor Julian, and is discharged from the army after divine intervention saves Martin from battle (*Vita* lines 88–108).
7. **Hilary of Poitier ordains Martin** as an exorcist (*Vita* lines 108–17).
8. Martin travels home to convert his parents, and along the way converts a band of robbers (*Vita* lines 117–33).
9. Martin meets a devil *en route* and then converts his mother, although his father remains pagan (*Vita* lines 134–42).
10. Martin opposes the Arian heretics in Milan and is expelled from city, becoming a hermit. As a hermit he nearly dies after eating a poisonous root (*Vita* lines 143–56).

'Ælfric's Lives', 207–10; Olsen, 'Beggar's Saint', 461–70; Zettel, 'Hagiographic Sources', pp. 99–110.

[70] Dalbey 'Good Shepherd', 425–34; Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 124 and 148–49; Szarmach, 'Style and Structure', pp. 258–63. Gaites, 'Longer *Life*', 39, believes the *Martinmas*-homilst and Ælfric had the same intention, though Ælfric had greater ability in executing it.

[71] Whatley, 'Lost in Translation', 197, and 188–94. For Ælfric's use of omission see Rhonda McDaniel, 'Interpreting the Translator: Ælfric, his Sources, and his Critics', in *Translatio or the Transmission of Culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Laura Hollengreen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 56–68; Scragg, 'Source Study', p. 39; Donald Scragg, 'Editing Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', *Anglia* 121:4 (2003), 611; Whatley, 'Pearls Before Swine', pp. 171–73 and 182.

11. **Martin establishes a monastery near Poitiers. Shortly thereafter he raises a catechumen from the dead,** who tells the monastery about his journey after death (*Vita* lines 157–83).
12. **Martin revives a slave who had committed suicide** (*Vita* lines 184–92).
13. **Martin is elected bishop of Tours** amid opposition from other bishops (*Vita* lines 193–217).
14. **Martin continues to live as a monk despite being the bishop** and builds a monastery at Marmoutier (*Vita* lines 218–42).
15. Martin debunks a local superstition surrounding a place of worship dedicated to a false martyr (*Vita* lines 243–61).
16. Martin disrupts a pagan funeral by miraculously immobilising the pallbearers (*Vita* lines 262–78).
17. Martin destroys a temple and cuts down a pine tree worshiped by pagans following a wager with a pagan priest (*Vita* lines 279–311).
18. **Martin stops flames from spreading to other buildings after setting a famous pagan temple on fire** (*Vita* lines 312–19).
19. **Martin is helped by two angels to destroy a pagan temple at Levroux** (*Vita* lines 319–34).
20. **Pagans attack Martin on two separate occasions while he is destroying temples, but are miraculously halted mid-action and they convert** (*Vita* lines 335–44).
21. Martin heals a paralyzed girl (*Vita* lines 345–66).
22. Martin exorcises demons from possessed men on two separate occasions (*Vita* lines 367–89).
23. Martin quells rumours of a barbarian invasion by confronting the demons who spread the false rumour (*Vita* lines 390–96).
24. Martin heals a leper at the gate to Paris (*Vita* lines 397–400).
25. **Martin's clothes are said to heal people** (*Vita* lines 400–03).
26. A letter from Martin heals Arborius's daughter (*Vita* lines 404–11).
27. Martin heals Paulinus's eye (*Vita* lines 412–15).
28. An angel heals Martin's wounds after he falls downstairs (*Vita* lines 415–22).
29. Martin has dinner with Emperor Maximus, disregards the Emperor's power, and honours his priest above the Emperor before prophesying how Maximus will die (*Vita* lines 423–56).
30. Satan, in the guise of a bull, kills a man working at Martin's monastery (*Vita* lines 457–76).
31. Martin rebukes a devil while it attempts to deceive him with lies about his followers (*Vita* lines 477–99).
32. Martin reveals that the false holy man Anatolius is a demon in disguise and banishes it (*Vita* lines 500–32).
33. A devil appears to Martin in angelic disguise, but Martin recognises it (*Vita* lines 533–59).
34. Sulpicius meets Martin (*Vita* lines 560–86).

Table II: Episodes from Sulpicius's *Epistulae*

I. Martin panics and is scorched by a fire that is started when a spark rises from a hypocaust to light his straw floor. Martin is saved when he regains his composure and prays to God. (*Epistulae* pp. 320–24).[72]
II. On the night that Martin dies, he appears to Sulpicius in a dream holding a copy of the *Vita Martini* and blesses Sulpicius before departing for heaven. (*Epistulae* pp. 324–26).
III. **Martin knows that his death approaches but sets out to resolve a conflict within one of his churches.** (*Epistulae* p. 336).
IV. **Along the way Martin scares off waterfowl, which he equates with devils snatching souls.** (*Epistulae* p. 338).[73]
V. **Martin returns order to a parish where the clergy had been fighting amongst themselves.** (*Epistulae* p. 338).
VI. **Martin prays to God, asking whether there is more work for him to do on earth, or if he can give up his spirit for heaven.** (*Epistulae* pp. 338–42).
VII. **Martin rebukes the devil and dies peacefully.** (*Epistulae* p. 342).
VIII. Over two thousand people from the surrounding countryside and cities gather for Martin's funeral, at which nuns and monks sing psalms and hymns in Martin's honour. (*Epistulae* pp. 342–44).

From these tables, we can see that the *Martinmas*-homilist tends to translate groups of episodes, like 1–5, 11–14, 18–20, and III–VII, and omit most of the material outside of these groupings. The homily's omissions of episodes that do not appear in the *Epistula ad Bassilam*, may indicate that the homilist's copy of the *Martinellus* did not contain the other *Epistulae*, similar to the *Martinellus* in Avranches, Blibliothèque municipale, 29.[74] Those aspects of the narrative that are mentioned in the homily from outlying episodes, such as 7 and 25, tend to be brief and are places where the homilist is most independent in his rendering of the Sulpician source. The condensed sections of the homily distill the essential aspects of the section and ignore details which would be irrelevant for Anglo–Saxon audiences or the homilist's themes of healing, conversion, and saintly *stabilitas* in the face of heathen aggression. Of the saintly deeds or miracles Martin directly performs in the homily, the first relates his famous sharing of his cloak (episode 4), three portray him as a healer (episodes 11–12 and 25), and the other five concern the overthrowing of paganism coupled with conversion

[72] Citations of Sulpicius's *Epistulae* refer to page numbers in Jacques Fontaine, ed., *Sulpice Sévère, volume I* (Paris: Cerf, 1967).
[73] This episode only appears in the Vercelli version of the *Martinmas*-homily.
[74] Gneuss and Lapidge, *Handlist*, p. 561.

(episodes 18–20). The Anglo-Saxon focus on these aspects of Martin's life might also be seen in Aldhelm's earlier condensed portrait of the saint in the prose *De uirginitate*, which similarly omits mentions of Martin's exorcisms, dealings with secular authority and conflict with ecclesiastical skeptics.[75] Aldhelm's only mention of Martin's confrontation with devils relates how Martin dispelled Anatolius's fraud and demonic deception, corresponding to episodes 32–33 in the table above.

When selecting which episodes of Martin's life to include, the *Martinmas*-homilist focuses on overthrowing pagan idols rather than Martin's acts as an exorcist (episodes 7, 9, 22–23, and 31–33), which were omitted perhaps because they detract from the homily's portrayal of Christian faith as unassailable by the devil.[76] Once the saint is baptised, the Old English text primarily presents those episodes in which Martin's power is limited to his invocation of God's power through prayer (11–12 and 18–20). For example, Martin's first clerical roles as a defender of Church authority and dispeller of fake holy men have been completely omitted along with any reference to his ability to banish demons (episodes 8–10 and 31–33). The miracles concerning Martin's ability to control nature, such as halting a pagan funeral (episode 16; also 10, 21 and 27–28), have also been omitted in the homily. Episode IV, relating how Martin drove off the demonic waterfowl, which only appears in the Vercelli version of the homily,[77] was presumably removed from the Blickling and Junius exemplar to demonstrate Martin's reliance on divine authority, as well as to consolidate the homily's thematic and narrative cohesion.[78] In avoiding the episodes that illustrate the saint's personal control of nature and demonic influence the homily strengthens the presentation of Martin as a peaceful soldier of God striving to

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[75] *Ald.uirg(prosa)* 260–62.

[76] Dalbey, 'Good Shepherd', 431, links the exorcism episodes with the greatest reflections of militancy in the narrative, and says these were omitted to remove the aggression from Martin's character. Hewish, 'Eastern Asceticism', 121–24, suggests that the omissions were focused on removing reflections of eremitic life as well as questions to authority. Kelly sees the homilist merely choosing those which were the most dramatic, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 193. Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 260–64, and Mertens, *Lives*, p. 149, believe that the omissions in the *Martinmas*-homily and Ælfric are simply 'details that would confuse their audience rather than add anything of interest.'

[77] Mertens, *Lives*, p. 424.

[78] Both Hamilton, 'Blicking Homily', pp. 42 and 90, and Mertens, *Lives,* pp. 200 and 424, mention the omission of the 'demonic bird' episode and include it in their editions of the homily, but do not explain why it might be missing.

physically expand and nurture the Christian community.[79] In a similar fashion, the *Martinmas*-homily alters the Sulpician narrative to make Martin a more authoritative saint.[80] Details that detract from Martin's ability to follow his faith or depict him in a problematic light are excluded or altered to make certain episodes less morally ambiguous. The detail telling of Martin's desire to become a hermit as a youth, for instance, is left out in the anonymous narrative to pass over Martin's unrealised choices. Similarly, the homily omits the details concerning Martin's failure to quash the Arian heresy in Milan.

The Old English homilist's narrative pruning works to depict the phases of Martin's life in a straightforward spiritual trajectory towards sanctity. After describing Martin's exemplary childhood, during which characteristics of the future saint are prefigured, the homily moves to describe how Martin's sanctity develops in the army. The devout lifestyle Martin leads results in his spiritual baptism after his largesse towards a beggar, followed quickly by his physical baptism. The homily then proceeds to describe how Martin was ordained by Hilary, at which point Martin is able to heal individuals. Once Martin is elevated to the bishopric of Tours, he undertakes missions to convert towns and cultivate the spiritual wellbeing of larger communities. Finally, Martin's protection is extended to the universal Christian church, when he acts as a peacemaker between other clerics.

The homily reinforces the linear progression of Martin's spiritual influence through narrative transitions like *eft gelamp oðer wundor ðisse onlicnesse* ('again another wonder similar to this happened') and the use of Latin phrases. These devices mark important points in the narrative or shifts in the phases of Martin's life. All of the Latin quotations are rendered into English, suggesting that the intended audience included those who did not know Latin as well as those that could not appreciate the intertextual allusion each carried. Yet, the excerpts are not included merely to show off the homilist's knowledge of

[79] Hugh Magennis demonstrates that a similar editorial process occurs in Old English *Lives of St Margaret*, which downplay battle imagery and heighten Margaret's image as a servant of God, 'Listen Now All and Understand: Adaptation of Hagiographical Material Vernacular Audiences in the Old English Lives of St Margaret', *Speculum* 71:1 (1996), 31–41.
[80] Ælfric similarly edits Sulpicius's narrative to make his saint more authoritative. Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 264–75; Gaites, 'Longer *Life*', 24 and 32; Whatley, 'Pearls Before Swine', pp. 169–73.

Latin, as Gaites supposes.[81] The frequent use of Latin quotations illustrate the *Martinmas*-homilist's willingness to manipulate the *Vita* and highlight points of the narrative that he or she feels are crucial. So much is clear from the contexts of the phrases which appear in the following order:

Table III: Latin Phrases in the *Martinmas*-Homily

Description of Martin's Character

1. The phrase *De crastino non cogitare* is employed when the homily describes Martin as one who always lives piously and never leaves doing the right action for another day (homily lines 35–36).[82]

'Cloak-Cutting and Dream Sequence Group'

2. The phrase *Mox angelorum circumstantium multitudinem* is used at the beginning of Martin's vision of Christ, after Martin gives a portion of his cloak to a beggar (homily line 63).[83]
3. During the same dream, when Christ explains that Martin's actions baptise him in the eyes of the Lord, the homily includes the phrases *Quamdiu fecisti* (homily line 68),[84] and *Quo uiso uir non in gloriam elatus est* (homily lines 72–73). Martin's baptism and his departure from the military immediately follow this dream sequence.

Description of Martin's Character

4. At the conclusion of Martin's healing miracles, the phrase *Omnes namque unanimiter cupiebant*[85] is used to introduce a description of how people flock to the saint in order to learn from him (homily line 139). After this description, the homily relates how Martin destroys pagan idols and converts pagans.
5. The phrase *Vere beatus uir in quo dolus*[86] is then used at the close of the miracles involving the destruction of idols and Martin's conversions, in order to relate how Martin is mild-hearted and not at all fierce- or angry-hearted (homily lines 202–03). The homily then proceeds to Martin's peacemaking amongst the brethren of his diocese.

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[81] Gaites, 'Longer *Life*', 37. These Latin phrases only appear in the Blickling and Junius versions of the homily.
[82] Compare Matthew 6:34 (*nolite ergo cogitare de crastino*); Burton, *Vita Martini*, p. 158.
[83] Burton, *Vita Martini,* p. 163, believes that this phrase is at least as old as Tertillian *De Oratione* 3.13.
[84] Burton, *Vita Martini*, p. 163, suggests that Sulpicius drew this quotation from Matthew 25:40.
[85] This variation is from the Blickling version. The Junius version employs an odd spelling: *cupabant*. The origin of this quotation is unknown, Mertens, *Lives*, p. 416.
[86] This line is paralleled in John 1:47 when Jesus remarks *Ecce uere Israelita, in quo dolus non est* ('Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile'), Burton, *Vita Martini,* p. 257.

‘Death Scene Group’

6. As Martin tells his disciples that he will die, they reply in Latin asking why he is leaving them, saying *Cur nos pater deseris cui nos desolatus* (*Epistula* p. 338; homily lines 233–34). This interjection begins the dialogue between Martin and his disciples concerning death.
7. Once Martin has finished speaking with his breathren, he then directs his prayers to God, saying *Domine si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius* (*Epistula* p. 340; homily lines 240–41).
8. Having reconciled himself to the reality that he is dying, Martin tells his followers to stop clinging, and let him go to heaven, *Sinite fratres sinite celum potius respicere* (*Epistula* p. 342; homily lines 269–70).
9. In his last words, Martin chastises the devil in a final announcement of his victory over vice and sin, saying *Quid adstas cruenda [bestia] nihil in me funeste repperes* (*Epistula* p. 342; homily lines 273–74).

Not only do these Latin excerpts punctuate particular aspects of the narrative and Martin’s character, the Latin phrases also function as means of beginning a new thematic section of the story without using the *gelamp siþe* or *þa he þa* transitions which the homilist otherwise employs.[87] Furthermore, the change in language gives more weight to a passage by slowing the flow of the narrative to force the audience to dwell on the implications of this scene, and to consider how they should model their own lives. This is especially seen in those places where the Latin excerpts are clustered, such as the ‘dream sequence’ or ‘death scene’.[88]

The homily similarly slows the narrative at the transitions in the phases of Martin’s life, with descriptions of Martin’s pious character. These descriptions separate each phase of Martin’s life, and emphasise that he avoided warrior culture at all points, from his ‘youth’ (*geogoð-had*) to ‘worldly service’ (*wyrold-folgoð*), to baptism and immersion in the ‘service of God’ (*godes ðeow-dom*), to the ‘bishopric’ (*bysceop-had*) and his ultimate ascension to the company of ‘all the saints … in the heavenly kingdom’ (*eallum halgum ... on heofena rice*, line 284). Throughout the homily, the words used to describe Martin’s peaceful character and faith, such as ‘mild-hearted’ (*mild-heortan*), are constant.[89] For instance, when describing Martin’s lifestyle during his time in the army, the homily says ‘he was patient, and modest, and humble in all things in his life’ (*he*

[87] See Ogawa’s criticism of *þa* phrases, ‘Old English *Þa*’, 461, 472.
[88] Thompson, ‘*Halgum Bocum’*, 386–87.
[89] Magennis discusses the typological *stasis* and unchanging nature of sainthood in ‘Conversion’, 287–301.

wæs geðyldig and eadmod and gemetfæst on eallum his life, line 24). The phrase *eallum his life* signals that Martin's virtues are unchanging, and that he does not evolve as a moral figure, but rather assumes positions of greater influence as a result of his saintly *stabilitas*. The homily emphasises his constancy and immutable morality through compounds incorporating *-fæst*. As the *Martinmas*-text says, 'he was steadfast in his words and pure and clean in his life and he was faithful and modest' (*staðolfæst on his wordum and hluttor and clæne on his life and he wæs arfæst and gemetfæst*, lines 83–85).

While we will see that Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace spiritually evolve throughout their narrative, from rapacious warlord, hesitating leader of a band of disciples, or pagan general into saints,[90] Martin is always a paragon of peaceful Christian devotion. Erdmann notes of warrior-saints like Martin, George, Maurice and Sebastian, that 'far from having distinguished themselves by pious feats of arms, they invariably achieved holiness in opposition to their military profession.'[91] Martin's saintly detachment from military profession and faithful *stasis* is particularly evident during his time in the army.

Martin's early life is set in the context of *geogoð-had* ('youth/childhood'), *læwedum had* ('being among the laity') and *cniht-had* ('adolescence/childhood'). In his youth, before he is trained as a secular soldier, Martin devotes himself wholly to God's service (*he ða sona mid ealle his life ymbe godes ðeow-dom abisgod wæs*, lines 17–18). This characterisation of Martin prefigures his later life in 'God's service' (*godes ðeow-dom*) while contrasting soldiering for or service to God with the worldly military service he is forced into by his father:[92]

Pater eius miles primum, post tribunus militum fuit. Ipse, armatam militiam in adolescentia secutus, inter scolares	Wæs his fador ærest cyninges ðegen[93] and ða atnihstan geðah þæt he wæs cyninges ðægna ealdorman. Ða

[90] See pp. 92–94, 103–111, 139–42, 184 and 212–13 below.
[91] Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 14–16. For Martin's pacifism and opposition to military life see Cross 'Ethics of War', 280; Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 21–26 and 259–67; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', p. 229. On the other hand, Smith, *War*, pp. 85–87, reads strong military undertones in the *Martiniana*, along with advocacy for heavenly warfare and the grounds for monastic involvement in fighting.
[92] Comparative quotations throughout the chapter provide the text from Sulpicius's *Vita* (ed. Burton) or *Epistula ad Bassilam* (ed. Fontaine) on the lefthand side, and the text from the *Martinmas*-homily (ed. Mertens), on the righthand side of the text block.
[93] Dalbey, 'Good Shepherd', 424–25, and Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 37, note that the *Martinmas*-homily provides *þegn,* which can refer to 'a retrainer' in military or civilian contexts, while Ælfric uses *cempa*, which is militaristic in nature.

alas sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesare militavit. Non tamen sponte, quia a primis fere annis diuinam potius seruitutem sacra illustris pueri spirauit infantia. Nam cum esset annorum decem, inuitis parentibus ad ecclesiam confugit seque catichumenum fieri postulauit. Mox mirum in modum totus in dei opere conuersus, cum esset annorum duodecim, eremum concupiuit, fecissetque uotis satis, si aetatis infirmatis non fuisset impedimento. Animus tamen aut circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus. Meditabatur adhuc in aetate puerili, quod postea deuotus impleuit. Sed cum edictum esset a regibus ut ueteranorum filii ad militiam scriberentur. Prodente patre, qui felicibus eius actibus inuidebat, cum esset annorum quindecim, captus et catenatus sacramentis militaribus implicatus est.
(lines 35–49).

sceolde he sanctus Martinus nyde beon on his geogoð-hade on ðære geferrædene ærest on Constantines dagum and þa eft on Iuliam ðæs kaseres. Nalæs þæt he his willum on ðam wyrold-folgoðe wærc, ac he sone on his geogoðe godes ðe[o]wdom micle swiðor lufode ðan ða idlan dreamas [and þa welan][94] ðisse wyrolde. Þa he wæs x wintre and hine his yldran to woruld-folguðe tyhton and lærdon. Ða fleah he to godes cyricean and bæd þæt hine mon gecristnode, þæt se æresta dæl his onginnes and lifes wæron to geleafan gecyrred and to fulwihte, and he ða sona [wæs wundorlice][95] mid ealle his life ymbe godes ðeowdom abisgod wæs. Ða he wæs fiftene wintre, ða nyddan hine his yldran to ðan þæt he sceolde woruldlicum wæpnum onfon and on cyninges ðegna geferredena beon.
(lines 8–20).

'[Martin's] father was first a soldier and afterwards a tribune of soldiers. [Martin] himself, having entered into the armed forces in his adolescence, served among the elite cavalry under Emperor Constantius and then under Caesar Julian. However, this was not his own choosing, since from the first years in the sacred infancy of this famous boy, he aspired instead towards divine service. For when he was ten years old he fled to the Church contrary to his parents' will and he asked to become a catechumen. Soon he completely converted to the work of God in a wondrous way; when he was twelve years old he desired the desert, and he would have fulfilled this wish

'His father was first the thegn of the king and next progressed so that he was the leader of the king's thegns. Then in his youth, Saint Martin by necessity had to be in the king's fellowship first in the days of Constantius then afterwards with Caesar Julian. By no means did he wish to be in that worldly service, but in his youth he at once greatly loved more greatly the service of God than the idle pleasures and riches of this world. He was then ten years of age and his elders taught and trained him in worldly service. Then he fled to God's church and asked that someone christen him, so that the first part of his undertaking and life would be turned

[94] The Vercelli version provides this additional detail, Mertens, ed., *Lives*, p. 403. This may be evidence of the Vercelli compiler's interest in doublets, as Zacher argues in *Preaching the Converted,* pp. 242–50.
[95] The Vercelli and Blickling versions include the words *wæs wundorlice*, translating the *Vita*'s *Mox mirum in modum*; Mertens, ed., *Lives*, p. 404.

enough, if the weakness of his age did not obstruct him. Yet his soul was always intent on either the monastery or the church. At that point in his boyhood he meditated still on what he afterwards carried out with devotion. But at that time there was an edict from the emperors that the sons of veterans were to be conscripted into fighting. When [Martin] was fifteen years old, the matter being pushed by his father, who envied his blessed actions, [Martin] was seized and chained, and was bound in military oaths.'

toward faith and baptism, and then was he immediately wondrously engaged, with all his life, in God's service. When he was fifteen years of age, then his elders forced him so that he had to take up worldly weapons and be in the king's retinue of thegns.'

Just as his father rose through the ranks of the army, so too Martin seems set to join the military. However, the homily immediately clarifies that Martin's involvement in fighting was wholly beyond his control. While the *Vita* says that Martin followed (*secutus*) in his father's footsteps, the homily stresses that Martin had to serve through necessity (*sceolde … nyde beon*).[96] The *Vita* then goes on to say that this arrangement was not at all in accordance with Martin's will as Martin prefers the 'divine service' (*diuinam … seruitutem*). The Old English says that service of God (*godes ðeow-dom*) is in opposition to worldly service by clarifying that Martin was not interested in 'worldly-service' (*nalæs þæt he his willum on ðam wyrold-folgoðe wærc*). This *weoruld-folgoð* (worldly-service'),[97] a compound which survives only in the anonymous homilies on Martin, is further characterised in the same sentence as 'idle joys and the wealth of this world', (*idlan dreamas* [*and þa welan*] *ðisse wyrolde*). These empty rewards are in contrast to the eternal ones Martin earns through his good works in devotion to God throughout his life. The *Vita* offers no equivalent passage or phrase to match the characterization of *weoruld-folgoð*, illustrating how the homilist independently prioritises the contrast between worldly and spiritual service.

[96] Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 31–34, notes that although Sulpicius portrays Martin as an unwilling soldier and is hesitant to highlight Martin's participation in violent action, Sulpicius does not have an issue with Christian violence in general.
[97] Hamilton, 'Blickling Homily', pp. 71 and 74, translates this as 'worldly occupation'; Mertens offers the translations 'worldly service' and 'worldly fellowship', *Lives,* pp. 180 and 187; Morris, *Blicking Homilies*, pp. 210 and 216, interprets this as 'temporal occupation'.

There are only four compounds incorporating *-folgað* extant in the Old English corpus, and each implies not only an office or position, but also service in that position. The usages of *bisceop-folgoþ* ('the episcopate') in Gregory's *Dialogues*,[98] and *prafost-folgoþ* ('office of provost') in the Old English *Rule of Benedict* suggest a position of authority and devotion that cannot be bought, but comes with service to God.[99] Likewise, the Old English Orosius uses *under-folgoþ* to mean 'an office under the superior', or the state of being a disciple or devotee of a certain teaching.[100] In this light, the compound *weoruld-folgoð* in the *Martinmas*-homily might be understood as a 'devotion to the world or earthly affairs'. Similar connotations can be seen in many of the unique compounds with *weoruld-* which Waldorf identifies, that mostly relate to the secular military (*weoruld-feoht*, *weoruld-gewinn, weoruld-wæpen*), physical wealth (*weoruld-feoh*, *weoruld-sælig*, or *weoruld-welig*), apparel (*weoruld-frætewung*), temporal glory or power (*weoruld-bot*, *weoruld-dæd, weoruld-dom*, *weoruld-rædness*, *weoruld-hlisa*, or *weoruld-wuldor*), and sin (*weoruld-galness*, *weoruld-gitsere*, or *weoruld-widl*).[101]

Damon and Magennis interpret *weoruld-folgað* as 'worldly occupation' and argue that the compound refers to secular life but is not critical of the worldly military.[102] Yet the term *weoruld-folgoð* is used exclusively in reference to Martin's time 'being in the companionship of the king's thegns' (*cyninges ðegna geferredena beon*), a period which is also defined as that time when Martin carried worldly weapons (*wyrold-wæpna wæg*, line 21). Moreover, the compound *weoruld-folgoðe* is used in an envelope pattern framing Martin's military service, first appearing in a comparison of Martin's expectation to join

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[98] The Old English *Dialogues* uses the compound *bisceop-folgoþ* and collocation *bisceoplican folgoðes* to refer to the episcopal office. Hans Hecht, Henry Johnson, and Julius Zupitza, ed., *Bischofs Waerferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965) pp. 3 and 65.
[99] Arnold Schröer, ed., *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerrege*l (Darmstadt: 1964), p. 126.
[100] *(S)under-folgoþ* is used in the following passage to express Julian's order that no Christian man might have another person under him as an inferior, specifically in reference to having students or disciples: Julian *forbead openlice þæt mon nane fæste boc ne leornode, and sæde eac þæt nan cristen mon ne moste habban nænne his sunder-folgeþa,* Janet Bately, ed., *The Old English Orosius* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 150.
[101] Norman Waldorf, 'The Hapax Legomena in the Old English Vocabulary: A Study Based upon the Bosworth–Toller Dictionary', PhD. Dissertation (Stanford University, 1953), pp. 386–87.
[102] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 260–62; Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 38.

the army to his desire to service God (line 13), and last used when Martin leaves the military (line 78). It seems that the *Martinmas*-homilist uses *weoruld-folgoðe* to refer specifically to the aristocratic warrior culture that fought and pursued 'empty pleasures' (*idlan dreamas*), and not generally to secular society.

Ælfric's translation of the homiletic *Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem*, or *Hexameron* of St Basil, also refers to the warrior culture of the *bellatores* through compounds with *weoruld-*. In the section 'Concerning Spiritual Warfare' (*De militia spirituali*),[103] Ælfric uses *woruld-cempa* ('worldly fighter') to denote those devoted to worldly service and obedience, who strive for *woruld-gleng* ('worldly pomp') and *woruld-welan* ('worldly wealth). The section says that such men are the opposite of monks or spiritual fighters (*Godes cempa*),[104] who 'are always secure from worldly cares and every tumult' (*simle orsorh fram woruld-carum and fram ælcum gehylde*). While the use of compounds with *weoruld-* in the *Hexameron* and *Martinmas*-homily draws a clear distinction between temporal and heavenly services generally, it is also clear that they are primarily concerned with secular military services.

The repeated use of *weorold* throughout the description of Martin's conscription associates the world and its concerns with idle joys, wealth, and weapons. The section contains a cluster of five uses of *weoruld*, in compounds or standing alone, highlighting the secular setting for Martin's early life. In contrasting *godes ðeow-dom* with *weoruld-folgoð,* the homilist reveals his opinion that any action in the world or through worldly service is antithetical to Christian faith, advocating for one to 'flee to God's Church' (*fleah he to godes cyricean*, line 15). So too is the training one needs in the world in sharp contrast to that of God's service. The doublet *tyhton and lærdon*, used for Martin's induction to secular soldiery, is reflected at the end of Martin's service in the military when St Hilary of Poitiers 'taught and trained [Martin] in God's service' (*on godes ðeow-dom getyde and gelærde,* lines 81–82). Martin approaches this training of his own volition, contrasting his forced introduction to worldly service.

[103] *Hexameron*, 34–38 and 52.
[104] See pp. 1–3, 19–20 and 27–32 above.

The account of Martin's childhood similarly introduces the two contrasting father-figures of the narrative, namely Martin's father and Martin himself, who becomes a *fæder* ('father') for his flock. The contrast of characters in the homily presents Martin's father and parents as more closely associated with the homily's heathen antagonists than as characters worthy of redemption. During Martin's *geogaðe-had*, it is only his family who force him into secular soldiery and not an edict from the emperors, as portrayed in the *Vita*. Hence, the 'edict from the emperors that the sons of veterans were to be conscripted into the military' is presented in the *Martinmas*-text as 'then his elders forced him to that, that he must take up worldly weapons and be in the king's retinue of thegns.' The homily preserves the *Vita*'s depiction of Martin's father as scornful of his son's wishes, ordering Martin to be 'seized and chained' (*captus et catenatus*) while avoiding the legal context that would not have been familiar in ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England, which seems to have been a society bound by kinship and familial duties.[105] The shift in emphasis from Martin's military service being demanded by imperial decree to his parents 'forcing him' into it, also intensifies the blame on *his yldran*. The heightened antagonistic role played by Martin's parents may also account for the later omission of Martin's journey to convert them, as told in the *Vita* (lines 117–19 and 140–41).

The image of the envious father entrenched in the military is established here to contrast the later image of Martin as a loving, pacifist, and nuturing father in the final stages of the narrative. As the homily says when Martin founds his monastery near Poitiers, 'in that [monastery] he became a spiritual father for many of the servants of God' (*he on ðam manigra godes ðeowa gastlic fæder gewearð*, lines 88–89). This reference to Martin as a father returns again at his death scene, when his disciples will call him the father of their flock (lines 232–33). As a spiritual father, Martin surpasses his own elders as the one who induct youths into a warrior society. Yet instead of forcing people into *weoruld-folgað*, Martin brings them into *godes ðeow-dom*. The *Martinmas*-homily thus provides

[105] Richard Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (London: British Museum Publications, 1988), pp. 14–16, 34–37 and 97–115, and Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 290–91 and 582–84, argue that Anglo-Saxon society was devoid of totalitarian emperors and obligatory military service was relatively minimal before the eleventh century.

an alternative to the military life perpetuated by inherited familial systems. The change from secular to spiritual service is one from a destructive force to a positive one.

Although immersed in warrior society, Martin is described as peaceful and kind, removed from those sins generally accrued through worldly service. A similar portrayal of the virtuous soldier whose good nature invites Christ to convert him appears in the *Eustace*-Legend.[106] However, we will see in Chapter Six that Eustace participates actively in military life, whereas in the *Martinmas*-homily the saint is removed from practical soldiery. The homily emphasises this fact through reworking the *Vita*'s account of Martin's nonviolent tenure in the military, which is portrayed in both versions as follows:

Triennium fere ante baptismum in armis fuit. Integer tamen ab his uitiis quibus illud hominum genus maxime implicari solet. (lines 51–53).	Ða wæron III gear ær his fulwihte þæt he wyrold-wæpna wæg, and he hine hwæðere wiþ eallum ðam healicum wæpnum[107] geheold, ða ðe woruld-men fremmað on mænnisscum[108] ðingum. (lines 20–22).
'He was in arms for about three years before his baptism. However, he remained whole from these sins in which a man of that kind is most greatly implicated.'	'There were three years before his baptism when he carried worldly weapons, and he nevertheless abstained from all of those exceptional weapons, those which worldly men wield in human affairs.'

The Vercelli version of the homily provides *healicum sinnum* ('serious sins'); the Blickling and Junius versions provide *healicum wæpnum* ('exceptional weapons'). The Vercelli reading is closer to the *Vita* which focuses on the 'sins' Martin avoids, using *fremmað* in its negative sense to mean: 'those grave sins, those which are of no avail for worldly men in human affairs.' The Blickling and Junius versions build on the reference to the 'worldly weapons' (*wyrold-wæpna*) mentioned in the previous clause to clarify that those sins (*uitiis*/*sinnum*) ought

[106] See pp. 212–13 below.
[107] Hamilton, 'Blickling Homily', p. 54, prefers the Vercelli reading of *sinnum* instead of *wæpnum*, yet *wæpnum* in the Blickling and Junius versions seems to make more sense with the subsequent use of *fremmað*. See all renditions in Mertens, ed., *Lives*, p. 404.
[108] Vercelli has *missenlicum* ('various') here rather than *mænnisscum* ('human'), Mertens, ed., *Lives*, p. 404.

to be understood as relating to physical weapons and secular heroism. The term *weoruld* ('world', 'earth') appears twice in the sentence in two compounds, *wyrold-wæpna* ('worldly weapons') and *woruld-men* ('worldly men'). The presence of compounds and alliteration on 'w' in the simple prose of the *Martinmas*-text immediately draws the audience's attention to them. The self-alliterating hapax legomenon *wyrold-wæpna* binds the concept of the world with weapons while providing aural emphasis for the passage when read in the mass for Martin's feast.[109] The homily further refines the use of *weorold* to specifically refer to humans with the compound *woruld-men*, and the statement that such worldly weapons only help in 'human affairs' (*mænnisscum ðingum*). As a result, the passage emphatically connects all those sins Martin avoids with the worldly or warrior-tradition.[110]

The only time Martin uses a *weoruld-wæpen* is to cut his cloak in two as an act of largess and generosity (*Vita* lines 62–73; homily lines 42–54), when he draws his *seax*, a single-edged knife or short sword, given in Latin as *ferrum* ('iron-implement' or in poetry 'sword'). The homily's use of *seax* works to both make the story more culturally specific for Anglo-Saxons through the use of a weapon associated with Germanic warriors,[111] as well as to align Martin with his military profession at the time.[112] Magennis notes that Ælfric also uses the word *seax* for Martin's tool in his versions of the cloak-cutting scene, though he postulates that *seax* in Ælfric's *Life of Martin* could simply refer to a generic knife.[113] However, the term *seax* reappears with the pagan who attempts to cut down Martin (*Vita* lines 340–41; homily lines 188–90), suggesting that the tool is used in a military or warlike connotation in the anonymous homily. Martin's act thus inverts the expectation of the warrior code as the saint appropriates the *seax* for a peaceful purpose.[114]

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[109] See Mark Griffith, 'Extra Alliteration on Stressed Syllables in Old English Poetry: Types, Uses and Evolution', *ASE* 47 (2020), 91–93, for discussion on how self-alliterating compounds are generally invented by a composer to highlight aspects of a narrative.
[110] Mertens's note for line 22, ed., *Lives,* 182.
[111] David Gale, 'The Seax', in *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Sonia Hawkes (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1989), pp. 71–83.
[112] Magennis, 'Warrior Saint', 37.
[113] Mertens, ed., *Lives*, p. 435.
[114] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 14–16.

The *Martinmas*-homilist continues to stress Martin's unwarlike character in his description of Martin's time in the army:

Multa circa commilitones benignitas, mira caritas; patientia uero atque humilitas ultra humanum modum. Nam frugalitatem in eo laudari non est necesse, qua ita usus est ut iam illo tempore non miles sed monachus putaretur. (lines 53–56).	He hæfde micle lufan ealle wærnesse to ælcum men and he wæs geðyldig and eadmod and gemetfæst on eallum his life and ðeah ðe he ðe get on læwedum-hade beon scolde hwæðere he to ðæs forwyrnednesse hæfde on eallum ðingum, þæt he efne munuclife gyt swiðor lifde þanne læwedes mannes. (lines 23–27).
'Great was the generosity to his peers, wondrous his charity, truly his patience and humility were beyond human limits. It is not even necessary for the frugality within him to be praised, which he so maintained that he was even thought to be not a solider but a monk at that time.'	'He had much love with all consideration for every man, and he was patient, modest, and humble in all things in his life, even though he should yet be in a secular vocation, nevertheless he was moderate in all things, so that he even lived more the life of a monk than that of a secular man.'

Both texts say that Martin lived more like a monk than a soldier, forbearing the barbarism of others, while also focusing on his pacifism and generosity.[115] Yet the Old English text goes a step beyond the *Vita* to stress that these virtues were turned towards all men, not just Martin's comrades. Similarly, where the *Vita* says that Martin's virtue was beyond that attainable by mortal men, the homily says instead that Martin's discipline elevated him beyond the secular world. It is not a critique on human achievement, but that of warrior culture, adapted for the homilist's pastoral programme to make Martin's example resonate with *læweda menn*. The Old English passage emphasises the contrast between secular and ecclesiastical or pious living with a small envelope pattern, binding *munuc-life* between two uses of *læw* ('lay'), indicating that Martin is acting contrary to what is expected of his state, and that he is surrounded by others who are not in his way of life.

[115] Ælfric says that King Oswald also 'lived like a monk among the laity' (*munuclice leofode betwux ðam læwedum folce*), *LS* III: 8; Mertens, ed., *Lives,* p. 85.

The term *weoruld-folgoð* reappears at the end of Martin's military service and the beginning of his life as a cleric (line 78). Again, the homilist appears to use the compound to highlight the parameters of this period in Martin's life. Once Martin is baptised, the narrative immediately shifts to Martin's training under Hilary and his ecclesiastical life. The composer leaves his audience without doubt as to Martin's devotion through the alteration of this transition. Where Sulpicius relates how Martin 'did not leave the military immediately' (*nec statim militiae renuntiauit*, line 83), the Junius version of the homily makes Martin more decisive, saying that 'he left that worldly service at once/completely' (*forlet he ealne ðane wyrold-folgoð ænne*).[116] We have seen in the previous chapter how Christian and clerical violence was forbidden by some early patristic writers and canon laws,[117] although it is important to note here the decrees made under Pope Siricius (384–399) during Martin's lifetime that prohibited anyone from being a clergyman if they had been a soldier after taking baptism.[118] Martin's delay in leaving the army seems to have raised eyebrows with his contemporaries,[119] yet Hewish and Burton conclude that Sulpicius probably left the embarrassing detail in his account since the fact was too well known to cover up.[120] The Old English homily avoids the issue entirely by saying that he left the military as soon as he was baptised. As a result, not only does the anonymous composer lend Martin more saintly authority, but further emphasises that devotion to Christ and warrior culture are not compatible.

When Martin leaves the army, the description of him is one of modesty and purity. There is no mention of violence or aggression. The homily omits Martin's argument with the Emperor Julian, as well as the ensuing battle which is miraculously averted. Instead, the homily relates how Martin immediately seeks St Hilary, who then instructs him in the 'service of God', saying:

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[116] Vercelli homily reads, *ða forlet he ealne þone woruld-folgoð an*, while the Blickling homily has *þa forlet he þone worold-folgað*, Mertens ed., *Lives*, p. 411.
[117] See pp. 27–32 above.
[118] *PL* 13: cols 1179 and 1190.
[119] Mertens, *Lives*, pp. 20–24; Stancliffe, *St Martin*, p. 259. Prinz, 'King, Clergy and War', II:302–03, notes canon VIII from Councils of Toledo 400 and 451 excluding soldiers from clergy, which is extended in sixth-century Frankish councils. See also Smith, *War*, pp. 44–46.
[120] Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 76. Burton, *Vita Martini*, pp. 19–23, provides a summary of the debate on the historicity of Martin's military career in the *Vita*.

Exinde relicta militia sanctum Hilarium Pictauae episcopum ciuitatis cuius tunc in dei rebus expectata et cognita fides habebatur expetiit, et aliquandiu apud eum commoratus est. Temptauit autem idem Hilarius in posito diaconii officio sibi eum artius implicare et ministerio uinciri diuino. Sed cum sepissime restitisset, indignum se esse uociferans intellexit uir dei altioris ingenii hoc eum modo posse constringi si id ei officu inponeret in quo quidam locus iniuriae uideretur. Itaque exorcistam eum esse precepit. Quam ille ordinationem ne despexisse tamquam humiliorem uideretur, non repudiauit. (lines 109–16).

…[121]

Cum iam Hilarius praeterisset, Pictauos eum est uestigiis persecutus: cumque ab eo gratissime fuisset susceptus haud longe sibi ab oppido monasterium collocauit.
(lines 157–59).

And ða gewat he to sancte Hilarie ðam bysceope, ðe in Pictaue ðære byrig wæs bysceop and wæs þæt swiðe foremære man for gode. Se bysceop and his god wæs swiðe gecyðed[122] and he ða ðisne ydigan wer fulfremedlice on godes æ and on godes ðeow-dom getyde and gelærde, eac ðan ða hine god selfne innan gemanode. Wæs he swiþe geðungen on his ðeawum and staðol-fæst on his wordum and hluttor and clæne on his life and he wæs ar-fæst and gemet-fæst and mildhyrt on his dædum and geornful and be gewyrhtum ymbe drihtnes lare and in eallum godum for gode fulfremede. Ða gelamp æfter ðan þæt se eadiga wer Sanctus Martinus sum mynster getimbrede and he on ðam manigra godes ðeowa gastlic fæder gewearð. (lines 78–89).

‘Then having left the army, [Martin] set out for saint Hilary, bishop of the city of Poitiers, whose faith in the matters of God were then seen and known, and stayed with him for some time. However, this same Hilary attempted to attach [Martin] more closely to himself by imposing the office of deacon upon him and binding him in divine service, but when [Martin] very often resisted, shouting that he was unworthy, that man of deeper insight [Hilary] understood that there was one way to be able to constrain [Martin], if he imposed an office upon [Martin] which would seem to be the grounds for insult. And so he ordered [Martin]

‘Then he went to that bishop, saint Hilary, who was bishop in the city of Poitiers, and was a very famous man of God. The bishop [Hilary], whose goodness was widely known, then completely instructed and taught the blessed man [Martin] in God’s law and God’s service. Likewise God admonished him within, so that he was greatly advanced in his customs and he was steadfast in his words and pure and clean in his life, and he was faithful and moderate, and mildhearted in his deeds and zealous, and he completed his works concerning the lord’s teaching and in all good things for God. Then it happened afterwards that the

[121] Omitted here are the accounts of Martin’s trip to convert his parents (which has mixed success), his encounter with some brigands in the Alps on the way to Italy, his unsuccessful confrontation with the Arian heretics, Martin’s miraculous recovery from eating poison on an island, and further mentions of St Hilary.
[122] Junius version supplies *gecyðeð*, where Blickling and Vercelli provide *gecyðed*.

to be an exorcist. He did not refuse this ordination, lest it seem that he had shunned it for being so lowly.

...

So when Hilary had journeyed on, [Martin] followed his tracks to Poitiers: and when [Martin] had been recieved by [Hilary] with the greatest delight, [Martin] built a monastery for himself not far from the town.'

blessed man Saint Martin built a certain monastery, and in that [monastery] he became a spiritual father for many of the servants of God.'

The *Martinmas*-homily describes the saint's change in vocation through the use of the same doublet, *(ge)tyan and (ge)læran*, previously employed to initiate Martin into the *weoruld-folgoð*, now signifying his training in God's service. This instruction greatly increases Martin's innate piety, and prepares Martin to bring the power of his faith beyond his own salvation to benefit others. After this induction into *godes ðeowdom* Martin founds his own monastery and gathers followers around him to teach and instruct in holy living.

However, this sudden shift from catechumen to abbot passes over the first actions of Martin's clerical life as an exorcist. In the *Vita*, Martin takes up the role of deacon and proceeds to expel unclean spirits from a number of people, in addition to unsuccessfully converting his father and failing to defeat Arian heretics in northern Italy, before he establishes his monastery near Poitiers (*Vita* lines 117–59). The homily removes all mention of Martin's position as an exorcist and his banishment of demons. Besides enabling the homilist to condense the narrative, the omission of Martin's exorcist training avoids Hilary's manipulation of the saint. In the *Vita* Hilary wishes to bind Martin to himself, where the *Martinmas*-homily suggests instead that Martin is binding himself solely to God's work, using compounds with the word *fæst* ('firmly fixed' or 'bound'), as noted above.[123] The homily adapts the passage to fit more fully into its proselytising programme, giving the saint more authority as well as focusing on Martin's functions as a priest rather than exorcist.[124]

[123] See p. 57 above.
[124] For an introduction to exorcism in Anglo-Saxon literature, see Peter Dendle, *Demon Possession in Anglo-Saxon England* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 2014), pp. 141–74.

From the point that Martin is called a *gastlic fæder*, he is no longer portrayed as cultivating his own faith, but caring for the wellbeing of Christendom at large. Martin's evolution from dedication to his personal welfare to the welfare of others is demonstrated in the two healing miracles Martin performs after he founds his monastery. Healing a dead catechumen is the first miracle Martin works before witnesses (*wæs ðis ðære wundra ærst ðe ðes eadiga wer openlice, beforan oðrum mannum geworhte*, lines 111–12) and shifts the homily's focus from Martin's internal 'life' to his active 'life' caring for the wider community.[125] Martin then heals a slave who committed suicide in a similar manner (*Vita* lines 157–92; homily lines 89–128). In both miracles, Martin revives a dead person by stretching his limbs over the deceased and praying until they awake. These episodes are linked through the verb *astreccan,* 'to stretch [one's limbs]', used for Martin as he reaches out over the dead men he resuscitates.[126] This gives the general feeling of Martin as a cover or protection over the community.

The two men Martin revives also demonstrate the saint's growing influence. The first is a catechumen who comes to learn from Martin, and is predisposed to Christianity and pious living. The second, who had died by suicide, has with no apparent connection to Martin but is a stranger in the village upon which the saint happens upon. In this second revival-episode, Martin is outside of the spaces he created and is healing someone who had no clear desire to be a Christian, let alone to carry on living. Martin has sought out communities that need his help and brought them aid, instead of working only with those that come to him. After reviving the suicide, Martin 'led him forth to the forecourt of that house and presented him to those people whole and sound, the one who they had abandoned earlier as dead' (*hine gelædde forð to ðan cauertune ðæs huses and hine eft ðam mannum halne and gesundne ageaf ðe hie ær deadne forleton*, lines 126–28). Here, the homily emphasises his ability to heal the

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[125] For discussion of the model of the 'mixed life', see pp. 39–40 in Chapter Two.
[126] Jeffery, *Blickling Spirituality*, pp. 124 and 140, notes that Sulpicius was probably influenced by miracles of Elijah, while Kelly, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 192, links them to the raising of Lazarrus. Eileen Harney, 'The Sexualized and Gendered Tortures of Virgin Martyrs in Medieval English Literature', PhD. Dissertation (University of Toronto, 2008), pp. 147–49, notes that when Martin and Agnes resurrect people of the opposite sex, they lie on the ground next to the corpse rather than atop it.

person publicly, before describing Martin's episcopal appointment. Martin does not elevate his status through any show of force or agression, as Guthlac will in defeating the demons at Crowland, or Andrew will in liberating the prisoners, dominating demons, and converting the inhabitants of Mermedonia.[127] Rather, the *Martinmas*-homily continues to praise the saint's equanimity, stating that he 'had the same humility in his heart' (*hæfde ða iclan eadmodnesse an his hyrtan*, 134–35) despite his new position of authority.

As the Old English narrative describes the next level of Martin's influence, it glosses over the controversy surrounding Martin's episcopal appointment in Tours, to which the *Vita* devotes considerable attention. The Old English goes from the second healing miracle to Martin's episcopal miracles by saying that, 'these wonders and many others Almighty God wrought through the blessed man, before he subsequently became bishop' (*ðas wundor and manig oðer ælmihtig god þurh ðysne eadigan wer geworhte ær þanne he æftre wære bysceop*, line 129–30). Just as the homily omits mention of Martin's exorcisms, so too does it avoid most suggestions that ecclesiastical communities are flawed, prone to the vice of in-fighting, or that there would be any Christian who would disagree with the saint.

This silence on worldly corruption in the Church is emphasised in the following characterisations of Martin after his episcopal appointment:

Iam uero sumpto episcopatu qualem se quantumque praestiterit non est nostre facultatis euoluere. Idem enim constantissime perseuerabat qui prius fuerat. Eadem in corde eius humilitas eadem in uestitu eius uilitas erat. Atque ita plenus auctoritatis et gratiae implebat episcopii dignitatem ut non tamen propositum monachi uirtutemque desereret.
(lines 218–22).

Ac syððan he ðan bysceop-hade onfæng in Turna ðære byrig. Nis ænig man þæt ða wundor eall asecge ða ðe god syððan ðurh hine gewrohte, and ðeah ðe he ða maran had hæfde and eac for wyrolde ricra beon sceolde ðanne he ær wæs, hwæðere he hæfde ða iclan eadmodnesse an his hyrtan and ða ilcan forwyrnednesse on his lichaman, æghwæðer ge on mete, ge on hrægle ge on æghwilcum ðing efne swa he ær hæfde, and he his bysceophad swa gedefelice geheold for gode swa he hwæðer næfre þæt mægen and ða foresetenesse his munuc-hades anne forlet.
(lines 130–38).

[127] See pp. 123–36, 158–60 and 179–83 below.

'Yet, it is not within our ability to say in what way and how greatly [Martin] stood out, having indeed assumed the episcopate. For he was maintaining the same absolute steadfastness which he had previously. The same humility was in his heart, the same lowliness in his clothing; and thus, full of authority and grace, he filled the office of bishop in such as way that he did not desert his monastic intent or power.'

'There is no man who could describe all the miracles which God wrought through him, but afterwards he received the bishopric of the city of Tours, and though he had a greater position and should, moreover, be more powerful in the world than he was before, nevertheless he had the same humility in his heart and the same abstinence of his body whether in food or in dress or in everything, just as he had been before, and worthily did he hold his bishopric for God so that he would never abandon that power and the purpose of his monastic office at once.

Martin's elevation into the bishopric is marked with a cluster of terms that denote various states of being, with *bysceop-hade* (line 130); *had* (line 133); *bysceop-had* (line 137); and *munuc-hades* (line 138). The use of multiple terms illustrate that the saint was living a 'mixed life', fulfilling the 'active' role of bishop while also maintaining his 'contemplative' position as a monk. We will see in the next chapter that the *Guthlac A*-poet uses *had* to refer to the various orders of society from which one can attain sanctity, not to refer to the aspects of the 'mixed life'.[128] However, the contrast between the different words describing Martin's new position and the 'same' (*ilcan*) character traits of his previous life reinforces the idea that though Martin's vocation has changed, his faith and manner of life have not. Martin's removal from worldly matters, despite holding the temporally powerful episcopal office, is reinforced through his foreswearing of the worldly pomp associated with the position. Later, the homilist states that Martin does not pander to worldly men (*he wæs þanne ealra swiðast herianne þæt he næfre nænigum worldlicum mæn ne cyninge selfum ðurh lease olæcunge swiðor onbugan wolde þanne hit riht wære*, lines 198–200). The repeated insistence that Martin is not affected by worldly eminence, in himself and in others, suggests that the homilist sees the saint and the servants of Christ as being completely removed from worldly concerns, in addition to critiquing all

[128] See pp. 92–94, 102–11 and 115 below.

those who involve themselves too heavily in worldly matters. The homily's critique of aristocrats contrasts the approach which the hagiographers of Guthlac take, who depict the ascetic hermit entertaining visitors like Æthelbald, abbess Ecgburh, and bishop Headda despite his apparent renounciation of the world.[129]

Rather, Martin's change in vocation is conceived as an increase in his influence and miraculous power rather than his heightened worldliness. Martin's elevation to the episcopate marks a shift from healing miracles to conversion miracles, illustrating how the saint's influence extends to a wider range of people, as he looks after the spiritual health of a community, rather than the physical health of individuals. Concern for the wellbeing of the larger community is manifested in the destructions of idols and conversion miracles that preoccupy the majority of the homily's account of Martin's ordained life (*Vita* lines 312–44; homily lines 139–98). These miracles are introduced in the Old English with a Latin excerpt and a summary of his missionary activities:

Et uere ante Martinum pauci admodum, immo pene nulli in illis regionibus Christi nomen receperant. Quod adeo uirtutibus illius exemploque conualuit, ut iam ibi nullus locus sit, qui non aut ecclesiis frequentissimis, aut monasteriis sit repletus. Nam ubi fana destruxerat, statim ibi aut ecclesias aut monasteria construebat. (lines 304–11).	*Omnes namque unanimiter cupiebant*[130] and ealle menn, ða ðe feor ge neah ðyses eadigan weres lif cuðan oððe gehyrdan, ealle hie þæt an-modlice wilnodan þæt hi his word geheran mostan and his larum gelyfan for ðan hie swutolice on him ongæton godes lufe and his blisse. Wæs he forðan swiðe mære geond middan-geard and he manig templ and deofol-geld tobræc and gefelde ðæ[r][131] hædene men ær deoflum onguldun, and ðanne ðær he þæt deofol-gyld gefelde ðanne asette he ðær godes cyricean oððe fullice mynstre getimbrede. (lines 139–45).
'Truly, before Martin, few people, indeed hardly any, in those regions had received the name of Christ. Yet now, because of his powers and his example [Christianity] flourished, so that there was no place which was not filled with	'*For all were longing of one mind,* and all men, who far or near learned of or heard about the life of this blessed man, all single-mindedly wished that they might hear his words and embrace his teachings because they

[129] For discussion of monastic hospitality, see p. 200 below.
[130] This Latin sentence seems to be unique to the Blickling and Junius versions.
[131] Vercelli provides *ðær* while Junius provides *ðæt*, Mertens ed., *Lives*, p. 417.

a great crowding of churches or monasteries. For where he had destroyed temples, he immediately began to build churches or monasteries there.'

clearly perceived the love of God in him and his bliss. For that, he was very famous throughout middle-earth and he broke and razed many temples and devil-idols where heathen men had made offerings to devils before, and when he razed a devil-idol [in a place], then he established there a church of God or fully built a monastery.'

Martin is no longer a local saint healing an individual, but someone with wide-reaching impact.[132] The *Martinmas*-homily's passage highlights the increased scope of Martin's influence through stating, once in Latin and twice in Old English, how all men far and near now pay attention to the saint. There is no equivalent passage in the *Vita*; the closest passage being the one provided above, which comes after Martin's felling of a pine tree that was sacred for pagans (*Vita* lines 279–304). The Latin version focuses solely on Martin's accomplishments, where the *Martinmas*-homily notes how Martin is perceived by others, remarks upon his character, and then introduces the actions as a missionary which will fill the next narrative phase.

The pagans and Christians with whom Martin interacts are combined into a collective spiritual community which he leads. Dalbey, in support of her claim that the anonymous homilist made the saint a shepherd and teacher, sees the destruction of temples as part of his teaching.[133] The homily seems to encourage this connection in immediately prefacing the conversion episodes with a description of Martin's role as a teacher, instructing those who wished to hear him and take his Christian faith. The aim of Martin's destruction of the idols is thus to instruct others to put their faith in Christ rather than empty statues or worldly warfare, facilitating their integration into Christendom. The instructional basis for the saint's actions is reinforced at the end of the conversion episodes in the *Martinmas*-homily, which conclude that 'they converted their hearts to God's faith through [Martin's] teaching and through his Lord's grace' (*hie ðurh his lare and ðurh his drihtnes gife hyra hyortan to godes geleafan gecyrde*, lines 191–92).

[132] Jeffery, *Blickling Spirituality*, pp. 120–27, asserts that the idol-destruction in the homily is symbolic of healing the communal body.
[133] Dalbey, 'Good Shepherd', 431–32.

As a compassionate teacher, Martin is not aggressive in his conversions. His establishment of churches and altars immediately after the idols are overthrown suggests it was not necessarily the buildings which were destroyed but the statuary.[134] In the homily, Martin is careful to only destroy the pagan temple and leave all other 'useful' structures standing, as well as those not associated with paganism. So much is seen during the burning building episode (*Vita* lines 312–19; homily lines 147–57), where the Old English changes the 'nearest and adhering structure' (*proximam immo adherentem domum*) of the *Vita*, into a 'useful structure' (*nytwyrð hus*). This change better explains why Martin goes to the effort of preserving the building, not because it happens to be nearby but because it is a structure that deserved saving. The Old English homily also emphasises paganism more than the Latin text, especially in episodes recounting Martin's destruction of idols, where the text clarifies that the *gyld* 'was highly valued by heathen men' (*hæðenum mannum swiðe wyrð*) and not just 'most ancient and most renowned' (*antiquissimo et celeberrimo*). This appropriative method of conversion perhaps draws inspiration from Gideon, who in Judges 6: 25–27 is told to build a new altar in place of one that had been used for an idol. Anglo-Saxon audiences would likely consider Martin's actions in the context of Gregory's call to repurpose previously sacred sites for churches,[135] as well as Boniface's own conversion programme in Saxony, where Boniface famously felled an oak tree dedicated to 'Jupiter' and built an oratory to St Peter from its wood on the same site.[136] Martin's mission provides a similar model for the audience to adapt sacred pagan sites for Christian purposes.

Martin's iconoclastic actions do not require the death of or violence towards pagan priests or individuals, but are instead directed at the idolised object. The episode concerning the felling of a sacred pine tree (*Vita* lines 279–304) was perhaps omitted from the homily because it reflects an aggressive attitude towards pagans, for Martin causes the tree to fall towards the heathens

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[134] Gaites, 'Longer *Life*', 33, believes that Ælfric's narratives downplay the destruction of pagan temples. Yorke, *Conversion of Britain*, p. 133, writes, 'The heroic battling with the forces of paganism that is a feature of many conversion narratives in imitation of the *Life of St Martin* is not characteristic of those [accounts of conversion] which survive for early medieval Britain.'

[135] *HE* I:30.

[136] Talbot, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, p. 46. See also Murphy's discussion of Boniface's mission and the tree-felling incident in *The Saxon Savior*, pp. 13–15.

who attempt to stop him.[137] For the *Martinmas*-homilist, it is only a peaceful model that converts pagans, not the violent conversions which the narratives of Andrew or Boniface appear to advocate.[138] Once Martin succeeds in his mission, those he has converted 'themselves at last broke and felled those vain idols with their hands' (*hie ætnyhstan selfe eac mid hyra handum ða idlan gyld gebræcan and gefyldan*, lines 192–93). In stating that those Martin converted became missionaries themselves, the homily suggests that Martin's role as a bishop expanding Christendom has been fulfilled and that his influence has extended beyond his immediate presence, so that he can affect positive change even *in absentia*.

Given the omission of episodes involving Martin's battles against either the devil or misguided Christians, the only real antagonists in the story are pagans. The conclusion of the temple-destruction episodes uses these antagonists to condemn paganism as well as warlike behaviour, particularly through the murderous heathens that Martin disarms (*Vita* lines 335–44; homily lines 158–93). These heathens are depicted as foils to the saint. While the homily says that Martin is 'mild-hearted' (*mild-heortan*) and has 'humility' (*eað-modnes*), the heathens are 'angry-hearted' (*gram-heortan*) and 'hot-hearted (*hat-heortan*), both terms that always carry negative connotation in the surviving Old English corpus.[139] While the pagans draw weapons to kill the saint or do him great *teonan*, Martin forsakes all weapons and bares his neck rather than strike back. While Martin is powerful in stopping those pagans around him, the heathens themselves are ineffectual and incapable of controlling their own bodies. These pagans are presented in contrast to the constant equanimity of Martin, who nonviolently defeats them and brings them into the Christian fold.

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[137] The episode is told in Ælfric's versions of Martin's *Life*; see Mertens, ed. *Lives*, pp. 234 and 296–98.

[138] See pp. 180–83 below; Hermann, 'Boniface and Dokkum', 1–25.

[139] The compound *hat-heorta* was apparently common, with 249 instances in *DOE Corpus* from a variety of sources. Examples of the term's negative connotation are seen in *The Wanderer*, which includes *hat-heort* (line 66) in its gnomic list of what a person is supposed to avoid. Similarly, in the prose *Life of Andrew*, Andrew apologies to God for having a 'hot-heart' when he attempts to leave Mermedonia too soon (*þu me ne forlete ut gangan mid minre hat-heortan of þisse ceastre*, line 326), and the Emperor Hadrian is said to be *hat-heortnysse gefylled* ('filled with hot-heartedness') before he decides to kill saint Eustace and his family, see edition in appendix, line 351.

Moreover, the association of paganism with 'angry-heartedness' throughout the Old English corpus also distances Martin from all that seems to be implied by compounds with *gram*-. Extant attestations of the terms *gram-heort* and *gram-hydig* ('angry-hearted/minded') all appear to refer to hostile enemies, often of a demonic or godless nature. The compound *gram-heort* has four other witnesses,[140] and the one closest in meaning to the compound in the homily is found in *Beowulf,* where it is used to describe Grendel as 'the angry-hearted man, the enemy of God' (*grom-heort guma, godes ondsaca*, line 1682). Likewise, the compound *gram-hydig* is attested thirteen times, and is another poetic word loaded with negative meaning.[141] For instance, *Christ B* refers to Satan as *grom-hydigne* in line 734, and *Andreas* describes the idealised Christian city after the conversion of the Mermedonians as a place 'where no enemy or angry-minded spirit may be' (*þær næfre feondes ne bið, gastes gram-hydiges,* lines 1693b–94a).[142]

So much is especially evident in the homily on *Three Utterances of the Soul* that is found alongside the *Martinmas*-homily in Junius 85 + 86, which has *gram-heortan* and *hat-heortan* among the epithets in a list of devils and terrible assailants: 'Those devils and ravagers of people … and those liars and angry-hearted ones … and those hot-hearted ones and malicious ones and those evil ones and prideful people' (*þa ðeofas and þa ðeod-sceaðan … and þa logeras and þa gram-heortan … and þa hat-heortan and þa æfestegan and þa yfelan and þa ofer-modan*).[143] Vercelli IV similarly lists 'those hot-hearted ones and those angry-minded ones' (*þa hat-heortan and þa gram-hydigan*) among those condemned to hell, refers to the body as 'hostile minded flesh' (*gram-hidige flæsc*), and later equates 'hot-heartedness' with the effects of the demonic darts

[140] The other witnesses for *gramheort* are *Guthlac A* line 569; Exeter Book 'Riddle 2' line 6; and *Beowulf* line 1682. Scott Gwara notes the use of other *gram* compounds in Old English poetry, pertaining to one forgetting social propriety in *Heroic Identity in the World of Beowulf* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 211.
[141] *DOE* s.v. *gram-hygdig, gram-hȳdig*.
[142] See pp. 167–68 below.
[143] Chadbon, *Edition*, p. 143. General discussion of the themes in the *Three Utterances* is in Rudolph Williard, *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies* (Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1935), pp. 31–36 and 106–45. Charles Wright analyses the transmission of Anglo-Saxon material in *Three Utterances*, and argues that the Latin source of the Junius version of *Three Utterances* is Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek 44 in 'Old English Homilies and Latin Sources', in Kleist (2007), pp. 20–33; and 'More Latin Sources for the Old English "Three Utterances" Homilies', *Mediaeval Studies* 77 (2015), 49–68.

(*stræle*).[145] The use of *hat-heortan* and *gram-heortan/-hydigan* to describe reprehensible characters in works that accompany the *Martinmas*-homily suggests that the Junius and Vercelli compilers saw the pagans who attacked Martin in the context of such godless sinners.

The impetuous, bloodthirsty, and hot-headed nature of the pagans in the homily contrasts Martin's own wisdom, pacifism, and humility. The pagans who witness Martin's missionary works are portrayed as angry mobs. When Martin attempts to destroy an idol in the town of Levroux, the heathen inhabitants drive him away with injury (*hine mid teonan on weg adrifon*, lines 161–62), and it is not until Martin has an armed angelic escort that he can destroy the idol and convert the town. Martin has a more threathening experience later, when pagans rush him:

Ubi dum templum itidem euerteret, furens gentilium rusticorum in eum irruit multitudo. Cumque unus audacior ceteris stricto gladio peteret, reiecto pallio nudam ceruicem percussuro praebuit. (lines 335–38).	Swylce gelamp sume siðe þæt he sum gyld tobræc þæt ðær gearn mycele mænego to him ðara hæðenra manna and ealle wæron swiðe yrre. Ða wæs hyra sum hreðra and hat-heortra ðanne ða oðre gebræd ða his swyrde and gemynte hine to sleanne. (lines 178–81).
'When [Martin] was toppling a temple there in the same manner, a raging multitude of yokel heathens rushed upon him. And then one, more daring than the rest, made for him with a drawn sword; having thrown back his mantle Martin offered his bared neck for the strike.'	'So it happened at some time when he tore down an idol that a great multitude of those heathen men ran to him and all were greatly angry. Then a certain one of them [who] was fiercer and more hot-hearted than the others drew his sword and intended to kill [Martin].'

The pagans' hot-hearted attempt to deal with Martin through violence contrasts with the saint's own mild-hearted virtue. The juxtaposition is clearly made in the summary of Martin's character after thwarting the heathens' assassination attempts, coming at the end of Sulpicius's *Vita*:

[145] Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 92, 101 and 103.

O uere beatus uir in quo dolus non fuit, neminem iudicans, neminem damnans nulli malum pro malo reddens. Tantam quippe aduersum omnes iniurias patientiam assumperat ut cum esset summus sacerdos inpune etiam ab infimis clericis lederetur. Nec propter id eos aut loco umquam amonuerit, aut a sua quantum in ipso fuit caritate reppulerit. Nemo umquam illum uidit iratum nemo merentem nemo ridentem. Unus idemque semper celestem quodammodo letitiam uultu praeferens, extra naturam hominis uidebatur. Numquam in illius corde, nisi pietas nisi pax nisi miscordia erat. Plerumque etiam pro eorum qui obtrectatores illius uidebantur solebat flere peccatis, qui remotum et quietum uenenatis linguis et uipereo ore carpebant. Et uere nonnullos experti sumus inuidos uirtutibus uiteque eius qui in illo oderant quod in se non uidebant. Adque omne nefas dolendum et ingemiscendum, non alii fuere insectatores eius licet pauci admodum non alii tamen quam episcopi ferebantur. Nec uero quemquam nominari necesse est, licet nosmet ipsos plerique circumlatrarent, sufficit ut si qui ex his haec legerint et agnouerint, erubescant.
(lines 603–620).

Vere beatus uir in quo dolus [*non fuit*].
Þis wæs soðlice eadig wer ne wæs æfre facen ne inwid on his hyortan ne he ænigne man unrihtlice ne gedemde, ne he wite ne nam nænig yfel mid yfele ne geald, ne hine ænig man yrne ne gram-modne geræhte. Ac he wæs a in anum mode and efne heofonlicne blis and gefean mann mohte a on his andwlitan angytan, ne gehyrde ænig man aht elles of his muðe nemne cristes lof and nytte spræce ne aht elles on his hyortan nemne arfæstnesse and mild-hyortnesse and sibbe.
(lines 202–08).

‘Lo, here was a truly blessed man, in whom there was no guile; judging no one, condemning no one, returning no evil for evil. So great was the patience he had assumed against all injuries that when he was the highest of priests, he was even slighted with impunity by the lowest clerics, nor did he move them from their place on account of that, nor did he push them away from his love however great [that insult] was. No one ever saw that man angry, no one saw him perturbed, no one saw him sorrowful, no one saw him laughing; he seemed always one and the same,

‘*Here was a truly blessed man in whom there was [no] guile*. This was a truly blessed man, nor was there ever deceit nor cruelty in his heart nor did he condemn any man unrightly, nor did he punish or repay with evil for any evil taken, nor did any man find him in anger or with an angry mind. But he was always equanimous and one might equally find heavenly bliss and joy always on his countenance, nor did any man hear anything else from his mouth but the praise of Christ and edifying speech, nor anything else in his heart except faith and mild-heartedness and peace.’

bearing forth a kind of celestial happiness in his face, beyond the nature of a human. Never in his heart was anything but piety, but peace, but mercy. Still, very often he was accustomed to weep praying for those who seemed to be his enemies, those who vilified him for his detachment and quietude with poisonous tongues and a serpentine mouth. And truly we have experienced some envious of his virtue and his life, who hated him because of that which they did not see in themselves. Also, it is such a crime for lamenting and grieving, it is said of his persecutors, although they are few, yet they were said to be none other than bishops. Nor truly is it necessary to name anyone, even though they rage around us among themselves and many others; it suffices that, if one from that bunch were to read this and to recognise themselves in it, they would be ashamed.'

While the homily provides this characterisation as a transition to recount the saint's last days, the passage from Sulpicius includes a diatribe against Martin's and Sulpicius's own detractors within the Church — even among the high orders of episcopal power — who are unable to follow the saint's example. Sulpicius includes multiple critiques of Martin's episcopal disparagers throughout the *Vita* (lines 200–17, 425–29 and 612–621), which McKinley argues were part of Sulpicius's aim to promote asceticism,[146] highlighted through the passage above as one of the concluding messages in *Vita.* The *Martinmas*-homily does not directly condemn the saint's episcopal critics and makes no mention of them here or throughout the work. In focusing solely on Martin's character, the homily gives the impression of a unified and harmonious Christian community, not the fractured one which Sulpicius presents. By doing so, the homily focuses on the contrast of the saint with the hot-hearted or angry-minded heathens in the previous episodes. The passage describes Martin as peaceful and having a constant temperament. Where the pagans attempt to kill Martin for destroying

[146] McKinley, 'Two Centuries', 174–80.

their idols, he always turns the other cheek and offers forgiveness in return for aggression. This habit is mirrored in Willibald's eighth-century *Life of Boniface*, where Boniface forbids his followers from defending themselves against attackers as they attempt to convert the Frisians.[147]

The homily's critique of the pagan characters, who are portrayed as bellicose and irascible but ultimately powerless, illustrates the superiority of the peaceful Christian over any violence. Martin is always removed from the worldly pursuit of revenge or injury, continually opposing the violent actions around him. As a boy, his parents try to force him into military service, but he seeks out the life of a cleric. As a soldier, he lives as a monk among his bloodstained peers. As a missionary, he nonviolently confronts murderous heathens resistant to his 'enlightening' works. At the same time, the homily clearly demonstrates that Martin is able to overcome all violence through abstaining from warfare. Martin's primary concern with peace is further illustrated in the description of his actions at the end of his life:

Nam clericis inter se ecclesiae illius discordantibus, pacem cupiens reformare licet, finem dierum suorum non ignorasset. Proficisci tamen ob istius modi causam non recusauit, bonam hanc uirtutum suarum consummationem existimans, si pacem ecclesiae redditam reliquisset.
(p. 336).

'For with the clerics of that church stuck in discord among themselves, [Martin] was desiring that he be permitted to reestablish peace, since he was not ignorant of the end of his own days. However, he did not refuse to set forth on account of that limit, judging that he would have attained a good fulfillment of his powers, if he were to depart [life] having returned peace to the church.'

Ða wiste he sumne hyrd on his bysceopscyre ða ðe unðwære and ungesibbe heom betweonum weran. Ða fyrde he ðider mid his discipulum, ðeah ðe he wiste þæt hi[t][148] ða æt his daga ænde wære þæt he huru wolde þæt hie ealle on sibbe wæran ær he of werolde gefyrde.
(lines 211-15).

'Then he knew of a certain community in his bishopric which was in disagreement and that there was no peace between themselves. Then he went there with his disciples, though he knew it was at the end of his days, yet he wished that they were all at peace before he went from the world.'

[147] Talbot, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, pp. 56–57. See also Erdmann, *Origin*, p. 14; Hermann, 'Boniface and Dokkum', 11.
[148] Junius has *hie* while Vercelli and Blickling read *hit*; Mertens, ed., *Lives*, p. 423.

This is the first mention of division between Christians in the homily, and it comes only after the whole community has been consolidated through Martin's peaceful conversions. The addition of *ungesibbe* in the doublet translating *discordia* refines the context as the absence of peace within the community, suggesting that the *Martinmas*-homilist intended the disturbance to be less severe than it was in the Latin source. Yet the homily suggests that Martin is desirous for universal peace, saying that the saint wished 'they were all at peace' (*hie ealle on sibbe wæran*) rather than focusing on restoring peace exclusively within a specific church (*ecclesiae illius*) as the *Epistula* relates. The emphasis on peace (*sibb*) again foregrounds the idea that Martin was removed from fighting. The themes of conciliation and peacemaking in the homily are further emphasised through the omission of Martin's confrontation with diving waterfowl — episode IV in Table II above — in the Junius and Blickling versions of the homily.[149] In removing the unrelated episode about the birds, the *Martinmas*-homily focuses the end of the narrative on Martin's desire to leave the earthly Christian community in a state of peace. It is only after Martin has established peace and is on his deathbed that the homily refers to spiritual warfare in putting into his mouth the following:

'Grauis quidem est, Domine corporeae pugna militiae et iam satis est quod hucusque certaui. Sed si adhuc in eodem labore pro castris tuis stare me praecipis, non recuso nec fatiscentem causabor aetatem. Munia tua deuotus implebo, sub signis tuis, quoadusque ipse tu iusseris militabo.
(p. 340).

"The fight of corporeal warfare is onerous, Lord, and what I have fought so far is already enough. But if you still order me to stand in that same labour on behalf of your camps, I shall not

'Min Drihten, lange ic nu wæs on ðan heardan campe her on wyrolde, ac ðanne hwæðere ne wiðsace ic ðan þæt ic on ðan campe, læng sie gif hit ðin willa swiðor [bið], ac ic mid ðinum wæpnum getrymed on ðinum feðan fæste stande and for ðe campige ða hwile ðe ðin willa bið.'
(lines 247–50).

"My Lord, long have I been in that hard fight here in the world, but nevertheless I shall not refuse to be in that fight still, so long as it may be your will, but strengthened with your

[149] The *Vita* calls the birds *mergatores*, which the homily renders as *scealfras*. *DOE Corpus* gives *mergus*/*mergulus*/*mergula*/*turdella*/*circiris* as glosses for *scealfor*. Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 66, writes, 'the birds in question appear to be mergansers (*mergus merganser*) [BE: goosander] rather than loons (*colymbus torquatus*) [BE: divers] or grebes (*podiceps cristatus*).' The Oxford Old English Work in Progress group (2020) has offered a reading of 'cormorant' for *scealfor* in this context.

plead the weakening of old age as an excuse. Devoted, I shall fulfill your duties, I shall fight under your banner for however long you order it."

weapons I stand fast in your infantry and fight for you for as long as you wish it."

Here Martin himself invokes the image of spiritual warfare, framing his work on earth as a battle which he has been fighting in the Lord's army. Most of the military language in this passage derives directly from the *Vita*, which uses the image of a fighting warrior to contrast life on earth with that of heaven.[150] This section ultimately derives from Paul's letter to the Phillipians, 1:22–30,[151] in which Paul expresses the desire to die and go to God, while portraying life on earth as a 'struggle' (*certamen*) and 'labour' (*opus*), through which one must defend the gospels against Christ's adversaries.[152] The passage places Martin in the 'celestial army', implying that Martin had been engaged in spiritual warfare while opposing secular warfare. However the contrast between Martin's words here and his actions — as well as the homily's general approach to violence — suggests that the homilist was fully aware of the concept of spiritual warfare, though was hesitant to introduce it in his work for presentation at the Mass.[153]

Martin's speech in the Old English text deviates from the *Vita* to say that he uses God's weapons, which may explain the earlier emphasis on Martin forsaking all 'human' or 'worldly' weapons. The weapons of God, to which Martin refers, are likely those metaphorical arms described in Ephesians that strengthen the soul's resolve in confronting spiritual adversity on earth, rather than those used for killing pagans or in 'humanly affairs'. The *Martinmas*-homily and the *Martiniana* both support the metaphysical interpretation of this conflict by introducing the devil shortly after Martin places himself in God's army.[154]

[150] Aronstam, 'Blickling Homilies', p. 273, claims that the Anglo-Saxon world view is one of struggle between divine good and evil.
[151] Kelly, *Blickling Homilies,* p. 192.
[152] See pp. 1–3 and 15–18 above for discussion of the broader context of spiritual warfare.
[153] Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 38, seems correct in saying the *Martinmas*-homilist distances his work from the diction associated with spiritual warfare, but is too absolute when saying 'the opposition between spiritual warfare and earthly warfare is not alluded to' in the homily.
[154] Healey, *Vision of St Paul*, pp. 13–15, postulates that the Martin's confrontation with the devil at the end of the homily is the primary reason why the homily was included in the Junius manuscript, though she did not consider how much the homily reduces the presence of the devil.

Diabolum uidit propter adsistere, 'Quid', hic inquit, 'adstas, cruenta bestia? Nihil in me, funeste, reperies. Abrahae me sinus recipiet.' Cum hac ergo uoce spiritum caelo reddidit. Testatique nobis sunt, qui ibidem fuerant, uidisse se uultum eius tamquam uultum angeli; membra autem eius candida tamquam nix uidebantur, ita ut dicerent: 'Quis istum umquam cilicio tectum, quis cineribus crederet inuolutum?' iam enim sic uidebatur, quasi in futurae resurrectionis gloria et natura demutatae carnis ostensus esset.
(p. 342).

Ða geseah he ðane awergedan gast deofol ðær unfeor standan, ða cwæð he to him, 'Quid adstas, cruenda bestia?[155] Nihil in me funeste repperes', 'Hwæt standest ðu wæl-grim wil-deor? Nafast ðu mede aht æt me, ac me scyl Abrahames bearm þæt is seo ece rest onfon.' Ða he ða ðis cwæð ða wearð his andwlita swa bliðelic and his mod swa gefeonde, þæt hie efne meahtan on ðan gære ongytan þæt he gastlicne gefean geseah, and þæt hine heafonlic werod gefetode, and he ða swa gefeonde ðas sarlican hofo gelet, and hine ða ure drihten to his ðam heofonlican ríce nam.
(lines 272–79).

'He saw a devil standing nearby. "Why," he said, "do you stand there, bloodthristy beast? You will find nothing impure in me. The bosom of Abraham shall receive me." When he thus said this, he rendered his spirit to heaven. Those, who were there, testified to us that they saw that his face was as the face of an angel, likewise his shining limbs seemed to be as snow, so that they were saying, "Who would believe that this man was ever covered by that goat-hair cloak, who would believe that he was rolled up in ashes?" Thus he even seemed then, in the changed nature of his flesh, as he would in the future glory of the resurrection.'

'Then he saw that cursed spirit the Devil standing nearby, then [Martin] said to him, "*Why do you stand there, bloodthristy beast? You will find nothing impure in me*", [which is,] "Lo, [why] are you standing there, slaughter-grim wild-beast? You will not find any reward with me, but the bosom of Abraham shall receive me in that eternal rest." When he said this, then his countenance became so joyous and his spirit so exulted, that they might even perceive in that time that he saw spiritual bliss, and that the heavenly host fetched him, and then he rejoicing so left this painful enclosure, and then our Lord took him to his heavenly kingdom.'

Martin's reaction at his death to the devil demonstrates that the saint is not culpable, having no sin for which Satan might assault him, as is emphasised by the final Latin quotation in the homily.[156] The passage thus underscores the fact that Martin's fight is not directed at temptation or an identified enemy, as it is in

[155] Junius provides *ura* which Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 67, suggests was meant to be *uestra*, though he amends to *bestia* to match the *Epistula* and Blickling text.
[156] Kelly, *Blickling Homilies,* p. 193, postulates that the reference to the devil is kept to show that any man, no matter how pure, is susceptible to temptation.

the homilies on Guthlac or Andrew,[157] but more that life on earth is full of war or struggle compared to the peace that will follow. The violent nature of the world is expressed through its association with sin and the devil, which the passage calls the 'slaughter-grim wild-beast' (*wæl-grim wil-deor*) using two alliterating compounds underpinned with assonance (*wæl- wil-*) to emphasise the connection. This violence, the homily shows, can be countered with pacifism.

As a result of Martin's constant faith, the saint is received into the 'heavenly host' (*heafonlic werod*) with bliss, a detail that has no parallel in the Sulpician *Epistula*. Beyond connecting Martin to the Biblical concept of the 'heavenly host', the inclusion of the *heafonlic werod* may also refer to the two armed angels who accompany Martin in his conversion of Levroux (*Vita* lines 319–34; homily lines 161–71). Like the angels, whose spiritual power comes to the aid of the faithful, Martin is entering the company of saints who aid Christians after death as intercessors with the Divine. In linking Martin to the armed angels at his death, the homily seems to suggest that involvement in the army of God is only appropriate for metaphysical beings of divine authority and the culmination of one's peaceful devotion, not part of one's life on earth. The passage highlights this fact through the repetition of words referring to heaven (*gastlic* and *heofonlic*). The homily does not explore how Martin's physical actions protect his soul against demonic temptation and combat the forces of the Satan, yet we will see in the next two chapters that the Anglo-Saxon hagiographers of Guthlac and Andrew did consider the metaphysical ramifications of physical actions for *milites Christi.* The *Martinmas*-homilist may have thought that their mixed audience would not have fully grasped the distinction between the abstract concept of spiritual and worldly warfare from which the homilist endeavoured to separate the saint.

The Vercelli and Junius versions of the homily conclude with the following address — one that has no parallel in the *Vita* —and which echoes the homily's opening:

> Hwæt we nu geherað, [men þa leofestan],[158] hu eaðmodlice ðes eadiga wer his lif for gode gelyfode ða hwile ðe he her on wurolde

[157] See pp. 112–36, 149–53 and 168–80 below.
[158] The phrase *men þa leofestan* is in the Vercelli version but not Junius. The Blickling Homiliary is missing the folio with the ending of the homily.

> wæs and hu fæger edlean he æt urum drihtne onfeng. And nu a ða hwile ðe ðeos wurold standeð his god mæn mærsiað geond ealne ðisne middan-geard on godes cyricean. And he nu mid eallum halgum to widan feore on heofena rice for drihtnes onsyne gefehð and blissað. Ac utan we tyligan þæt we ðyses eadigan weres lif and his dæda onhyrigan, ðæs ðe ure gemet sige, and wutan hine biddan ðæt he us sige on heofonum ðingere wið urne drihten. Nu we her on eorðan his gemynd wyrðiað, to ðan us gefultumige ure drihten, se leofað and ricsað a butan ænde, AMEN. (lines 280–88).
>
> 'Lo [dearest people], we now hear how blessedly this blessed man lived his life for God for as long as he was here on earth and how fair a reward he received from our Lord. And now, for as long as this world stands men shall praise his good [deeds] throughout all of this middle-earth in God's churches. And now with all the saints far and wide he will rejoice and exult in the heavenly kingdom in the presence of the Lord. But let us endeavour that we emulate the life and deeds of this blessed man, that this be our lot, and let us ask him that he be an advocate in heaven for us to our Lord. Now we here on earth venerate his memory, so that he may be a help for us with our Lord, who lives and rules forever without end, AMEN.'

In stating that it is only in good deeds on earth that one might join the heavenly host, the *Martinmas*-homilist uses the saint to inspire audiences to dedicate their lives in service to the spiritual realm, which rewards its adherents with eternal gifts of grace, rather than to give themselves to the *idlan dreamas and þa welan ðisse wyrolde* which are integral to *woruld-folgoð*. For aristocratic audiences, this would mean abandoning the warrior ideals of secular life to embrace peaceful community building as a spiritual soldier of God. This is the path which the late seventh-century Mercian Guthlac takes, when he leaves his life as a bloodstained warlord for a clerical life, first as a cenobitic monk then as an ascetic hermit. In the next chapter, we will see how Guthlac's hagiographers follow Sulpicius in illustrating how an ideal Christian avoids the sins of worldly pursuits and bloodshed. At the same time, composers of the Old English Guthlac-narratives — working in similar historical contexts to the *Martinmas*-homilist — as well as tenth-century copyists who place the accounts of Martin and Guthlac alongside each other, are more accepting of warrior culture as a means to describe the struggle against temptation.

Chapter Four

The Spiritual Soldier: The Narratives of Guthlac of Crowland

Where the ninth-century *Martinmas*-homilist distances the saint from warrior culture, the Anglo-Saxon narratives on Guthlac of Crowland illustrate how other hagiographers working contemporaneously conceived of devotion in military terms.[1] From the explanation of Guthlac's name to his sanctified apotheosis at his death, Guthlac stood for Anglo-Saxon audiences as an example of how the *miles Christi* was to fight temptation in the spiritual realm. In Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*,[2] the Old English Prose *Life of Guthlac*,[3] and the Exeter Book poem *Guthlac A*,[4] the saint must repeatedly ward off demonic enemies who physically and spiritually assault him.[5] In resisting the demons without physical aggression or violence, Guthlac is able to defend his eremitic life on the fenland *beorg* until he gains mastery of his temptations, banishes his fiendish assailants, and converts the *beorg* into a Christian stronghold of salvation. After he conquers temptation and makes an earthly paradise of Crowland, Guthlac attains sainthood following a peaceful death which is the focus of the following Old English poem in the Exeter Book, *Guthlac B*.[6] The Guthlac-narratives explore the military imagery incorporated at the close of the *Martinmas*-homily,

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[1] For overviews of the Anglo-Saxon material on Guthlac see Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 67–185; and Jane Roberts, 'An Inventory of Early Guthlac Materials', *Mediaeval Studies* 32 (1970), 193–233.

[2] The authoritative edition of the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* is Bertram Colgrave, ed. And trans., *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956). An alternative translation of the *Vita* is provided in Albertson, *Saints and Heroes*, pp. 167–215. Latin passages from the *Vita* cited throughout have been supplied from Colgrave's edition.

[3] The prose *Life of Guthlac* found in British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xxi was published by Charles Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St Guthlac, Hermit of Crowland* (London: J.R. Smith, 1848), then by Paul Gonser, *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1909), who directly compares both the Vercelli and Vespasian texts to the *Vita*. The extract of the *Life of Guthlac* in Vercelli, Bibliotecta Capitolare, CXVII, generally named *Homily XXIII*, has been edited by Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 97–101, and more recently by Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 381–92. For a discussion on the relationship between the Vercelli and Vespasian versions of the *Life* see Jane Roberts, 'The Old English Prose Translation of Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), pp. 363–79; Roberts, 'Two Readings in the Guthlac Homily', in Treharne and Rosser (2002), pp. 201–10. All of the Old English quotations of the *Life of Guthlac* are supplied from Gonser's edition.

[4] See Roberts, ed, *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 83–107.

[5] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, p. 137; Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 88–101.

[6] Roberts, ed., *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 108–24.

demonstrating how the virtues of warrior culture could be interpreted metaphorically when applied to a nonviolent contemplative life.

Guthlac was a Mercian, and one of the earliest English saints to receive extensive literary attention, rivaling that of the other widely venerated Anglo-Saxon ascetic, the Northumbrian Cuthbert.[7] The first known account of Guthlac's life is Felix's *Vita*,[8] written shortly after the saint's death in 714 but before the death of King Ælfwald of East Anglia (d. 749), to whom Felix addresses the *Vita* in its *Prologue* (§1).[9] Noting Bede's unfamiliarity with Felix's work, most commentators date the *Vita*'s composition to between 730 and 740.[10] Felix's account seems to have been based on historical characters, but the story is so heavily influenced by other saints' Lives, manipulated to fit hagiographical traditions, and embroiled in eighth-century Mercian politics that it is impossible to attribute historicity to the events that the *Vita* records.[11] It is similarly difficult to draw a detailed historical account of the composer of the *Vita,* Felix. Little is known about Felix beyond his Mercian or East Anglian origin,[12] as well as his broad literary education in the Roman model at a monastery with a well-stocked

[7] For transmission of Cuthbert's *Lives* in England and on the continent, see Donald Bullough, 'A Neglected Early-Ninth-Century Manuscript of the Lindisfarne *Vita S. Cuthberti*', *ASE* 27 (1998), 105–31; Mechthild Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in late Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 66–110.

[8] For an overview of early mentions of the saint, see Jane Roberts and Alan Thacker, 'Introduction to Guthlac's Life and Cult', in *Guthlac*, ed. Jane Roberts and Alan Thacker (Donington: Suan Tyas, 2020), pp. xv–xxx; and Sarah Leeser, 'On the Edge and in the Middle: The Dynastic and Territorial Context of St Guthlac's Early Cult', in the same volume, pp. 138–56.

[9] Citations of the *Vita* refer to Colgrave's chapter numbering and are denoted with an '§'.

[10] Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, p. 19; Audrey Meaney, 'Felix's Life of Guthlac: History or Hagiography?', in *Æthelbald and Offa*, ed. D. Hill (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), p. 75b; Andy Orchard, '*Lege Feliciter, Scribe Felicius*: The Originality of the *Vita S. Guthlaci*', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), p. 25; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 1–4; Alan Thacker, 'Guthlac and His Life: Felix Shapes the Saint', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 1–5; Gernot Wieland, '*Aures Lectores*: Orality and Literacy in Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (1997), 169.

[11] Jeffery Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 117–21 and 142–46; Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, pp. 2–7; Nick Higham, 'Guthlac's *Vita*, Mercia and East Anglia in the First Half of the Eighth Century', in *Æthelbald and Offa*, ed. David Hill (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), pp. 85b–89a; Kelly Kilpatrick, 'Places, Landscapes and Borders in the *Vita S. Guthlaci*', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 98, 104–05 and 114–15; Stefany Wragg, '*Guthlac A* and Cult of Guthlac', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 214–17 and 225. For an analysis of the historical context of Felix's work, with a focus on its context in Mercian political movements in the seventh and eighth centuries, see Morn Capper, 'St Guthlac and the 'Britons': A Mercian Context', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 181–213, Joseph Grossi, 'Felix and His Kings', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 157–179, and Jane Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature: The Case of Guthlac of Crowland', in *Mercia*, ed. Michelle Brown and Carol Farr (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), p. 73.

[12] Cohen, *Identity*, pp. 144–45; Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, p. 16; Orchard, '*Lege Feliciter*', pp. 49–54. Wragg, '*Guthlac A*', pp. 214–28; and 'Early–Texts', 259–61, read Felix as Mercian, although Felix's origins are ultimately unknowable.

library, as is evident from the variety of sources he draws upon in composing his *Vita*.[13]

Felix's wide-ranging education undoubtedly influenced his compositional style, which has been comprehensively analysed since the twelfth century, with reactions ranging from admiration to frustration.[14] His ornate prose style is marked by a combination of various Christian and Classical Latin literary traditions, as well as his own penchant for long lists and poetic words.[15] Felix's resulting narrative is thus couched in elaborate language and hagiographical cross-references that only a learned audience could be expected to fully appreciate. The full extent of Felix's literary borrowing is still being uncovered. Downey's study on the intertexuality of Guthlac-narratives demonstrates Felix's use of hagiographical material to connect aspects of his *Vita* with other saints.[16] Downey and others have identified Evagarius' *Vita S. Antonii,* Jerome's *Vita Pauli Eremitiae,* Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti,* the *Dialogi Gregorii,* Sulpicius's *Vita Martini,* Adomnan's *Vita S. Columbae*, Jonas's *Vita S. Columbani*, *Visio S. Pauli*, *Vita S. Fursei* and the *Vita S. Benedicti* among the sources upon which Felix drew.[17] These texts provide the hagiographical tropes surrounding the *miles Christi*,

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[13] Meredith Bacola, '*Vacuas in Auras Recessit*? Reconsidering the Relevance of Embedded Heroic Material in the Guthlac Narrative', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), p. 78–85; Britton Brooks, 'Felix's Construction of the English Fenlands: Landscape, Authorizing Allusion, and Lexical Echo', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 55–65; Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 25–44; Higham, 'Guthlac's *Vita*', p. 85a; Meaney, 'History or Hagiography', pp. 75a–76b; Orchard, '*Lege Feliciter*', pp. 25–31; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 7–9.

[14] Orderic Vitalis, for instance, calls it *prolixus et aliquantulum obscurus* ('drawn out and in parts obscure') in Marjorie Chibnall, ed., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), II:322. Orchard, '*Lege Feliciter*', pp. 32–54, analyses the rare words Felix uses and their poetic origin. See too Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, pp. 17–19; Sarah Downey, 'Too Much of Too Little: Guthlac and the Temptation of Excessive Fasting', *Traditio* 63 (2008), 99; Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature', p. 76.

[15] Higham, 'Guthlac's *Vita*', p. 85a. The complexity of Felix's vocabulary may even account for the Old English glosses in the three of the extant copies of Felix's *Vita*, as these glosses appear to cover rare words or coinages. For instance, *versuta* is glossed with *fæ*[*cne*], *stagnosa* with *fennegan*, *flagitiosas* with *fac*[*enfulle*], and *raucisonis* with *hasgrumelum.* For a list of the glossed words and analysis, see Colegrave, ed., *Guthlac*, pp. 52–54; Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 68–88. Wieland, '*Aures Lectores*', 169, also suggests that Old English oral traditions informed Felix's style in addition to the Latin sources he used.

[16] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 26–66.

[17] Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, p. 4; Joseph Grossi, 'Barrow Exegesis: Quotation, Chorography, and Felix's *Life of St Guthlac*', *Florilegium* 30 (2013), 144–65; Higham, 'Guthlac's *Vita*', p. 85a; Kurtz, 'St Antony', 103–106, 118, 126, and 140–44; Meaney, 'History or Hagiography', pp. 77b–78a; Roberts, 'Inventory', 203. Both Downey, 'Intertextuality', p. 33, and Concetta Gilberto, 'The *Descensus ad Inferos* in the Old English Prose Life of St Guthlac and Vercelli Homily XXIII', in Lazzari, Lendinara, and Di Sciacca (2014), p. 241, believe Felix did not directly consult the Bible for scriptural references but accessed them through intermediary sources.

particularly Antony's struggles against demons in the desert tomb, which Felix appropriates for Guthlac: the archetypal ascetic hermit struggling against demons in a wasteland.[18] More recent studies offer further links between Felix's *Vita* and Latin heroic poetry like Vergil's *Aeneid*,[19] indicating that Felix was not only conscious of Classical pagan literature, but also had no reservations applying imagery from pagan literature in depicting Guthlac as a *miles Christi*.

The cult of Guthlac quickly spread throughout England in the eighth and ninth centuries. Surviving calendars, missals, and various other 'Guthlac-materials' indicate that the Life was transmitted widely, and attest to the popularity of the cult before and after Norman Conquest, as well as into the thirteenth century.[20] Felix's *Vita* was the basis for several Old English accounts of the Guthlac's life. A brief reference to Guthlac is found in the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*,[21] which focuses on the miracles associated with Guthlac's birth, the saint's name, and his communication with an angel concerning divine mysteries.[22] In addition to the *Martyrology*, two lengthier verse-narratives of Guthlac appear in the Exeter Book. The poet of *Guthlac A* seems to have been aware of Felix's *Vita*, though not to have used it as a direct source.[23] It has been argued that *Guthlac A* is one of the earliest surviving Old English poems,

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[18] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 33–39; Kilpatrick, 'Places', pp. 108–110; Kurtz, 'St Antony', 105–13; Thacker, 'Felix Shapes', pp. 10–12.

[19] Helen Appleton and Matthew Robinson, 'Further Echoes of Vergil's *Aeneid* in Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*', *Notes and Queries* 64:3 (2017), 353a–55a; Bacola, '*Vacuas in auras*', pp. 78–83; Orchard, '*Lege Feliciter*', pp. 29–36 and 40; Thundyil, 'Convenant', pp. 259–65. Brooks, 'Felix's Construction', pp. 59–65, disagrees and argues that Felix did not purposefully use Virgil but drew from a generic stock of material.

[20] Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, p. 12; Roberts, 'Inventory', 193, 199–202 and 215–16. Guthlac appears in all of the calendars Wormald analyses except for Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 63, North country [ix-century]; BL, Cotton Vitellius A xviii, Wells county Somerset, [1061×1088]; *English Kalendars*, pp. 5–15 and 105–15. For a discussion of the veneration of Guthlac after the Norman conquest as well as Anglo-Norman material concerning Guthlac's life, see Elizabeth Danbury, 'Richard II and St Guthlac' in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 473–84; and Tom Licence, 'The Cult of St Guthlac after the Norman Conquest', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 385–407. Timothy Bolton, 'Guthlac, Waltheof, Crowland and Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 852' in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 408–25, analyses Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 852, and demonstrates that a Life of Guthlac was commissioned by King William in 1076; a text which Richard Sharpe introduces, edits, and translates in 'The Twelfth-Century Translation and Miracles of St Guthlac', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 485–554.

[21] Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, pp. 9–12; Roberts, 'Inventory', 203–04; Wragg, 'Early Texts', 13–14.

[22] *OEMart.* 80.

[23] Thomas D. Hill, 'The Middle Way: *Idel*–*Wuldor* and *Egesa* in the Old English *Guthlac A*', *Review of English Studies* 30:118 (1979), 186, thinks it is possible that the poet knew the *Vita* even if he did not follow it. For a fuller account of the poet's knowledge of Felix see Colgrave, *Guthlac*, p. 20; Jones, 'Envisioning', 260; Roberts, Inventory', 201; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 11–29; Roberts, 'Sources and Source Hunting', pp. 1–18.

potentially composed by a near-contemporary of Guthlac in the eighth century.[24] However, Roberts suggests that the metre and language of *Guthlac A* points towards a later dating and West Saxon origin.[25] The second poem, referred to as *Guthlac B*, is thought to have been composed between the late eighth and early ninth century, and uses chapter 50 of Felix's *Vita* as its main source in retelling Guthlac's death.[26]

Felix's *Vita* also served as the source for the prose *Life of Guthlac*, recensions of which survive as Vercelli XXIII and in the eleventh-century BL, Cotton Vespasian MS D. xxi, although no extant Latin text precisely represents the Old English adapter's exemplar.[27] The prose account seems to have been produced around the same time as the *Martinmas*-homily, in the late ninth century,[28] possibly in Worcester during the Alfredian translation program.[29] The dating of the *Life of Guthlac* to the late ninth century is lexically supported through the use of compounds found almost exclusively in other late ninth-century texts.[30] Like the *Martinmas*-homily, the *Life of Guthlac* underwent alteration, abbreviation, and successive modernisation as it was adapted for the Vercelli and Vespasian collections respectively.[31]

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[24] Alaric Hall, 'Constructing Anglo-Saxon Sanctity: Tradition, Innovation and Saint Guthlac', in *Images of Medieval Sanctity*, ed. Debra Strickland (Leiden: Brill, 2007) pp. 208–10; Wragg, 'Early Texts', 257–58.

[25] Roberts, *Guthlac Poems,* pp. 70–71.

[26] Hall, 'Constructing', p. 208; Peter Lucas, 'Easter, the Death of St Guthlac and the Liturgy for Holy Saturday in Felix's *Vita* and the Old English *Guthlac B*', *Medium Ævum* 61:1 (1992), 2–3; Roberts, 'Inventory', 202; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 36–48.

[27] Gonser, *Prosa-Leben*, pp. 100–73, was the first to compare the whole *Life of Guthlac* with a *Vita* text, followed more recently by Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies,* pp. 381–394, who provides a similar comparison for those sections covered by Vercelli XXIII. Gonser's source choice for the *Vita* has been questioned by W. F. Bolton, 'The Manuscript Source of the Old English Prose Life of St Guthlac', *Archiv für Studium das Neueren Sprachen* 112/197 (1961), 301–03, as well as Zacher, *Preaching the Converted*, pp. 238–41, who suggest that the exact sources of the Old English accounts of Guthlac are not extant. See also Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, pp. 46–52; Roberts, 'Two Readings', p. 201; Roberts 'Seals of the Cross', 115.

[28] Wragg, 'Early Texts', 262–63, suggests that the *Life* was produced in the early ninth century to support Æthelbald's bid for power, though her claim is largely based on circumstantial political evidence and not substantial linguistic grounds.

[29] See Jane Roberts' various works, specifically, 'Inventory', 203; 'Prose Translation', p. 366; 'Hagiography and Literature', pp. 69–70; 'Seals of the Cross', 119; and *Guthlac of Crowland*, *a Saint for Middle England* (Norwich: Fursey Pilgrims, 2009), pp. 178 and 200–01. Roberts bases her suggestions on linguistic grounds and the detail of a handheld cross, which is not found in the Latin sources but has analogues in other offices for saints from Worcester.

[30] Roberts provides detailed analyses of the *Life*'s lexicon in 'Prose Translation', pp. 368–72, and 'Two Readings', p. 202.

[31] Robert Fulk, 'Anglian Dialect Features in Old English Anonymous Homiletic Literature: A Survey, with Preliminary Findings', in *Studies in the History of the English Language IV*, ed. Susan

The versions of the *Life of Guthlac* in the Vercelli book and the Vespasian manuscript provide different interpretations of their exemplars.[32] The Vespasian text is an abridged account of Felix's entire *Vita* while Vercelli XXIII provides an expanded rendering of chapters 28–32 of the *Vita.*[33] The simplification of the Vespasian narrative, in comparison with the Vercelli text, is especially seen from chapter 36 onwards, where the episodes are increasingly abbreviated.[34] Overall, the adaptation of Felix's *Vita* into the original *Life of Guthlac* stays close to the Latin, since it generally portrays all of the narrative elements from Felix's *Vita*, and simplifies Felix's idiosyncratically complex prose.[35] Downey shows that Felix's *Vita* was reworked conscientiously to maintain the internal repetition and structural connections in the narrative.[36] However, points of clear deviation from the *Vita* demonstrate that the translator and transmitters did not hesitate to alter their exemplars to highlight Guthlac's involvement in worldly and spiritual warrior cultures.

The most obvious changes are the abbreviation of miracle-episodes, particularly those after Guthlac's defeat of the demons that involve his control of birds (§§37–39), exorcisms (§40), or displays of prophetic knowledge (§§43 and 47). These later chapters relate what Downey has referred to as the 'public miracles' — which typologically establish Guthlac as a saint with power to heal, exorcise corrupting spirits from visitors, control nature, and foretell the future of his visitors — linking Guthlac to the larger hagiographical tradition.[37] In the

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Fitzmaurice and Donka Minkova (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), p. 91; Roberts, 'Prose Translation', pp. 366–367; 'Hagiography and Literature', p. 80; *Guthlac of Crowland*, pp. 196–97, and Stefany Wragg, 'Vernacular Literature in Eighth- and Ninth-Century Mercia', DPhil. Dissertation (University of Oxford, 2017), p. 84, further argue that the original *Life of Guthlac* was produced by an Anglian translator given the older Anglian words that survive in the extant West Saxon versions, although Roberts argues that evidence for placing the translation before Alfred is lacking. Gilberto, '*Descensus ad Inferos*', p. 233, and Hall, 'Constructing', p. 207, date the *Life* to the early tenth century.

[32] Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland*, pp. 181–87 and 197. Gonser, ed., *Prose–Leben*, pp. 117–34, provides both texts side-by-side for comparison.

[33] For discussions of the differences between the Vercelli and Vespasian texts see Roberts, 'Prose Translation', pp. 368–72; Roberts, 'Two Readings', pp. 203–07; Roberts, 'Seals of the Cross', 117; Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 381 and 390; Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 97–101.

[34] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 133–46, provides an analysis of the aspects of the *Vita* which are abbreviated in the *Life of Guthlac*.

[35] Bolton, 'Manuscript Source', 301; Colgrave, *Guthlac*, p. 19; Downey, 'Too Much', 99; Roberts, 'Prose Translation', pp. 363–65; Zacher, *Preaching the Converted*, pp. 229 and 236–37.

[36] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 106–31, analyses the *Life*'s prose style, with a particular focus on its internal repetitions and its indebtedness to Felix's style.

[37] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 138–40 and 144–45.

Vespasian *Life*, these miracle-episodes are condensed so as to quickly account for the miracle without many of the surrounding details. In this way, the compiler is able to give Guthlac the appropriate authority befitting a saint through acknowledging that he performed the same miracles as other saints, and simultaneously avoids copying the formulaic set-up for each. The Vespasian compiler is not unique in making this editorial choice. Most Old English accounts of Guthlac's life similarly omit or condense the formulaic miracles, preferring instead to focus on Guthlac's struggle with demons.[38] Roberts and Parkes further demonstrate that treatments of Guthlac after the conquest, such as the Harley Roll and liturgical chants, limit their portrayals of the saint to focus on Guthlac's virtues as a *miles Christi*, his fights with devils, and his colloquy with angels.[39] The Vercelli-homilist and the *Guthlac A*-poet do not relate any aspects of the narrative beyond the struggle against demonic forces in converting the *beorg*.[40] Likewise, the focus on the saint's combat with the devils, and neglect of the other sections of Guthlac's anchoritic life in the two versions of the *Life* as well as *Guthlac A*, suggest that Guthlac's example of how to soldier for Christ was of primary interest for the hagiographers.[41]

The Guthlac-narratives explore the various ways one might live on earth, and the spiritual ramifications of each. This focus on differing ways to exist is made evident through repeated references to orders or states of being, as well as the partitioning of Guthlac's life into distinct stages, similar to the *Martinmas*-homily's use of terms with *-dom*, *-folgoð,* and *-had* to mark the various stations or areas of service Martin takes up.[42] The *Guthlac A*-poet acknowledges this theme, saying, 'there are many orders through the world under heaven, from which the number of saints arise' (*monge sindon geond middangeard hadas under*

[38] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 146–47, 165 and 180–82. Whatley, 'Lost in Translation', 193–98, believes that the omissions focus instead on the spiritual connection between king and hermit. Lucas, 'Easter', 1–16, considers the liturgical interest in Guthlac's death in *Guthlac B*.
[39] Henry Parkes, 'Musical Portraits of St Guthlac', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 277–95; Jane Roberts 'Guthlac on a Roll: BL, Harley MS Y. 6', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 249–54.
[40] Peter Dendle, *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 106–14; Hall, 'Constructing', pp. 214–16; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 29–32; Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature', p. 82; Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland*, p. 25; Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 381–82; Zacher, *Preaching the Converted*, pp. 229–63.
[41] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 93 and 140–59.
[42] See pp. 57–71 above.

heofonum, þa þe in haligra rim arisað, lines 30–32a).[43] The poem reinforces the idea of different orders twenty lines later when it notes the 'many orders born under heaven great and small' (*ða nu under heofonum hadas cennað, micle ond mæte,* lines 52b–53a). These two passages speak of the distinct states of being one can attain during life on earth. This mirrors the descriptions of Guthlac's visitors in the *Vita* and *Life of Guthlac*:[44]

Sub eisdem quoque temporibus ad uirum Dei Guthlacum multi diuersorum ordinum gradus, abbates, fratres,[45] comites, diuites, uexati, pauperes …[46] confluebant. (§45).	Wæs on þa sylfan tid þæt þone foresprecenan wer missenlices hades men sohton, ægðer þara ge ealdormen ge bisceopas, and abbodas, and ælces hades heane and rice. (§15:15–17).
'Also during these same times many people of rank of diverse orders, abbots, brother monks, lords, the rich, the troubled, [or] the poor, flocked to the man of God Guthlac.'	'At that same time men of a diverse order, both those nobles and bishops, and abbots and the low and powerful of each order, sought the aforementioned man.'

As Guthlac himself moves between different *ordines* or *hadas*,[47] he brings those from all walks of life to his island. The *Guthlac*-hagiographers relate that noblemen and a future king come to see Guthlac, as do bishops and abbots. Both ecclesiastical and secular orders have 'great and small' ranks, qualified not only by temporal wealth and power, but also spiritual salvation. When describing these various orders, the narratives juxtapose how the materially destitute hermit Guthlac is superior to those in temporally high places. This shows how the spiritual and physical worlds are inverted when assessing rank; the more

[43] Coker, 'Voicing the Supernatural', pp. 188–92; Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 139–42. Conner, 'Source Studies', 390–91; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, p. 129. Roy Liuzza, The Old English *Christ* and *Guthlac*: Texts, Manuscripts, and Critics', *The Review of English Studies*, 41:161 (1990), 7–10, considers the first thirty lines of *Guthlac A* to be an addition to the poem, linking it thematically to *Christ III* by explicating the orders of people who are welcomed to heaven or hell.
[44] Comparative quotations throughout the chapter provide the text from Felix's *Vita* (ed. Colgrave) on the lefthand side, and the text from the *Life of Guthlac* (ed. Gonser), on the righthand side of the text block.
[45] The term *fratres* does not appear in three of the extant versions of the *Vita*, manuscripts A_2E_2G, Colgrave, ed. *Guthlac*, p. 138, suggesting the omission in the *Life* may stem from its exemplar.
[46] Clauses referring to Guthlac's visitors coming from every area of Britain, drawn by the saint's miracles are omitted.
[47] There are several instances of *had* glossing *ordo* in Old English sources. See for example Napier, *Glosses*, p. 100; John Quinn, 'The Minor Latin-Old English Glossaries in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A. III'', PhD. Dissertation (Stanford University, 1956), p. 196.

temporal power and wealth Guthlac gives up, the more spiritually powerful he becomes. This theme of ascetic superiority in the *Life of Guthlac* is similar to the detachment from the world that is extolled in the *Martinmas*-homily.[48] Yet unlike Martin, who holds a powerful episcopal position and lives a 'mixed life' as an ascetic-bishop, the Guthlac-narratives emphasise that the saint's influence in the world is most efficacious through a contemplative life removed from society.

The theme of spiritual influence gained by rejecting worldly connections is repeated throughout the Guthlac-narratives for each state of being Guthlac inhabits. In moving from secular warlord to monk and finally anchorite, Guthlac increasingly removes himself from worldly concerns and the sins which hamper one from attaining sanctity. As a young warrior, he is characterised as violent and spiritually errant. As a monk, he is removed from many sins of the world, but is a neophyte in his devotion to Christ, still learning ways to rectify his behaviour. As an anchorite, Guthlac becomes a 'soldier of Christ' who defeats temptations of worldly comfort by overthrowing devils and converting the pagan island while in contemplative isolation. Throughout these stages, the composer indicates that the proper place for military discipline and virtue is in the spiritual realm against temptation.[49] In doing so, the audience is not presented with a pacifist saint like Martin, but a *miles Christi* who replaces secular warfare with the abstract combat of the soul.

Guthlac is born into a noble Mercian family and as a youth he distinguishes himself as a warlord, to the evident detriment of his spiritual state (§§1–4 and 10–18). Guthlac is inspired to take-up the life of a warrior when 'he remember[s] the strong deeds of those men of yore and of those worldly leaders' (*gemunde he þa strangan dæda þara* [*iu*]*manna and þara woruld-frumena*, §2:33–35).[50] The compound *weoruld-fruma* ('worldly-leader') seems to be a coinage of

[48] See pp. 56–60 and 70–71 above.
[49] The Vespasian compiler only provides four chapter numbers corresponding to: 1. Guthlac's birth; 2. The events of his youth until he becomes a hermit; 3. Founding the hermitage on Crowland; 4. Guthlac's life as a hermit. Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 88–101, splits Guthlac's life in five parts (based on Guthlac's early life, solitary struggles, 'medial' miracles, public miracles, and death), while more recently Orchard, '*Lege Feliciter*', p. 28, split Felix's *Vita* into two parts, Guthlac's life before becoming a hermit and his life afterwards. See also Roberts, 'Prose Translation', pp. 364–65.
[50] The manuscript reads *unmanna* here, yet Gonser, *Prosa-Leben*, pp. 108 and 180, and Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland,* pp. 182–83, demonstrate that the nonce *unmann* is a misinterpretation of

the translator, adapting *herous* ('hero') and underlining the association of these inspirational men with secular concerns.[51]

The *Life of Guthlac* and *Guthlac A* both create a contrast between the sanctified spiritual realm and the sinful, fleeting, secular one using compounds and phrases that incorporate *weoruld-*, just as we saw in the *Martinmas*-homily.[52] First, the *Life* establishes that the use of *weoruld* signifies both life on the terrestrial plane, as well as in the secular order. For example, the Latin phrase *secularibus pompis* (§19) becomes *woruld-glenga* (§2:76), Guthlac's father is called *worulde welig* ('wealthy in the world', §1:5), and *Guthlac A* alludes to the *worulde/eorðan wynnum* ('joys of the world') which the saint renounces (lines 2b–3). *Guthlac A* states later that, when Guthlac becomes a hermit, he gives up the possessions he had in youth used for 'worldly pleasures' (*worulde wynnum*, lines 103–05), and defines these 'delights of the world' (*woruld-blissa*) as soft seats, banquet-feasts, vain delights of the eyes, proud apparel as well as 'glory among men' (*menniscum þrymm*, lines 164–69).

The *Life of Guthlac* and *Guthlac A* together depict these aspects of warrior culture as both fleeting and the product of spiritual turmoil.[53] The beginning of *Guthlac A* calls for the soul to give up transitory earthly pleasures: *ofgiefeþ hio þas eorþan wynne, forlæteð þas lænan dreamas* ('[the soul] gives up those earthly pleasures, forsakes those empty delights', lines 2b–3). Lines 37b–47 define the world as 'disturbed' (*woruld is onhrered*, line 37b) and state that 'every noble bounty of the earth ages, and the nature of fruitful things turns from beauty' (*ealdað eorþan blæd æþela gehwylcre ond of wlite wendað wæstma gecyndu*, lines 43–44). However, only a few recognise the empty nature of worldly pursuits as God watches his law declining as a consequence of 'worldly-rule' (*woruld-ryhte*, lines 56–58). The poem compares the transience of the world with the soul's eternal homeland:

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geo-mann, a compound with more attestations, and argue that it should be *iu-mann* for 'man of old', agreeing with *Vita* text which reads: *tunc valida priscorum heroum facta reminiscens* … §16.
[51] Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland*, p. 182, and Waldorf, 'Hapax', p. 386, translate *woruld-fruma* as 'great-man'.
[52] See pp. 58–66 above.
[53] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 18–19.

Bið him eorð-wela ofer þæt ece lif
hyhta hyhst, se gehwylcum sceal
fold-buendra fremde geweorþan.
Forþon hy nu hyrwað haligra mod,
ða þe him to heofonum hyge staþeliað,
witon þæt se eðel ece bideð
ealra þære mengu þe geond middan-geard
dryhtne þeowiað ond þæs deoran ham
wilniað bi gewyrhtum.

Lines 62–70a.

'For them the highest of hopes are for earthly wealth, over that eternal life, which shall be made strange for each of the earth-dwellers. Therefore they now deride the minds of saints, those who have fixed their thoughts towards the heavens, knowing that their homeland will endure forever for all the multitude who throughout middle-earth serve the Lord and by [their] deeds yearn for that dear home.'

The poet juxtaposes earthly and heavenly approaches to living, contrasting the earthly concepts of *eorð-wela*, *fold-buendra*, and *middan-geard* with the heavenly ones in *ece lif*, *heofonum*, and *eðel ece*. Lines 62 and 64 emphasis the divide between worldly fixation and heavenly pursuit in alliterating the opposing ideas of 'earthly wealth' (*eorð-wela*) that the 'earth-dwellers' seek alienating them (*fremde geweorþan*) from 'eternal life' (*ece lif*). The passage then defines 'home' (*eðel* and *deoran ham*) as that ethereal place people throughout 'middle-earth' are removed from but yearn for. In creating this contrast, the poet shows that adhering to transitory worldly pleasures condemns one to a short and sinful life.

A similar argument is made in the *Life of Guthlac,* especially in Guthlac's initiation into spiritual soldiery. At this point 'Guthlac [i]s led from the turmoil of this world to the military service of the eternal life' (*Guðlac of þære gedrefednysse þissere worulde wæs gelæded to camp-hade þæs ecan lifes,* §3:71–72). This passage describes the physical world as one of turmoil and disorder (*drefednes*), and compares it with the stability and everlasting nature of the saved soul. The compounds and alliteration connecting *weoruld* or *eorð* with portrayals of decay in *Guthlac A* and the *Life* emphasise the declining nature of the physical realm of existence. The audience is urged to follow Guthlac's example by renouncing the fleeting wealth of this life (*lænes lif-welan*, line 151a), and suppressing the

longing for temporal pleasures connected to the world (lines 163b–64 and 328–30).

When Guthlac takes up his worldly calling, he is portrayed as a successful warleader or *weoruld-fruma.* His success can be seen in the gathering of troops from all over England for his army, which presumably means Guthlac was famous as a warrior.[54] Those that join Guthlac are his peers in the pursuit of secular glory and are variously called *heafod-gemacan, geþoftena* and *efen-hæfdlingas*. The compound *efen-heafodlingas* ('equal, fellows, peers, comrades') appears to be a nonce term, while the term *heafodlingas* is a rare word for 'comrade' or 'peer', only appearing on its own twice in the Lindisfarne Gospel glosses.[55] The addition of the *efen–* prefix works as an intensifier and emphasises that Guthlac's immersion in worldly warrior culture represents all who pursue the life of a warlord or mercenary, which involves the taking up of weapons (*to wæpnum feng*, §2:37).

Magennis argues that Felix was uncomfortable with Guthlac's early military career, which leads Felix to whitewash it by portraying his enemies as persecutors and painting Guthlac as a 'great secular hero engaged in a just war.'[56] However, the *Life of Guthlac* presents Guthlac as a more savage warrior than the portrayal in the *Vita*:

Et cum aduersantium sibi urbes et uillas, uicos et castella igne ferroque uastaret, corrasisque undique diuersarum gentium sociis immensas praedas congregaret; tunc uelut ex diuino consilio edoctus, tertiam partem aggregatae gazae possidentibus remittebat. (§17).	Þa wræc he his æfþancas on his feondum, and heora burh bærnde, and heora tunas oferhergode; and he wide geond eorþan menigfeald wæl felde and sloh and of mannum heora æhta nam. Þa wæs he semninga innan manod godcundlice and læred þæt he þa word hete, ealle þa he swa [genam] he het þriddan dæl agifan þam mannum þe he hit ær ongenæmde. (§2:37–44).
'And then he used to devastate the cities and homesteads, towns and fortifications of his opponents with fire	'Then he avenged his injuries on his enemies, and burned their fortifications, and completely ravaged

[54] Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, p. 3.
[55] Walter Skeat, ed. *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1887), pp. 93 (for *conseruos suos*) and 201 (for *coaequalibus*). The *OED* notes the rarity and evolution of *headling* to mean 'leader' in the Otho version of La3amon's *Brut* (line 4980).
[56] Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 28–29.

and sword, and having assembled companions and diverse people from everywhere, he used to amass immense spoils. Then, as if directed by divine counsel, he used to return a third part of the amassed treasure to the [previous] owners.'

their strongholds; and widely he felled and slew in a manifold slaughter throughout the earth and took the possessions of those people. Then he was suddenly divinely admonished from within and instructed so that he gave the command that a third portion of all of that which he had so taken should be given to those people from whom he had taken it before.'

The *Life* begins by stating that Guthlac is attacking his enemies to avenge his injuries (*wræc he his æfþancas*). This detail, first introduced with the Old English narrative, justifies Guthlac's attacks using the Isidorian code of just war, which states that one can rightly fight in order to avenge a previous wrong or reclaim stolen property.[57] Felix merely mentions that Guthlac was fighting his enemies while giving no justification for his campaigns. In the *Vita*, Guthlac 'la[ys] waste with fire and sword' (*igne ferroque vastaret*) the towns and fortifications of his enemies. To the image of plundering by fire and sword, the *Life of Guthlac* adds *wæl felde and sloh* ('slaughtered and slew'). This doublet emphasises Guthlac's killing and moves the focus of the passage away from the amassed booty he takes in the Latin (*immensas prædas congregaret*).[58]

However, the passage in the *Life* still condemns Guthlac and secular warriors as destructive forces that do not protect or positively contribute to society. Even the attempt to lessen Guthlac's guilt by suggesting that he restores one third of the wealth he takes only functions to undercut the goodness of the act, as the *Life* gives Guthlac less agency in this process. In the *Vita*, Guthlac's generosity is likened to divine inspiration through the use of *velut* ('as if/just as'), but the impetus to give back is still his own. In the Old English, Guthlac is said to have been 'divinely admonished from within and instructed' (*innan manod godcundlice and læred*). The passage in the *Life of Guthlac* portrays Guthlac as a sinful warrior whose savagery and greed are contained by external influence rather than by his innate virtue. The fact that the youthful Guthlac takes any war-

[57] Hall, 'Constructing', pp. 210–11. See Chapter Two pp. 23–28 for a discussion of 'just war' theory in Anglo-Saxon England.
[58] The doublet also appears in *Genesis A* for Abraham, who 'gave war to words, no wound gold at all for his nephew, he slew and felled the enemy in battle' (*sealde wig to wedde, nalles wunden gold for his suhtrigan, sloh and fylde feond on fitte*, lines 2069b–72a).

booty sets him among the sinful soldiery which *Guthlac A* contrasts with the saintly hermit he will become.[59]

Guthlac A similarly condemns the saint's early raiding, referring to secular fighting as diabolically inspired. The poem uses the term *wræc-mægas* ('mercenaries' or 'exiled men') to refer to both the warrior-band and the devils.[60] This compound seems to have primarily carried negative connotations to refer to non-Christian or antagonistic people, used in Elene's address to the Jews in *Elene* line 387, for Ohthere's sons in *Beowulf* (line 2379), and to refer to devils in *Juliana* (line 260) and *Christ A* (line 363). The sins Guthlac commits as a warlord, namely slaughter and greed or gluttony, are the same sins that the devils hold over Guthlac later in the narrative when he doubts he will be able to redeem himself (§29) or when encouraging him to intensify his fasting (§30).

The condemnation of Guthlac's actions — and of worldly culture more generally — is evident in Guthlac's epiphany as presented in the *Vita* and *Life*:

Igitur transcursis nouem circiter annorum orbibus, quibus persecutorum suorum aduersantiumque sibi hostium famosum excidium, crebris uastationum fragoribus, peregisset; tandem defessis uiribus, post tot praedas, caedes, rapinasque quas arma triuerunt, lassi quieuerunt. Itaque cum praedictus uir beatae memoriae Guthlacus, inter dubios uoluentis temporis euentus et atras caliginosae uitae nebulas, fluctuantisque seculi gurgites iactaretur; quadam nocte, dum fessa membra solitae quieti dimitteret, et assueto more uagabunda mente solicitus, mortalia intenta meditatione cogitaret; mirum dictu, extimplo uelut percussus pectore, spiritualis flamma omnia praecordia supra memorati uiri incendere cœpit. Nam cum antiquorum regum stirpis suae per transacta secula miserabiles exitus et flagitiosum uitae terminum contemplaretur, necnon et caducas mundi diuitias,

Ða wæs ymbe nigon winter þæs þe he þa ehtnysse begangende wæs se eadiga Guthlac, and he hine sylfne betweox þises andweardan middan-eardes wealcan dwelode. Þa gelamp sume nihte mid þam þe he com of farendum wege, and he hys þa werigan lima reste, and he menig þing mid his mode þohte, ða wæs he færinga mid Godes ege onbryrd, and mid gastlicre lufan his heorte innan gefylled. And mid þy he awoc, he geþohte þa ealdan kyningas, þe iu wæron, þurh earmlicne deað and þurh sarlicne utgang þæs manfullan lifes, þe þas woruld forleton; and þa micclan welan þe hig ærhwilon ahton, he geseh on hrædlicnysse ealle gewitan; and he geseah his agen lif dæghwamlice to þam ende efstan and scyndan. Ða wæs he sæmninga mid þam godcundan egesan innan swa swyþe onbryrded, þæt he andette Gode gif he him þæs mergen-dæges geunnan wolde, þæt he his þeow beon wolde. (§2:45–46).

[59] Damon, *Soldier Saints,* pp. 143–44.
[60] Hall, 'Constructing', p. 211.

contemptibilemque temporalis uitae gloriam peruigili mente consideraret; tunc sibi proprii obitus sui imaginatam formam ostendit; et finem ineuitabilem breuis uitae curiosa mente horrescens, cursum cotidie ad finem cogitabat, immo etiam audisse se recordabatur, "Ne in hieme uel sabbato fuga uestra fiat." Haec et alia his similia eo cogitante, ecce subito, instigante diuino numine, se ipsum famulum Christi uenturum fore, si in crastino uitam seruasset, deuouit.
(§18).

'Therefore, when the spheres had revolved around nine years, during which he had accomplished with the frequent strikes of ravagings the famous overthrow of their persecutors, their enemies and hostile adversaries; at last they were sapped of energy, after so many raids, slaughters, and looting which their arms had wrought, and being tired they rested. Thus when the aforementioned man of blessed memory Guthlac, being tossed through the uncertain events of fleeting time and the dark clouds of obscure life and thrown about by the waves of the churning world, on a certain night laid down his tired limbs to their accustomed rest, and, his mind wandering, he contemplated mortality with sincere consideration, as was his custom, when, wondrous to say, a spiritual flame began to burn all of the aforementioned man's heart as if [the flame] had immediately burst through his chest. For when he contemplated the miserable deaths and shameful end of the ancient kings of his lineage in the course of the past ages, and was also considering the falling riches of the world and contemptible glory of temporal life with a wakeful mind, then the imagined form of his own death appeared to himself, and shuddering with a care-filled mind at the inevitable

'It was about nine years in which that blessed Guthlac was engaged in those persecutions, and he himself wandered astray amidst the tossing of this present middle-earth. Then it happened one night that, when he had come from going about, and he lay his weary limbs to rest, and he considered many things in his mind; then he was suddenly inspired with the fear of God, and his heart filled inwardly with spiritual love; and when he awoke, he thought on the ancient kings, who were long gone, who departed this world through wretched deaths and through sorrowful exits of that sinful life; and [as he thought of] those great treasures which they had previously possessed he saw it all suddenly vanish; and he saw his own life daily hastening and hurrying to that end. Then was he at once so acutely and inwardly overwhelmed with divine fear, that he confessed to God that if [God] would grant him the next morning, that he [Guthlac] wished to be his servant.'

end of this short life, he understood that the daily course [of his life] was heading to that end. He further remembered that he had heard it said: "Let not your flight be in the winter or on the Sabbath day." While mulling over these and other similar things he suddenly vowed, with divine power inspiring him, that he would become the servant of Christ, if he might have life in the morning.'

Felix portrays Guthlac as lying down, weary of the violence, tired from exertion, though with little clarification of whether that toil was good. In condensing the passage, the Old English narrative omits this description to focus on Guthlac wandering about in the tribulations of this world, thereby highlighting the difference between earth and heaven as well as Guthlac's spiritually compromised state. Moreover, the *Life of Guthlac* is clear that Guthlac's raids are sinful in nature, since Guthlac is the singular subject who 'engages' in that persecution, where the *Vita* describes Guthlac as a defender of his people against 'their persecutors, their enemies and hostile adversaries' (*persecutorum suorum aduersantiumque sibi hostium*) who are the aggressors.[61] The *Vita* further implies that the raids are the collective efforts of the warband through its use of plural verbs (*triuerunt* and *quieuerunt*), while the *Life of Guthlac* focuses on Guthlac as the one responsible for the assaults.

Surviving attestations of the term *ehtnes*, used for Guthlac's violence, often refer to the persecutions of Christ and Christians by wicked pagans or the devil.[62] The use of *ehtnes* in the *Life of Guthlac* in the passage above is the only instance that the *Dictionary of Old English* defines as a netural 'attack or hostile raid', while the other instances refer to 'persecution — especially, persecution inflicted on Christ, on Christians, or on God's church', demonic affliction of the faithful, or similar negative persecution. However, Guthlac's subsequent realisation of the sinful (*manfull*) nature of his actions would suggest that the adapter consciously used the term *ehtnes* to negatively mean 'persecution' and not neutrally as 'pursuit' or 'attack'. Later, when the *Life* equates Guthlac with St

[61] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, p. 72.
[62] *DOE* s.v. *ehtnes*, which notes that the term occurs over 200 times, primarily in Ælfric's works.

Paul, it describes how Paul previously persecuted the holy church (*he wæs ærþon ehtere his þære halgan cyrcan*, §3:67–68), using the cognate *ehtere* for Paul's attacks on Christians before his conversion. In employing words deriving from *ehtan* for both saints, the hagiographer equates Guthlac's actions with the wicked persecution of Christians and so aligns his epiphany more completely with Paul's.

Felix's account of Guthlac's vision focuses more on the fleeting nature of life than on Guthlac's immorality, saying that he was 'considering the falling riches of the world and contemptible glory of temporal life'. The *Vita* makes the saint less complicit in the spiritually detrimental iniquity of secular life, and instead depicts Guthlac's revelation coming from the realisation that his glory is fleeting. The Old English texts, on the other hand, focus on the saint's participation in a worldly lifestyle that is sinful and leads to a 'wretched death', suggesting that even the best of the *weoruld-fruman* are innately sinful. The *Life* characterises worldly warrior culture, even when a warrior is 'generous' to those he ravages, as 'that sinful life' (*þæs manfullan lifes*). *Guthlac A* is more stark in its condemnation of soldiering, characterising Guthlac's early life as one filled with 'desires for sinning' (*synna lustas*, line 113b).

The *Life* then relates how, 'when he was twenty-four winters old, then he forsook all that worldly-pomp, and set all his hope in Christ' (*ða he wæs feower and twentig wintra eald, þa forlet he ealle þas woruld-glenga, and eallne his hiht on Crist gesette*, §2:75–77). The compound *weoruld-gleng* translates the phrase *secularibus pompis* in the *Vita*, and its negative use in the *Life* is comparable to its attestations in the rest of the Old English corpus.[63] In Ælfric's translation of the *Hexameron* he says, 'the wise man does not desire for those worldly-luxuries nor the fair appearance of the body but desires for the soul' (*Se snotera wer ne gewilnað þara woruld-glenga ne þæs lic-haman wlites ac gewilnað þære sawle*),[64] and Blickling II links *weoruld-gleng* to the useless wealth a blind man devalues.[65] The only other compound that incorporates *-gleng* in the surviving corpus is

[63] The Law code *Grið* (*c.* 1014) cites *worold-gleng* as a root of pride which the pious man avoids, Felix Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1903), I:472.
[64] *Hexameron*, 52. See pp. 60–68 in Chapter Three.
[65] Morris, ed. *Blickling Homilies*, p. 21.

forlegis-gleng ('attire of a prostitute', translating *ornatu meretricio*), which appears in a gloss of Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate*.[66]

Although not presented as compounds, there are several collocations of *weoruld* and *gleng* elsewhere in the Old English corpus. Notably, the *Ubi Sunt* passages of Vercelli X use the terms together to highlight the transience of earthly life and the meaninglessness of seeking wealth,[67] while the eleventh-century Old English translation of the *Capitula* of Theodulf of Orléans says that the good Christian 'does not desire worldly pomp' (*worulde glenge ne wilnige*).[68] The *Hexameron*, Vercelli X, and the *Capitula* suggest interpreting the literal meaning of *gleng* as 'adornment' to metonymically refer to 'pomp' or 'transitory wealth'. More literal, although still negative, uses of *gleng* are found in Ælfric's *Life of Agnes*, which recounts how a noble suitor attempts to court 'the pure maiden with precious gems and worldly adornments' (*clænan mædene deorwurða gimmas and woruldlice glencga*) and is chastised for preferring physical over spiritual wealth.[69] From the contexts and connotations of compounds with *-gleng* it is clear that the term negatively referred to worldly connection as inappropriate for a good Christian. The use of *weoruld-gleng* in the *Life of Guthlac* thus reinforces the spiritually bankrupt nature of secular soldiery. Once Guthlac realises this and leaves his secular life, he is called the *famulus Christi* or *Cristes þeow* ('servant of Christ'), an epithet applied to him throughout the rest of the narrative as Guthlac shifts to a higher state of being or *had*.

The first role Guthlac assumes as a *famulus Christi* is as a cenobitic monk at Repton. There, Guthlac is 'instructed and taught in divine service' (*þæt he wæs on godcundlican þeodscipe getyd and gelæred,* §2:96–97). The description of Guthlac's initiation into the Repton monastery mirrors Martin's induction into clerical life in the *Martinmas*-homily, which states that he too was 'instructed and taught in God's service' (*on godes ðeow-dom getyde and gelærde*).[70] This suggests that the doublet *getyan and gelæran* was used in the ninth century to denote changes in a character's state of living which involved learning a new set of

[66] Napier, ed., *Glosses*, p. 170.
[67] Scragg, ed., *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 191–92 and 209.
[68] Hans Sauer, ed., *Theodulfi Capitula in England: die altenglischen Übersetzungen, zusammen mit dem lateinischen Text* (München: Fink, 1978), p. 327.
[69] *LS* I: 221.
[70] See above pp. 61 and 67–69.

principles. The corresponding passage in Felix's *Vita* reads *monasticis disciplinis erudiebatur* ('he was made learned in monastic disciplines'). In contrast to the *Vita*'s literal description, the *Life* makes Guthlac's transition less vocational and more spiritual, reworking *monasticis disciplinis* ('monastic discipline') as *godcundlican þeodscipe* ('divine service'). Framing an ecclesiastical vocation as 'divine service' further emphasizes the ungodly nature of Guthlac's earlier 'worldly' soldiery, and calls the audience to consider Guthlac's monkhood as a more venerable profession.[71]

The monastic phase of the *Life of Guthlac* is marked by an envelope pattern with compounds using *munuc-*, beginning with *þam munuc-life feng* ('he took to that monkish life' §2:81) and concluding with *Ða ymbe twa winter þæs þe he his lif swa leofode under munuc-hade* ('Then for two winters he lived his life as under monkhood' §2:104–05). Within this envelope pattern, monkhood is defined as follows:

Igitur psalmis, canticis, hymnis, orationibus moribusque ecclesiasticis per biennium imbutus, proprias singulorum secum cohabitantium uirtutes imitari studebat: illius enim obedientiam, istius humilitatem; illius patientiam, alterius longanimitatem; illorum abstinentiam, utriusque sinceritatem, omnium temperantiam, cunctorum suauitatem; et, ut breuius dicam, omnium in omnibus imitabatur uirtutes. (§23).	Mid þam þe he wæs twa gear on þære leornunge, ða hæfde he his sealmas geleornod, and canticas, and ymnas, and gebeda, æfter cyriclicre endebyrdnysse. Þa ongan he wurðigan þa godan þeawas þara godra on þam life, eadnysse, and hyrsumnysse, geþyld and þolemodnysse, and forhæfednysse his lic-haman; and ealra þara godra mægen he wæs begangende. (§2:97–103).
'Thereupon, having been steeped in psalms, canticles, hymns, prayers and customs of the Church for two years, he strove to imitate the virtues of each of those living with him: the obedience of that one, the humility of this one; the patience of one, the longsuffering of the other; the abstinence of those and the	'Then he with them was learning for two years, when he had learned the psalms, and canticles, and hymns, and prayers after the Church's fashion. Then he began to honour those good customs of those good people in that life, the blessedness and obedience, the endurance and patience, and

[71] Meaney, 'History or Hagiography', pp. 77a and 81a–82a, suggests that Guthlac gave up his worldly service as a result of PTSD from the horrors of war he experienced. Hill, 'Middle Way', 186, rejects the process of providing psychological or factual explantions for the highly symbolic work.

sincerity of that other; the temperance of all, the congeniality of the whole group; and, so that I may speak more briefly, he imitated the virtues of all in all things.'

forbearance of his body; and he was exhibiting the virtue of all of those good [men].'

As a monk, Guthlac learns the skills that will ultimately help him succeed as an anchorite. He learns the psalms and prayers which he will later use to dispel demons. His life becomes one of 'endurance and patience' which will enable him to overcome temptation. He removes himself from bodily pleasures (*forhæfednysse his lic-haman*), contrasting his earlier life and preparing himself for the austere solitude of the Crowland fens. Yet while monastic virtues prepare Guthlac for a higher calling, he cannot pursue them to their highest potential within the monastery.[72] While in Repton monastery, Guthlac follows the Benedictine rule with notable austerity, avoiding alcohol and adopting good habits (§20). This strictly regimented way of living earns Guthlac enemies in the cloister, who become jealous of the saint (*Vita* §21; *Life* §2:83–84). Guthlac's distance from cenobitic monasticism becomes a recurrent theme throughout the Guthlac-narratives, as monks are introduced to the stories as figures contrasting with Guthlac's own strong faith.

After Guthlac takes up residence in the Crowland fens, the *Vita* and *Life* relate a number of encounters the saint has with wayward monks (§§43–44 and 46–47). These monks are portrayed as revelers, disobedient, skeptical of real sanctity, and proud; they exhibit vices that are more associated with worldly life than the virtues of the saintly one. Guthlac reprimands the monks for their various shortcomings, demonstrating that his asceticism was superior to those *fratres* who indulge in the vices of communal living. *Guthlac A* also includes the following critique of monasticism in which monks are portrayed as prone to the sins of the world, in a scene which has no parallel in Felix's *Vita*:[73]

[72] Conner, 'Source Study', 380–413, and Jones, 'Envisioning', 259–91, maintain that the narrative is not critical of cenobitism, but merely praises anchoritic life as the highest level of monastic achievement.

[73] Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 129 and 145. Thundyil, 'Covenant', pp. 241–42, argues that this critique was reflective of the state of monasticism in the eighth century. Conner, 'Source Study', 405, reads this passage as a critique of unreformed monks, rather than cenobitism in general.

Hy hine þa hofun on þa hean lyft,
sealdon him meahte ofer monna cynn,
þæt he fore eagum eall sceawode
under haligra hyrda gewealdum
in mynsterum monna gebæru,
þara þe hyra lifes þurh lust brucan,
idlum æhtum ond oferwlencum,
gierelum gielplicum, swa bið geoguðe þeaw,
þær þæs ealdres[74] egsa ne styreð.
(lines 412–20).

Then they lifted [Guthlac] into the high air, gave him might over all mankind, that he saw everything before his eyes, the behaviour of men in monasteries under the rule of holy guardians, those who enjoyed their life through lust, with idle possessions and exceeding pride, with ostentatious garments, as is the way of youth, where the fear of the prior does not restrain it.

This eighth-century critique of monastic living was not unique to the Guthlac-narratives. There was great disparity in levels of Benedictine observance among pre-Benedictine Reform monasteries, even within regulated foundations.[75] This was noted by eighth-century ecclesiastical commentators.[76] Bede, for instance, complains in his *Epistula ad Egbertum* that 'there are innumerable places, as we all know, designated with the terms of monasteries, but having nothing of the monastic manner of life' (*sunt loca innumera, ut nouimus omnes, in monasteriorum ascripta uocabulum, sed nihil prorsus monasticae conuersationis habentia*).[77] In a similar fashion, Boniface's letter to Archbishop Cuthbert in 747

[74] See Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, p. 145, for multiple ways *ealdres* can be interpreted, including 'elder', 'life', 'old age', 'lord', and a 'superior or prior' in a monastic context. I agree with Roberts in seeing the last interpretation providing the best reading given the term's placement in a critique of monastic behaviour.
[75] Albertson, *Saints and Heroes*, pp. 19–23; Sarah Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: A Review of Terminology', in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), p. 217; Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity*, pp. 223–28 and 254; Alan Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in Blair and R. Sharpe (1992), pp. 160–65; Thacker, 'Priests and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England*, ed. George Brown and Linda Voigts (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 193–95. Catherine Cubitt, 'Pastoral Care and Conciliar Canons: The Provisions of the 747 Council of *Clofesho*', in Blair and Sharpe (1992), p. 208; and Alan Thacker, 'Kings, Saints, and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History* 10 (1985), 2–6; Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching', pp. 143–44, show that Anglo-Saxon monks and monasteries were involved in pastoral care before the tenth century.
[76] See also Chapter Two pp. 26 and 34–36 for analysis of clerical involvement in warfare.
[77] Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, ed., *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), p. 142.

complains about the drinking habits of clerics as well as the secular practices like hunting, bearing arms, and wearing luxurious clothing in monastic foundations.[78] At the same time, the Council of Clofesho (747) also raised concerns over the monastic recitation of scripture with secular poetic intonation.[79] Alcuin reiterates this concern in his letter to Higbald, blaming the viking attack on Lindisfarne in 793 on the monk's habit of listening to heathen poems at dinner and famously asking 'What did Ingeld have to do with Christ' (*Quid enim Hinieldus cum Christo*)?[80]

It is difficult to distinguish between regimented foundations and those which early writers denounce. The term *monasterium* seems to have been applied to most ecclesiastical foundations regardless of whether those at such foundations were ordained or adhering to a rule, although it is clear from these and other ecclesiastical letters, synods and hagiographies, that strictly observant communities were the exception.[81] Secular and double foundations — those monasteries with both nuns and monks — that had connections to royal households seem to have been particularly susceptible to scandal and undisciplined living. As a royal double-foundation under Abbess Ælfthryth, Repton itself may indeed have been such an unregulated *monasterium*.[82]

While the *Vita* and the *Life of Guthlac* carefully couch Guthlac's entrance into ecclesiastical living with terms that indicate that Guthlac became a tonsured monk 'with the monastic disciplines' (*monasticis disciplinis*) of the *Regula*

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[78] Michael Tangl, ed., *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955), pp. 163–70.

[79] See Canon 5 and 19 of Clofesho for an eighth-century critique of the secular church, as well as Canon 12 for a ban on secular poetry, in Arthur Haddan and William Stubbs, ed., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), III:364 and 366–69. For an analysis of the Council of Clofesho see Cubitt, 'Pastoral Care', pp. 194–207.

[80] Ernst Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi* MGH, Epist. 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), II:181–84. Donald Bullough, 'What has Ingeld to do with Lindisfarne?', *ASE* 22 (1993), 104 and 124, argues that the letter was intended instead for Bishop Unuuona of Leicester. Mary Garrison, "Quid Hinieldus cum Christo?", in *Latin Learning and English Lore,* ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), I:238–52, links the pagan poetry with royal praise poems that were inappropriate in a monastery. In Bede's prose *Life of Cuthbert*, Cuthbert blames the plague on monks telling secular stories.

[81] Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters', pp. 214–25; Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching', p. 140; Thacker, 'Priests and Pastoral Care', 201–07.

[82] Albertson, *Saints and Heroes*, p. 44 and 178. Fuller discussions of double monasteries and Repton in the early eighth century are found in Cubitt, 'Pastoral Care', p. 208; Roberts, 'Guthlac Roll', 245; Thacker, 'Kings, Saints and Monasteries', 2–6; Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching', p. 143–44; Wragg, 'Early Texts', 3.

Benedicti,[83] Guthlac is not ordained until long after he has proven himself in the fens as a holy hermit (§§46–47). Guthlac's removal from a monastic foundation may suggest that Guthlac-narrators held a pejorative view towards monkhood as something below the faith of the ascetic *miles Christi*. Moreover, Guthlac's distance from ecclesiastical foundations suggests that the intended audience for the works included secular clergy and laymen, who could then aspire to sanctity by emulating Guthlac's contemplative life without becoming ordained or initiated into cenobitic monasticism.[84]

The passage also reinforces the idea that anchoritic life is a higher order than cenobitic monasticism. While the anchorite shares some of the same fundamental virtues of a Benedictine monk,[85] the stories Guthlac venerates as well as the saint's own life argue that it is only in solitary existence (*solitaria vita*/*sunder-setl*) that one might truly serve God. While Christopher Jones argues that the prose *Life* and *Guthlac A* present Guthlac as engrained within coenobitic life,[86] both texts seem rather to stress the opposite. The *Guthlac A*-poet, for instance, emphasises the superiority of a 'lone warrior' (*an oretta*) to whom Christ gives more worldly wonders (*woruldlicra ma wundra gecyðde*, line 403).

Although Guthlac's time as a monk constitutes a relatively short section of the narrative, it is an important transitional period in which he turns towards more pious living. Only after he has replaced the desire to cause pain with the virtue of patience, and substituted his desire to gather loot and feast with a rejection of bodily pleasures, can Guthlac elevate himself as a spiritual warrior. In moving from a cenobitic to eremitic existence, Guthlac exemplifies the

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[83] Downey, 'Intertextuality', 56–57, demonstrates that Felix borrows heavily from the *Vita Fursei* for his description of Guthlac's entrance to Repton's monastic community.
[84] Whatley, 'Lost in Translation', 196, argues that the attention to secular relationships in the Vespasian *Life of Guthlac* suggests the hagiographer had a secular audience in mind with his translation. Leneghan, 'Teaching', 643–53, argues that the extract of the *Life* in the Vercelli Book may have served as private reading on the 'contemplative life' for an unreformed bishop.
[85] Jones, 'Envisioning', 269 and 281–82. See also Damon, *Soldier Saints,* p. 146; Jones, 'Ghostly Mentor', p. 137; Thundyil, 'Covenant', pp. 237–97. Downey, 'Too Much', 92–101, also notes that Felix and the prose adapter focus on avoiding excessive fasting, which was a concern for monastic ascetics in northern Europe; while Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Guthlac's Crossings', *Quaestio Insularis* 2 (2001), 16–17, argues that it is unclear whether Guthlac follows any monastic observances as an anchorite beyond the singing of psalms.
[86] Jones, 'Envisioning', 261–84. Conner, 'Source Study', 380–413, and Thundyil, 'Covenant', 272–97, also believe that the *Regula* influenced the *Lives* of Guthlac.

perception that anchorites are the most venerable order of clergymen.[87] This follows the *Regula Benedicti*'s own depiction of anchorites as more austere and accomplished in their devotion than other kinds of monks. The opening chapter of the *Regula* states that:

> Monachorum quattuor esse genera, manifestum est. Primum coenobitarum, hoc est monasteriale, militans sub regula uel abbate. Deinde secundum genus est anachoritarum, id est heremitarum, horum qui non conversationis feruore nouicio, sed monasterii probatione diuturna, qui didicerunt contra diabulum multorum solacio iam docti pugnare, et bene instructi fraterna ex acie ad singularem pugnam heremi, securi iam sine consolatione alterius, sola manu uel brachio contra uitia carnis uel cogitationum, Deo auxiliante, pugnare sufficiunt.[88]
>
> 'It is clear that there are four kinds of monks. The first are of the cenobites, that is from the cloister, fighting under a rule or abbot. Then the second kind is of the anchorites, that is of the hermits, of those who are no longer in the novitiate fervour of their habit, but have been tested for a long time in the monastery, who, having already been taught, learned to fight against the devil for the solace of many brethren; and go well trained from the battle-line of their brethren to single combat of the desert, fearless without the consolation of another but with the help of God, they have sufficient strength to fight single-handed or forearmed, against the vices of the flesh or of [wicked] thoughts.'

Here, the order of anchorites is depicted using the established motifs of *milites Christi* as veterans of Benedictine ideals who are able to fight (*militare*/*pugnare*) the devil and temptation alone (*singularis*/*solus*).[89] Guthlac's own experience as a 'solitary warrior' (*an oretta*, *Guthlac A* line 401) echoes this passage from the *Regula* closely. Once he is sufficiently engrained in monastic virtues, he then combines them with the martial discipline of his earlier life to progress into the role of a *miles Christi.* While Magennis argues that the title 'servant of Christ' was the equivalent of 'soldier of Christ',[90] and while the Guthlac-narratives use the term *Cristes þeow* after Guthlac becomes as hermit, Guthlac does not attain the title of 'soldier of Christ' until after he leaves the monastery, suggesting that the

[87] For early Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards anchorites, see Mary Clayton, 'Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in Szarmach (1996), pp. 147–76; Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters', p. 213.
[88] *Regula* I: 436–38.
[89] See pp. 1–3 and 15–17 above.
[90] Magennis, '*Godes Þeow*', 139–70.

Old English hagiographers considered the move essential for Guthlac's promotion from 'servant' to 'soldier'.

Just as Guthlac becomes a warlord after being inspired by tales of old heroes, Guthlac is inspired to take up the spiritual sword of the 'soldier of Christ' by the stories of desert fathers.[91] The *Vita* and *Life* describe Guthlac's change as follows:

Decursis itaque bis denis bis binisque mensium circulis, quibus sub clericali habitu uitam immensae moderantiae peregit, eremum cum curioso eximiae solicitudinis animo petere meditabatur. Dum enim priscorum monachorum solitariam uitam legebat, tamen illuminato cordis gremio auida mente eremum quaerere feruebat. (§24).	Ða ymbe twa winter, þæs þe he his lif swa leofode under munuc-hade, þæt he þa ongan wilnian westenes and sunder-setle. Mid þy he gehyrde secgan and he leornode be þam ancerum, þe geara on westene and on sundor-setlum for Godes naman wunodon and heora lif leofodon, ða wæs his heorte innan þurh Godes gifu onbryrdod, þæt he westenes gewilnode. (§2:104–10).
'And so when twice ten and twice two months had run their course, which he had gone through in a life of immense moderation under the clerical habit, he thought to seek the desert with a careful mind of exceeding solicitude. For while he used to read about the solitary life of monks of old, then, after the enlightened bosom of his heart, he was burning to seek the desert with an avid mind.'	'It was around two years, during which he lived his life under monkhood, he then began to desire the wilderness and a place apart from the rest. For he had heard tell and learned about those anchorites, who long ago dwelt and lived their lives in the wilderness and in places apart from the rest in God's name. Then, was his heart inwardly incited through God's grace, so that he desired the wilderness.'

Guthlac's transition from monk to anchorite is marked in the *Life* through the closing of the envelope pattern for his monastic life with the use of *munuc-had* followed by a set piece focused around the repeated doublet *westen and sunder-setl* ('the wilderness and a place apart from the rest'). In doing so the passage distinguishes *munuc-had* as a communal vocation, distinct from the solitary life of an anchorite, highlighted through repeating Guthlac's desire for the

[91] For an analysis of the power of oral stories in Guthlac-narratives, see Wieland, '*Aures Lectores*', 172–75. Note also the shift from *legere* ('read') to *gehyrde secgan* ('heard said') in the passage above as a possible reflection of the oral nature of Anglo-Saxon storytelling.

wilderness (*wilnian westenes*) three times. These three usages come in the beginning, the middle, and end of the passage, binding it together and drawing the audience's attention through the alliteration on 'w'. Attention is also drawn through the self-alliterating compound *sunder-setl*, which is unique to the *Life of Guthlac*.[92] This solitary desert life is then defined by a desire for God's 'name' (*for Godes naman wilnodon*).

Guthlac's removal from communal observance is further illustrated in the terms used to distinguish between the eremitic and cenobitic life. Guthlac's transition from *munuc-had* is marked with the unique compounds *ancer-setl* ('seat of an anchorite', §4:17) or *sunder-setl* ('a seat apart from the rest'). Roberts suggests that the coinages in the *Life* are transparent in meaning, with similar constructions found elsewhere in the Old English corpus.[93] Taking *sunder-setl* as our example, one finds compounds with *-setl* denote a general state of being or dwelling in *heah-setl* ('high seat')[94] and *eðel-setl* ('native seat', *Genesis A* lines 1896 and 1927). In *Guthlac A* the saint calls the demons' dwellings in the wilderness *wræc-setlas* ('seats of exile', line 296b),[95] and exiles the demons from the 'many positions they held previously' (*þær ær fela setla gesæton*, lines 143–44). The terms used to gloss 'anchorite' in Old English versions of the *Regula* are also compounds with *-setl* elements, such as *westþen-setlena* for *heremitarum*, *ancor-setlena* for *anachoretarum*,[96] and *an-setlan* for *vitia solitarii* and *anachoretarum*.[97] The phrase *ancer-setl gesæt* is mirrored in Ælfric's homily *Depositio S. Cuthberti*, which celebrates the other great Anglo-Saxon ascetic St Cuthbert, who also 'hastened to that hermitage where he had settled before' (*Cuðberhtus se halga þa swiðe onette to ðam ancer-setle ðær he ær gesæt*).[98]

In compounds, the term *setl*, literally a 'seat' or 'throne', assumes a more general sense as 'place of residence' or 'position in the world', as seen with compounds like *biscop-setl* ('episcopate'). This sense is particularly prevalent in

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[92] The compound appears again when Guthlac settles on Crowland and begins his life as an anchorite, §3:53.
[93] Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland,* pp. 180–96.
[94] *DOE s.v. heah-setl* notes over one hundred and thirty occurences of this compound.
[95] *DOE Corpus* s.v. *-setl*.
[96] H. Logeman, *The Rule of S. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version* (London: Trübner, 1888), p. 9.
[97] Schröer, ed., *Prosabearbeitungen*, p. 135.
[98] Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 90.

Guthlac A, where the term *setl* is repeated six times denoting either the demons' or Guthlac's station in life (lines 144a, 244b, 278a, 296b, 383b, and 785a).[99] Only once does *setl* carry its primarily literal meaning in the poem, when referring to the softly cushioned seats (*seftra setla* line 165) that Guthlac foreswears, though here too *setl* could be taken metaphorically to mean 'soft or comfortable ways of living'. The collocation of *gesæt* and compounds involving *-setl* to refer to a person assuming an office or station is relatively common in the Old English corpus, which might suggest that the metaphor of a person taking their seat equates to their acceptance of a higher position.

As an anchoritic *miles Christi*, Guthlac fights the devils of the Crowland wastes with spiritual arms, in order to free the larger Christian community from temptation or sins of the flesh.[100] *Guthlac A* defines a soldier of God as follows:

> Þa þe her Cristes æ
> lærað and læstað and his lof rærað,
> oferwinnað þa awyrgdan gæstas, bigytað him wuldres ræste.
> (lines 23b–25).
>
> 'Those who teach and perform Christ's law here and raise up his praise, conquer those accursed spirits and get for themselves the repose of glory.'

The *milites Christi* are those that enact Christ's teachings and conquer cursed spirits so that others can come to God's salvation free from the stain of sin. The overthrow of demonic temptation is part of the *miles Christi*'s performance of Christ's teaching, suggesting that the ultimate act of faith is through metaphorically soldiering. The hypermetricity of line 25a and double alliteration in the first half-line on *ofer**w**innað* and *a**w**yrgdan,* suggest that the poet wished to punctuate the focus the audience's attention on the soldier of God's *raison d'être* which earns him glory (***w**uldres*).[101]

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[99] Laurence Shook, 'The Burial Mound in *Guthlac A*', *Modern Philology* 58:1 (1960), 8a, argues, however, that the literal meaning of *setl* as seat implies that the anchorage is a 'prototype of, [Guthlac's] seat in heavenly glory'.

[100] Thomas D. Hill, 'Drawing the Demon's Sting: A Note on a Traditional Motif in Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*', *Notes and Queries* 23:9 (1976), 388–90; Frances Lipp, '*Guthlac A*: An Interpretation', *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971), 60–61.

[101] Roberts, *Guthlac Poem*, pp. 127–28, takes line 25 to be the end of the Angel's speech, which suggests that the hypermetricity is also employed to punctuate the speech. Coker, 'Voicing the Supernatural', pp. 9–14, 193–95 and 215–22, analyses the use of hypermetrics in *Guthlac A.* See also Griffith, 'Extra Alliteration', 88–90.

This spiritual conflict and the importance of warrior culture in the contemplative life, is demonstrated by Guthlac's fight against the devils over the 'barrow mound' on Crowland. From the establishment of the saint on Crowland, the *Life of Guthlac* and *Vita* both frame Guthlac's eremitic life with martial imagery and the tropes of the *miles Christi*:

Erat ergo annorum circiter uiginti sex, cum se inter nubilosos remotioris heremi lucos, cum caelesti adiutorio, ueri Dei militem esse proposuit. Deinde praecinctus spiritalibus armis aduersus teterrimi hostis insidias, scutum fidei, loricam spei, galeam castitatis, arcum patientiae, sagittas psalmodiae, sese in acie firmans, arripuit. Tantae enim fiduciae erat, ut inter torridas tartari turmas sese contempto hoste iniecerit …[102] Nam sicut egregium doctorem gentium Damascum pergentem, quem ante secula euangelium Filii sui nuntiare praedestinauit, de tenebrosa Iudaeorum erroris caligine caelesti uoce deduxit; sic et sanctae memoriae uirum Guthlacum, de tumido aestuantis seculi gurgite, de obliquis mortalis aeui anfractibus, de atris uergentis mundi faucibus, ad perpetuae beatitudinis militiam, ad directi itineris callem, ad ueri luminis prospectum perduxit.
(§27).

Hæfde he þa on ylde six and twentig wintra, þa he ærest se Godes cempa on þam westene mid heofenlicre gife geweorðod gesæt. Þa sona wið þam scotungum þara werigra gasta, þæt he hine mid gastlicum wæpnum gescylde: he nam þone scyld þæs halgan gastes geleafan; and hyne on þære byrnan gegearowode þæs heofonlican hihtes; and he him dyde heolm on heafod clænera geþanca; and mid þam strælum þæs halgan sealmsanges a singallice wið þam awerigedum gastum sceotode and campode. And nu hwæt ys swa swiþe to wundrianne þa diglan mihte ures Drihtnes, and his mild-heortnysse domas; hwa mæg þa ealle asecgan? Swá se æþela lareow ealra þeoda Scs Paulus se apostol þone ure Drihten ælmihtig God forestihtode godspellianne his folce; he wæs ærþon ehtere his þære halgan cyrcan, and mid þan þe he to Damascum ferde þære byrig, þæt he wæs of þam þystrum gedwolum abroden Iudea ungeleafulnysse mid þam swege heofonlicre stefne; swá þonne þære arwurðan gemynde Guðlac of þære gedrefednysse þissere worulde wæs gelæded to camp-hade þæs ecan lifes.
(§3:53–73)

[102] Several sentences praising the omniscience and judgement of God have been omitted here.

'When he was about twenty-six years of age, he set forth with the help of heaven to be the soldier of the true God among the shady places of the remote wilderness. Then, girding himself with spiritual arms against the snares of the most wicked enemy, he took up the shield of faith, the breastplate of hope, the helmet of chastity, the bow of patience, the arrows of psalmody, making himself strong for the battle-line. Indeed, so great was his faith that, despising the foe, he hurled himself against the torrid troops of Tartarus … For just as [God] with a heavenly voice had led forth the great teacher of the Gentiles when he was on his way to Damascus out of the gloomy mist of the error of the Jews, him whom had been predestined before all worldly realms to preach the Gospel of the Son, so [God] led Guthlac, a man of saintly memory, from the raging abyss of this turbulent time, from the winding routes of this mortal age, from the black maws of this declining world to the war for eternal bliss, to the path of the correct journey and vision of true light.'

'When he was twenty-six years old, the warrior of God first became established in that distant waste with heavenly grace. Then immediately he shielded himself with spiritual arms against the arrows of those wicked spirits; he took the shield of faith of the holy spirit; and donned the byrnie of heavenly hope on himself; and he placed the helmet of pure thoughts on his head; and with the darts of holy psalmody he shot and fought those wicked spirits continually. And now what is there so much to wonder at than the secret might of our Lord, and the judgments of his mercy; who may tell all of them? Just as the noble teacher of all nations, St Paul the apostle, whom our Lord Almighty God foreordained to preaching the gospel to his people; he who was before a persecutor of his holy church, and when he journeyed to the city Damascus he was delivered from the dark errors of the Jews' disbelief by the sound of a heavenly voice; so too Guthlac of worthy memory was led from the tribulation of this world to the military service of the eternal life.'

This passage equates Guthlac's move to Crowland with the epiphany of St Paul, who persecuted Christianity in the 'dark errors of Jewish disbelief' and gives up his life as a persecutor of his enemies to devote himself to Christ.[103] Both share pasts as persecutors, and give up their worldly warrior culture for devotion to Christ. Guthlac's link to Paul is further emphasised through the description of spiritual armour, which ultimately derives from Paul's letter to the Ephesians 6:10–17.[104] The comparison of Paul's conversion to Guthlac's move to Crowland as an anchorite, and not Guthlac's initial transition from worldly pursuits into monkhood, suggests that Felix and the *Life*'s compiler saw the anchoritic life as the holiest order and the true remission of the 'tribulation of this world'

[103] Thomas D. Hill, 'Hebrews, Israelites and Wicked Jews: An Onomastic Crux in *Andreas* 161–67', *Traditio* 32 (1976), 358–61, highlights the anti-Semitic sentiment in the *Andrew*-narratives.
[104] Hermann, 'Recurrent Motifs', 7–35. See also pp. 1–3 above.

(*gedrefednysse þissere worulde*).[105] The reference to Paul's dispelling of 'dark errors' also portrays the *miles Christi* as one who fights against temptation and the enemies of the faith for the benefit of the wider Christian community. Guthlac's new state of being is then called 'the military service of the eternal life'. The shift in ecclesiastical vocation is thus presented as a step up, as Guthlac is referred to now as a 'warrior', *cempa*. In this new role, Guthlac is an active fighter for Christ rather than a mere servant.

The Old English term used for the spiritual soldiership, *camp-had*, is a military expression that was appropriated for Christian contexts.[106] The term also appears five times in the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia*, each time alongside an adjective that distinguishes whether *camp-had* is being used in a literal or metaphysical sense.[107] This is clearly seen when Oswy donates twelve portions of land previously used to support 'earthly fighting' (*militiae terrestris* / *eorðlices comp-hades*) to a monastery so that it might support monks engaged in 'heavenly fighting' (*militiam caelestem* / *heofonlican comp-had*).[108] Later, the term *camp-had* again describes the 'worldly soldiership' (*weoroldlicne comp-had*) that many noble Northumbrians leave behind when dedicating themselves to the monastic order.[109] Use of the word *camp-had* in the translation of the *Historia* suggests that the compound *camp-had* had already assumed spiritual connotations by the late ninth century, and authors needed to provide context for the term to distinguish whether it referred to worldly or spiritual warfare. Similarly, two late tenth-century glosses of Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitatis* translate 'the novitiate of chaste habits' (*castae conversationis tirocinio*) with *camp-had*, suggesting that the term had taken on ecclesiastical connotations.[110] Felix and the *Life*'s composer are part of this Christian tradition of adapting the generic military concepts of *camp-had* and *militia* for a spiritual context, aligned with the *Regula Benedicti*'s portrayal of the anchorite as a fighter. [111]

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[105] Lipp, 'Interpretation', 48–49.
[106] *DOE* s.v. *camphád*.
[107] *HE* I:7; V:11.
[108] *HE* III:24; Miller, ed., *Old English Version of Bede,* p. 236.
[109] *HE* V:22–23; Miller, ed., *Old English Version of Bede*, p. 480.
[110] *Ald.uirg(prosa)* 238:12. For the Old English glosses of the *De laude uirginitate*, see Louis Goossens, ed. *The Old English glosses of MS. Brussels, Royal Library, 1650* (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1974), p. 192.
[111] Albertson, *Saints and Heroes*, p. 24; Jones, 'Envisioning', 267.

These anchoritic soldiers of Christ defeat devils using spiritual armaments, which Guthlac dons as he settles on Crowland.[112] As *Guthlac A* says, 'he readied himself eagerly with spiritual armaments' (*gyrede hine georne mid gæstlicum wæpnum*, lines 177–78a). Although the Old English description in the passage above omits the 'bow of patience' (*arcum patientiae*) that is noted in the *Vita*, the *Life* expands the description of each other piece of spiritual armour to emphasize the holy nature of *miles Christi*, so that the *scutum fidei* ('shield of faith') becomes *scyld þæs Halgan Gastes geleafan* ('the shield of the faith of the holy spirit'); the *loricam spei* ('breastplate of hope') becomes the *byrnan … heofonlican hihtes* ('byrnie of heavenly hope'); the *galeam castitatis* ('helmet of chastity') becomes the *heolm … clænera geþanca* ('helmet of pure thoughts'); the *sagittas psalmodiae* ('arrows of psalmody') become the *strælum þæs halgan sealmsanges* ('arrows of holy psalmody'). The Old English expansions highlight the idea that these weapons are unequivocally faith-based and that the saint is arming himself as a metaphorical soldier.

Framing Guthlac's internal struggle with temptation as a larger battle against the forces of Satan plays out in the saint's conversion of Crowland for Christian use. While other saints have demonic enemies, Guthlac's enemies are actually demons,[113] and in the words of Mayr-Harting, 'Crowland attract[s] devils as sea-islands attract puffins.'[114] As such, the Guthlac-narratives frame Crowland as an ideal place for the eremitic saint to take up the spiritual arms of a *miles*

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[112] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 42–43, suggests that Felix's portrayal of spiritual armour is influenced by Evagarius' *Vita Antonii* and Bede's prose *Vita Cuthberti*, though Orchard, '*Lege Feliciter*', pp. 16–17, demonstrates how Felix's description of spiritual armour is more likely an expansion of the description in Jerome's *Vita Pauli primi eremitae* than directly following the Pauline tradition.

[113] Lee, *Guest-Hall*, pp. 103 and 114–15. M. C. Cameron, 'The Visions of Saint Antony and Guthlac', in *Health, Disease, and Healing in Medieval Culture*, ed. Sheila Campbell, Bert Hall, and David Klausner (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 152–58, suggests that the devils actually existed for the historical Guthlac as hallucinations arising from the consumption of ergotized barley-bread and vitamin deficiency. While his study ignores the highly-stylised nature of the demon-fights as well as Felix's use of other eremitic saints' *Lives*, it does provide a feasible hypothesis for how mystical visions could have occurred.

[114] Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity*, p. 230. See Michael Chisholm, 'Crowland in St Guthlac's Time', in Roberts and Thacker (2020), pp. 316–25, and Justin Noetzel, 'Monster, Demon, Warrior: St Guthlac and the Cultural Landscape of the Anglo-Saxon Fens', *Comitatus* 45 (2014), 105–20, for discussions of the historical landscape of Crowland in Lincolnshire as well as the place of the fenlands in Anglo-Saxon literary imaginations.

Christi.[115] Crowland is a place for the *Regula*'s metaphorical assertion that an anchorite will fight demons alone in the desert to be made literal.[116]

Psalms and the sign of the cross are the only aggressive apotropaic weapons Guthlac uses.[117] The *Life* states that the saint 'continually shot and fought with cursed spirits' (*singallice wið þam awerigedum gastum sceotode and campode*) using the Psalms, and it is by reciting psalms that Guthlac dispels the devils before his mastery of temptation (§§29, 34). When the devils attempt to drive Guthlac from Crowland in the form of wild beasts, he protects himself with the 'sign of the cross' and 'shield of holy faith':

Sanctus itaque Christi famulus, armato corde signo salutari. (§36).	He þa se halga wer Guþlac hine gewæpnode mid þan wæpne þære Cristes rode, and mid þam scylde þæs halgan geleafan. (§8:11–13).
'And so the saintly servant of Christ, having armed his heart with the sign of salvation.'	'Then he, the holy man Guthlac, armed himself with the weapon of Christ's cross and with the shield of holy faith.'

The Old English is more explicit than the *Vita* in identifying the 'sign of salvation' (*signo salutari*), as the 'cross of Christ' (*Cristes rode*). This expansion on the spiritual weapons in the Old English text follows the expansion we saw earlier in the description of Guthlac's armaments of faith. These expansions are of particular note given the *Life*'s general abbreviation of the *Vita*. Such expansions likely indicate the adapter's or transmitter's interest and emphasise the aspects of the narrative that he or she found important. The emphasis on the cross is

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[115] See Stephanie Clark's analysis of landscapes in anchoritic hagiographies in 'A More Permanent Homeland: Land Tenure in *Guthlac A*', *ASE* 40 (2011), 76–79.

[116] Clark, 'Permanent Homeland', 84–99, argues that spiritual warfare in *Guthlac A* is framed as a land dispute between Guthlac and the devils following Anglo-Saxon land tenure customs. According to her analysis, the devils inhabit Crowland with a temporary land-grant nullified by their rebellion against God as well as Guthlac's own drive to settle the land for God's peace. David Johnson, 'Spiritual Combat and the Land of Canaan in *Guthlac A*', in *Intertexts*, ed. Virginia Blanton and Hélène Scheck (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), pp. 311–17, suggests Guthlac's struggle with the demons resembles the treatment of the Canaanites in Scripture, and that the conflict over Crowland should be read in a biblical context.

[117] Downey, 'Intertextuality', p. 33, and Gilberto, '*Descensus ad Inferos*', p. 252, suggest Guthlac's apotropaic use of the cross derives from the *Vita Antonii*. For use of the cross in the *Guthlac*-poems of the Exeter book, see Roberts, 'Seals of the Cross', 125. For apotropaic use of cross throughout Old English literature, see David Johnson, 'The *Crux Usualis* as Apotropaic Weapon in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov, Sarah Keefer, and Karen Jolly (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 80–95.

carried through the *Life*'s chapter as Guthlac banishes demons using both the cross and words, where the *Vita* shows the saint using only words.[118] Similarly, the *Life* adds the 'the shield of holy faith' in reference to the armour of faith presented earlier in the story. This martial language, used throughout the narrative, situates the conflicts of Guthlac's soul in the *psychomachia* tradition that equates spiritual temptation with blows from weapons, and the soul with armour or fortresses.[119]

In depicting temptation as arrows, the Guthlac-narratives imbue the spiritual struggle with physical attributes, as seen in Guthlac's first temptation after settling on Crowland:

Tunc antiquus hostis prolis humanae … Cum enim omnes nequitiae suae uires uersuta mente temptaret, tum veluti ab extenso arcu uenenifluam desperationis sagittam totis uiribus iaculauit, quousque in Christi militis mentis umbone defixa pependit. Interea cum telum toxicum atri ueneni succum infunderet, tunc miles Christi totis sensibus turbatus, de eo quod incoeperat desperare cœpit; et huc illucque turbulentum animum convertens, quo solo sederet nesciebat. Nam cum sua ante commissa crimina immensi ponderis fuisse meditabatur, tunc sibi de se ablui ea non posse uidebatur. In tantum enim desperare cœpit, ut infinitum et importabile opus se incoepisse putasset. Deinde Christi famulus, trium dierum uicissitudinibus, quo se uerteret nesciebat.
(§29).

Þa se ealda feond mancynnes ... Mid þy he þa his yfelnysse mægen and grymnysse attor teldode, þæt he mid þan þa menniscan heortan wundode, þa semninga swa 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 þæs eadigan weres swiðe gedrefed on him, be þam onginne þe he ongan, þæt westen swa ana eardigan. Mid þam he þa hine hider and þyder gelomlice on his mode cyrde, and gemunde þa ærran synna and leahtras þe he gefremede and geworht haefde, and þa maran and unmættra him sylfa dyde, þonne he wende þæt he hi æfre gebetan mihte. Ða hæfde hine seo deofollice stræl mid ormodnysse gewundodne. Wæs se eadiga wer Guðlac mid þære ormodnysse þri dagas gewundod, þæt he sylfa nyste hwider he wolde mid his mode gecyrran.
(§4:38–73).

'Then the ancient enemy of the human race … while he was trying out all the powers of his own wickedness with a

'Then the old enemy of mankind … while he [was dealing out] the power of his wickedness and the venom of his

[118] Roberts, 'Seals of the Cross', 115.
[119] Doubleday, 'Soul as Fortress', 503–08; see pp. 16–17 in Chapter Two.

cunning mind, shot as from a bow fully drawn, a poisoned arrow of despair with all his might so that it stuck fast in the very shield boss of the mind of the soldier of Christ. Meanwhile, when the poisoned dart had poured in its concoction of black venom, then the soldier of Christ was disturbed in all his senses; and he began to despair about what he had undertaken, and turning this way and that in his troubled mind he knew not in what place to rest alone. For when he ruminated upon how the sins he had committed in the past were of immense gravity, then it seemed to him that he could not be cleansed of them. Indeed, so greatly did he begin to despair that he thought he had undertaken an infinite and insupportable labour. Then the servant of Christ, amidst uncertainties for three days, did not know where he should turn.'

cruelty, with which he might wound the hearts of men, suddenly he fixed the dart of his temptation in the mind of Christ's soldier as from a bended bow. When the blessed man was wounded with the poisoned dart of the accursed spirit, then the blessed man's mind was greatly troubled within him, concerning the undertaking he had begun, namely, that he should so dwell alone in the wilderness. With that he turned himself hither and thither continually in his mind, and remembered those previous sins and wickednesses which he had committed and wrought, and he thought that he himself had done greater and more enormous sins than he could ever amend. Then had the devilish dart wounded him with desperation. The blessed man Guthlac was wounded with that despair for three days, so that he himself knew not whither he would turn in his mind.'

Although both versions blame the devil for Guthlac's despair, they differ in describing the origin of Guthlac's doubt. The *Vita* is more concerned with the saint's internal struggle, while the *Life* presents the struggle as a wound externally inflicted. In the Latin text, words of thinking or thought, such as *mens*, *anima*, *nescire, meditari*, and *uideri*, permeate the passage to show Guthlac internally overwhelmed with his own despair. These are taken up in part in the Old English passage with corresponding references to the 'mind' (*mod*) and heart (*heort*). The Old English emphasises that Guthlac's despair stems from an externally inflicted wound, which the devil inflicts upon Guthlac, and not from within the saint's own mind.

The devil is conceived of as an archer who bends his bow (*gebendum bogan*) to shoot poisoned arrows (*geættredan streale*) at the saint.[120] These arrows induce doubt in Guthlac, who is said to be 'wounded' (*gewundod / gewundodne*). Words that denote 'wounding', derived from the verb *wundian*,

[120] For a discussion of Old English portrayals of the devil as an archer, see pp. 15–18 above.

appear four times in the short Old English passage, emphasising that temptation should be seen within the context of a physical battle. This language equates metaphysical temptation with tangible wounds and links the unmartyred saint to the physical suffering endured on the path to salvation.[121] The use of alliteration in the Old English (*ge**b**endum **b**ogan*, ***C**ristes **c**empan*, ***a**na **ea**rdigan*) further focuses attention on the martial aspects of the passage: the devil's bow, the soldier of Christ, and his ability to exist alone against temptation. The *Life* then repeats that Guthlac's doubt is caused by the devil's dart, saying 'the devilish dart wounded him with desperation'. The clause has no parallel in the *Vita* and reinforces the idea that Guthlac's doubt is externally inflicted.

A close parallel of the *Life of Guthlac*'s portrayal of the 'arrows of sin' is the late ninth-century Old English Psalm 10,[122] which says:

Quoniam ecce peccatores intenderunt arcum; parauerunt sagittas suas in pharetra, ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde.	Ic wat, þeah, for þam þe þa synfullan bendað heora bogan and fyllaþ heora coceras mid flanum, to þam þæt hi magon sceotan þa unscyldigan heortan dygollice þonan hi læst wenað.[123]
'For, lo, the wicked have bent their bow; they have prepared their arrows in the quiver; to shoot in the dark the upright of heart.'	'I know, however, because those sinful bend their bows and fill their quivers with arrows, so that they might shoot the innocent heart secretly, when they least expect it.'

The Old English psalm highlights the martial imagery of temptation through alliteration. First, the alliteration on 'b' in ***b**endað* and ***b**ogan* stresses the bows with which sinners shoot their arrows of temptation, and is the same as that found in the *Life of Guthlac* with *ge**b**endum **b**ogan.* Attention is then drawn to the arrows fired by sinful shooters in the alliteration on 'f' between ***f**yllaþ* and ***f**lanum*. The action of temptation 'shooting' (***sc**eotan*) likewise alliterates with the

[121] Lee, *Guest-Hall*, pp. 115, 121. Peter Dendle, 'Pain and Saint Making in *Andreas*, Bede, and the Old English Lives of St Margaret', in *Varieties of Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* 7 (2007), 45–51, argues that the agnostic interpretation of pain as a necessary part of attaining sainthood was well-known in Anglo-Saxon England.
[122] For a discussion of the influence of the Psalms in the *Vita* and *Life* see Helen Appleton, 'The Psalter in the Prose Lives of St Guthlac', in *Germano–Celtica: A Festschrift for Brian Taylor*, ed. Anders Ahlquist and Pamela O'Neill (Sydney: The University of Sydney 2017), pp. 68–72 and 77–83; Atherton, 'Figure of the Archer', 653–56, analyses the motif of the devil as an archer.
[123] Patrick O'Neill, ed., *The Old English Psalms* (Cambridge, MA; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2016), p. 30.

'innocent' (*un**sc**yldigan*) hearts shot, linking temptation with the root *scyld* ('guilt' or 'sin') as well as contrasting those sinful ones who shoot with those that do not. Qualifying this attack as one conducted 'secretly' (*dygollice*/*in obscuro*) further condemns the action as lacking martial virtue through using subterfuge. The similarity between the Psalm and the *Life of Guthlac* suggests the Guthlac-narratives were consciously embedding their saint in the tradition of martial spirituality established from Scripture and widely disseminated in Old English during the ninth century.[124]

The devils are not the only actors who bear arms and fight in physical terms.[125] Like the angels who come to Martin's aid, the angels in *Guthlac A* are also 'armed with weapons of spirits' (*gearwe mid gæsta wæpnum* line 89). These holy weapons are formidable, even deadly, for the demons they attack. In the *Vita* and *Life of Guthlac,* the devils describe eremitic saints violently quelling temptation by fasting:[126]

Humanae infirmitatis vitia abstinentiæ framea interimebant. (§30).	On heom ealle uncyste ofaslogon and acwealdon. (§5:33–35).
'They destroyed the vices of humans with the spear of abstinence.'	'They slew and killed all vices in them.'

Here, the *Life* omits the reference to the 'spear of abstinence' in the *Latin*. This omission avoids adding another spiritual armament not mentioned in its initial description of Guthlac's spiritual arms as well as maintaining the idea that the psalmody and sign of the cross were the only aggressive weapons for a saint. In place of the *abstinentiæ framea*, the *Life* employs the doublet *ofaslogon and acwealdon* to make the violence of this passage stronger than the *Vita*, which uses a single verb *interimere* ('to abolish'). In using the same doublet which had previously described Guthlac's military campaigns (§17), the *Life* also indicates that Guthlac's spiritual warfare has superseded his secular soldiering.

The idea of the physical overthrow of demons is summarized at the end of Guthlac's struggle against the devils in chapter 35:

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[124] Pezzarossa, 'Ideology of War', pp. 108–21; and pp. 1–3 and 15–18 above.
[125] Abdou, 'Speech and Power', 204.
[126] See Downey, 'Too Much', 89–127, for an analysis of the Anglo-Saxon attitude towards fasting.

Post non multum tempus, cum uir uitae uenerabilis Guthlacus contra insidias lubrici hostis saepe certando triumphabat; ecce, zabulus, uires suas fractas comperiens, nouas uersutias aduersus eum sub toxico pectore uersare cœpit. (§35).	Mid þy se eadiga wer Guðlac swa gelomlice wið þam awerigedum gastum wann and campode, þa ongeaton hi, þæt heora mægn and weorc oferswyþed wæs. (§6: 20–23).
Not much time afterwards, when the man of venerable life Guthlac was often triumphing in the fight against the snares of the deceitful foe; behold, the devil, realising that his own strength was broken, began to turn new guile against [the saint] within his poisonous breast.	Since the blessed man Guthlac so frequently fought and battled against the cursed spirits, they perceived that their power and work was overcome.

The Old English says that Guthlac 'fought and battled' the demons, and as a result they knew that their ability to tempt him was undone. The clustering of doublets in the *Life* connects Guthlac's victorious breaking of the demon's might with his past victories over his physical enemies. Yet, the doublets also connect Guthlac's to the monastic *miles Christi* tradition as a warrior who overthrows his spiritual adversaries. The phrase *winnian and campian* also appears in the Old English *Regula Benedicti*, which states that one would 'wish to fight and contend under this rule' (*Her is seo æ, þe þu under hyre tecinge winnan wilt and campian*).[127] The shared use of the doublet suggests that the phrase was adopted from secular contexts for monastic life, similar to the appropriation of the term *camp-had*.

Hill suggests that the *Guthlac A*-poet appropriated secular heroic diction, but limited himself or herself primarily to phrases which were established in monastic traditions of the *miles Christi*.[128] However, Hill does not analyse the overtly martial nature of the interaction between Guthlac and the demons, or the implicit violence that Hermann demonstrates is part of the spiritual warfare metaphor.[129] The poem first states that those who go to heaven are steadfast in faith, teach and perform Christ's law, praise god and subdue accursed spirits (*oferwinnað þa awyrgdan gæstas*, lines 25a). It then relates how an angel and devil do battle over Guthlac's soul (lines 115–16), and later depicts Guthlac as a

[127] Arnold Schröer, ed., *Die Winteney-Version der Regula S. Benedicti* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1888), p. 117. Compare to the passage in the *Regula* II: 628, *ei ecce lex, sub qua militare uis*.
[128] Hill, 'Soldier of Christ', 65–68.
[129] Hermann, *Allegories*, pp. 47–48.

Cristes cempa subduing enemy devils (lines 152–53). The poem continues to emphasise that warriors of God despise ensnarers or tempters and 'fight' (*campian*) for God in their hearts (lines 344–47), before ending with a definition of a *miles Christi* as one who loves fasting, fights sins, keeps truth, avoids evil and strives in prayers (lines 799b–810). *Guthlac A* refers to saints as tried and experienced warriors (*gecostan cempan*, line 91), while the devils are 'grim thegns' (*þegnas grimme*, line 546) or foot soldiers (*feðe-hwearfum*, line 191b). The devils are presented as an army with cavalry and infantry (*meara þreatum ond mon-farum*, line 286). Guthlac, meanwhile, is a 'warrior of glory' (*wuldres cempa*, line 324) and 'the steadfast leader in fights against foes' (*wæs se fruma fæstlic feondum on ondan*, line 772).

The central structure over which the saint and demons fight is the *tumulus*, *beorg*, or *hlæw* that Guthlac settles upon.[130] There has been considerable debate concerning how to interpret the place Guthlac settles.[131] Clark summarises that most interpret *beorg* either as a Christian metaphor, in which the *beorg* will be seen as an allegorical hill representing Guthlac's pursuit of salvation,[132] or in light of Germanic heroic literature in which *beorg* refers to a pagan barrow. The terms *tumulus* and *hlæw*, found in the *Vita* and *Life of Guthlac*, generally refer to a 'burial-mound' or 'barrow'.[133] Shook follows the 'heroic' reading of the structure to maintain that Guthlac takes residence on a pagan barrow-mound in all of the Guthlac-narratives.[134] However, the term *beorg* used

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[130] Margaret E. Bridges, *Generic Contrast in Old English Hagiographical Poetry*: *Anglistica 22* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1984), pp. 129–34; Hall, 'Constructing', pp. 212 and 224–30; O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Guthlac Crossings', 9–25; Alfred Siewers, 'Landscapes of Conversion: Guthlac's Mound and Grendel's Mere as Expressions of Anglo-Saxon Nation Building', *Viator* 34 (2003), 24–25; Shook, 'Burial Mound', 2b–9b; Karl Wentersdorf, '*Guthlac A*: The Battle for the *Beorg*', *Neophilologus* 62 (1978), 135–42; Kelly Wickham-Crowley, 'Living on the *Ecg*: the Mutable Boundaries of Land and Water in Anglo-Saxon Contexts', in *A Place to Believe In*, ed. Clare Lees and Gillian Overing (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 96–99. Britton Brooks, *Restoring Creation: The Natural World in the Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives of Cuthbert and Guthlac* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2019), pp. 242–43, argues that use of boundary words like *hlæw* and *beorg* 'fixes Guthlac's progression in sanctity to the physical landscape'.

[131] For a summary of scholarship on the *beorg* in *Guthlac A* to date, see Maj-Britt Frenze, 'Holy Heights in the Anglo-Saxon Imagination: Guthlac's *Beorg* and Sacred Death', *JEGP* 117:3 (2018), 327–29.

[132] Stephanie Clark, '*Guthlac A* and the Temptation of the Barrow', *Studia Neophilologica*, 87:1 (2015), 48–60 and 69. Clark supports the allegorical reading of the *beorg.*

[133] *DMLBS* s.v. *tumulus*; *DOE* s.v. *hlǣw*, *hlāw.*

[134] Shook, 'Burial Mound', 3a–4b. See also Albertson, *Saints and Heroes*, p. 185; Earl Anderson, 'The Uncarpentered World of Old English Poetry', *ASE* 20 (1991), 71–73; Hall, 'Constructing', pp.

in *Guthlac A* can mean either a 'mountain/hill' or a 'barrow-mound'.[135] This ambiguity has led both Reichhardt and Sharma to argue that the *beorg* should be read as a metaphor for Guthlac's ascension toward heaven without referring to a physical structure in the flat terrain of the fens.[136] Magennis and Roberts support this interpretation in noting that the portrayal of Crowland as a green field at the end of the poem is a symbol of paradise, not a literal description.[137] However, it appears that the poet did not use *beorg* exclusively to mean 'mountain' or 'barrow-mound'. Rather, he or she seems to encourage audiences to read the *beorg* as both a literal pagan burial in the fenland landscape as well as the allegorical mountain which Guthlac scales in devotion to God. The literal meaning is established in both the *Vita* and *Life* as follows:

Erat itaque in praefata insula tumulus agrestibus glaebis coaceruatus, quem olim auari solitudinis frequentatores lucri ergo adquirendi defodientes scindebant. In cuius latere uelut cisterna inesse uidebatur, in qua uir beatae memoriae Guthlac desuper inposito tugurio habitare coepit. (§28).

'There was on that aforementioned island a burial mound built of clods of earth, which greedy visitors to the desert had once dug open, in the hope of finding treasure there. In the side of this [mound] there seemed to be a sort of cistern, on which Guthlac the man of blessed memory began to dwell, after building a hut over it.'

Wæs þær on þam ea-lande sum hlaw mycel ofer eorðan geworht, þone ylcan men iu geara for feos wilnunga gedulfon and bræcon. Þa wæs þær on oþre sidan þæs hlawes gedolfen swylce mycel wæter-seað wære. On þam seaðe ufan se eadiga wer Guthlac him hus getimbrode, sona fram fruman þæs þe he þæt ancer-setl gesæt. (§4:1–17).

'There was on that island a great barrow wrought from earth, the very one which men in days gone by had dug and broken into, hoping for wealth. There was on the other side of this barrow dug a great water-cistern. Over this pit the blessed man Guthlac built himself a house, and immediately from the beginning of this he settled into that place of hermitage.'

212–18; Wentersdorf, 'Battle for the *Beorg*', 135–42; Alexandra Olsen, *Guthlac of Croyland*: *A Study of Heroic Hagiography* (Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1981), pp. 33–35. For a general overview of Anglo-Saxon burial mounds see Hilda Davidson 'The Hill of the Dragon', *Folklore* 61:4 (1950), 176–77, and Noetzel, 'Monster, Demon', 121–22.

[135] *DOE* s.v. *beorg*, cites *Guthlac A* for both definition 1. 'mountain, hill' as well as definition 2. 'barrow, tumulus, burial mound'.

[136] Paul Reichhardt, '*Guthlac A* and the Landscape of Spiritual Perfection', *Neophilogus* 56 (1974), 331–38; Manish Sharma, 'A Reconsideration of the Structure of 'Guthlac A': The Extremes of Saintliness', *JEGP* 101:2 (2002), 186–95 and 200.

[137] Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 180–88; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, p. 132.

Here, the narratives describe a constructed mound (*eorðan geworht* / *agrestibus glebis coaceruatus*) that men of old believed to be a barrow containing treasure. Guthlac builds his cell on this mound as he takes up the mantle of an anchorite.

Semple shows how Anglo-Saxons associated barrow-mounds on boundaries or borderlands with paganism and the supernatural, with such places often appropriated for Christian burial-grounds or monasteries in order to redefine the landmark.[138] The description of the mound in the Guthlac-narratives would presumably have carried such superstitious connotations for Anglo-Saxon audiences, who could have seen the *beorg* in Crowland as foreshadowing Guthlac's confrontation with supernatural forces. In building his hermitage on the mound, Guthlac is redefining its pagan, secular, and demonic connotations. The men of the past (*men iu geara*) who sought treasure are like the ancient secular heroes (*iu-manna and þæra woruld-frumena*, §2:34) that Guthlac had venerated in his sinful youth. They are also reminiscent of the 'old kings of the past' (*þa ealdan kyningas, þe iu wæron,* §2:52) who hoarded wealth and whose memory leads Guthlac to abandon secular military pursuits. Secular heroes of Germanic literature like Beowulf or Sigemund go to *beorgas* or 'barrows' to fight for worldly fame, treasure, and the slaughter of monstrous barrow-dwellers.[139] Unlike these heroes, Guthlac has transcended his worldly pursuits and is not on a secular mission. He builds his cell over the barrow, deliberately blocking both the avenue for heroes to perform deeds of worldly reknown, as well as the conduit through which the pagan supernatural interacts with the mundane world. The literal action of his settlement has an allegorical and moral meaning that distinguishes him from secular soldiers as a *miles Christi*.

Unlike previous visitors to Crowland, who seek worldly treasure, Guthlac settles himself for spiritual reward. The ineffectual pursuit of treasure, reflected

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[138] Sarah Semple employs a mix of archeological, place-name, and literary evidence in 'A Fear of the Past: The Place of the Prehistoric Burial Mound in the Ideology of Middle and Later Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeology* 30:1 (1998), 109–26. See also Davidson, 'Hill of the Dragon', 175–79; Sharma, 'Structure', 200.

[139] *Beowulf* lines 884b–97a, 2510–91a and 3087–100; Hall, 'Constructing', pp. 216–18; Meaney, 'History or Hagiography', pp. 79b–80b; Noetzel, 'Monster, Demon', 110–13; Siewers, 'Landscapes of Conversion', 10–13 and 26; Wentersdorf, 'Battle for the *Beorg*', 136–42.

in the men of old who were eager for wealth, is thus juxtaposed with Guthlac's fruitful use of the mound. The hagiographical disdain for worldly heroes is stressed in the implied failure of previous barrow robbers 'hoping for wealth' (*for feos wilnunga*). In devaluing the heroic approach to the mound, the narratives critique the fame of heroes like Beowulf or Sigemund who are celebrated for bringing wealth out of barrow-mounds.[140] In contrast, Guthlac's sanctified settlement makes the barren pagan barrow bountiful for Christians of all orders of society looking for spiritual wealth (§ 45).[141] The *Vita* and *Life* highlight this contrast in describing the 'treasure hoard of wisdom' (*thesaurum sapientiae*, §51; *ealra gesnyttra gold-hord*, §20:167) that Guthlac provides the his death.[142] The *Guthlac A*-poet similarly presents conflicting conceptions of the *beorg* as both the literal barrow that is empty for the treasure hunters as well as a seat of exile (*wræc-setl*) for demons, and a mountain of salvation for the *miles Christi* that becomes a paradisal *grena wong* (lines 232, 477 and 746).

After Guthlac's settlement on Crowland, he is beset by demons who attempt to tempt him from his purpose as well as to drive him from the barrow.[143] Guthlac's struggle against the demons in a wasteland follows the hagiographical convention of the *miles Christi*.[144] In the battle over the *beorg*, both the demons and Guthlac follow the same plan of attack that the devil in *Juliana* lines 352–417 describes for tempting souls. Guthlac, the 'holy warrior, hard of resistance' (*eadig oretta, ondwiges heard*) goes to the barrow armed with spiritual weapons (*gæstlicum wæpnum,* lines 176–78a). The devils attempt to drive Guthlac from his piety with the arrows of temptation but, to adapt the words of Belial in *Juliana* lines 382–83, 'they meet a courageously brave soldier

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[140] Davidson, 'Hill of the Dragon', 180–82; Hall, 'Constructing', 213–19 and 231; Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity*, pp. 231–16; Wentersdorf, 'Battle for the *Beorg*', 136. Whitelock, *Audience*, pp. 80–82, postulates that the Grendel-kin and dragon in *Beowulf* were inspired by Felix's *Vita*. Alexandra Olsen, 'Guthlac on the Beach', *Neophilologus* 64:2 (1980), 291–94, shows how the saint in *Guthlac B* similarly upsets traditional heroic expectation by inverting the 'hero on the beach' trope.

[141] Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching', p. 168.

[142] See Amy Faulkner, 'The Language of Wealth in Old English Literature: From the Conversion to Alfred', unpublished DPhil. Dissertation (University of Oxford, 2019), pp. 128–51, for an analysis of the metaphorical use of treasure words in the Old English *Boethius*.

[143] Shook, 'Burial Mound', 8b–9b.

[144] Guthlac's struggles are particularly influenced by Bartholomew's, Antony's, and Paul the Hermit's fights with the demons. Jones, 'Ghostly Mentor', pp. 139–41 and 144–48; Kurtz, 'St Antony', 103–46; Siewers, 'Landscapes of Conversion', 18.

of God' (*ellen-rofne gemet*[*aþ*] *modigne metodes cempan*). Meanwhile, the saint uses his own arrows of the psalmody to besiege the demonic strongholds or *beorgas*. As a lone warrior against many, Guthlac conquers his many perils (*þær se cempa oferwon frecnessa fela*, lines 180b–81a).[145] Felix previously emphasises the singular nature of Guthlac's fight through the term *solitaria vita* ('the solitary life', §§24, 28, and 50) used to describe Guthlac's life after he decides to leave the monastery and become a *miles Christi*.[146]

Although the Guthlac-narrators frame temptation with terms pertaining to physical warfare, Guthlac appears to conceive of his struggle as removed from any violence.[147] For example, in *Guthlac A*, Guthlac clearly states that he abstains from spilling blood, saying:[148]

> No ic eow sweord ongean
> mid gebolgne hond oðberan þence,
> worulde wæpen. Ne sceal þes wong gode
> þurh blod-gyte gebuen weorðan,
> ac ic minum Criste cweman þence
> leofran lace. Nu ic þis lond gestag,
> fela ge me earda þurh idel word
> aboden habbað. Nis min breost-sefa
> forht ne fæge, ac me friðe healdeð
> ofer monna cyn se þe mægna gehwæs
> weorcum wealdeð.
> (lines 302b–12a).
>
> 'I don't mean to bear a sword, a worldly weapon, with an enraged hand against you. This good plain shall not be inhabited through the gushing of blood, but I aim to please my lord Christ with a dearer sacrifice. Now that I have ascended this land you have offered many dwellings through your idle words. My innermost mind is not afraid or doomed, but He keeps me in peace over mankind, He who wields all power over all works.'

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[145] Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, p. 32, argues that *Guthlac A* emphasizes the solitary nature of the saint, while Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, pp. 106–14, analyses the relationship between the varying number of devils that Guthlac fights, the multifarious nature of demonic temptation, and the saint as a lone *miles Christi*.
[146] Roberts, 'Prose Translation', pp. 374–75. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Guthlac Crossings', 11, notes that the phrase *solitaria vita* may come from *Vita Cuthberti*.
[147] Angela Abdou, 'Speech and Power in Old English Conversion Narratives', *Florilegium* 17 (2000), 205; Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 131–46; Hall, 'Constructing', pp. 220–32, believes that the *Guthlac*-poet both utilized and subverted traditional models of heroic behaviour.
[148] Bolton, 'Background', 601; Lee, *Guest-Hall*, p. 106.

In this passage, Guthlac reinforces his nonviolence by swearing off the use of physical weapons and violent conquest.[149] Guthlac then states that the conversion of the *beorg* will not be through bloodshed (*þurh blodgyte*) but through following the example of Christ, who keeps peace over mankind (*friðe healdeð ofer monna cyn*). The poet suggests, like the *Martinmas*-homilist, that the highest form of power cannot be held through force or violence, but rather through peace.

Guthlac's renunciation of weapons contrasts his earlier life as a warlord and depictions of secular heroes who rely on the sword and 'worldly weapons' (*worulde wæpen*), wielded with an 'enraged hand' (*gebolgne hond*). Guthlac's refusal to become enraged likewise distances him from the demons. Elsewhere in *Guthlac A* the term *gebolgen* ('enraged') is used to describe demons, who say that they 'shall be then enraged' (*beoð þa gebolgne*, line 287a) when they attack Guthlac, and are then 'enraged' (*bolgen-mode*, line 567b) when they bring Guthlac towards Hell. These descriptions of 'enraged' demons parallel those in *Beowulf* describing the vengeful mentality of monsters, Heremod, and the eponymous hero (lines 709, 723, 1539, 1713, 2220, 2304, 2401 and 2550), as well as the 'enraged' Jews and Mermedonians in *Andreas* (lines 128 and 1221).[150] By characterising the demons as *bolgen-mod*, *Guthlac A* places the demons in the context of those Godless monstrous entities that exhibit behaviours antithetical to Christianity. The enraged or agitated mindset of Crowland's devils is juxtaposed with the saint's own pursuit of making a 'dearer sacrifice' (*leofran lace*)[151] towards 'peace' (*frið*), as well as associating rage with damnation similar to the *Martinmas*-homilist's association of pagan antagonists with terms denoting anger, such as *hat-heortan* or *gram-hydig*.[152]

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[149] Bridges, *Generic Contrast*, pp. 117–26, asserts that Guthlac is isolated from martial imagery and metaphor throughout *Guthlac A*. However, she does acknowledge the motifs of the *miles Christi*'s conflict, spiritual armour, and concept of *belli munus* throughout the poem suggest the poem employs the conventional allegory of spiritual warfare.

[150] Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the 'Beowulf'-Manuscript* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 32; Andy Orchard, *A Critical Companion to Beowulf* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 112 and 199.

[151] Lipp, 'Interpretation', 54, and Fred Robinson, 'The Significance of Names in Old English Literature', *Anglia* 86 (1968), 46–48 and 54–57, note the poet's paranomasia of the saint's *lac* to Christ and Guthlac's name.

[152] See pp. 75–80 above.

This conflict between the violent instability of worldly temptation and the peaceful *stabilitas* of the *miles Christi* permeates the Guthlac-narratives.[153] Hill suggests that *Guthlac A* 'concerns a saintly man who held his own despite all temptation, who was not moved from either the place he chose for himself or from the 'middle way' between pride and despair.'[154] Similarly, Shook argues that the poem was constructed around the idea of spiritual progress facilitated by angelic psychopomps,[155] an idea that Reichardt, Sharma, and Weber have all developed further to illustrate the theme of spiritual progression and ascension to a state of *stabilitas*.[156] Guthlac shows how the *miles Christi* is unwavering in his purpose, and banishes the devils with the power of saintly *stabilitas* (*Guthlac A* lines 798–811). As Dendle summarises, Guthlac 'overcomes [the demons'] sustained attacks by simply persevering through them.'[157]

When demons attack Guthlac in the guise of armed Britons, they are unable to harm Guthlac even though they assault him with their *stræle* (§34). The saint then dispels them with a recitation of a Psalm 67:

Velut prophetico ore sexagesimi septimi Psalmi primum uersum psallebat: Exurgat Deus [et dissipentur inimici eius],[158] et reliqua. Quo audito, dicto uelocius, eodem momento, omnes demoniorum turmae, uelut fumus, a facie eius euanuerunt. (§34).	He þa sona unforhtlice þa stræle þara awerigdra gasta him fram asceaf, and þone sealm sang: *Exurgat deus et dissipentur, et reliqua*. Sona swa he þæt fyrmeste fers sang þæs sealmes, þa gewiton hi swa swa smic fram his ansyne. (§6:16–20).

[153] Jones, 'Envisioning', 284–91, maintains that the Guthlac-narratives are commentaries on monastic *stabilitas* as well as the Benedictine vow not to leave the monastery, while Zacher, *Preaching the Converted*, pp. 255–66, claims that the theme of the Guthlac-narratives is the opposition to movement or *stasis* as devils try to dislodge Guthlac from his island and his monastic ideals. See also Colgrave, *Guthlac*, p. 20; Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 12–17; Gilberto, '*Descensus ad Inferos*', pp. 233–34; Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature', p. 83; Roberts, 'Saint for Middle England', 29.

[154] Hill, 'Middle Way', 187.

[155] Laurence Shook, 'The Prologue of the Old English *Guthlac A*', *Mediaeval Studies* 23 (1961), 296–304.

[156] Reichardt, 'Spiritual Perfection', 331–38; Sharma, 'Reconsideration', 185–200; Benjamin Weber, 'A Harmony of Contrasts: The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book', *JEGP*, 114:2 (2015), 205–11. Wright, 'Three Temptations', 341–43, disagrees, arguing that *Guthlac A* shows that the saint has *stabilitas* throughout his temptation and that the poem is not about spiritual progression.

[157] Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, p. 104.

[158] Colgrave, ed., *Guthlac*, p. 111, notes that only three of the *Vita* manuscripts, C_1BnG, preserve a longer quotation of the Psalm.

'As if with a prophetic mouth he began to sing the first verse of the sixty-seventh psalm, 'May the Lord arise [and let his enemies be scattered'], and the rest. When they had heard this, in the same moment, quicker than words, all of the hordes of demons vanished from his face like smoke.'

'Fearless, he then immediately pushed away the javelins of those wicked spirits from him, and sang the psalm: *Exurgat Deus et dissipentur, et reliqua*. As soon as he had sung the first verse of the psalm, they departed just like smoke from his face.'

The saint's use of psalmody is apotropaic, dispelling the apparition and preventing the demons from attacking him again in the guise of Britons. Unlike those in the *Martinmas*-homily, the Latin quotation from the Psalm is not translated in the *Life*, suggesting that its audience was familiar with the Latin psalter.[159] While the devil's darts cannot pierce the saint throughout the rest of the story, the saint can dissipate the demons like smoke. The dissipation of the demons follows the structure of Psalm 67 closely, which states:

> Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici eius; et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius. Sicut deficit fumus, deficient.
>
> 'May God arise and his enemies be dispersed, and may they who hated him flee from his face. Just as smoke wafts away, may they dissipate'

The Psalm complements the *miles Christi* tradition, carrying the idea of God dispelling enemies of the faithful and protecting their possession of ordained inheritance.[160]

The description of Guthlac repelling the demonic javelins (*stræle*) in the Old English passage has no parallel in the *Vita* or psalm, but was a commonly presented concept, as discussed in above.[161] In adding this detail the Old English adapter demonstrates Guthlac's use of the 'shield of holy faith' to ward off temptation.[162] Guthlac does not protect himself physically, but with intangible faith that has a tangible force for the demons, turning them into smoke. The term *stræl* becomes dualistic, referring to both the physical javelins the devils carry as well as the metaphorical javelins or 'temptation-darts' *costunge streale* (§4:48)

[159] Appleton, 'Psalter in the Prose Lives', pp. 77–83.
[160] O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Guthlac Crossings', 18–21.
[161] See pp. 15–18, 78, 116, 121–22, 129, 155 and 169.
[162] Appleton, 'Psalter in the Prose Lives', pp. 81–83, links Guthlac's ability to thrust away the javelins with his apotropaic use of the 'arrows of the psalmody'.

the devils use to corrupt people. Guthlac does not physically touch the demons, but uses the steadfastness of his devotion and his *mild-heortness* (§20:171) to counter his spiritual attackers. In so doing he shows contempt for the demons as well as the physical instruments of war.

Guthlac's nonviolence is further emphasised in his juxtaposition with the futile physicality of the devils' threats and actions. In *Guthlac A*, the devils order the saint to relinquish the *beorg* under the threat of physical force:

> 'Geswic þisses setles! Ne mæg þec sellan ræd
> mon gelæran þonne þeos mengu eall.
> We þe beoð holde gif ðu us hyran wilt,
> oþþe þec ungearo eft gesecað
> maran mægne, þæt þe mon ne þearf
> hondum hrinan, ne þin hra feallan
> wæpna wundum. We þas wic magun
> fotum afyllan; folc in ðriceð
> meara þreatum ond monfarum.
> Beoð þa gebolgne, þa þec breodwiað,
> tredað þec ond tergað, ond hyra torn wrecað,
> toberað þec blodgum lastum; gif þu ure bidan þencest.
> We þec niþa genægað. Ongin þe generes wilnian,
> far þær ðu freonda wene, gif ðu þines feores recce.'
> (lines 278–90).

> '"Give up this settlement! No one can give you better counsel than all this multitude! We will be loyal to you if you will heed us, so that one need not touch you with hands nor your body [need] fall with the wounds of weapons, or else we will seek you again with greater strength, you who are unprepared. We can topple this hut with our feet; a troop with both a cavalry force and foot soldiers will flatten it. They will be swollen in rage then when they strike you down, trampling and troubling you, wreaking their anger upon you. They will carry you away leaving behind bloody footprints; if you think to endure us. We will assault you with hateful deeds. Begin desiring a refuge for yourself, go to where you might hope for friends, if you care about your soul!"'

The force of the devils, placed in reference to their bodily 'hands' (*hondum*) and 'feet' (*fotum*), is directed towards Guthlac's corporeal existence as they threaten his 'body' (*hra*). They see their assaults having a physical nature reflected in the bloody footprints they would leave. Yet these are empty threats, as the devils mistakingly conflate Guthlac's body with his 'soul' (*feorh*). Guthlac, standing alone against many (*se wið mongum stod*, line 323b), is unwavering, and proves

that the devils are incapable of permanently injuring or removing him bodily from the *beorg.*

The demons fail to recognise that physical suffering does not wound the soul, but rather aids it on its path to salvation. Guthlac reinforces this point explicitly when the devils bring him to hell, saying:

> 'Þeah ge minne flæsc-homan fyres wylme
> forgripen grom-hydge gifran lege,
> næfre ge mec of þissum wordum onwendað þendan mec min gewit gelæsteð.
> Þeah þe ge hine sarum forsæcen, ne motan ge mine sawle gretan,
> ac ge on betran gebringað.'
> (lines 374–78a).

> '"Though you, angry-minded, may seize my flesh-covering with the fire's welling, with greedy flame, you will never turn me from these words, so long as my mind lasts. Though you afflict it with pains, you can never come near my soul, rather you will bring it into a better state."'

Guthlac renounces his own physicality, saying that his 'flesh-covering' (*flæsc-homan*) can be destroyed without affecting his mind (*gewit*) or soul (*sawle*). Rather, Guthlac insists that physical suffering and violence inflicted upon the faithful person brings his or her salvation. Guthlac's speech emphasises the demons' powerlessness to affect him by addressing them directly with the second person plural *ge*, and the hypermetricity of lines 376–79. The hypermetricity slows the speech's flow to focus on the inefficacy of the demons' assaults on the soul. Once Guthlac returns to speaking about his body, the metre also returns to its usual form. This separation of the soul from the body, along with Guthlac's earlier renunciation of spilling blood (line 305a), cements the *miles Christi*'s focus on spiritual planes of existence.

The demons' inability to see that worldly modes of combat have no effect in spiritual warfare leads to their defeat. Guthlac conquers the demons as he consolidates his faith and becomes less vulnerable to worldly sin, doubt, or demonic assaults on his corporeal presence. After Guthlac proves to the demons that they are unable to drag him into hell (§31),[163] two of them lament:

[163] See Gilberto, '*Descensus ad Inferos*', pp. 233–52, and Roberts, *Saint for Middle England*, pp. 18–24, for analyses of Guthlac's journey to hell in the *Life of Guthlac* and *Guthlac A*.

‘Vires nostras ubique per te fractas lugemus, et inertiam nostram aduersus ualetudinem tuam ploramus, non enim te tangere, aut tibi propinquare audemus.’ (§33).	‘Wit wepað, forþon þe uncer mægn eall þurh þe ys gebrocen, and we þe nu ne moton to cuman, ne to þe nane spræce habban; ac on eallum þingum þu unc hæfst gebysmrod, and ure miht eall oferswyþed.’ (§5:276–79).
‘“We lament our powers that are broken by you everywhere, and we bemoan our weakness against your power, for we do not dare to touch you or approach you.”’	‘“We two weep because both of our entire might is broken through you, and we cannot now come to you, nor have any speech with you, but you have humiliated us in all things and both of our might is completely overpowered.”’

The rare use of the dual pronoun in the Old English follows the detail in the *Vita* that there are only two demons who linger to speak with Guthlac, while the subsequent use of the first-person dual pronoun *unc* and plural pronoun *we* indicate that the demons speak on behalf of the whole demonic troop. However, the perspectives of the two demons in the *Vita* and *Life* vary. The devils in the *Vita* focus on their hesitancy to come close to Guthlac, saying that they do not dare approach him (*non … tibi propinquare audemus*). The devils in the *Life* present their defeat as a complete loss of authority. They bemoan their humiliation and claim twice that their ‘might is completely overthrown’ (*miht eall oferswyþed*). Where the devils bewail their lesser strength in comparison to Guthlac’s in the Latin text, the devils in the Old English text say that they no longer have any strength at all.

After this lament, the devils increasingly lose their ability to speak.[164] The next time demons appear, they speak in Brittonic, a language known to Guthlac because he spent time in Wales as a young man but foreign to many Anglo-Saxons, who appear to have maligned Britonnic culture (§34).[165] Guthlac wards off the demons’ assaults and banishes them with the recitation of Psalm 67, as

[164] See Matt Coker’s analysis of the importance of speech for rational beings judged by God in ‘Voicing the Supernatural’, pp. 136–43.

[165] For studies of the anti-Celtic nature of the Guthlac-narratives, see Lindy Brady, ‘Colonial Desire or Political Disengagement? The Contested Landscape of *Guthlac A*’, *JEGP* 115:1 (2016), 61–78; Downey, ‘Too Much’, 126; Higham, ‘Guthlac’s *Vita*’, pp. 88b–89a; Siewers, ‘Landscapes of Conversion’, 10–11.

noted above. In the final appearance of the devils, they have no human speech at all but bleat and roar as animals (§36). At that point, Guthlac arms himself with the shield of faith and banishes the devils with his own words, saying:

'O miserrime Satana, manifestae sunt uires tuae. Nonne nunc miserarum bestiarum hinnitus, grunnitus crocitusque imitaris, qui ante aeterno Deo te similare tentasti? Idcirco impero tibi in nomine Iesu Christi, qui te de caelo damnauit, ut ab hoc tumultu desistas.' Nec mora dicto citius, uniuersa phantasmata uacuas in auras recesserit. (§36).	'Eala þu earma wiðerwearda gast, þin mægn ys gesyne, and þin miht ys gecyþed; þu nu earm[r]a, wildeora and fugela and wyrma hiw ætywest, 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 and þe of heofones heannysse awearp, þæt þu fram þisse ungeþwærnysse gestille.' Þa sona æfter þon ealle þa ætywnysse þara awerigdra gasta onweg gewiton. (§8:14–22).
'"Lo, most miserable Satan, your powers are made manifest. Do you not now imitate the whinnying, the grunting and the croaking of miserable beasts, you who before attempted to liken yourself to the eternal God? Therefore I command you in the name of Jesus Christ who banished you from heaven, that you must desist from this tumult." Without delay, quicker than words, the whole apparition receded into the empty air.'	'"Alas, you wretched rebellious spirit, your power is seen and your might is made known; now you show the form of wretched wild beasts and birds and creeping things, you who once lifted yourself up that you might be equal to the eternal God. Now then I command you, in the name of the eternal God, who made you, and cast you down from the height of heaven, that you cease from this trouble." Then immediately after that all the appearances of the accursed spirits went away.'

When Guthlac banishes the demons, he commands Satan to cease his 'tumult' (*tumultu*) or 'discord' (*ungeþwærnysse*), and immediately the spirits disappear. This ultimate banishment displays Guthlac's authority over the devils, as he dispels them with an order, not an attack or assault.[166] Guthlac's use of the verbs of command *imperare* and *bebeodan* demonstrate his victory on the spiritual battlefield as well as his authority over the barrow. Moreover, as Downey and

[166] Guthlac's banishment of the demons through a verbal exorcism also conforms to early hagiographical traditions surrounding dragon-fights, in which the saint verbally commands the dragon to desist or perish, the dragon is not able to retaliate, and a conversion or the foundation of a monastery follows. For a fuller analysis see Christine Rauer, *Beowulf and the Dragon: Parallels and Analogues* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 69–72.

Coker note, Guthlac banishes these demons through his own words instead of using a psalm.[167] Guthlac assumes the role of God in Psalm 67, as he arises and banishes his enemies. In this we see salvation reflected in one's power to speak, not in one's ability to fight physically.[168] As Guthlac gains more authority and *stabilitas* in resisting temptation, his prayers and recitations have greater effect, while the demons become increasingly weaker and voiceless.[169] Guthlac's ability to command the devils with his own words, and not those of the psalmody, demonstrates his ultimate ascension to sainthood and the devils' complete defeat.

O'Brien O'Keeffe notes that the demons in other eremitic saints' lives, such as the *Vita S. Antonii*, perpetually torment the saint, whereas in the narratives on Guthlac, demons 'become a discrete phenomenon of place.'[170] Once exorcised from Crowland they do not come back. The final defeat of the demons is made clear in the *Life of Guthlac's* summary of Guthlac's spiritual combat (§6: 20–23). At this point, the *Life* presents the defeat of demonic power as complete (*heora mægn and weorc oferswyþed wæs*) while the *Vita* suggests the devil is still able to tempt Guthlac, albeit in more guileful ways (*novas **uers**utias ad**uers**us eum sub toxico pectore **uers**are cœpit*). The *Vita* even stresses the devil's continued subterfuge in the alliterative paronomasia between ***uers**utias* ('guile'), *ad**uers**us* ('against'), and ***uers**are* ('to turn'). However, by referring to the devils' might as 'overpowered' (*oferswyþed*) when Guthlac resists the demons at the mouth of hell and then as the saint finally banishes the demons from Crowland, the *Life* frames the decline of demonic influence on Crowland within an envelope pattern. The earlier demonstration of Guthlac's pacifist power to counter physical and spiritual violence culiminates in the total defeat of demonic might, to the exent they do not even have the power to lament their final downfall.

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[167] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 32–33; Coker, 'Voicing the Supernatural', p. 206. Abdou, 'Speech and Power', 203–04 and 207–10, shows how the saint gains divine authority through his speech in *Guthlac A*.

[168] For discussions on the difference between the saintly and demonic voice in *Guthlac A*, see Abdou, 'Speech and Power, 207–09; Adin Lears, '*Soð* and Sense: Language Problems and Affective Solutions in Anglo-Saxon Treatments of the Guthlac Legend', *Viator* 44:3 (2013), 67–75.

[169] Abdou, 'Speech and Power', 203–10, and Coker, 'Voicing the Supernatural', pp. 201–27, take the demons' words and actions to be empty throughout *Guthlac A* and the saint's authority over them to be a constant feature in the poem.

[170] O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Guthlac Crossings', 9; See also Dendle, *Satan Unbound,* pp. 104–06.

In robbing the devils of their ability to speak, have dignity, or perform actions (*nane spræce habban ... unc hæfst gebysmrod … ure miht eall oferswyþed*), Guthlac removes their agency in the 'thought, word, deed' trifecta of spiritual standing,[171] thereby demonstrating his sanctity and authority over demonic corruption. Bede refers to the triad as the metric by which one's spiritual fate is measured during his accounts of visions of hell.[172] Fursa, Dryhthelm, and an anonymous Mercian thegn known to Pecthelm of Whithorn are told that demons and angels weigh thoughts, deeds, and words to determine whether they will go to hell or heaven.[173] While Guthlac is not explicitly told that he will be judged by the triad during his vision and it is unclear how much of Bede's work Felix seems to have know, Felix appears to be working in a similar tradition surrounding visions of hell.[174] It is thus possible that Guthlac-narratives refer to the devils' loss of power to demonstrate Guthlac's spiritual victory in the thematic triad. The devils no longer have the power to judge the saint's thoughts, words, or deeds as their own agency in the triad has been dominated.

In *Guthlac A,* the saint claims Crowland when he 'breaks the barrows' (*beorgas bræce*, line 209a) where devils previously dwelt, making the devils exiles. This expulsion of the demons recalls Christ's defeat of demonic temptation in the desert.[175] When the demons confront both Christ and Guthlac, they are exiled or completely defeated.[176]

> Wæs seo æreste earmra gæsta
> costung ofercumen. Cempa wunade
> bliþe on beorge, wæs his blæd mid god.
> (lines 437–39).
>
> 'The first temptation of the wretched spirits was overcome. The warrior dwelled happily on the barrow, his reward was with God.'

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[171] For an overview of the 'thought, word, deed' theme in early medieval literature and its appearances in early Ireland and England, see Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Thought, Word and Deed: An Irish Triad', *Ériu* 29 (1978), 78–111.
[172] Sims-Williams, 'Thought, Word and Deed', 109–10.
[173] *HE* III:19; V:12; V: 13.
[174] Capper, 'Mercian Context', pp. 189 and 212; 'Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 56–59; Orchard, '*Leges Feliciter*', pp. 30–31; Roberts, *Saint for Middle England*, pp. 18–24; Thacker, 'Felix Shapes', pp. 13–16.
[175] *Guthlac A* lines 200–25; Luke 4:1–13; Matt 4:1–11; Mark 1: 12–13; Lee, *Guest-Hall*, p. 104.
[176] Hill, 'Devil's Sting', 388–90.

The *miles Christi*'s mission is accomplished. Demonic temptation has been rooted out and overthrown, the wilderness of Crowland has been tamed, and the *beorg* has been transformed from a den of devils to a place of Christian pilgrimage (§§37–49 and 52–53; *Guthlac A* lines 742–51).[177]

This thematic emphasis on the role of the *miles Christi* as a spiritual conqueror and converter is presented to audiences in the introduction of Guthlac's very name.[178] The *Vita* and *Life* provide this explanation for the name 'Guthlac':[179]

Hoc est Guth et Lac, quod Romani sermonis nitore personat Belli-Munus: quia ille cum uitiis bellando aeternae beatitudinis præmia, cum triumphali infula perennis uitae percepisset. (§10).	Guðlac se nama ys on romanisc, *Belli munus*: forþon þeah he mid woruldlice geswince menige earfoðnysse adreah, and þeah mid gecyrrednysse þa gife þære ecan eadignysse mid sige eces lifes onfengc. (§2:7–10).
'That is 'Guth' and 'Lac', which resounds in the lustre of the Roman speech as 'Gift of War'; since he received the prizes of eternal bliss with the triumphal band of everlasting life by warring against sins.'	'The name 'Guthlac' is in the Roman tongue, *Belli munus*, because although he endured many tribulations with worldly toil, he also received the gift of eternal blessedness with the victory of eternal life from his conversion.'

Guthlac's name, interpreted as either 'the offering' or 'play of battle', initially refers to the secular tradition, but foreshadows the saint's later role in metaphysical warfare.[180] The name suggests how the saint appropriates the martial discipline and courage of his days as a warlord for Christian salvation throughout his life. The Old English presentation of the etymology adds a clause that stresses that, with his conversion (*mid gecyrrednysse*), Guthlac shifts from attaining secular rewards of worldly toil (*woruldlice geswince*) to seeking spiritual rewards as a saint. The *Life* and *Guthlac A* continually repeat the idea

[177] Weber, 'Harmony of Contrasts', 210. Brooks, *Restoring Creation*, pp. 257–68 and 277–86, argues that the Old English accounts model Guthlac as a new Adam restoring a prelapsarian paradise in Crowland. Nancy Jiang, 'Exploring the Positive Exilic Hero in *Christ and Satan* and *Guthlac A*', *Quaestio Insularis* 17 (2016), 16–18, Lee, *Guest-Hall*, pp. 105–08, Noetzel, 'Monster, Demon', 123–29, and Shook, 'Burial Mound', 6b, all read Guthlac as a builder (*bylta* lines 148b, 733a), who creates a path to heaven. Thundyil, 'Convenant', pp. 294–97, compares Guthlac's conversion of the barrow into an earthly paradise with the prophecies of Isiah.
[178] Thundyil, 'Covenant', pp. 251–54.
[179] A similar etymology is provided in the *OEMart.* 80.
[180] Bolton, 'Background', 595–603; Damon, *Soldier Saints*, p. 145; Hill, 'Wicked Jews', 389b.

that one must renounce the world to attain the 'glory of everlasting life' (*sige eces lifes onfengc*). They argue that, while the spiritual struggle against temptation is a heroic pursuit, sainthood and secular violence are incompatible. Only those who elevate themselves from secular orders to the *godcundlic camp-had* are able to reach the 'holy order' (*haligne had,* line 94) of angels and saints.

Like the *Martinmas*-homily, which advocates for peaceful conversion of disbelievers, the prose and verse Guthlac-narratives suggest that a soldier of Christ can make a spiritual paradise of a physical desert and convert others to a more pious way of life solely through mastering his or her own internal conflicts. Other ninth-century hagiographers crafting narratives on warrior-saints, even those independently working upon the same legend, did not share the view that the soldier of Christ should be nonviolent. In the next chapter we will see that the *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos*, its Old English prose adaptation, and the poem *Andreas* all present different takes on Christian involvement in warrior culture, ranging from a hesitant servant of Christ to a heroic warrior in the *comitatus* of Christ, forcing heathens to convert.

Chapter Five

The Heroic Soldier: The Acts of Andrew among the Anthropophagi

The Guthlac-narratives provide a relatively unified portrait of how the hermit participated in the spiritual warrior culture. The martial portrait of the saint is established in Felix's original composition, upon which subsequent hagiographers built their depictions of Guthlac as a *miles Christi*, consistently employing the terminology of spiritual warfare found in monastic works like the *Regula Benedicti*. The Old English accounts of Andrew's trip to the anthropophagi of Mermedonia,[1] on the other hand, demonstrate how Anglo-Saxon writers reframed stories previously devoid of martial imagery to present a saint as a heroic spiritual soldier fighting in the Lord's *comitatus*. Where the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* and *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos* (*Acta*) focus on Andrew's development from a reluctant missionary into a spiritual teacher,[2] the anonymous Old English *Life of Andrew*,[3] as well as the poem *Andreas* in the Vercelli Book,[4] both minimise Andrew's character-evolution to make Andrew a model *miles Christi*.[5] As Herbison states, the Old English

[1] As Ellen Baumler, 'Andrew in the City of the Cannibals: A Comparative Study of the Latin, Greek, and Old English Texts', PhD. Dissertation (University of Kansas, 1985), p. 34, and Dennis MacDonald, *The Acts of Andrew and the Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of the Cannibals* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1990), pp. 7–10, show, there are various spelling for the cannibal nation that Andrew and Matthew visit. This chapter uses *Mermedonia*, as presented in the *Casanatensis, Andreas* and Blickling versions of the narrative.

[2] An edition of the Greek version of the *Acta*-narrative according to the *Praxeis* textual tradition, and the Latin versions preserved in the *Casanatensis* and *Vaticanus* manuscripts are presented in Franz Blatt, *Die lateinische Bearbeitungen de Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos* (Griessen: Töpelmann, 1930), pp. 32–94. Translations of these texts are provided in Robert Beonig, *The Acts of Andrew in the Country of the Cannibals: Translations from the Greek, Latin, and Old English* (New York; London; Garland Publishing, 1991). See pp. 143–47 below for a fuller discussion of the *Acta* sources. The theme of the reluctant apostle in *Acta*-narratives is discussed in James Earl, 'The Typological Structure of *Andreas*', in *Old English Literature in Context*, ed. John Niles (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980), pp. 82–86; Ivan Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation in *Andreas*', in Roberts and Nelson (2000), 186–91; Richard North and Michael D. Bintley, ed., *Andreas: An Edition* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), p. 5.

[3] A fragment of the prose *Life of Andrew* is extant on folios 136r–39v of the Blickling Homiliary, while a fuller version is preserved on folios 386r–94v of CCCC 198. Charles Goodwin first published the text with translation in *The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St Andrew and St Veronica* (Cambridge: Deighton; Macmillan, 1851), pp. 2–25; followed by James Bright in *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader, Third Edition*, ed. Frederick Cassidy and Richard Ringler (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 205–19.

[4] A recent edition of *Andreas* can be found in North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, pp. 118–210.

[5] Robert E. Bjork, *The Old English Verse Saints' Lives: A Study in Direct Discourse and the Iconography of Style* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 111–23,

'treatment of the saint is thus to diminish the element of testing and replace it with the motif of spiritual warfare.'[6] The different approaches of the two Old English adaptations further demonstrate that the introduction of martial imagery to the story was not, as some have argued,[7] the coincidental *Germanisierung* of narratives as they were reworked for Anglo-Saxon audiences. Rather, the *Life of Andrew* uses the imagery of spiritual warfare established in scripture to reframe the apostle as an authoritative *miles Christi*, while the *Andreas*-poet uses diction from heroic poetry to contrast the futility of secular warrior culture against the efficacy of militant Christianity that spread the faith through violence.

Andrew appears in the Bible, although he is generally overshadowed by his brother Simon Peter, so much so that one of Andrew's epithets is 'the brother of Simon Peter' (*frater Simonis Petri*, John 6: 8).[8] When the Gospels do mention Andrew, they recognise him as the first disciple and a paragon of willingness to follow Christ. In John 1: 35–42, Andrew is said to have learned of Christ from John the Baptist and then told his brother Peter that he had found the messiah. In Matthew 4: 18–20, Andrew and Peter are introduced as fishermen who obey Christ immediately, throwing down their nets to become disciples. Later, when Jesus feeds the five thousand, it is Andrew who offers the fishes and loaves for Christ's miracle (John 6: 8). Andrew's constant and early desire to follow Christ is a predominant character-trait that Bede emphasises in calling Andrew and Peter 'those first called to follow the Lord' (*isti primi uocati sunt ut dominum sequerentur*).[9]

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for example, demonstrates that *Andreas* reduces the separation and ironic distance of saint and Christ to typologically align them more closely.

[6] Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 186–87.

[7] See, for example, Alexander, *Old English Literature*, pp. 162–63; Frank, 'North Sea Soundings', pp. 1–11; Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, pp. 58–90; Anita Riedinger, 'The Formulaic Relationship Between *Beowulf* and *Andreas*', in *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, ed. Helen Damico and John Leyerle (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993), p. 284; Claes Schaar, *Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group* (Lund: Gleerup, 1949), p. 12. Erdmann, *Origin*, pp. 19–21, and Russell, *Germanization*, pp. 166–70 and 204–08, argue that militancy and the appropriation of martial language in Christianity as a whole arose from 'Germanisation' of the Church.

[8] Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, pp. xi–xv.

[9] David Hurst, ed., *Bedae Venerabilis opera, Pars II: Opera exegetica, 3: In Lucae Evangelium expositio; in Marci Evangelium expositio*, CCSL 120 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), p. 446.

The accounts of Andrew's life after Christ's death are less unified.[10] A narrative recounting the apostle's evangelical mission to Achaia and crucifixion at the hands of Ægias developed into the *Passio S. Andreae Apostoli*,[11] which is witnessed in Anglo-Saxon copies of Paul the Deacon's homiliary and the Cotton–Corpus Legendary.[12] This *Passio* was mixed with Biblical references and adapted in Old English in the *Old English Martyrology*,[13] in Cynewulf's *Fates of the Apostles* (lines 16–22)[14] and *Juliana* (lines 308–12), Ælfric's homily on Andrew,[15] and likely influenced the *Dream of the Rood*.[16] These depictions all seem to play on the etymology of the name 'Andrew' as 'the manly one'.[17] The *Old English Martyrology* says that Andrew 'was beautiful in body and he was beautiful in spirit' (*wlitig on lychaman and he wæs wlitig on mode*),[18] and Ælfric characterises Andrew as the 'manly' (*þegenlic*) apostle,[19] who is willing to accept death and exhibits saintly *stabilitas* in his faith. Walsh and DeGregorio consider this orthodox interpretation of Andrew's missions after the death of Christ the 'primary or primitive acts of Andrew', opposed to the apocryphal 'secondary acts' that developed from the fifth century on.[20]

The apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* tradition or 'secondary acts' depict Andrew as an apostle who is reluctant to trust Christ's power and unable to recognise Christ when they meet after his resurrection.[21] This tradition mixes scriptural and canonical narratives with secular motifs, such as those found in

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[10] MacDonald, *Acts of Andrew*, pp. 2–47, analyses early narratives concerning Andrew and their relationship with other saints in the *Acts of the Apostles* traditions.
[11] *BHL* 428 and 430.
[12] Scott DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* or *Flæsclic*: The Old English Prose Legends of St Andrew', *JEGP* 102:4 (2003), 452–53; Malcolm Godden, 'Experiments in Genre: The Saints' Lives in Ælfric's Catholic Homilies', in Szarmach (1996), p. 272; Marie Walsh, 'St Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evolution of an Apocryphal Hero', *Annuale Mediaevale* 20 (1981), 107; Zettel, 'Hagiographic Sources', pp. 166–71 and 244–45.
[13] *OEMart.* 222.
[14] Kenneth Brooks, ed., *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 56–60.
[15] ÆCHom I. 507–19. Claudio Cataldi, 'St Andrew in the Old English Homiletic Tradition', in Lazzari, Lendinara, and Di Sciacca (2014), pp. 301–06, and Godden, 'Experiments', pp. 272–75, analyse Ælfric's approach to Andrew legend.
[16] Thomas D. Hill, '*Passio Andreae* and *The Dream of the Rood*', *ASE* 38 (2009), 1–10.
[17] Fred Robinson, 'Some Uses of Name-Meanings in OE Poetry', *NM* 69 (1968), 163–65, analyses patristic 'name-lore' behind 'Andrew' from Jerome to *Andreas*. See also DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* and *flæsclic*', 456–63; Godden, 'Experiments in Genre', p. 274.
[18] *OEMart*. 222.
[19] ÆCHom I. 506:22, 512:154–63.
[20] DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* and *flæsclic*', 452; Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 107.
[21] DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* and *flæsclic*', 451.

the *Odyssey* and romances.[22] MacDonald demonstrates that the narrative titled *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos* was not part of the original apocryphal *Acts*, but was an offshoot from that tradition and shares many of the elements found in the original apocrypha.[23] The earliest witness of the Mermedonian narrative which is eventually adapted for the Old English *Andreas* and *Life of Andrew* is the so-called Greek Πράξεις (*Praxeis*, meaning 'The Deeds') text found in multiple manuscripts.[24]

The *Acta*-narrative relates how the apostles draw lots after Christ's death to decide where to carry Christ's message. Matthew is allotted Mermedonia, a place where they imprison and eat strangers, and upon arriving in this barbarous land, Matthew is captured. Christ then comes to Andrew, who is preaching in Achaia, and orders him to rescue Matthew. Andrew does not initially believe that he would be able to journey to Mermedonia before Matthew is executed and is reprimanded by Christ, who tests Andrew's faith while disguised as a ship-captain ferrying Andrew to the wicked land. After arriving and freeing Matthew from prison, Andrew remains in Mermedonia to convert the people, who are incited by the devil to torture him. Andrew endures spiritual and corporeal afflictions for three days before Christ restores him, at which point Andrew orders a stone pillar in his prison to unleash a flood to punish the Mermedonians. Trapped and drowning, the Mermedonians repent and humble themselves before Andrew who revives all but the fourteen most wicked, who are banished to Hell. Andrew then converts the remaining people to the Christian faith. The inspiration to portray Andrew converting cannibals in the apocryphal tradition may have stemmed from his supposed assignment to Scythia,[25] the

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[22] Baumler, 'Comparative Study', pp. 5–8; Cataldi, 'St Andrew', p. 293; Rosemary Woolf, 'Saints' Lives', pp. 50–51. For discussion of the narrative's connection to the *Odyssey*'s portrayal of Circe, see Earl, 'Typological Structure', pp. 80–82; Edward B. Irving Jr., 'A Reading of *Andreas*: The Poem as Poem', *ASE* 12 (1983), 216; Dennis MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer: The Odyssey, Plato, and the Acts of Andrew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 38–40.

[23] MacDonald, *Acts of Andrew*, pp. 27–47. E. A. Budge presents other apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* narratives concerning Andrew in *The Contendings of the Apostles* (London; New York: H. Frowde, 1901), II:183–214.

[24] Blatt, ed., *Acta Andreae*, pp. 32–94.

[25] Baumler, 'Comparative Study', pp. 4–8; Brooks, *Andreas*, pp. xxvii-ix; George Krapp, *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles* (Boston; New York; Chicago; London: Ginn and Company, 1906), pp. lxv–lxviii; MacDonald, *Acts of Andrew*, pp. 16–22; Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 97–100; Woolf, 'Saints' Lives', 5. The *Vaticanus* version of the *Acta* states that Andrew is among the 'Scythian people' (*gens Scithica*) as Andrew is tortured, Blatt, ed., *Acta Andreae*, p. 115.

home of monstrous creatures and cannibals since Herodotus and Aristotle.[26] Godlove even argues that the widespread interest in Andrew partially derived from his association with missions to barbarous, threatening peoples.[27]

The *Acta* was well-known enough to influence more orthodox sources, including the Roman antiphonaries,[28] and Gregory of Tour's *De Gestis Beati Andreae*, which both mention Mermedonia.[29] The *Acta*'s popularity over the *Passio* can also be seen in CCCC 198, which preserves the only complete copy of the Old English prose *Life of Andrew*.[30] CCCC 198 does not contain Ælfric's homily on Andrew, despite being primarily a collection of Ælfrician homilies, perhaps suggesting that the compiler preferred the Mermedonian narrative to Æflric's. Moreover, Walsh suggests that references to and appreciation of the Mermedonian story partly stemmed from the inability of early writers or compilers to differentiate apocryphal stories from orthodox ones, indicating that apocryphal nature of the story would not have deterred some Anglo-Saxon compilers.[31]

Like Martin, the missionary apostle Andrew was popular throughout England. Many English churches were dedicated to Andrew,[32] notably the early dedications in Rochester (*c.* 604) and near Hexham (*c.* 672–78).[33] Andrew's feast-day was celebrated on the 30th of November, as most extant liturgical calendars from the period attest,[34] and he is honoured in the late tenth-century *Vita S. Dunstani* and Adelard's *Lectiones in depositione S. Dunstani* from

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[26] Lindy Brady, 'Echoes of Britons on a Fenland Frontier in the Old English *Andreas*', *Review of English Studies* 61 (2010), 682. Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, p. 15, and David White, *Myths of the Dog-Man* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 31–34, note Andrew's association with the Scythian cynocephalus Saint Christopher, whose story is presented in Budge, trans., *Contendings of the Apostles*, pp. 203–14.
[27] Shannon Godlove, 'Bodies as Borders: Cannibalism and Conversion in the Old English *Andreas*', *Studies in Philology* 106:2 (2009), 137.
[28] Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 104.
[29] The passage concerning Mermedonia in Gregory's work is in Blatt, ed., *Acta Andreae*, p. 2. Gregory of Tours seems to have been uncomfortable, however, with the monstrous elements of the apocryphal narrative since he presents the tale of Matthew and Andrew's journey to Mermedonia in its briefest essentials, avoiding any reference to the fantastical elements like cannibalism or the punishing flood.
[30] See p. 139, n. 2 above.
[31] Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 100–04.
[32] Alexander, *Old English Literature*, pp. 159–60; Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 103.
[33] Cataldi, 'St Andrew', p. 296–97, also links Andrew to the Gregorian mission to England.
[34] Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, p. iii; Bill Friesen, 'Legends and Liturgy in the Old English Prose *Andreas*', *ASE* 43 (2014), 211 and 225–28; North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, p. 107. Andrew is honoured in every calendar Wormald edits, in *English Kalendars*.

1006×1012.[35] It is unclear when the apocryphal *Acta* came to England, or when it was first adapted into Old English. Boenig, Scharr, and Walsh have argued that the narrative preserved in the Greek *Praxeis* is our closest source for both the *Life of Andrew* and *Andreas*.[36] Boenig and Brooks suggest that the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian in the seventh century, with such pupils as Aldhelm of Malmesbury, may have provided the understanding of Greek necessary to access the story in its original language.[37] However, in so far as the Old English narrative seems to follow the *Praxeis* more closely than the surviving Latin recensions, Boenig's suggestion overestimates knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England.[38] The Old English compositions likely post-date the Canterbury School by at least a century, and it is improbable that Greek texts were widely accessible after the Canterbury School's decline in the eighth century. A Latin extract preserved in the *Life* further suggests that the Anglo-Saxon writers were using a Latin version of the *Acta*, and not a Greek one.

Latin versions of the *Acta* survive in several manuscripts: the eleventh-century Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana lat. 1274;[39] the twelfth-century Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1104;[40] the eleventh-century Bologna, University Library, MS 1576;[41] and the eleventh-century 'Bonnet fragment' in Rome, Codex Vallicellensis, plut. I, tom. III.[42] These all ultimately derive from a sixth- to ninth-century translation of the *Praxeis*.[43] The 'Bonnet fragment' presents a source that is closest to the Old English retellings of the *Acta*, but

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[35] Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge, ed., *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), pp. 62 and 122. See also DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* and *flæsclic*', 449; Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 101.
[36] Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, pp. viii–ix; Schaar, *Critical Studies*, pp. 13–23; Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 110. A summary of the debate around the Anglo-Saxon source of the *Acta*-narrative is in Baumler, 'Comparative Study', pp. 15–18; and in North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, pp. 4–6.
[37] Robert Boenig, *Saint and Hero: Andreas and Medieval Doctrine* (London; Toronto: Associated University Press, 1991), pp. 23–24; Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, pp. vii-ix; Brooks, *Andreas*, p. xv. Schaar, *Critical Studies*, pp. 20–23, does not think that the Greek version could have been used.
[38] For an analysis of the limited Greek knowledge in Anglo-Saxon, especially after the early eighth century, see Mary Bodden, 'Evidence for Knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 17 (1988), 227–32. Michael Lapidge, *The School of Theodore and Hadrian*, *ASE* 15 (1986), 45–67, demonstrates the wide range of disciplines taught in Canterbury school, but does not highlight hagiography as a focus for Theodore. However, Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', pp. 175–77, does note the importance of hagiography and Sulpicius's *Vita Martini* in the Canterbury School.
[39] Blatt, ed., *Acta Andreae*, pp. 96–148.
[40] Blatt, ed., *Acta Andreae*, pp. 33–95.
[41] Baumler, 'Comparative Study', pp. 90–129.
[42] Bright prints the 'Bonnet Fragment' in his *Grammar*, pp. 210–11.
[43] Schaar, *Critical Studies*, p. 13.

provides a witness for only a small portion of the narrative.[44] The *Casanatensis* text, albeit 'written in a most barbarous Latin,'[45] is less embellished than its counterpart in *Vaticanus*,[46] and lengthier than the *Bologna* narrative, making the *Casanatensis* text a better representative of the exemplar that the composers of vernacular texts used.[47] Moreover, although the Old English texts generally follow the *Praxeis* quite closely, they do share some features with the *Casanatensis* text, as Baumler's comparative study of the details and sequencing between extant versions of narrative demonstrates.[48]

However, the Latin interpolation in the Blickling version of *Life of Andrew*, which reads, *Tunc Santus Andreas surgens mane abiit ad mare cum discipulis suis et uidit nauiculam in litore et intra naue sedentes tres uiros* ('then Saint Andrew arising in the morning left for the sea with his disciples and saw a little boat on the shore and three men were sitting in the ship'),[49] is not found in the *Casanatensis* version but is a closer translation of the *Praxeis* text.[50] This indicates that the *Casanatensis* is not precisely representative of the *Acta*-narrative, that was the source of the story for Anglo-Saxons. Likewise, differences between the narrative traditions suggest that the Anglo-Saxon hagiographers either had a version of the *Acta* that was different from any single source known today or consulted multiple versions of the apocryphal story. This is especially evident in details found in the Greek and Latin versions, like that of the earthen pots used for catching the blood of Mermedonian victims, which are missing from both of the Old English narratives. Moreover, it is clear that individual hagiographers adapted their story to fit their purpose, making it impossible to reconstruct a single missing source of the *Acta* from vernacular texts as Boenig has attempted to do.[51] Comparing the extant Old English, Greek and Latin texts, the most probable inference is that the Anglo-Saxon

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[44] The fragment relates Andrew's waking before Mermedonia and his approach to prison, corresponding to lines 843–954 of *Andreas*, and lines 103–24 of the *Life of Andrew*.
[45] Brooks, *Andreas and the Fates,* p. xvii.
[46] Baumler, 'Comparative Study', pp. 56–63; Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, p. iii.
[47] Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 215.
[48] Baumler, 'Comparative Study', pp. 19–53.
[49] Morris, ed., *Blickling Homilies*, p. 231.
[50] The *Praxeis* passage reads: 'So after Andrew rose up in the morning, he went to the sea together with his disciples, and going down to the beach, he saw a little skiff, and in the skiff three men were sitting,' Boenig, trans., *Acts of Andrew*, p. 3.
[51] Boenig, *Saint and Hero*, p. 28.

hagiographers had access to a Latin version of the story, which contained idiosyncrasies found variously in the *Praxeis*, *Casanatensis*, *Bologna*, and the two Old English texts.[52]

The picture is further complicated by potential influences on the Old English accounts from narratives other than the *Acta*. For instance, Olsen argues that *Andreas* was influenced by Arator's *De actibus apostolorum*,[53] while Walsh shows links to canonical *Acts* by Luke.[54] Friesen postulates that the anonymous composer of the prose *Life* was heavily influenced by liturgical language for the mass of St Andrew, [55] and it is clear that vernacular composers used imagery from the *miles Christi* traditions. Schaar also argues that there were two narrative streams for the apocryphal *Acta* in Anglo-Saxon England, one focusing on the miraculous and fantastical elements of the story represented in the *Andreas*, and the other an abridged version of the story reflected in the prose *Life of Andrew*.[56] Without definitive sources for the *Acta* in Anglo-Saxon England it is impossible to prove whether Schaar was correct in thinking that there were two strains of the narrative, although it is likely that the hagiographers composing works on Andrew, like those who wrote on Guthlac, drew on a range of texts.[57]

It is also uncertain when the vernacular versions of the *Acta* attested in the Vercelli Book, Blickling Homiliary and CCCC 198 were produced. *Andreas* appears to have been composed sometime before the late tenth-century Vercelli Book but after the composition and dissemination of the poems of Cynewulf, as well as *Beowulf*, *Christ B*, and *Guthlac A*, from which *Andreas* borrows.[58] Boenig, Godlove, and Riedinger date *Andreas* between the end of the ninth century and

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[52] See, for example, Baumler, 'Comparative Study', pp. 64–76; Brooks, *Andreas and the Fates*, pp. xvii-viii; Goodwin, *St Andrew*, pp. iii–vi; George Krapp, *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR 2 (New York: 1932), p. xxxvi; North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, p. 4; Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 110.
[53] Alexandra Olsen, 'The Aesthetics of *Andreas*: The Contexts of Oral Tradition and Patristic Latin Poetry', in *De Gustibus*, ed. John Miles Foley (New York; London: Garland, 1992), pp. 397–99.
[54] Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 116–22.
[55] Friesen, 'Legends and liturgy', 217–222 and 226.
[56] Schaar, *Critical Studies*, pp. 15–20.
[57] For discussion of intertextuality in the Guthlac-narratives, see pp. 88–89 above.
[58] Andy Orchard, 'The Originality of *Andreas'*, in *Old English Philology*, ed. Leonard Neidorf, Rafael Pascual, and T. A. Shippey (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2016), pp. 332–47. Megan Cavell, 'The Binding of Religious Heroes in *Andreas* and the *Hêliand*', *English Studies* 96:5 (2015), 507–20, suggests that imagery of the *Hêliand*, especially the binding of Christ, is shared in *Andreas* and the *Andreas*-poet uses Saxon literature for his own composition. Fuller discussions of *Andreas*'s sources are below on pp. 162 and 169.

the beginning of the tenth.[59] Brooks thinks the poem was slightly earlier, preferring a mid-ninth-century composition.[60] More recently, Bredehoft argues that Alfred's circle knew *Andreas*,[61] a theory that North and Bintley seem to support, suggesting that the poet was a Mercian working in Wessex during the late ninth to early tenth century.[62] At the very least, it seems that the *Andreas*-poet was a rough contemporary of the *Martinmas*-homilist and the composer of the *Life of Guthlac*, and that they all worked in a similar literary milieu which was interested in missionary *milites Christi*. Dating the *Life of Andrew* is somewhat more straightforward. Although no exact date has been determined for the work, the original *Life* must pre-date 970, given its presence in the Blickling Homiliary, and the late West-Saxon word forms of the piece indicate that it was produced sometime in the tenth century, well after the poetic composition of *Andreas*.[63]

The prose *Life of Andrew*

The *Life of Andrew* has been classified as a 'close Old English version of a popular Latin legend of a popular saint,'[64] and, accordingly, many consider it as merely derivative of its Latin source. As Boenig maintains, 'the assumption behind such a tradition is that a sacred or well-received text remains static in translation, with the translator imposing as little of his own personality on the text as possible.'[65] This view oversimplifies the hagiographer's approach to his source, and neglects how he transformed the story from a fantastical legend with gory details and a flawed hero into one suitable for private religious contemplation or liturgical celebrations on Andrew.[66] The *Life* abbreviates the *Acta*-narrative,

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[59] See, for example, Godlove, 'Bodies as Borders', 139; Riedinger, 'Formulaic Relationship', p. 305. Calvin Kendall, 'Literacy and Orality in Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Horizontal Displacement in *Andreas*', *JEGP* 95:1 (1996), 1–9, argues that *Beowulf* and *Andreas* grew from similar oral traditions and were composed around the same time, though he does agree with Riedinger that the *Andreas*-poet had access to a text of *Beowulf*.

[60] Brooks, *Andreas and the Fates*, pp. xxii–xxvi.

[61] Bredehoft, *Authors, Audiences*, pp. 98–99. Boenig, *Saint and Hero*, pp. 21 and 56, also sees the language of *Andreas* to be contemporary with Alfred.

[62] North and Bintley ultimately argue that the poem was written by Alfred's Mercian chaplain Æþelstan between 888–893, *Andreas*, pp. 96–103 and 109–15.

[63] Bright, *Grammar*, p. 205; DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* and *flæsclic*', 450; Bill Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions: The Sources and Analogues of the Old English Andreas', PhD. Dissertation (University of Toronto, 2008), pp. 243–44; Gerould, *Saints Legends*, p. 113.

[64] Boenig, *Saint and Hero*, p. 28. See also Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions', p. 244; Friesen, 'Legends and Liturgy', 211.

[65] Boenig, *Saint and Hero*, p. 28.

[66] DeGregorio, '*Þegenlic* and *flæsclic*', 453–4; Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions', pp. 243–46 and 268–74; Kelly, *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 193–95.

consciously removing sensational details or episodes that are tangential to Andrew's rescue of Matthew and his conversion of the Mermedonians. Boenig offers little insight into the prose composer's intention with the argument that there is 'very little reason behind it other than abridgment for the sake of homiletic brevity.'[67] The abbreviation is particularly evident in the frame-narratives Andrew tells during his sea-voyage to Mermedonia and the cannibals' efforts to butcher the dead prison-guards and innocent children, which the *Life* either condenses or removes entirely. These omissions suggest that the Anglo-Saxon composer considered Andrew's confrontation with the Mermedonians as the most interesting aspect of the *Acta*-narrative, in contrast to scholars such as Alexander, who argue that the value of the Mermedonian story was in the voyage scene and that 'the violent trials of strength in Mermedonia are unbelievable and unattractive.'[68]

Through these abbreviations, the *Life* minimises portrayals of Andrew's disobedience or flawed character, while maintaining essential details needed to demonstrate how Andrew acted in *imitatio Christi*.[69] This pruning blurs aspects of the story which relate literal or physical actions, like the descriptions of the apparatus the Mermedonians use to collect the blood of their victims; the apocryphal tales of Christ's animation of statuary; or the Mermedonians's depraved willingness to sacrifice their own children to save themselves.[70] In removing specific details that give the narrative literal meaning, the *Life* makes it easier to interpret the story as an abstract commentary on the fight against demonic corruption and the power of Christ's servant to convert even the most obscene heathens.[71]

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[67] Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, p. xxxi.
[68] Alexander, *Old English Literature*, p. 161.
[69] For discussions of typological *imitatio Christi* in the *Andrew*-narratives, see Frederick Biggs, 'The Passion of Andreas: *Andreas* 1398–1491', *Studies in Philology* 85:4 (1988), 415–22; Earl, 'Typological Structure', pp. 66–89; Godlove, 'Bodies as Borders', 153–56; Constance Hieatt, 'The Harrowing of Mermedonia: Typological Patterns in the Old English *Andreas*', *NM* 77:1 (1976), 51–59; Amy Reading, 'Baptism, Conversion, and Selfhood in the Old English *Andreas*', *Studies in Philology* 112:1 (2015), 6–16; Marie Walsh, 'The Baptismal Flood in the Old English *Andreas*: Liturgical and Typological Depths', *Traditio* 33 (1977), 145; Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 113–14 and 122. Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions, pp. 244–91, argues that the *Life* omits fantastical details and typological allusions to simplify the story for liturgical presentation.
[70] Kelly, *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 193–95, believes the *Life* is a 'highly dramatic and vivid' conversion story, but does not compare the Old English source with its sources and thereby misses the generalisation of the vernacular text.
[71] Cataldi, 'St Andrew', p. 299.

The *Life* uses syntactically simple prose and avoids compounds except to closely translate specific terms from its source, such as the compound *fær-sceat* that is used to translate *naulum* ('money or fare for passage'),[72] or *lyb-cræft* ('witch-craft' for the Latin *maleficia magifice artis*, with specific reference to malignant potions). The Old English text does, however, subtly alter the meaning of some words or actions to strengthen the spiritual interpretation of the narrative. For instance, the *Life* uses the word *hyrdas* to denote the 'prison guards'. The word *hyrde* most often refers to a 'pastor, guardian of a flock or livestock',[73] though it is used here to translate the Latin term *custos*, which is a term for 'guard' or 'protector'. While works like Ælfric's *Grammar* provide other witnesses of *hyrde* meaning 'prison guard' or 'keeper',[74] words like *weard* may have been closer to the literal meaning of *custos*.[75] In using *hyrde*, the homilist specifically employs a word with connotations that equate the prisoners with livestock and the wicked guards with shepherds. Such metaphorical use of *hyrde* for a demon or Godless entity is attested elsewhere in Old English literature. *Guthlac A* refers to the demons that afflict Guthlac as the 'pastors of sins' (*synna hyrdas*, line 550a) and Satan is called the 'pastor of crimes, the terrible assailant' (*firna herde, atol æglæca*, lines 159b–60a) in *Christ and Satan*. *Beowulf* provides a similar description of its own *atol æglæca* Grendel, who is called the 'pastor of crimes' (*fyrena hyrde*, line 750) during his last journey to Heorot. *Andreas* also refers to the guards as *hyrdas* in lines 993, 1077, and 1083, and to Christ as the 'shepherd of heaven' (*rices hyrde*, line 807), juxtaposing the divine shepherd with wicked ones. In characterising to the guards as pastors, the *Andrew*-narratives frame the guards in a religious context as false preachers or spiritual corrupters and those in the prison as people who have been led astray. The religious association of the term *hyrde* is seen in the Old English title for Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, that is *Hirde-boc* ('Shepherd-book'), which uses the same word *hyrde*

[72] The compound *fere-sceatt* further appears in two glossaries for *na*[*b*]*ulum*. Compare also to *fær-riht* (again translating *naulum*) which appears in the *Life of Mary of Egypt*; Skeat, ed., *Lives of Saints,* II: 24.
[73] *DOE* s.v. *hyrde*.
[74] The *Grammar* provides: *hic et haec custos — þes and* ðeos *hyrde*, and *custos oððe pastor hyrde*; Julius Zupitza, ed., *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1880), pp. 57 and 301.
[75] Ælfric's *Grammar* also provides *weard-mannum* for *custodibus*, Zupitza, ed., *Ælfrics Grammatik*, p. 271.

to refer to the figurative guardianship and guidance of virtue.[76] This use of *hyrde* for 'pastoral care' in the late ninth-century Alfredian translation is roughly contemporary with the ninth-century *Andreas*, and may suggest that religious connotation of the term *hyrde* was employed at the time.

The *Life of Andrew* further supports a reading of *hyrde* as false pastors by associating the guards with demons, who have imprisoned souls with metaphorical blindness and disbelief.[77] The treatment the guards inflict upon the travelers to Mermedonia is as much spiritual corruption as it is physical torment.

> Hie him sealdon attor drincan, þæt mid myclen lyb-cræfte wæs geblanden, and mid þy þe hie þone drenc druncon, hraþe heora heorta wæs tolesed and heora mod onwended. Se eadiga Matheus þa in eode on þa ceastre, and hraðe hie hine genamon and his eagan ut astungan and hie him sealdon attor drincan and hine sendon on carcerne. And hie hine heton þæt attor etan, and he hit etan nolde, forþon þe his heorte næs tolesed ne his mod onwended.
> (lines 7–13).
>
> 'They gave them poison to drink, that was mixed with great witch-craft, through which, for those that drank that drink, quickly their hearts were loosened and their mind turned. The blessed Matthew then entered that city, and quickly they captured him and put out his eyes and they gave him poison to drink and sent him into prison. And they ordered him to consume the poison, and he did not wish to consume it, because of that, his heart was not loosened nor his mind turned.'

The 'poisonous drink' (*attor drinc*) that the Mermedonians give to their captives is said to change the mind (*mod*) and heart (*heort*), terms which might refer one's soul or moral state.[78] The potion and the blinding in Mermedonia parallel the poison Belial uses to corrupt people in *Juliana* (lines 468–90) and the wounds caused by demonic 'darts' (*stræle*), which make one stray away from

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[76] Henry Sweet, ed., *King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care* (London: Trübner, 1871), p. 6.
[77] Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions', pp. 270–71. Lee, *Guest Hall*, p. 91, argues that *Andreas* was thematically focused on spiritual blindness and demonic tyranny. Earl, 'Typological Structure', pp. 72–76 and 85, Hermann, *Allegories*, pp. 122–26, Hill, 'Wicked Jews', 358–61, and Reading, 'Baptism, Conversion', 10–17, postulate that the Mermedonians were linked to the antagonistic Jews in the *Acta*'s frame-narratives as figurative representations of Christianity's enemies.
[78] See Malcolm Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', in *Old English Literature: Critical Essays*, ed. Roy Liuzza (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 301–08; Michael Joseph Phillips, 'Heart, Mind, and Soul in Old English: A Semantic Study', PhD. Dissertation (University of Illinios at Urbana-Champaign, 1985), pp. 122–232.

Christ's message and become bestial in nature.[79] Matthew's immunity to the potion's effects and permanent blinding is a reflection of his steadfast faith in Christ. The *Life* alters the *Acta*-narrative to show that Matthew refuses to swallow the potion, suggesting that Matthew is not physically forced to take the metaphorical potion and is not spiritually corrupted.[80] Matthew's psychological immunity to the potion and the ability to heal his momentary blindness through prayer suggest that the afflictions of travelers in Mermedonia are metaphysical. The *hyrdas* that protect the prison are then defeated through prayer (lines 135–36). Once these false pastors have been removed, Andrew, the true pastor of Christ, is able both bodily and spiritually to liberate those previously trapped in demonic corruption.

The psychological basis of the captives' wounds is stressed again when Andrew heals them. At this point:

> Se haliga Andreas sette his hand ofer þara wera eagan þa þær on lande wæron, and gesihþe hie onfengon, and eft he sette his hand ofer hiora heortan and heora andgiet him eft to hwirfde.
> (lines 153–55).
>
> 'The holy Andrew set his hand over those men's eyes who were in that place, and they regained sight, and afterwards he set his hand over their hearts and their understanding returned to them again.'

In healing the prisoners' afflictions, the story reinforces Andrew's connection to Christ as one who can heal the blind and exorcise demons, and demonstrates that the poison can be undone through faith alone. The use of the phrase *þær on lande* to refer to the prison suggests that the composer intended the scene to be read allegorically, such that Andrew is not healing individual corporeal wounds but the spiritual wounds of the whole community.

In depicting physically healthy characters as unable to see pious Christians, the *Life of Andrew* and the *Acta* further indicate that the potion inflicts

[79] Godlove, 'Bodies as Borders', 144–45. See also pp. 15–18, 76, 114, 119–21 and 127 above for previous dicussions of demonic darts.
[80] Baumler, 'Comparative Study', p. 23. Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions', p. 248, and Schaar, *Critical Studies*, pp. 15–20, argue the alteration comes from the desire to downplay the miraculous elements of the narrative.

a spiritual rather than corporeal blindness.[81] First, Andrew and his disciples cannot recognise Christ as the helmsman because they are hesitant and their faith is flawed (lines 42–120), then the heathen Mermedonians and devils are unable to see Andrew when he is among them (lines 133–34 and 189–200).[82] The juxtaposition between the corporeal fitness and spiritual infirmity of the Mermedonians is exemplified in the following interaction between Andrew and the devil:

> Þæt deofol, þa he þis gehyrde, he him to cwæð, 'Þine stefne ic gehiere, ac ic ne wat hwær þu eart.' Se haliga Andreas him to cwæð, 'Forþon þe þu eart blind, þu ne gesihst ænigne of Godes þam halgum.'
> (lines 189–92).
>
> 'That devil, when he heard this, said to him, "I hear your voice, but I know not where you are." The holy Andrew said to him, "Because you are blind, you do not see any of the holy ones of God."'

Despite being able to hear Andrew and see the Mermedonians and his physical surroundings, the devil cannot see the saint because he is spiritually blind to Christian faith. The *Life* then reinforces the link between the literal visibility of Andrew and the metaphorical visibility of the power of Christ in Christ's command that 'Andrew arise, and be known to them that they might recognise my power to be in you' (*Andreas aris*, *and gecyð him þæt hie ongieton min mægen on þe wesan*, line 197–98). In making God's power visible, Andrew himself acts as a preacher, revealing the mysteries of God's nature to unbelievers and modeling pious virtue. The presentation of blindness as a psychological ailment that can be remedied through prayer or preaching suggests that blindness in the *Andrew*-narratives should be read as reflective of an individual's spiritual state.

As the potion can be read metaphorically in the *Life*, so too can the guards be interpreted allegorically to refer to the temptation that confines humans in sin or spiritual blindness. The *Life* seems to equate the seven *hyrdas* with the seven demon-retainers who torment Andrew after he is captured. The demonic

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[81] Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 115–16, notes that motifs of flood and blindness are prominent in the canonical *Acts of the Apostles*.
[82] Lisa Kiser, '*Andreas* and the *Lifes Weg*', *NM* 85:1 (1984), 68–70. Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 228, reads the invisibility in *Andreas* literally and describes it as a 'genuinely absurd and incongruous clash of style and content'.

group is described as 'that devil who took with him seven other devils, whom the holy Andrew had previously put to flight' (*ðæt deofol þa genam mid him oþre seofon deoflo, þa þe haliga Andreas þanon afliemde*, lines 220–21). There is no previous mention of Andrew banishing devils in the *Life of Andrew*. The *Praxeis* says that these are devils which Andrew 'had cast out from the surrounding countryside' while the surviving Latin versions remove this detail entirely.[83] The composer of the *Life* might have omitted the Mermedonian debate over eating the seven dead guards — as presented in *Acta*[84] and *Andreas* (lines 1088–90) — to allow for a reading of the seven guards as representive of the seven devils who return to torment Andrew.

A metaphorical, rather than literal, understanding of the guards and devils in the *Life* is further supported in the way Andrew addresses them. In the Old English narratives, Andrew calls the devil a 'dart' or (s*træl*). The *Life* says, 'Lo you hardest of darts for each wrong, you who always fight against mankind' (*Ana þu heardeste stræl to æghwilcre unrihtesse, þu þe simle fihtest wið manna cyn*, lines 186–87),[85] while the equivalent passage in *Andreas* reads 'Lo, you dart of the devil' (*Hwæt, ðu deofles stræl,* line 1189b). Zupitza argues that the reference to the 'devil's dart' stems from a mistranslation, whereby the demonic name 'Belial' (βελια) in the *Praxeis* is confused with βελος ('dart/arrow').[86] This alteration is evident in the *Bologna* text, which reads very similarly to the *Life*, saying, 'O, you hardest of arrows which does not cease to bring in suffering beyond any pestilential sword' (*O sagitta durissima que super omne pestiferum gladium inferre dolorem non adquiescis*, lines 379–80).[87] This would suggest that the alteration was present in the Latin exemplar that the Old English hagiographers consulted. The continued use of 'devil's dart' indicates that subsequent storytellers felt the title was appropriate within the hagiographical context of spiritual warfare, that often conceived of demonic corruption as a

[83] Boenig, trans., *Acts of Andrew*, p. 18.
[84] Blatt, ed. *Acta Andreae*, p. 75:10–22; Boenig, trans., *Acts of Andrew*, pp. 15–16 and 46–48.
[85] Translation of *Ana* as 'Lo' is in agreement with *Andreas* 1189b and the *Bologna* text; *DOE* s.v. *heonu, heono, ono, eno*.
[86] Julius Zupitza, 'Zur Grage nach der Quelle von Cynewulfs *Andreas*', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 30 (1886), 184–85; Robert Root, ed., *Andreas: The Legend of St Andrew* (New York: Holt, 1899), p. ix.
[87] Baumler, 'Comparative Study', p. 44.

stræl, as seen in Chapter Two and the Guthlac-narratives.[88] In the same way that the *Life of Andrew* includes a reference to the devil metonymically as the embodiment of corruption, the guards are symbolically perverse pastors who trap others in spiritual ignorance.

Unlike the Guthlac-narratives, which highlight psalmody as the primary means to dispel demons and protect oneself against demonic *stræle*, the *Life of Andrew* highlights the sign of the cross as an apotropaic armament.[89] When Andrew approaches the prison, he uses the sign of the cross to kill the guards and to open the prison (line 137). In doing so, Andrew defeats temptatation and releases the spiritually blind from their psychological confines, just as Guthlac uses the psalmody to purge Crowland of demons. Andrew employs the cross again later to open the column and begin the flood that punishes as well as baptises the Mermedonians.[90] When Andrew orders the column to release the flood, he equates the sign of the cross with God's terrifying power saying, 'Dread you the Lord and the sign of his cross, before which heaven and earth quail' (*Ondræd þe Drihten and his rode-tanc, beforan þæm forhtigað heofon and eorþe*, lines 264–65).[91] Andrew likewise wields the sign to convert those last disbelievers and provide the baptismal sacrament that cleanses Mermedonia of its previous sin, converting the city into a Christian paradise.

Similarly, when Andrew directly confronts demons, it is the seal of the cross or *sphragis* on his face that enables him to conquer them. As Hill notes, 'the candidate who has received the *sphragis* has not only renounced Satan; he or she is henceforth a combatant against Satan, and his demons.'[92] The devils recognise the sign's power to repel their influence and turn the tide of spiritual battle in favour of God, as is illustrated in their fear through the following passage:

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[88] See pp. 15–17, 118–21 and 129–30 above.
[89] Johnson, '*Crux Usualis*', pp. 88–92. For Guthlac's apotropaic uses of the sign of the cross see pp. 119–20, 131–32 and 136.
[90] For discussions on the figurative nature of the flood as a baptism and covenant with God, see Earl, 'Typological Structure', pp. 74–76; Thomas D. Hill, 'Figural Narrative in *Andreas*', *NM* 70 (1969), 265–70; Walsh, 'Baptismal Flood', 141–58.
[91] CCCC 198 fol. 392v. provides the spelling *rode-tanc*, which is reproduced in Bright's edition.
[92] Thomas D. Hill, 'The Sphragis as Apotropaic Sign: *Andreas* 1334–44', *Anglia* 101 (1983), 148.

> Þa deofla þa blæstan[93] hie ofer þone halgan Andreas, and hie gesawon Cristes rodetacen on his onsiene, hi ne dorston hine genealæcan ac hraðe hie onweg flugon. Þæt deofol him to cwæð, 'Mine bearn for hwon ne acwealdon ge hine?' Hie him andswarodon and hie cwædon, 'We ne mihton, forþon þe Cristes rodetanc on his onsiene we gesawon and we us ondredon. We witon [hine], forþon þe he ær on þæs earfoðnesse com, he ure wæs wealdend. Gif þu mæge, acwel hine. We þe on þissum ne hersumiað, þy læs wen sie þæt hine God gefreolsige and us sende on wyrsan tintrego.' Se haliga Andreas him to cwæð, 'Þeah þe ge me acwellan, ne do ic eowerne willan, ac ic do willan mines Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes.' And þus hi geherdon and onweg flugon.
> (lines 228–38).
>
> 'When the devils rushed at that saint Andrew, and they saw the sign of Christ's cross on his face, they did not dare to approach him but quickly they fled away. That [head] devil said to them, "My children, why have you not killed him?" They answered him and they said, "We could not, because we saw the sign of Christ's cross on his face and we feared for ourselves. We know him, that he was our ruler, even before he came into that [current] hardship. If you can, you kill him. We will not obey you in this, lest there is the probability that God should free him and send us into worse torments." The holy Andrew said to them, "Though you should kill me, I will not do your bidding, but I will do the bidding of my Lord Saviour Christ!" And so they heard and fled on their way.'

As this passage demonstrates, the sign not only prevents the demons from harming or corrupting Andrew, it also grants the saint mastery over them as he becomes their 'ruler' (*wealdend*). The devils' statement echoes the declaration of the liberated prisoners who say to Andrew 'you are our ruler' (*þu eart ure wealdend*, lines 158–59). None of the *Acta*-texts include the detail of the devils bestowing the title of 'ruler', often associated with Christ in Old English hagiography, upon Andrew. Instead, after the demons see the cross in the Greek and Latin narratives, they resign themselves to mocking and deriding the saint. The sign of the cross in the Old English prose functions as a turning point in Andrew's mission, and is no laughing matter for those against whom it is

[93] The *DOE* translates *blæstan* here as 'hurling upon', with the reflexive, citing the wording in the *Casanatensis*: *intenderunt in eum* ('streched/extended/turned towards him'), as evidence for this translation. Bright, ed., *Grammar*, p. 215, also links *blæstan* with *intenderunt*. However, Morris, ed., *Blickling Homilies*, p. 242, translates *blæstan* as 'blew', following the other attestations which refer to fire erupting in an eleventh-century translation of Boniface's *Letters*, *DOE* s.v. *blæstan*. Thomas D. Hill, 'When God Blew Satan Out of Heaven: The Motif of Exsufflation in *Vercelli Homily XIX* and Later English Literature', *Leeds Studies in English* 16 (1985), 132–37, demonstrates that Anglo-Saxons referenced exsufflation as a means of exorcism; yet in this instance it is the demons blowing, not Andrew, meaning that it is not strictly an exsufflation.

wielded.[94] Like the demons in the Guthlac-narratives, who recognise that Guthlac has 'overthrown their might',[95] the demons in the *Life of Andrew* acknowledge that the apostle has subjugated them.

Andrew's domination over the demons frames the saint's conversion as a blow to the army of Satan in the ongoing spiritual war between heaven and hell. Like worldly armies with varying ranks and chains of command, the homilist creates a hierarchy, at the bottom of which are the seven lower demons who foresake the head-devil to become subservient to the 'ruler' Andrew.[96] Meanwhile, Andrew and the devils obey and fear the power of their ultimate Lord, Christ. The alteration of this scene from one of ridicule, as portrayed in the *Acta*, to a display of deference in the *Life* demonstrates that the authority of Christ is immutable and always superior to that of the devil.

We have already seen how the theme of spiritual service is central to the Old English Guthlac-narratives, which focus on Guthlac overpowering devils so that they do the saint's bidding and their might is removed from the spiritual battlefield. Hill argues that the risk of losing one's power when confronting one's spiritual opposite, either in tempting one into sinning or in banishing temptation through faith, are the basis of the *miles Christi*'s fight.[97] Although Hill only notes this theme in *Guthlac A* and in Felix's *Vita*, as well as the potential parallel of the captured devil in *Juliana* (lines 287–558), the *Life of Andrew* provides another example of a *miles Christi* dominating devils. Andrew's confrontation with the demons closely resembles Guthlac's resistance when the devils bring him to the brink of hell. Felix's *Vita* and the *Life of Guthlac* depict Guthlac's rebuttal of the demons' threats as follows:

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[94] Jonathan Wilcox, 'Eating People Is Wrong: Funny Style in *Andreas* and its Analogues', in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov and George Brown (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 207–08, suggests that the *Life* 'plays up the mockery in the scene' to make the demons' overthrow more pronounced.

[95] See pp. 132–34 above.

[96] For discussion of hierarchy among demons resembling the imperial court, see Cyril Mango, 'Diabolus Byzantinus', in *Homo Byzantinus*, ed. Cutler and Franklin (Washington D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992), 215–17.

[97] Hill, 'Demon's Sting', 388b–90b.

Igitur uir Dei Guthlacus, cum innumerabiles tormentorum species horresceret, satellitum sibi, uelut ex uno ore, turmae clamabant, dicentes: 'Ecce nobis potestas data est te trudere in has pœnas […]' Illis haec et alia plurima his similia dicentibus, uir Dei minas eorum despiciens, inmotis sensibus, stabili animo, sobria mente, respondens aiebat: 'Vae uobis, filii tenebrarum, semen Cain, favilla cineris. Si uestrae potentiae sit istis me tradere pœnis, en praesto sum: ut quid falsiuomis pectoribus uanas minas depromitis?'
(§31).

Ða se eadiga Guthlac þa micelnysse geseah þara wita, þa wæs he for þæra egsan swyðe afyrht. Ða cleopodon sona þa awyrgedan gastas mid mycelre cleopunge and þus cwædon: Us ys miht geseald þe to sceofanne on þas witu þisse deopnysse […] Mid þy þa awyrgedan gastas þisum wordum [spræcon and him swa to][98] beotodon, ða andswerode he heom þus, and cwæð: 'Wa eow þeostra bearnum and forwyrde tuddre, ge syndon dust and acsan and ysela. Hwa sealde eow earman þæt ge min ahton geweald on þas witu to sendanne? Hwæt ic her eom andweard and gearu, and bidige mines Drihtnes willan. For hwon sceolon ge mid eowrum leasum beotingum me egsian?'
(§5: 205–32).

'Therefore when the man of God, Guthlac, was horrified by the innumberable kinds of torture, the attendant swarms called as if from one mouth saying, "Behold the power has been given to us to thrust you into these punishments [...]" but as they were saying these and many other things similar, the man of God despised their threats, his senses unmoved, with the soul of stability, with a grave mind, in response he said, "Woe to you, sons of shadows, spawn of Cain, the cinders of ashes. If that is in your power to hand me to punishments, than I am ready: so why utter these empty threats from your chests vomiting falsehoods?"'

'When the blessed Guthlac saw the greatness of those punishments, then he was greatly frightened for fear of them. Then the cursed spirits immediately shouted with a great cacophony and said thus, "The power is given to us to shove you into those torments of this abyss [...]" With that the cursed spirits spoke these words and promised to do so, then he answered them thus, and said, "Woe to you, children of shadows, and wayward progeny, you are dust and ashes and embers. Who granted you wretches that you might have power to send me into those torments? Lo, I am present here and ready, and await my Lord's will. Wherefore must you frighten me with your empty boasting?"'

Guthlac claims that the devils do not have, and presumbly never had, the power to carry him into hell. The Old English account changes Guthlac's retort slightly, shifting the statement 'what power do you have?' to 'who gave you the power?',

[98] In the Vercelli version of the *Life of Guthlac.*

in order to imply that no demonic authority could ever bestow the power to dominate a saint. *Guthlac A* likewise derides the demons as lacking the authority to control Guthlac. In response to the devils' threats, Guthlac says, 'Act accordingly, if the Lord Christ, life's source of light wishes to permit you' ('*Doð efne swa, gif eow dryhten Crist, lifes leohtfruma lyfan wylle*, lines 592–93). As noted above, Andrew replies in similar fashion when he is confronted with the demons, saying 'I will not do your bidding but I will do the bidding of my Lord Christ the Saviour!' (lines 236–37). Through these retorts, the hagiographers of Guthlac and Andrew emphasise that the side of Christ is always superior in contests of spiritual authority and influence, and immune to demonic authority.

In both cases, the demons' lack of power is confirmed immediately after they make their threats. In the Guthlac-narratives, Bartholomew arrives and orders the demons to carry Guthlac back home safely (§32–33; *Guthlac A,* lines 722–32). Afterwards, Bartholomew 'ordered and bade' the demons that they 'become subservient to him' (*het se halga apostol Scs Bartholomeus and heom bebead þæt hi him wæron underþeodde*, §5: 260–61). In doing Bartholomew's bidding, the demons recognise that their gambit to corrupt Guthlac has failed and bemoan their overthrown might. Likewise, in the *Life of Andrew*, once the demons see the sign of the cross they do not obey their devil-superior and 'flee away' (*onweg flugon*, lines 229, and 238), acknowledging that they have been made the servants of their former enemy. While the demons in the Guthlac-narratives never openly acknowledge that the saint is their superior, as they do in the *Life of Andrew*, in *Guthlac A* they offer to be loyal if he obeys them (*we þe beoð holde gif ðu us hyran wilt,* line 280). Guthlac, knowing that this will result in submitting to temptation and demonic authority, does not heed their advice. Instead he overpowers the demons, proving that he is their superior, who 'controls the plain' of Crowland (lines 702-04).

In the *Life of Andrew*, the demons' admission that the saint is their 'ruler' signifies their final expulsion from Mermedonia. After this passage, the devils do not reappear in the narrative, just as Guthlac does not confront the demons after banishing them from Crowland.[99] Having assumed the title of *wealdend*, Andrew imitates Christ through enduring his own passion (lines 207–17 and 239–50)

[99] See pp. 135–36 above.

and transforms Mermedonia into a Christian stronghold. Both Guthlac's and Andrew's control of the spiritual battlefields of Crowland and Mermedonia mirror the victory of literal battlefields. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* uses the formula 'they had control of the slaughter-place' (*ahton wæl-stowe gewald*) to signify victory,[100] which Byrthnoth uses in *The Battle of Maldon* when he says that God alone judges 'who might hold the slaughter-place' (*hwa þære wæl-stowe wealdan mote*, line 95). In controlling the locations of their conflicts with demons, Guthlac and Andrew are framed as military conquerors, holding the field for the army of Christ as their demonic foes are subdued.

Andrew attains higher levels of authority than the saints presented in the *Martinmas*-homily, the Guthlac-narratives, or the Old English *Life of Eustace*. Where the other warrior-saints are always portrayed as venerable followers of Christ, they are not elevated to the level of Christ.[101] Andrew travels to Mermedonia at the head of a group of 'disciples'. These disciples refuse to abandon their Lord until Andrew orders them away before his torture and confrontation with temptation, just as Christ leaves his disciples for his passion.[102] Andrew's solitary struggle with the devils is apparently intended to be read in the light of Christ's own defeat of the devil in the wilderness (Matthew 4:1–11; Luke 4:1–13).

Andrew is further linked to Christ through his mastery of water. When Andrew leaves his prison during the flood, the waters are said to perform obedience at his feet (*Se haliga Andreas þa ut eode of þam carcerne and þæt selfe wæter þegnunge gearwode beforan his fotum*, lines 288–89).[103] Andrew's calming of the raging flood-waters mirrors the story of Christ's calming of the wind and sea of Galilee (Matthew 8:23–27, Mark 4:35–41, and Luke 8:22–25), which is the single story that Andrew tells Christ as a helmsmen in the *Life* (lines 88–95). As Andrew retells Christ's miracle, he relates how those who saw Christ's work were terrified, saying '[Christ] then arose and ordered that the wind be stilled,

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[100] See, for example, *ASC A* 871 (Bately, 48–49).
[101] For discussions of Andrew's *imitatio Christi*, see p. 148 above. On the other hand, Reading, 'Baptism, Conversion', 18–23, argues that Andrew's imitation is flawed.
[102] Bjork, *Verse Saints' Lives*, p. 111, and Dendle, 'Pain and Saint Making', 43–47 and 50, argue that Andrew's torture was necessary for his sanctification.
[103] Hill, 'Figurative Narrative', 265–70, Joseph Trahern Jr., 'Joshua and Tobias in the Old English *Andreas*', *Studia Neophilologica* 42:2 (1970), 330–32, and Walsh, 'Baptismal Flood', 141, link Andrew's control of water to Noah and Moses' control of biblical floods.

and a great stillness developed in the sea, and all were terrified of him who saw his work' (*he þa aras and bebead þam winde þæt he gestilde, and wæs geworden mycel smyltnes on þære sæ, hie ondredon, ealle þa þe his weorc gesawon*, line 92–94). In a similar manner, those who experience Andrew's flood and see Andrew come out of the prison are said to be 'greatly terrified' (*þa weras þa þæt gesawon hie him swiþe ondrædon*, lines 293–94). Both Christ's and Andrew's awe-inspiring mastery of the waters lead to a strengthening of faith. Christ's miracle leads to the apostles's greater trust in their leader, while Andrew's empowers him to call on God to 'waken all those who are in this water so that they may believe in your name' (*awecce ealle þa þe on þisse wætere syndon, þæt hie geliefon on þinne naman*, lines 301–02).

Yet the *Andrew*-narratives are careful to suggest that all of Andrew's success is dependent on his obedience to Christ. This perception, that anything is possible when following Christ's orders as a dutiful servant of the divine, is succinctly stated at the start of the *Life*. As Andrew asks the helmsmen for passage to carry out his mission for God, the 'Lord Saviour said to him, "If you were given this order from your lord, come here aboard my ship with joy"' (*Drihten hælend him to cwæð, 'Gif þis gebod eow wære geseald fram eowrum drihtene, astigað hider mid gefean on min scip',* lines 71–72). The culmination of Andrew's obedience is his domination of nature and those around him by the end of the narrative.[104] In obeying God, the faithful servant not only becomes the ruler of the demonic, but also lifts others out of spiritual blindness. As the *Life* reworks the saint's interactions to illustrate how Andrew is a model servant of God, it also provides a portrait of an ideal 'mixed life', bringing the active and communal missionary actions of Martin alongside the mastery of internal temptation espoused in the Guthlac-narratives.

The *Life of Andrew* does not use martial language to present Andrew's devotion. The apostles, Matthew and Andrew, and their followers are not framed as warriors functioning within a spiritual *comitatus*, as they are in *Andreas* or *Guthlac A*, but are called 'servants' (*þeowas*, lines 17, 111, 215, and 296) or 'disciples' (*discipulas,* lines 39, 49–52, 67, 81–88, 98, 103, 113, 133, 138, 166,

[104] Friesen, 'Legends and liturgy', 223.

308, 321, and 330). Although connected to the *miles Christi* tradition,[105] the terms *þeow* and *discipul* in the *Life* translate exactly the Latin terms *servus* and *discipulus* found in the *Casanatensis* and are not martial. There is undoubtedly overlap between the ideas of 'serving' and 'soldiering' under Christ, but the absence of martial language elsewhere in the *Life* suggests that the Anglo-Saxon hagiographer did not see devotion through the context of a metaphorical warrior culture. This may have prompted the Blickling-compiler to group the *Martinmas*-homily and the *Life of Andrew* together, given their depictions of unwarlike missionaries, and may reflect the compiler's hesitancy to include stories with overt martial imagery while advocating a 'mixed life'. These pacifist depictions of *milites Christi* contrast the martial portraits of saints that were produced contemporaneously, including the verse version of the *Andrew*-narrative.

The Vercelli poem *Andreas*

Whereas the *Life of Andrew* limits its use of *miles Christi* imagery, *Andreas* reworks the *Acta*-narrative to consistently present the apostles as heroic retainers of Christ, warring against the enemies of God.[106] Herbison, Hermann, and Olsen argue that this adaptation of the narrative presents the protagonists as soldiers of Christ embedded in hagiographical traditions of the *militia Christi*.[107] However, Hill's study of vocabulary associated with the *miles Christi* notes that *Andreas*'s expansive use of martial diction is far more varied than the language used in works like *Guthlac A* or *Juliana*.[108] Hill sees the military imagery in *Andreas* as inappropriate, stating that the poem's 'style is so heavily dependent on the heroic tradition that it inevitably arouses the wrong set of expectations, with the result that, when inaction follows, as dictated by the narrative, we

[105] See pp. 1–3 and 109–10 above; and Magennis, '*Godes Þeow*', 144–54 and 159–67.
[106] Lee, *Guest-Hall*, pp. 58 and 82–95, argues that Anglo-Saxon Christian narrative poems concentrate on the saints' battles against demons on earth after the Ascension.
[107] Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 186–211. Olsen, 'Aesthetics of *Andreas*', p. 395, argues that the militaristic language in *Andreas* is the same as the expressions used for Peter in Arator's *De actibus apostolorum*. John Miles Foley, 'The Poet's Self-Interruption in *Andreas',* in *Prosody and Poetics in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Jane Toswell (Toronto: Univ. Toronto, 1995), p. 49, sees the martial language used to highlight Andrew's effectiveness in converting; Hermann, 'Recurrent Motifs', 7–35, demonstrates that the *Andreas*-poet is placing the saint in the *Psychomachia* tradition.
[108] Hill, 'Soldier of Christ', 70–73; Hill, 'Semantics of Old English *Cempa*', 273–76, and Morris, 'OE *Cempa*', 81–84, argue that Cynewulf's use of *cempa* in *Juliana* refers to the *miles Christi* tradition. See also Schaar, *Cynewulf Group*, pp. 310–16.

experience a strong sense of incongruity.'[111] The general sense of unease or 'incongruity' that many commentators have felt with *Andreas* may stem from its presentation of a *miles Christi* who is both a spiritual warrior and aggressive missionary. Unlike Guthlac's bloodless conversion of Crowland, Andrew founds a Christian paradise through the death and domination of his physical and metaphysical adversaries. The poet manipulates heroic expectation to frame the saint both as a secular and Christian hero, and in so doing makes a 'metaphorical reassessment of the nature of fight and courage.'[112]

It has been demonstrated that *Andreas* contains many textual allusions to other Old English works, suggesting that the poet was familiar with the Cynewulfian canon, *Guthlac* poems, and *Beowulf*.[113] The specific allusions to other works in *Andreas* also suggest that the poet intended the work to be read by an audience that was knowledgeable of the wider Old English poetic corpus.[114] In melding together the traditions of secular heroic poetry, Latin hagiography, and concepts of the *miles Christi*, the *Andreas*-poet at once removes the work from any specific genre,[115] and imbues the *Acta* story with motifs and themes from multiple literary traditions.[116] Far from being an inferior copy of *Beowulf*,[117] or a story about a 'stiff necked, willful hesitator' who must do

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[111] Hill, 'Soldier of Christ', 72.
[112] Naotoshi Furuta, 'The Devaluation of Germanic Heroic Tradition in the Old English Poem *Andreas*', in *Multiple Perspectives on English Philology and History of Linguistics*, ed. Tetsuji Oda and Hiroyuki Eto (Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 148, also 144–51.
[113] Irina Dumitrescu, '*Beowulf* and *Andreas*: Intimate Relations', in *Dating Beowulf: Studies in Intimacy*, ed., Daniel Remein and Erica Weaver (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2020), pp. 257–75; Francis Leneghan, 'The Departure of the Hero in a Ship: The Intertextuality of *Beowulf*, Cynewulf and *Andreas*', *SELIM* 24:1 (2019), 120–29; North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, pp. 60–64; Olsen, 'Aesthetics of *Andreas*', pp. 402–06; Andy Orchard, 'Both Style and Substance: The Case of Cynewulf', in Karkov and Brown (2003), pp. 278–96; Orchard, 'Originality of *Andreas*', pp. 332–47 and 358–70; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 53–57; Root, *Andreas*, p. vi; Francisco Rozano-García, ''*Hwær is wuldor þin?*' Traditional Poetic Diction and the Alien Text in the Old English *Andreas*', *Peritia* 28 (2017), 180–94. Kendall, 'Literacy and Orality', 2, sees the poet marred by his own literacy. Brooks, *Andreas*, xxiii-vi, believes that *Andreas* did not directly use *Beowulf* but used 'the formulaic and traditional nature of Old English Poetry'. Woolf, 'Saints' Lives', p. 51, sees the borrowing as a means to show-off.
[114] Leneghan, 'Intertextuality', 128–29; Orchard, 'Originality of *Andreas*', p. 347; North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, p. 64.
[115] Bjork, 'Verse Saints' Lives', 112; Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 189–192; Lapidge, 'Saintly Life', p. 268.
[116] Foley, 'Poet's Self-Interruption', p. 55; Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 186–211; Krapp, *Andreas*, pp. l–lvii; Brian Shaw, 'Translation and Transformation in *Andreas*', in Toswell (1995), p. 165.
[117] Boenig, *Saint and Hero,* pp. 15–16; Brooks, *Andreas and the Fates*, p. xxi.

penance,[118] *Andreas* manipulates the *Acta*-narrative to explore the heroic nature of spiritual struggle,[119] and the ideal Christian community.[120]

The opening of the poem immediately places Andrew in a martial context, as a member of the *comitatus* of Christ. Where the openings of the *Life* and the *Acta* simply relate how the apostles drew lots after Christ's death in order to decide where they would preach, *Andreas* begins by symbolically framing the apostles as 'thegns' or 'heroes' of Christ:

> Hwæt! We gefrunan on fyrn-dagum
> twelfe under tunglum tir-eadige hæleð,
> þeodnes þegnas. No hira þrym alæg
> camp-rædenne þonne cumbol hneotan,
> syððan hie gedældon, swa him dryhten sylf,
> heofona heah-cyning, hlyt getæhte.
> Þæt wæron mære men ofer eorðan,
> frome folctogan ond fyrd-hwate,
> rofe rincas, þonne rond ond hand
> on here-felda helm ealgodon,
> on meotud-wange.
> (lines 1–11a).
>
> 'Lo, We have heard in days gone by, of twelve victory-blessed heroes under the stars, thegns of the Lord. Never did their glory wane in fighting when the standards clashed, afterwards they dispersed by lot, as the Lord himself, the high-king of heaven, had instructed [them]. They were famous men on earth, brave and valiant leaders of people, strong men, when the shield and hand protected the helmet on the battle-field, on the field of fate.'

The imagery is martial, describing the apostles as battle-hardened heroes who strive for glory in God's fight.[121] The 'shields' and 'helmets' that the saintly 'bold warriors' wield in the fateful battle are reminiscent of the spiritual armour

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[118] Boenig, *Saint and Hero*, pp. 35–36; Boenig, *Acts of Andrew*, pp. x and xxiv–xxv. Reading, 'Baptism, Conversion', 5–23, argues that the poem focuses on Andrew's incomplete and flawed faith.
[119] Furuta, 'Devaluation', pp. 144–48; Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 196–211; Krapp, *Andreas*, pp. l–lii.
[120] See Lee, *Guest-Hall*, pp. 85–92; Magennis, *Images of Community*, pp. 173–78; Fabienne Michelet, 'Eating Bodies in the Old English *Andreas*', in *Fleshly Things and Spiritual Matters*, ed. Nicole Nyffenegger and Katrin Rupp (Cambridge: Scholars, 2011), pp. 165–88; Shaw, 'Translation and Transformation', pp. 169–172; Walsh, 'Backgrounds of Imagery', p. 258. Rozano-García, 'Poetic Diction', 177–94, argues that the *Andreas*-poet uses traditional diction to make a continental story familiar for Anglo-Saxon audiences.
[121] Hill, 'Soldier of Christ', 70–73; Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 193.

described in Ephesians and the Guthlac-narratives.[122] Similarly, the missionary work each apostle pursues is cast as a 'battlefield' and the 'field of fate'.[123] The unique compound describing earth, *meotud-wang*, implies that the everyone's actions will be judged on whether they are worthy of salvation or damnation. This understanding of the earth being a field upon which one fights righteously or wickedly is also seen in the compounds *beadu-wang* ('battle-plain'), used by Andrew's followers when they refuse to leave his side, and *stede-wang* ('fixed-field', lines 334, 774 and 988), used when the apostles or the animated statue expose Christ's glory. The rest of the poem explores how the two sides of spiritual warfare fight on the *meotud-wang* or *stede-wang*, and win saintly glory or perish in the abyss of sin. Descriptions of two fates one might find on the *meotud-wang* are found in the other compounds incorporating –*wang* throughout the poem. Those sinful Mermedonians find earth to be a *deað-wang* ('death-plain', line 1003) and *wel-wang* ('slaughter-plain' 1226), while the Andrew attains *neorxna-wang* ('paradise', line 102) and a *sige-wang* ('victory-plain', 1581), mirroring Guthlac's assumption of the *grene wang* that symbolises paradise.[124]

Throughout *Andreas*, Andrew's actions build on the imagery set out in the opening lines, so that his journey to Mermedonia is framed more as a martial expedition than an evangelical mission.[125] The repeated use of compounds containing *guð-* ('battle') thoroughly situates Andrew's work in the context of warfare. For instance, Andrew participates in 'battle-play' (*guð-plega*, line 1369) with the devils and awaits 'battle-deeds' (*guð-weorca*, line 1066) in anticipation of his confrontation after liberating the prisoners. The attestation of the compound *guð-*[*ge*]*weorc* in *Andreas* is the only occurrence outside of *Beowulf* (lines 677, 980, and 1822), where it refers to Grendel's and Beowulf's worldly combat. In using the word *guð-weorc* for Andrew's actions, the *Andreas* poet appropriates a word with secular heroic connotations for spiritual heroism. This process of appropriation of heroic diction for religious purposes is clearly seen

[122] See pp. 1–3, 112–18 and 121–23 above.
[123] Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 216, translates *meotud-wang* as 'doom-field'.
[124] North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, p. 298.
[125] Olsen, 'Aesthetics of *Andreas*', pp. 402–07, also links Andrew's journey to the 'hero on the beach' trope of secular literature.

with the compound *guð-plega*, which *Christ B* (line 573), as well as *Fates of the Apostles* (line 22) use in the context of spiritual warfare. The only literal use of the compound is in the late tenth or early eleventh-century *Battle of Maldon* (line 59), suggesting the term *guð-plega* was co-opted for metaphorical warfare early in the poetic tradition.[126] The use of *guð-plega* in the following passage from *Fates* specifically refers to Andrew's missions and may have been the *Andreas*-poet's inspiration for employing the term:

> Swylce Andreas in Achagia
> for Egias aldre geneðde.
> Ne þreodode he fore þrymme ðeod-cyninges,
> æniges on eorðan, ac him ece geceas
> langsumre lif, leoht unhwilen.
> Syþþan hilde-heard, heriges byrhtme,
> æfter guð-plegan gealgan þehte.
> (lines 16–22).
>
> 'Likewise Andrew ventured his life in Achaia before Ægias. He did not waver before the glory of the people's king, [or] of any of earth, but eternally chose for himself the longer life, the timeless light. Afterwards the battle-hardened one, in the clamour of the army, was stretched upon the gallows after the battle-play.'

Fates depicts Andrew as a 'battle-hardened' warrior who falls after a battle (*guð-plega*). *Andreas* similarly frames martyrdom in the context of warfare, saying that Andrew 'awaits his death in battle' (*beadu-cwealm gebad* 1702). These are not physical battles, but references to the spiritual military service of the martyred *miles Christi*.

Elsewhere in *Andreas*, Andrew's excursion to free Matthew and convert the Mermedonians, as well as the demon's resistance to Christian faith, are called 'war' (*guð*, lines 234, 951, 1330, 1349, 1354, and 1387; *guð-gewinn*, line 217; *guð-geþing*, lines 1022 and 1043). When Andrew and Matthew meet, Andrew speaks of his approach as 'an outcome of battle, a fight against sinful men' (1022b–23a). *Andreas*'s application of martial or heroic terms to the saint's soldiering shows that Old English hagiographers were not universally limited to variations of the terms *cempa, campian*, and *gewinn*, as Hill suggests,[127] but used

[126] See Orchard's analysis of this process with *Caedmon's Hymn* and *Genesis* in 'Conspicuous Heroism', pp. 45–58.
[127] Hill, 'Soldier of Christ', 59–63; and see pp. 2–3 and 109–10 above.

the broader lexicon for warrior culture that framed heroes throughout Old English literature.[128]

The range of martial language used to depict the *milites Christi* is also evident in the epithets for the faithful that appear in *Andreas*. Apostles are variously called 'thegns' (*þegn*, lines 344, 363, 376, 384, 391, 402, 528, and 1026; *magu-þegn*, line 94), 'warriors' (*cempan*, lines 230, 461, 538, 991, 1055, and 1446), 'battle-warriors' (*guð-rincas*, line 392), 'heroes' (*hæleð* lines 362, 883, 1055; *hæle hilde-deor*, line 1002), 'soldiers' (*orettan*, lines 463, 664, 879, and 983), or the 'foremost one in deeds' (*dæd-fruma*, line 1455). Herbison notes that the frequent use of *þegn* in the poem may refer to both the *miles Christi* tradition as well as the etymology of Andrew's name, meaning the 'manly' or '*þegnlic*' one.[129] *Andreas* refers to the collective group of the apostles and their followers as 'experienced retainers of the Lord' (*dugeða dryhten*, line 394, 698, and 878), 'nobles' (*æðelingas*, lines 44, 692, 793, 805, 857, 882, 990, 1174, 1223, 1272, 1459, 1575, and 1713) and 'men brave in battle' (*beornas beadu-rofe*, lines 96, 145, 848, and 982). The saints that Andrew's followers see in their dreams are called 'the beautiful host of the Lord [Christ] and cohort of glory' (*wlitig weoroda heap ond wuldres þreat*, line 870), and 'blessed soldier' (*eadig oretta*, line 879). When Andrew speaks to the stone column in prison, he similarly refers to the spiritual army of God, which he calls the 'strongest of armies' (*herigea mæste*, line 1501), and the holy men of the Old Testament who feared God's power are referred to as 'brave warrior-thegns' (*modige magu-þegnas*, line 1515). The military language used in *Andreas* contrasts with the unwarlike terms used for the apostles in the prose *Life*, notably 'servant' (*þeow*) or 'disciple' (*discipul*).

Andreas likewise places the demons opposing Christ's army in an accursed *comitatus*.[130] Demons are called the 'younger ones in war' (*gingran æt guðe*, line 1330) and the 'devil's thegns' (*deofles þegnas*, line 43, also 1329), in contrast to opening lines where apostles are the 'Lord's thegns' (*þeodnes þegnas*, line 3). These thegns of Satan boast that they led Herod to defeat Christ in combat (*forcom æt campe,* line 1325) and portray their confrontation with

[128] Guy Bourquin, Guy, 'The Lexis and Deixis of the Hero in Old English Poetry', in Carruthers and Crépin (1994), pp. 1–5.
[129] Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 194. For the etymology of 'Andrew' see p. 141 above.
[130] Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 192; Krapp, *Andreas*, p. li–lii.

Andrew as a 'dangerous fight' (*frecne feohtan*, line 1350), 'sword-play' or 'warrior-play' (*secg-plegan*, line 1353), and 'battle, a rush of war' (*guðe … wiges woman*, lines 1354–55). The demons see their actions as heroic, looking to 'shame' (*bysmrigen*, line 1357) Andrew, and the head-devil styles his compatriots as 'my men are ready for that battle-play, who, without any delay, will drive out [your] life with deeds of valour of any' (*Secgas mine to þam guð-plegan gearwe sindon, þa þe æninga ellen-weorcum unfyrn faca feorh ætþringan*, lines 1368–71). Such martial language sets the devils as foils to the saints in an ongoing war between heaven and hell, a war in which the saints will triumph.

As *Andreas* arms the faithful with shields and helmets through its allusions to the Pauline spiritual arms, it also draws on the *miles Christi*-motif of the demonic arrows of temptation. When the prisoners flee Mermedonia, they are covered by a cloud that protects them against the 'arrows of the old enemies' (*earh-fare eald-geniðlan*, line 1048). This detail at once alludes to the cloud that covers the fleeing Israelites in Exodus 14: 19–20,[131] as well as the metaphysical arrows of temptation of the 'Old Enemy' Satan, indicating that the prisoners have been converted and removed from demonic temptation. A metaphorical reading of the arrows is supported later in the reference to the devil as 'the devil's dart' (*deofles stræl*, line 1189), as discussed above,[132] and in the devil's orders to 'drive the arrow stained with poison into the fated man's spirit' (*earh ættre gemæl, in gedufan in fæges ferð*, lines 1331–32a).

As the *Andreas*-poet similarly characterises conversion in martial terms, saying that Andrew's evangelical mission to Mermedonia protects the newly converted city from the devils' arrows and assault from angry-minded enemies:

> Þæt wæs Satane sar to geþolienne,
> mycel modes sorg, þæt he ða menigeo geseah
> hweorfan hige-bliðe fram hell-trafum
> þurh Andreas este lare
> to fægeran gefean, þær næfre feondes ne bið,
> gastes gram-hydiges, gang on lande.
> (lines 1692–94).
>
> 'That was painful for Satan to endure, a great sorrow of the mind, that he then saw that multitude turn from the hell-pavilions with joyous minds,

[131] Earl, 'Typological Structure', p. 88; Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 229.
[132] See p. 155 above.

> through Andrew's kind teaching, towards that beautiful joy, where there is never the passage of the enemy, of the angry-minded spirit, on land.'

The poet portrays the conversion of Mermedonia as a wound to Satan, who is injured in the 'mind' (*mod*), much as his army's arrows often do to others. Mermedonia's conversion is then cast as a refortification against belligerent paganism. This conversion of Mermedonia from the 'hell-pavilions' (*hell-trafum*) does not seem to be a literal abandonment of temple structures as much as a metaphorical abnegation of sinful practices. Garner and Yorke, believing that no temples or religious structures associated with Anglo-Saxon paganism survive, argue that Anglo-Saxon paganism did not have defined architecture or buildings.[133] However, Blair shows that the architectural landscape of England changed between 500–900, and that pagan Anglo-Saxons built structures with a predominately ritual rather than domestic purpose, although these did not resemble Greco-Roman temples or Christian churches.[134] It is unclear how much the ninth-century *Andreas*-poet understood of historical or contemporary pagan architecture, and it is also possible that descriptions of temples in *Andreas* and Anglo-Saxon conversion-narratives primarily refer to spiritual or allegorical temples associated with heathen beliefs or practices. With the destruction of such beliefs, the metaphorical architecture of damnation is replaced with that of paradise. We saw this in the previous chapter with the multifarious interpretations of the *beorg* in *Guthlac A*.[135] The imagery of hellish architecture being abandoned and protection from the 'angry-minded' in *Andreas* similarly mirrors the 'angry-minded' enemies found in the *Martinmas*-homily.[136]

Yet *Andreas*'s martial imagery goes beyond the tradition of the missionary *miles Christi* to redefine devotion to Christ as positively heroic. In doing so, the poem devalues the warrior culture in secular society, while making participation in the metaphorical warrior culture of Christ the means to gain glory and reach sanctified heights of prowess. This romanticisation of the apostle's journey is set

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[133] Lori Garner, 'The Old English *Andreas* and the Mermedonian City-Scape', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 24 (2007), 57–61; Barbara Yorke, 'From Pagan to Christian in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Introduction of Christianity into the Early Medieval Insular World*, ed. Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (Turnhout: Brepols Publishing, 2016), pp. 240–49.
[134] John Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), pp. 86–95.
[135] See pp. 123–26 above.
[136] See pp. 75–80 above.

out at the beginning of Andrew's mission:

> Þa wæs ærende æðelum cempan
> aboden in burgum, ne wæs him bleað hyge,
> ah he wæs anræd ellen-weorces,
> heard ond hige-rof, nalas hild-lata,
> gearo, guðe fram, to godes campe.
> (lines 230–34).
>
> 'Then was the task announced in the towns to the noble fighter, nor was his mind soft, but he was single-minded in the deed of courage, hard and brave, not at all slow in battle, but ready for God's fight, keen for battle'

This passage does not frame Andrew's mission to Mermedonia as a rescue or an order that a servant must fulfill for his master. Rather, in *Andreas* the saint is a 'noble warrior' embarking on adventure and for battle. He is setting out specifically to perform a 'deed of valour' (*ellen-weorc*), in the same way *Beowulf* depicts its heroes.[137] Like its appropriation of the term *guð-weorc*, the poem appropriates the previously secular idea of performing 'deeds of valour', and applies it to a spiritual soldier removed from worldly warrior pursuits.[138]

In remodeling Andrew as an ideal warrior in a *comitatus*, *Andreas* frames scenes of the narrative as reminiscent of heroic literature — like *Beowulf*, the episode of Cynewulf and Cyneheard in the *Chronicle*, and the *Battle of Maldon* — while undercutting the value of secular heroism, specifically that of the Mermedonian warrior-society. This appropriation of heroic imagery is not a simple *Germanisierung*, a result of the 'oral formulaic tradition', or a secularisation of the text, but the poet's active displacement of reverence for the worldly hero.[139] A brief consideration of how *Andreas* presents Andrew's voyage to Mermedonia will illustrate how the *Andreas*-poet replaces secular hall-culture, which is bound by physical treasure and worldly renown,[140] with a lord-retainer

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[137] The compound *ellen-weorc* occurs ten times in the *DOE Corpus*: six times in *Beowulf*, twice in *Andreas*, once in *Guthlac A*, and once in Vercelli XVII on 'The Purification of Mary'. Bourquin, '*Lexis* and *Deixis*', pp. 3–4, identifies words with *ellen-* as part of the heroic paradigm. Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 220–28, suggests that the irony of Andrew's hesitancy as a saint is replaced with heroic courage predicated on spiritual valour or *ellen*.
[138] Furuta, 'Devaluation', pp. 144–48.
[139] Richard North, 'Meet the Pagans: On the Misuse of *Beowulf* in *Andreas*', in *Aspects of Knowledge*, ed. Marilina Cesario and Hugh Magennis (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), p. 205.
[140] Battles, 'Contending Throng', 41–42; Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 222; North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, p. 231; North, 'Meet the Pagans', p. 189.

relationship predicated on spiritual rewards and heavenly promise.[141]

After telling Christ that he cannot pay his fare with the traditional exchange of treasure or rings (lines 270–75), Andrew offers a 'reward from God', (*meorð wið god*, line 275).[142] The poet keeps the ritual of exchanging ornate gifts for loyalty or services, as mentioned in the *Acta* source, but replaces the earthly rewards with their spiritual equivalent.[143] Andrew then boards the boat, and 'the heroes [Christ and Andrew] sit, the glorious lords, the handsome thegns' (*hæleð in sæton, þeodnas þrymfulle, þegnas wlitige*, lines 362–63). The line glorifies the situation, likening Andrew and Christ to idealised lords in conference. Later in the scene, Christ, in his youthful helmsman guise, calls Andrew 'thegn' (lines 553–54) while Andrew calls him 'lord' (line 629), thereby maintaining the hierarchy between apostle and Christ, and framing them as a lord speaking with his retainer. The references to *þegn* and *wlitig* make another onomastic play on the name 'Andrew'.[144]

Similarly, Andrew's retainers react as members of the *comitatus* when they refuse to abandon him lest they be considered cowardly (lines 401–14). They define proper disciples as those that 'always supported his lord at battle, when hand and shield suffered on the battle-plain, ground down with swords in the play of strife' (*symle gelæste hlaforde æt hilde, þonne hand ond rond on beadu-wange billum forgrunden æt nið-plegan nearu þrowedon*, lines 411–14). This is reminiscent of the opening lines which describe the apostles fighting on the *meotud-wang*. This ideal, that the good disciple follows his or her lord even when the outlook of a battle is dire, mirrors the *comitatus*-ideal, in which a retainer dies on the battlefield with his lord, as celebrated in Tacitus's *Germania*,[145] exemplified by Byrhtnoth's retainers in *The Battle of Maldon*, and alluded to with Wiglaf in *Beowulf* (lines 2602–60 and 2864–74a).[146] The disciples' reference to the 'hand and shield' (*hand ond rond*) also echoes the depiction of the apostles in

[141] Brooks, *Andreas and the Fates*, p. xxi; Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 192–206; Hermann, 'Recurrent Motifs', 30–31; Leneghan, 'Intertextuality', 123.
[142] Walsh, 'Apocryphal Hero', 112–113, suggests that this stems from Matthew 10:9–10.
[143] Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 221–222.
[144] Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 194.
[145] Herbert Benario, ed., *Tacitus Germany, Germania*, (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1999), pp. 26–28. See p. 17 for an introduction to the idea of a *comitatus*.
[146] Battles, 'Contending Throng', 46–51. For identifications of the theme elsewhere in Old English poetry see O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Heroic Values', pp. 107–23; Riedinger, 'Formulaic Relationship', p. 284; C. J. Wolf, 'Christ as Hero in *The Dream of the Rood*', *NM* 71 (1970), 202–10.

the poem's opening lines (line 7), equating their loyalty to Andrew with loyalty to Christ in spiritual warfare.[147] Andrew's evangelical mission to Mermedonia is styled as a military campaign, with disciples who are referred to as 'travelers to battle' (*heaþu-līþendas*, line 425), using a compound otherwise only found in *Beowulf* (lines 1794, and 2951) to describe the Geats that Ongentheow fights.

*Andreas'*s appropriation of military diction shifts the irony of the narrative from Andrew's flawed character, as in the *Acta*, to focus instead on the irony of the Mermedonian adherence to secular warrior culture.[148] This satirisation of secular warriors is present in *Juliana* and *Judith,* with regard to their devaluation of the hall-culture ethos of their antagonists,[149] and the *Martinmas*-homily, which highlights the impotency of belligerent pagans.[150] As Hermann states:

> (The) Christian inversion of epic tradition preserves what is of value under the new dispensation at the same time that it cancels it. Such literary transformations are … emblematic of the desire to manipulate a pagan cultural inheritance for Christian ends.[151]

The powerlessness and vain martial posturing of the Mermedonians illustrate how secular heroism is useless compared to spiritual heroism of the *milites Christi*.[152] In the words of Furuta, 'the poet exploits the well-known convention of Germanic heroic tradition in an inverted, ironic way so as to reverse the traditional pattern of expectancy and denounce that very tradition.'[153]

Where the *Acta* characterises the Mermedonians primarily as cannibalistic,[154] and the *Life of Andrew* shows them to be spiritually blind,

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[147] Compare to *Beowulf*, lines 656–57, *siþðan ic hond ond rond hebban mihte*, *ðryþærn Dena* ('since I, hand and shield, was able to raise the splendid house of the Danes').
[148] Wilcox, 'Eating People', pp. 206–08, suggests the hyperbolic portrayal of the demons is done humorously and to highlight their lack of power.
[149] Furuta, 'Devaluation', p. 126; Ivan Herbison, 'Heroism and Comic Subversion in the Old English *Judith*', *English Studies* 91:1 (2010), 7–22; Alexandra Olsen, 'Inversion and Political Purpose in the Old English *Judith*', *English Studies* 63:4 (1982), 289–93; Claude Schneider, 'Cynewulf's Devaluation of Heroic Tradition in *Juliana*', *ASE* 7 (1978), 107–18.
[150] See pp. 79–80 above.
[151] Hermann, 'Recurrent motifs', 31, also 30–35.
[152] Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 229–34; North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, pp. 64–66 and 98.
[153] Furuta, 'Devaluation', p. 143. See also David Hamilton, '*Andreas* and *Beowulf*: Placing the Hero', in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. Lewis Nicholson and Dolores Frese (London: Univ. Notre Dame, 1975), pp. 85–86.
[154] Brady, 'Echoes of Britons, 686–88; Alexandra Bolintineanu, 'The Land of Mermedonia in the Old English *Andreas*', *Neophilolgus* 93 (2009), 150–53.

Andreas depicts the Mermedonians as hyperbolically warlike.[155] Rozano-García suggests that Anglo-Saxon poets often framed antagonists in social structures or performing actions familiar to contemporary audiences, while placing them outside what was considered acceptable, thereby 'othering' them.[156] As Godlove argues, 'the encounters of Matthew and Andrew with the strange and heathen Other, the monstrous Mermedonian, serve at once to define what it means to be Christian and to question the very foundation of that definition.'[157] Such is the case with the Mermedonians, who are called 'greedy battle-warriors' (*grædige guð-rincas*, line 155a), 'spear-bearers' (*æsc-berend*, line 1076a), or 'heathen battle-warriors' (*hæðne hild-frecan*, lines 126 and 1070) who have 'battle-might' (*hild-þrymme*, line 1032b). These descriptors, particularly the compound *hild-freca*, which only appears in *Beowulf* to refer to the Scylfings (line 2205) and to Beowulf himself (line 2366), contextualise Mermedonia as a warrior-society similar to Denmark, Geatland, and Sweden in *Beowulf*.[158]

The exaggerated militarisation of the Mermedonians is clear from their introduction, when they are said to cut out the eyes of their captives with 'the points of spears' (*gara ordum*, line 33). *Andreas*'s mention of spears, presumably not the best tools to use for plucking out eyes, emphasises the exaggerated warrior-nature of the Mermedonians. Indeed, the Mermedonians approach everything armed as if for battle, regardless of the fact that military might is not required. They march with spears and shields to capture the unarmed and companionless Matthew (lines 45–47 and 125–28). When going about their daily routines or discussing their food shortage, the Mermedonians form an army under war-chieftains (lines 1067–69 and 1093–97). They are called 'warlike men' (*guðfrec guma*) of 'veteran and young companies' (*duguðe ond eoguðe*) as they attempt to sacrifice a defenceless youth (lines 1116–23). Christ forewarns Andrew of this behaviour, saying that the Mermedonians will confront him as if

[155] Furuta, 'Devaluation', pp. 127–30 and 147.
[156] Rozano-García, 'Poetic Diction', 191–92.
[157] Godlove, 'Bodies as Borders', 138–41. See also Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 216–18, Magennis, in *Images of Community,* pp. 173–78, and 'Conversion', 294–96, and Woolf, 'Saints' Lives', 52.
[158] Paul Battles, 'Dying for a Drink: 'Sleeping after the Feast' Scenes in *Beowulf, Andreas*, and the Old English Poetic Tradition', *Modern Philology* 112:3 (2015), 447–56; Lee, *Guest-Hall*, p. 89; Magennis, *Images of Community,* pp. 174–78. Godlove, 'Bodies as Borders', 139 and 158–59, and Lee, *Guest-Hall*, 91–92, also believe that the Mermedonians were based on the Vikings.

in battle, offering him 'the battle-rush of heathens, the battle-craft of warriors' (*hæðenra hilde-woman, beorna beadu-cræft*, lines 218b–19a).

Even the Mermedonian cannibalism is portrayed as a perverse distribution of 'bone-rings' (*ban-hringas*, line 150)[159] among retainers, instead of treasure or golden rings. As Irving notes, 'their cannibalistic feast is a gross parody of the Germanic custom of generosity distributing food and drink to all in the mead-hall, at the same time it is also a savage desecration of the Christian Eucharist.'[160] This corrupted reflection of the distribution of wealth in Mermedonia contrasts the ideal Christian *comitatus* relationship between Andrew and Christ during the voyage, which replaces the exchange of physical gifts with the exchange of spiritual rewards (lines 474b–88). In contrasting the two approaches to gift-giving, *Andreas* critiques the cannibalistic nature of the heathens, who see their society bound through the consumption of a corrupt Eucharist.[161] The warped social structures of Mermedonia are consequently fragile, upset by a single opponent, so that the people are easily deprived of joy as their drinking-halls and larders are emptied (lines 1158–62).

The *Andreas*-poet further 'devalues' secular warrior-society by inverting the character associations from the passages it borrows from *Beowulf*.[162] In particular, Hamilton and Orchard focus on how the *Andreas*-poet alters or inverts the connotations of verses borrowed from *Beowulf.*[163] The thematic manipulation of these borrowed phrases do not stem, as Peters[164] or Brooks[165] suggest, from the ineptitude of the 'light-weight',[166] 'dunderhead' poet,[167] or 'the

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[159] The only other attestation of *ban-hring* is *Beowulf* 1567a, where it refers to the neck of Grendel's mother being severed.
[160] Irving, 'Reading of *Andreas*', 219.
[161] Earl, 'Typological Structure', pp. 78–80.
[162] Furuta, 'Devaluation', pp. 130 and 146–47. Riedinger, 'Formulaic Relationship', pp. 283 and 290–99, proposes that the Andreas poet directly borrowed from a *Beowulf*-manuscript, using it as a store for verse. Hamilton, in '*Andreas* and *Beowulf*', pp. 88–92, and 'Diet and Digestion' 154–58, disagrees with Riedinger. For breakdowns of all borrowed passages, see Orchard, 'Orginality of *Andreas*', pp. 358–59, and North, 'Meet the Pagans', pp. 185–209.
[163] See Hamilton, '*Andreas* and *Beowulf*', pp. 81–98; Orchard, 'Originality of *Andreas*', pp. 358–59.
[164] Leonard Peters, 'The Relationship of the Old English *Andreas* to *Beowulf*', *PMLA* 66:5 (1951), '*Andreas* to *Beowulf*', 856–63.
[165] Brooks, *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*, pp. xxv-vi.
[166] Woolf, 'Saints' Lives', 53.
[167] Eric G. Stanley, '*Beowulf*', in Stanley (1966), pp. 110–114. See also Satyendra Kumar Das, *Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1942), 228–31, who says 'the man who composed *Andreas* [was] a poet of a very low order'; and Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, pp. 85–89, who evaluates *Andreas* as 'the work of a secondary and imitative poet'.

formulaic and traditional nature of Old English' verse.[168] Rather, they are conscious efforts to make Beowulfian Mermedonians out to be monsters and the saint a terrifying assailant that upsets their backward society.[169]

This inversion of *Beowulf*'s worldly warrior culture is evident in Andrew's approach to the Mermedonian prison. Comparing the passage from *Beowulf* relating Grendel's approach to Heorot with the depiction of Andrew's approach in *Andreas*, it is clear that the *Andreas*-poet based his scene on *Beowulf*.[170]

Beowulf

Com on wanre niht
scriðan sceadu-genga. Sceotend swæfon,
þa þæt horn-reced healdan scoldon,
ealle buton anum. Þæt wæs yldum cuþ
þæt hie ne moste, þa metod nolde,
se scyn-scaþa under sceadu bregdan;
ac he wæccende wraþum on andan
bad bolgen-mod beadwa geþinges.
Ða com of more under mist-hleoþum
Grendel gongan, Godes yrre bær;
mynte se man-scaða manna cynnes
sumne besyrwan in sele þam hean.
Wod under wolcnum to þæs þe he win-reced,
gold-sele gumena, gearwost wisse,
fætum fahne. Ne wæs þæt forma sið
þæt he Hroþgares ham gesohte;
næfre he on aldor-dagum ær ne siþðan
heardran hæle, heal-ðegnas fand.
Com þa to recede rinc siðian,
dreamum bedæled. Duru sona onarn,
fyr-bendum fæst, syþðan he hire folmum æthran;
onbræd þa bealo-hydig, ða he gebolgen wæs,
recedes muþan. Raþe æfter þon
on fagne flor feond treddode,
eode yrre-mod; him of eagum stod
ligge gelicost leoht unfæger.
Geseah he in recede rinca manige,
swefan sibbe-gedriht samod ætgædere,
mago-rinca heap. Þa his mod ahlog;
mynte þæt he gedælde, ær þon dæg cwome,
atol aglæca, anra gehwylces
lif wið lice, þa him alumpen wæs
wist-fylle wen. (lines 702b–34a).

Andreas

Ða wæs gemyndig mod-geþyldig,
beorn beaduwe heard, eode in burh hraðe,
an-ræd oretta, elne gefyrðred,
maga mode rof, meotude getreowe,
stop on stræte, (stig wisode),
swa him nænig gumena ongitan ne mihte,
synfulra geseon. Hæfde sigora weard
on þam wang-stede wære betolden
leofne leod-fruman mid lofe sinum.
Hæfde þa se æðeling in geþrungen,
Cristes cempa, carcerne neh.
Geseh he hæðenra hloð ætgædere,
fore hlin-dura hyrdas standan,
seofone ætsomne. Ealle swylt fornam,
druron domlease. Deað-ræs forfeng
hæleð heoro-dreorige. Ða se halga gebæd
bilwytne fæder, breost-gehygdum
herede on hehðo heofon-cyninges þrym,
godes dryhtendom. Duru sona onarn
þurh hand-hrine haliges gastes,
ond þær in eode, elnes gemyndig,
hæle hilde-deor. Hæðene swæfon,
dreore druncne, deað-wang rudon.
(lines 981–1003).

[168] For example, see Kendall, 'Literacy and Orality', 8–9**;** Foley, 'Poet's Self-Interruption', pp. 47–56; Shaw, 'Translation and Transformation', p. 176; Shippey, *Old English Verse*, pp. 86–96.
[169] Hamilton, '*Andreas* and *Beowulf*', p. 86; North, 'Meet the Pagans', p. 186.
[170] Orchard, 'Originality of *Andreas*', p. 358; North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, pp. 73–74; North, 'Meet the Pagans', pp. 193–95.

'The walker in shadow came gliding in the dark night; the shooters slept, those that ought to hold that gabled-hall, all but one. That was known to men, that the demonic-foe may not drag them under shadow, when the Measurer did not wish it, but the wakeful one awaited in anger for the hostile one, enraged in his mind he waited for the outcome of battle. Then Grendel came moving over the moor under the misty-slopes, he bore God's anger; the evil ravager intended to entrap a certain one of the kin of man in that high hall. He came under the clouds to that place where he most readily knew the wine-hall, the gold-hall of men, adorned with treasure. That was not the first time that he sought Hrothgar's hall. Never in the days of his life before or since did he with harder luck find hall-thegns. The warrior, deprived of joys, came travelling to that hall. The door, forged with iron-bars, suddenly burst open after he touched it with his hands; the murderous one swung open the mouth of the hall, then he was enraged. After that the angry-minded enemy went, quickly he trod on the paved floor; an eerie light most like a flame issued from his eyes. He saw many men in the hall, a kindred-band sleeping all together, a heap of young-men. Then his mind laughed, the terrible assailant thought that he would separate the life from body of each one of them before day came, when he hoped the fill of feasting would happen for him.'

'Then the warrior hard in battle was patient and mindful, he went into the city quickly, the single-minded warrior, sustained by courage, the man brave at heart, true to the Measurer. He stepped up the street, a shown pathway, so that none of those men might perceive him, nor [could any] of the sinful see him; the keeper of victories had covered up the dear leader of people with his covenant in that open place. Then the noble man had pressed forward, the warrior of Christ, near to the prison; he saw a troop of heathens together before the doors, seven 'pastors' standing together. Death took them all, they fell without glory, the rush of death snatched the blood-soaked heroes. Then the saint prayed to the virtuous Father, with the thoughts of his breast he praised the glory of the heavenly King, the lordship of God, to the utmost degree, honoured the Lord. The door suddenly burst open through the touch of the hand of the holy guest/spirit,[171] and went inside, mindful of courage, a man daring in battle. The heathens slept blood-drunk, they reddened the death-plain.'

Not only are line 999b of *Andreas*, 'the door suddenly burst open' (*duru sona onarn*), and line 721b of *Beowulf* identical, but the contexts are highly reminiscent of each other, as has often been noted.[172] In the *Acta* and *Life of Andrew*, Andrew opens the doors with the sign of the cross and without touching them.[173] In *Andreas*, the apostle uses 'the touch of the hand' (*hand-hrine*, line 1000) to burst open the prison door, recalling 'the touch of [Grendel's] hand'

[171] The *Andreas*-poet, like the *Beowulf*-poet before him, appears to play on the ambiguity with *gast-* throughout the poem, leaving both the readings of 'guest' (*gest-*, *gæst-*) or 'spirit' (*gast-*, *gæst-*) possible. North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, pp. 262–62, believe this ambiguity arises from scribal confusion and is not deliberate. See also Fulk, Bjork, and Niles, ed., *Klaeber's Beowulf*, p. 383; Dennis Green, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 355.
[172] Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions', pp. 144–51; North, 'Meet the Pagans', pp. 193–96; Shippey, *Old English Verse*, pp. 115–16.
[173] Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions', p. 259.

(*folmum æthran*, line 722) that breaks down the door into Heorot.[174] The use of the hapax legomenon *hand-hrine* suggests that the poet intends the physicality of the saint's entrance to be noticed, potentially to strengthen the link between Andrew and Grendel. It is possible, however, that the *Andreas*-poet was also associating the apostle with angelic messengers who break saints out of jails. An analogue may be found with the angel in Ælfric's *Life of Julian and Basilissa*, who leads the priest Antonius to the prison holding Julian and twenty new converts. Like Andrew in *Andreas*, this angel 'opened that prison with the touch of his hands' (*þæt cwearten geopenade mid his handa hrepungeð*), which allows Antonius to baptise the twenty converts.[175]

The poem also deviates from the other *Andrew*-narratives in portraying the saint entering Mermedonia alone, rather than flanked by disciples. In presenting Andrew as companionless, *Andreas* associates the saint with the characters of myth and hagiography that are outcasts or border figures.[176] Like Grendel, who journeys to Heorot as a 'solitary traveler' (*angengea*, line 165), or Guthlac, who is separated from others in his fight against demons of Crowland,[177] Andrew enters Mermedonia alone to undermine a hostile community. Both Grendel and Andrew are referred to as *gæst*, which can be interpreted as either 'guest' or 'spirit'.[178] In doing so, the *Beowulf*- and *Andreas*-poets indicate that both are outsiders visiting the Danish and Mermedonian communities, respectively, as well as representatives of spiritual states of sin or salvation. Once Andrew enters the prison, he finds the prison guards 'sleeping', just as Grendel finds those who should be guarding Heorot, and both leave their destinations with men covered in blood (*Beowulf* 486, and 740–45a; *Andreas* 996, 1003, and 1083). After Andrew's visit to the prison, the Mermedonians come riding to the prison on horses (line 1097), a detail unattested in the other

[174] *DOE*, s.v. *hand-hrine*, citing the *Casanatensis* and *Life of Andrew*, says *hand-hrine* should be taken figuratively to refer to the Holy Spirit, though it does recognise the passage's proximity to the *Beowulf* passage.
[175] *LS* I: 140 and 235.
[176] George Clark, 'The Traveler Recognises his Goal: A Theme in Anglo-Saxon Poetry', *JEGP* 64:4 (1965), 651–53; Dumitrescu, 'Intimate Relations', p. 261. Erick Keleman, '*Clyppan* and *Cyssan*: The Formulaic Expression of Return from Exile in Old English Literature', *English Language Notes* 38:3 (2001), 3–4 and 8, notes Andrew's association with exile in *Andreas*, while Hieatt, 'Harrowing', 54–58, notes that Christ and Andrew are outcasts in the typological narrative of the harrowing of hell.
[177] See pp. 108–12 and 127 above.
[178] See no. 169 above.

Andrew-narratives, but much like the Danes who come to see Grendel's tracks and celebrate Beowulf's feat (lines 837–57).

Yet while Andrew and Grendel are both solitary assailants of communities with martial customs, they are diametrically opposed in their intentions and success. Where Grendel is a 'wicked' or 'alien guest/spirit' (*grimma gæst*, line 102; *wergan gast,* line 133; *ellorgast*, line 807; *helle gast*, line 1274) who is 'enraged' (*gebolgen*, line 723; *yrremod*, line 726), Andrew is the 'holy guest/spirit' (*halig gast*, line 1000 and 1621) who is 'patient and mindful' (*gemyndig mod-geþyldig*, line 981).[179] The 'wicked guest' Grendel comes to entrap (*besyrwan*, line 713a) and eat those inside the community as an enemy to the hall, its inhabitants, and the Christian god (line 711b). The 'holy guest' and *miles Christi* Andrew comes to free (*gelædde … fram þam fæstenne*, lines 1033–34; *gefreoðode*, line 1041a) those inside the prison, healing them of their wounds as well as blindness, and fulfilling God's mission as the group's spiritual benefactor. The *Andreas*-poet's reworking of Andrew's approach equates him with the angel of Acts 12:6–8, who frees the apostle Peter from Herod's jail by putting the guards to sleep and miraculously opening locked doors,[180] not with the 'descendants of Cain' (line 107), such as Grendel.

The sequence of action is similarly reversed in the two approaches.[181] Grendel bursts into Heorot and then bloodshed ensues, while in *Andreas,* the slaughter of the guards is the prerequisite for the saint's approach. Grendel actively breaks and slaughters those he finds, while *Andreas* depicts the saint walking into the scene of slaughter, a passive participant in bloodshed instead of a perpetrator. When the inhabitants of the city then investigate the aftermath of the incursion, the Danes rejoice in the overthrow of their anthropophagic antagonist while the Mermedonian 'self-eaters' (*sylf-ætan*, line 175) lament the liberation of those they wished to butcher.

Likewise, the settings of the two approaches are opposites.[182] Grendel comes to a 'hall towering high and horn-gabled' (*sele hlifade heah ond horn-geap*,

[179] Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions', pp. 212–14; North, 'Meet the Pagans', pp. 193–95.
[180] Walsh, 'Ecclesiastical Backgrounds', p. 244.
[181] Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions', pp. 144–51.
[182] Clark, 'Traveler Recognises', 654–57, suggests that the *Andreas*-poet manipulates the convention of the hero reaching a towering building as a prelude to action, to parody the entrance in *Beowulf*.

Beowulf lines 81b–82a) from his subterranean lair during the night. Andrew's approach is during the day (*Andreas* lines 835–36), and to a place variously described as a 'prison' (*carcern*, lines 57a, 90a, 130a, 991b, 1075b, 1082a, and 1460a), 'town prison' (*burg-loca*, lines 940, 1038, 1065), 'dim dungeon' (*dimman ding*, line 1270a), 'straitened cell' (*nead-cofan*, line 1309),[183] 'unclean house' (*wic unsyfre*, line 1310) and 'barred-building' (*hlin-ræced*, line 1463), the antithesis of the gloriously gabled mead-hall Heorot. Andrew's daytime approach to a lowly building is the opposite of Grendel's nighttime approach to an elevated one.

The communities each 'guest' infiltrates also stand in contrast. The social structures of *Beowulf*'s Denmark are governed through kinship networks, loyalty to a gift-giving lord, and Christian dietary habits. Grendel represents the antithesis of *Beowulf*'s community, as a cannibal bearing God's anger who attacks the hall-culture community as a solitary exile. In the *Andrew*-narratives, Mermedonia is presented as a society of misanthropic pagan cannibals, willing to destroy their kinship network to preserve themselves. Andrew, as a Christian 'thegn of Christ' who puts himself at risk for the spiritual wellbeing of strangers, is the archenemy of this Grendel-like Mermedonian community.[184]

The city's gabled-halls (*horn-salu*, line 1158; *win-ræced*, line 1159) and stone-paved streets (*stræte stan-fage*, line 1236) at once resemble the cityscape of Denmark in *Beowulf*, as well as structures that might have been familiar to Anglo-Saxon readers.[185] The buildings also represent a hellish community as places tainted with the taboo of drinking blood instead of alcohol.[186] The 'otherness' of Mermedonia is further indicated through the descriptor *mearc-land* (lines 19 and 802), which is the same term that *Beowulf* uses for the dwelling-places where monsters exist.[187] It may also, as Brady argues, have been

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[183] This definition is from North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, p. 351.
[184] North, 'Meet the Pagans', pp. 195–96.
[185] Michael D. Bintley, 'Demythologising Urban Landscapes in *Andreas*', *Leeds Studies in English* 40 (2009), 114–17; North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, pp. 81–96. For an analysis of the Anglo-Saxon architectural landscape in ninth and tenth centuries, see Blair, *Building*, pp. 282–301.
[186] Bolintineanu, 'Land of Mermedonia, 150–63; Friesen, 'Visions and Revisions', pp. 176–83; Godlove, 'Bodies as Borders', 142–46; David Hamilton, 'The Diet and Digestion of Allegory in *Andreas*', *ASE* 1 (1972), 151; Magennis, *Images of Community*, pp. 173–78.
[187] Grosz and Cronan feel that the terms used to describe Mermedonia, *ea-land* and *mearc-land*, refer not so much to a specific geographical location but frame the city as a physically and spiritually isolated place. Dennis Cronan, 'Old English Waterlands', *Early Language Notes* 27:3 (1990), 6–9; Oliver Grosz, 'The Island of Exiles: A Note on *Andreas* 15', *English Language Notes*

used to refer to Britons depicted as cannibals and practitioners of human sacrifice from the classical period, who inhabited the fenlands.[188] Garner suggests that Anglo-Saxons would have recognized the shared use of the phrase *harne stan*, which refers to the monster lairs in *Beowulf* (lines 887, 1415, 2553, and 2744) as well as the Meremedonian battlements in *Andreas* (line 841), as a literary signifier for a dangerous area and impending conflict.[189] These descriptions of Mermedonia situate it simultaneously as a familiar as well as foreboding reflection of society.

After the conversion of Mermedonia, the city ceases to be the 'homeland of foreigners' (*ellþeodigra eðles*, line 16) or 'border country' (*mearc-land*) and becomes a 'wine town' (*win-burg*, lines 1637 and 1672), and 'gold-town' (*gold-burg*, line 1655) with 'treasure filled palaces' (*salu sinc-hroden*, line 1673).[190] The reference to Mermedonia as a 'fine-weather town' contrasts the earlier depiction of the city as bound in winter and locked with ice (lines 1255–62). The use of the term *winburg* could refer to both the halls being full of joyous revelry again, and the wine of the Eucharist replacing the blood of foreigners.[191] Andrew decides to leave the country once he can describe it as having 'the hall-joys of men and treasure hoards, bright ring-halls' (*secga sele-dream ond sinc-gestreon, beorht beag-selu*, lines 1656–57). This is a change from the previous depictions of Mermedonian halls as places of drunkenness and cannibalistic revelry (lines 1072–74 and 1158–60).[192] Andrew does not physically provide the city with jewels or treasures, nor are the Mermedonians previously described as wealthy in worldly goods. The change in the city's characterisation suggests instead that the land's new wealth is spiritual, like the rewards the Andrew offers in return for his passage to Mermedonia, and restates that true heroic glory is attained through soldiering for Christ.

7:4 (1970), 241–42. See also Bolintineanu, 'Land of Mermedonia', 154–57; North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, pp. 81–82.

[188] Brady, 'Echoes of Britons', 671–84 and 689.

[189] Garner, 'Mermedonian Cityscape', 55–56. William Cooke, 'Two Notes on *Beowulf* (with Glances at *Vafprudnismal*, *Blickling Homily 16*, and *Andreas*, lines 839–846)', *Medium Ævum* 72:2 (2003), 299–300, argues that *harne stan* references to monumental boundary markers.

[190] Bintley, 'Demythologising', 114–17, sees the flood as cleansing the physical landscape of Mermedonia and argues that the poet advocates for urbanisation as a response to viking threats.

[191] North, 'Meet the Pagans', p. 203.

[192] Lee, *Guest-Hall*, p. 94.

Although the city is still framed as a society bound by treasure and partaking of the joys of the hall, the Mermedonians are no longer warlike, approaching their problems armed with worldly weapons, but are in the spiritual *comitatus* of the *milites Christi*. At the head of this community is Andrew, who has become a Christ-figure, having suffered a passion in order to establish belief in God.[193] Andrew adopts the title 'protector of warriors' (*wigendra hleo*, line 1672, also 896b), a title previously used for Christ (lines 506a and 1450b).[194] Elsewhere in the extant Old English poetic corpus, the phrase *wigendra hleo* appears in the context of secular heroes in *Beowulf* (line 429 for Hrothgar; line 899 for Sigmund the dragon-slayer; line 1972 for Hygelac; and line 2337 for Beowulf as king) and in the *Chronicle* poem *Capture of the Five Boroughs* (line 12 for King Edmund). While Foley suggests that the title refers to Andrew's effectiveness as a missionary,[195] the varied use of the term between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* indicates that the *Andreas*-poet appropriates the phrase first for a spiritual reading, and then elevates Andrew as a replacement for secular warlords. This point is evident through the manipulation of the half-line *þæt wæs god cyning* ('that was a good king', lines 11, 863, and 2390), used in *Beowulf* for the warlords Scyld, Hrothgar, or Beowulf. *Andreas* does not praise the warlike Mermedonians but focuses on sacred Christian hierarchy in which Christ is the ideal lord. So much is evident from the poem's last line, which reworks the formula from *Beowulf* to portray the converted Mermedonians praising Christ in saying 'that is a noble king' (*þæt is æðele cyning*, line 1722).

However, just as *Andreas* appropriates the ideals of the *comitatus* and heroic diction, it also shows that a *miles Christi* could be violent. When Andrew arrives in Mermedonia, a 'heathen city' (*hæðenan burg*, line 111), Christ tells Andrew that his mission is to convert the sinful (lines 970–80). Although Andrew is tasked with 'turning [the city] to heaven's light' (*gehweorfest to heofon-leohte*, line 974), he causes the death of the first people that he meets. Where the *Life* minimises the physicality of the guards' killing, *Andreas* emphasises it. *Andreas* says that 'death snatched all' (*ealle swylt fornam*, line 994b) the guards, the

[193] Boenig, *Saint and Hero*, p. 37.
[194] The phrase is also used for Christ in *Christ A* line 407. Bjork, *Verse Saints' Lives*, pp. 121–23; Hermann, *Allegories*, p. 145; Hieatt, 'Harrowing', 61–62.
[195] Foley, 'Self-Interruption', p. 49. See also Bjork, *Verse Saints' Lives*, p. 119.

'troop of heathens' (*hæðenra hloð*, line 992) 'covered with blood' (*hæleð heorod-reorige*, line 996). As Andrew passes them upon entering the prison, the guards are described as 'blood-drunk, they reddened the death-plain' (*dreore druncne, deað-wang rudon*, line 1003), a pun on *beore druncne* and the 'sleeping after the feast' trope that prefigures violent slaughter.[196] Where the *Acta* and *Life of Andrew* attribute the guards' deaths to prayer and the sign of the cross, the poem does not relate how they die. The poem's silence, as well as Andrew's connection to Grendel, suggest that the saint is complicit in the guards' horrific end.

When Andrew has the chance to spare the Mermedonians from the flood, the saint condemns fourteen of the 'worst of that host, the hostile enemies of the people' (*weorodes eac ða wyrrestan, faa folc-sceaðan*, lines 1592–93) to the abyss. This detail is omitted in the *Life of Andrew* (lines 292–303), but follows the *Acta*-narrative, in which the apostle sends fourteen Mermedonians to hell,[197] thereby terrifying the other Mermedonians, who fear that Andrew will slaughter them as well (lines 1595–1606). In *Andreas*, Andrew assuages their fears by saying the dead deserved their fate for their wickedness, and that the rest have nothing to fear 'so long as [their] purpose is right' (*gif ge teala hycgað*, line 1612b, also 1609–12). Andrew's actions as well as his veiled threat illustrate how the *milites Christi* could use force to convert others. It similarly implies that those unreformed pagans deserve to die. In fact, neither of the Old English versions present a saint who is particularly merciful or forgiving. Andrew does not willingly offer his neck to his enemies, but must be ordered by Christ to do so in the *Life* (lines 196–97) and *Andreas* (lines 1208–18). He feels that aggressive retribution is an appropriate response to obstacles. Andrew's vindictiveness is further seen when he traps the Mermedonians with the flood and a ring of fire, and forces them to repent for torturing him.[198] As the Mermedonians entreat Andrew for mercy, they are humbled and shamed.[199] Andrew releases the flood only after 'the might of proud ones was humbled there, the glory of the warriors' (*þær wæs modigra mægen forbeged, wigendra þrym*, lines 1571–72a). Hermann,

[196] Battles, 'Dying for a Drink', 450–56.
[197] Baumler, 'Comparative Study', pp. 28–29.
[198] John Casteen, 'Andreas: Mermedonian Cannibalism and Figurative Narrative', *NM* 75 (1974), 74–78, argues that cannibalism and flooding are biblical punishments for sinning against God.
[199] North and Bintley, ed., *Andreas*, pp. 297–98.

advocating both literal and spiritual readings of the *Andrew*-narratives, suggests that *Andreas* promotes violence and terror as righteous retribution for the violent actions the Mermedonians had perpetrated.[200] The evident approval of the use of violence by a *miles Christi* is in contrast to the contemporary ninth-century approaches of the *Martinmas*-homilist, whose saint is always 'mild-hearted' (*mild-heortan*),[201] and the *Guthlac*-hagiographers, who present a saint who emphatically abstains from shedding blood when converting Crowland.[202]

Yet the Anglo-Saxon composers of the *Life of Andrew* and *Andreas* are not the only early Medieval writers who justified Christian violence as a means of conversion. When Christ sends the twelve apostles out to preach, he tells them 'Do not think that I came to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace but the sword' (Matthew 10: 34), indicating that the some of the earliest Christians understood missionary activity as the violent suppression of disbelief.[203] Beyond the apocryphal *Acta*-narrative, which itself advocates for violence and provides the source for the forced conversion in *Andreas*,[204] Cynewulf advocates torture as a means of converting the Jew Judas in *Elene* (lines 573–723).[205] Willibald's account of Boniface's mission to the Frisians depicts a peaceful missionary whose mission is reinforced by the Frankish army that massacres the Frisians after Boniface's death at Dokkum.[206] Even Martin's invocation of divine aid, which manifests in two armed angels who help him destroy the idol at Levroux, indicates that evangelical activity could carry the threat of violence, even if the *milites Christi* were to abstain from shedding blood themselves.[207] Ninth-century Carolingian biographies, perhaps inspired by Charlemagne's bloody conversion

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[200] Hermann, *Allegories*, pp. 140–48. For allegorical readings of the poem, see Hamilton, 'Diet and Digestion', 158; Hamilton, '*Andreas* and *Beowulf*', pp. 92–93; Herbison, 'Generic Adaptation', 181–86; Hill, 'Figural Narrative', 261–73; Kiser, '*Lifes Weg*', 66 and 75; Lee, *Guest-Hall*, pp. 84–88. Earl, 'Typological Structure', pp. 67–70, goes so far as to say that the literal meaning of the poem makes no sense and one must read the work allegorically. Wilcox, 'Eating People', pp. 204–17, strikes a balance between Hermann's literal reading and the figurative readings to argue the poet intends the violence to be downplayed.
[201] See pp. 62–66 and 73–81 above.
[202] See pp. 127–29 above.
[203] Erdmann, *Origins*, p. 10.
[204] Helgeland, 'Roman Army', 155–56, highlights Jesus's violence in apocryphal Acts tradition.
[205] Magennis, 'Conversion', pp. 296–98.
[206] Talbot, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, pp. 45, 49–51 and 58–59; Hermann, 'Boniface and Dokkum', 1–25.
[207] See pp. 85–86.

of the Saxons (*c.* 772–804), praise forced conversions,[208] and in the *Vita* of St Lebuin, an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon missionary to Saxony whose *Vita* appears in the early tenth century, the saint threatens stubborn pagans with the army of a powerful king.[209]

Moreover, forced conversions under the threat of violence or after defeat in battle were certainly a reality in Early Medieval Europe.[210] After defeating Guthrum at Edington, Alfred stipulates that Guthrum and his army must convert to Christianity,[211] a policy which Æthelstan repeats in the Eamont Bridge Treaty after his 927 conquest of Northumbria.[212] These instances of forced conversions occurred at the same time and in similar monastic contexts to the *Martinmas*-homily and Old English Guthlac-narratives, suggesting that conflicting views on how a *miles Christi* might participate in warrior culture were held contemporaneously. While the stories of Andrew, Boniface, and Lebuin do not present the missionaries actively wielding worldly weapons or killing unbelievers without a cause,[213] they do reflect a philosophy that permits *milites Christi* to be aggressive in order to expand the faith. In the next chapter, we will see the acceptance of Christian violence taken further in the *Life of Eustace*, a story that advocates the killing of heathens not for the sake of conversion, but simply because they are heathen.

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[208] France, 'Holy War', I:198; André Vauchez, *The Spirituality of the Medieval West: From the Eighth to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Colette Friedlander (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1993), pp. 14–15.
[209] France, 'Holy War', I:197; Talbot, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, pp. 232–34.
[210] See Murphy, *Saxon Savior*, pp. 11–26, for an analysis of the forced conversion of the Saxons under Boniface's missions and Charlemagne. Abels, 'Alfred's Peacemaking', 34, analyses forced conversion as a meaning of establishing peace in ninth- and tenth-century England.
[211] *ASC* A 878 (Bately, 51).
[212] *ASC* D 926 (Cubbin, 41). William of Malmesbury also notes Æthelstan's proclivity for forcing his opponents to convert, see R. Mynors, R. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, ed. *Gesta regum Anglorum, or the Deeds of the English Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), I:208 and 214.
[213] Furuta, 'Devaluation', pp. 128 and 144.

Chapter Six

The Worldly Soldier of Christ: The Old English *Life of Eustace*

While the depictions of Martin, Guthlac, and Andrew used the imagery as well as the societal structures of a warrior culture to depict the saint's metaphysical struggle against temptation removed from secular military life, the eighth-century *Vita et passio S. Eustachii* and its eleventh-century Old English adaptation present their saint devoted to God as an active participant in the imperial army.[1] The *Eustace*-legend recounts the life of the Roman military leader Placidas–Eustace who converts after Christ appears to him in the form of a deer (*Vita* lines 1–116; *Life* lines 1–119).[2] Eustace then endures a Job-like fall from grace, including the loss of his property and social status (*Vita* lines 117–40; *Life* lines 120–39), the abduction of his wife, Theophista, during a sea-voyage, as well as the loss of their two sons to wild beasts (*Vita* lines 140–85; *Life* lines 139–81). Humbled by these calamities, Eustace assumes the life of a lowly labourer in a foreign land (*Vita* lines 185–89; *Life* lines 181–84), before he experiences a further reversal of fortune and is returned to secular prominence in order to fight against the enemies of the Roman empire (*Vita* lines 190–277; *Life* lines 185–265). During the conquest, he is reunited with his family and they give thanks to God for his favour (*Vita* lines 277–345; *Life* lines 265–333). After laying waste to the lands of the empire's enemies, Eustace and his family are ultimately martyred in Rome for not sacrificing to pagan gods (*Vita* lines 346–408; *Life* lines 334–402).

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[1] Attestations of the *Vita* that was available to Anglo-Saxons are found in the Cotton–Corpus Legendary (CCCC 9, 117v–22r, and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 354, 22v–29r). See Lapidge and Jackson, 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary', p. 141; Magennis 'Sources of Non-Ælfrician Lives', 292 and 297–99. An edition of the Cotton–Corpus text is in the appendix, pp. 234–43 below. Printed editions of later versions of the *Vita* are found in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, Sep. IV, col. 123A–37A; and in Boninus Mombritius, ed., *Sanctuarium Seu Vitae Sanctorum* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1910), I:466–73. An edition of the Old English *Life of Eustace* which was transcribed from BL, Julius E vii, 169v–79v is included in the appendix, pp. 244–52 below. A printed edition of the Old English *Life of Eustace* can also be found in Skeat, ed., *Lives: vol. II*, pp. 190–218, and Johanna Kramer, Hugh Magennis, and Robin Norris, ed., *Anonymous Old English Lives of Saints* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020), pp. 56–91. For an analysis of surviving manuscripts with the *Life* see Scragg, 'Anonymous Lives', pp. 217–18 and 222.

[2] Line number references to the *Eustace*-legend correspond with the edition of the *Vita* as well as Old English *Life* appended to this thesis.

Like the apocryphal *Andrew*-narratives, the *Eustace*-legend blends motifs found in hagiographical, biblical, and romance narratives.[3] As Skeat notes in his edition of the Old English *Life of Eustace*, the story 'has a peculiar interest in being, practically, a secular and romantic story, as far as [Eustace's return from exile], after which it is turned into "a saint's life" by the addition of the hero's martyrdom.'[4] The composite nature of Eustace's story highlights the purely fictitious nature of the saint's existence, which Gerould's analysis of the legend demonstrates by identifying the various folk-tales that resulted in, as well as arose from, the legend.[5] Gerould's work has been supported by Gaster, Murray, and Thierry, who have variously argued that elements of the legend, such as the vision of the stag, were of Buddhist or Indian origin,[6] while the saint's return to power after a calamitous sea-voyage bears a close resemblance to Mediterranean stories like *Apollonius of Tyre*.[7]

The origin of the story about Christ speaking in the form of a stag may also derive from biblical material which contains the precedent of Balaam's talking donkey, a legend that the *Vita* itself references (lines 35–36).[8] Similarly, other biblical sources can be identified throughout the narrative, such as the legend's comparison of Eustace's conversion to that of Cornelius and Paul (*Vita* line 31), the influence of Job on the accounts of Eustace's trials and separation from his family (*Vita* lines 106 and 175), as well as the saint's martyrdom, which seems to be based on the Book of Daniel.[9] As in Daniel, the saintly protagonists

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[3] Hippolyte Delehaye, 'La légende de saint Eustache', *Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques* 5 (1919), 186–210, provides an overview of the themes in the *Eustace*-legend.

[4] Skeat, ed., *Lives: vol. II*, p. 452. In recognition of the legend's fictitious origins, Eustace was officially removed from the Roman Catholic calendar of saints in 1970.

[5] Gordon Gerould, 'Forerunners, Congeners and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend', *PMLA* 19 (1904), 380–91.

[6] M. Gaster, 'The Nigrodha-Jãtaka and the Life of Eustathius–Placidus', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 26 (1894), 340; Gerould, 'Forerunners', 343–54, 380 and 445; J. Murray, 'The Eustace Legend in Medieval England', *Bulletin of the Modern Humanities Research Association* 1 (1927), 37–40; Nicole Thierry, 'Le Cult du Cerf en Anatolie et la Vision de Saint Eustathe', *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 72 (1991), 90–93.

[7] Delehaye, 'saint Eustache', 186–87; Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 12–13. For analogues of the romantic tropes in the *Life of Eustace* see Gerould, 'Forerunners', 343 and 372–380; Thomas Heffernan, 'An Analysis of the Narrative Motifs in the Legend of St Eustace', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1975), 64–67; Norris, 'Introduction', p. 8; Skeat, ed., *Lives*: *vol. II*, p. 452.

[8] The reference to the story of Balaam derives from Numbers 22:21–33; Heffernan, 'Narrative Motifs', 69.

[9] Heffernan, 'Narrative Motifs', 70–74 and 86; Robin Norris, 'Reversal of Fortune, Response and Reward in the Old English *Passion of Saint Eustace*', in Norris (2011), pp. 106–07.

are lowered into a cave with a lion but are not harmed, before they are martyred in a brazen furnace (*Vita* lines 361–71; *Life* lines 348–60).[10] These scriptural elements of the legend provide spiritually didactic motifs of how faith in the *sapientissimus clementissimusque Deus* ('the most wise and most generous God') enable the saints to triumph over material and spiritual poverty.[11]

As with the *Martinmas*-homily, the depiction of Eustace advocates a 'mixed life' that is internally ordered, through the development of monastic virtues alongside active participation in worldly affairs. However, Eustace is not a missionary like Martin, but a saintly soldier who fights enemies of the state. The Old English *Life* reworks the language of the narrative to portray those enemies as heathen vikings, which the saint kills as the physical and spiritual adversaries of Christianity. In doing so, the *Life of Eustace* presents a model of soldiering for Christ that was antithetical to peaceful *milites Christi* like Martin, at odds with the societally removed spiritual warrior like Guthlac, and a step beyond the apocryphal *Andrew*-narratives that advocate forced conversion. The *Life of Eustace* instead appears to accept Christian violence and involvement in 'holy war' as a suitable means for *milites Christi* to demonstrate their faith.

The story of Eustace was a relatively late addition to the English *Sanctorale*, celebrated on either September 20th or November 2nd. Thierry argues that the legend arose in Cappadocia and was then imported to Italy, based on the extensive number and diversity of Eustace images that date from the seventh century which are found in early churches throughout the region.[12] The growth of the cult of Eustace in Rome can be traced to the pontificate of Gregory II (715–731),[13] when benefactions of several farms were bestowed upon a 'deaconry of

[10] The *Life* emphasises the connection with the lion den in Daniel by rendering Latin *harena*, which could refer to a public or open arena, as *eorð-hus*. Ælfric's *Passio S. Dionysii*, *LS* III: 75, and *Passio Christanti et Dariae*, *LS* III: 253 provide other examples of lions bowing to saints in Old English hagiographies.
[11] Heffernan, 'Narrative Motifs', 66–67. Norris, 'Reversal of Fortune', pp. 99–102 and 109–14, argued that Old English adapter reworked the text to warn audiences not to sin through excessive sorrow or *tristitia*; yet Sandra McEntire, 'Weeping in Translation: The Problem of Compunction', *New Comparison: A Journal of Comparative and General Literary Studies* 12 (1991), 25–29, demonstrates that excessive sorrow in Anglo-Saxon hagiography is part of the depiction of compunction (*compunctio*/*onbryrdness*).
[12] Thierry, 'Le Cult de Cerf', 38–63 and 96.
[13] Stilyana Batalova, 'The Tradition of St Eustatius Placidas in Latin', *Scripta* 2 (2005), 326; Murray, 'Eustace Legend', 37.

Saint Eustace' (*diaconia S. Eustachii*),[14] a foundation later identified as the 'hospice in the plane trees' (*xenodocium in Platana*) in the *Life of Pope Stephen II* (752–757).[15] A Greek version of the legend first appears in the European literary record as an extract in John of Damascus's *De imaginibus oratio* in 726,[16] but was quickly adapted into Latin, and became widely available in Carolingian centres by the early eighth century, particularly at St Omer.[17] In England, the earliest record of the *Vita et passio S. Eustachii* appears in Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester's donation of twenty-one books to the Peterborough minster around 970, which also includes a verse *Vita Eustachii* that seems to have been based on the text corresponding with *BHL* 2760.[18] The only Anglo-Saxon monastery to contain relics pertaining to Eustace and have an altar for the saint in the eleventh century was Abingdon, which Lapidge postulates may have been the epicentre for the cult of Eustace in England from the late tenth century onwards.[19]

There is no evidence for the cult of Eustace in Bede's *Martyrology*, the *Old English Martyrology*, nor in English calendars before the year 1000,[20] suggesting that Eustace was not widely celebrated in England before the eleventh century.[21] Most calendars after the year 1000 include the feast day of Eustace, yet the earliest secure attestation is in BL, Arundel MS 155 (*c.* 1012–1023).[22] A later hand has added the celebration 'of saint Eustace and his companions' (*sancti Eustachi cum sociis*) to the calendar on folio 44r of the so-called 'Leofric Missal' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579), which is dated 970–991, although it is unclear when the Eustace addition was made. On paleographical grounds, the

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[14] Philip Jaffé, ed., *Regesta pontificium Romanorum ad condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht, 1885), I:256 (section 2220).
[15] Louis Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, Introduction et Commentaire* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1995), pp. 440 and 456 n. 5; Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: le Basiliche Cristiane Antiche di Roma, sec. IV–IX* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana; New York: Institute of Fine Arts, 1937), I:216.
[16] Gerould, 'Forerunners', 383; Michael Lapidge, '*Æthelwold and the Vita S. Eustachii*', *Scire litteras. Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, *Neue Folge*, Heft 99 (1988), 257. The Greek passage in the *De imaginibus oratio* is reproduced in *PG* 94: col. 1381.
[17] Batalova, 'Placidas in Latin', 336–38 and 343.
[18] Lapidge, '*Vita S. Eustachii*', 255 and 257–61, believed that this version of the legend was identified by John Leland in 1530 and extant through the 800-line fragment in Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud misc. 410, 1v–8r.
[19] Lapidge, '*Vita S. Eustachii*', 260 and 263.
[20] Heffernan, 'Narrative Motifs', 67; Lapidge, '*Vita S. Eustachii*', 259–60.
[21] Murray, 'Eustace Legend', 39.
[22] Wormald, ed., *English Kalendars,* p. 180.

later hand appears to be late tenth- to eleventh-century.[23] There are two eleventh-century Latin missal witnesses for the Anglo-Saxon cult of Eustace, the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges* and *Missal of the New Minster Winchester*, which include the feast day of Eustace.[24] The missals, however, focus solely on Eustace's trials and martyrdom, rather than the romance aspects of the *Life*, as seen in the opening prayer in the *New Minister Missal*:[25]

> Deus qui beatum Eustachium in temptationibus probasti et probatum coronasti: ipsius sociorumque eius meritis in omnibus temptationibus, tuum nobis praesta auxilium et sempiternum gaudium.
>
> 'God, you who tested blessed Eustace through temptations and crowned him when he was tested: by his own merits and those of his companions through all temptations, grant us your help and eternal joy.'

While the missals refer to Eustace's Job-like trials and later his martyrdom in flames, they do not mention Eustace's participation in the army. This omission may indicate that the composers of the missals and their audiences did not consider Eustace's association with the military worthy of note or appropriate.

The complete text of the *Vita et passio Eustachii* survives in two versions of the Cotton–Corpus Legendary; CCCC 9 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 354 [Bodley 354]. These versions of the *Vita* differ from those printed in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum* or Mombritius's *Vitae Sanctorum* which have been the basis for recent studies,[26] despite Magennis's warning against using these printed texts to analyse the *Vita*'s relationship to the Old English *Eustace*.[27] The *Acta Sanctorum* and Mombritian texts were compiled from more recent versions of the *Vita* and contain wording as well as narrative details that are different to what is attested in the Cotton–Corpus texts or the Old English *Life*. Compare, for

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[23] Nicholas Orchard, ed., *Leofric Missal,* HBS 114 (London: HBS, 2002), II:193–94 and 204; Wormald, ed., *English Kalendars,* p. 54.
[24] H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges* (London: HBS, 1896), pp. 19 and 222–23; D. H. Turner, ed., *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester: Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 330* (London: HBS, 1962), p. 179.
[25] Turner, *New Minster*, p. 179.
[26] See, for example, Grant Loomis, 'Further Sources of Ælfric's Saints' Lives', *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 3 (1931), 5; Norris, 'Reversal of Fortune', p. 115.
[27] Magennis, 'Sources of Non-Ælfrician Lives', 297–98. Hall, 'Common of Saints', 35 and 54, and Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources', pp. 110–262 also note the unreliability of the Mombritian and Bollandist editions as sources for the texts known to Anglo-Saxons, and Scragg, 'Editing Ælfric', 611–13, emphasises the need to directly study manuscript witnesses for Anglo-Saxon narratives.

instance, the passages relating Eustace's reunion with his family and victory over the enemies of the empire in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, Cotton–Corpus, and *Life* texts:

Acta Sanctorum	Cotton–Corpus	Old English *Life*
Late percurrit rumor eorum, quae acciderant, ita ut miraretur congregatus exercitus et exultaret propter eorum inuentionem magis, quam propter uictoriam de barbaris relatam. Maximam uero celebritatem propter agnitionem suorum instituit Eustathius. Et postero die, Deo inuocato, cum laude gratias referebat Domino Christo de maxima eius benignitate et clementia. (col. 134a).	Discurrit igitur fama haec per omnem exercitum et omnes congregati mirabantur et exultabant in inuentione eorum amplius etiam propter barbarorum ex pugnationem. Altera die maximam celebritatem facientes deo gratias egerunt propter magnam eius pietatem. (lines 340–43).	Þa soðlice asprang se hlisa geond ealne þone hired, and hi ealle gegadere wundrodon and blissodon for heora gemetinge, and miccle þe bliðran þe hi oferwunnen hæfdon þa hæþenan. Ða þy oðran dæge dydon hi þa mæstan gebeorscype and gode þancode his micclan mild-heortnysse. (lines 328–31).
'The gossip about those things that had happened ran widely so that the gathered army wondered and rejoiced more on account of their reunion than on account of the victory taken from the barbarians. Truly, Eustace ordered the greatest of celebrations on account of the recognition of his own [family]. And the next day, having invoked the name of God, with praise he gave thanks to Lord Christ for his greatest benignity and mercy.'	'Therefore, the rumour ran throughout the whole army and everyone gathered wondered and rejoiced more greatly in their reunion than on account of the fight against the barbarians. The next day they held the greatest celebration, giving thanks to God for his great goodness.'	'Truly the rumour of this sprang through all the army and all together they wondered and rejoiced for their meeting and were much happier that they had over-thrown the heathens. Then the next day they held the greatest of feasts and thanked God for his great mercy.'

The *Acta Sanctorum* text generally adds material to the *Vita* that does not appear in the *Life*, and indicates that the Old English adaptation was produced from a

text closer to that witnessed in the Cotton–Corpus Legendary. Mombritius's text offers a similarly inadequate source for the *Life*, as seen in its presentation of how the Emperor sent soldiers throughout his empire to track down Eustace;

Mombritius	Cotton–Corpus	Old English *Life*
Colligens autem exercitum et inspiciens omnes milites Placidi: exquirebat si qui cognouisset eum uiuere an mortem obiisse: mandabatque unicuique militum ut eum inquirerent dicebatque: 'Si quis eum inuenerit: et indicauerit mihi: ampliores addam ei honores et emolumentorum augebo solatia.' Duo uero milites nomine Antiochus et Achacius Placidum quaerentes uenerunt in uicum ubi degebat Eustachius. (p.470, lines 1–6).	Colligens autem exercitum et inspiciens omnes milites, de Placida exquirebat, qui cognouissent de eo, uiuere, an mori. Et dabat mandatum unicuique militum, ut inquirerent eum. Et misit per unam quamque ciuitatem et terram que erat sub imperio suo, ut requirerent eum, dicens, 'Si quis eum inuenerit et indicauerit michi, ampliores addam ei honores et emolumentorum augebo solatia.' Duo uero quidam milites, nomine Antiochus et Acaius qui aliquando ministrauerunt Placidae perrexerunt ad inquirendum eum. Et peragrantes omnem terram que sub Romanorum esset imperio uenerunt in uicum illum, ubi degebat Eustachius. (lines 200–08).	Gesomnode þa his fyrd ealle to him and geornlice axode be him and bebead þæt man foran sceolde swa wide swa his anweald wære and hine geornlice axian, and he eac behet þam þe hine funden micelne wurðscipe and fremfulnesse. Þa ferdon soðlice twegen cempan, þa wæron genemde Antioclius and Achaius, þa ær wæron under Eustachius handa[28] and þurhferdon ealle þa land þe into Rome hyrdon, oððæt hi comon þær he wunode. (lines 193–99).
'However, gathering the army and inspecting all the soldiers of Pladicus: he asked if any knew whether [Placidus–Eustace] lived or had departed in death: and he ordered each one	'However, gathering the army and inspecting all the soldiers, he asked about Placidas, who knew about him, whether he lived or died. And he gave the order to each soldier, that they search for him. He sent [them] through one and	'Then he gathered all his army to him, and eagerly asked about [Placidas–Eustace] and ordered that each should go as widely as his dominion was, and eagerly to ask after him, and he also promised great honour

[28] This is a possible reference to the custom of initiation into the *comitatus* in which the retainer placed his hands within those of his lord while swearing an oath of loyalty; Green, *Carolingian Lord*, p. 77. For a discussion of the oath (*sacramentum*) in the Roman army, see Helgeland, 'Roman Army', 151.

of the soldiers that they search for him and he began to say: "If anyone should find him and show him to me, I will give more complete honours to him and I will increase the consolation of money for him." Yet two soldiers with the name Antiochus and Achacius came searching for Placidus in the town where Eustace was living.'	every city and land which was under his own rule, so that they might inquire after him, saying "If anyone should find him and show him to me, I will give more complete honours to him and I will increase the consolation of money for him." Yet a certain two soldiers with the name Antiochus and Achacius, who had served with Placidas for some time, hastened to search for him. And wandering through all the land which was under the rule of the Romans, they came into that town where Eustace was living.'	and reward for the one who found [Eustace]. Then truly two warriors went, who were called Antioclius and Achaius and had been under Eustace's hands, and they went through all those lands which obeyed Rome until they came where [Eustace] dwelt.'

Although it is clear that the Old English *Life* provides a condensed adaptation of the *Vita*, the Mombritian text omits aspects of the *Vita* that the Old English does present, like the journey of Antiochus and Achacius through the whole of the empire and their service under Eustace. Moreover, the *Life* agrees with the Cotton–Corpus text's variation of details like the spelling of Placid**as** or it being the Emperor's army which is asked about Placidas, and not Placid**us**'s army which the Emperor assembles. Bearing in mind the differences between the *Acta Sanctorum* as well as Mombritian *Vita* and the *Life of Eustace*, it is evident that one should regard the Cotton–Corpus version of the *Vita* as the closest representative to the Latin narrative known to the Anglo-Saxon hagiographer. References to the *Vita* throughout thus correspond to the edition of the *Vita* in the Cotton–Corpus Legendary provided in the Appendix.[29]

The Old English *Life of Eustace* has generally been viewed as 'a very close rendering of the Latin text'[30] that 'treats this religious prose romance with practically no variation.'[31] We have already seen however that the supposed 'closeness' of the anonymous adaptations of *Vitae* is a somewhat misleading

[29] See pp. 234–43 below.
[30] Murray, 'Eustace Legend', 38. See too Lapidge, '*Vita S. Eustachii*', 263; Magennis, 'Sources of Non-Ælfrician Lives', 297a.
[31] Loomis, 'Further Sources', 5.

assumption and we shall see again with Eustace's *Life* that the Old English adapter made significant, if subtle, alterations.[32] The eleventh-century *Life* is the oldest vernacular account of the *Eustace*-legend and appears in two collections of Ælfrician *Lives of Saints*,[33] namely BL, Cotton Julius E. vii (fols 169v–79v) and the badly burnt BL, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, of which only one folio is still legible.[34] Both manuscripts include the *Eustace*-legend with a feast date of 2nd November. In the Julius E. vii manuscript, the *Life* is one of four interpolations into Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, along with the stories concerning Euphrosyne, Seven Sleepers, and Mary of Egypt, suggesting that the manuscript's compiler and readers had a greater tolerance for unorthodox hagiographical material than did Ælfric.[35]

Aspects of the *Life of Eustace* are thematically close to other Ælfrician hagiographies, leading earlier commentators to believe it to be the work of Ælfric.[36] However, Magennis demonstrates that disparities between Ælfric and the *Life* in Julius E. vii in such areas as vocabulary, prose style, adherence to source text, and the dramatic interests of the legend indicate that Ælfric did not compose the text.[37] It is possible that the specific version of the Cotton–Corpus Legendary which Ælfric used did not include Eustace's story and that Ælfric did not translate it as a result. Yet even if it were not in his legendary, it is probable that Ælfric would have been aware of the legend through his teacher Æthelwold's evident interest in the saint.[38] It is perhaps more likely that Ælfric considered the story unorthodox or didactically problematic, being too secular or sensational for Ælfric's tastes.[39] Still, the legend's connection to Abingdon — a centre for the Benedictine Reform and Æthelwold's home foundation — would

[32] Hugh Magennis, 'A Note on the Beginning of the Old English *Life of St Eustace*', *Notes and Queries*, 32:4 (1985), 438.
[33] Norris, 'Introduction', p. 8.
[34] Scragg, 'Anonymous Lives', p. 222, notes that 'only one leaf is now legible … but this is enough to show that the two versions differ only in very minor details of spelling'.
[35] Magennis, 'Julius E. vii', 106–09; Norris, 'Introduction', pp. 2–8. Clayton and Mullins, ed., *Lives,* I:xiii–xvi and xxviii.
[36] See, for example, the misattribution in Skeat, ed., *Lives,* II:452; and Loomis, 'Further Sources', 5.
[37] Hugh Magennis, 'Contrasting Features in the Non-Ælfrician Lives in the Old English *Lives of Saints*', *Anglia* 104 (1986), 336–342; Magennis, 'Note on the Beginning', 438.
[38] Hill, 'Benedictine Reform', pp. 153 and 157–62; Lapidge, '*Vita S. Eustachii*', 255 and 263.
[39] Malcolm Godden, 'Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition', in Szarmach and Huppé (1978), p. 102; Magennis, 'Contrasting Features', 342; Magennis 'Julius E. vii', 107–08.

suggest that not all reformed Anglo-Saxon clerics found the narrative problematic, even if Ælfric might have.[40]

Unlike the *Catholic Homilies*, Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* and the *Life of Eustace* would have been unsuitably long for homiletic or liturgical recitation, suggesting that the legends were intended for private reading or as references when composing sermons for a given saint's feast day.[41] As the *Life of Eustace* only survives in the collections of Ælfrician *Lives*, we might presume that both compositions had the same clerical and lay audiences, especially of learned lay patrons, like Æthelweard and Æthelmær.[42] It is difficult to separate the monastic and secular audiences of the *Life*, given the influence of worldly ideals in both the secular Church and monastic foundations during the late tenth century, despite the Benedictine Reform.[43] At the time the *Life of Eustace* was composed, many monastic recruits were not child-oblates but those who joined later in life and came with experience of secular vocations, bringing their previous experience into the cloister.[44] The relevance of the story for monastic audiences familiar with worldly pursuits is reflected in the *Life of Eustace*'s acceptance of secular occupations, even when these were against canon law. For instance, Eustace's passion for hunting — which would turn Eustace into the patron saint of hunters — was in direct contradiction to canon law, as Ælfric reaffirmed in his letters to Wulfstan and Wulfsige, saying 'therefore, no hunter was ever holy' (*forþon þa nan hunta næs næfre halig*).[45]

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[40] Hill, 'Benedictine Reform', pp. 151–52 and 162; Lapidge, '*Vita S. Eustachii*', 255. James MacGregor in 'Ministry of Gerold', 231–37, and 'Negotiating Knightly Piety: The Cult of the Warrior-Saints in the West, ca. 1070-ca. 1200', *Church History* 73:2 (2004), 320–24, argues that Gerold d'Avranches used the *Eustace*-legend to promote monasticism and convert secular warriors to spiritual warfare.

[41] Clayton and Mullins, ed., *Lives,* I:xxiv–xxv; Joyce Hill, 'The Context of Ælfric's Saints' Lives', in Lazzari, Lendinara, and Di Sciacca (2014), pp. 2–3.

[42] See Ælfric's Old English *Preface* to the *Lives of Saints*, *LS* I: 8–12; Clayton and Mullins, ed., *Lives,* I:viii–ix and xxiv–xxv; Gittos 'Audience', 238–41, 254; Magennis, 'Julius E. vii', 100–01; MacGregor, 'Ministry of Gerold', 219–37; McDaniel, 'Interpreting the Translator', pp. 60 and 67–68; Whatley, 'Pearls Before Swine', pp. 176–83; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 217 and 230. Heffernan, 'Narrative Motifs', 66, thinks that the *Life* was aimed at suffering lay audiences.

[43] For secular influences on monasteries in Benedictine Reform, see Snook, 'Bishops and Pawns', 155–67.

[44] Smith, *War*, p. 52.

[45] *Councils and Synods* 300 and 334–35. Hunting was also banned in Frankish canons though the injunction disappears in the seventh century: Powell, 'Three Orders', 126; Prinz, 'Clergy and War', II:302–03.

Yet Æflric would have taken even greater issue with the *Eustace*-legend's endorsement of clerical violence. The fact that Eustace returns to active soldiery under the worldly emperor after adopting a quasi-monastic life similar to that of a monastic novice or *conuersus* would have been antithetical to Ælfric's injunction against clerical involvement in secular warfare, which he repeatedly affirms in his *Lives of Saints*, *Hexameron*, and pastoral letters.[46] While Ælfric uses martial imagery in his portrayals of the saints Maurice, Martin, Sebastian, and Edmund, he is clear that these saints only fight in spiritual warfare,[47] similar to the model presented in the anonymous *Guthlac*- and *Andrew*-narratives.[48] Ælfric's treatment of warrior-saints supports Tyerman's statement that, 'although examples of warrior-saints, or saints who were once warriors, proliferated in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the moral dangers of fighting continued to be recognised.'[49] Once the aristocratic warrior-saints in Ælfric's collections lay down their weapons to devote themselves to Christ, they do not return to secular warfare.[50] As we saw in Chapter Two, Ælfric and early canonical writers mandated this strict separation of the *bellatores* and *oratores* in life as well as fiction.[51] Renouncing the secular realm was absolute for a cleric who should never participate in worldly warfare again.

Eustace complicates this canonical injunction as a saint who participates in both spiritual and physical warfare. While the *Eustace*-legend does not offer a *psychomachia* or incorporate demons as characters, when the saint is baptised he is said to fight the devil metaphysically in the same way that Martin, Guthlac, and Andrew do. As Christ tells Eustace before his trials:

> 'Eadig þu eart þe onfenge þone þweal minre gife and þe gegyredest mid undeadlicnysse, and nu þu oferswiðdest deofol and fortræde þone þe þe beswac, and nu ðu unscryddest þe þone brosnigendlican mann, and þe gescryddest þone unbrosnigendlican, se þurh-wunað a on worulde. Nu beoð geswutelode þa weorc þines geleafan and deofles anda bið astyred wið þin forðan þu hine forlæte and efest þæt he ælc yfel do ymbutan þe.

[46] See the full discussion of Ælfric's injunction on pp. 27–32 above.
[47] Dalbey, 'Good Shepherd', 424–34; Norris, 'Reversal', p. 98; Magennis, 'Warrior Saints', 42–48; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 219–31.
[48] See pp. 112–18, 127–28, 154–58 and 177–79 above.
[49] Tyerman, *Christendom*, p. 107.
[50] Clayton and Mullins, ed., *Lives*, I:xvii–xviii; MacGregor, 'Ministry of Gerold', 236–37; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 217–19.
[51] Again, see pp. 27–32 above.

> Þe gedafenaþ soðlice fela aræfnian þæt þu onfo wuldor-beah. Efne, þu wære nu oð þis up-ahafen on þisse worulde æhtum and hwilwendum weorcum, nu gedafnað þe þæt þu beo geeaðmet of þire hean idelnysse þæt þu eft beo upahafen on gastlicum welum, ne ateorige þin mægen ne ðu ne beseoh to þinum ærran wuldre.'
> (lines 94–104).
>
> "You are blessed who received the washing of my grace and have prepared yourself with immortality and now you have overpowered the devil and have trodden the one who had deceived you and now you have divested yourself of the corruptible man and have vested yourself with the incorruptible, that dwells forever in the eternal world. Now shall be manifested the works of your faith, and the devil's envy will be stirred against you, because you forsook him and he will hasten to do every evil to you. It is truly fitting for you to suffer many things so that you attain the crown of glory. Behold, up until now you were upheld in this world with possessions and transitory works, now it is fitting that you be humbled from your high idleness so that you might afterwards be lifted up in spiritual riches. Let not your courage weaken nor look towards your previous glory."

Christ's description here of Eustace as a fighter against demonic enemies aligns the saint with Ælfric's definition of an *orator*, as one who suffers adversity and fights against the devil for spiritual gains.[52] This characterisation of Eustace as a member of the ecclesiastical order of society is further emphasised through the legend's depiction of Eustace as a monastic oblate, novice, *or conuersus* (a secular person who voluntarily subjected himself to religious rule but had not formally taken vows).[53]

When Eustace loses his wealth and family, stranded in a foreign land, he becomes a lowly labourer who toils without accruing personal wealth:[54]

Cum lacrimis et gemitu animi abiit ad quendam uicum qui dicebatur Dadissus. Et ingrediens in eo operabatur et adquirebat uictum. Commorans uero in eo plurimum	He eode wepende on þone tun þe hatte Dadissus and þær wunode and beget him biglyfne mid his weorce. Þa æfter micelre tide bæd he þæs tunes hlafordas þæt he moste healdan heora

[52] *LS* II: 334–36.
[53] For overviews of adult oblation, see Foot, *Monastic Life*, pp. 146–55; Mayke De Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in Early Medieval West* (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1996), pp. 43–44, 100–02 and 126–32; Smith, *War*, pp. 52–63. For discussions of Anglo-Saxon monasteries incorporating lay labourers in their communities, see Cubitt, 'Pastoral Care', pp. 208–10; Foot, *Monastic Life*, pp. 179–80; Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching', pp. 138–43.
[54] Comparative quotations throughout the chapter, unless otherwise noted, provide the text from the *Vita* on the lefthand side, and the text from the *Life of Eustace*, on the righthand side of the text block.

tempus postulauit eiusdem uici habitatores et posuerit eum custodire agros suos. Et mercedem accipiens, degebat ibi annis quindecim.
(lines 185–89).

æceras and him mede earnian and he ðær drohtnode fiftyne gear**.**
(lines 181–84).

'With tears and a lamenting of spirit he went off to a certain town which was called Dadissus. And entering into there he worked so that he could acquire food. However, lingering in that place for a long time he asked the inhabitants of that same town that he might guard their fields. And receiving money [for doing so], he passed fifteen years there.'

'He went weeping into that town which is called Dadissus and there dwelled and earned himself sustenance with his work. Then after a great time he asked the lords of the town that he be able to guard their fields and earn food for himself and he dwelled there for fifteen years.

The *Life* is close to its source, except in transforming the classless inhabitants of the lands (*habitatores*) into lords (*hlafordas*). In doing so, the *Life* creates a power dynamic which highlights Eustace's subservience under a greater authority. While in Dadissus, Eustace prays to God and develops the virtues of humility and obedience which were fundamental for a monastic life. The contemplative nature of Eustace's existence is indicated further through his separation from the society of Dadissus. Even after fifteen years, Eustace still says that 'I myself am foreign' (*ego peregrinus sum*, lines 227–28; *ic sylf eom ælþeodig*, line 220). At the end of Eustace's time in Dadissus, God promises him salvation and sanctity, saying:

'In resurrectione uero maiora horum uidebis et eternorum bonorum delectationem reperies et nomen tuum magnificabitur in generationem.'
(lines 217–19).

'Witodlice on þære æriste þu gesihst micelre mærran þincg and þu onfehst þara ecra goda gelustfullunga and þin nama bið ecelice gemærsod.'
(lines 208–10).

"Certainly in the resurrection you will see greater things and you will find the delight of eternal boons and your name will be venerated through the generations."

"Certainly in that resurrection you will see much greater things and you shall recieve the joys of eternal boons and your name will be always venerated."

The promise of veneration after he is dead suggests that Eustace's manual labour was intended for more than mere sustenance, but as the means of cultivating his

sanctity. This follows Christ's earlier instructions that Eustace must suffer trials 'to be humbled' (*te humiliari*, line 101; *beo geeaðmet*, line 102) which will earn Eustace 'spiritual riches' (*spiritalibus diuitiis*, line 102; *gastlicum welum*, line 103). In depicting the development of his humility and sanctity, the *Eustace*-legend suggests that Eustace is as much a saint through his pious life, as through his martyrdom. Christ implies this at Eustace and his family's death in saying:

'Certatores per bonam uitam facti estis, plures et magnas sustinentes temptationes et non uicti estis.' (lines 385–86).	'Ge wæron winnende on godan life, and ge wæron forþyldiende mænigfealde cos[t]nunga, and swa þeah næron oferswiþde.' (lines 379–80).
"You have become combatants through a good life, sustaining many and great temptations and you were not conquered."	"You were fighting in a good life, and you were enduring manifold temptations, and even then were not overthrown."

Throughout the depiction of Eustace's 'good life', the saint develops monastic virtues to endure his trials and temptations. In particular, the saint's life in exile as a humble labourer living a toil-filled existence with prayer resembles the monastic tenets described in John Cassian's *De institutis coenobiorum* ('Concerning the institutes of the cenobites') and *Collationes patrum in scetica eremo* ('Conferences with the desert fathers'), as well as the *Regula Benedicti.*[55]

Cassian calls monkhood *abrenuntiatio* ('renunciation') and defines it as 'nothing other than a sign of the cross and of mortification' (*nihil est aliud quam crucis ac mortificationis indicium*).[56] Cassian clarifies that by *crux* he means faith in Christ, the fear of God, willingness to undergo trial for faith as well as obedience to Christ, and a lack of concern for tomorrow. Eustace fulfills Cassian's definition by renouncing his station of secular prominence, and accepting his trials as confirmations of his faith in Christ. Those who renounce worldly society

[55] Gneuss and Lapidge, *Handlist*, p. 902, have identified that the *Collationes* and *De institutis* survive in several manscripts with Anglo-Saxon provenance, suggesting that they were known in the Anglo-Saxon literary circles, although Jones, 'Envisioning', 265, argues that knowledge of Cassian's *Collationes* does not hold up to manuscript evidence in Gneuss's original *Handlist*. However, Stephen Lake, 'Knowledge of the Writings of John Cassian in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 32 (2003), 27–41, and Foot, *Monastic Life*, pp. 53, 153 and 234, have shown that Cassian's writings were known and influential in Anglo-Saxon conceptions of monasticism.
[56] *De institutis* IV: 34; Reichardt, '*Guthlac A*', 334 and 338.

are then supposed to live by the toil of their own hands.[57] As chapter 48 of the *Regula* and Æthelwold's translation of it both state:

Tunc uere monachi sunt si labore manuum suarum uiuunt, sicut et patres nostri et apostoli.[58]	Þæt beoð þonne riht munecas, gif hy libbað be þam geswince heora agenra handa, swa swa ure fæderes and þa apostolas dydon.[59]
'Then they are truly monks if they live by the labour of their own hands, like our fathers and the apostles.'	'Then they are true monks, if they live through the labour of their own hands, just as our fathers and the apostles did.'

This passage emphasises manual labour as the cornerstone of the monastic ideal, and one that Eustace fulfills. While the *De institutis* does not prescribe manual labour in the same detail as the *Regula*, it does repeatedly stress that monks gain humility through physical work, and that monks should not become proud from their ability to work or get a good price for their products.[60] The *Collationes*, however, do focus on manual labour as a fundamental aspect of monastic life for balancing the mind.[61] *Collatio* XXIV: 12 (*De utilitate operationis, et otii detrimento*) specifically concerns a monk's need for labour as the means of sustaining himself and curbing idleness:

> Quotidiana corporis alimenta nostris maluimus sudoribus praeparare quam secura parentum praebitione fulciri, laboriosissimae huic penuriæ illam quam praedicas otiosam Scripturarum meditationem atque infructuosam lectionis instantiam postponentes.
>
> 'We have chosen rather to procure our daily nourishment with the sweat of our bodies than to be supported by the secure giving from parents, putting that idle meditation of Scripture and the fruitless attendance to reading you spoke of earlier after this most laborious poverty'.

The *Collatio* goes on to condemn all monks who live from sustenance given and not earned by the toil of their own hands. In accordance with these stipulations,

[57] Foot, *Monastic Life*, pp. 211–16.
[58] *Regula* II: 400.
[59] Schröer, ed., *Prosabearbeitungen*, pp. 73–74.
[60] *De institutis* IV: 14–19.
[61] Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, pp. 17–18 and 107. See also *De institutis* II: 14.

monks labour and ought not to waste their time in idle reading or pursuing a purely contemplative life. Eustace works to feed himself, but not to accrue material wealth as his remission of luxury and subservience shown at the end of his time in Dadissus illustrate (*Vita* lines 229–51; *Life* lines 221–40). Eustace's impoverished state after fifteen years likewise follows the orders in the *Regula* and *De institutis* that forbid monks from owning anything, since their lack of physical possessions encourages their separation from the world while fostering obedience and humility (*humilitas*).[62]

The virtue of *humilitas* or *eaðmodnes* is a pillar of the monastic ideal, and the virtue that Christ encourages Eustace to cultivate during his trials when he tells him to 'be humbled' (*humiliari* and *beo geeaðmet*). Christ then promises that "when you will have been humbled I will come to you and return you to your former glory [and prominence]" ('*Cum enim humiliatus fueris ueniam ad te et rursus restituam te in propriam gloriam*', lines 108–09; '*þonne þu bist geeaðmodad ic cume to ðe and gelæde þe eft to þinum agenum wuldre and wurðscipe*', lines 109–10). Eustace achieves humility through his quasi-monastic life in Dadissus as a lowly labourer, deprived of his family and possessions. Christ then returns Eustace to his position in the army, indicating that Eustace had proven his humility.

Cassian devotes much of his description of the lives of Egyptian cenobitic monks in book four of *De institutis* (*De institutis renuntiantium*, 'Concerning the institutes of those who offer renunciation') to how monasticism revolved around the cultivation of humility, from the monk's probationary period before the walls of the monastery, demonstrating his desire to enter, through to his sanctified existence as an abbot. In *De institutis* IV: 39–43, Cassian lays out four steps to spiritual perfection built on *humilitas*.[63] First, the monk ought to fear God, which leads from renunciation of the world towards humility. The virtue is then cultivated through the remission of personal desires and individual will, confession of one's faults to his or her elders, obedience and patience in adversity, pacifism and submission to others, satisfaction with utter simplicity and being a manual labourer, belief in being unworthy for everything, and the

[62] *De institutis* IV: 3–5; *Regula* II: 562.
[63] *De institutis* IV: 37–43.

avoidance of idle chat. Once humility is recognised, the monk's fear of God will then become faithful devotion.

Eustace's trials bring him through most of Cassian's steps to *humilitas*. He fears and submits himself to God when confronted with Christ in the form of the deer (*Vita* lines 28–62; *Life* lines 34–64). Eustace then accepts his removal from worldly pursuits or connections through losing his wealth and family (*Vita* lines 119–85; *Life* lines 121–81). Eustace further develops humility as a lowly labourer in Dadissus, where he submits himself to a station far below his former rank of senatorial tribune and under the authority of the townspeople (*Vita* lines 186–89 and 250–51; *Life* lines 183–85 and 240). When Antioclius and Achaius discover their former leader in Dadissus, Eustace humbles himself before them, denies his former identity, and hosts them in accordance with monastic hospitality (*Vita* lines 229–47; *Life* lines 221–36).[64]

The *Regula* likewise emphasises *humilitas* as integral to a monk's development. In chapter VII (*De humilitate*), the *Regula* states that *humilitas* is the means of attaining the exaltation of salvation and lays out twelve steps to develop it. Eustace models many of the behaviours laid out in these steps, particularly the fourth (concerning how one deals with adversity), the sixth (calling one to content himself with a lowly existence), the ninth and eleventh (ordering one to keep silence unless spoken to), as well as the twelfth (advising one to keep a bowed and humble demeanor at all times, in all places, and with all people).

The similarity of Eustace's experience to the development of humility set forth in monastic manuals suggests that audiences of the *Eustace*-legend would have seen Eustace's life in Dadissus within a monastic framework. This would have been particularly likely in unreformed foundations, where the term *monachus* ('monk') was applied to anyone who was attached to an ecclesiastical or 'monastic' institution regardless of their status in the Church or whether they had taken monastic vows.[65] However, Æthelwold's promotion of Eustace's cult in

[64] For the rules governing monastic hospitality, see *De institutis* IV: 4, 7 and 12; *Regula* II: 610–16.
[65] Cubitt, 'Pastoral Care', pp. 208–10; Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching', pp. 138–43.

Peterborough suggests that the saint's *Life* also resonated with reformed monastic audiences as well.[66]

Eustace's life further resembles the lives of abbots Patermutus and Pinufius, as described by Cassian in the *De institutis*. The aptly named Patermutus (literally 'silent-father') is a nobleman who joins a monastery with his son and is tested to make sure that the familial ties between them have been severed.[67] Patermutus's son is beaten and abused in front of his eyes, but Patermutus carries on as if he had no son at all, until called upon to throw his son into a river, which the monk does without hesitation. Although not silent on being separated from his wife and sons, Eustace's faith is similarly tested through losing his family — and specifically his sons at a river — which he crosses before entering his quasi-monastic life in Dadissus (*Vita* lines 151–62; *Life* lines 148–56).

Eustace's aversion to being taken from his holy labouring, along with the scene of his identification, resemble the story of Pinufius,[68] who is a beloved abbot who flees across the sea to monasteries where he is not recognised and takes a new name so that he can live as a lowly labourer. Pinufius's self-imposed exiles are ended when monks who formerly served under Pinufius recognise him through his disguise and call him by his former name. Eustace was originally a high-ranking officer of the army named Placidas, but renamed at his christening. Eustace is recalled from his exile when men who had served under him recognise their former leader despite his poor clothes and new name, so that he is brought back to his former station (*Vita* lines 235–47; *Life* lines 229–45). Given the resemblance of the tales in the *De institutis* to Eustace's own story in exile, it is appears likely that the original Greek and Latin narratives were inspired in part by cenobitic heroes like Patermutus and Pinufius.

While Eustace's experience before his return to worldly service resonates with the life prescribed in monastic rules, he was not fully a monk living under an established rule. As Eustace is supposed to live before the recognised founders of monasticism — Anthony, Martin, or Benedict — it would have been unlikely that the composer would have set Eustace in an anachronistically

[66] Lapidge, '*Vita S. Eustachii*', 255–61.
[67] *De institutis* IV: 27.
[68] *De institutis* IV: 30.

monastic setting. The references to Trajan and Hadrian demonstrate that the original hagiographer had some historical awareness and consciously decided to place Eustace in a context of Christian persecution which precedes monasticism. Nor does Eustace completely fulfill the ideals that Cassian or the *Regula* lay out for monks. Eustace has continued to hold on to his familial attachment (*Vita* lines 211–17; *Life* lines 202–08), which monastic rules explicitly forbid as a necessary step towards removing oneself from worldly concerns.[69] Yet it is Eustace's willingness to return to the world that was perhaps most antithetical to Cassian, Benedict, and Ælfric's explanation of monastism, all of whom insist that once the world is renounced, one should never go back.[70]

Like Martin, Eustace first communes with God when he is a soldier and secular nobleman (*Vita* lines 36–116; *Life* lines 34–118). Yet while the *Martinmas*-homily portrays the *miles Christi* leaving the *weoruld-folgoð* definitively after he converses with Christ in a dream,[71] Eustace's conversion to the religious life is only temporary. After fifteen years of the quasi-monastic life in Dadissus, Eustace resumes his worldly rank and wears the clothes of his imperial military station (*Vita* lines 251–72; *Life* lines 241–61), fulfilling Christ's promise that he would return to secular prestige (*Vita* lines 108–09; *Life* lines 109–10). Eustace's movement between secular and religious orders contradicts the strict divisions of society prescribed in Ælfric's treatises on the three orders, as well as canon law,[72] at the same time it suggests that one could become a saint as a layman. Eustace's ability to attain sanctity and maintain a 'good life' while still fulfilling his military duties suggests that the legend's audience included lay aristocrats looking for models of holy life outside of the monastery or ecclesiastical order, and that its monastic transmitters accepted the idea that laymen could achieve spiritual apotheosis.[73] Likewise, the dedication of Eustace's

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[69] *De institutis* IV: 16, 27, 29 and 36; *Regula* II: 616–18 and 664–66.
[70] *De institutis* IV: 5–6 and 36–37; *Regula* II: 554 and 664; *Councils and Synods* 212, 217 and 300.
[71] See pp. 58–66 above.
[72] Moilanen, 'Social Mobility', 1335–44, argues that Ælfric advocates for a strict boundary between the three orders of society.
[73] For introductions to medieval lay sanctity, see Janet Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity, *c.* 900', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 124–33; André Vauchez, 'Lay People's Sanctity in Western Europe: Evolution of a Pattern (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)', in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 21–32; Vauchez, *Spirituality*, pp. 105–09 and 117–35.

feast to Christ, and the nature of Eustace's military campaigns as a vehicle for the miraculous reunion of Eustace's family suggest that the *Eustace*-hagiographers believe that certain activities pertaining to secular warrior culture are compatible with soldiering for God, so long as those actions were done in Christ's honour.

When Eustace resumes his patrician status, he returns to those military customs he held before his conversion. These are not only actions concerned with orchestrating a military campaign, such as the inspection of troops and ordering of battle necessary for his ability to execute his duty (*Vita* lines 262–81; *Life* lines 251–70), but also those pertaining to an aristocratic lifestyle antithetical to his earlier life of austerity. As discussed earlier, lines 168–69 of *Guthlac A* define the delights of the world as soft seats, banquets, proud apparel, as well as glory among men.[74] These are things that Eustace takes up as a soldier, who has been clothed in the finest vestments of his esteemed position (*Vita* line 252; *Life* line 241). As a war-leader, Eustace hosts banquets (*Vita* lines 269–72, 342 and 351; *Life* lines 330–31), wears a sword (*Vita* lines 262 and 361; *Life* line 349), attends military parades (*Vita* lines 349–50; *Life* lines 337–39), and wields power 'as he had done before' (*Vita* lines 273; *Life* line 261). Yet the *Life of Eustace* reworks the *Vita* to distance the *miles Christi* from seeking worldly delights on his own.

The composer of the *Life* seems to have been uncomfortable with feasts which were not dedicated to honouring Christ or facilitating a miracle. The Anglo-Saxon hagiographer omitted a previous reference to Eustace hosting drinking-parties to which his sons were invited (*iussit inter conuiuas eos mense annumerari*, line 272) as well as the *conuiuium* to which Hadrian invites Eustace after Eustace's victorious return (*Vita* line 351). Those feasts which are removed from the Old English narrative are purely secular events, reflective of Eustace's aristocratic social standing. The party Eustace does throw in the Old English *Life* is not for himself, but in commemoration of God's power in two actions, namely his reunion with his family and the military defeat of heathens.

[74] See pp. 95–96 and 102–103 above.

Omnes congregati mirabantur et exultabant in inuentione eorum amplius etiam propter barbarorum ex pugnationem. Altera die maximam celebritatem facientes deo gratias egerunt propter magnam eius pietatem. Postquam uero subiecerunt uniuersam terram barbarorum reuersi sunt cum uictoria magna et spolia multa portantes et captiuos plurimos ducentes. (lines 340–45).	Hi ealle gegadere wundrodon and blissodon for heora gemetinge, and miccle þe bliðran þe hi oferwinnen hæfdon þa hæþenan. Ða þy oðran dæge dydon hi þa mæstan gebeorscype and gode þancode his micclan mild-heortnysse. Þa æfter þam þe hi gewyld hæfdon eall heora feonda land and hi mid micclum sige ham hwurfon and læddon mid him micele here-huþe and manige haeft-nydlingas. (lines 328–33).
'Everyone gathered wondered and rejoiced more greatly in their reunion than on account of the fight against the barbarians. The next day they held the greatest celebration, giving thanks to God for his great goodness. Then, after they subjugated the whole land of the barbarians, they returned with a great victory, bearing many spoils and leading very many captives.'	'All together they wondered and rejoiced for their meeting and were much happier that they had over-thrown the heathens. Then the next day they held the greatest feast and thanked God for his great mercy. Then after that they held dominion over all of the land of their enemies, and they returned home with great victory and led with them much war-booty and many hostages.'

The *Vita* calls the feast a *celebritas* ('celebration') where the Old English has *gebeorscype*, which is a specific type of feast closer to a *conuiuium* or drinking-party rather than mere a 'celebration'.[75] Eustace's use of a *gebeorscype* to honour Christ mirrors the *conuiuium* / *gebeorscype* at which Cædmon created of Old English religious poetry.[76] Both Cædmon's and Eustace's parties enhance Christ's honour and are laudable for pious audiences, unlike the purely secular *conuiuia* that Eustace attends elsewhere in the *Vita*.

Although the Old English *Life* is hesitant to depict secular drinking culture,[77] neither text has any qualms about Eustace's participation in the customs of warfare, including the taking of war-booty and hostages. Contrary to

[75] *DOE* s.v. *gebeorscipe*, which defines it as a 'feast at which (alcoholic) drink is served; carousal'.
[76] In *HE* IV: 24, the party at Whitby is called a *conuiuium*, which is translated as *gebeorscipe* in the Old English; Miller, ed., *English Version of Bede*, p. 342.
[77] Hugh Magennis, 'The Exegesis of Inebriation: Treading Carefully in Old English', *ELN* 23:3 (1986), 3–6, and 'Water–Wine Miracles in Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives', *ELN* 23:3 (1986), 7–9, shows that Old English texts often avoided associating saints with the metaphor of spiritual inebriation or alcohol in general. For Alcuin's critique of monastic feasting, see Bullough, 'Ingeld', 104–08 and 124.

MacGregor's argument that Eustace is not depicted actively fighting,[78] the legend presents Eustace as a successful warlord, even after adopting a quasi-monastic lifestyle. The omission of Eustace's feasting and emphasis on his piety in the *Life* thus suggests Eustace leads a 'mixed life', in which he is internally contemplative while actively engaging in holy warfare. The depiction of Eustace's willingness to actively participate in worldly fighting also mirrors Ælfric's claims that pressures to join worldly fighting came both from secular authorities forcing clerics to fight as well as from the clerics' own desires to participate in warfare.[79] Eustace renounces his contemplative life in Dadissus because of the emperor's order as well as his own desire to return to the army as the means of seeing his wife. Yet the legend offers no condemnation of these forces, suggesting that the *Eustace*-hagiographers did not disapprove of clerical engagement in war.

Both the *Vita* and *Life* are more accepting of Christian violence than the other warrior-saints discussed above. In the *Martinmas*-homily, the saint is nonviolent, even when he is in the imperial army, and turns his attention to peacefully converting pagans once he renounces his 'worldly service'.[80] Likewise, Guthlac only engages in metaphorical battles after his conversion from a life of bloodshed and plunder, fighting purely within the context of spiritual warfare as a monk and hermit. Even though *Andreas* frames the apostle as a warlike retainer of Christ and the *Andrew*-narratives seems to advocate the forced conversion of heathens, they are clear that Andrew never wields a worldly weapon. Moreover, the stories of Martin, Guthlac, and Andrew use concepts of spiritual warfare to depict the conversion of pagans and pagan places, not their obliteration.[81] There is no such missionary drive in the *Eustace*-legend. Instead, Eustace and his sons actively kill pagans and destroy their lands, as the following passages show:

Profectus est ad bellum. Et terram quidem, quam abstulerant barbari, liberauit. Ipsis uero subiectis tansiit fluuium qui dicitur Ydispis et ulterius	Þa ferde he to þam gefeohte and geeode þa land þe ða hæðenan ætbrodon hæfdon and hi þam casere underþeodde. Ferde ða forð ofer þæt

[78] MacGregor, 'Ministry of Gerold', 231 and 237.
[79] Moilanen, 'Social Mobility', 1339–44.
[80] See pp. 58–66 below for Martin. For Guthlac see pp. 94–96 and 104–11, and pp. 177–78 for Andrew.
[81] For the theme of conversion, see pp. 73–79, 134–36, 158–60, 167–68 and 179–83 above.

procedens in interiora terra barbarorum et illos deuincens depopulatus est terram eorum. Adhuc autem interius desiderans ingredi. (lines 273–77).

'He set out for the war and freed that same land, which the barbarians had taken. After overthrowing [the barbarians], he crossed the river which is called Idispis and proceeding on the other side into the interior land of the barbarians and conquering them, he pillaged their lands. At this point however he desired to progress further into [their land].'

wæter, þæt wæs genemned Idispis, in þa inran land þæra hæðenra and hi ofercom and heora eard aweste. Þa git he wilnode þæt he innor ferde. (lines 262–65).

'Then he went to that war and entered that land which the heathens had stolen and subjugated them under the Caesar. He went forth over that river, which is called Idispis, into the inner lands of the heathens and overcame them and laid waste their country, yet he wished that he carried on further into [their land].'

The passage from the Old English *Life* introduces a clause that says Eustace subjugated those he conquers to Caesar (*hi þam casere underþeodde*), thereby showing the saint actively promoting a pagan secular ruler rather than seeking to reestablish the *status quo* or convert those heathens he confronts. The *Vita* does not include a similar detail. Eustace's action seems to follow Christ's order to 'render unto Caesar those things which are Caesar's, and to God those things which are God's' (*agifað þæm casere þa þing þe þæs caseres synd, and gode þa þing þe Godes synd*, Matthew 22:21), as Eustace expands the borders of the empire for the earthly king.[82] Yet in depicting Eustace successfully defending his country, expanding his earthly lord's rule, and collecting treasures to enrich his community, the Old English presents Eustace as the ideal *ealdorman*.

Eustace and his sons do no penance for their warring, as early Medieval penitentials would proscribe,[83] nor is there any condemnation of their conquest which ruins the foreign land rather than turns it into a Christian sanctuary. Eustace is not a missionary converting heathens to faith in Christ, but a soldier who subjects them to the sword. Eustace's campaign is not even confined within the limits of the Isidorian conception of 'just war', since he brings his army beyond Rome's borders to lay waste the lands of the heathens and desires to

[82] Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *Ða Halgan Godspel on Englisc: The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Holy Gospels* (London: Rivington, 1842), p. 50.
[83] Cross, 'Ethic of War', pp. 280–82; Tyerman, *Christendom*, p. 107. The *Paenitentiale Pseudo-Theodori*, for instance, perscribes forty days of water and bread, in Carine van Rhijn, ed., *Paenitentiale Pseudo-Theodori*, CCSL 156b (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), p. 39.

conquer more land.[84] While this desire for expansionary conquest or revenge could potentially fall into the category of 'unjust war', because it seemingly arose in anger and sought to claim property that was not previously part of the empire, the heathen nature of the enemies in the Old English text suggest that the Anglo-Saxon hagiographer may have considered this a divinely sanctioned holy war. Before Eustace is recalled to the military, Christ tells him that his faithful service in Dadissus will be rewarded with the return of his wealth, station, and family (*Vita* lines 216–19; *Life* lines 207–10). The fact that Eustace is victorious and celebrates God with a feast further indicates that his campaigns have a religious dimension. As we discuss below, the Old English *Life of Eustace* also reframes Eustace's enemies as heathens in order to promote holy war as the vehicle of Eustace's sanctity and means of punishing the enemies of pious Christians.

The acceptance of lay sanctity and holy war seen in the *Life of Eustace* grew in the context of pagan attacks on Christendom. As Bede's account of Oswald's battles against the pagan Mercian king Penda indicates, heathens were considered threats to Christian communities from the beginning of Anglo-Saxon hagiographical traditions.[85] It is thus unsurprising that in the context of the viking raids of the ninth century and again at the end of the tenth and into the early eleventh century, positive attitudes towards Christian and clerical violence appear.[86] So much is evident from Ælfric's insertion of the phrase 'cruel boatmen' (*reðan flotmenn*) into his translation of Isidore's code of 'just war', which illustrates his inimical attitude towards the Norse heathens.[87] Wulfstan's apparent complicity in the 1002 St Brice's Day massacre would also suggest that clerics were becoming increasingly involved with and supportive of the use of violence against pagan foreigners as both physical and spiritual enemies of Christians.[88]

The late tenth-century interest in Eustace around Abingdon may have stemmed from the saint's example as a killer of heathens. Oxfordshire was a particular target of viking raids, and its inhabitants developed a 'racial hatred'

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[84] See discussion of 'just war' on pp. 21–26 above.
[85] See pp. 34–37 above.
[86] Pezzarossa, 'Ideology of War', pp. 108–21, 163–80 and 185–92.
[87] Cross, 'Ethic of War', pp. 269–75; Godden, 'Problem of Miracles', 92–97; Pezzarossa, 'Ideology of War', pp. 190–92; Snook, 'Just War', 117.
[88] Wilcox, 'St Brice's Day', pp. 82–83, 86 and 90–91.

for those of Scandinavian descent.[89] This hatred was unleased during the St Brice's Day massacre,[90] about which the 'C' version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says, 'in that year the king ordered all the Danish people to be slain who were among the English people' (*on þam geare se cyng het ofslean ealle þa Deniscan men þe on Angelcynne wæron*).[91] Æthelred's 1004 charter for the monastery of St Frideswide in Headington, Oxfordshire describes the Scandinavian settlers as 'cockle among the wheat' (*lollium inter triticum*) and calls the massacre 'a most just extermination' (*iustissima exinanitione*).[92] The charter goes on to describe the local inhabitants chasing the 'Danes' into the 'sanctuary of Christ' (*Xpi sacrarium*) and burning them inside, without mentioning any remorse for the loss of life as much as for the loss of 'ornaments and books' (*ornamentis ac libris*). Excavations at St John's College, Oxford, in 2008 also revealed the mass burial of thirty-seven men of Scandinavian descent who seem to have been executed or stabbed to death in flight during the massacre or similar mass execution of Norsemen.[93] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s positive description of the massacre, the St Frideswide charter, and the mass burial in Oxford demonstrate that the English around Oxford exhibited considerable anti-Scandinavian sentiment.

The Vikings were not just hated for their threat to property, but also for their threat to the spiritual well-being of the English. The practice of presenting heathen invaders as a divine punishment had a long tradition in Britain, stretching from Gildas' sixth-century *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae*, which says the sinful Britons were punished by foreign invaders including 'those most fierce and impious of people named Saxons, hateful to God and men' (*ferocissimi*

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[89] *ASC* C 1009–1015 (O'Brien O'Keeffe, 92–100); *ASC* E 1002, 1009 and 1013 (Irvine, 64, 67 and 70); *ASC* F 1016 (Baker, 107–10); John Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Oxford: Sutton Publishing, 1994), pp. 105–06 and 167–70; Keynes: 'Abbot', 152–53; Kathryn Powell, 'Viking Invasions and Marginal Annotations in CCCC 162', *ASE* 37 (2008), 165; Szarmach, 'Sermons and Saints', I:48. See also *DOE* definition l.a. for *Denisc*.

[90] Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 202–08; Wilcox, 'St Brice's Day', pp. 83–85.

[91] *ASC* C 1002 (O'Brien O'Keeffe, 89).

[92] Spencer Wigram, ed., *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St Frideswide at Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), I:2–3.

[93] Ceri Falys, 'Late Saxon Mass Grave: The Human Bone', in *Oxford Henge and late Saxon Massacre*, ed. Sean Wallis (Oxford: Thames Valley Archaeological Services, 2014), pp. xvi, and 42. A. M. Pollard, P. Ditchfield, E. Piva *et al*. argue that the mass grave was not from the 1002 massacre but a separate execution of viking raiders in ''Sprouting like Cockle Amongst The Wheat': The St Brice's Day Massacre and the Isotopic Analysis of Human Bones from St John's College, Oxford', *Oxford Journal of Archeology* 31:1 (2012), 98.

illi nefandi nominis Saxones, deo hominibusque inuisi).[94] Alcuin considered the eighth-century viking attacks as divine punishment for the English who 'abandoned God and blasphemed the sacred Saviour of the world in their wicked deeds' (*derelinquunt Deum et blasphemauerunt sanctum saluatorem mundi in sceleribus suis*).[95] Many eleventh-century commentaries on the state of England similarly interpreted invasions as recompense for the immorality of the Anglo-Saxons and called on Christians to reform.[96] For instance, in 1008 *Æthelred VI* requests that bishops ought to 'eagerly avoid every heathen practice' (*ælcne hæðendom georne forbugan*),[97] and the edicts of the fragmentary codes *Æthelred IX* and *X* of the same year are primarily exhortations to Christians to lay aside pagan practices and more faithfully devote themselves to Christianity.[98] The edict in *Æthelred VII* (*c.* 1009) that every religious foundation sing daily the hymn 'Against Pagans' (*Contra Paganos*) reflects the perception that these *Deniscan men* posed a religious threat to English Christian morality,[99] which is more famously expressed in Wulstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* apparently composed at the height of the Viking raids.[100] Wulfstan complains in the *Sermo Lupi* that it was becoming possible for one to 'leave Christendom to become a viking' (*of Cristendome to wicinge wurþe*).[101] He blames the ravages of vikings and the hastening of the apocalypse on the lapse of faith among the English and

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[94] Hugh Williams, ed., *Gildae De excidio Britanniae, or The Ruin of Britain* (London: David Nutt, 1901), p. 54.
[95] Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae*, p. 147; Bullough, 'Ingeld', 95–103; Mary Garrison, 'The Bible and Alcuin's Interpretation of Current Events', *Peritia* 16 (2002), 73–84.
[96] N. F. Blake, 'Battle of Maldon', *Neophilologus* 49 (1965), 334; Keynes, 'Abbot', 152–53, 163–65, 170 and 181–89; Powell, 'Viking Invasions', 159–60; Szarmach, 'Sermons and Saints', I:48. For Alcuin's influence on Wulfstan in linking tribulations with the moral failings of aristocracy, see Gareth Mann, 'The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', in *Wulfstan*, ed. Matthew Townend (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 244–46. Increased calls for penance and moral reform are also seen in *Æthelred VII* in *Laws,* 108–10; Rhijn and Saan, 'Correcting Sinners', 40.
[97] *Laws* 90.
[98] *Laws* 130.
[99] *Laws* 110; Keynes, 'Abbot', 171.
[100] Keynes, 'Abbot', 207–12. For a later dating of *Sermo Lupi* to 1014, see Jonathan Wilcox, 'Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as Political Performance: 16 February 1014 and Beyond', in Townend (2004), pp. 376–83.
[101] *Homilies of Wulfstan,* 263: 99. Simon Coupland, 'The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingians' Theology of the Viking Invasions', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991), 546–50, and Matthew Strickland, 'Slaughter, Slavery or Ransom: The Impact of the Conquest on Conduct in Warfare', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Carola Hicks (Stanford: Watkins, 1992), pp. 53–53, discuss the Carolingian concern that Christians were being corrupted by the pagan practices of the Vikings.

their adoption of 'harmful heathen customs' (*hæþene unsida*) that were not only anti-social, but spiritually damning as well.[102]

Meaney argues that Wulfstan uses the terms *hæþendom* and *hæþenscipe*, to refer to 'unworthy Christians' who are practicing unorthodox rituals, but are not necessarily heathens themselves.[103] This offers a more nuanced view than Dodds' straightforward interpretation of Wulfstan's use of the words *hæþendom* and *hæþenscipe* as 'paganism or false religion',[104] although Meaney and Dodds both assume that the term referred to behaviours unbefitting for a Christian. In Ælfric's second Old English letter to Wulfstan (1005×1006), he defines heathenism and Christianity as opposite and inverse entities, saying all that is not Christian is heathen, for 'as the faith of God waxed, heathenism waned' (*Godes geleofa weox and wanode se hæþenscype*).[105]

A hint of the immoral practices that late Anglo-Saxon society associated with 'heathenism' might be found in the description of Edgar's character in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in which both Jayakumar and Pons-Sanz note Wulfstan's xenophobic influence:[106]

> Ane misdæde he dyde þeah to swyðe: þæt he elðeodige unsida lufode, and heþene þeawas innan þysan lande gebrohte to fæste and utlændisce hider intihte and deriende leoda bespeon to þysan earde.
>
> 'However, he did this one misdeed too greatly: he loved foreign mal-practices, and brought too firmly heathen customs into this land and exhorted foreign peoples hither and enticed dangerous people to this land'.

Although the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* describes Edgar elsewhere as a devoutly Christian king, William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1095–1143) provides some detail in his *Gesta regum Anglorum* as to what Edgar's foreign vices and heathen practices

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[102] *Wulf.Hom.* 272: 135; Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric and Wulfstan: Two Voices of the Millenium', in Roberts and Nelson (2000), pp. 234–35.
[103] Audrey Meaney, '*And We Forbeodað Eornostlice Ælcne Hæðenscipe*: Wulfstan and late Anglo-Saxon and Norse Heathenism', in Townend (2004), pp. 462–83.
[104] Loring Holmes Dodds, 'A Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies', PhD. Dissertation (Yale University, 1907), p. 116.
[105] *Councils and Synods* 271. See also Pezzarossa, 'Ideologoy of War', pp. 177–80.
[106] *ASC* D 959 (Cubbin, 45); Jayakumar, 'Foreign Policies', 21–22; Sara Pons-Sanz, 'A Paw in Every Pie: Wulfstan and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Again', *Leeds Studies in English* 38 (2007), 39–41.

might have been.[107] In describing Edgar's character, William wrote that 'those of foreign origin, namely Saxons, Flemings and even the Danes themselves, made themselves close associates of Edgar' (*alienigenae Saxones, Flandritae, ipsi etiam Dani ... Edgaro familiares effecti*).[108] Within this cosmopolitan society that accepted even the most 'outlandish' of foreigners, the English were supposed to have 'learned from the Saxons inordinate ferocity, from the Flemish a weak softness of the body, from the Danes drunkeness' (*a Saxonibus animorum inconditam ferocitatem, a Flandritis corporum eneruem mollitiem, a Danis potationem discerent*). William's characterisation seems to follow a tradition of listing the vices foreigners introduce, witnessed in lists like that found in the margin of BL, Cotton Caligula A. xv, fol. 122v.[109] Edgar's character flaws (*neuum*) were further defined when he is said 'to have been cruel against citizens and lustful for virgins' (*fuisse crudelem in ciues, libidinosum in uirgines*),[110] a characterisation Byrthferth of Ramsey corroborates in his *Life of Oswald of Worcester* in calling King Edgar *bellicosus* ('militant').[111] Lust and cruelty are also the two defects of the primary antagonists in the Eustace-legend — the ship-lord and Emperor Hadrian — as well as being the distinguishing features of those designated in the story as 'foreigners' and those who are 'heathens'.

The Old English *Life* begins by setting the story in an era when people 'were covered-over with the shadows of devil worship' (*mid ðam þystrum þæs deofollican biggenges oferwrigen beon,* lines 18–19). However, the *Life* provides an excuse for Placidas–Eustace's paganism which is not attested in the *Vita*, saying that he was not Christian 'because no man taught [Placidas] that divine faith' (*forþam þe him nan man þone godcundan geleafan ne tæhte*', line 11). The defence that Placidas–Eustace was innocently pagan explains how virtuous people living in the Christian period could be heathen through no fault of thier own, provided they were dutiful, humble, and virtuous. The *Eustace*-legend

[107] Jayakumar, 'Foreign Policies', 25, suggests that William's primary source for Edgar was the *ASC*.
[108] Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, ed. *Gesta regum Anglorum*, p. 240.
[109] For analyses of these ethnic portraits, see C. V. Weeda 'Images of Ethnicity in Later Medieval Europe', PhD. Dissertation (University of Amsterdam, 2012), pp. 336–43; C. V. Weeda 'Characteristics of Bodies and Ethnicity *c.* 900–1200', *Medieval Worlds: Comparative and Interdisciplinary Studies* 5 (2017), 95–107.
[110] Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, ed. *Gesta regum Anglorum*, I:256–60.
[111] Lapidge, ed., *Oswald and Ecgwine*, p. 79; Jayakumar, 'Foreign Policies', 18. See the descriptions of Edgar's military campaigns and martial standing in *ASC* E 959 and 975 (Irvine, 56 and 59).

supports this by citing Acts of the Apostles 10:35, saying that 'in every people, he who does justice, is received by [God]' (*in omni gente, qui operatur iustitiam, acceptus est ei*, lines 15–16; *on ælcre þeode þe rihtwisnysse wyrcð him bið andfencge he becom*, lines 19–20).[112] The explanation of how a pagan could be laudable is also echoed in the contemporary portrayal of dutiful pagans in Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi*, which presents the religiously devoted heathens in pagan lands as respectable in order to contrast the immoral and apostatical behaviour of Anglo-Saxon Christians.[113] The additional exoneration of Placidas–Eustace's family from the stain of paganism or immorality separated them from the others called 'heathens' in the Old English version of the legend.

While the *Vita* does not generally refer to the religion of Eustace's enemies until Eustace confronts Hadrian, the *Life* specifies that they are 'heathens', highlighting the religious iniquity of the saint's adversaries. For instance, the people Eustace fights as a military tribune are represented as 'those heathens' (*ða hæþenan*) where the corresponding passages in the *Vita* refer to the foreign antagonists within the legend variously as 'savage people' (*barbari*) or 'foreigners' (*alienigenae*). Likewise, the characterisation of the ship-lord moves from being 'the foreign lord of the ship' (*Dominus … nauis ille alienigena*, line 191) to 'the heathen ship-lord' (*se hæþena scip-hlaford*, line 186). The community to which this ship-lord takes Theophista similarly shifts in translation. In the *Vita*, it is described as 'of foreign origin' (*alienigena*) but in the *Life* it is 'heathen society' (*hæðen gemana*, line 268). Later in the narrative, Eustace's defeat of the 'savage peoples' (*barbari*, lines 274–76 and 344) who had invaded Roman territory is recast as 'they conquered those heathens' (*hi oferwinnen hæfdon þa hæþenan*, lines 329–30).

The shift from *barbari* to *hæþenan* is significant in refining the connotations associated with the characters to which these terms refer. The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* does not provide a religious reading for *barbarus* in Anglo-Latin texts, but offers the definitions 'barbarous,

[112] The *Life* follows Cotton–Corpus text in omitting *timet Deum et* at this point.
[113] *Wulf.Hom.* 256: 22–28; Ben Reinhard, 'Wulfstan's Noble Pagans', *ASE* 46 (2017), 327–38.

uncivilized, strange' or 'cruel'.[114] The *Dictionary of Old English* notes the *Life of Eustace*'s translation of *barbarus* in one of its definitions for *hæþen*,[115] but interprets the usage in the *Life* referring to 'barbarian' and not carrying religious connotation. This is in contrast to the plethora of other definitions that the *Dictionary* provides for *hæþen*, which do have religious undertones. Various Old English glosses and glossaries translate *barbarus/-i* as *elreord* ('one who speaks another language') or *ælþeod* ('foreigner, one from another land').[116] Old English glosses with *elreord* suggest that some Anglo-Saxons saw the term *barbarus* refer to differences of spoken language.[117]

This association of *barbarus* with language is similarly seen in the grammatical term *barbarismus*, which refers to linguistic mistakes that a non-native speaker might make.[118] In his *Grammar*, for example, Ælfric interprets *barbarismus* as 'that is the error of a word, if it is written improperly or mispronounced from the proper way' (*þæt is anes wordes gewemmednyss, gif hit byð miswriten oððe miscweden of þam rihtan cræfte*),[119] and Byrthferth's *Enchiridion* says that 'he who corrupts his own language commits a barbarism' (*se ðe his agene spræce awyrt, he wyrcð barbarismum*).[120] These translations imply that 'barbarism' was rooted in the otherness of language, not simply of place or religion. The non-religious understanding of *barbarus* in early Anglo-Saxon England is also reflected in Bede's *Historia*, where he refers to the Christian Welsh king Cadwallon as *barbarus*.[121] In Bede's accounts, Cadwallon is

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[114] *DMLBS* s.v. *barbarus*; Charlton Lewis and Charles Short, ed., *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), do not provide any religious definition as well.
[115] See definition II.B.4 for *hæþen* in *DOE.*
[116] The *DOE Corpus* s.v. *barbarus/i*, notes ten glossary attestations of *elreord* or *ælþeod* adapting *barbarus*.
[117] The glosses in BL, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii give *walch siue ungerad* ('foreign or ignorant/foolish') for *barbarus*, and *miscweden word* ('misspoken word') for *barbarismus*, as well as *þa uncyste* ('a mistake or solecism') for *barbarism* on folios 16r and 108r.
[118] Lewis and Short, ed. *Latin Dictionary*, p. 222, provide the definition: 'an impropriety of speech, barbarism; esp. of pronunciation.' *DMLBS* s.v. *barbarimus* provides 'barbarism, in writing or conduct'. In glosses to Aldhelm's *De uirginitatis*, *barbarismus* is translated with *miscwedenes wordes* ('misspoken word') and *barbarismi* with *stæfleahtres* ('grammatical mistake'), Napier, ed., *Glosses*, pp. 137 and 148.
[119] Zupitza, ed., *Ælfrics Grammatik*, p. 294.
[120] Peter Baker and Michael Lapidge, ed., *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 88.
[121] *HE* II: 20.

a cruel invader of Northumbria, but not a heathen.[122] Meanwhile, Penda and the Mercians who kill Oswald are specifically described as 'pagans' (*pagana gente paganoque rege Merciorum*).[123] From these usages, it appears that the term *barbarus* did not explicitly carry religious connotations in England before the late tenth century.

By the eleventh century, however, the term *barbarus* appears to have been associated more closely with the Old English term *hæþen*. The eleventh-century 'Durham Hymnal' translated *barbarus* as *hæþen* in its list of different peoples in Hymn 80:[124]

Ex omni gente cogniti, Grecis, Latinis, barbaris, cunctisque ammirantibus linguis loquntur omnium.	Of ælcere þeode wæron gegæderode[125] wæs samod afaren grecisces, lyden-waru, hæþen, and eallum wundriendum mid gereordum hi spræcon ealra.
'Those known from every nation, from the Greeks, Latins, and of people with barbarous tongues, and they spoke in all languages with the admiration of all.'	'Those known and disseminated together from every people of the Greek, the Latin, the heathen, and they all spoke with the wondering words of all.'

In this context, the word *barbarus* seems not to have been used with a religious connotation but rather with a linguistic meaning to denote all nations that do not speak Greek or Latin. The Latin use of *barbarus* here is therefore more akin to the glosses in which *barbarus* is translated as *elreord,* while the Old English injection of religious distinction appears to be an error of the glossator,[126] especially as the hymn goes on to say that each of the peoples listed worship the Christian God.

However, the incomplete gloss of Hymn 82 in the Durham hymnal, titled *Ymnus de Sancto Dunstano episcopo*, provides a use of *hæþen*, translating *mucrone gentis barbare* ('by the sword of a barbarous people) as *swurde þeode*

[122] Stancliffe, 'Most Holy', pp. 46–56 and 68–71, notes that Bede seems more critical of Cadwallon as a Briton than he is of Oswald killing Christians.
[123] *HE* III: 9.
[124] Inge Milfull, ed., *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 70 and 314.
[125] *DOE*. s.v. *gegædrod*, definition 2.c.
[126] Milfull, ed. *Hymns*, p. 315.

hæþenre ('by the sword of a heathen people'), that aligns with the usage in the *Life of Eustace*.[127] It is clear from the rest of the hymn that the phrase *gens barbarus* here refers to the Viking invaders:

> Oves tuas, pastor pie, passim premunt angustiae. Mucrone gentis barbare necamur, en, Cristicole. Offer, sacerdos, hostias Christo precum gratissimas, quibus placatus criminum solvat catenas ferreas, per quas Anglorum terminis ecclesiaeque filiis et nationes perfide pestesque cedant noxiae.[128]
>
> 'Afflictions press upon your sheep on all sides, pious pastor. See how we, the believers of Christ, are killed by the sword of the barbarous people. Offer to Christ, you priest, the most dear sacrifices in prayer, so that having been placated, he may loosen the iron chains of judgement with them, and through them the perfidious nations and noxious pestilences may fall from the borders of the English and the sons of the Church.'

The hymn as a whole is calling upon Dunstan to intercede on behalf of the Christian English to save them from the swords of heathens and the unbelieving nations who kill the English. The use of *hæþen* in Hymn 82 seems more appropriate than it does in Hymn 80, since it is clear in Hymn 82 that *barbarus* is being couched in an antagonistic and religious context for spiritual and physical enemies without referring to their use of language. It seems likely that the original hymnographer of 82 had vikings in mind when referring to *barbari* and that the glossator of both hymns was working in a context similar to the composer of the *Life of Eustace,* in which a savage 'other' was assumed to be religiously immoral as well. The Durham glossator was further directed to a translation of *barbarus* with religious connotation given the use of the term *gens* in Hymn 82, which is often used for 'gentiles' or 'those who were not Christian' in the Vulgate.[129] When there is religious qualifier with *barbarus*, it is then glossed as *hæþen*. This is seen further in a eleventh-century gloss for Prudentius which has the phrase *hæþenne gewunan* ('heathen custom') for *ritum barbarum*

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[127] Milfull, ed. *Hymns*, p. 318.
[128] The incomplete gloss reads: *Scep þine, heorde þu arfæsta, – swurde þeode hæþenre offra sacerd onsægednysse criste bena þa gecwemestan, mid þam glæd leahtra he tolyse racentega isene, þurh þa ængliscra gemærum and gelaþunge bearnum and mægþe geleaflease and cwyld abugan derigendlice.* Milfull, ed. *Hymns*, p. 318.
[129] See, for instance, Mark 7:26; Acts 16:1–3; Galatians 2:3; Colossians 3:11; *DMLBS* s. v. *gens*, definitions 4 and 5.

('barbarian rite'),[130] as well as two late tenth-century glosses for Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitatis* which have *hæþen* for *barbarus i. gentilis*.[131]

It is within a set of eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon prognostics in BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, that one finds an unambiguous example of *hæþen* glossing *barbari* without a religious qualifier.[132] On folio 28r the *Dreambook* states that 'if he has seen wars or barbarians, it reveals joy in the open' (*bella vel barbaros uiderit, letitiam in publico patet*), which is glossed with *gefeohtu oððe heþene gesihð, blisse on openum hit openað*. In this context, roughly contemporary with the composition of the *Life of Eustace*, barbarians are paired with war, perhaps indicating that heathens were the type of foreigners Christians should fight. The translation of *barbarus* as *hæþen* in the glosses of the Durham hymnal and the Tiberius prognostics indicates that in the eleventh century, the term *barbari* was becoming more closely associated with heathens. In this context, the use of the term *hæþen* in the *Life* appears to be in line with Powell's argument that 'the word *hæðen*, although clearly able to refer to any non-Christian people or their practices, took on the special sense of *Dene* during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.'[133]

The *Life of Eustace* alters the portrayal of the *barbari* in the *Vita* to that of heathens when it could have maintained their portrayal as foreigners through terms like *elreord* or *ælþeod.* Yet given the edict from law-codes not to abuse foreigners,[134] it would seem likely that the *Life* used *hæþen* as a pejorative term for those one should despise or fight. In doing so, the Old English hagiographer appears to distinguish between good and bad foreigners. For instance, when Antioclius and Achaius first encounter Placidas–Eustace in exile, they ask for a 'foreigner named Placidas' (*Sæge us la leof hwæðer ðu her wite ænigne ælþeodigne þe hatte Placidas*, lines 215–16). Eustace then replies that 'I do not know any such person here, truly I myself am a foreigner' (*nat ic her nanne swilcne wer, soðlice ic sylf eom ælþeodig*, line 220). Then, when Eustace orders

[130] Herbert Meritt, ed., *The Old English Prudentius Glosses at Boulogne-Sur-Mer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 51.
[131] Napier, ed., *Glosses*, p. 107; Goossens, ed., *Glosses*, p. 404.
[132] Roy Liuzza, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, an Edition and Translation of Texts from London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), p. 84.
[133] Powell, 'Viking Invasions', 165.
[134] See *Æthelred* VI which orders one 'not to harass or injure foreign men and those who come from afar' (*ælþeodige men and feorran cumene ne tyrian ne ne tynan*), *Laws* 104.

troops to be levied, his sons are chosen for military service because they were 'foreign' (*ælþeodige,* line 256). These terms all translate the Latin term *peregrinus* ('one who travels from without'). Throughout the story, Eustace's family are called 'foreigners' while everyone else is generally referred to as 'heathen'. The only time the *Life of Eustace* refers to an inimical foreigner with anything other than the term 'heathen', is when the saint laments his wife's abduction before his life in Dadissus. The ship-lord is called an *ælfremed wer* ('foreign man / husband', line 147) translating *alienigenae marito* ('foreign husband', line 151). Everywhere else the ship-lord is referred to as 'heathen', and the use here — in Eustace's first-person speech — perhaps reflects the saint's own shame that another man is taking his wife.

The ship-lord who ferries Eustace and his family away from Italy is introduced in Latin as 'certainly the lord of the ship, the one with a foreign origin' (*dominus uero nauis ille alienigena,* line 191), which the Old English presents as 'certainly the heathen ship-lord' (*witodlice se hæþena scip-hlaford*, line 186). Again, the *Life* reworks simple foreignness (*alienigena*) in the Latin to include religious overtones of 'heathen' (*hæþena*). When Theophista is abducted, the Latin emphasizes that she is divinely protected from foreign (*alienigenae*) customs and company. The Old English composer seems to have understood this as protection from sexual predation, as indicated through the following passages which depict Theophista's abduction:

Domini uero gratia obumbrauit mulierem ut non se ei commisceret alienigena in omni illo tempore. Hoc enim postulabat a deo ut custodiretur ab alienigenae communione. Contigit uero illum aliengenam mori et ipsam suae esse potestatis.
(lines 192–95).

'Moreover, the grace of the Lord shielded the woman so that the man of foreign origin did not consort with her in all of that time. Nonetheless, she demanded from God that she be guarded from communion with a foreigner. However, it happened that the foreign man died and that his possessions were hers.'

Godes gife hi gescylde þæt he hi ne gewemde þa hwile þe heo mid him wæs. Ealswa heo to gode wilnode and siððan he dead wæs, heo wæs his yrfe-numa.
(lines 187–89).

'The grace of God shielded her so that he did not defile her, while she was with him. Also, she strove after God and after [the ship-lord] was dead, she was his heir.'

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Prouidentia enim dei uocante, uenit ubi erat uxor sua. Et ut predictum est custodita fuerat ab alienigenae pollutione. (lines 277–78).	Þa ðurh godes fore-stihtunge he becom to ðam lande þær his wif wæs. Hæfde hio hire gebogod on anan wyrtigan hamme, and wæs hio, swa we bufan sædon, ungederod þurh godes gescyldnysse fram þæs hæðenan gemanan. (lines 265–68).
'So with the providence of God calling, [Eustace] came to where his wife was. And as we said earlier, she had been protected from corruption of foreign origin.'	'Then through providence of God he came to that land where his wife was. She had taken up her dwelling in a home with a garden, and she was, as we said before, untouched through God's protection from heathen association.'

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Et cum nauigaremus perdidit me propter quod dominus nauis barbarus esset qui me tenuit in ista patria. Et testis est michi Christus quia nec ille nec alter me polluit sed usque hodie seruauit dominus castitatem meam. (lines 318–21).	Þa ða we reowan, þa genam se scip-hlaford me neadinga æt him, forþam he wæs hæðen, and he me gehæfte on his eðle and crist me is gewita þæt he ne nan man me gewemde oþ þisne dæg ac crist se lifigenda geheold mine clænnysse. (lines 304–07).
'And when we were sailing he (i. e. Eustace) lost me on account of the ship-lord being savage (*barbarus*), he who held me in this land. And Christ is my witness that neither he nor another defiled me but to this day the lord has preserved my chastity.'	'When we were rowing, the ship-lord took me (i. e. Theophista) forcibly to him, because he was heathen, and he confined me in his homeland and Christ is my witness that he nor any man defiled me to this day, but Christ the living preserved my chastity.'

During the Old English version of her abduction, Theophista includes a reason or justification for why she was taken, a 'heathens will be heathens' argument. It says that the ship-lord seized or forcibly took (*genam*) Theophista 'because he was heathen' (*forþam he wæs hæðen*). The Latin blames Eustace for losing Theophista, who says that Eustace 'lost me' (*perdidit me*) while saying the ship-lord was *barbarus*. The emphasis in the Latin version is on the captain's conduct being foreign or 'barbaric', but does not mention religion, while the Old English

explains that his misconduct is *because* he was pagan. The Old English both grammatically and narratively puts the agency behind the abduction completely in the hands of the ship-lord, who is in the nominative (*se scip-hlaford … genam*) during Theophista's account. Meanwhile, the *Vita* puts the agency in Eustace's hands, he being the implied subject of *perdidit me* while the ship-lord appears in subordinate clauses. The agency of the ship-lord is further emphasised in the *Life* through differing depictions of his ship. In reworking the ship-lord's vessel to be one that was rowed rather than one that was sailed, the *Life* seems to place the boat in the context of viking longboats, away from its initial depiction as a Mediterranean vessel. In eleventh-century England such boats were rowed inland bearing men who evidently abducted women for slaves,[135] just as the shipmaster seizes Theophista.

Pelteret demonstrates that although Anglo-Saxons were also involved in human trafficking — albeit to a lesser degree than Norse raiders — Wulfstan is a strong opponent to the subjugation of Christian slaves to heathen masters.[136] So too does the law-code *Æthelred V* from 1008 — a code which Wulfstan was involved in writing — specifically condemn the practice, ordering 'that one should not sell Christian men and those who are innocent of crime out of the land, least of all to heathen people' (*þæt man Cristene men and unforworhte of earde ne sylle, ne huru on hæðene þeode*).[137] Theophista's abduction is the literary fulfillment of the law-code's fear, as the *Life* makes clear that she is not merely going to a different land or foreign people (*of earde* / *alienigenae*), but to a heathen land inhabited by pagan people with whom she will have to associate. The reality of Anglo-Saxon abduction and slavery is highlighted in the *Life* through Theophista's account that she could neither leave to seek Christian company nor escape the heathen land, saying 'he [the ship-lord] confined me in his land' (*he me gehæfte on his eðle*). This phrasing intensifies and disambiguates the *Vita* which says ship-lord 'held' (*tenuit*) Theophista in his land.

Abductions similar to Theophista's are described by contemporaries of the *Life of Eustace*. For example, in Ælfric's *Passio Chrisanti et Dariae*, when Daria is thrown into a brothel (*myltestrena hus*), God shields her from the wicked

[135] For reference to the abduction of slaves in Edgar's reign, see Jayakumar 'Foreign Policies', 27.
[136] *Wulf.Hom.* 263: 87; Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding', 99–114.
[137] *Laws* 78. This idea is mirrored in Cnut's 'Winchester Code' (*c.* 1021), *Laws* 176.

heathens (*god hi gescylde wið þa sceandlican hæðenan*).[138] This scene is similar to Theophista's trials, as Daria is forcibly taken away from her husband and brought into a sexually rapacious pagan community. In her captivity, Theophista is also protected from the threat of defilement. The Old English uses the word *gewemman* for the encounters Theophista manages to avoid, which is a negative term meaning 'to defile, pollute, or corrupt', and translates the more neutral Latin terms *commiscere* and *communio*. Several Anglo-Latin sources witness the fact that *commiscere* and *communio* had a sexual connotation,[139] but these words generally seem to mean 'communing' or 'intermingling'.[140] These two definitions for *commiscere* and *communio* suggest that neither of the sexual meanings were the primary connotations for the terms nor that they always carried a negative connotation. Thus, while the *Vita* is indirect in suggesting that Theophista is not raped or marred by foreign company, the Old English is unambiguous. The Old English hagiographer twice notes that Theophista was not defiled by the ship-lord nor any other man, and that she maintained her chastity under the protection of Christ.

The threat of defilement is common in medieval hagiographies of saintly women.[141] Audiences of the *Life of Eustace* would likely have been familiar with instances of sexually predatory pagans through Genesis 12:12–15,[142] which speaks of the Egyptians raping beautiful women like Sarai, as well as in the intent of Holofernes in *Judith* (lines 34b–73a), or Eleusius in *Juliana* (lines 26b–116), who are presented as pagan nobles wishing to fornicate with the heroines. Virgin saints, such as Lucia,[143] Agatha,[144] Agnes,[145] or Eugenia,[146] in Ælfric's *Lives of*

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[138] *LS* III: 252.
[139] See, for example, the 'Domesday Survey of Cheshire' which states 'the widow was being compensated with twenty whole coins, if anyone unlawfully mated with her' (*uidua, si alicui se non legitime commiscebat, xx solidos emendabat*) in William Stubbs, ed. *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), p. 104.
[140] See, for instance, *Ald.uirg(carmen)* 437:2041, *murmura vasta sonant flammis commista coruscis*.
[141] Harney, 'Gendered Tortures', pp. 28–31 and 131–42; Karma Lochrie, 'Gender, Sexual Violence, and the Politics of War in Old English *Judith*', in *Class and Gender Early English Literature*, ed. Britton Harwood and Gillian Overing (Bloomington: Indianapolis, 1994), pp. 5–12; Hugh Magennis, 'No Sex Please, We're Anglo-Saxon: Attitudes of Sexuality in Old English Prose and Poetry', *Leeds Studies in English* 26 (1995), 3.
[142] Magennis, 'No Sex Please', 14.
[143] *LS* I: 270–74.
[144] *LS* I: 250–56.
[145] *LS* I: 218–30.

Saints must each ward off aggressive suitors to maintain their chastity. In many of these stories the spurned pagan lover then works to destroy the saint and initiates the female saint's martyrdom.[147] Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi* depicts the threats these Christian heroines faced in his graphic depictions of widows being abused.[148] He says that 'widows are forced into improper (marriage) to a lowly man, and many reduced to poverty and greatly humiliated' (*wydewan syndan fornydde on unriht to ceorle and to mænege foryrmde and gehynede swyþe*),[149] and that 'often ten or twelve [vikings], each after the other, humiliate with violation the woman of a thane, and sometimes his daughter or kinswoman' (*oft tyne oððe twelfe, ælc æfter oþrum, scendað to bysmore þæs þegenes cwenan and hwilum his dohtor oððe nydmagan*).[150] Horrific scenes such as these were likely ones that eleventh-century Anglo-Saxons had in mind when considering Theophista's abduction.

Anglo-Saxon concern about sexual deviance can also be seen in law-codes and ecclesiastical writings, which attempted to curb wanton behaviour in Anglo-Saxon society.[151] Besides the *Sermo Lupi* and the law-codes already mentioned, the ninth-century Frankish *Paenitentiale pseudo-Theodori*, a text which was known in eleventh-century England, is particularly concerned with sexual offences.[152] Theophista thus provides an example of a Christian woman who safeguards her chastity through her faith and refrains from improper sexual relations. In doing so, she is also the example of the ideal widow which the law-codes *Æthelred V* and *VI* state should be protected by God and the king from predations (*Si ælc wuduwe þe hi silfe mid rihte healde on Godes griðe and on ðæs cynges*).[153] This moral orthodoxy works to emphasise the difference between the sexually rapacious heathens and the chastely monogamous saints of the story.

The gravity of the threat of heathen corruption is further evident in the emphatic insistence in the *Life of Eustace* that Theophista is protected from

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[146] *LS* I: 54–60.
[147] Harney, 'Gendered Tortures', pp. 25–26, 42, 86–87 and 94–95.
[148] Stephanie Hollis, 'The Protection of God and the King': Wulfstan's Legislation on Widows', in Townend (2004), pp. 448–49.
[149] *Wulf.Hom.* 268: 42–43.
[150] *Wulf.Hom.* 264: 111–13.
[151] See, for example, *Æthelred IV*, *Æthelred V*, and *Cnut II* in *Laws* 82, 92 and 202. Magennis discusses these law-codes in 'No Sex Please', 1–2 and 10–16.
[152] Rhijn and Saan, 'Correcting Sinners', 26.
[153] *Laws* 84.

heathen company. While the *Vita* says that Theophista is preserved from 'the corruption of a foreigner' (*alienigenae pollutio*), the *Life* adds a religious dimension to the foreigners as it calls their society 'heathen companionship' (*hæðenan gemanan*). In the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia*, the same collocation of *hæðenan* and *gemanan*, is used in the context of the Christian princess Æthelburh of Kent's betrothal to the pagan King Edwin of Northumbria in 625.[154] The Christian Æthelburh requests that Bishop Paulinus accompany her to the unconverted lands so that she would not be besmirched by heathen companionship.

Ne paganorum possent societate pollui, quotidiana exhortatione et sacramentorum coelestium celebratione confirmaret.	Mid þa mærsunge heofonlicra geryna ge mid his dæghwamlicre lare trymede, þæt heo in þam gemanan þara hæðenra besmiten ne wære.
'[Paulinus] confirmed with daily prayers and the celebration of heavenly sacraments, that [Æthelburh and her retinue] were not able to be corrupted by the society of pagans.'	'[Paulinus] confirmed with those celebrations of heavenly mysteries and with his daily teaching, that she would not be sullied in the association of those heathens.'

The Northumbrian community of Edwin is considered a threat to Æthelburh's piety or virtue. Æthelburh's marriage to Edwin would mean that she would be sexually intimate with a heathen, and Paulinus's mission is aimed at mitigating the corruption arising from such. The Old English adaptation highlights this fact through removing references to Æthelburh's companions, suggesting that it is her individual association with a heathen spouse that might taint her as a Christian. The cautionary statements in the *Life of Eustace* and versions of the *Historia ecclesiastica* create a contrast between Christian and pagan communities. The stereotype of the kind of men who ruled such heathen societies are exemplified in the *Life of Eustace* through the rapacious ship-lord and the cruel Emperor Hadrian.

When Eustace returns from his campaigns, the *Vita* introduces 'a pagan emperor by the name of Hadrian and himself worse in impieties' (*imperatorem nomine Adrianum gentilem et ipsum peiorem in impietatibus*, lines 347–48). The

[154] *HE* II: 9; Miller, ed., *English Version of Bede*, p. 120.

Life intensifies this descriptor in saying 'the king was called Hadrian who was heathen and worse in bloodthirstiness' (*cyning Adrianus hatte se wæs hæþen and wyrsa on wel-hreownysse*, lines 335–36), thereby associating Hadrian's paganism with cruelty. The alliteration on 'h' in ***h**atte … **h**æþen … wel-**h**reownysse* as well as on 'w' in ***w**yrsa … **w**el-hreownysse* highlights the connection between Hadrian's heathenism and his bloodthirstiness. In the Latin text he is 'impious', while in the Old English he is both pagan and cruel.

In glosses, the descriptor for Hadrian, *wæl-hreow*, often renders *crudelis* or *atrox,* either in reference to torments or tortures.[155] In hagiography, those who drive the saints' martyrdoms or are the slaughterers of innocent people are frequently called *wæl-hreow*.[156] For instance, Ælfric describes 'the bloodthirtiness of Herod' (*se wæl-hreowa Herodes*) as he orders the beheading of John the Baptist and the killing of the innocent in the homilies *Decollatio S. Iohannis Baptistae*[157] and *Natale innocentium infantum*.[158] In Ælfric's *Life of St Denis*, a text preceding the *Life of Eustace* in Julius E. vii, the 'chief officer' (*heah-gerefa*) Sisinnius, who orders Denis and his companions to be martyred, is called *se wæl-hreowa dema*.[159] Similarly, the official Agricola, who persecutes many Christians in the *Passio sanctorum quadraginta militum*, is called a 'bloodthristy judge' (*wæl-hreowa dema*).[160] Ælfric's *Martinmas*-homily calls the Emperor Julian 'that bloodthirsty enemy' (*þam wæl-hreowan wiðsacan*),[161] while the anonymous *Martinmas*-homily, refers to the devil with the related compound *wæl-grim* (line 275). The term *wæl-hreow* is also used for Saturn in Wulfstan's *De falsis diis*, which says 'he was called Saturn, and he was so bloodthirsty that he destroyed all but one of his own children' (*se wæs Saturnus geten, and se wæs swa wæl-hreow þæt he fordyde his agene bearn ealle butan anum*).[162] These few examples demonstrate that the addition of *wælhreow* for Hadrian in the *Life of Eustace*

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[155] The *DOE Corpus*, s.v. *wæl-hreow*, notes at least eight glossary attestations of *wæl-hreow* translating *crudelis* or *atrox*.
[156] Cammarota, 'Agony of Conscience', 96–97; Szarmach, 'Sermons and Saints', I:53. The *DOE Corpus*, s.v. *wæl-hreow*, contains over two hundred attestations of the term, most often in Ælfrician works and homiletic prose.
[157] *Ælf.CHom. I* 451: 6.
[158] *Ælf.CHom. I* 217: 4.
[159] *LS* III: 72–74.
[160] *LS* I: 302.
[161] Mertens, ed. *Lives*, p. 216, line 28.
[162] *Wulf.Hom.* 222: 40–42.

frames the villain as a murderous pagan akin to the antagonists of *milites Christi* in the hagiographical tradition.

Describing Hadrian as bloodthirsty instead of simply impious likewise provides a glimpse into how eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon writers portray pagans as cruel people. The description of the Christians and pagans coming to the death of the Eustace's family displays this association:

Conuenit uero uniuersa plebs fidelium et paganorum spectare sanctos quomodo introducebantur in aereum bouem. (lines 368–69).	Þa com þider unrim folces cristenra and hæðenra to þisse wæfer-syne þæt hi woldon geseon hu þa halgan þrowodon. (lines 358–60).
'Truly, the all the people of the faithful and of pagans gathered to watch how the saints would be brought into the brazen bull.'	'Then there came there a countless number of Christian and heathen people to this spectacle since they wished to see how the saints suffered.'

The Latin legend says that the crowd gathered to see how the saints would be put into the brazen bull, without mentioning the expected suffering of the martyrs. The *Life* claries that the spectators are coming to see how the saints suffered. For Christians, witnessing martyrdom would have been a means for confirming their faith, while pagans would seemingly have been present simply to observe the bloodshed for entertainment. Although this is a small change, taken together with the *Life*'s depiction of Hadrian, the detail of the nameless 'heathen people' watching the suffering reinforces the negative depiction of pagans in the legend as bloodthirsty and cruel. Early eleventh-century audiences appear to have associated such cruelty with vikings, who torture saints and oppress the English as 'slaughter-wolves' (*wæl-wulfas*) in Old English literature.[163]

Eustace's secular actions, despite his conversion and quasi-monastic life, illustrate that for some tenth- and eleventh-century audiences, 'it [was] not warfare they reject[ed], but paganism, sacrilege, apostasy and fear of death.'[164] Christ sanctions Eustace's return to secular soldiering — even though it is under

[163] *LS* III: 188–94; *ASC* D 1012 (Cubbin, 57); line 96 of *The Battle of Maldon*.
[164] Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', p. 228.

pagan emperors — and foreordains that Eustace's victorious conquests will lead to his family's reunion (*Vita* lines 108–09, 216–219, 277 and 384–88; *Life* lines 109–10, 208–10, 265 and 378–82). When the family is reunited, they 'were much happier that they had over-thrown the heathens' (*bliðran þe hi oferwinnen hæfdon þa hæþenan,* lines 330–31), indicating that they could devote themselves to God while killing heathens. The acceptance of Christian violence illustrated in the *Eustace*-legend would culminate in the Crusades by the close of the eleventh century and in twelfth-century ideals of Christian knighthood.[165] The celebration of Christ through the defeat of heathens in the *Life of Eustace* even reflects the justifications of the crusading warrior culture of twelfth-century theologians like Bernard of Clairvaux, who states in the *De laude nouae militia* that 'the Christian glories in the death of the pagan, since [in it] Christ is glorified' (*In morte pagani christianus gloriatur, quia Christus glorificatur*).[166] Yet this tolerant perspective on Christian militancy reflected in the *Life of Eustace* appears alongside the Ælfrician injunction against clerical violence and at the same time as the *Lives* of nonviolent *milites Christi* like Martin and Guthlac were being disseminated in the Vercelli, Blickling, Junius, and Vespasian collections.[167] The contemporaneous dissemination of these conflicting interpretations of soldiering for Christ, along with the promotion of cults violent saints, like Oswald and Andrew,[168] indicate that there was no uniform 'Anglo-Saxon' perception of warrior culture's compatibility with Christian devotion, but rather a mosaic of approaches to soldiering for Christ.

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[165] Brundage, 'Clerics, and Violence', I:150–56; Damon, 'Sanctifying', pp. 189–91 and 207; Duggan, *Armsbearing*, p. 62; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (London: Folio Society, 2010), pp. 56–60; Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 38–51; Vauchez, 'Lay People', pp. 25–26; Vauchez, *Spirituality*, pp. 139–40.

[166] Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais, ed., '*Liber ad milites temple de laude novae militiae*', in *S. Bernardi Opera* (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963), III:217. For discussions of the impact of Bernard and the *De laude novae militiae* on the development of religious military orders, see Desmond Seward, *The Monks of War: The Military Orders* (London: Folio Society, 2000), pp. 14–16; Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 250–57; Stephan Howarth, *The Knights Templar* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1982), pp. 73–75.

[167] For discussion of historical context of the Vercelli Book and Blickling Homiliary, see pp. 4–6, 43–46 and 90–91 above.

[168] See pp. 34–37 above for an introduction to Oswald, and pp. 180–83 for a discussion of Andrew's violence.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion: A Mosaic of Perspectives

The multifarious depictions of Christian warrior culture that we have seen throughout the last four chapters highlight the fact that there was no uniform conception of soldiering for Christ in Anglo-Saxon England. Rather, each adaptation of a saint's *Life* is an attempt by individual composers or audiences to establish the moral boundaries of secular and spiritual worlds.[1] In Chapter Two we saw that Anglo-Saxons inherited the concept of the *miles Christi*, and the ideological framework that justified Christian warfare, from the Bible and patristic works. Our subsequent investigation of Martin of Tours, Guthlac of Crowland, the apostle Andrew, and Placidas–Eustace illustrated how various hagiographers adapted these inherited traditions, creating contrasting perspectives of Christian militancy.

We began with the ninth-century *Martinmas*-homily, which rejects Christian involvement in warrior culture, omitting elements from Sulpicius's *Vita Martini* that connect Martin to any aggressive action, while highlighting Martin's mild-hearted character and missionary activities. We then saw how Felix, the *Guthlac A*-poet, and the ninth-century composer of the *Life of Guthlac* all embrace the metaphysical warrior culture of heaven, emphasising Guthlac's participation in spiritual warfare and his separation from a communal 'active life'. Chapter Five illustrated how the ninth-century *Andreas*-poet and tenth-century prose adapter of the *Life of Andrew* approach the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* in contrasting manners. Where *Andreas* depicts the apostle as a heroic thegn in the *comitatus* of Christ, the prose *Life of Andrew* portrays Andrew as a servant of God who overthrows demonic corruption with the sign of the cross. Both accounts, however, advocate violence as a means of facilitating conversion, and place the *miles Christi* at the heart of a hierarchical Christian community. In the final chapter, we saw how the early eleventh-century *Life of Eustace* militarises the *miles Christi* as a participant in holy war against heathens who

[1] For discussions of the differences between Ælfric and anonymous works see Hewish, 'Living on the Edge', p. 20; Norris, 'Introduction', p. 3; Powell, 'Viking Invasions', 161; Whatley, 'Pearls Before Swine', p. 182; Whatley, 'Lost in Translation', 202.

resemble vikings. At the same time, the legend also frames Eustace as a monk turned defender of the Christian community, positively presenting a saint who straddles monastic and secular orders.

Although the preceding chapters have been ordered to discuss saints by increasing militancy, as noted in Chapter One, this does not reflect the order in which they were produced. We have seen that accounts that remove *milites Christi* from aggressive action, namely the *Martinmas*-homily and Guthlac-narratives, were composed or copied at the same time as legends of violent *milites Christi*, such as Andrew's forced conversion of Mermedonia and the *Life of Eustace*. Given these diverse and contemporary approaches to soldiering for Christ, it is evident that there was no universally shared perspective during the period, just as attitudes toward warfare 'were not at all standardised, but there was instead ample room for debate and dissent concerning key issues relating to war.'[2] The fact that *Lives* of *milites Christi* espousing different interpretations of soldiering for Christ appear together in collections like the Vercelli Book — which contains the *Martinmas*-homily, an excerpt of the *Life of Guthlac*, and *Andreas* — further supports the conclusion that individual compilers and composers did not maintain uniform ideologies of soldiering for Christ within their own works.[3]

In comparing the anonymous Old English narratives of Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace with their sources as case studies, I hope to have demonstrated that Christianity's relationship with warrior culture captivated the attention of early medieval Christians. These are but a small selection of the Anglo-Saxon hagiographical narratives that discuss *milites Christi*. Were we to widen our investigation to consider further Anglo-Saxon depictions of warlike female saints (such as Juliana, Elene, and Judith),[4] royal saints (such as Oswald of

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[2] Pezzarossa, 'Ideology of War', p. 215.

[3] Consider Julius E. vii, which contains Ælfrician accounts of Oswald, Maccabees, Martin, Edmund, and the treatise *De tribus ordines saeculi* alongside the *Life of Eustace*. See also Mary Swan, 'Cambridge Corpus Christi College 198 and the Blickling Manuscript', *Leeds Studies in English* 37 (2006), 89–91; Donald Scragg, 'The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints Lives Before Ælfric', *ASE* 8 (1979), 224. Stancliffe, 'Most Holy', p. 62, notes that Bede did not present a single model for ideal kingship.

[4] Portraits of warrior culture in the *Lives* of female saints are discussed in Damon, *Soldier Saints,* pp. 94–123; Harney, 'Gendered Tortures', pp. 151–206; John Hermann, 'The Theme of Spiritual Warfare in the Old English *Judith*', *Philological Quarterly* 55:1 (1976), 1–8; Lochrie, 'Sexual Violence', pp. 2–14; Hugh Magennis, 'Gender and Heroism in the Old English *Judith*, in *Writing*

Northumbria and Edmund of East Anglia),[5] or the wealth of Anglo-Latin *Lives* of *milites Christi* (such as those of Cuthbert, Boniface, and Oswald of Worcester, or Aldhelm's prose and verse *De uirginitate*)[6] it would reinforce the fact that Anglo-Saxon perceptions of soldiering for Christ formed a mosaic of philosophies existing simultaneously throughout the period.

It is further evident that Christianity's relationship with warrior culture was individually redefined in the immediate context of each legend's composition, transmission, and audience.[7] The kaleidoscopic nature of soldiering for Christ runs counter to the theories of scholars like Damon, Erdmann, Prinz, Frederick Russell, James Russell, and White, who suggest that there was a gradual and cohesively widening acceptance of militant Christianity as a result of the aristocratic *Germanisierung* of the saintly ideal and influence of royal martyr-saints.[8] The varied perspectives on the ideal path of devotion promoted in the Anglo-Saxon narratives of Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace also argue against France's belief that saints' *Lives* are reflective of the Church as a whole, or of canonically approved virtues that ought to be cultivated universally.[9]

Previous studies of Anglo-Saxon warrior-saints were hampered by the inaccessibility of editions of anonymous Old English prose hagiography and the Latin sources available in Anglo-Saxon England. More recent editions, such as Mertens' *The Old English Lives of St Martin of Tours*, and the collection of anonymous saints' *Lives* edited by Kramer, Magennis, and Norris, are making these anonymous *Lives* more widely available and will facilitate future studies of the diverse voices of Anglo-Saxon hagiographical composition. As this study has demonstrated, however, editions of the Old English *Lives* should be paired with editions of the Latin sources known to Anglo-Saxons audiences, such as the

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Gender and Genre in Medieval Literature, ed. Elaine Treharne (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), pp. 5–18; Magennis, 'Conversion', pp. 296–98.

[5] Analyses of Edmund's *Lives* are found in Earl, 'Violence and Non-Violence', 125–49, and Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 89–94. See pp. 34–37 above for introduction to Bede's *Life* of Oswald.

[6] *Ald.uirg(prosa)* 226–323; Colgrave, ed., *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*; Lapidge, ed., *Lives of St Oswald*, pp. 2–202; Talbot, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, pp. 25–62. See also Abels, 'Cowardice', 36–37.

[7] Delehaye, *Legends*, pp. 12–16, argues similarly, that each hagiographer presents an account conforming to their own biases and preconceptions.

[8] Damon, *Soldier Saints*, pp. 21–27; Damon, 'Sanctifying', pp. 186–207; Erdmann, *Origins*, pp. 19–26; Prinz, 'King, Clergy and War', II:310; Russell, *Just War*, p. 35; Russell, *Germanization*, pp. 166–214.

[9] France, 'Holy War', I:199–203.

Cotton–Corpus Legendary. Such editions will engender more nuanced interpretations of individual approaches to warrior culture and identify those areas which the Anglo-Saxon hagiographers alter, omit, or highlight.

As our analyses of the Old English prose narratives of Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace have shown, the anonymous hagiographers were not 'derivative, low in quality, or otherwise questionable.'[10] Each hagiographer approaching a warrior-saint's narrative imbued the source with his or her own ideology. This becomes evident through an analysis of the techniques used to rework their source to highlight or downplay Christian militancy. We have seen that these techniques range from choosing words that carried different connotations from the Latin terms that they translated, to producing internal repetition of phrases to highlight themes and signify narrative shifts, and introducing intertextual references that place the saint within the wider context of hagiographic and secular literary traditions. We have also found that each Old English adaption omits details from its source, either deliberately or by scribal accident. These omissions work to refocus the specific narrative and emphasise particular aspects of the saint. Every hagiographer's and copyist's unique blend of these techniques gives each recension of a narrative a distinctive character that proves that Anglo-Saxon adapters were not 'slavishly' translating their sources, but actively manipulating them to focus on the aspects the hagiographer or copyist considered most important.[11]

In the legends we have considered, this focus often rests on the worldliness of Christian warrior culture and the level of aggression that is permissible for a saint.[12] Condemnation of secular vices — such as killing, luxury, and drunkenness — permeate the *Lives*, seen in the distancing of Eustace from feasting or the futility of the hyperbolically martial Mermedonians of *Andreas*. Similarly, the Guthlac-narratives critique Guthlac's life as a warlord, and the *Martinmas*-homily emphasises Martin's separation from *weoruld-folgaþ* to condemn dedication to secular matters. The hagiographical traditions around

[10] Norris, 'Reversal of Fortune', p. 98.
[11] Thompson, '*Halgum Bocum*', 384– 407, argues that medieval writers saw their textual sources as 'unimpeachable authorities' not to be altered, and that 'homilists wished only to bring out the truths embodied in their texts, not to innovate.'
[12] Lochrie, 'Sexual Violence', pp. 1–20, and Morris, 'OE *Cempa*', 81–84, argue that *Lives* of *miles Christi* condemn worldliness but not warrior culture in general.

Martin, Guthlac, Andrew, and Eustace further illustrate disapproval of earthly concerns through *weoruld-* compounds and in vilifying and undermining characters who fixate on worldly matters. This devaluation of worldliness is not, as Furuta, Schneider, and Szarmach argue,[13] a rejection of heroism and warrior culture in general, as much as a distinction between what aspects of secular soldiery were appropriate when pursuing devotion to Christ.

Even as Anglo-Saxon hagiographers separated their protagonists from worldliness, the martial imagery of the *miles Christi* and secular tradition helped characterise and shape their saintly subjects. The extent depended on the individual hagiographer's tastes, as well as the prospective context for presentation. Prose hagiographical stories that were accessible for wider audiences and could be recited in a liturgical setting — such as the anonymously produced prose *Lives* and homilies — tend to be less ornate in their portrayals of the *comitatus* relationship between Christ and his saints. We have seen this in oblique references to the demonic arrows of temptation in the *Life of Andrew*, and the passing mentions of spiritual warfare in the *Martinmas*-homily and *Life of Eustace*. Meanwhile, the verse *Lives* of warrior-saints, like *Guthlac A* and *Andreas*, make greater use of martial language, which may reflect an audience of aristocratic clerics who were familiar with the Old English poetic tradition and could appreciate the poet's intertextual and typological references.[14]

Yet, despite the prominence of martial language and imagery in poetry and learned prose like Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*, the works studied above reflect significant variation in the martial terminology they use and the phrases from secular literature that they appear to borrow. The varying treatments of *milites Christi* in those poetic and ornate prose texts intended for educated audiences likewise suggest that the learned aristocracy did not share a common perception of how Christian devotion could be framed as warfare.[15] Indeed, when we consider the portrait of Eustace as a holy secular soldier — which was produced

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[13] Furuta, 'Devaluation', pp. 125–56; Scheinder, 'Cynewulf's Devaluation', 107–18; Paul E. Szarmach, '*Ælfric Revises: The Lives of Martin and the Idea of the Author', in *Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Mark Amodio and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 49.

[14] Leneghan, 'Intertextuality', 128–29; Orchard, 'Originality', pp. 331–33; Orchard, '*Lege Feliciter*', pp. 25–26; Thacker, 'Felix Shapes', p. 24.

[15] Pezzarossa, 'Ideology of War', pp. 214–16, concludes that learned aristocratic writers working within similar literary and intellectual contexts had divergent ideologies regarding war.

for the mixed audiences of Julius E. vii[16] — or King Oswald's early devotion among the non-aristocratic laity,[17] it appears that the socio-economic standing of the audience does not correlate with attitudes towards Christian warrior culture. Members from all levels and orders of society engaged with both positive and negative, literal and metaphorical models, of soldiering for Christ.

The range of approaches to the *Lives* of warrior-saints produced in similar circumstances and for similar audiences suggest that a work's acceptance of militant Christianity was individually defined by the composers, audiences, and copyists of saints' legends. Each of these hagiographers and audiences moulded their conception of soldiering for Christ in response to their specific historical context and source material. For example, interest in translations of missionary saints' *Lives* in the late ninth century — attested in the *Martinmas*-homily and *Andrew*-narratives — arose from the desire to convert the Scandinavian pagans of the Danelaw, either peaceably or by force.[18] In the similar context of the Viking invasions, narratives that incorporated ideals of holy war — such as the narratives of Oswald, Judas Maccabeus, Judith, and Eustace —served as models for responding to heathen invaders.[19] In a comparable fashion, the desire of private readers to meditate upon their contemplative lives could have prompted the study of saints who practiced asceticism, like Guthlac and Eustace.[20] It is through analysing those particular influences which impact each narrative's composition, adaptation, and transmission that we can distinguish between views of warrior culture. When we do so, it becomes evident that there were many ways that an Anglo-Saxon audience could obey the command to 'Go now … in the name of God, just as a soldier of Christ, with bold faith' (*far nu on Godes naman … swa swa Cristes cempa, mid cenum geleafan*).[21]

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[16] See pp. 194 and 233–34 for the discussion of the audience for Julius E. vii.
[17] Cubitt, 'Sites and Sanctity', 55 and 60–63.
[18] Abels, 'Peace-Making', 23–34. Damon, 'Advisors for Peace', pp. 57–78, argues that some Anglo-Saxon aristocrats advocated a peaceful response to the eleventh-century invasions.
[19] Damon, pp. *Soldier Saints,* 193–246; Pezzarossa, 'Ideologies of War', pp. 152–59 and 166–80; Whatley, 'Hagiography and Violence', pp. 217–30.
[20] Conner, 'Source Study', 386–88; Leneghan, 'Teaching the Teachers', 627–58.
[21] From the *Life of Saint Denis*, *LS* III: 66.

Appendix

An Edition of the *Vita S. Eustachii* in the Cotton–Corpus Legendary

The following text is based on a transcription of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 354 [B], folios 22v–29r, which has been emended in those places where the version of the *Vita* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 9 [C], folios 117v–22r provides a reading that is closer to the Old English text or a more standarised spelling of the Latin. The two versions of the *Vita* found in B and C are very similar although the few notable differences are identified within the text. Most of these differences arise from copying errors or spelling preferences. For instance, the scribe of C tends to prefer *-mm-* to *-dm-* which is found in B, while B tends to prefer *-cia* to the *-tia* found in C. More significantly, certain details preserved in B and attested in the Old English adaptation differ from the account in C. This can be seen, for example, with the sentence concerning Eustace's misplaced loyalty to the mortal emperor (lines 104–05) which is missing from C but preserved in B and the Old English text. At other points, C contains details which are attested in neither B or the Old English *Life*, such as the note that the shepherds rescued Eustace's son Agapitus from the lion 'with everyone' (*cum omnibus*, 25).[1] These differences suggest that the anonymous Old English composer of the *Life* worked from a copy of the *Vita* closer to the B version of the Cotton–Corpus Legendary than C.

The rubrics for the *Vita S. Eustachii* in both versions say that Eustace's feast day is on the 20th of September, following the original Byzantine tradition, while the *Vita*'s placement in the Legendaries and the dating provided within the narrative place the feast day on the 2nd of November.

An Edition of the Old English *Life of Eustace* in Julius E. vii

The following text is based on a new transcription of the Old English *Life* in London, British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii, folios 169v–79v, which appears to have been corrected by a second scribe shortly after its production in the eleventh century.[2]

Note on transcription

I have expanded abbreviations, removed diacritics, and introduced modern punctuation and capitalisation in both editions. I have silently standardised the miniscule forms of *u* and *v* to *u*, majuscule *U* to *V* if it preceeds a vowel, and *e*-caudata (*ę*) to *ae* in the Latin text and *æ* in the Old English. The points at which the text carries onto a new folio and column have been marked.

[1] The *BHL* 2760 col. 127F and the Mombritian *Sanctuarium*, I:469, line 26, versions of the narrative provide *cum canibus*.

[2] Scragg provides an introduction to the manuscript in 'Corpus of Anonymous *Lives*, pp. 217–18.

INCIPIT VITA ET PASSIO SANCTI EUSTACHII MARTYRIS ET FILIORUM EIUS DIE XX MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS HOC EST XII KAL. OCTOBRIS

In diebus Traiani imperatoris, demonum preualente fallacia erat quidam magister militum nomine Placidas, genere secundum carnem insignis, op[er]ibus[1] pollens et cunctos in honore praecellens sed et demone captus. Operibus [B.23ra] uero et iustitia cunctis uirtutibus erat preditus et meritis. Sub[C.117vb]ueniebat oppressis patrocinabatur grauatis in iudicio plures etiam a iudicibus iniuste dampnatos op[er]ibus releuabat, nudos uestiebat et ut uere dicam cunctis indigentibus in uita dispensans, sicut in Actibus Apostolorum legitur, etiam in his temporibus Cornelius uideretur. Habebat uero et coniugem eandem sub demonum cultura existentem sed similem moribus mariti sententiae. Procreantur ei filii duo, quos educabant pares propria uoluntate. Erat uero nobilis in iustitia[2] et potens in bello ut et ipsi barbari subiugarentur ab eo. Erat etiam uenatione industris per omnes dies. Sed misericors et benignus dominus, qui semper et ubique ad se sibi dignos uocat, bona non despexit eius opera nec uoluit benignam et deo dignam mentem sine mercede deseri idolatriae contectam tenebris. Sed Secundum quod scriptum est, 'Quod in omni gente, qui operatur iustitiam,[3] acceptus est ei, peruenit ad istum benigna mis[eri]cordia et eum tali saluari uoluit modo.'

Exeunte una die consueto more ad montes uenari[4] cum omni exercitu et gloria, apparuit ei grex ceruorum depascens, et disponens solito more exercitum, eos conatur insequi. Cunctis uero militibus circa captionem ceruorum occupatis, apparuit unus [B.23rb] ceruorum uastus[5] ultra mensuram totius gregis et speciosus qui resistens a grege impetum fecit in siluam in spissioribus locis quem uidens Placides et desiderans eum capere. Relinquens omnes, cum paucis militibus eum insequitur. Omnibus uero lassatis, qui cum illo fuerant, solus perseuerauit ad insequendum. Prouidentia uero domini nec equo lassante. [C.118ra] Nec ipso propter difficultatem loci desistente, sed diu insequens, longius remotus est a suo exercitu. Ceruus autem ille rupis occupat altitudinem stetit[que] desuper.

Propius uero magister militum ueniens sine comite stetit circumspiciens undique et considerans,[6] quemadmodum posset capere ceruum. Sed totius sapientiae et mis[eri]cordiae dominus qui cunctas uias ad salutem hominum prouidet, uenantem uenatus est. Non sicut Cornelium per Petrum sed sicut Paulum insequentem per suam ostensionem. Diu uero stante Placida et aspiciente ceruum et admirante eo uastitatem eius, et deficiente circa captionem demonstrat illi deus indicium tale non timere, neque supra suae uirtutis [esset] magnitudinem, sed sicut sub Balaam tribuens uerbum asinae arguit eius insipientiam. Sed et huic demonstrauit inter cornua cerui formam sacrae crucis supra claritatem solis splendentem et in medio cornuum imaginem domini nostri

[1] C and B have *opib:* without an abbreviation mark here and again on the next folio with *op*[*er*]*ibus* (line 6). However, the Old English reading *weorcum* (lines 4–6) as well as the form *opib;* at the bottom of B22vb suggests that we read *operibus* each case. Presumably the scribes forgot the abbreviation mark on the *p*.

[2] B *iusticia*.

[3] B *iusticiam.*

[4] C *venare*.

[5] B *pastus*.

[6] B *considerat*.

Iesu Christi saluatoris qui etiam humanam uocem inponens ceruo, aduocat Placidam dicens ei; [B.23va] 'O Placida quid me insequris? Ecce tui gratia ueni, in animali isto ut appaream tibi; Ego sum Christus, quem ignorans colis, elemosine, quas facis indigentibus; coram me steterunt et ueni me ostendere tibi per istum ceruum et pro illo te uenari, ut caperet te retibus mis[er]cordiae meae. Non enim iustum est, dilectum meum propter bona opera, seruire demoniis immundis et simulacris uita credentibus[7] et uacuis insensatis. Ob hoc ergo ueni in terra in hac specie sicut nunc me uides saluare genus humanum.'

Haec audiens magister militum, timore repletus est maximo [C.118rb] et cecidit de equo in terram. Hora uero transacta ad se rediit et surrexit et cautius uolens uidere quod apparuerat ei spectaculum, ait intra se; 'Que est ista uisio que apparuit michi? Reuela michi, quid loqueris ut sic credam in te.' Et dixit ad eum dominus; 'Intende Placida. Ego sum Iesus Christus qui caelum et terram ex nichilo feci qui indiscretam ma[t]erie distinxi, qui lucem oriri feci et tenebras diuisi. Ego sum, qui tempora et dies et annos constitui. Ego sum, qui hominem formaui de terra qui propter salutem generis humani in terris apparui in carne, qui crucifixus et sepultus et tertia[8] die surrexi.' Haec audiens magister militum cecidit iterum in terram dicens; 'Credo domine quia tu es, qui fecisti omnia, qui conuertis errantes et uiuificas mortuos.' Dicit ad [B.23vb] eum dominus; 'Si credis perge ad ciuitatem et audi pontificem Christianorum et quere ab ipso baptismum gratie.' Respondit Placidas; 'Domine, si iubes me ut renuntiem ista coniugi me et filiis meis ut et ipsi credant in te?' Dixit ad eum dominus; 'Renuntia illis et accipientes signum baptismi mundamini a pollutione idolorum et ueni huc et rursus tibi apparebo et demonstrabo tibi futura et patefaciam tibi salutis misteria.'

Descendens ergo de monte, nocte facta, coepit exponere coniugi sue omnia, que uidit. Postquam uero compleuit omnia, exponens uisionem et que ei dictasti exclamauit uxor eius dicens; 'Domine meus crucifixum dominum uidisti quem Christiani colunt. Ille enim est solus uerus deus qui per talia signa uocat ad se credentes.' Tunc dicit uiro suo; 'Transacta nocte et ego uidi eum dicentem mihi; "Crastina die tu et uir tuus et filii tui uenietis ad me," [C.118va] Et nunc cognoui q[uonia]m ipse est Iesus Christus. Voluit ergo sub tali figura mirandi spectaculi per ceruum apparere tibi ut eius mirari possis potentiam credens in eum. Veni ergo hac nocte et eamus et impetremus sanctum baptismum Christianorum. Per hoc enim eius proprii fiunt, qui in illum credunt.' Dicit ad illam Placidas, 'Hoc et mihi dixit ille, qui [B.24ra] uisus est mihi.'

Medium uero noctis inscientibus famulis suis abierunt ad sacerdotem Christianorum et renuntiauerunt ei omnia, que facta fuerant uel dicta ad eos et confestim credere se in dominum Iesum Christum, confessi sunt et supplicauerunt eum ut daret eis signaculum baptismatis. Qui alacri gaudio repletus et glorificans dominum deum, qui uult omnes saluos fieri et ad agnitionem ueritatis uenire, accipiens catecizauit eos et exponens eis misterium fidei baptizauit eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritis sancti. Et Placidam quidem uocauit Eustachium, uxorem uero eius Theophistam, et filios eorum primogenitum uocauit Agapitum et alterum Theophistum. Et contulit sanctum sacramentum domini nostri Ieshu Christi et dimisit eos dicens. Dominus Iesus

[7] B has an easure and a later hand adds [*cari*]*entib;* while there is space for *credentibus*, which C attests.
[8] B *tercia.*

Christus filius dei sit uobiscum et donet uobis aeterna regna. Cognoui namque, quod manus domini uobiscum sit. Vos autem confruemini paradiso mementote animae meae Iohannis postulo uos.

Mane uero facto accipiens Eustachius paucos equites secum perrexit ad montem et prope locum ueniens, ubi uisionem uiderat, misit milites suos, quasi sub obtentu inuestigandae uenationis, et solus remanens appropriauit ad locum [C.118vb] et uidit formam sibi ostensae uisionis prioris et cadens in faciem[9] cla[B.24rb]mauit dicens; 'Supplico te, domine, cognoui quia tu es Iesus Christus filius dei uiui et credo in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et nunc ueni supplicans intemeratam tuam diuinitatem ut manifestes quae promiseras mihi.' Et dicit ad eum Iesus; 'Beatus es qui accepisti lauachrum gratiae meae et quia induisti te inmortalitate. modo superasti diabolum modo conculcasti eum, qui te deceperat modo spoliasti te corruptibilem hominem et induisti incorruptibilem, permanentem in secula seculorum. Modo fidei tuae demonstrabuntur opera quoniam inuidia commouebitur coram te diaboli eo quod illum reliquisti et festinat omnem adinuentionem circa te mouere. Oportet enim te multa sustinere, ut accipias coronam uictoriae. Ecce enim exaltatus es usque modo negotiis huius seculi et temporalibus opibus. Oportet ergo, te humiliari de alta tua uanitate, et rursus exaltare te in spiritalibus diuitiis. Non ergo tua uirtus deficiat nec respicias ad gloriam quae tibi fuerat prius sed quem admodum repugans hominibus cupiebas uictor ostendi mortali [imperatori festinas placere, sic te contra diabolum strenuae agere festina mihi immortali][10] imperatori fidem seruare oportet enim et his temporibus alterum Iob inte demonstrari per temptationes et uictorem diaboli ostendi per tolerantiam. Vide ergo, ne forte in corde tuo cogitatio blasphemiae [B.24va] ascendat. Cum enim humiliatus fueris ueniam ad te et rursus restituam te in propriam gloriam.'

Et postquam haec dixit ascendit in caelos dicens Eustachio; 'Modo uis [C.119ra] accipere inmentem[11] tibi temptationem an in extremis diebus.' Dicit Eustachius; 'Supplico te domine Ieshu si non est possibile euadere quae a te nobis sunt decreta, modo nobis accipere temptationem iube. Sed da nobis uirtutem sustinere que promissa sunt ne aliquod malignum uerbum adinueniens aduersarius commoueat sensum nostrum de tua fide.' Et dominus; 'Concertare in quid[12] Eustachi, gratia enim mea uobiscum est custodiens animas uestras.'

Descendens uero de monte et ingressus in domum, renuntiauit uxori sue[13] omia quae ei fuerant[14] dicta a domino et simul flectentes genua supplicabant dominum dicentes; 'Domine Ieshu Christe fiat uoluntas tua.' Paucis uero diebus transactis contigit egritudine pestifera affligi domum eius et mori omnes seruos eius et ancillas. Hoc facto, sentiens Eustachius predictam sibi temptationem affuisse et gratifice suscipiens poscebat uxorem suam, ut non deficeret tribulans. Et post aliquod tempus occupauit equos eius et alia pecora aer quidam mortifer et mortua sunt omnia que fuerant illi. Et excipiens istam temptationem discessit occultae de domo sua una cum uxore et filiis. Videntes

[9] The first scribe of B provides *facię* which later scribe corrects with a superscript abbreviation mark.
[10] C omits this clause, presumably as a result of eye-skip.
[11] B *imminentem*.
[12] B *inquit.*
[13] Supplied from C.
[14] B *fuerint*.

autem quidam de malignis [B.24vb] depredationem eorum aggressi per noctem diripuerunt omnia quae possidebant aurum et argentum et uestes ita ut nichil relinqueretur de substantia eorum praeterea[15] quibus[16] amicti fuerant. Cumque essent ergo[17] in huius[18] modi tristitia[19] reliqua eorum possessio et substantia ad nihilum peruenit per fraudes inimici.

Illis diebus omni populo celebrante [C.119rb] festiuitatem cum imperatore pro uictoria quae in Persas facta fuerat. Oportebat etiam et Placidam festiuitatem suam facere, in prandio quippe ubi fuisset magister militum et princeps senatus. Querebatur et inueniri non poterat. Dubitantibus ergo cunctis quod sic uno momento nullum de suis reliquisset nec ipsum posse reperiri. Merore percussus[20] est imperator et omnis senatus de eo et omnes stupebant de his que acciderant ei. Tunc dicit uxor sua; 'Quousque expectamus hic. Veni accipiamus duos infantes nostros, ipsi enim tantum relicti sunt nobis et recedamus hinc. In obprobriis enim facti sumus omnibus cognoscentibus nos.' Et nocte superueniente accipientes duos infantes pergebant ad Egyptum. Postquam uero duorum fecerunt dierum iter, appropinquantes mari et inuenientes nauem applicitam[21] uolebant ingredi in eam ut nauigarent. Contigit autem [B.25ra] ut dominus nauis illius barbarus esset et inmitis et ingressi cum eo nauigabant.

Et uidens nauis dominus uxorem Eustachii quod esset decora facie, ualde concupiuit eam. Et cum transfretassent [mare], exigebat ab eis naulum. Non habentibus illis unde redderent retinuit uxorem eius quasi pro naulo uolens illam habere secum. Ut autem uidit Eustachius nolebat eam dare. Diu uero contra dicente eo et supplicante innuit dominus nauis nautis suis ut in medium mare illum proicerent. At ubi sensit Eustachius insidias eorum reliquid uxorem suam et accipiens duos infantes suos ibat ingemiscens et dicens; 'Ve michi et uobis [C.119va] quia mater uestra tradita est alienigenae marito.' Pergens uero cum gemitu et lacrimis, peruenit ad quendam fluuium et propter [h]abundantiam aquarum non est ausus ingredi cum duobus filiis in aquam. Portans uero unum infantem super humeros suos reliquit alterum circa ripam. Et transposuit infantem, quem portauerat super terram et ibat ut reportaret alterum. Cum uenisset autem in medium fluminis, nimis autem fluuius dilatatus erat, intendens uidit et ecce leo rapuit filium eius et abiit in siluis. Et desperans de eo reuersus est in patientia spem ha[B.25rb]bens alterius. Et cum abiret uidit et ecce similiter lupus rapuit alterum filium eius et abiit et non potuit eum insequi. Et cum esset in medium fluminis coepit euellere capillos capitis sui plangens et ululans uoluit se proicere in aquam. Sed iterum constantem eum reddidit prouidentia dei quae futura prouidebat. Leo uero rapiens puerum conseruauit illaesum[22] per prouidentiam dei. Videntes autem pastores, puerum portari a leone uiuum, insecuti sunt eum, cum omnibus[23] per dispensationem uero dei rediens leo

[15] C *preter.*
[16] C *que*.
[17] Supplied from C.
[18] C *eius*.
[19] B *tristicia*.
[20] C *perculsus.*
[21] C *adplicitam*.
[22] C *inlęsum* here and on line 167.
[23] *BHL Act Sanctorum*, col. 127F, and Mombritius, ed. *Sanctuarium*, I:469, provide *canibus*. B omits this detail altogether.

uero[24] proiecit infantem incolumem et recessit. Alterum uero infantem qui raptus fuerat a lupo uidentes quidam aratores insequentes lupum liberauerant puerum illaesum. Utrique ergo siue pastores siue aratores de uno fuerant uico et accipientes pueros educauerunt apud se.

Haec uero Eustachius nesciebat sed pergebat plangens pariter et haec dicens; 'Heu michi quondam pollenti ut arbor modo uero nudatus sum. Heu me qui in [h]abundantia mea[25] nimia fueram modo [C.119vb] captiuitatis more desolatus sum. Heu me quia magister militum et multitudine exercituum circumdatus fueram modo solus relictus sum nec filios concessus sum habere. Sed tu domine, ne in finem derelinquas me nec dispicias lacrimas meas. Memini, domine, te dicentem, quod oportet te temptari sicut Iob. [B.25va] Sed ecce plus aliquid in me fieri uideo. Ille enim, et si possessionibus caruerit, sed stercus habuit supra quod sedere concessum est illi. Ego uero peregre eadem patior tormenta. Ille amicos habuit compatientes ei ego uero in deserto inmites feras habeo in consolationem qui filios meos rapuerunt, Ille et si ramis caruit sed uicem uxoris respiciens secum consolabatur. Ego uero infelix undique sine radice factus sum, nec scintillam facis generis mei respiciens, sed sum similis ramis in deserto, qui undique procellas conquassantur. Ne execratus fueris domine multiloqui a tui serui,[26] doleo enim dum dico quod non oportet. Pone, domine, custodiam ori meo, ut non declinet cor meum in uerba mala et eiiciar a faciae tua. Da uero iam requiem de multis tribulationibus meis.' Et haec dicens cum lacrimis et gemitu animi abiit ad quendam uicum qui dicebatur Dadissus. Et ingrediens in eo operabatur et adquirebat uictum. Commorans uero in eo plurimum tempus postulauit eiusdem uici habitatores et posuerit eum custodire agros suos. Et mercedem accipiens, degebat ibi annis quindecim.

Filii autem eius educati sunt sicut supradiximus, in altero uico, non cognoscentes alterutrum quod essent fratres. Dominus uero nauis ille alienigena, [B.25vb] accipiens uxorem Eustachii perduxit ad suam patriam. [C.120ra] Domini uero gratia obumbrauit mulierem ut non se ei commisceret alienigena in omni illo tempore, Hoc enim postulabat a deo ut custodiretur ab alienigenae communione. Contigit uero illum aliengenam mori et ipsam suae esse potestatis.

Post hos autem dies factus est incursus hostium in illa terra ubi erat Eustachius. Qui exeuntes plurimas inuaserunt terras Romanorum. In nimio ergo tumultu consistebat imperator de inuasione et commemoratus est Placidam eo quod plerumque strenue egisset contra ipsos hostes et tristabatur de subita eius mutatione. Colligens autem exercitum et inspiciens omnes milites, de Placida exquirebat, qui cognouissent de eo, uiuere, an mori. Et dabat mandatum unicuique militum, ut inquirerent eum. Et misit per unam quamque ciuitatem et terram que erat sub imperio suo, ut requirerent eum, dicens, 'Si quis eum inuenerit et indicauerit michi, ampliores addam ei honores et emolumentorum augebo solatia.' Duo uero quidam milites, nomine Antiochus et Acaius qui aliquando ministrauerunt Placidae perrexerunt ad inquirendum eum. Et peragrantes [B.26ra] omnem terram que sub Romanorum esset imperio uenerunt in uicum illum, ubi degebat Eustachius.

Eustachius uero a longe considerans ex consuetudine incessus eorum recognouit eos et ueniens in memoriam prioris suae conuersationis coepit

[24] Supplied from C.
[25] Supplied from C.
[26] C *Ne ex se oratus, fueris domine, tui serui multiloqui a.*

perturbari et orans dicere; 'Domine deus noster qui de omni tribulatione eruis sperantes in te quemadmodum istos pr[aeter spem][27] uidi qui aliquando mecum fuerunt, iube ut uideam ancillam tuam coniugem meam. Nam infantes mei, scio quem propter meam prauitatem, a feris comesti sunt. Da ergo domine ut uel in die [C.120rb] resurrectionis uideam filios meos.' Et haec dicente eo, audiuit uocem de caelo dicentem sibi; 'Confide Eustachi in presenti enim tempore remeabis ad tuum priorem statum et accipies uxorem tuam et filios, in resurrectione uero maiora horum uidebis et eternorum bonorum delectationem reperies et nomen tuum magnificabitur in generationem.'

Haec audiens Eustachius terrore perculsus sedebat.[28] Videns uero milites sibi uenientes per uiam contra ipsos uenientibus uero illis propius, amplius eos cognouit, illi autem eum non cognouerunt. Qui dixerunt ad eum; 'Aue frater.' At ille ait; 'Pax uobiscum fratres.' At illi rursus dicunt ei; [B.26rb] 'Dic nobis si nosti hic peregrinum aliquem nomine Placidam cum uxore et duobus filiis? Et si demonstraueris eum nobis dabimus tibi pecunias.' Quibus ille dixit; 'Qua propter eum queritis?' Qui dixerunt ei; 'Amicus noster fuerat et uolumus eum uidere post multos annos.' Di[x]it[29] ad eos Eustachius; 'Talem hic uirum non cognoui. Nam et ego peregrinus sum.'

Et assumens eos duxit in hospitium suum[30] et abiit emere uinum ut potaret eos propter aestum. Et dixit ad dominum domus[31] in qua hospitabatur; 'Noti michi sunt isti homines et propter hoc huc uenerunt. Pr[a]ebe ergo mihi cibos et uinum ut fruantur, et reddam ea ibi in tempore de mercede mea.' Ille uero alacriter dabat eis quae fuerant necessaria. Reficiens autem eos Eustachius non poterat sustinere recolens priorem uitam suam et perfundebatur lacrimis. Plorabat autem foras egrediens et lauans faciem suam rursus ingrediebatur et ministrabat eis. Illi uero considerantes eum coeperunt paulatim ad agitionem uisionis eius uenire. Ad alterutrum dicentes; 'Quam similis est iste homo illi, quem querimus.' [C.120va] Unus autem ait; 'Scio quia ualde similis est illi. Scio autem ego quod habet [B.26va] signum aliquos cicatricis in ceruice sua ex ictu belli. Consideremus ergo si habet signum in ceruice sua, ipse est, qui queritur a nobis.' Considerantes uero cautius, uidentes cicatricem in ceruice eius et confestim exilientes osculabantur eum et cum lacrimis interrogabant eum, [si ipse esset][32] quia aliquando magister militum eorum fuerat. Ille uero profusis lacrimis dicebat; 'Non sum ego.' Demonstrantes uero illi signum in ceruice eius et iurantes quod ipse esset magister militum Placidas et de uxore eius et filiis interrogabant eum, quid esset factum, et alia plura commemorabant eum. Tunc confessus est quod ipse esset et de uxore et filiis quod mortui essent.

Et dum haec dicuntur, omnes illius uici homines, quasi ad signum spectaculi ueniebant, Tunc ergo milites exponebant eis de uirtute uiri et de priori eius gloria. Audientes autem flebant dicentes; 'Quanta exaltatio uiri, [qui] nobis sub mercede seruiuit.' Tunc milites insinuauerunt ei preceptum imperatoris et induentes illum uestibus optimis accipientes illum pergebant in uiam suam,

[27] Supplied from C.
[28] B *percussus est*.
[29] B and C *dicit*.
[30] B has been corrected with erasures and new hand to provide *hospitium suum*. C provides *hospitio suo*, which may have been the orginal wording in B.
[31] Missing from C.
[32] Supplied from C.

Omnes uero de uico producebant eum, ille uero osculans dimisit illos. Ambulantibus uero illis exposuit eis quomodo uidit Christum et quomodo denominatus sit Eustachius et quae [B.26vb] contigerunt ei, omnia exposuit eis.

Transacto uero [quindecim][33] dierum itinere uenerunt ad imper[i]atorem. Et ingressi milites nuntiauerunt ei quemammodum inuenerunt Placidam. Et egressus imperator in occursum eius osculatus est eum. Qui causam suae discessionis per singula exposuit imperatori et cuncto senatui et de uxore sua quomodo in mare [C.120vb] relicta esset et quomodo filii sui a feris capti sunt et totum merorem suum exposuit. Facta est uero magna letitia in inuentione eius. Petierunt uero eum et cingitur ut pridem fuerat magister militum. Qui discutiens militem et cognoscens non sufficere ad conspiciendos hostium incursus iussit tyrones colligere per omnes ciuitates et uicos. Contigit autem in illa terra in qua educati sunt filii eius describi ut darentur[34] duo tyrones. Cuncti uero eiusdem uici cultores illos duos iuuenes quippe ut peregrinos decernentes tradunt expeditionem facientibus. Erant autem grandi statu et decora facie ualde. Congregatis uero cunctis tyronibus et adductis coram magistro militum omnes considerans taxauit in numeris. Videns uero illos duos adulescentes quod essent super omnes decori specie et statu constituit eos primos in ministerio suo et uidens in eos generositatem morum naturalem [B.27ra] affectu inpulsus in amore eorum iussit inter conuiuas eos mense annumerari.

Et post dispositam militiam, ut solitum est, profectus est ad bellum. Et terram quidem, quam abstulerant barbari, liberauit. Ipsis uero subiectis tansiit fluuium qui dicitur Ydispis[35] et ulterius procedens in interiora terra[36] barbarorum et illos deuincens depopulatus est terram eorum. Adhuc autem interius desiderans ingredi. Prouidentia enim dei uocante, uenit ubi erat uxor sua. Et ut predictum est custodita fuerat ab alienigenae pollutione. Discesserat enim et sola commanebat in ortulo cuiusdam et fecit sibi tabernaculum. Perueniens igitur in illo uico magister militum exspectabat ibi tribus diebus et tribus noctibus repausans exercitum suum. Opportuna erat [C.121ra] possessio ad omnem delectationem. Contigit autem ut tentoria eius figerentur prope [h]ortum illum quem custodiebat mulier.

Illi ergo duo adulescentes hospitati sunt in tabernaculo matris suae nescientes quod ipsa esset genitrix eorum. Et facto meridie, sedentes exponebant sibi inuicem de infantia sua habebant in memoria eaque contigerant eis. Mater uero eorum sedens contra intentius [B.27rb] audiebat que illi exponebant. Dicebat ergo frater maior iuniori; 'Ego dum infans eram nichil aliud in memoria habeo nisi hoc quia pater meus magister militum erat mater uero mea speciosa facie ualde. Duos filios habebant me et alterum minorem me et ipse speciosus nimis. Accipientes uero nos utrosque egressi sunt de domo noctu et ingressi sunt in nauem nobiscum nescio ubi uolebant ire. Cum autem egrederemur de naue mater nostra nobiscum non erat nescio quemadmodum in mare relicta est. Pater uero noster portans nos duos flens pergebat. Perueniens autem ad quendam fluuium transmeauit cum fratre meo iuniore et me dereliquit[37] supra ripam fluminis. Cum reuerteretur ut me acciperet lupus ueniens rapuit illum minorem

[33] B supplies Roman numeral *xv*.
[34] B *adderentur*.
[35] A later hand has added in the margin *Hydaspes flu*. C *Ydispis*.
[36] B *terrę*.
[37] C *dereliquid*.

infantem et antequam ad me appropiaret subito de silua exiliens leo rapuit me et duxit in silua. Pastores uero eruerunt me de ore leonis et nutritus sum in possessione in qua et ipse scis et non potui scire de patre meo quid sit factum de eo neque infante.'

Haec audiens[38] iunior maiore fratre dicente exiliens coepit flere et dicere; 'Per deum Christianorum ut audio frater tuus sum ego, quoniam et qui me [B.27va] educauerunt haec dicbant [C.121rb] quoniam de lupo te eruimus.' Et amplexi osculabantur se inuicem. Audiens uero haec[39] mater eorum et considerans quae exposuerant usque ad nauigium perturbabatur in uisceribus suis. Amplius etiam uidens adulescentes amplectentes se inuicem et osculantes et flentes. Et dum[40] considerans ne forte ipsi essent filii sui propterea cum de patre dixerint quod magister militum fuerat et quia in mare mater relicta est.

Altera die interpellauit magistrum[41] militum dicens; 'Deprecor te domine ego de terra Romanorum sum et captiua adducta hic perduc me ad patriam meam.' Et haec dicens considerans uidit signa que erant in marito suo et cognoscens formidabat eum. Cum uero diu se continere non posset, procidens ante eum dicebat; 'Precor te domine ne indigneris contra ancillam tuam sed propitius ex[42] audi me expone mihi priorem uitam tuam. Ego enim puto te esse magistrum militum Placidam qui cognominatus est Eustachius quem etiam dignatus est saluator ipse per ceruum ad se uocare ut crederet in eum et incidens in temptationibus accepit uxorem suam quae sum ego et duos filios Agapitum et Theophistum perrexit ad Egyptum. [B.27vb] Et cum nauigaremus perdidit me propter quod dominus nauis barbarus esset qui me tenuit in ista patria. Et testis est michi Christus quia nec ille nec alter me polluit sed usque hodie seruauit dominus castitatem meam. Et ecce ego dixi tibi signa et tu cognoscens indica michi per uirtutem tui Christi saluatoris.'

Audiens autem haec Eustachius et ipse similiter considerans speciem eius recognouit eam. Et incontinenti laetitia[43] lacrimis effundens osculabatur eam et dabant gloriam saluatori Christo qui in omni [C.121va] parte prodest suis seruis et reuocat et consolatur de multis tribulationibus. Tunc dicit ei uxor sua; 'Domine ubi sunt filii nostri.' Qui dixit; 'A feris capti sunt.' Et exposuit ei quemadmodum perdidit eos. Et dixit ad eum; 'Gratias agamus Christo. Puto enim quemadmodum nobis deus donauit ut inueniremus nos inuicem donabit[44] et iam recognscere filios nostros.' Dicit ad eam Eustachius; 'Dixi tibi quia a feris capti sunt.' Dicit ad eum uxor eius; 'Hesterna[45] die sedens in horto audiui quosdam duos iuuenes ad inuicem loquentes de infantia sua et scio quem filii nostri sunt. Sed nec ipsi inuicem sciebant quia fratres sunt nisi per expositionem maioris fratris. Nunc ergo cognosce quanta sit pietas [B.28ra] Christi qui utrisque donauit agnitionem. Disce igitur ab eis et dicent tibi.' Conuocans igitur magister militum adulescentes sciscitatus est ab eis qui essent. Tunc exposuerunt ei omnia que facta fuissent sicut supra exposuimus. Et recognouit eos quia ipsi essent filii sui et amplexus

[38] B *autem*.
[39] Supplied from C.
[40] Supplied from C.
[41] C *magistro*.
[42] Supplied from C.
[43] B *lęticia*.
[44] B *donauit*.
[45] C *haesterna*.

Eustachius osculatus est eos et incuruantes supra filios cum fletibus gratias agebant Christo ab hora secunda[46] usque ad sextam propter inuentionem eorum.

Discurrit igitur fama haec per omnem exercitum et omnes congregati mirabantur et exultabant in inuentione eorum amplius etiam propter barbarorum ex pugnationem. Altera die maximam celebritatem[47] facientes deo gratias egerunt propter magnam eius pietatem. Postquam uero subiecerunt uniuersam terram barbarorum reuersi sunt cum uictoria magna et spolia multa portantes et captiuos plurimos ducentes.

Contigit igitur antequam reuerteretur Eustachius de bello, obisse Traianum imperatorem et resurgere alterum pro eo [C.121vb] imperatorem nomine Adrianum gentilem et ipsum peiorem in impietatibus. Reuerso ergo Eustachio occurrit ei imperator et ut mos est Romanis pro uictoria festiuitatem celebrauit, et interrogans[48] quomodo in praelio uiriliter egesserit et de agni[B.28rb]tione uxoris et filiorum eius prolixius ostendit[49] conuiuium. Altera die perrexit in templo idolorum pro uictoria sacrificium idolorum oblaturus. Intrante uero imperatore in templo Apollinis non cum illo ingressus et Eustachius et retrocedens foris stetis. Imperator uero conuocans eum interrogabat quare non sacrificarit diis propter uictoriam et uictimas detulerit[50] eis maxime propter uxoris inuentionem et filiorum.

Qui dixit ad imperatorem; 'Ego supplico Christum dominum meum et offero incessanter ei preces qui misertus est humilitatem meam et reuocauit me de captiuitate et restituit mihi uxorem et filios. Alium uero deum neque scio neque colo nisi deum caelestem[51] qui fecit mirabilia.'

Tunc imperator ira repletus iussit ei solui cingulum et uelut[52] transgressorem astare pariter cum uxore et filiis et sic faciebat contra eum questionem. Considerans igitur imperator inmutabilem eius in Christo fidem iussit eum cum uxore et filiis introducere in [h]arenam et dimitti eis leonem. Accurrens uero leo et stans prope beatus Eustachius submittens caput atque adorans recessit et coepit egredi de [h]arena. Tunc ergo imperator uidens mirabile spectaculum quod non tetigit eos fera, praecepit incendi bouem aeneum et ibi introduci sanctos. Conuenit uero [B.28va] uniuersa plebs fidelium et paganorum spectare sanctos quomodo introducebantur in aereum bouem.

Inducti uero in machinam[53] supplicauerunt carnifices ut darent eos orandi spatium. Et extendentes manus suas [C.122ra] orauerunt dicentes; 'Domine deus uirtutum qui omnibus inuisibilis, nobis uero uisus es ut uoluisti, exaudi nos deprecantes te. Ecce enim uotum nostrum peractum est quia recipientes nos inuicem et admeruimus sortem sanctorum tuorum recipere sicut tres pueri qui per ignem probati sunt non te denegauerunt sic et nos finire iube per ignem istum. Da uero domine reliquiis nostris gratiam ut omnis qui memor nostri fuerit partem nostri habeat in regno caelorum[54] et super terram [h]abundantiam uel si in mare aut in fluuio periclitati fuerint et inuocauerint te per nomen nostrum,

[46] B and C *ii*.
[47] B *cęlebritatem*.
[48] C *interrogauit*, although the editor of C provides *ns* above the line.
[49] C *extendit*.
[50] B *obtulerit*.
[51] C *celestem*.
[52] C *velud*.
[53] C *machina*.
[54] C *celorum.*

liberentur de periculo. Et si in peccatis inceciderint[55] per humilitatem nostram supplicantibus ueniam praesta peccatorum et omnibus memoria[56] nostri habentibus et glorificantibus te, auxilium praesta et subueni. Da uero domine et comminationem ignis in [err]orem transferri et in hoc finiri nos iube et complace in corporibus nostris, ut non separentur sed hic simul reponi ea iube.'

Et haec illis dicentibus uox ad eos de caelo uenit dicens; 'Ita erit uobis sicut supplicastis et am[B.28vb]plius ab his fiet, quia certatores per bonam uitam facti estis plures[57] et magnas sustinentes temptationes et non uicti estis. Venite in pace recepturi coronas uictoriae et pro temporalibus malis in saecula saeculorum fruimini preparatis bonis.' Et haec audientes beatissimi alacriter semet ipsos tradiderunt igni. Et statim comminatio ignis compressa est. Et glorificantes intemeratam et laudabilem trinitatem et cantantes [h]ymnum reddiderunt[58] cum pace animas suas. Et non tetigit eos ignis neque capillus capitis eorum sensit odorem ignis.

Post tres autem dies aduenit impiissimus imperator in loco et praecepit aperire aeream machinam ut uideret quid factum esset [C.122rb] reliquiis sanctorum. Et uidentes corpora eorum putauerunt eos adhuc uiuere et eicientes posuerunt eos super terram. Admiratio autem cunctos habuit circumstantes. Quia neque usque ad capillum dominatus fuerat in eis ignis sed erant corpora splendentia super niuem et formidans imperator abiit in palatium suum. Multitudo uero que circumstabat exclamauerunt dicentes; 'Magnus deus Christianorum unus et solus deus uerus Christus Iesus et non est alius quia nec in capillis eorum dominatus est ignis.' Occulte uero Christiani tollentes corpora sanctorum deposuerunt in celeberrimo loco [B.29ra] et postquam sedata est persecutio ibidem oratorium construxerunt et deposuerunt eos celebrantes memoriam reliquiarum sanctorum IIII nonas nouember. Ista est [uita et] passio[59] beatorum et hic finis gloriosi eorum certaminis. Omnes ergo qui merentur celebrare[60] memoriam eorum et inuocare eos in presidio impetrant quae promissa sunt sanctis per gratiam domini nostri et saluatoris Iesu Christi. Cui gloria et potestas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[55] B *ciderint humilitatem*.
[56] B *memoriam*.
[57] B *pluras*.
[58] C *reddeunt*.
[59] C supplies *uita*. In B, *passio* is inserted above line by later hand.
[60] B *cęlebrare*.

IIII NONAS NOVEMBRIS PASSIO SANCTI EUSTACHII MARTYRIS SOCIORUMQUE EIUS

ON TRAIANES DAGUM ðæs caseres rixiendum, deofol-gilda biggenga wæs sum cempena ealdorman þæs nama wæs Placidas.[1] Æfter worulde swiðe æþelboren and swiþe þeonde on his weorcum and ealle oferhlifigende on wurð-mynte. Wæs he soðlice on rihtwisnysse weorcum and on eallum godum weorcum swiðe gefrætwod; ofþryhtum he gehealp and gemund byrde þa ðe fordemde wæron and eac swilce he for wel manega þe unrihtlice fram yflum demum genyþrode wæron alyhte. Nacode he scrydde and, swa ic soðlice secge, ealle nyd-behæfnysse he wæs dælende þam þe þæs behofodon; and eac swilce his wif þa ylcan godan weorc beeode. Ac hi swa-þeah hwæðere butu þa git hæðene wæron forþam þe him nan man þone godcundan geleafan ne tæhte. Hi hæfdon twægen suna þa hi tyhton þæt hi him geefenlæhton on godum willan. Wæs he witodlice swiðe æþele on rihtwisnysse and strang on gefeohte swa þæt þa hæþenan wæron fram him swiðe gewylde. Wæs he eac wel gleaw on huntunge and þæt singallice ælce dæge beeode. Ac se mild-heorta and se wel-willenda god, þe simle æghwær to him þa þe him wurðe beoð gecygð [170r] ne forseah his godan weorc, ne he nolde þæt his wel-willende mod and gode swiðe wurðful, buton mede sceolde beon forlætan, and mid ðam þystrum þæs deofollican biggenges oferwrigen beon. Ac æfter þam þe hit awriten is, þæt on ælcre þeode þe rihtwisnysse wyrcð him bið andfencge he becom þa to þysse wel-willendan mild-heortnysse and hine mid þyllicum gemete gehælde.

Hit gelamp sume dæge þæt he ferde ut on huntað mid eallum his werode and his wuldre. Þa geseah he micelne floc heorta and he ða gestihte his werod swa him gewunelic wæs hu hi on þone huntað fon sceoldon. þa hi ealle ymb þone huntað abysgode wæron, þa æteowde him sylfum an ormæte heort, se wæs ormætre mycelnysse ofer ealle ða oþre and wlitig and þa gewende he fram þam flocce and ræsde into þam wudu þær he þiccost wæs. Þa þæt Placidas geseah þa gewilnode he þæt he hine gefenge and him geornlice æfter ferde mid fæwum geferum þa æt nixtan wurdon hi ealle geteorode and he ana unwerig him æfter fyligde. Witodlice þurh godes fore-stihtunge ne hors ne he sylf gewergod wæs ne he for ðæs weges earfoðnysse ablan, ac he lange æfter ferde[2] and feor fram his geferum ge-wat. Se heort þa witodlice astah on anne[3] heahne clud and þær gestod.

Placidas ða lange stod and beheold þone heort and wundrode his micelnysse and ablan his æhtan. Him þa god geswutelode þæt he him swilcne dom ne ondrede ne his mægnes micelnysse ne [170v] wundrode. Witodlice betwux þæs heortes hornum glitenode gelicnys þære halgan Cristes rode breohtre þonne sunnan leoma and seo anlicnysse ures drihtnes hælendes Cristes and he mennisce spræce asende on þone heort. and clypode to Placidam þus cwæþende; ‘Eala Placida, hwi ehtest þu min? Efne for þinum intingum ic com nu þæt ic þurh þis nyten þe me ætywde. Ic eom se Crist þe þu nytende wurðast, þa aelmyssan þe þu þearfum dest beforan me syndon, and ic com þæt ic me þe ætywde þurh þysne heort and for hine þe gehuntian and gefon mid þam nettum minre mild-heortnysse. Nis hit na riht þæt min se leofa þeow for his godum weorcum

[1] Later hand inserts *u* above final *a* in *Placidas*.
[2] First hand provides *word* which the later hand has underlined and corrected to *ferde*, which would agree with previous phrasing in line 28.
[3] MS *anre*.

þeowige unclænum deoflum and þam unwittigum heargum þurh þæt ic com to eorðan on þisum hiwe swilcne þu me nu gesihst. Þæt ic man-cynn gehælde.'

Þa ða Placidas þis gehyrde, þa wæs he afyrht mid þam mæstan ege and feoll of his horse to eorðan and þær læg sume tid dæges, and aras þa eft and wolde gewislicor witan ymbe þa ætywnysse þe him æteawde and cwæð to him-sylfum; 'Hwæt is þeos gesihð þe me her æteawde. Drihten leof onwreoh me hwæt ðu to me spræce þæt ic on þe gelyfan mæge.' Þa cwæð Crist to him; 'Hlyst nu Placida, Ic eom hælende Crist þe heofon and eorðan of nanan þingan geworhte and gedyde þæt leoht up a sprang and þystro todælde, and ic eom se ðe gesette dagas and tida and gear, and ic eom se ðe man of eorðan gehiwode and for [171r] man-cynnes hælo ic com to eorðan and flæsc under-feng and ahangen waes and bebyrged and þy þriddan dæge of deaðe aras.' Þa Placidas þis gehyrde þa feoll he eft sona on eorþan and cwæð; 'Ic gelyfe drihten þæt þu eart, se ðe ealle þincg geworhtest and gecyrst ða dweliendan and deade geliffestast.' Þa cwæð drihten to him; 'Gif ðu on me gelyfst far to þære byrig to cristenra manna bisceope and bide hine fulluhtes.' Ða cwæð Placidas; 'Drihten leof, mot ic þis cyðan minum wife and minum cildum þæt hi gelyfan on þe?' Þa cwæð drihten to him; 'Far nu and sege hiom þæt hi fulwiht onfon and ge beoð þonne geclænsode fram deofol-gilda besmitennysse and cum hider eft and ic þe fullicor ætywe and þe cyþe þa ðe toweard syndon and onwreo þa halgan gerynu.'

Hwæt, ða Placide on niht þanon ham ferde and his wife rehte eall þœt he geseah. Sona swa heo hit gehyrde, þa cwæð heo; 'Hlaford min þone god þu gesawe þe ahangen wæs þe cristene men wurþiað, he soðlice is ana soð god þe þurh swilce tacna gecigeð to him þa þe on hine gelyfað, and on þissere nihte ic hine geseah and he cwæð to me, "Nu tomergen þu and þin wer and þine suna cumað to me," and nu ic oncneow þæt he sylf a is hælende Crist. Witodlice he wolde under swilcum hiwe wundorlicre wæfer-syne þurh þone heort ætywan þæt þu þy swiþor wundrie his mihta and on hine gelyfe. Uton nu faran on þisse[4] nihte and begitan us þæt halige fulluht [171v] cristenra manna þurh þæt soðlice beoð his agenne þa ðe on hine gelyfað.'Þa cwæð Placidas to hire; 'Þæt ylce me sæde se þe ic geseah.'

Þa soðlice to middre nihte hi ferdon swa heora men nyston to cristenra manna sacerda and rehton him ealle þincg þe him ætywde wæron and þæt hi on god gelyfdon and halsodon hine þæt he hi gefullode. Se bisceop wæs ða mid micelre blisse gefylled and wuldrode god, se þe wile þæt ealle menn hale beon and to soft-fæstnysse wege becumað, and he hi þa gecristnode and tæhte hi þa geryna þas halgan geleafan and gefullode hi on naman fæder and sunu and þæs halgan gastes. And nemde Placidam Eustachium and his wif Theophistim and his anne suna Agapitum and oþerne Theofistum, and sealde hi þæt halige geryne cristes lic-haman and blodes and forlet hi þus cwæþende; 'Drihten hælende Crist þæs lifigendan godes sunu [172r] sy mid eow and forgife eow þa ecan rica. Soðlice ic oncnawe þæt godes bletsung is mid eow brucað ge godes neorxne-wonges and gemunað min Iohannis ic bidde eow.'

Þa soþlice eft on ærne mergen, genam Eustachius feawa geferan and ferde to ðære stowe þær he ær þa gesyhðe geseah and tosende his geferan swilce for huntoðes intingan, and he ana belaf and nealæhte to þære stowe and geseah þa ylcan gesihðe þe he ær geseah, and feol niþer on his ansyne and cwæð; 'Ic halsige

[4] Later hand adds *–re* to *þisse*.

þe drihten, and ic oncnawe þæt þu eart hælend Crist, þæs lifigendan godes sunu, and nu ic hider com and bidde þine untodæledlican godcundnysse þæt þu me geswutelige þæt þu me ær behete.' Ða cwæð se hælend to him; 'Eadig þu eart þe onfenge þone þweal minre gife and þe gegyredest mid undeadlicnysse, and nu þu oferswiðdest deofol and fortræde þone þe þe beswac, and nu ðu unscryddest þe þone brosnigendlican mann, and þe gescryddest þone unbrosnigendlican, se þurh-wunað a on worulde. Nu beoð geswutelode þa weorc þines geleafan and deofles anda bið astyred wið þin forðan þu hine forlæte and efest þæt he ælc yfel do ymbutan þe. Þe gedafenaþ soðlice fela aræfnian þæt þu onfo wuldor-beah. Efne þu wære nu oð þis up-ahafen on þisse worulde æhtum and hwilwendum weorcum, nu gedafnað þe þæt þu beo geeaðmet of þire hean idelnysse þæt þu eft beo upahafen on gastlicum welum, ne ateorige þin mægen ne ðu ne beseoh to þinum ærran wuldre, ac eall swa þu gewilnodest þæt þu mannum gelicodost þurh þin sige-fæst gefeoht, and þam deadlican cynincge swa þe eac gedafenað to efestenne þæt þu me þam undeadlican cynincge þine trywa gehealde, and on þissum tidum beon gecostnod þurh þrowunga and geswinc swa min se leofa ðeow Iob and deofles oferswiðend þurh geþyld. Warna huru þæt nan wyrgung and ceorung astige on þinum geþohte. Soðlice þonne þu bist geeaðmodad ic cume to ðe and gelæde þe eft to þinum agenum wuldre and wurðscipe.'

Þa æfter þysse spræce astah crist to heofonum and cwæð to Eu[172v]stachio; 'Hwæðer is ðe leofre þe ðu nu onfo þa costnunga þe near þinum ende.' Þa cwæð Eustachius; 'Ic halsige dríhten hælend, buton hit unaræfnedlic sy to ofercumenne þa þing þe us synd fram ðe forestihtode, læt us nu onfon þa costnunge and syle us geðyld to araefnigenne þylæs se awyrgeda feond astyrige þæt we ænig þing cwæþan and geþencan ongen þinne willan.' Drihten him to cweað; 'Eustachi winn ongen. Soðlice min gifu is mid eow and gehylt eowre sawla.'

Eustachius gewende þa ham and arehte his wife eall þæt him fram drihtne gesæd wæs and hi bigdon heora cneowa and bædon god cweðende; 'Drihten hælend beo hit swa þin wylla sy.' Þa gelamp hit æfter feawum dagum þæt his hired wæs gestanden mid cwylmendre adle and wæron deada ægðer ge his þeowas ge þeowena. Þa ongeat Eustachiua þæt seo foresæde costnung him ða æt wæs and þancfullice hi under-feng, and bæd his wif þæt heo ne ateorede ne to sarig wære. Þa eft æfter lytlan fæce wurdon his hors ealle and ælces cynnes nytena deade and he þa costnunga lustlice underfeng and dihlice mid his wife and mid his twam sunum aweg gewat. Þa þæt ongeaton yfele men þæt hi swa bereafode wæron þa ferdon hi to and namon heora gold and seolfor and eall þæt þær wæs and swa eall heora æhta losodon þurh deofles searwa.

On þam dagum gelamp þæt eall folc wurþodon symbelnysse mid þam casere þurh þone sige þe he on Persia ðeoda [173r] gefeaht. Was hit eac þeaw þæt Placidas on þære symbelnysse fyrmest beon sceolde, forðam he wæs þæra cempena lareow and ealdorman. Þa wæs he soht, and hine nan man findan mihte. Þa wundrodon ealle men þæt on swa lytlan fæce hine nan man findan mihte ne nan þing þæs him to belamp and se casere and ealle his þægnas wæron swiðe sarie for his færedlican aweg-gewitennysse. Þa cwæð his wif to him; 'Hu lange wunige we her? Utan niman uncre twa cild and faran heonan elles we beoð to hospe and edwite eallum þe us cunnon.' Þa on niht genamon [hy][5] heora

[5] A later hand inserts *hy* here.

twaegen suna and ferdon to Egypta lande. Soðlice æfter þam þe hi ferdon twegen dagas, þa comon hi to sæ and þær gemetton scip standan and hi on þæt eodon and mid him reowan. Þa geseah þæs scypes hlaford þæt Eustachies wif swiðe fæger wæs, þa gewilnode he hi habban and gyrnde þæs scyp-tolles, ac ða hi nan þincg næfdon to syllanne. Þa gyrnde he þæs wifes for þam tolle. Þa Eustachius þæt aget þa nolde he hi alætan þa bicnode se scip-hlaford to his mannum þæt hi hine ut sceoldon wurpan. Þa Eustachius ongæt heora sarwa, þa let he þæt wif and genam his twa cild and eode geomrigende and cweðende; 'Wa me and eow forþam eower modor is ælfremedum were geseald.'

Eode þa swa heofende oð þæt he becom to sumum flode and ne dorste ða for ðæs flodes mycelnysse mid þam twam cildum ingan, ac bær þæt an cild ærest and sette [173v] on oðre healfe þæs staðes, and eode ongean feccan þæt oþer. Þa he ða wæs to middes wætres, þa geseah he þæt an leo genam þæt cild and gewende to wuda mid he ða wæs geortruwod þæs cildes and gehwearf geðyldelice hopiende þæs oðres ac þa he ðyderweard wæs geseah he þæt an wulf genam þæt. Þa tær he his loccas heofende and wolde hine sylfne adrencan on þam wætre, ac hine seo uplice ar-fæstnyss gestaþelode mid geþylde þæt he þæt ne dyde. Seo leo soðlice heold þæt cild ungederod æfter godes gestihtunge. Þa hyrdas ðæs lands, geseonde þæt se leo þæt cild swa cucu bær æfter urnon and hit ahreddon, and eallswa þa yrðlingas ahreddon þæt oðer cild æt þam wulfe. Witodlice ge ða hyrdas ge ða yrðlingas wæron of anre scire and hi þa cild afeddan mid him.

Eustachius soðlice heora fæder wende þæt hi fram þam wildeorum abitene wæron eode þa heofende and cwæðende; 'Wala wa hu ic nu greow swa þæt treow þe mid wæstmum bið fægre gefrætwod, and eom nu swa þæt twig þæt bið acorfen of þam treowe and aworpen on micclum ystum, and eg-hwanon gecnissed. Wala on hu micelre genihtsumnysse ic hwilum wæs and eom nu bereafod swa an hæft-nydlincg. Iu ic wæs cempena lareow and mid mycclum were ymbseald nu ic eom ana forlæten ne furþum mine bearn ic næbbe. Ac þu drihten ne forlæt me ne mine teares ne for-seoh. Ic geman leof drihten þæt þu cwæde þæt ic sceolde gecos[t]nod beon eallswa Iob, ac on sumum þingum mare ic þolige [174r] þonne he. He soðlice þeh him ælita losodon swa þeah him wæs his myxen forlæten þæt he þær-uppan sittan mihte. Ic soþlice on ælþeodignesse anxsumnysse þrowige. He hæfde frynd þæt hine frefrodon and him efensargodon. Ic soðlice on þis westene hæbbe wilde deor, þe mine bearn me benaman. He hæfde his wif mid him þe hine arette þeah he his bearna þolode. Ic witodlice æghwanane eom ungesælig buton westme ne furðum an spearca mines cynrenes nis me forlætan, ac eom gelic þam bogum þe on westene æghwanane mid ystum slægene [synt].[6] Drihten leof, ne onscunige ðu þines þeowes mænigfealdan word. Ic sorgie soðlice þæt ic ma spræce þonne hit gedafnað. Sete drihten heord-rædene minum muðe þæt min heorte ne abuge to yflum wordum, þi læs þe ic beo aworpen fram þinc ansyne. Drihten leof, syle me nu reste mire mænig-fealdan gedrefednysse.' And mid þisum wordum he eode wepende on þone tun þe hatte Dadissus and þær wunode and beget him biglyfne mid his weorce þa æfter micelre tide bæd he þæs [tunes hlafordas][7] þæt he moste healdan heora æceras and him mede earnian and he ðær drohtnode fiftyne gear.

[6] A second hand supplies *synt*.

[7] There is an erasure and space left at this point. An eleventh-century hand supplies *tunes hlaford–* in the margin, which has been trimmed to cut the final 'd' in half.

His suna þonne wæron afedde on oþran tune and heora naðor nyste þæt hi wæron gebroðra. Witodlice se hæþena scip-hlaford, se ðe genam Eustachius wif, gelædde hi to his earde and godes gife hi gescylde þæt he hi ne gewemde þa hwile þe heo mid him [174v] wæs ealswa heo to gode wilnode, and siððan he dead wæs heo wæs his yrfe-numa.

Æfter þissum wæs ge-worden micel hergung on þam lande þe Eustachius ær on wæs, and hi fela ðæra Romaniscra landa awestan. Þa wæs se casere þearle geancsumod for þære hergunge, and gemunde þa Placidam, and swiþe geomrode for his færlican awæg gewitennysse. Gesomnode þa his fyrd ealle to him and geornlice axode be him and bebead þæt man foran sceolde swa wide swa his an weald wære and hine geornlice axian, and he eac behet þam þe hine funden micelne wurðscipe and fremfulnesse. Þa ferdon soðlice twegen cempan, þa wæron genemde Antioclius and Achaius, þa ær wæron under Eustachius handa and þurh ferdon ealle þa land þe into Rome hyrdon, oððæt hi comon þær he wunode.

Eustachius þa soðlice feorran hi behealdende be heora gewunelican gauge hi gecneow and gedrefed on his mode he gebæd hine and cwæð; 'Drihten ure god, þu ðe generast of ælcum geswince þa þe on þe gehihtað, gefultuma me þæt ic mote þine þeowene mine gemeccan git geseon, swa ic nu þas gehænde geseo þe me hwilon þenedon. Witodlice ic wat þæt mine beam for minum synnum fram wil-deorum abitene synd. Forgif me drihten þæt ic huru on æristes dæge hi geseon mote.' Him þa ðus sprecendum com stefn ufane to him cwæðende; 'Getryw Eustachi, soðlice on þisse andweardan tide þu gehwyrfst to þinum þam ærran wurð[fol. 175r.]scipe, and þu onfehst ge þin wif ge þine cild. Witodlice on þære æriste þu gesihst micelre mærran þincg and þu onfehst þara ecra goda gelustfullunga and þin nama bið ecelice gemærsod.'

Eustachius þa ðis gehyrende mid mycelre fyrhto geslegen wæs þæt he gestandan ne mihte ac gesæt. Aras ða eft upp and locode wið ðæs weges and geseah þat þa menu wæron wið his weard and he hi wel gecneow ac hi ne cneowan hine. Þa cwædon hi to him; 'Hal wæs ðu broðor.' He him oncwceð; 'Syb sy mid eow broðra.' Ða cwædon hi eft; 'Sæge us la leof hwæðer ðu her wite ænigne ælþeodigne þe hatte Placidas mid his wife and his twam sunum. Soþlice gif ðu hine us gecyþest we þe willað syllan gode mede.' Þa cwæð he; 'For hwilcum þingum sece ge hine?' Hi cwædon; 'He wæs us swyðe leof freond, nu wolde hine geseon, gif we hine geaxian mihton æfter swa fela gearum.' Ða cwæð he; 'Nat ic her nanne swilcne wer. Soðlice ic sylf eom ælþeodig.'

Eustachius þa gelædde hi into his gesthuse, and ut-gangende bohte him win and him scencte for heora micclan geswince. Þa cwæð he to þam hus-hlaforde; 'Þas men synd me cuðe and hi forþi comon to me. Gif me nu mettas and win and ic hit þe gilde eft of mine byre.' And he him þa glædlice tiþode and he ða Eustachius him þenode, and gemunde hu hi him ær þenode and ne mihte forberan þæt he ne weope, ac eode ut and þwoh his eagan and com eft inn and þencde him. Hi þa geornlice hine be[175v]heoldon and hine be dæle oncneowan, and cwædon; 'Gelic is þæs man þam menn þe wit secað, eaðe he hit mihte beon.' Ða cwæð se oðer; 'Ic wat þæt he hæfde ane dolh-swaðe on his hneccan þæt him gelamp iu on gefeohte. Gyman we nu hwæfter he þæt tacen þære wunde hæbbe.' Þa hi þa hine geornlice beheoldon þa gesawon hi þa dolhswaðe on him and hi sona hine beclypton and cystan and weopen for blisse, and axodon hine hwæðer he hit wære þe heora cempena lareow geo wæs. He þa oðsoc þæt he hit naere, hi

þa ongen hine gecnæwne gedydon be þam tacne þe on his hneccan wæs þæt he hit wæs and hine axodon be his wife and his cildan hwæt hi geferdon. He þa cwæð þæt he hit wæs and þat his wif and his cild deade wæron.

Ða sona wearð þis cuð eallum on þam lande and hi þider comon mid mycelre wundrunge and þa menn þe him æfter ferdon rehton þam mannum eallum be his ærran wuldre þa hi þus gehyrdon þa weopon hi ealle cwæðende; 'Eala þæt swa mycel healicnys swilces weres us þeowode.' Ða cempan þa cyðdon him þæs caseres bebod, and scryddon hine mid þam betstan reafe and læddon forð mid him, and þa land-leode hine furðor gebrohton and he hi mid sibbe forlet. Eustachius þa on þam wege him rehte hu him Crist ætywde, and hu he of fulwihte genemned wæs Eustachius and eall hu him gelamp be his wife and his cildum.

Þa embe fiftyne dagas comon hi to ðam [176r] casere and þa cempan hi þa arehton eall him hu hi hine fundon and se casere eode ongen hine and cyste hine and axode hwi he swa feor of his earde faran wolde. He ða him and ealle his duguðe endebyrdlice arehte ealne his sið and his wifes and his cilda. Se casere þa and ealle wæron swiðe bliðe his ongean cymes, and hine bædon þæt he eft fenge to þam anwealde þe he ær hæfde, and he swa dyde. Het ða gegaderian fyrde, þa he þa fyrde sceawode þa onget he þæt ðær næs fyrod genoh ongen heora fynd. Het þa of ælcre byrig and tunum gegaderian ma cempena. Þa gelamp hit þæt man bead þam tun-ræde þe his suna on afedde wæron þæt man sceolde twegen cempan gescyrpan to þære fyrde. Þa geceas man þa twegen cnihtas forþam þe hi wæron caflice and cyrtene and ælþeodige to þære fyrdunga. Þa wæs eall seo fyrd gegaderod beforan him, and he hi þa getrymede and gesette swa his þeaw wæs. Þa geseah he ongemang oþrum þa geongan cnihtas, þæt hi wæron wlitige on hiwe and lange on wæstmum. Gesette hi þa fyrmeste on his þenunge and wearð onæled on heora lufe and æfter þam þe he gefadod hæfde eall his werod, swa his þeaw wæs.

Þa ferde he to þam gefeohte and geeode þa land þe ða hæðenan ætbrodon hæfdon and hi þam casere underþeodde. Ferde ða forð ofer þæt wæter þæt wæs genemned Idispis in þa inran land þæra hæðenra and hi ofercom and heora eard aweste. Þa git he wilnode þæt he innor ferde. [176v] Þa ðurh godes forestihtunge he becom to ðam lande þær his wif wæs hæfde hio hire gebogod on anan wyrtigan hamme and wæs hio swa we bufan sædon ungederod þurh godes gescyldnysse fram þæs hæðenan gemanan. Þa com Eustachius mid his here to þam tune þe heo ða on wæs. Wæs seo wunung þær swyþe wynsum on to wicenne and his geteld wæron gehende hire wununge geslagene.

Ða gelamp hit eac þæt þa twegen cnihtas, hire suna, heom in gecuron mid hyre meder, ne hi niston þæt heo wæs hire modor ne heo niste þæt hi wæron hire suna. Þa an undermæl spræcon hi betwux him þærinne embe heora cild-geogoðe, and seo modor sæt geornlice hlystende hire tale. Þa cwæð se yldra broðor; 'Þæt is, þæt ic gefyrnost gemunan mæg, þæt min fæder wæs cempena ealdor-man and min modor swyðe wlitig wæs on hiwe and hi hæfdon twegen suna me and oþerne gingran, and þa on niht ferdon hi ut and genamon unc and ferdon to sae and ut reowan. Þa we up comon þa næs ure modor mid us nat ic forhwi. Þa genam ure fæder unc and bær us wepende forð on his weg, þa becomon we to anre ea. Þa eode he in þæt wæter and bær mine gingran broþor, and forlet me. Þa cyrde he eft ongean wolde feccan me, þa com an wulf and gelæhte mine broðor, and ær he to me cuman mihte færinga com of ðam wuda an

leo and gegrap me and arn to wuda. And þa hyrdas ðe þær gehende wæron ahreddan [177r] me, and ic wæs ða afed on þam, tune ealswa ðu wast, and ic nyste hwæt min fæder geferde and min broðor.

Þa se gingra broðor þis eall gehyrde fram þam yldran broðor, þa aras he and gelæhte hine be þam swuran and cyste and clypte and sæde; 'Þurh þone god, þe cristene wurðað, ic eom þin broðor be þire tale, forþam me sædon þe me afeddon þæt hi me ahreddan fram þam wulfe.' Ða hiora modor þas word gehyrde þa wæs eall hire heorte astired, and hire innoð and þohte hwæðer hit hire suna wæron, forðam he cwæð þæt heora fæder wære cempena ealdorman and eac þæt heora modor æt ðam scype forlætan wearð.

Þa ðy oþre dege gesohte heo þæra cempena ealdorman þus cweðende; 'Ic bidde þe, leof hlaford, þæt þu me gelæde to minum earde. Ic eom soðlice Romanisc and ic on hæftnyd hider gelæd wæs.' Þa ongemang ðyssum beheold heo hine swyðe georne and gecneow þa tacna þe on his hneccan wæron, and heo þa aforhtode, and ne mihte forbæran þæt heo hit leng forhæle, ac gefeoll to his fotum and cwæð; 'Ic halsige þe, leof hlaford, þæt þu ne beo geæbylged ongen þine þeowene, ac for þinre arfæstnysse gehyr me and sege me hwæt þu sy. Ic wene, leof, þæt þu sy Placidas cempena ealdorman, and wære eft on fulluhte genemned Eustachius, þone eac swylce se hælend sylf wæs gemedemod þurh þone heort to his mild-heortnysse gecigan, þæt he on hine gelyfde and he ða þurh mænigfealde costunga þe him on be[177v]comon genam his wif, þæt ic eom, and his twegen suna Agapitum and Theophistum and ferde to Aegypta lande. And þa ða we reowan þa genam se scip-hlaford me neadinga set him, forþam he wæs hæðen, and he me gehæfte on his eðle, and Crist me is gewita þæt he ne nan man me gewemde oþ þisne dæg, ac Crist se lifigenda geheold mine clænnysse. Nu ic hæbbe eall þis gesæd swa hit gelamp, nu bidde ic ðe þurh þæt miccle mægen ures drihtnes þæt þu me secge hweðer þu ðis gecnawe.'

Þa Eustachius þis gehyrde, þa beheold he hi and gecneow hi be hyre wlite and for micelre blisse weop and hi cyste and gode þancode se gefrefrað ealle þa þe on hine getrywað and of ealre angsumnysse generað. Þa cwæð heo to him; 'Hlaford, hwær synd uncre suna?' He andswarode; 'Wildeor hi gelæhton,' and he ða arehte hire hu hi genumene wæron. Þa cwæð heo; 'Uton don Criste þancung ic gelyfe witodlice, þæt ealswa god unc geuþe þæt wit unc gemetton þæt he ealswa forgife þæt wit uncre bearn onenawen.' Ða cwæð Eustachius; 'And ne sæde ic þæt wilde deor hi gelæhton?' Ða cwæð heo; 'Gyrstan dæg ic sæt binnan minan cafertune þa gehyrde ic hu twegen geonga cnihtas spræcon him betwux be heora cild-geogoðe. Nu wat ic to soþan þæt hi synd uncre bearn. Ne hi sylfe nyston þæt hi wæron gebroþra buton þurh þa reccinge þe se yldra broþor rehte þam gingran ongit. Nu hu micel is godes mildheortnysse þe him forgeaf þæt hi hi gecnawan moston þat hi gebroðra synd.' Ða het Eustachius hi to him clypian and axode hwæt hi [178r] wæron, and hi him sona arehton eallswa we her bufan sædon, and he þa gecneow þæt hi his suna wæron and hi to him genam and clypte and cyste, and hi ða ealle heora cneowa gebigdon to Criste, and mid wope and onbryrdnysse þancunge dydon fram þære oþre tide þæs deges oþþe sixtan tide for heora gemetinge.

Þa soðlice asprang se hlisa geond ealne þone hired, and hi ealle gegadere wundrodon and blissodon for heora gemetinge, and miccle þe bliðran þe hi oferwinnen hæfdon þa hæþenan. Ða þy oðran dæge dydon hi þa mæstan gebeorscype and gode þancode his micclan mild-heortnysse. Þa æfter þam þe hi

gewyld hæfdon eall heora feonda land and hi mid micclum sige ham hwurfon and læddon mid him micele here-huþe and manige haeft-nydlingas.

Þa gelamp hit þæt se casere Traianus wæs forðfaren ær þam Eustachius of þam gefeolite come, and wæs gesæt oþer cyning Adrianus hatte se wæs hæþen and wyrsa on wel-hreownysse. Þa Eustachius ongen com of þam gefeohte þa eode se casere him ongean, swa hit þeaw is mid Romanum, and mersode micele symbelnysse for þam sige þe he geworht hæfde, and axode hine embe þæt gefeoht and embe his wif and his suna, hu he hi geaxode. Þa ðy oþran dæge ferde se casere to þam temple þæra deofol-gilda and Eustachius nolde in-gan mid him, ac stod þær-ute. Þa clypode se casere hine and axode hwi he nolde offrian þam godum for his sige and swiþost forþam þe his wif and his cild funden hæfde.

Ða cwæð he; 'Ic wurþige and gebidde minne drihten, hælendne [178v] Crist and him unablinnendlice bena offrige, se þe gemiltsode mire eaðmodnysse and me geledde of hæft-nyde and min wif me forgeaf and mine cild. Nat ic witodlice nanne oþerne god ne na wurðige buton þone heofonlican god, se ðe ealle gesceafta gesceop, ge þa heofonlican ge þa eorðlican, and fela wundra wyrcð.'

Þa wearð se casere mid micelre hat-heortnysse gefylled, and het hine ungyrdan and bewæpnian, and beforan his ansyne ætstandan mid his wife and his cildum swilce ofergægendne his hlafordes bebod, and he swa ðeah na to þæs hwon fram his geleafan and þam soðan gode gecyrran wolde. Þa geseah se casere þæt he hine þurh nan ðing awendan ne mihte fram Cristes geleafan, het ða hine gelædan mid his wife and his cildum into anum eorð-huse and het ane strange leo lætan into him þæt hio hi abitan sceolde. Þa arn seo leo and gestod wið þone eadigan wer Eustachium and aleat mid þam heafde, and feoll to his fotum and geeaðmedde hi to him and aras eft and eode of þam huse. Eornostlice se casere geseah þas wundorlican wæfer-syne, þæt se leo heora ne oðhran. Þa het he gefeccan ænne ærenne oxan and þone onælan and þa halgan ðæron don. Þa com þider unrim folces cristenra and hæðenra to þisse wæfer-syne þæt hi woldon geseon hu þa halgan þrowodon.

Þa bæd Eustachius þæt hi him fyrst leton þæt hi him to gode gebædon hi þa aþenedon up heora handa to gode cweðende; 'Drihten god, eallra gesceafta scyppend gesewenlicra and ungesewenlicra, þu þe eallum eart ungesewenlic [179r] on þinum mægen-þrymme, fram us soðlice þu wære gesewen swa þin willa wæs gehyr us nu leof drihten to þe gebiddende. Efne nu ure gewilnung is gefylled þæt we togædere cuman moston and geearnian to onfone þone gemanan þara haligra, swa ða ðry cnihtas, þe þurh fyr afandode wæron and swa þeah þe ne wiðsocon. Læt us nu drihten þurh þis fyr geendian, and sele ðam mede on heofenum þines wuldres mid us þam ðe on eorðan ure gemyndig beo and syle him genihtsumnysse ofer eorðan, and gif hi on sæ oððe on lande gefrecnode beon, and hi ðe gecigan þurh urne naman beon hy alysede fram ælcere frecednysse and gif hi on synnum befeallan, and hi þe þonne halsian þurh ure eadmodnysse forgif him, drihten, forgifnysse heora synne, and eallum þe ure gemynd don and þe wuldrian forgif him fultum and heora gehelp, forgif drihten þæt þyses fyres hæto sy gecyrred on wætne deaw and læt us on þisum geendian and gelicie þe on urum lic-haman þæt hi ne beon totwæmede ac læt hi beon her ætgædere gelede.'

Þa hi þis sædon, þa com stefn of heofonum þus cweþende; 'Swa hit bið swa ge biddað and miccle ma forþam ge wæron winnende on godan life and ge wæron forþyldiende mænigfealde cos[t]nunga, and swa þeah næron oferswiþde.

Cumað nu on sybbe and onfoð wuldor-beah eowres siges, and for þissum hwilwendlicum yflum brucað þæra ecera goda on worulda woruld.' Ða þis gehyrdon, þa eadigan halgan þa sealdon hi hi sylfe þam fyre, and þærrihte seo hæto þæs fyres acolode, and hi þa wul[179v]drodon þa anwaldan and hergendlican þrynysse, and sungon godes lofsang, and heora sawla on sibbe Criste ageafon, and þæt fyr heora ne æthran ne furþum an hær heora heafdes.

Witodlice æfter þrim dagum com se arleasa casere to þære stowe and het geopenian þone ærenan seare-cræft þæt he gesawe to hwam þara haligra lic-haman gewordene wæron. Þa geseah he hi gesunde þa wende he þæt hi ða git lyfdon and het hi ða wurpan ut on ða eorðan. Þa wundrodon ealle þa þe þær wæron þæt þæt fyr ne æthran furðon anes hæres on him ac heora lic-haman wæron hwittran þonne snaw. Þa wæs se casere afyrht and þanon ferde to his healle and seo menio þe þær ætstod clypodon; 'Mycel and mære is se god cristenra manna and an soð god hælende Crist, and nis nan oþer buton him se gedyde þæt fyr ne fornam ne an hær heora feaxes.' And þa cristenan namon heora lic-haman diglice and bebyrgdon, and getimbrodon gebæd-hus siððan seo ehtnys gestilled wæs and mærsodon heora gemynd on þam dæge kal. Nouembris. Ðis is þæt lif þæra eadigra martyra and her is seo geendung heora wuldorfullan gewinnes. Witodlice ealle þa ðe geearniað and mærsiað heora gemynd and hi gecigað to fultume, hi begitað þa god þe þam halgum behatene synd þurh ða gife ures drihtnes hælendes Cristes. Ðam sy wuldor and miht on worulda woruld a on ecnysse. AMEN.

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