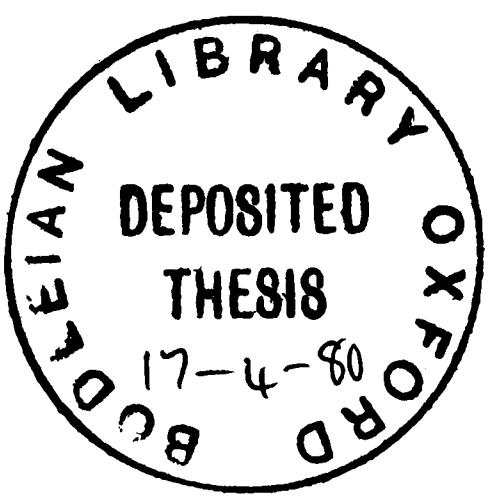
ÆLFRIC'S HAGIOGRAPHIC SOURCES AND THE LATIN LEGENDARY PRESERVED IN B.L. MS COTTON NERO E i + CCCC MS 9 AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

A Thesis presented for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Oxford
by

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Long Vacation
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PREFACE

My interest in the Latin legendary which forms the subject of this investigation arose originally from the feeling that source studies of Ælfric's saints' lives had all but exhausted the resources of the available printed texts and that reference to the manuscripts themselves might provide a fruitful alternative approach. In the research which ensued, some of the difficulties involved in such an approach soon became apparent: not only are the extant manuscripts of Latin saints' lives extremely numerous, but their contents and their relationships with each other have been little studied. These difficulties, far from discouraging further and more searching inquiry, underlined its desirability. Amongst the wealth of manuscripts and hagiographic compendia which were subsequently examined, one--a collection which I have here termed the Cotton-Corpus legendary--stood out as an especially useful document for a study of Ælfric's sources, and thereafter became the focus of my study.

In examining the relationship between this early collection of hagiographic writings and Ælfric's saints' lives, it has been necessary to place certain limits on what could practically be attempted in a project of this scope. In particular, the large number of individual lives requiring examination has precluded, for the most part, detailed study of comparative material, printed or otherwise, beyond that used by the early investigators. In addition, although efforts have been made to locate copies of the legendary

other than those studied here, my own personal search has necessarily been limited, and has been confined in the main to selected libraries in those centres, namely Belgium, northern France, and England, for which there is evidence of the collection's early circulation. In none of these have I found additional copies, nor have any from more remote libraries come to the attention of the Bollandists in Brussels.

Throughout all parts of this study, it has been necessary to quote frequently, though rarely at length, from a range of printed and manuscript materials. Quotations from editions of Latin lives have not been normalized, though common abbreviations have been silently expanded and editorial additions such as chapter headings, footnotes, and other extraneous signs have been omitted. In addition, Latin ae and oe which occasionally appear in diphthong form in early editions have been printed simply as ae and oe. In quotations from editions of Old English texts, I have followed the original exactly, but accent marks both for these and for the Latin editions have been omitted to avoid cluttering a text already replete with my own markings. In addition, when quoting in parallel columns, it has been necessary to sacrifice the metrical lineation, though not the pointing, of Skeat and Pope.

With a few exceptions, quotations from manuscript sources follow the same guidelines as those stated above. Such excerpts have not been normalized or corrected when corrupt, though abbreviations have been silently expanded, punctuation has been freely introduced to point the sense, and proper names have been capitalized. In addition, consonantal u has been transcribed as v. Revisions and additions, other than minor erasures by the original scribe, have been indicated by brackets: ⟨ ⟩ for interlinear additions in the manuscripts and [ ] for my own additions. Finally, in quotations both from the manuscript

and from the printed texts, single underlining has regularly been used to draw attention to verbal correspondence or divergence between the Old English translations and the Latin sources.

My debt tc the work of previous investigators, particularly that of Förster, Ott, Pope, and Cross, will be obvious from the notes, and is gratefully acknowledged. Amongst my friends and teachers at Oxford, I owe a special debt to my first supervisor, Miss Rosemary Woolf, who patiently guided and encouraged the project during my residence in Oxford, and who showed unflagging interest in its outcome, even in her illness. It is a matter of great personal regret to me that she did not live to see the work in its final form. I am also grateful to Miss Celia Sisam who served as my adviser during two periods of Miss Woolf's illness, and from whose suggestions I derived great benefit. Finally, my thanks are due to Dr. Malcolm Godden who undertook supervision of the project on Miss Woolf's death and who has been of the greatest help and encouragement to me in its final stages.

Amongst the many others, too numerous to mention, who have assisted me in various ways during the preparation of this work, I should especially mention the Bollandist Fathers in Brussels, who opened the resources of their library to me and advised me on many points of detail. Finally my thanks are due to the Canada Council who provided me with financial assistance in the form of a doctoral fellowship during my first four years of research, and to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who very generously assisted me thereafter.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

List of Abbreviations and Sigla..... 1

Chapter

1. Ælfric and the Legendary: Some Preliminaries..... 3

   i) Introduction..... 3

   ii) The Legendary..... 9

      a) The Manuscripts..... 9

      b) A Reconstruction..... 13

   iii) Ælfric's Sources in Relation to the Legendary.... 39

2. New Sources: The Martin Homily and the Lives of SS. Eugenia, Martin and Vincent..... 99

3. Patterns of Textual Agreement..... 137

4. Textual Studies of Individual Lives..... 174

      a) The Text of A + B + C (D + E and F)..... 177

      b) The Text of H..... 238

5. Conclusions and Continuations..... 263

Appendix

1. A Note on Ælfric's Use of the Word Boc..... 293

2. Textual Divergence between Ælfric and the Cotton-Corpus MSS..... 298

      a) The Text of A + B + C (D + E and F)..... 300

      b) The Text of H..... 310

Bibliography..... 316

Abstract of Thesis..... 326

ABBREVIATIONS

Anal. Boll.	Analecta Bollandiana. Paris and Brussels, 1882-.
ASS	Acta Sanctorum, ed. Iohannes Bollandus and Godefridus Henschenius et al. 67 vols. Antwerp, 1643-1770; Brussels, 1780-.
BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis, ed. Socii Bollandiani. 2 vols. Brussels, 1898-1901. Supplementi editio altera (Subsidia Hagiographica, 12). Brussels, 1911.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. Turnhout, 1953-.
CH	=Catholic Homilies. The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric, ed. B. Thorpe. 2 vols. London, 1844, 1846.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna, 1866-.
EETS	Early English Text Society. London, 1864-.
EHR	The English Historical Review. London, 1886-.
HE	=Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford Medieval Texts. Oxford, 1969.
JEGP	The Journal of English and Germanic Philology (before 1903, The Journal of Germanic Philology). Bloomington, Ind., and Urbana, Ill., 1897-.
LS	=Lives of Saints. Ælfric's Lives of Saints, ed. W. W. Skeat. EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114. 2 vols. London, 1881-1900.
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Series Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne. 161 vols. Paris, 1857-66.
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Series Latina, ed. J. P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844-64.

ABBREVIATIONS

PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Baltimore and New York, 1886-.
Script. Rer. Merov.	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, ed. Societas aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum Medii Aevi. 7 vols. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica) Tom. I Pars II --Tom. VII Pars II, Hanover and Leipzig, 1885-1920. Tom. I Pars I, editio altera, Hanover, 1951.

SIGLA OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

A London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E i, Part 1.

B London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E i, Part 2.

C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9.

D Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fell 4.

E Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fell 1.

F Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 354.

H Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P 7 vi.

CHAPTER I

Ælfric and the Legendary: Some Preliminaries

1) Introduction

One of the most interesting developments in Ælfrician scholarship in recent years has been the demonstration by Cyril Smetana that a very large number of the patristic sources for the Catholic Homilies[1] derive directly from the Carolingian homiliary of Paul the Deacon.[2] This discovery contributes in obvious and numerous ways to our knowledge of the sources for Ælfric's homilies, but it also has relevance for his biographies of the saints. In particular, it raises the possibility that some second collection of Latin writings, comparable in scope to that of Paul, but devoted specifically to hagiographic texts, may have served as the chief source of Ælfric's saints' lives. While the present study does not claim to have identified the precise version of the source book which Ælfric used for his lives, it does hope to show that something very similar to that book can today be found in a comprehensive collection of Latin saints' lives which now survives in a number of early English

[1] Ælfric, The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric, ed. B. Thorpe. 2 vols. (London, 1844, 1846). Hereafter cited in notes by volume (I, II) and number of article (small Roman numerals) or by page and line (per page) as CH.

[2] The Rev. C. Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary", Traditio, XV (1959), 163-204; see also J. E. Cross, "Ælfric and the Mediæval Homiliary--Objection and Contribution", Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, Scripta Minora, 1961-2, no. 4 (Lund, 1963).

manuscripts, and which for the purposes of this study will be called the Cotton-Corpus legendary.[3]

The suggestion that Ælfric's saints' lives were to some extent derived from an established collection of hagiographic writings is not new: as a working hypothesis, it is advanced as early as 1881 in Carl Horstmann's pioneering study of Altenglische Legenden:

> Auch Ælfrics zu Ende des 10 Jhdts. verfasstes angelsächsisches Legendarium setzt eine lateinische Sammlung voraus.[4]

Max Förster, working some years later from a more thorough knowledge of the sources for the Catholic Homilies, agrees with Horstmann, and suggests that some of Ælfric's sources may have been derived from the pseudo-Abdias collection of hagiographic texts.[5] This is a plausible suggestion, but because of the limited range of the Abdias compendium, the evidence in its support cannot be conclusive. Indeed, examination of the collection shows that it is limited entirely to the lives of the apostles, thereby supplying sources for only about one fifth of some sixty hagiographic texts which Ælfric is known to have consulted.

Where Förster expects perhaps too little of any possible source for Ælfric's lives, J. H. Ott demands correspondingly too much and

[3]This nomenclature, which is derived from the names of the earliest known MSS of the collection, refers to the collection in general and not to any particular copy of it.

[4]C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881), xxxviii.

[5]M. Förster, Über die Quellen von Ælfrics Homiliae Catholicae: I. Legenden. Inaugural Diss. (Berlin, 1892), 43-5. Förster specifically mentions a copy of this collection preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 5273, a manuscript which now contains only the pseudo-Abdias compilation of the lives of the apostles, but which evidently once provided the lives of other saints as well.

reaches, not surprisingly, very different conclusions.[6] Ott's argument, based upon a study of the sources for the Lives,[7] is that Ælfric's sources were altogether too numerous, often too specifically English, and in some instances too recently composed to have been found together in any single collection, particularly one of continental origin. There is much in this argument which requires careful consideration. Two of the sources considered by Ott, the Passio Sancti Eadmundi by Abbo of Fleury, and the Libellus de Miraculis Sancti Suithuni Episcopi of Landferth were themselves composed only in the penultimate decade of the tenth century,[8] and so could hardly have been included in any collection to which Ælfric, writing as early as 990, might have had access. Moreover, as Ott also suggests, it seems unlikely that all of Ælfric's English saints, some of whom enjoyed only the most localized of cults even in England itself, would have been represented together in any single collection of writings, especially one compiled in a continental scriptorium. Persuasive as these two arguments are, however, the final assumption of Ott's theory seems questionable: namely, that if Ælfric did employ some established collection of hagiographic texts, then it must

[6] J. H. Ott, Über die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Ælfrics Lives of Saints, I. Inaugural Diss. (Halle, 1892), 6-7.

[7] Ælfric, Lives of Saints, ed. W. W. Skeat. EETS, o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114. 2 vols. (London, 1881-1900). Hereafter cited in notes by volume (I, II), page, and line or by number of article (small Roman numerals) as LS.

[8] Abbo's account was written c. 987, Landferth's c. 981. See Ælfric: Lives of Three English Saints, ed. G. I. Needham (London, 1966), 18-20; and Three Lives of English Saints, ed. M. Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972), 4-6.

necessarily have furnished him with the whole range of his sources. Logically, such an assumption seems gratuitous; more importantly, recent advances in our knowledge of the procedures which Ælfric followed in other areas of his work seem clearly to negate it.

The methods which Ælfric employed in the composition of his writings and the ways in which he came to have access to his wide range of sources are perhaps nowhere more clearly defined than for the exegetical homilies of the Sermones Catholici. In particular, two studies recently published by the Rev. C. B. Smetana are instructive. The first of these, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary", reports the discovery mentioned earlier:[9] namely, that a very large number of the patristic sources upon which Ælfric drew for the Catholic Homilies can be found collected together in one or other of the extant versions of the comprehensive homiliary which was prepared for Charlemagne by Paul the Deacon. As Professor Cross points out, "the correspondence [between Paul and Ælfric] is between homilies for the same feast-day, and, if no manuscript identification of the festival is given, the correspondence is normally of homilies on the same gospel-reading."[10] The second of Smetana's studies, "Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt",[11] complements the first, and shows that although Paul was undoubtedly Ælfric's

[9] See above, p. 3.

[10] J. E. Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon--On Sources and Dissemination", Proceedings of the British Academy, LVIII (1972), p. 83.

[11] The Rev. Cyril Smetana, "Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt", Traditio, XVII (1961), 457-69.

main source for patristic matter, Ælfric also turned frequently to the selections included in the homiliary of Haymo of Auxerre.[12]

Although these discoveries are directly related only to the exegetical writings of the Catholic Homilies, they also provide some general information which may be profitably applied to the study of Ælfric's hagiographic sources. Firstly, Smetana's work shows that although Ælfric sometimes gathered source material himself from separate manuscripts of different authors or works, he also made very extensive use of established homiletic collections drawn from various sources. This procedure may reflect Ælfric's own preferences or merely the limitations of his library: in either case, however, we should expect it to apply as much to the lives as to the homilies. Secondly, Smetana's studies show that, although Ælfric found Paul's collection to be extremely useful, especially for its selections from the writings of Bede, Gregory, and Augustine, he did not by any means limit himself to it alone. Over twenty-five of the texts included in Thorpe's edition of the Homilies, for example, and at least thirteen of those recently published by Professor Pope show strong evidence of Ælfric's dependence on Haymo's homiliary as well, while some others also show contact with the collections of Smaragdus and Alanus of Farfa.[13] Nor do even these collections account for all of the exegetical sources. In

[12]As J. C. Pope points out, "most of the works attributed to Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt (840-53) in PL CXVI-CXVIII . . . now appea to be the works of his contemporary, a simple monk named Haymo who wrote and taught at the abbey of St. Germain in Auxerre." See vol. I of Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection, ed. J. C. Pope, EETS, 259, 260 (London, 1967-68), 157, n.1.

[13]See Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, I, 161-62, 171; and Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary", 185, n. 17, 191, n. 25.

some cases, Ælfric seems to have made his own compilations, as is almost certainly evidenced by the Latin extracts preserved in the first part of MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63,[14] while in still others--as I hope to show later--he turned either to complete copies of works, or to the few pieces of exegesis which occasionally found their way into hagiographic writings.[15]

To recapitulate, then, recent work on Ælfric's homilies provides a few general guidelines for a study of the hagiographic sources. Firstly, in searching for a potential source for the lives, we should expect to find evidence of a more sustained and extensive form of dependence than is observed in a study of the apostolic passional cited by Förster. Such evidence, nevertheless, need not imply Ælfric's slavish dependence, or preclude the possibility that he might occasionally turn to other writings for fuller or more authoritative material. In such cases, however, we should expect to find good reason for Ælfric's departures (for example, some indication that his selection of saints was guided by a predetermined plan), or strong evidence that the missing sources would have been readily available elsewhere. Each of these conditions is, in my view, amply satisfied by the collection of Latin lives which I have termed the Cotton-Corpus legendary, the contents of which are described below.

[14]See Enid M. Raynes, "MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric", Medium Ævum, XXVI (1957), 65-73; Milton McC. Gatch, "MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies", JEGP, LXV (1966), 482-90; and Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, 162-63.

[15]See below, pp. 83-93, 274-91.

2) The Legendary

(a) The manuscripts:

The Cotton-Corpus legendary is an established set of hagiographic texts representing 160 feasts of the Church year[16] and forming what, in Mr. Ker's words, "appears to be the earliest large collection of lives of saints in use in England".[17] With the exception of the last eleven items in the set, which may have been added after the collection was first compiled, but probably before it came to England, the lives are arranged per circulum anni, and run from the feast of St. Martina (1 January) to that of St. Silvester (31 December). The precise origin of the collection is not known, but the high proportion of French and Flemish saints which it represents suggests that it was probably compiled somewhere in the north of France.[18] The date of its composition is also unknown, though it cannot have been before c. 863, the year in which one of the final eleven items--the so-called Faustian life of St. Maur--was apparently written.[19]

[16] In the list of contents, pp. 15-34, 161 feasts are given, but the feast of Cyprian occurs twice (nos. 100 and 107)--each time represented by the same hagiographic text.

[17] N. R. Ker, "Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue", The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, LIII (1949), 178.

[18] For example Saints Amand, Lambert, Ouen (Audoenus), Omer (Audomarus), Bertin, Vedast, Leodegar, Winnoc, Wandrille (Wandregisilus), and Eloi (Eligius).

[19] The preface to the life attributes it to a monk named Faustus, but it is now believed to be the work of Odo, Abbot of Glanfeuil in Anjou. See The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, eds. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingston, 2nd ed. (London, 1974), 894; and Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques, XVI, ed. R. Aubert (Paris, 1967), 731.

The extant manuscripts of the collection were first identified by W. Levison[20] who lists five surviving copies, all of English origin. Two of these--Hereford, Cathedral Libary, MS P 7 vi and Oxford, Bodleian Libary, MS Fell 2--preserve the final parts of what appear to be later and somewhat expanded versions of the original set; these will be considered later.[21] The remaining three are the following:

(i) London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E i, parts 1, 2 + Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9 [Sigla A, B, and C respectively].[22] These three manuscripts together form the earliest and most complete copy of the collection now extant. They were written at Worcester c. 1060 in two unequal parts, the first running from 1 January to 30 September (now A, ff. 55r-208v; B, ff. 1r-151r), the second containing lives for October, November, and December (now C, pp. 61-458; B, ff. 166r-180v). Each of these

[20] W. Levison, "Conspectus Codicum Hagiographicorum", in Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Script. Rer. Merov., VII, part 2 (Hanover, 1920), 545-46. Hereafter cited as Levison, "Conspectus".

[21] See below, pp. 35-39.

[22] The contents of A and B are listed in J. Planta, A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cottonian Libary deposited in the British Museum (London, 1802), 239-41; those of C in M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, I (Cambridge, 1912), 21-30. On the date, origin, and history of this copy of the collection, see T. A. Bishop, English Caroline Minuscule (Oxford, 1971), 20, n. 1; N. R. Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1960), 49, 53, pl. 26; N. R. Ker, "Membra Disiecta, Second Series," The British Museum Quarterly, XIV (1939-40), 82-83; C. H. Turner, Early Worcester Manuscripts (Oxford, 1916), lxvii, lxxi; F. Wormald, "Decorated Initials in English MSS from A.D. 900-1100", Archaeologia, XCI (1945), 135; F. Wormald, English Drawings of the 10th and 11th Centuries (London, 1952), 59-60; Felix's Life of St. Guthlac: Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), 31-32.

parts was originally preceded by a table of contents, written before the lives themselves were copied, and presently preserved on f.55 of A and page 61 of C. Several items listed in these tables have been omitted from the collection proper, and a few pieces have been added.[23] In addition, several of the texts preserved in the collection have been altered by a later scribe, often by erasure, sometimes through marginal additions. As Mr. Ker points out, comparison of these alterations with the readings of other copies of the collection shows that the "Worcester 'corrector' was not mending errors but was making what seemed to him a better text, either with the help of another manuscript or out of his own head".[24] In Ker's view, most of the alterations were made c. 1100.

(ii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Fell 4 + Fell 1 [Sigla D and E respectively]: These two manuscripts form a second, less complete, and slightly later copy of the same collection. They were written at Salisbury towards the end of the eleventh century and, in Ker's view, are possibly "the work of the canons established by St. Osmund" in 1089 .[25] MS Fell 4 begins the series and contains the

[23]Details on these additions and omissions are given below in the notes accompanying the list of contents.

[24]N. R. Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest, 53.

[25]N. R. Ker, "Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue", 154. For a study of the script of this copy of the collection, see N. R. Ker, "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library" in Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 23-49.

lives of sixty-five saints who were honoured between January and June. The collection is continued in MS Fell 1 which preserves the lives of fifty-four saints who were venerated between July and October. The remainder of the collection has been lost, but at f. 184r of MS Fell 1, a table of contents contemporary with the manuscript itself lists the items which originally completed the series. Seven of the lives listed in this table still survive from f. 184v to the end of MS Fell 1.

No complete study of the textual relationship between this copy of the collection and the slightly earlier Worcester exemplar has yet been undertaken. Nor is it here, since the present investigation is concerned only with the Ælfrician sources included in the series. Nevertheless, research on individual lives preserved in the two copies has shown that their texts are very closely related, and that they probably derive immediately from a common exemplar. Evidence for this is presented in Ludwig Bieler's edition of the Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi,[26] H. Delehaye's edition of "Les Actes de S. Marcel le Centurion",[27] and M. Esposito's edition of the Vita Sanctae Brigidae.[28] Further evidence in the form of peculiarities common to both copies of the collection can be found below[29] in the notes accompanying the

[26] Classica et Mediaevalia, XI (1950), 1-150.

[27] Anal. Boll., XLI (1923), 257-87.

[28] "On the Earliest Latin Life of St. Brigid of Kildare", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, XXX, sect. c, no. 11 (1912), 307-26.

[29] See pp. 15-34 and pp. 174-262.

reconstructed list of contents and in the individual studies of the sources.

(iii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 354 [Siglum F] : This manuscript preserves only the final portion of the collection. Its precise origin and date are not known, but palaeographical evidence suggests that it was written in England, perhaps in the West Country, in the latter half of the twelfth century.[30] Certainly it is later than either the Worcester or Salisbury copies, for, unlike them, it provides a number of writings for the feast of St. Nicholas, one of which concerns the translation of the saint in 1087. Apart from these additional texts and a few omissions, the manuscript preserves lives for the same feasts as those represented in the table of contents at page 61 of the Worcester exemplar (C) and f. 184r of the Salisbury witness (E). Its preservation of this portion of the collection is fortunate for, as mentioned earlier, most of the corresponding portion of the Salisbury copy has been lost.

(b) A Reconstruction

Comparison of the three copies of the collection described above shows that each exhibits a few features of content which are

[30] I am grateful to Mr. M. Parkes of Keble College, Oxford, for this information. A West Country origin is suggested by the fact that the account of the translation of St. Nicholas included in the collection has been divided by a later hand into lectiones, indicating that it would have been read during the monastic office. This suggests that the book was at least used in a West Country monastery, if not written there, for the feast of the translation of Nicholas was most commonly celebrated in that part of the country.

peculiar to it alone. The Worcester exemplar, for example, lacks the lives of several of the apostles, contains sermons for the feasts of the Purification, the Nativity of Mary, the Nativity of John the Baptist, and St. Guthlac which are not found in the other witnesses, and exhibits a few peculiarities of arrangement. Similarly, F does not include texts for the feasts of SS. Sabina, Eligius, and Hucbertus, and as mentioned above, contains writings for the feast of St. Nicholas not present in the other manuscripts. In the list of contents which follows, features such as these which are peculiar to only one of the extant witnesses have been relegated to the notes. The list itself is therefore confined solely to texts whose presence in the collection is attested by evidence from at least two of the surviving witnesses.

In preparing the list, it has been my aim to identify the texts included in the collection in as clear, as concise, and as illuminating a manner as possible. This could not be accomplished simply by reproducing the manuscript rubrics, many of which are incomplete, incorrect, or misleading. For this reason, I have used instead an abbreviated form of the titles listed in the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina,[31] followed by the BHL number (which identifies the particular version of the life),[32] and, wherever possible, some reference to the actual or traditionally supposed author of the

[31] Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae AEtatis, ed. Socii Bollandiani, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1898-1901; supplement, 1911). Hereafter cited as BHL.

[32] In the list, an asterisk following the BHL number indicates that the Cotton-Corpus text differs in some substantial way from all the versions identified in the BHL. The BHL number which is given identifies the version which is most similar to the Cotton-Corpus text.

text in question. When the title given in the BHL differs substantially from that found in the manuscripts, the manuscript rubrics have been given in the notes.[33] One exception to this procedure is number 11Ø, where the rubrics of the manuscripts provide a liturgical designation not indicated in the BHL title: here both the rubrics of the manuscript and the BHL title have been given. The orthography throughout is that of the BHL, but significant variants found in the manuscript rubrics have been recorded in the notes.

1.	Passio S. Martinae virginis[34] (BHL 5588)	A, 55v-61r;	D, 1r-9r.
2.	Vita S. Basilii episcopi auct. Pseudo-Amphilochio (interprete Euphemio) (BHL 1023*)	A, 61v-70r;	D, 9r-22r.
3.	Vita S. Genovefae virginis (BHL 3336)	A, 70r-74r;	D, 22r-28v.
4.	Passio S. Theogenis martyris (BHL 8107)	A, 74r-75r;	D, 28v-30v.
5.	Passio S. Luciani martyris (BHL 5010)	A, 75r-77v;	D, 30v-34r.
6.	Passio SS. martyrum Iuliani et Basilissae (BHL 4532*)	A, 77v-85v;	D, 34r-47v.
7.	Vita S. Hilarii episcopi auct. Fortunato (BHL 3885*)	A, 85v-88v;	D, 47v-52v.

[33]The rubrics of the MSS usually include a reference to the date of the feast and, less frequently, a reference to the place where the saint died. These details have not been included either in the list itself or in the notes.

[34]Preceding the Passio S. Martinae in A, there are four later additions (lives of SS. Oswald, Ecgwinus, Swithin, and Andrew) in hands differing from the main hand of the collection. The beginning of the legendary proper is signalled by a contemporary table of contents (f. 55r-55v) which names, numbers and dates the various feasts represented in the collection. The table of contents of D has not survived.

8.	Passio S. Felicis martyris (BHL 2894)	A, 88v-89v; D, 52v-54r.
9.	Passio S. Felicis presbyteri (BHL 2885)	A, 89v-90r; D, 54r-55r.
10.	Passio S. Marcelli papae (BHL 5235)	A, 90r-92v; D, 55r-59r.
11.	Passio S. Marcelli martyris[35] (BHL 5253)	A, 92v-93r; D, 59r-59v.
12.	Vita vel Visio S. Fursei presbyteri (BHL 3210)	A, 93r-97v; D, 59v-66v.
13.	Vita S. Sulpitii episcopi (BHL 7928)	A, 97v-98v; D, 66v-69r.
14.	Passio SS. martyrum Speusippi, Eleusippi et Meleusippi auct. Warnahario[36] (BHL 7829)	A, 98v-102r; D, 69r-74r.
15.	Passio SS. martyrum Sebastiani et sociorum perperam adscripta S. Ambrosio (BHL 7543)	A, 102r-114r; D, 74r-93r.
16.	Passio S. Agnetis virginis auct. Pseudo-Ambrosio (BHL 156)	A, 114r-116v; D, 93r-97r.
17.	Passio SS. martyrum Fructuosi episcopi, Augurii et Eulogii diaconorum (BHL 3200)	A, 116v-117v; D, 97r-98v.
18.	Passio S. Patrocli martyris (BHL 6520)	A, 117v-119r; D, 98v-101r.

[35]The rubrics A and D simply give *eodem die*. The life is not listed separately in the table of A.

[36]The MSS have *Prologus Sanctorum Geminorum et Sancti Desiderii episcopi et martyris urbis Lingonicae* and then, after the prologue, *Eodem die, Pseusippi, Eleusippi et Melosippi*. Both parts are listed as a single text in the table of A and in the *BHL*.

19.	Passio S. Vincentii diaconi (BHL 8628, 8630-31*)	A, 119r-121v; D, 101r-104v.
	Additamentum[37] (BHL 8634)	A, 121v; D, 104v-105r.
20.	Passio S. Potiti martyris (BHL 6908)	A, 121v-124v; D, 105r-109r.
21.	Passio S. Asclae martyris (BHL 722)	A, 124v-125r; D, 109r-110v.
22.	Passio S. Babylae martyris[38] (BHL 891)	A, 125r-127v; D, 110v-114r.
23.	Passio S. Polycarpi episcopi (Epistula Ecclesiae Smyrnensis) (BHL 6870)	A, 127v-130r; D, 114r-117v.
24.	Passio SS. maryrum Thyrsi, Leucii, Callinici et sociorum[39] (BHL 8280)	A, 130r-136v; D, 117v-128r.
25.	Vita S. Brigidae virginis auct. Cogitoso (BHL 1457)	A, 136v-142r; D, 128r-136v.
26.	Passio S. Triphonis martyris[40] (BHL 8338)	A, 144r-148r; D, 136v-142v.
27.	Passio S. Agathae virginis (BHL 134*)	A, 148r-149v; D, 142v-145v.
28.	Vita S. Amandi episcopi, auct. Baudemundo[41] (BHL332)	A, 149v-153r; D, 145v-151r.
29.	Passio S. Valentini martyris (BHL 8460)	A, 153r-154v; D, 151r-153v.

[37]This is not listed separately in the MSS.

[38]A and D have Passio SS. martyrum Babylæ et trium puerorum.

[39]The MSS give Passio SS. Leucii, Tyrsi et Galenici.

[40]Immediately before this life (ff. 142r-144r), A includes three sermons for the feast of the Purification which are attributed to St. Augustine and St. Ambrose. These are not mentioned in the table of contents of A or included in D. They are almost certainly a later addition to the collection.

[41]Without the prologue listed in the BHL.

30.	Passio S. Iulianae virginis (BHL 4522)	A, 154v-157r;	D, 153v-157v.
31.	Historia S. Theophili, interprete Paulo diac. Neapolitano[42] (BHL 8121)	A, 157r-160r;	D, 157v-162v.
32.	Vita S. Albini episcopi, auct. Fortunato (BHL 234*)	A, 160r-162r;	D, 162v-165v.
33.	Passio SS. martyrum Felicitatis et Perpetuae[43] (BHL 6633)	A, 162r-165r;	D, 165v-170r.
34.	Passio SS. Quadraginta Martyrum (BHL 7538*)	A, 165r-166v;	D, 170r-173r.
35.	Vita S. Gregorii papae, auct. Paulo diac. (BHL 3639)	A, 166v-169v;	D, 173r-178r.
36.	Confessio S. Patricii episcopi (BHL 6492)	A, 169v-173v;	D, 178r-184r.
	Epistula S. Patricii ad Christianos Corotici Tyranni Subditos[44] (BHL 6493)	A, 173v-174v;	D, 184r-186r.
37.	Passio S. Theodoriti presbyteri[45] (BHL 8074)		D, 186r-188v.
38.	Passio S. Theodosiae virginis (BHL 8090)	A, 175r-179r;	D, 188v-195v.
39.	Vita S. Mariae AEgyptiacae virginis, adscripta Sophronio ep. Hieros. (interprete Paulo diac. Neapolitano) (BHL 5415)	A, 179r-184v;	D, 195v-205v.

[42]The MSS give Actus Theophili qui Christum negavit et recuperavit.

[43]Without the prologue listed in the BHL.

[44]In A and D this is simply called Liber II (of the Confessio).

[45]This text is not preserved in A. However it seems unlikely that it is an independent addition to the collection, for it is included in D and there is a blank space where it would have been listed in the table of A. The rubric of D erroneously names the text Passio S. Theodori.

40.	Vita S. Ambrosii episcopi, auct. Paulino[46] (BHL 377)	A, 196r-202r; D, 205v-216r.
41.	Passio SS. Eleutherii episcopi et Antiae matris eius (BHL 2451)	A, 202r-203v; D, 216r-218v.
42.	Passio S. Georgii martyris, auct. Pseudo-Passecrate (BHL 3373-3374*)	A, 203v-205v; D, 218v-221r.
43.	Passio S. Marci evangelistae (BHL 5276)	A, 205v-206v; D, 221r-223r.
44.	Inventio et Passio SS. martyrum Gervasii et Protasii, auct. Pseudo-Ambrosio[47] (BHL 3514*)	A, 206v-207v; D, 225r-226v.
45.	Passio S. Iacobi Minoris apostoli[48] (BHL 4093)	A, 207v-208r; D, 226v-227v.
46.	Vita S. Philippi apostoli (BHL 6814)	A, 208r-208v; D, 227v-228r.
47.	Inventio Sanctae Crucis[49] (BHL 4169).	D, 228r-231v.
48.	Passio SS. martyrum Alexandri, Eventii et Theoduli (BHL 266)	D, 231v-236r.

[46]Immediately before this life, A (ff. 185r-196r) includes Felix's Vita S. Guthlaci. This is almost certainly an independent addition to the collection for it is absent from D and from the table of A itself.

[47]Entitled Passio S. Vitalis martyris et SS. Protasii et Gervasii in the MSS. Immediately before this text in D (ff. 223r-224v), a Passio S. Blasii has been squeezed in by a different hand to fill a space left blank at the end of a quire. It is clear that this is a later addition to the collection for it is not represented either in the table of A or in A itself. Moreover, the numbering in D passes directly from Mark (XLI) to Vitalis (XLII). Cf. Ker, "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library", 36-37.

[48]This text and the Passio S. Philippi which immediately follows are not listed in the table of A, though both are represented in the text proper of A and in that of D.

[49]All of this text and of the two texts which immediately follow, together with most of the Passio S. Gordiani (the final part of which begins B), have been lost at the divide of A--B. All are listed in the table of A.

49.	Passio S. Quiriaci martyris[50] (BHL 7024*)		D, 236r-239r.
50.	Passio SS. martyrum Gordiani et Epimachi[51] (BHL 3612)	B, 1r	D, 239r-240v.
51.	Passio S. Pancratii martyris (BHL 6423)	B, 1r-1v;	D, 240v-241v.
52.	Gesta[52] SS. martyrum Nerei et Achillei (BHL 6058)	B, 1v-3v;	D, 241v-244v.
	Rescriptum Marcelli[53] (BHL 6060)	B, 3v-4r;	D, 244v-245v.
	Vita SS. Petronillae et Feliculae (BHL 6061)	B, 4r-4v;	D, 245v-246r.
	Passio S. Nicodemis martyris[54] (BHL 6062)	B, 4v	D, 246r-246v.
	Passio SS. martyrum Nerei et Achillei[55] (BHL 6063)	B, 4v-5r;	D, 246v
	Passio SS. martyrum Eutychetis, Victorini et Maronis (BHL 6064)	B, 5r	D, 246v-247v.
	Passio SS. martyrum Domitillae et sociorum[56] (BHL 6066)	B, 5r-6r;	D, 247v-248v.

[50] In D this is called Passio S. Iudae qui cognominabatur Cyriacus per quem crux domini inventa est.

[51] The rubric of D does not mention Epimachus.

[52] Passio in the MSS.

[53] Rescripta in the MSS.

[54] In the MSS the Passio S. Nicodemis is included with the lives of Petronilla and Felicula under the single rubric De obitu Petronillae et Passio Felicule.

[55] Rescripta de passione eorum in the MSS. The next text (BHL 6064) is also included under this same rubric in both A and D.

[56] Passio Domitille et Eufrosine et Theodore virg. et Sulpicii ac Serviliani sponsorum ipsarum in the MSS.

53.	Passio S. Torpetis martyris (BHL 8307)	B, 6r-8r; D, 248r-251v.
54.	Vita S. Pudentianae virginis, auct. Pseudo-Pastore presb.[57] (BHL 6991)	B, 8r-8v; D, 251v-252v.
55.	Vita S. Germani episcopi, auct. Venantio Fortunato (BHL 3468)	B, 8v-15v; D, 252v-263v.
56.	Passio S. Cononis martyris (BHL 1912)	B, 15v-16r; D, 263v-264v.
57.	Passio SS. martyrum Marcellini et Petri (BHL 5231)	B, 16r-17v; D, 264v-267r.
58.	Passio S. Erasmi episcopi[58] (BHL 2580)	B, 17v-20r; D, 267r-270v.
59.	Passio S. Bonifatii martyris (BHL 1413)	B, 20r-21v; D, 270v-273r.
60.	Vita S. Medardi episcopi, perperam adscripta Fortunato (BHL 5864*)	B, 21v-22v; D, 273r-275r.
61.	Passio SS. martyrum Primi et Feliciani[59] (BHL 6922)	B, 22v-24v; D, 275r-277v.
62.	Passio SS. martyrum Getulli, Cerealis et sociorum[60] (BHL 3524*)	B, 24v-25v;

[57] Relatio Pastoris Presbyteri titulum S. Potentiane ad Timotheum presbyterem in the MSS.

[58] Herasmi in the MSS.

[59] The final part of this text and the whole of the two texts which immediately follow have been lost at the divide of D--E. It is clear that the two missing texts were originally included in the manuscript for its numbering now jumps from LX (Passio SS. Primi et Feliciani) to LXIII (Passio S. Symphorosae). Both texts are also represented in the table of A. The final folio of D (f. 278) contains a later addition relating to the life of St. Matthias (cf. "Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae", ed. C. Smedt et al., Anal. Boll., XI [1892], 274), a text which Ker, ("The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library," 37, n. 1) mistakes for a life of St. Matthew.

[60] The rubric of B mentions only Gethulius.

63.	Passio SS. martyrum Basilidis et sociorum[61] (BHL 1019)	B, 25v-26r;	
64.	Passio S. Symphorosae cum septem filiis, falso adscripta Iulio Africano (BHL 7971)	B, 26r-27r;	E, 2r-2v.[62]
65.	Passio SS. martyrum Viti, Modesti et Crescentiae (BHL 8712)	B, 27r-29v;	E, 3r-6v.
66.	Passio SS. martyrum Gallicani, Iohannis, et Pauli[63] (BHL 3236, 3238)	B, 30v-32v;	E, 6v-9v.
67.	Passio S. Petri apostoli (BHL 6664*)	B, 32v-36v;	E, 9v-16r.
68.	Passio S. Pauli apostoli (BHL 6574*, 6570*)	B, 36v-40v;	E, 16r-22v.
69.	Passio SS. martyrum Processi et Martiniani (BHL 6947)	B, 40v-41v;	E, 22v-24r.
70.	Passio S. Felicitatis cum septem filiis (BHL 2853)	B, 41v-42v;	E, 24r-25r.
71.	Passio SS. martyrum Rufinae et Secundae (BHL 7359)	B, 42v-43v;	E, 25r-26v.

[61] Passio SS. martyrum Basilidis, Tripodis et Mandalis in B.

[62] The first folio of E contains a fragment of a text which I have not been able to identify.

[63] The rubrics of the MSS mention only John and Paul. Immediately before this text in B (ff. 29v-30v), there are two sermons by St. Augustine for the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist. Although this feast is represented in the table of contents of the Worcester exemplar (A, f. 55r), it seems probable that these sermons are independent additions to the collection, for (i) they are not included in the Salisbury exemplar (E); and (ii) the Worcester exemplar includes several other extra texts of this sort, including sermons for the feast of the Purification (see above, p. 17, n. 40) and the Nativity of Mary (see below, p. 25, n. 73).

72. Vita S. Praxedis virginis (BHL 6920)	B, 43v-44r;	E, 26v-27v.
73. Passio S. Apollinaris episcopi[64] (BHL 623)	B, 49r-52r;	E, 27v-33r.
74. Passio S. Iacobi Maioris apostoli (BHL 4057)	B, 52r-53r;	E, 33r-35v.
75. Passio SS. Septem Dormientium (BHL 2316)	B, 53r-56v;	E, 35v-41v.
76. Passio S. Pantaleonis martyris (BHL 6437)	B, 56v-60r;	E, 41v-46v.
77. Passio SS. martyrum Simplicii, Faustini et Beatricis (BHL 7790)	B, 60r-60v;	E, 46v-47v.
78. Passio S. Felicis papae (BHL 2857)	B, 60v-61r;	E, 47v-48r.
79. Passio S. Stephani papae (BHL 7845)	B, 61r-64r;	E, 48r-53r.
80. Vita S. Cassiani episcopi (BHL 1632)	B, 64r-67r;	E, 53r-57r.
81. Passio SS. martyrum Polychronii, Parmenii, Abdon et Sennen, Sixti, Laurentii et Hippolyti[65] (BHL 6884, 6, 7801, 4754, 3961)	B, 67r-73r;	E, 57r-67r.
82. Passio S. Donati episcopi (BHL 2291)	B, 73r-75v;	E, 67r-71v.
83. Vita S. Gaugerici episcopi (BHL 3287*)	B, 75v-77v;	E, 71v-75r.
84. Passio S. Eupli diaconi (BHL 2729)	B, 77v-78v;	E, 75r-76r.

[64] In B this text is preceded by the life of St. Wandregisilus. In the table of contents at f. 184r of E and in F (ff. 254r-274v), this life is one of the pieces at the end of the collection which were not included at their proper place in the order of the Church Year. The scribe of B has simply moved it to its appropriate day (22 July). The final part of the life and the beginning of the life of St. Apollinaris (in B) have been lost.

[65] The rubrics in the MSS give simply Passio SS. martyrum Sixti, Laurentii et Ypoliti.

85.	Passio S. Eusebii presbyteri (BHL 2740)	B, 78v-79r;	E, 76r-77r.
86.	Passio S. Agapiti martyris[66] (BHL 125)	B, 86v-88r;	E, 77r-79r.
87.	Passio S. Symphoriani martyris (BHL 7967)	B, 88r-89r;	E, 79r-81v.
88.	Vita S. Audoeni episcopi (BHL 750)	B, 89r-91v;	E, 81v-84v.
89.	Passio S. Bartholomaei apostoli[67] (BHL 1002)	B, 91v-94r;	E, 84v-88v.
90.	Passio S. Genesii martyris, adscripta Paulino episcopo (BHL 3304)	B, 94r-94v;	E, 89r-89v.
	Miracula, adscripta Hilario episcopo Arelatensi[68] (BHL 3307)	B, 94v-95v;	E, 89v-91r.
91.	Vita S. Augustini episcopi, auct. Possidio[69] (BHL 785)	B, 95v-105v;	E, 91r-110v.
92.	Vita S. Sabinae[70] virginis (BHL 7408)	B, 105v-107v;	E, 110v-114r.

[66]Immediately before this life (ff. 79r-86v), B includes the Epistle of Ps.-Jerome to Paula and Eustochium for the feast of the Assumption. Like the life of St. Wandregisilus (See above, p. 23 n. 64), this is one of the pieces which was originally out of order at the end of the collection (as it is in the table at f. 184r of E and in F), and which the scribe of B has moved to its proper place in the order of the Church year (15 August).

[67]The first four lines of this life in E are written by the main scribe, the remainder of the life in another hand. Folio 85 is repeated in the numbering here.

[68]In the MSS this is entitled De Virtute eius qualiter phons rhodani submersus est et nullus periit.

[69]The text of this life in E contains two large lacunae, the first at ff. 108r-108v, the second at 108v-109r. The scribe of B also left gaps at these two points which were later filled in by another hand.

[70]Savinae in the MSS, both here and in text 94.

93.	Passio S. Seraphiae virginis (BHL 7586)	B, 107v-109r; E, 114r-117v.
94.	Passio S. Sabinae martyris (BHL 7407)	B, 109r-109v; E, 117v-118r.
95.	Vita S. Bertini[71] abbatis (Pars media Vitae SS. Audomari Bertini et Winnoci) (BHL 763*)	B, 109v-111v; E, 118r-121v.
96.	Passio S. Hadriani[72] martyris (BHL 3744)	B, 111v-116v; E, 121v-130r.
97.	Vita S. Audomari episcopi[73] (BHL 765*)	B, 118r-121v; E, 130r-136v.
98.	Passio S. Hyacinthi[74] martyris (BHL 4053)	B, 121v-122r; E, 136v-137r.
99.	Passio S. Cornelii papae (BHL 1958)	B, 122r-122v; E, 137r-138r.
100.	Acta S. Cypriani episcopi (BHL 2038*)	B, 122v-123v; E, 138r-139r.
101.	Passio S. Euphemiae virginis (BHL 2708*)	B, 123v-126r; E, 139r-144r.
102.	Passio SS. martyrum Luciae et Geminiani (BHL 4985)	B, 126r-129v; E, 144r-149v.
103.	Vita S. Lamberti episcopi[75] (BHL 4677*)	B, 129v-133v; E, 150r-156v.

[71] Berhtini in the MSS.

[72] Adriani in the MSS.

[73] Entitled Pauca de Conversatione S. Audomari episcopi in the MSS. In B this text is preceded by a sermon for the feast of the Nativity of Mary (ff. 116v-118r). Like the sermons for the feasts of the Purification and the Nativity of John the Baptist, this text is almost certainly an independent addition to the collection, for it is not included in the table of A or in E.

[74] Iacincti in the MSS.

[75] Landberhti in the MSS.

104. Passio S. Matthaei apostoli (BHL 5690)	B, 133v-137v; E, 156v-162v.
105. Passio S. Mauritii et sociorum, auct. Eucherio episcopo Lugdunensi (retractata)[76] (BHL 5743*)	B, 137v-139v; E, 162v-166v.
106. Passio S. Firmini episcopi (BHL 3002)	B, 139v-142r; E, 166v-171r.
107. Acta S. Cypriani episcopi[77] (BHL 2038*)	B, 142r-143r; E, 171r-171v.
108. Acta SS. martyrum Cypriani et Iustinae: Conversio[78] (BHL 2047)	B, 143r-144v; E, 171v-174v.
Passio SS. martyrum Cypriani et Iustinae (BHL 2050*)	B, 144v-145v; E, 174v-175v.
109. Passio SS. martyrum Cosmae et Damiani[79] (BHL 1970)	B, 145v-147v; E, 175v-179r.
110. Dedicatio Ecclesiae S. Michaelis archangeli:[80] Apparitio Michaelis in Monte Gargano (BHL 5948)	B, 147v-148v; E, 179r-180v.
111. Vita S. Hieronimi presbyteri, perperam adscripta Gennadio[81] (BHL 3869)	B, 148v-151r; E, 180v-183v.

[76]Entitled Passio SS. Mauricii, Exsuperii, Candidi atque Victoris sociorumque eorum in the MSS.

[77]This is the same life as number 100 above.

[78]Entitled simply Passio S. Cipriani in the MSS.

[79]Entitled Acta et Passio Beatissimorum Martyrum Cosme et Damiani in the MSS.

[80]Thus in the MSS. The second part is the title given in the BHL.

[81]Entitled Vita Actusque . . . in the MSS.

112.	Vita S. Remigii episcopi, auct. Hincmaro[82] (BHL 7152, 7153, 7154, 7155, 7156, 7157, 7158, 7159)	C, 62-136;	E, 184v-236r.
113.	Vita S. Vedasti episcopi[83] (BHL 8508*)	C, 136-145;	E, 236r-242r.
	Sermo auct. Alcuino[84] (BHL 8509)	C, 145-147;	E, 242r-243v.
114.	Passio S. Piatonis martyris (BHL 6846*)	C, 147-153;	E, 243v-247r.
115.	Vita S. Leodegarii auct. monacho S. Symphoriani Augustod.[85] (BHL 4849b*)	C, 153-176;	E, 247r-262r.
116.	Passio SS. martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii[86] (BHL 2175)	C, 176-200;	E, 262r-277v.
117.	Passio SS. martyrum Sergii et Bacchi (BHL 7599)	C, 200-210;	E, 277v-283v.
118.	Vita S. Richarii abbatis, auct. Alcuino[87] (BHL 7224)	C, 210-217;	E, 283v-288v. F, 1r-5v.

[82]Immediately before this life in E (f. 184r), there is a table of contents (numbered CXII to CLXI) which is contemporary with the manuscript itself and which lists the lives which complete the collection. A similar table appears at precisely the same point in the Worcester copy of the collection (C, p. 61). Before this latter table there are a number of texts which are not related to the collection (pp. 1-60), and which are fully described by James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, I, 21-25. Note that C is paginated.

[83]Without the prologue listed in the BHL.

[84]Entitled Homelia in die Natale S. Vedasti pontificis dicenda ad populum in the MSS.

[85]Without the prologue listed in the BHL. Entitled Gesta et Passio S. Leodegarii episcopi in the MSS.

[86]Entitled Passio S. Dionisii Martyris Ariopagitae in the MSS.

[87]This is the only text preserved in all three manuscripts.

119.	Passio S. Callisti papae (BHL 1523)	C, 217-221;	F, 6r-8v.
120.	Passio SS. martyrum Crispini et Crispiniani (BHL 1990*)	C, 221-224;	F, 8v-11r.
121.	Passio SS. apostolorum Simonis et Iudae (BHL 7750)[88]		F, 11r-16v.
	Appendix (BHL 7751)		F, 16v.
122.	Passio S. Quintini martyris (BHL 6999)	C, 224-228;	F, 16v-19v.
	Inventio (BHL 7000*)	C, 228-230;	F, 19v-20v.
123.	Passio S. Caesarii diaconi (BHL 1511)	C, 230-234;	F, 20v-22v.
124.	Vita et Passio S. Eustachii et filiorum eius (BHL 2760)	C, 234-243;	F, 22v-29r.
125.	Vita S. Hucberti episcopi, auct. Iona episcopo Aurelianensi[89] (BHL 3994)	C, 243-258;	
126.	Vita S. Winnoci abbatis (Ultima pars Vitae SS. Audomari, Bertini, et Winnoci) (BHL 8952)	C, 258-261;	F, 29r-31v.
127.	Passio SS. martyrum Claudii, Nicostrati, Symphoriani, Castorii et Simplicii, auct. Porphyrio (BHL 1837)	C, 261-268;	F, 31v-36r.
128.	Passio S. Theodori martyris[90] (BHL 8077)	C, 268-271;	F, 36r-39r.

[88]Absent from C, but clearly a part of the collection, as indicated by its presence both in F and in the table of E (f. 184r). The appendix is also absent from C.

[89]Without the epistle or prologue of the BHL. The feast is also represented in the table of E, hence its presence in the list.

[90]Immediately after this, C has the Passio S. Mennae. In the table at f. 184r of E and in F, however, this life follows the feast of St. Martin. I have followed the positioning of E and F here.

129.	Vita S. Martini episcopi, auct. Sulpicio Severo[91] (BHL 5610)	C, 275-292;	F, 39r-50v.
	Epistula Severi ad Eusebium (BHL 5611)	C, 292-294;	F, 50v-51v.
	Epistula Severi ad Bassulam[92] (BHL 5613)	C, 294-297;	F, 53r-55r.
	Liber secundus Dialogi Severi[93] (BHL 5615)	C, 301-311;	F, 67r-73v.
	Liber tertius Dialogi Severi[94] (BHL 5616)	C, 311-318;	F, 73v-80r.
	Narrationes de Miraculis in Obitu et de Prima Translatione S. Martini, auct. Gregorio Turonensi:		
	I. Historia Francorum (I, 48)[95] (BHL 5619, 5620)	C, 297-298;	F, 81v-82r.
	II. De Virtutibus S. Martini (I, 4)[96] (BHL 5621)	C, 298-299;	F, 82r-82v.
	III. De Virtutibus S. Martini (I, 5)[97] (BHL 5622)	C, 297;	F, 82v.

[91]The MSS include the introductory Epistula ad Desiderium and a list of chapters.

[92]The rubrics of the MSS stipulate ad socrum suam Basulam.

[93]With a list of chapters in C and F.

[94]With a list of chapters in the MSS. The final part of this third book of Dialogues is not preserved in C.

[95]Entitled Epistola de Obitu S. Martini in C, and Epistola de Transitu S. Martini condita a Gregorio Turonensi episcopo in F.

[96]Entitled Versiculus de Transitu S. Martini in the MSS.

[97]Entitled Epistola S. Ambrosii episcopi de transitu S. Martini episcopi in C and Item Alius S. Ambrosii de Transitu S. Martini in F.

IV. De Virtutibus S. Martini (I, 6)[98] (BHL 5623)[99]	C, 299;	F, 88r-88v.
130. Passio S. Mennae martyris (BHL 5921)	C, 271-275;	F, 85r-88r.

[98]Entitled Quando corpus eius translatum est in C. and Sermo de Translatione Corporis S. Martini in F.

[99]In addition to the texts listed above, which C and F both preserve, F includes the following:

(i) Epistola Severi ad Aurelium (BHL 5612): 51v-53r

(ii) Liber primus Dialogi Severi de Virtutibus Sanctorum Heremitorum BHL 5614): 55r-67r

(iii) A sermon on the Trinity ascribed to St. Martin in PL XVIII, cols.11-17 and beginning with the words Clemens trinitas est: 80r-80v.

(iv) A chapter from Sulpicius's Dialogues (III, 15) which sharply denounces Martin's episcopal successor Brice (BHL 1451): 80v-81v.

(v) Alcuin's epitome of the life of St. Martin, entitled De Virtutibus Beati Martini ab Alcuino condita (BHL 5625): 82v-85r.

(vi) De Virtutibus Sancti Martini a Gregorio Turonicens episcopo abreviato (BHL 5618*): 88v-103v.

The presence of these extra texts in F can be explained in one of three ways:

(a) They are independent additions to the collection. This is supported by the fact that F is a later manuscript than C, and so might be expected to contain additional matter.

(b) The extra texts were originally included in the collection but omitted by the scribe of C. Two considerations support this: Most of the texts in the list only loosely relate to the life of Martin (eg. the first book of Severus's Dialogues, the sermon on the Trinity, and III, 15 of the Dialogues) or merely summarize other texts in the collection (eg. Alcuin's Vita which is simply an epitome of Sulpicius's writings); secondly, the omission of these texts would be consistent with the probable behaviour of the scribe of C, for he seems to have tampered with the contents of his exemplar at several other points. The absence in C of the lives of some of the apostles and the rearrangement of the two items at the end are notable instances of this apparent tampering.

(c) From the very beginning there were variant copies of the collection, some of which contained the extra texts, and some of which did not.

Unfortunately, since the final portion of the Salisbury exemplar has not survived, it is impossible to know for certain which of these explanations most nearly represents the facts.

131. Narratio S. Briccii Gregorii[100] Turonensis (BHL 1452)	C, 299-301;	F, 103v-104v.
132. Vita S. Aniani episcopi (BHL 473*)	C, 319-323;	F, 104v-108r.
133. Passio S. Caeciliae virginis, recensio longior (BHL 1495)	C, 323-336;	F, 108r-116v.
134. Passio S. Longini martyris (BHL 4965)	C, 336-339;	F, 116v-118v.
135. Passio S. Clementis papae (BHL 1848)	C, 339-343;	F, 118v-121r.
Miracula S. Clementis[101] (BHL 1855, 1857)	C, 343-345;	F, 121r-122v.
136. Vita S. Trudonis abbatis , auct. Donato diac.[102] (BHL 8321)	C, 345-361;	
137. Passio SS. martyrum Chrysogoni, Agapes, Chioniae et Irenae, Theodotae et Anastasiae[103] (BHL 1795, 118, 8093, 401)	C, 361-377;	F, 122v-132v.
138. Passio SS. martyrum Saturnini et Sisinnii[104] (BHL 7493)	C, 377-378;	F, 132v-133r.

[100]Entitled Vita S. Bricii in the MSS. In C this life precedes Books II and III of Severus's Dialogues, but in F and in the table at f. 184r of E, it follows the writings on St. Martin.

[101]Entitled Expositio Gregorii episcopi Turonensi AEcclesiae Liber Miraculorum beati Clementis martyris in the MSS.

[102]Absent from F, but listed in the table of contents at f. 184r of E. The text lacks the prologue listed in the BHL.

[103]Entitled simply Passio S. Chrisogoni martyris in the MSS.

[104]Only Saturninus is mentioned in the rubrics of the MSS.

139. Passio S. Andreae apostoli[105] (BHL 428)		F, 133r-136r.
140. Passio SS. martyrum Chrysanthi et Dariae (BHL 1787)	C, 379-389;	F, 136r-143r.
141. Vita S. Eligii episcopi[106] (BHL 2477)	C, 389-393;	
142. Passio S. Sabini episcopi (BHL 7451)	C, 393-397;	
143. Passio S. Eulaliae virginis (BHL 2700)	C, 397-403;	F, 161v-165r.
144. Passio SS. martyrum Fusciani[107] et Victorici (BHL 3226)	C, 403-406;	F, 165r-167v.

[105]It is clear that this text formed part of the collection for it is represented in the table of E (f. 184r), and the numbering in C jumps from CXXXVIII (Saturninus) to CXL (Chrysanthus and Daria). Moreover, most of p. 378 in C--the very point at which the life of Andrew should have begun--has been left blank.

[106]Neither this text nor the Passio S. Sabini which immediately follows is included in F, though both are represented in the index of E (f. 184r). In their place, F provides a group of writings on the life of St. Nicholas: Translatio S. Nicholai (144r-144v), Vita S. Nicholai (145r-156r), Miracula S. Nicholai (156v-161v). It seems likely that these are later additions to the collection, for the feast of Nicholas is not represented either in the table of E, or in the text or table of C. Moreover, the text on the translation refers to an event which took place in 1087--some twenty to thirty years after the Worcester exemplar was written. Veneration of St. Nicholas in England greatly increased after 1100, and the inclusion of his feast in the comparatively late twelfth-century exemplar, F, but not in the earlier Worcester and Salisbury copies probably reflects this change. Presumably the scribe of F deliberately omitted the lives of the lesser ranking saints Eligius and Sabinus to make room for the wealth of material which he includes for this more important feast. He has left f. 143v--at which point the life of Eligius would have begun--blank, and the writings on St. Nicholas begin on a new folio.

[107]Faustini in the MSS.

145. Passio S. Luceiae[108] virginis (BHL 4980)	C, 406-408;	F, 167v-168v.
146. Passio S. Thomae apostoli[109] (BHL 8136)		F, 168v-176r.
147. Passio S. Anastasiae virginis[110] (BHL 401)	C, 408-410;	F, 176r.
148. Passio S. Eugeniae virginis (BHL 2666-2667*)	C, 410-426;	F, 176r-186v.
149. Passio S. Marini pueri (BHL 5538)	C, 426-434;	F, 186v-191v.
150. Vita S. Iohannis evangelistae, auct. Pseudo-Mellito[111] (BHL 4320)		F, 191v-197v.
151. Passio SS. martyrum Maximi et sociorum[112] (BHL 5857d-5857e*)	C, 434-437;	F, 197v-199v.
152. Passio S. Luciae virginis (BHL 4992)	C, 437-440;	F, 199v-201v.
153. Vita S. Iudoci presbyteri (BHL 4504)	C, 440-446;	F, 201v-205v.
154. Passio S. Cristinae virginis (BHL 1756)	C, 446-455;	F, 205v-211v.

[108] Lucie in the MSS. This is Luceia of Campania whose feast was celebrated either on the 25 June or 6 July. The compiler of the collection seems to have confused her with Lucia of Syracuse whose life comes later in the collection (no. 152), for in both MSS. this first life is dated Id. Dec., the feast day of the Syracusian saint.

[109] Absent from C, but included in the contemporary table of contents of E.

[110] This is simply the final part of a text which comes earlier in the collection, the Passio SS. martyrum Chrysogoni, Agapes, Chioniae et Irenae, Theodotae et Anastasiae (no. 100). The scribe of F recognizes this and, to avoid repetition, copies only the first part of the text, concluding with the words et reliqua ut supra.

[111] Lacking in C, but included in the original table of contents of E.

[112] Entitled Passio SS.martyrum Maximi, Severe, Calendini, Marci, Flaviani et SS. consiliorum qui ponitur in sancto Iohanni cap. in clivium cucumeris in C.

155.	Vita S. Mauri abbatis, auct. Pseudo-Fausto, reapse Odone ab. Glannafoliensi[113] (BHL 5773)		F, 211v-231r.
156.	Adventus Exceptioque Corporis beati Benedicti et Scholasticae sororis eius in agrum Floriacensem, perperam adscripta Adrevaldo[114] (BHL 1117)	C, 455-458 + B, 166r-167r;	F, 231r-235r.
157.	Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis[115] (BHL 4178)	B, 167r-168r;	F, 235r-236v.
158.	Gesta S. Silvestri papae (BHL 7739)	B, 168r-180r;	F, 237r-252r.
159.	Passio S. Columbae virginis (BHL 1893)	B, 180r-180v;[116]	F, 252v-253v.
160.	Vita S. Wandregisili abbatis (BHL 8805)	B, 44r-48v;	F, 254r-265r.
161.	Epistula Pseudo-Hieronymi ad Paulam et Eustochium de Assumptione Sanctae Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariae[117] (BHL 5355d)	B, 79r-86v;	F, 274v-287v.

[113]Absent from C, but represented in the table of contents of E.

[114]This is the last text of the collection preserved in C. The remainder of the Worcester copy survives at the end of B: as Ker ("Membra Disiecta", 82) points out, "the broken last sentence in Corpus [our C] confectio itinere in prediolum quoddam diverterunt . . . is continued in Nero [our B] bonodium nomine situm in pago aurelianensi." The final folio of C (pp. 459-60) contains part of a life of St. Oswald of Worcester which is a later addition.

[115]The concluding portion of this text in B and the middle part of the next text are in different hands.

[116]From this point to the end, B contains charters, laws, and miscellaneous lives, none of which form part of the Cotton-Corpus collection.

[117]The MSS ascribe the epistle to Jerome but it is now known to be the work of Paschasius Radbertus. (See The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1039). In F, the epistle is preceded by texts on the Miracula (BHL 8807, 8808, ff. 265r-273v) and Translatio (BHL 8809*, ff. 274r-274v.) of St. Wandregisilus, none of which are preserved in B. On the positioning of the Vita S. Wandregisili and the Pseudo-Jerome epistle in B, see above, p. 23, n. 64 and p. 24, n. 66.

The list of texts given above represents, as nearly as possible within the limits of the manuscript evidence, the probable contents of the archetype from which A + B + C, D + E, and F derive. As examination of the notes accompanying the list shows, the contents of this archetype seem to have differed in only a few respects from those of the witnesses considered above. At some stage in its transmission, however, it is clear that local requirements and tastes, as well as more general changes in the hagiological interests of English churchmen, gave rise to forms of the collection which differed more substantially from the archetype than any of the descendants examined above. Two such variant forms of the legendary--Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fell 2 and Hereford, Hereford Cathedral, MS P 7 vi --are cited by Levison.[118] The first of these, MS Fell 2, is of little importance here: despite some superficial similarities with the Cotton-Corpus collection, this volume is quite clearly part of another legendary which circulated at Canterbury, a legendary which may itself have been influenced by the Cotton-Corpus collection, but which in its present form exhibits so many variations of content and arrangement that it must be classed as something quite distinct.[119] The second manuscript cited by Levison, Hereford Cathedral MS P 7 vi, is, however, more closely related to Cotton-Corpus, and merits our attention.

[118]Levison, "Conspectus," 545.

[119]Mr. Ker kindly communicated this information to me in response to a more general inquiry about the MSS of the legendary. See Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest, 30. MS Fell 2 and the Cotton-Corpus MSS include many of the same saints, but frequently depart from each other in their choice of texts (eg. Saints Thomas, Eulalia, Eligius, and Andrew.)

The hagiographic collection designated by the number P 7 vi in the Hereford Cathedral Library[120] is the final volume of what appears to have once been a very large and comprehensive legendary arranged per circulum anni . Written at Hereford in the middle of the twelfth century, the manuscript contains the lives of forty-nine saints, who were commemorated in the months of November and December, and whose feasts extend from non. Nov. to III kal. Ian.[121] The lives themselves are preceded by a table of contents, written in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript and before the lives themselves were transcribed, a fact which suggests that the volume was not a new compilation, but a copy of an existing collection whose contents had already been established. The text of the collection is generally less corrupt and better written than that of any of the other manuscripts considered above and is comparatively free of extensive scribal revision.

Because H in its present form preserves only the final portion of the collection to which it once belonged, its ancestry and relationship to other manuscripts cannot be reconstructed with absolute certainty. Nevertheless, as Levison points out in his "Conspectus", several features of this volume suggest that it is a later and variant form of the Cotton-Corpus collection. Some of the notable resemblances between H and the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts are the following:

i) H includes all but one of the saints represented in the corresponding

[120] Siglum H.

[121] For a complete list of the contents, see A. T. Bannister, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library (Hereford, 1927), 172-77.

portion of the other manuscripts. The one saint whom it does not represent is Longinus, the dating of whose feast in the other manuscripts (X kal. Dec. together with St. Cecilia) is at variance with standard English liturgical practice (Id. Mar.).[122] It therefore seems possible that Longinus was deliberately excluded from the selection of saints for November and December found in H, and included at an earlier point in that collection.

ii) Like the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts considered earlier, H contains a 'combined' life of St. Eugenia which, as I shall show later, does not appear to have been widely circulated.[123]

iii) Both H and the other Cotton-Corpus manuscripts provide two texts for the Id. Dec: a Passio Sanctae Luciae (of Syracuse) and a Passio alterius Sanctae Luciae. The presence of the Passio alterius in both seems to be an agreement in error, for the text is not a life of St. Lucy, but the Passio Sanctorum Luceiae, Auceiae et Soc. of Campania, whose feast was celebrated not on the Id. Dec., but on 25 June or 6 July.

iv) Like the other manuscripts, H departs, in the cases of St. Martin and St. Clement, from its normal arrangement of one text per saint and provides multiple sources.

Apart from the points of similarity with Cotton-Corpus, several factors suggest that a number of the extra items found in H were additions to the early form of the legendary. Among these are

[122] Of the eight kalendars printed in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100 and in English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100, I, ed. F. Wormald, Henry Bradshaw Society, LXXII, LXXVII respectively (London, 1934, 1939 respectively) which mention the feast of Longinus, seven give the date Idus Martii and only one has X kal. Decembris.

[123] See below, pp. 62-64.

the following:

i) H, written in the middle of the twelfth century, is a later copy of the collection than either A + B + C (c. 1060) or D + E (end of eleventh century). Given the tendency of legendaries to 'grow' with age--as, for example, F appears to have expanded[124]--the presence of additional items in a later manuscript is to be expected.

ii) At least five of the additional lives found in H are the lives of English saints: Birinus of Wessex, Columbanus, Edmund, Edburga of Thanet, and Egwin, third Bishop of Worcester. Since it is improbable that any of these would have been included in a collection which originated on the continent, they are likely to be later additions made in England. The life of Egwin must be regarded as an addition on other grounds as well, for it was only composed in the first half of the twelfth century (by Prior Dominic of Evesham), perhaps only a very short time before H itself was written.[125]

iii) A few of the extra texts provided by H relate to saints whose popularity in England greatly increased in the twelfth century. Their presence in a twelfth century selection of lives, therefore,--but not in one written c. 1060--may simply reflect a desire, not unlike that which fostered the continual revision and updating of the kalendars of the period, to provide for the changing hagiological interests and biases of the English church. In addition to the English saints mentioned above, this seems especially true for St. Katherine whose feast is mentioned in the original entries of only

[124] See above, pp. 13-14, 30, n. 99, 32, n. 106.

[125] See J. C. Jennings, "The Writings of Prior Dominic of Evesham", EHR, LXXVII (1962), 298-304.

one of the twenty kalendars printed in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100,[126] but in all eleven of those published in the companion volume English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100, I, where, in addition, she is almost always given an in cappis or xii lectiones grading.

To summarize, then, the points of resemblance between H and the corresponding portion of the manuscripts considered earlier, as well as the special character of the additional items found in H, suggest that the Hereford volume is part of a later and expanded version of the Cotton-Corpus collection, a version designed to anglicize and update the predominantly continental and, for a twelfth century audience, somewhat antiquated selection of saints found in the other manuscripts. In view of this, of course, only the texts which H shares with the earlier copies of the legendary are applicable here. These will be considered later in a study of the textual peculiarities of the manuscripts. For the present, a look at some of the more general areas of agreement between Ælfric's sources and the collection as reconstructed earlier seems in order.

3) Ælfric's Sources in Relation to the Legendary

Just as Ælfric makes no mention of the homiliary of Paul the Deacon at any point in his homilies, so too he tells us little about where he found the sources for his lives. Indeed with the exception

[126]Many of the kalendars printed in this volume contain later additions, usually dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. In three of these kalendars, St. Katherine is one of the additional items.

of a few brief references to the Vitae Patrum,[127] his writings contain no specific allusion to any identifiable collection of hagiographic texts, nor even anything as partially instructive as, for example, the passing references to Smaragdus and Haymo in the Latin preface to the first series of Catholic Homilies.[128] In the whole range of Ælfric's works, therefore, our only helpful clue is found in the somewhat apologetic statement which introduces the Lives, nec tamen plura promitto me scripturum hac lingua,[129] a remark which seems to indicate that he had access to a very sizeable group of Latin texts, from which he has selected only a comparatively small number for translation.

The problems created by Ælfric's silence on the subject of his hagiographic sources are compounded by one important difference between Ælfric's method in the homilies and in the lives. For the student of sources, one of the most distinctive features of Ælfric's homilies is that they almost always derive from more than one Latin text, and frequently from as many as four or five. This characteristic--a source of some discouragement for those who pioneered the study of the exegetical sources--eventually became a great asset, for it helped to provide the decisive link between Ælfric's translations and the homiliary of Paul the Deacon. As Professor Pope points out, "What makes Ælfric's use of some form of . . . [Paul's

[127] On Ælfric's use of the Vitae Patrum, see below, pp. 92-93.

[128] "Hos namque auctores in hac explanatione sumus sequuti, videlicet Augustinum Hipponensem, Hieronimum, Bedam, Gregorium, Smaragdum, et aliquando Haymonem." CH, I, 1.

[129] LS, I, 2.

collection] virtually certain is that where, as is usual for the greater feasts, the collection provides more than one sermon for an occasion, we are likely to find Ælfric drawing, not on one alone, but on all or most of them."[130] In the present study, however, evidence of this sort is rarely available: unlike the homilies, most of Ælfric's saints' lives derive from a single source text, and even where more than one source is used, there is usually only one hagiographic model and a supporting group of remotely connected exegetical, patristic, or historical documents which, in terms of subject matter alone, one could not expect to find in even the most comprehensive of hagiographic compendia.

To say, however, that Ælfric's lives generally derive from a single source text is not to imply that they derive from the only available text. As even the most cursory glance at the BHL indicates, each of the saints treated in Ælfric's works is, in Latin hagiography, represented by a large number of different writings, some so completely dissimilar that they must be classed as distinct versions, others distinguished primarily by their addition or omission of certain passages or details. Given this wide choice of potential sources for each life, then, any evidence of a manifestly regular correspondence between the particular source used by Ælfric and the particular text included in an established collection can scarcely be interpreted as coincidence, but must argue strongly for Ælfric's dependence on some form of that collection. It is precisely this sort of sustained correspondence which is provided by the selection of texts given in the Cotton-Corpus collection.

[130] Homilies of Ælfric, I, 156-7.

Before examining the range and nature of this agreement, it will be useful to enumerate which of Ælfric's writings may properly be termed 'hagiographic', and to outline briefly the various sources which have been identified thus far. The problem of establishing the Ælfrician hagiographic canon, though somewhat complicated by the frequent appearance of exegetical, biblical, historical, and hagiographic material within a single text, has been greatly facilitated by two useful studies: Professor Clemoes' "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works"[131] and the comprehensive introduction to Professor Pope's edition of Ælfric's supplementary Homilies.[132] On the basis of the analytical lists of Ælfric's writings given in these studies, I propose to include the following texts in this investigation: all the lives of the apostles given in the first two series of Catholic Homilies, together with thirteen other translations from these series which deal primarily with the lives of the early martyrs and popes;[133] all the texts included in Skeat's edition of the Lives of Saints, with the exception of numbers xxiii, xxiii B, xxx, and xxxiii, which are not by Ælfric,[134] numbers i, xii, xvi, xvii and the Item Alia sequels to numbers xv and xxv,

[131] In The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of Their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), 212-47.

[132] I, 136-45.

[133] These are CH, I, iv, xxvi, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxvii, xxxviii; CH, II, ix, x, xi, xviii (both parts), xix, xx, xxii, xxxi, xxxii, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix. Some of these are two-part homilies, the first part containing an exposition of a gospel text, the second part the life of a saint. In such cases, we are of course concerned only with the hagiographic section. On CH, II, ii, see below, p. 94, n. 230.

[134] See Clemoes, "Chronology", 219; Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, I, 143, n. 6; and K. Sisam, Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford, 1953), 129, n. 2; 185, n. 1.

which are not hagiographic, and numbers xiii, xviii, xxv, and the sequel to number xix, which are based on the Bible; and finally, two excerpts printed in Professor Pope's supplementary edition of the Homilies, namely the first part of the homily on the saints Alexander, Eventius, and Theodolus (xxiii), and the extended story of Macarius and the Magicians (xxix). Together these represent the main body of Ælfric's hagiographic writings, though, as will become apparent later, several other texts whose contents defy absolute classification will also require brief consideration.

The individual sources which Ælfric employed in preparing the lives listed above have now almost all been uncovered, chiefly among the large collections of Latin saints' lives printed in the Acta Sanctorum,[135] the Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum[136] of Mombritius, Surius's De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis,[137] and various editions of the pseudo-Abdias passional and of the Vitae Patrum. For the lives included in the first two series of Catholic Homilies (as represented by Thorpe's edition), the classic work is Max Förster's Über Die Quellen von Ælfrics Homiliae Catholicae: I. Legenden, a study which, though superseded in a few instances by more recent research, still remains an indispensable guide to the hagiographic sources which Ælfric employed in the early stages of his work. For the sources used in the Lives of Saints, two studies have been published: J. H. Ott's Über

[135] ed. J. Bollandus (Antwerp, 1643 seqq., 1780 seqq.). Hereafter cited in notes and references by volume, day and page as ASS.

[136] 2 vols. (Paris, 1910). Hereafter cited by volume and page as Mombritius.

[137] (Cobgne, 1576 seqq.). Hereafter cited by volume and page as Surius. Many of the texts printed by Surius have been silently and extensively emended by the editor for stylistic reasons.

die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Ælfrics Lives of Saints, which discusses the texts included in the first volume of Skeats's edition; and G. Loomis's "Further Sources of Ælfric's Saints' Lives",[138] which covers the lives included in the second volume. Finally, some of Ælfric's lives, notably those of St. Martin,[139] St. George,[140] and Pope Gregory,[141] have been the subject of separate investigations, while information on the sources of the texts recently printed by Professor Pope is presented in the comprehensive notes to his edition.[142]

Taken together, these studies account for almost all the hagiographic sources used by Ælfric. A complete list of these sources, enumerating separately excerpts from such long works as Bede's History, includes some seventy Latin texts, writings whose relationship to Ælfric could be established only after researchers had sifted through hundreds of other potential sources, copies of which fill the volumes of the Acta Sanctorum, the Sanctuarium of Mombritius, and other large collections of Latin hagiographic literature. In view of this, it is remarkable to find that some fifty of the seventy identified sources--and even a few new ones--can be found already assembled in a single collection having English ties, the Cotton-Corpus legendary. Given

[138] Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, XIII (1931), 1-8.

[139] G. H. Gerould, "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours", JEGP, XXIV (1925), 206-10.

[140] J. E. Matzke, "Contributions to the History of the Legend of St. George, with Special Reference to the Sources of the French, German and Anglo-Saxon Metrical Versions", PMLA, XVIII (1903), 146-47.

[141] M. R. Godden, "The Sources for Ælfric's Homily on St. Gregory", Anglia , LXXXVI (1968), 79-88.

[142] See especially Homilies of Ælfric, I, 163-171.

the variety of texts which might have been included in the collection for each of its feasts, such a degree of sustained correspondence with Ælfric is impressive. To early researchers, it would also have been of inestimable practical value, for it would have led them directly to Ælfric's sources, thus eliminating the painstaking scrutiny of texts not in fact related to Ælfric.

A more detailed view of the sources given in the collection is provided in the list below. In this table, normal type indicates sources found in the collection which have been identified in previous investigations, italic type additional sources which have been uncovered by studying the contents of the legendary.[143]

Catholic Homilies

Ælfric	Source
John (I, iv)	1. Vita S. Iohannis evangelistae, auct. Pseudo-Mellito (BHL 4320)
Peter and Paul (I, xxvib)	1. Gesta SS. Nerei et Achillei (BHL 6058) 2. Rescriptum Marcelli (BHL 6066)[144]
Lawrence (I, xxix)	1. Passio SS. Polychronii, Parmenii, Abdon et Sennen, Sixti, Laurentii, et Hippolyti (BHL 6884, 6, 7801, 4754, 3961)
Assumption of Mary (I, xxx)	1. Epistula Ps.-Ieronimi ad Paulam et Eustochium (BHL 5355d) 2. Historia S. Theophili, interprete Paulo diac. Neapolitano (BHL 8121) 3. Vita S. Basilii archiepiscopi, auct. Pseudo-Amphilochio (BHL 1023*)

[143] With the exception of works by well known authors, titles of Latin sources in the list are abbreviations of the BHL titles. The letters a and b, when added to the article number of CH or LS, indicate the portion of the article which is hagiographic.

[144] Here Ælfric also uses another source not provided by Cotton-Corpus. See below, pp. 94-97.

Catholic Homilies

Ælfric	Source
Bartholomew (I, xxxi)	1. Passio S. Bartholomaei apostoli (BHL 1002)
Michael (I, xxxiv)	1. Apparitio Michaelis in Monte Gargano (BHL 5948)
Clement (I, xxxvii)	1. Passio S. Clementis papae (BHL 1848) 2. Miraculum S. Clementis (BHL 1855) 3. Passio SS. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii (BHL 2175)
Andrew (I, xxxviii)	1. Passio S. Andreae apostoli (BHL 428)
Christmas (II, i)	*1. Passio S. Iacobi Maioris apostoli (BHL 4057)*[145]
Gregory the Great (II, ix)	1. Vita S. Gregorii papae, auct. Paulo Diac. (BHL3639)[146]
Philip (II, xviii)	1. Vita S. Philippi apostoli (BHL 6814)
Alexander, Eventius, and Theodulus (II, xx, Homilies of Ælfric, xxiii)	1. Passio SS. Alexandri, Eventii, et Theoduli (BHL 266)
On the Greater Litany: Tuesday (II, xxii)	1. Vita vel Visio S. Fursei (BHL 3210)
James the Greater (II, xxxi)	1. Passio S. Iacobi Maioris apostoli (BHL 4057)
The Seven Sleepers (II, xxxii)	1. Passio SS. Septem Dormientium (BHL 2316)

[145]Used only for pp. 12-19 of Ælfric's account, on which see below pp. 274-84.

[146]Here Ælfric also used both the Latin and Old English versions of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica. See below, p. 84.

Catholic Homilies

Ælfric	Source
Matthew (II, xxxvii)	1. Passio S. Matthaei apostoli (BHL 5960)
Simon and Jude (II, xxxviii)	1. Passio SS. apostolorum Simonis et Iudae (BHL 7750)
Martin of Tours (II, xxxix)	1. Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini (BHL 5610) 2. Sulpicius Severus, Epistula ad Bassulam (BHL 5613) 3. Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, I, 48 (BHL 5619, 5620) *4. Alcuin, Scriptum de Vita S. Martini Turonensis (BHL 5625)*

Lives of Saints

Eugenia (ii)	*1. Passio S. Eugeniae virginis (BHL 2666-2667*)*
Basil (iii)	1. Vita S. Basilii archiepiscopi, auct. Pseudo-Amphilochio (BHL 1023*)
Julian and Basilissa (iv)	1. Passio SS. Iuliani et Basilissae (BHL 4532*)
Sebastian (v)	1. Passio SS. Sebastiani et sociorum (BHL 7543)
Maur (vi)	1. Vita S. Mauri abbatis, auct. Pseudo-Fausto (BHL 5773)
Agnes (vii)	1. Passio S. Agnetis virginis, auct. Pseudo-Ambrosio (BHL 156)
Gallicanus, John and Paul (viib)	1. Passio SS. Gallicani, Iohannis et Pauli (BHL 3236, 3238)
Agatha (viii)	1. Passio S. Agathae virginis (BHL 134*)
Lucy (ix)	1. Passio S. Luciae virginis (BHL 4992)

Lives of Saints

Ælfric	Source
Chair of Peter (x)	1. Vita SS. Petronillae et Feliculae (BHL 6061)[147]
The Forty Soldiers (xi)	1. Passio SS. Quadraginta Martyrum (BHL 7538)[148]
George (xiv)	1. Passio S. Georgii Martyris (BHL 3373-3374*)
Mark (xv)	1. Passio S. Marci evangelistae (BHL 5276)
Apollinaris (xxii)	1. Passio S. Apollinaris episcopi (BHL 623)
Abdon and Sennen (xxiv)	1. Passio SS. Polychronii, Parmenii, Abdon et Sennen, Sixti, Laurentii et Hippolyti (BHL 6884, 6, 7801, 4754, 3961)[149]
Exaltation of the Cross (xxvii)	1. Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis (BHL 4178) 2. Passio S. Longini (BHL 4965)[150]
Maurice and Companions (xxviii)	1. Passio S. Mauritii et sociorum, auct. Eucherio (BHL 5743*)[151]

[147] Ælfric supplements this source with material from other readily available ecclesiastical texts. See Ott, 34-36.

[148] It is likely that Ælfric also consulted Latin renditions of sermons by Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa for this account. See below, pp. 220-23.

[149] Ælfric here restricts himself to the part of the Latin text which deals with Abdon and Sennen.

[150] In his account of the Exaltatio, Ælfric also refers in passing to material found in various versions of the Inventio. See below, pp. 229-30.

[151] For the concluding portion of his life of Maurice, Ælfric drew on several homiletic sources. See below, p. 235, n. 118.

Lives of Saints

Ælfric	Source
Denis and Companions (xxix)	1. Passio SS. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii (BHL 2175)
Martin of Tours (xxxi)	1. Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini (BHL 5610) 2. Sulpicius Severus, Epistula ad Eusebium (BHL 5611) 3. Sulpicius Severus, Epistula ad Bassulam (BHL 5613) 4. Sulpicius Severus, Dialogues, II, III (BHL 5615, 5616) 5. Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, I, 48 (BHL 5619,5620) 6. Gregory of Tours, De Virtutibus S. Martini, I, 4, 5 (BHL 5621, 5622)[152] 7. *Alcuin, Scriptum de Vita S. Martini Turonensis (BHL 5625)*
Cecilia (xxxiv)	1. Passio S. Caeciliae virginis (BHL 1495)
Chrysanthus and Daria (xxxv)	1. Passio SS. Chrysanthi et Dariae (BHL 1787)
Thomas (xxxvi)	1. Passio S. Thomae apostoli (BHL 8136)
Vincent (xxxvii)	*1. Passio S. Vincentii diaconi (BHL 8628, 8630-31*)* *2. Additamentum (BHL 8634)*

In assessing the significance of this list of sources, it is necessary to take account of several different matters. An initial and important question is the selection of saints represented in the collection, of which two characteristics may be noted. The first is its range: unlike the apostolic passional cited by Förster, the Cotton-Corpus legendary is a heterogeneous

[152] Gerould, "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours", erroneously names I, 3 of De Virtutibus as an additional source here. See below, pp. 122-24, 148-50.

collection of saints which includes sources not only for Ælfric's lives of the apostles, but also for his lives of virgins, confessors, and other early martyrs, and for his narratives of the Exaltation of the Cross (LS, xxvii) and of the Narratio de apparitione S. Michaelis in Monte Gargano (CH, I, xxxiv). It would, of course, be wrong to attach a very special importance to this feature of the collection, as many other legendaries of the period are similarly comprehensive in range. Nevertheless, the variety of the Cotton-Corpus selection deserves at least a brief mention, for as Père Poncelet makes clear in his study of "Le Légendier de Pierre Calo", many early legendaries were much more limited in their choice of saints:

> Les légendiers (ou passionnaires) sont, par définition, des collections d'opuscules de longueur variable où sont racontés la vie, le martyre, les translations, les miracles des saints . . . Le nombre et le choix des Vies et Passions varie à l'infini; c'est tantôt, en un ou plusieurs volumes, tout le cycle de l'année liturgique; tantôt un groupement bien déterminé, comme les Passions des apôtres, les Vies et Passions de saintes femmes; souvent encore, c'est un groupement qui semble et qui plus d'une fois est réellement tout à fait arbitraire.[153]

A second and more important similarity between Ælfric's selection of saints and that of the Cotton-Corpus legendary is the notable omission in both of one of the more important saints of the early Church: St. Matthias. In the English Preface to the second series of Catholic Homilies, Ælfric promises to furnish accounts of a well-defined group of saints, namely those whom Angel-cynn mid freols-dagum wurðað.[154] As Kenneth Sisam has pointed out, "an earlier tenth-century document, the verse

[153] A. Poncelet, "Le Légendier de Pierre Calo", Anal. Boll., XXIX (1910), 5.

[154] CH, II, 2/15-16. Reiterated in the Latin preface to LS, I, 2.

Menology, professes to give the 'feast days that the King of the Saxons orders to be kept by all', and comparison with it shows that Ælfric held closely to his plan".[155] There are, however, three conspicuous omissions in the original issue of the Homilies: St. Thomas, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and St. Matthias. Of these, the first two may quickly be explained. In the case of St. Thomas, Ælfric apologizes for the omission, points out that there is already an account of the saint on Englisc on leoð-wison, and explains that nolde we hreppan his ðrowunge because of St. Augustine's stricture of the incident of the cupbearer narrated in the Passion text.[156] Moreover, later--at the express request of his patron Æthelwerd -- Ælfric returns to the legend and includes it, together with a brief explanatory preface, as the final item in the Lives.[157]

A similar pattern is observed for the second obvious omission, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. Here again Ælfric expresses concern over the possibility of falling into error (ac we nellað be ðam [Mary, Anna and Ioachim] na swiðor awritan, þy-læs ðe we on ænigum gedwylde befeallon),[158] acknowledges his omission, and then later supplies a sermon for the feast in a revised and expanded issue of

[155] Sisam, 164.

[156] See CH, II, 520.

[157] LS, xxxvi.

[158] CH, II, 466/18-20. Ælfric refers once again to the importance of the feast of the Nativity of Mary in his homily for the Nativity of John the Baptist where he points out that "Þreora manna gebyrd-tide freoðað seo halige gelaðung: ðæs Hælendes . . . and Iohannes his bydeles, and ðære eadigan Marian his moder". (CH, I, 352/33-35).

the Homilies.[159] For Matthias, however, we find neither Ælfric's customary excusatio dictantis at the expected point in the Homilies nor any later account, even in the Lives. It is instructive to consider the reasons for this omission. That it was merely a casual oversight on Ælfric's part seems on a number of grounds highly improbable: as Kenneth Sisam has observed, "contemporary calendars leave no doubt of the importance of . . . [St. Matthias's] feast",[160] and Ælfric's own works, both in their original and in their revised forms, show everywhere the marks of careful planning and thoughtful execution. Nor does it seem possible, as has also been suggested, that the "confusion of . . . [St. Matthias's] legend with that of Matthew probably accounts for Ælfric's silence".[161] Certainly there is a danger of confusion--as is shown by the pains which Ælfric takes to distinguish between the two apostles in the homily In Natale Unius Apostoli[162]--but the same danger did not deter Ælfric from treating James the Great and James the Less and several other saints bearing the same or similar names. Clearly there is another answer, and it is less complicated: namely, that Ælfric did not treat the life of Matthias simply because his primary source book did not provide him with an account of the saint. Of

[159] Printed by B. Assmann, Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, III (Kassel, 1889), 24-48. On the place of this homily in the revised issue of the first series, see Clemoes, "Chronology", 234, and Sisam, 176. Another homily which Ælfric may also have intended for the same feast is printed by Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, II, 799-812.

[160] Sisam, 164, n. 2.

[161] Sisam, 164, n. 2.

[162] See CH, II, 520/26-27.

all the important saints represented in the universal Church kalendar, St. Matthias is the only notable omission from the contents of the Cotton-Corpus legendary. It can hardly be a coincidence that this same important saint is the most conspicuous absentee in Ælfric's hagiographic scheme.

The explanation offered above, though derived solely from a study of the Cotton-Corpus collection, is curiously supported by another form of evidence which has been overlooked in previous attempts to explain Ælfric's silence on the subject of St. Matthias. This is found in Ælfric's Letter to Sigeweard, edited by Crawford under the title "On the Old and the New Testament" in The Old English Version of the Heptateuch.[163] The passage in question, as given in the unique extant manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509 (formerly Laud E. 19), reads as follows:

> Ealra þissera apostola geendunge ic hæbbe awriten buton Mathian anes, þe ic ofacsian mihte: ða ge mihton ræden 7 eow aræman on þam, gif ge holde wæron eowrum agenum sawlum. (f. 136v)

As Crawford recognizes, the first part of this excerpt does not make sense: the scribe has apparently omitted a negative qualifier for ofacsian mihte, and the original passage probably read as follows:

> Ealra þissera apostola geendunge ic hæbbe awriten buton Mathian anes, þe ic ofacsian ne mihte: . . .[164]

This is an important emendation for, if it is correct, as seems necessary for good sense, then the Cotton-Corpus explanation

[163] The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis, ed. S. J. Crawford, EETS. o.s. 160 (London, 1922), 15-75. Hereafter cited as Crawford, Heptateuch.

[164] Crawford, Heptateuch, 60.

for Ælfric's omission of the legend of Matthias is supported by the most authoritative testimony--the author's own words.

Although the selection of saints provides a prima facie argument for Ælfric's dependence on something similar to the Cotton-Corpus collection, it is the selection of texts which provides the stronger evidence. Here it is not sufficient to state simply that there is a regular correspondence between the particular text used by Ælfric and that given in the Latin collection, for whilst the cumulative weight of correspondence is in itself impressive, its significance varies from text to text. Thus, it is necessary to look closely at some of the particulars of the agreement, and to identify those features of the collection which both individually and collectively make the connection with Ælfric distinctive.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the list of texts provided by the collection is that it includes not only those sources which were correctly identified by Ott, Förster, and Loomis, but also several others, some of which have been identified by later investigators, others which have remained unnoticed until now. Among these the following are notable:[165] the sources for Ælfric's legend of the Seven Sleepers (CH, II, xxxii) and for his life of St. George (LS, xiv); the primary source for Ælfric's homily on Pope Gregory (CH, II, ix); a previously unnoticed source for Ælfric's two lives of St. Martin (CH, II, xxxix and LS, xxxi); a

[165] The first of these was cited by M. Huber, Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern (Leipzig, 1910), 157. The next two were identified by J. Matzke and M. Godden respectively (see above, p. 44, nn. 140,141). The final three were uncovered in the present investigation. For fuller studies of these, see below, pp. 99-136.

new source for Ælfric's life of Vincent (LS, xxxvii); and a new and apparently rare source for the life of St. Eugenia (LS, ii). Two details associated with the history of these recently identified source texts make their combined presence in the Cotton-Corpus collection remarkable. Firstly, none of these texts was sufficiently well known to Latin hagiologists to have been included in the standard printed collections of Latin saints' lives--the Acta Sanctorum, Mombritius's Sanctuarium, and the De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis of Surius--upon which the investigations of the early Ælfric scholars were largely based. It therefore seems likely that at least some of these texts are rare and, although the inadequacies of the existing hagiographic catalogues make it impossible to confirm this fully through a test of manuscript survival,[166] there is, as we shall see, some manuscript evidence which supports this supposition. The second important point about these texts is that most of them concern saints for whom Latin hagiographers prior to the eleventh century had provided an especially large number of different biographies and for whom, therefore, the evidence of Ælfric's regular dependence on the particular biography provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection seems the product of something more than chance. To illustrate this, I should like to look at a few of these texts in more detail, beginning with the life of St. George.

In his study of Les Légendes grecques des saints militaires,

[166] Since many of the catalogues were prepared prior to the appearance of the BHL, they frequently do not distinguish between the various versions of a particular saint's life.

Father Delehaye estimates that "parmi les saints de l'antiquité, nul n'a éclipsé la gloire de S. Georges",[167] either in terms of the number of early writings devoted to his life and exploits, or in terms of their diversity. Indeed, even before the comparatively late medieval accretions to the legend, such as the story of the dragon, the life of George was so widely diffused in multifarious versions that an early papal edict, issued at the first Roman Council of 494, placed some of the apparently more exaggerated Acta on an index of work quae ab hereticis sive scismaticis conscripta vel praedicata sunt.[168] Ælfric too had seen or at least had heard of some of the apocryphal Georgian legends, and began his own account[169] with a brief admonition which echoes the papal decree:

> Gedwol-men awriton ge-dwyld on heora bocum .
> be ðam halgan were ðe is gehaten georius .
> Nu wille we eow secgan þæt soð is be ðam .
> þæt heora gedwyld ne derige digellice ænigum.
> (1-4)

Some statistical indication of the extent and diversity of his cult in early Latin writings is provided by the BHL which lists, in addition to a brief account by Gregory of Tours, over twenty-five different anonymous versions of the Georgian Acta.[170] Dates for these various versions are not given, but a quick survey of hagiographic catalogues shows that at least eight are preserved

[167] H. Delehaye, Les Légendes grecques des saints militaires (Paris, 1909), 45.

[168] "Das Decretum Gelasianum, De Libris Recipiendis et non Recipiendis: in kritischem Text", ed. E. von Dobschütz, in Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, XXXVIII (1912, Heft 4), 11.

[169] LS, I, 306-19.

[170] BHL 3363-3396.

in manuscripts of the tenth century or earlier,[171] some four others in manuscripts of the eleventh century.[172] Clearly, this is not an exhaustive count, and other versions were probably also current in Ælfric's day, any of which might have been included in a hagiographic collection, and any of which might have been used by Ælfric. Nevertheless, as in the case of saints who were less well represented in the literature of the period, we find that Ælfric bases his account upon the particular version (BHL 3373) which is preserved in the Cotton-Corpus legendary.

A similar, though less statistically striking example, is provided by the life of Pope Gregory.[173] In addition to contemporary material provided by the Liber Pontificalis and the writings of Isidore of Seville, the tradition of Latin hagiography offers at least six celebrated accounts of Gregory's life:[174] Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica (II, i, which describes his early life, his sanctity, his writings, and the famous slave boy incident, and I, 23-24, and 27-32, which deal at length with the mission to England); a Life by John the Deacon; the anonymous Whitby biography to which John apparently refers in his own Vita; the Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours; Paul the Deacon's uninterpolated Vita S. Gregorii; and Paul the Deacon's interpolated Vita, which Grisar, "Die Gregorbiographie des Paulus Diakonus in ihrer ursprünglichen

[171] BHL 3363, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3372, 3373, 3378 and 3379.

[172] BHL 3364, 3375, 3383, 3387.

[173] CH, II, 116-32.

[174] For bibliographical details on these sources, see the notes to Godden's study, cited above p. 44, n. 141.

Gestalt".[175] has shown to contain some material from the Whitby biography. Of these six, Förster cites Bede and Gregory of Tours as Ælfric's two independent authorities.[176] More recently, however, M. R. Godden has shown that Ælfric's chief authority for the life was Paul the Deacon's uninterpolated Vita, a text which combines material from Bede and Gregory and adds a number of new details. And once again, this identification is significant, for it is this combined life of Paul the Deacon in its uninterpolated form which is provided by the Cotton-Corpus legendary.

Other examples, even from the large group of sources correctly identified by Ott, Förster, and Loomis, are no less noteworthy. St. Lawrence, St. Maurice, St. Basil, St. Denis, St. Mark, St. Thomas, and St. Andrew--to mention some of the most prominent--are also the subject of several different Latin accounts, yet in each case the version preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection is the version used by Ælfric. It would be misleading to suggest that all of these correspondences are equally significant. In some cases, (for example, the lives of St. Agnes, St. Sebastian, and St. Agatha), a survey of other hagiographic collections suggests that the Cotton-Corpus legendary preserves the most widely known of the available Latin sources. These, therefore, though adding to the cumulative evidence of relationship, are not individually striking, but are chiefly of interest--as I will show later--for a study of the

[175] In Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, XI (1887), 158-73.

[176] Förster, Legenden, 34.

degree of textual correspondence between the extant manuscripts of the Latin collection and Ælfric's conjectural exemplar. In other cases, however, there is evidence that source texts provided by the Cotton-Corpus legendary were only infrequently included in other early collections, and in these cases, the correspondence with Ælfric is consequently more significant. To illustrate this, I should like to look briefly at two of the lives for which the Cotton-Corpus collection provides new and comparatively rare sources: the Passio Sancti Vincentii (LS, xxxvii) and the Passio Sanctae Eugeniae (LS, ii).

Early Latin writings on the life of Vincent of Saragossa are very numerous. In addition to a fifth century verse panegyric by Prudentius (Peristephanon, V)[177] and eight early sermons in festo Vincentii;[178] there existed prior to the tenth century at least three different prose accounts of the saint's martyrdom: the passio amplissima (BHL 8627-33), the passio fusior (BHL 8639), and the passio brevior (BHL 8638).[179] The first of these narratives, the passio amplissima, is the text which Loomis cites as the source for Ælfric's Old English translation.[180] Close scrutiny of this legend, however, shows

[177] Printed in PL, LX, cols. 378-411.

[178] See B. de Gaiffier, "Sermons latins en l'honneur de S. Vincent antérieurs au X^e siècle", Anal. Boll., LXVII (1949), 267-86.

[179] The descriptive terms amplissima, fusior, and brevior are employed by L. de Lacger to distinguish the three versions in his study "Saint Vincent de Saragosse", Revue d'histoire de l'église de France, XIII (1927), 307-58, and are used here for the same reason.

[180] Loomis, 7.

that it fails to account for several features of the Ælfrician translation,[181] including, for example, lines 39-44 and 68-75. Parallels for these and other unexplained portions of the Old English account can be found in the passio fusior and the passio brevior, but like the text cited by Loomis, neither of these independently provides a full source. Moreover, a few of the details mentioned by Ælfric, such as the concluding description of the dispersal of Vincent's relics, are not included in any of these three versions. In view of this, it seems reasonable to suppose that Ælfric had access to a fourth version of the legend, a version which shared several features of content, arrangement and even formal expression with the texts listed above, but which also included a few details peculiar to it alone. The Cotton-Corpus collection shows this supposition to be right, for here we find a text which, in meeting each of these conditions, provides a new and closer source for the Old English translation.

Ælfric's dependence on the version of the St. Vincent legend preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection is interesting in a number of ways. Firstly, unlike the text cited by Loomis, the Cotton-Corpus life does not seem to have been widely circulated in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Indeed, a survey of recent Vincentian literature shows that only seven copies of the Cotton-Corpus legend have been identified in the libraries of Europe, and although more extensive research would probably bring to light additional copies, this unusually

[181] LS, II, 426-43.

small number of known witnesses[182] contrasts sharply with the very numerous known copies of the passio amplissima.[183] It was evidently for this reason that the Cotton-Corpus passio was overlooked by the early editors and compilers of both the Acta Sanctorum and the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina and was first printed--from only one manuscript--in 1903[184] by which time at least two editions of the passio amplissima "ex plurimis veteribus MSS," had already appeared: ASS (22 Jan, II, 394-98), and T. Ruinart, Acta Martyrum Sincera (400-06).[185] In this case, therefore, the correspondence between Ælfric and the Cotton-Corpus collection seems doubly significant: not only are there other versions of Vincent's life with a wealth of manuscript witnesses, but the source in question was apparently one of such rarity that few of its copies have survived.

Another signal instance of agreement between Ælfric and the Cotton-Corpus legendary is provided by the first hagiographic item

[182]Two of these witnesses are preserved in MSS of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 119r-121v; D, 101r-105r. The remaining five are found in the following MSS: London, B.L. Add. 25,600; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Nouv. Acq. Latin 2179; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS latins 5301, 5274, 10870. The first two of these are of Spanish origin. See A. Dufourcq, Etude sur les 'Gesta Martyrum' romains, II, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, LXXXIII (Paris, 1907), 144; P. F. de' Cavalieri, "A Proposito della 'Passio S. Vincentii Levitae'", Note Agiografiche, Fasc. 8° (Vatican City, 1935) in Studi e Testi, LXV (1935), 117-25; Pasionario Hispanico, I, ed. A. Fábrega Grau, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra: Serie Litúrgica, VI, pt. 1 (Madrid, 1953), 98-104.

[183]See L. de Lacger , 320-21.

[184]From Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Nouv. Acq. Latin 2179 in Supplément aux 'Acta Sanctorum', II, ed. C. Narbey (Paris, 1903), 224 seqq.

[185]T. Ruinart, Acta Primorum Martyra Sincera (Regensburg, 1859).

in the Lives, the Passio Sanctae Eugeniae.[186] For this saint, the BHL lists only two Latin legends which antedate the tenth century. The first of these, a text included in Rosweyd's edition of the Vitae Patrum, is cited by Ott as the source for Ælfric's account.[187] Close examination of this legend, however, shows not only that it omits several passages of dialogue and narrative description included in the Old English life, but also that it occasionally supplies small details which conflict with those mentioned by Ælfric. Similar problems are posed by the second potential source, a text printed in the second edition of Mombritius's Sanctuarium (II, 391-97). This account supplies close parallels for almost all the Ælfrician passages absent from the text of the Vitae Patrum, but is itself unsatisfactory in several other sections, most of which are adequately provided for by the other version. In the absence of any other version of the St. Eugenia legend, it might seem reasonable to suppose that Ælfric here abandoned his normal procedure for the Lives and conflated two legends. Yet the Cotton-Corpus collection provides a more satisfactory answer: that is, a third account which itself incorporates material found in the two other texts, thereby furnishing a single and very close source for the whole of the Old English translation. There can be no doubt that Ælfric used this third version.

Ælfric's use of the version of the Passio Sanctae Eugeniae described above is a notable point of similarity with the Cotton-

[186] LS, I, 24-51.

[187] Ott, 8-10. The legend is printed in PL, LXXIII, cols. 605-20 and PL, XXI, cols. 1105-22.

Corpus collection. The combined Passio is almost certainly the rarest extant Latin version of the St. Eugenia legend: as mentioned earlier, no reference to the account is found in the BHL or in its supplements. Nor does H. Delehaye in his comprehensive study of the Latin, Greek, and Armenian versions of the legend allude at any point to the existence of a combined Latin text; on the contrary, in his comments on the textual history of the legend, he stresses the remarkably pure and independent manner in which the Vitae Patrum text and that of Mombritius were transmitted:

> Les manuscrits latins contiennent tantôt la première [Vitae Patrum], tantôt la seconde [Mombritius] rédaction de la Passion de Ste. Eugénie, avec des variantes, sans doute, mais moins grave qu'on ne pourrait l'attendre des nombreux copistes qui se sont exercés sur ces textes. On peut dire que la tradition latine de la pièce, pourtant si souvent copiée, n'est pas particulièrement compliquée.[188]

These remarks imply that Delehaye made an extensive survey of the extant manuscripts, and although it is impossible to confirm this fully, I have tried to test his findings through an examination of the lives of Eugenia which survive in manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, the library of the Bollandists in Brussels, and the municipal libraries of Cambrai, Douai, and Rouen. The results of this survey strongly support Delehaye's conclusions, for of the fifteen manuscripts[189]

[188] H. Delehaye, Etude sur le légendier romain: les saints de novembre et de décembre, Subsidia Hagiographica, 23 (Brussels, 1936), 178.

[189] These MSS containing lives of Eugenia are: (a) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MSS lat. 64, 206, 831-4, 7483-86, 7984, 9810-14, 9289, II. 942, II. 1181; (b) Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, MS 14; (c) Douai, Bibliothèque Publique, MS 838; (d) Cambrai, Bibliothèque Communale, MSS C 856, B 863-64; (e) Rouen, Bibliothèque Publique, MSS U 36, U 155. Since the Cotton-Corpus collection was probably compiled in the north of France, an inspection of the holdings of the libraries listed above seemed a fair way of testing the relative popularity of the Cotton-Corpus text.

examined, only one--Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 7984--contains the combined passio of the Cotton-Corpus collection.

Another important form of agreement between Ælfric's saints' lives and the Cotton-Corpus collection is observed in the small group of texts in which Ælfric employs more than one hagiographic source. Amongst these the most interesting examples are Ælfric's two lives of St. Martin of Tours. In the first of these accounts (CH, II, xxxix), Ælfric employs four different source texts: the famous Vita Sancti Martini by Sulpicius Severus; the third Epistle of Severus written to his mother-in-law Bassula; I, 48 of the Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours; and Alcuin's Vita Sancti Martini, which is largely an abridgement of the writings of Severus. In the second and much fuller account included in the Lives (xxxi), he draws upon all of these same sources and imports material from three others: Severus's second Epistle to Eusebius, books two and three of Severus's Dialogues, and chapters 4-5 of the Liber Primus de Virtutibus Sancti Martini, by Gregory of Tours.[190] In turning now to the Cotton-Corpus legendary, we find that it also provides a number of writings on the life of St. Martin. Those which the extant manuscripts share are the following:

Sulpicius Severus,	Vita Sancti Martini
	Epistula ad Eusebium
	Epistula ad Bassulam
	Liber Dialogi Secundus
	Liber Dialogi Tertius
Gregory of Tours,	Historia Francorum, I, 48
	De Virtutibus Sancti Martini, I, 4, 5, 6.

As comparison with the Ælfrician sources enumerated earlier shows,

[190]See Förster, Legenden, 41-42; and Gerould, "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours", 206-10. Förster and Gerould also cite the second and third books of Severus's Dialogues as sources for Ælfric's first account, but as shown below, pp. 99-110, all the material which they attribute to the Dialogues in this account finds equally close or closer correspondences in Alcuin's epitome.

this list includes all but one of the texts which Ælfric employed for both of his translations. The one missing source, Alcuin's Vita, though not preserved in all the extant manuscripts, is included in one witness, F. In fact, it was precisely its presence there which initially prompted close comparison with the Old English translations, thus leading to its identification as an additional source. One final aspect of the list is also significant--its exclusiveness. With the exception of one brief excerpt from Gregory's De Virtutibus (I, 6), it includes nothing more than the five complete texts and three brief excerpts which (together with the Alcuinian Vita) form the basis of the Old English translations.

The discovery of this remarkable correspondence between the writings on Martin included in the Cotton-Corpus collection and those used by Ælfric is of more than routine interest, for it raises the related problem of the extent to which Ælfric was conversant, at first hand, with the writings of Gregory of Tours. Many of Gregory's works, one must suppose, would have been useful to Ælfric, for, in addition to bearing the unofficial imprimatur of episcopal authorship, they also frequently included terse and abbreviated hagiographic accounts of the sort which Ælfric himself preferred. The lengthy Liber in Gloria Martyrum, for example, provides a series of stories on the miracles attributed to Christ, the apostles, and the early martyrs, many of which could have furnished Ælfric with additional material for, among others, his lives of St. Andrew, Saints Chrysanthus and Daria, and St. Bartholomew. Similarly, the voluminous work on St. Martin which survives in Gregory's De Virtutibus Sancti Martini would also have been a useful source book, for despite its

obvious excesses, it nevertheless remained above suspicion as the product of St. Martin's episcopal successor and most prominent admirer. In spite of this, at least two different forms of evidence suggest that Ælfric's knowledge of Gregory's writings did not extend beyond the few, brief excerpts included in the Cotton-Corpus collection.

The first clue is provided by certain patterns which characterize Ælfric's references to his sources. In those few cases in which we have good reason to believe that Ælfric did have access to a complete and separate copy of a work--as, for example, was almost certainly the case with Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica and Gregory's Dialogues--the Old English almost always includes at least one explicit reference both to the author and to the title of the work. The use of such references was, of course, a conventional feature of the hagiographic genre, designed not only to give credit where credit was due, but also to inspire confidence through an appeal to unquestionable authority. In this instance, however,--even in those places where the argumentum ad hominem would be used to good effect, such as in the descriptions of the celestial voices which were heard at the time of Martin's death--we find no such acknowledgement.

A second indication that Ælfric's acquaintance with Gregory's writings did not extend beyond the few brief excerpts that one finds in the Cotton-Corpus collection emerges from a quick review of those parts of Gregory's works which find their way into the Old English translations. Three separate sections of Gregory's works have so far been named as Ælfric's sources: (i) X, 1, of the Historia Francorum which Förster names as the source for part of Ælfric's homily on Pope Gregory (CH, II, ix);

(ii) I, 3-5 of Gregory's De Virtutibus Sancti Martini, cited by Gerould as the source for the concluding sections of Ælfric's second account of the same saint (LS, xxxi); and (iii) I, 48 of the Historia Francorum, used in both accounts of the life of St. Martin (CH, II, xxxix and LS, xxxi).[191] The first of these citations has now been superseded for, as mentioned earlier, a new source for Ælfric's life has recently been identified by M. R. Godden. Similarly, Gerould's citation of De Virtutibus, I, 3, as the source for lines 1371-1384 of Ælfric's second account of the life of Martin may also be removed from the list: as I hope to show later, all the material given in these lines is derived from the Historia Francorum, I, 48 and from the third Epistle of Sulpicius Severus.[192] There remain, then, only two brief sections of Gregory's works: I, 48 of the Historia Francorum; and I, 4-5 of De Virtutibus Sancti Martini. As the preceding discussion on the lives of St. Martin has shown, these are precisely the same sections of Gregory's writings which are included in the readings of the legendary. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that Ælfric never drew on any of Gregory's writings as complete and separate works, but that he used them only insofar as they had been excerpted in the

[191] As Förster (Legenden, 30-31) notes, the concluding portion of Ælfric's life of Clement is in some ways similar to a chapter from Gregory's Liber in Gloria Martyrum, but this did not serve as his immediate source. In another case, Amalarius served as an intermediary between Ælfric and Gregory's writings. See Förster, "Über die Quellen von Ælfric's exegetischen Homiliae Catholicae", Anglia, XVI (1894), 48-49.

[192] See below, pp. 122-24 and pp. 148-50.

Cotton-Corpus collection.[193]

Defining the extent of Ælfric's dependence on the writings of Gregory of Tours in this way has implications which go beyond the immediate concerns of the source hunter to involve even the literary critic. Past appraisals of the second Old English account of the life of Martin, for example, have pointed to Ælfric's sparing use of Gregory's lengthy Historia and of the equally voluminous De Virtutibus Sancti Martini as an illustration of Ælfric's sober critical temperament. Thus in her study "The Form of Ælfric's Lives of Saints", Dorothy Bethurum describes the translation as a careful selection from the works of an author "whose taste was extravagant, even for the sixth century",[194] while G. H. Gerould, in echoing this judgment, comments also on the order of Ælfric's reading:

[193] Professor Pope points out that, in his references to the Vitae Patrum, Ælfric regularly uses the singular vita "in harmony with the explanation given by Gregory of Tours with reference to his use of the title for his own similar work on the Gaulish-Frankish saints: 'Unde manifestum est, melius dici vitam patrum quam vitas, quia, cum sit diversitas meritorum virtutumque, una tamen omnes vita corporis alit in mundo'." (Homilies of Ælfric, II, 635, n. 62). This minute point of agreement between the two authors, however, can hardly be depended on as evidence that Ælfric had a wider acquaintance with the works of Gregory, or even that he knew of the explanation given above. Indeed, in using the singular form vita it is possible that both Ælfric and even Gregory were simply following a well established tradition. As C. Rosenthal (The 'Vitae Patrum' in Old and Middle English Literature [Philadelphia, 1936] 11, n. 5) points out, "In manuscripts the usual title is Vitas Patrum. It has been suggested that this may go back to the imitation of the Greek custom which would cause the book to be cited as Liber Vitas Patrum, that is vitas is genitive *singular* [italics my own] as familias in paterfamilias; that later liber was omitted and Vitas Patrum simply said." For other examples of the use of the singular in similar contexts, see Du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, VIII (Niort, 1887), 359, under Vitas Patrum.

[194] D. Bethurum, "The Form of Ælfric's Lives of Saints", Studies in Philology, XXIX (1932), 522-23.

> In the second place, Ælfric had apparently read more widely in the works of Gregory of Tours during the interval [between the composition of the first and second account], and had found the book specifically devoted to St. Martin. He did not extract from it, one notes with interest, anything more than what must have seemed to him important corroborative evidence as to Martin's sanctity: namely, the angelic voices heard at his death--not only by the men of his circle but by Bishop Severinus in distant Cologne--and the revelation that came to Ambrose in Milan. The fact that Ælfric did not borrow more from Gregory's amazing collection of wonders indicates both his scholarly temper, which rejected the later for the earlier and soberer account, and his instinct to round out a biographical sketch without overloading it with extraneous matter.[195]

The evidence provided by the legendary, however, does not support these views. Firstly, it seems unlikely that Ælfric had, in fact, read more widely in the works of Gregory after the composition of his first account. Instead, it seems reasonable to assume that he had known the material contained in chapters 4 and 5 of Gregory's De Virtutibus from the very beginning, but in the interest of brevity deliberately omitted it from his first account which, as he says, was only meant to be a scortan cwyde.[196] Secondly, and more importantly, while one would not dispute that Ælfric everywhere leaves evidence of his critical restraint and sound narrative judgment, it seems certain that in this case the frugality of his borrowings was more immediately determined by the availability of source materials than by other more aesthetic or literary concerns.

There remain to consider the main areas of variation between the Cotton-Corpus selection of saints and texts and those represented in Ælfric's hagiographic writings. These fall into two broad categories: (i) saints and texts included in the

[195]Gerould, "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours", 209.

[196]CH, II, 514/29-30.

Cotton-Corpus collection, but not treated by Ælfric; and (ii) hagiographic sources used by Ælfric, but not provided in the Cotton-Corpus collection. Given the freedom of Ælfric's approach to the homiliaries of Paul and Haymo for the homilies--his omissions and frequent additions from other sources--the existence of such areas of variation for the lives is not surprising. Nevertheless, if in fact Ælfric did have access to a hagiographic collection that was similar in content to the Cotton-Corpus legendary, then we should expect evidence of this to appear equally as much in a study of the areas of disagreement as of correspondence: in short, variation, like agreement itself, should not be random or inexplicable, but should form predictable patterns which are consistent both with our knowledge of Ælfric's principles of selection and with reasonable judgments about sources which would have been readily available to Ælfric elsewhere.

(i) Omissions:

In comparing the list of saints treated by Ælfric with those represented in the Cotton-Corpus legendary, we find that the Old English author includes only about one-third of the some 160 feasts mentioned in the Latin collection. This numerical disproportion is by no means surprising for many of the lives given in the Latin collection would not have been of interest to an English audience. Over ten of the saints represented in the legendary,[197] for example, are not mentioned a single time in any

[197] For example, the feasts of Martina, Theogenes, Fructuosus, Asclas, Piatus, Trudo, Sergeus and Bacchus, Marinus, Genesius, and Speusippus, Eleusippus, and Melosippus.

of the nineteen kalendars printed in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100, while some fifteen to twenty others[198] are only mentioned once or twice. Even leaving these aside, however, there still remains a sizeable number of saints who are represented both in the Latin collection and in most early English kalendars, but who are nevertheless not accorded a place in Ælfric's writings. For this reason, it is necessary to consider some of the factors which may have influenced Ælfric's selection.

For the lives given in the first two series of Catholic Homilies, the rationale of Ælfric's selection is comparatively easy to reconstruct. In the English Preface to the second series and then later in the Latin Preface to the Lives, Ælfric himself says that he has limited his selection to the passiones uel uitas sanctorum ipsorum, quos gens ista caelebre colit cum ueneratione festi diei,[199] and as Kenneth Sisam has shown, examination of both the Old English verse Menology and of the festival markings preserved in early kalendars shows that there are few deviations from this apparently predetermined plan.[200] Indeed, as I have mentioned earlier, in the whole course of the Homilies we find only three anomalies in Ælfric's choice of saints, two of which Ælfric acknowledges and then rectifies later,

[198]For example, the feasts of Potitus, Patroclus, Theodosia, Seraphia, Thyrsus, Leucius, and Callinicus, Triphon, Conon, Torpes, Gaugericus, Hucbertus, Euplus, Symphorosa and Wandregisilus.

[199]LS, I, 2. See also CH, II, 2.

[200]Sisam, 164-5.

and one of which is explained by the Cotton-Corpus collection.[201]

The Lives of Saints, however, is another matter. In the Latin Preface to this series, Ælfric states that he plans to include the lives of those saints quos non uulgus sed coenobite officiis uenerantur.[202] Unlike his statements with reference to the Homilies, this remark is ambiguous, for, whereas 'festival' celebrations were more or less fixed throughout the whole of England, monastic commemorations often varied greatly, both in kind and in number, from abbey to abbey and from year to year. Comparison of a late tenth-century Glastonbury kalendar with a similarly dated one from the West Country,[203] for example, shows that the latter includes some 82 feasts which are not given in the other, while the former mentions some 68 others which are not represented in the West Country counterpart. Moreover, each of these kalendars, like most other Saxon kalendars now extant, includes--as does the Cotton-Corpus legendary--well over twice as many hagiographic feasts as we find in Ælfric's Lives. Certainly part of this discrepancy is explained by the fact that not every saint given in these lists would have been the subject of a written account which Ælfric could have used as a source. However, as an examination of the texts given in the legendary shows, this was not always the case, and it therefore seems profitable to consider some of the factors which may have

[201] See above, pp. 50-54.

[202] LS, I, 2.

[203] The two kalendars are printed in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100, 43-55 and 15-27 respectively.

influenced Ælfric's rather limited and discriminating choice of subjects for the Lives.

It seems probable, first of all, that some part of Ælfric's procedure was determined by the purely practical problem of limiting his selection to a manageable number of texts. Here it is not my intention to revive the old argument that the Lives were designed to include only forty separate items: as Kenneth Sisam has pointed out, "this is no more than a conjecture based on the analogy of the two earlier volumes . . . [and] is not supported by any statement from the author."[204] Nevertheless, it is clear from Ælfric's own remarks that he did not intend to translate all the lives which he had found recorded in Latin writings: Nec tamen plura promitto me scripturum hac lingua, quia nec conuenit huic sermocinationi plura inseri;[205] and again, Hi [God's saints] synd ungeryme swa swa hit gerisð gode . ac we woldan gesettan be sumum þas boc.[206] His failure to treat the whole range of lives given in the Cotton-Corpus legendary, then, is not surprising, but might even be regarded as predictable.

Ælfric's express desire to restrict the size of his third series provides, I believe, a satisfactory explanation for his omission of so many of the legends included in the Latin collection. What it does not explain, however, is the system which he employed in selecting certain lives for translation and excluding others

[204] Sisam, 165, n. 1.

[205] LS, I, 2.

[206] LS, I, 6

--a problem already shown to be only partially explained by Ælfric's general remarks in the Latin Preface to the Lives. Nevertheless, some illuminating though partial insights into the principles which governed his selection can be obtained through a study of the systems of gradation incorporated in early English kalendars. In such kalendars, feasts are generally graded in the following ways:[207]

(a) First Class: In the earliest extant kalendars, feasts of the first class are distinguished either by enlarged, coloured capitals, or by an F (signifying Festum or dies feriatus) or a cross opposite the name of the saint, or by some combination of these various indicators. In the later Benedictine kalendars, this rather broad system of gradation is refined, and first class feasts are themselves ranked one against the other. Thus first class feasts of the highest solemnity (for example, Saints Peter and Paul, Christmas etc.) are followed by the ceremonial designation in cappis[208]

[207]The systems of grading described here are based on a study of the nineteen kalendars printed in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100 and the eleven kalendars printed in Vol. one of English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100. The following works were also consulted: The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, XI (London, 1896), 9-20 and especially xxii-xxiii; J. B. Tolhurst, "An Examination of Two Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of the Winchester School: The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold", Archaeologia, LXXXIII (1933), 27-44; Sir Ivor Atkins, "An Investigation of Two Anglo-Saxon Kalendars (Missal of Robert of Jumièges and St. Wulfstan's Homiliary)", Archaeologia, LXXVIII (1928), 219-54; J. Armitage Robinson, "The Medieval Kalendars of Somerset" Muchelney Memoranda, Somerset Record Society, XLII (1927), 141-83; F. Wormald, "The Calendar of the Augustinian Priory of Launceston in Cornwall", Journal of Theological Studies, XXXIX (1938), 1-21; and Antiphonaire monastique de Worcester, "Le calendrier", ed. A.Mocquereau, Paléographie Musicale, XII (1922), 29-53.

[208]On the liturgical use of the cope and the alb during the late Anglo-Saxon and early medieval periods, see Edmund Bishop, Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church (Oxford, 1918), 260-75.

or by the words festum principale or by the numerals IIII or III.[209] Lower ranking first class festivals are distinguished by the words in albis or by the numerals II or I. The rank of feasts in both these groups is also frequently indicated as well through the use of colour or capital letters.

(b) Second Class: Many of the earliest extant kalendars do not incorporate a system of gradation beyond the first class. For those which do, feasts of the second class are usually distinguished by rustic capitals, either black or in colour, or by the letter S or a cross placed next to the appropriate entry, or by some combination of these various markings. In the later kalendars, this system is also altered, and second class feasts are normally given in coloured minuscule, and are followed by the words xii lectiones, indicating the number of readings which would have been included in the office for that day.

(c) Third Class: In the early kalendars, third class feasts are given without any distinguishing mark,[210] while in the later ones, they are followed by the words iii lectiones (or occasionally iv lectiones), or commemoratio.

[209]This numeral system of gradation is found especially in Canterbury kalendars. See English Benedictine Kalendars after A. D. 1100, I, 47-62, 63-79.

[210]Many of these unmarked feasts in the early kalendars are purely martyrological entries which have little relation to the liturgical observance of the churches and monasteries for which they were composed. The later kalendars are much more closely tied to liturgical practice. As J. Armitage Robinson ("The Medieval Calendars of Somerset", 147-48) points out, "in the post-Conquest calendars . . . the number of saints commemorated . . . is much smaller than in the calendars of the Anglo-Saxon period. The martyrologies still preserved the full roll of the Church's heroes; but the calendars had been severely pruned, so as to serve as practical guides to the liturgical observance of the churches for which they were composed."

In examining kalendars which incorporate the systems of gradation described above, considerable variation is observed both in the number and in the kinds of saints who are accorded more than third class dignity. Thus, even if one excludes saints who are not ranked above third class in more than one kalendar, there still remain well over 100 first and second class festivals. In order to isolate the most important feasts from this large group, an arbitrary allotment of ten points has been made for each instance in which a particular saint is granted first class dignity, and of five for each instance in which he/she receives a second class ranking. Listed in hierarchical order, the festivals which receive at least fifteen points in the twelve pre-Conquest graded kalendars[211] which have come down to us are the following:[212]

Festival	Number of Points	Ælfric
SS. Peter and Paul*	120	CH, I, xxvib
St. Lawrence	120	CH, I, xxix
St. Gregory the Great	120	CH, II, ix
St. Matthias	110	
SS. Simon and Jude	110	CH, II, xxxviii
The Nativity of Mary	110	Assmann, iii
The Assumption of Mary	110	CH, I, xxx; II, xxxiv

[211]These are the kalendar of the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and numbers 1, 2, 3. 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, and 20 of the kalendars printed in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100. A few of these (eg., numbers 12 and 13) contain systems of grading which were added after the kalendar was written. In such cases only the original grading has been noted.

[212]The great non-hagiographic feasts of the Church year (Christmas, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, Easter) have not been included in this list. An asterisk indicates feasts which are occasionally given a secondary mention in the form of an octave, vigil, translation, etc.

Festival	Number of Points	Ælfric
The Annunciation	105	CH, I, xiii
St. Andrew*	100	CH, I, xxxviii
St. Benedict*	100	CH, II, xi
St. Stephen Protomartyr*	100	CH, I, iii; II, ii
St. Martin of Tours*	100	CH, II, xxxix; LS, xxxi
St. Paul*	100	CH, I, xxvii
St. John the Evangelist	100	CH, I, iv
St. Thomas	100	LS, xxxvi
SS. Philip and James	100	CH, II, xviii
The Holy Innocents	100	CH, I, v
St. Michael, Archangel	100	CH, I, xxxiv
All Saints	100	CH, I, xxxvi
St. Bartholomew	90	CH, I, xxxi
Nativity of John the Baptist	90	CH, I, xxv
St. Cuthbert	90	CH, II, x
St. Matthew	85	CH, II, xxxvii
St. James the Great	85	CH, II, xxxi
St. Augustine, Archbishop of England	80	
St. Clement	75	CH, I, xxxvii
Decollation of John the Baptist	75	CH, I, xxxii
St. Edward, King	65	
The Purification of Mary	50	CH, I, ix
Invention of the Cross	50	CH, II, xix
Chair of St. Peter at Antioch	40	LS, x
St. Æthelthryth	35	LS, xx

Festival	Number of Points	Ælfric
St. Dunstan	35	
St. Guthlac	35	
St. Vincent	30	LS, xxxvii
St. Mark, Evangelist	25	LS, xv
St. Oswald, King	20	LS, xxvi
St. Edmund, King	20	LS, xxxii
SS. Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius	20	LS, xxix
St. Lucy	20	LS, ix
St. Brice	20	
St. Iudoc	20	
St. Luke	20	
St. Sebastian	15	LS, v
St. Agnes*	15	LS, vii
SS. John and Paul	15	LS, viib
St. Agatha	15	LS, viii
St. George	15	LS, xiv
St. Alban	15	LS, xix
St. Swithun	15	LS, xxi
SS. Abdon and Sennen	15	LS, xxiv
Exaltation of the Cross	15	LS, xxvii
St. Cecilia	15	LS, xxxiv
St. Jerome	15	
St. Mark, Pope	15	
St. Botolph	15	
St. Egwin	15	
St. Edburga	15	

The correspondence between the list of high ranking festivals given above and the selection of saints included in Ælfric's Homilies and Lives is striking. As might be expected from Ælfric's own statements, the thirty most important festivals (those which receive fifty or more points) are almost all included in the first two series of Catholic Homilies, as originally issued. There are indeed only five exceptions: the Nativity of Mary, Thomas, Matthias, Augustine, and Edward. The first two of these, as I have mentioned earlier, are treated in Ælfric's later writings; the remaining three are, without exception, not represented in the contents of the Cotton-Corpus legendary. A similar and perhaps even more interesting correspondence is observed for the next highest ranking group of festivals, of which a very high proportion appear in the Lives. Indeed, of the twenty-eight 'second class' feasts (those which receive between fifteen and fifty points) given on the list, eighteen are represented in Ælfric's third series. Of the ten which are not treated by Ælfric, moreover, seven (Dunstan, Guthlac, Luke, Pope Mark, Botolph, Egwin, and Edburga) are not represented in the Cotton-Corpus collection; the remaining three (Brice, Iudoc, and Jerome), on the other hand, are bishops, confessors, and doctors, the lives of whom Ælfric may have believed to have been of less interest to his audience than those of the early martyrs and English saints who are given such prominence in his third series.[213]

[213]Because most pre-Conquest English kalendars do not provide a system of grading beyond first class festivals, the results for 'second class' feasts given in the table are perhaps less clear-cut than one might wish. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the table is a fairly accurate reflection of the liturgical practice of the Anglo-Saxon Church, for the results remain substantially the same even if one takes into account post-Conquest kalendars--most of which incorporate more sophisticated and thorough systems of gradation.

To recapitulate briefly, then, a study of the gradation of hagiographic feasts in pre-Conquest English kalendars shows the following:

(a) that, in accordance with Ælfric's express plan, the first two series of Homilies include almost all the highest ranking hagiographic festivals of the early English church;

(b) that the third series is not a random or capricious selection from the very large group of lesser ranking festivals, but includes a high proportion of 'second class' feasts;

(c) that in cases in which Ælfric omits a saint, whom because of his high rank, one might expect him to include, there is normally also a gap in the Cotton-Corpus collection.

The first two of these results are what we should expect from Ælfric's own statements in the Prefaces to the Homilies and the Lives. Nevertheless, in identifying more precisely the key to Ælfric's selection--especially for the Lives where his statement of intention is less specific than one might wish--we are able to explain what appear, on first glance, to be some of his more surprising omissions from the selection of lives included in the Cotton-Corpus collection. On first appraisal, for example, it seems surprising to find that the lives of SS. Perpetua and Felicity, SS. Marcellinus and Peter, St. Anastasia, SS. Cosmas and Damian, St. Chrysogonus, St. Cyprian, and St. Cornelius are not included in Ælfric's third series. Each of these saints was highly honoured in the early Church, a fact evidenced both by the presence of a proper mass for their feasts in most early Sacramentaries, and by the special mention which they received, together with the apostles and a few other early saints, in the Canon of the Roman Mass. Moreover, each of their feasts is

represented in the Cotton-Corpus legendary. Using Anglo-Saxon festivals of the second class as the key to Ælfric's choice of subjects for the Lives, however, the omission of these feasts becomes more understandable. SS. Perpetua and Felicity, for example, though rarely overlooked completely in early English kalendars, are not accorded second (or first) class dignity a single time in any of the thirty kalendars printed in English Kalendars before A. D. 1100 and in vol. I of English Benedictine Kalendars after A. D. 1100. Thus, unlike their companions in the Roman Canon--SS. Agnes, Agatha, Cecilia and Lucy who are almost invariably given second class dignity--they are omitted from Ælfric's third series. Similarly, SS. Anastasia, Marcellinus and Peter, Cosmas and Damian, and Chrysogonus, albeit occasionally identified as secondary festivals, are much less frequently mentioned than, for example, SS. Sebastian, George, Vincent, Dionysius, Alban, and Æthelthryth, all of whom are therefore given a place in Ælfric's Lives. The case of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, on the other hand, is explained in another way. In most early kalendars and martyrologies, these saints were commemorated on September 14 (xviii kal. Oct). In England, however, this same day was assigned to the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, a feast which gradually became more and more important until in the late Anglo-Saxon period it was regularly accorded second-class dignity, leaving SS. Cornelius and Cyprian with only tertiary mention. In view of this, it is not surprising to find that, as in the case of other third class festivals, Ælfric omits the feast of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, and includes in its stead the higher-ranking festival of the Exaltation.

The system described here does not, of course, account for the

whole range of feasts represented in Ælfric's third series.[214] Nevertheless, it accounts for so many of them that it seems clearly to provide the key to Ælfric's rather discriminating choice of subjects. In so doing, it also accounts convincingly for almost all of Ælfric's omissions from the selection of saints included in the Cotton-Corpus legendary. In this sense, then, the first important area of variation between Ælfric's hagiographic writings and the Latin collection poses no serious problem.

(ii) Additions:

The second important area of variation is the reverse of the one discussed above: that is, Latin lives which Ælfric is known to have used but which are not preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection. In theory, these missing sources can be explained in two ways: a) Ælfric possessed a collection which contained a few items which are not preserved in the extant manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus legendary; or b) Ælfric had access to the missing sources in other collections (Paul and Haymo) or borrowed directly from authors whose works he knew at first hand. Almost all of the missing sources can be shown, I believe, to fall into the second category.

The largest group of Ælfric's hagiographic sources which the

[214] It seems probable that in a few cases Ælfric's choice would have been influenced by other considerations. St. Basil and St. Maur, for example, are rarely accorded first or second class dignity in early English kalendars, but would presumably have merited a place in Ælfric's writings because of their special importance for the beginnings of monasticism. In other cases where he treats feasts of lower rank (eg., the feasts of SS. Eugenia, Julian and Basilissa, and the Forty Soldiers), one wonders whether he simply wished to provide lives which were more or less evenly spaced throughout the Church year, or whether he was attracted by some particular feature of the life in question.

Cotton-Corpus collection fails to provide is composed of texts which either derive from English writings or deal with English saints. Most of these are extracts from Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum,[215] namely:

Gregory (CH, II, ix)	HE, I, 23-32; II, Table of Contents
Cuthbert (CH, II, x)	HE, IV, 27
Drihthelm (CH, II, xxiii)	HE, V, 12
Ymma (CH, II, xxiv)	HE, IV, 21-22
Alban (LS, xix)	HE, I, 6-8
Æthelthryth (LS, xx)	HE, IV, 19
Oswald (LS, xxvi)	HE, III, 1-3, 5-7, 9-11, 13
Two Visions of Hell (Homilies of Ælfric, xix)	HE, V, 13-14

The absence of these texts from the Cotton-Corpus legendary poses no serious problem, for there can be little doubt that Ælfric had access to the Historia Ecclesiastica as a separate work, both in the Latin original and in its Old English form. For evidence of this, we need probably search no further than Laistner's Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts[216] which points clearly to the great popularity which the Historia enjoyed both in England and on the continent, but there are also other forms of evidence which support the same

[215] Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969). Hereafter cited in notes and lists as HE. On Ælfric's use of Bede's HE, see Godden, "The Source for Ælfric's Homily on St. Gregory", 83, n. 22; Förster, Legenden, 35-7, 39, 40; Ott, 44-6, 46-7; Needham, 18; and Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, I, 166, II, 629-34.

[216] M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts (Ithaca, 1943), pp93-111. According to Colgrave and Mynors' edition of HE (xvii-xviii), 160 MSS of HE have survived.

conclusion. Firstly, in all but one of the texts in which Ælfric draws upon the Historia, he makes explicit reference either to Bede himself, or to the title of his work, or to both. Such a regular pattern of acknowledgement surely suggests that Ælfric knew the Historia at first hand.[217] Of particular interest here is the allusion which we find at the beginning of the life of Pope Gregory, in which Ælfric refers to both the Old English and the Latin Bede in terms which clearly reflect his familiarity with both:

> Manega halige bec cyðað his drohtnunge and his halige lif, and eac 'Historia Anglorum', ða ðe Ælfred cyning of Ledene on Englisc awende. Seo boc sprecð genoh swutelice be ðisum halgan were. Nu wylle we sum ðing scortlice eow be him gereccan, forðan ðe seo foresæde boc nis eow eallum cuð, þeah ðe heo on Englisc awend sy.
>
> (CH, II, 116/27-118/5)

In this instance, even the reference to the Old English Bede is significant, for in the homily which follows he borrows not only from the Latin original but also from the Alfredian translation.[218]

Equally indicative of Ælfric's acquaintance with a complete text of the Historia are the frequency and diversity of his borrowings. In the Homilies and Lives alone, he employs seven different sections of the Latin text, drawn from each of the five books. Of these, four are primarily hagiographic in nature (Alban, Æthelthryth, Oswald and Cuthbert), two are exempla of good men (Drihthelm and Ymma), two are exempla of unrepentant sinners, and one is primarily historical in character. It is true, of course,

[217] This is also supported by the fact that large legendaries like Cotton-Corpus, which consist mainly of anonymous Vitae, often give excerpts from the works of known authors without attribution.

[218] On Ælfric's use of the Old English translation of HE in this homily, see D. Whitelock, "The Old English Bede", Proceedings of the British Academy, XLVIII (1962), 58, n. 10, 59, n. 18.

that most of this material had been excerpted from Bede's Historia at one time or another, but as Laistner's Hand-List shows, no single collection of such excerpts which is now extant, comes anywhere near to including all the sections used by Ælfric. In order to argue, therefore, that Ælfric had access only to certain selections from the Historia, one would also have to assume either that he possessed several different collections of excerpts, or that his library contained a much larger collection than anything which has come down to us. These explanations, though not impossible, seem more improbable than the assumption that he possessed a complete copy of the Historia, extracting from it himself those sections which he found to be most useful for his own work.[219]

In addition to material from Bede, the Cotton-Corpus collection lacks two other of Ælfric's 'English' sources: the Passio Sancti Eadmundi by Abbo of Fleury, and the Libellus de Miraculis Sancti Suithuni of Landferth. Both of these sources, as I have mentioned earlier, were themselves written only towards the close of the tenth century, the first c. 985-87, and the second c. 981.[220] Thus, although it is remotely possible that an industrious scribe

[219] In his life of St. Cuthbert, Ælfric draws not only on the HE, but also on two other works by Bede: the Vita Sancti Cuthberti metrica and the Vita Sancti Cuthberti prosaica. A survey of the surviving MSS (see Bedas metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti, ed. W. Jaager, Palaestra, 198 [Leipzig, 1935] 24-32; Two Lives of St. Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life, ed. B. Colgrave [Cambridge, 1940], 20-42) shows that these lives were rarely included in large legendaries like Cotton-Corpus, but were normally circulated--frequently together--in MSS devoted more or less exclusively to writings relating to St. Cuthbert. Ælfric's use of both lives in his Old English account suggests that he may have possessed a MS of this type.

[220] See Needham, 18-21; Winterbottom, 4-6.

might have added them to an established collection by the time that Ælfric began his work c. 989, it seems more likely that they would have come to Ælfric by a separate route, probably in separate manuscripts.

Other considerations point towards this same conclusion. At the beginning of his life of Edmund, first of all, Ælfric refers to his source in the following way:

> Sum swyðe gelæred munuc com suþan ofer sæ fram sancte benedictes stowe on æþelredes cynincges dæge to dunstane ærce-bisceope þrim gearum ær he forðferde . and se munuc hatte abbo. Þa wurdon hi æt spræce oþþæt dunstan rehte be sancte eadmunde . . . Þa gesette se munuc ealle þa gereccednysse on anre bec . and eft ða þa seo boc com to us binnan feawum gearum þa awende we hit on englisc . swa swa hit her-æfter stent.
>
> (LS, II, 314)

Two points in this passage are of particular interest. Firstly, as Professor Clemoes points out, in saying that he had secured and translated a copy of Abbo's Passio "'within a few years' of 985 (the year, 'three years before Dunstan died', in which Abbo and the archbishop met)",[221] Ælfric implies that the life of Edmund was one of his earlier compositions, a fact which underlines the improbability, stated more generally above, that his Latin exemplar was one which had already been included in an established collection of hagiographic writings. Secondly, in using the word boc with reference both to his own copy of the source and to Abbo's original, Ælfric seems clearly to be referring to a separate manuscript. In any case, the same word is rarely used with reference to texts which Ælfric is known to have derived from established collections.[222]

[221] Clemoes, "Chronology", 222.

[222] For a study of the ways in which Ælfric used the word boc in reference to his sources, see Appendix I, pp. 293-97.

For the life of Swithun, there is also strong evidence that Æfric would have had access to an independent copy of his Latin model. The source for this life, Landferth's Libellus, seems almost certainly to have been written at the express request of the monks of Winchester--the episcopal see of St. Swithun--and it is to these same monks that Landferth addresses his prefatory Epistle.[223] It was, of course, also at Winchester that Æfric received his monastic preparation, and if we can trust our reconstructed chronologies, we can be sure that he was still in the school there when Landferth's account was written and dedicated c. 981. In view of this, it seems reasonable to suppose that Ælfric would have had constant access to Landferth's account, and that even when he left Winchester for Cernel in 987, he would not have done so without first securing a copy of the Libellus from the very scriptorium for which it was first composed.

A fourth important source which Ælfric almost certainly knew as a work in its own right was the Dialogues of Gregory the Great. Like the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede, the Dialogues enjoyed considerable popularity in England during the Anglo-Saxon period. Bede himself consulted them at least seventeen times during the composition of his History,[224] and King Alfred viewed their contents with such high regard that he commissioned an Anglo-Saxon translation,a work which Ælfric, as we learn from the concluding sentence of the Sermo de Efficacia S. Missae (CH, II, 358/30-31), evidently also knew. In his own writings, Ælfric turned directly

[223] See Needham, 20.

[224] See B. Colgrave, "The Earliest Saints' Lives Written in England", Proceedings of the British Academy, XLIV (1958), 39.

to the Dialogues at four separate points, once for his life of St. Benedict (Book II), and thrice for material from the fourth book of eschatological visions.[225] In three of these cases, he explicitly mentions his source, twice with a reference to both its title and its author:

> Eac se halga papa Gregorius awrat on ðære bec Dialogorum hu micclum seo halige mæsse manegum fremode. Seo boc is on Englisc awend, on ðære mæg gehwa be ðison genihtsumlice gehyran, seðe hi oferrædan wile.
> (CH, II, 358/28-31)

> . . . Gregorius, se halga papa, awrat, on ðære bec þe is gehaten 'Dialogorum', be anum men, þæt his sawul wearð gelæddof ðisum life, and fela ðing geseah.
> (CH, II, 354/29-31)

> Nu segð se halga Gregorius, seðe þisne cwyde on Leden awrat . . .
> (CH, II, 172/32-33)

As I have already observed with reference to the Historia Ecclesiastica, this regular pattern of acknowledgement both to the author and to the title of the work in question suggests very strongly that Ælfric had access to a complete copy of his source.[226]

Another group of Ælfric's hagiographic writings for which the Cotton-Corpus collection fails to provide complete sources consists of texts which depend either in whole or in part on the Historia

[225] See Förster, Legenden, 37, 40; J. E. Cross, "Source and Analysis of Some Ælfrician Passages", Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, LXXII (1971), 446-47. In addition to these four examples of Ælfric's dependence on Gregory's Dialogues, there are three homilies (CH, I, viii, xxxv, and Homilies of Ælfric, I, xi) in which Ælfric draws on the fourth book of Dialogues--probably by memory--in extension of his main source. (See J. E. Cross, "Bundles for Burning--A Theme in Two of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, with other Sources", Anglia, LXXXI (1963), 336-9; and Cross, "Source and Analysis", 448-9.

[226] It is interesting to note that although Ælfric regularly acknowledges his debt to the Dialogues of Gregory, he does not do so when depending on the Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus, copies of which are included in the Cotton-Corpus collection.

Ecclesiastica of Rufinus.[227] The question of the extent of Ælfric's acquaintance with Rufinus's translation is one which has aroused some controversy in recent studies of Ælfric's sources. Here there are three main possibilities:

(a) that Ælfric knew Rufinus only through Haymo's epitome[228] of the Ecclesiastical History and through the same author's homilies, as suggested by Smetana;[229]

(b) that, in addition to the material which had been excerpted and epitomized by Haymo, Ælfric had access to those sections of the History (for example, the legend of the Invention of the Cross) which were sometimes included in early legendaries;

(c) that Ælfric had access not only to the above intermediaries but also to a complete copy of the History.

The first of these hypotheses may quickly be countered, for in several of his translations Ælfric betrays a more complete knowledge of the Historia Ecclesiastica than could be obtained from the writings of Haymo. In CH, II, xviiib, for example, Ælfric provides a very detailed account of the martyrdom of St. James which corresponds very closely both in wording and in arrangement to the translation of the account of Hegesippus included in Rufinus's History (II, xxiii).

[227] ed. T. Mommsen in Eusebius Werke, ed. E. Schwartz, II, i, ii (Leipzig, 1903 and 1908).

[228] Historiae Sacrae Epitome, Libri decem, in PL, CXVIII, cols. 817-874.

[229] Smetana, "Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo", 469. This suggestion is questioned in principle by Cross, "Ælfric and the Mediaeval Homiliary", 32, n. 3, and Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, I, 160, 394, n. 2.

Haymo's version of the same story in the Historiae Sacrae Epitome (II, xxvi), however, runs to only three sentences:

> Igitur post Paulum Romam transmissum, videntes Judaei frustratas esse insidias quas ei interderant, ad Jacobum, fratrem Domini, et Hierosolymorum episcopum, convertuntur ad vindicandum. Tunc expetunt ab eo abnegationem Christi; at ille libera voce coram omni populo Christum esse Filium Dei confitetur. Tunc de pinna templi dejectus ab impiis Judaeis, orans super genua sua, etiam pro lapidantibus, tandem, fullonis vecte percussus, occubuit, tricesimo episcopatus sui anno.
>
> (cols. 829-30)

Moreover, even in passages in which Haymo's Epitome is somewhat less abbreviated, it often omits small details which are included both in Ælfric and in Rufinus, as, for example, in the following excerpt from the story of the Inventio Sanctae Crucis:

Ælfric	Rufinus	Haymo
Þa ferde se casere swiðe carful mid fyrde, and gelome beheold wið heofonas weard, biddende georne godcundne fultum. Þa geseah he on swefne, on ðam scinendan eastdæle, Drihtnes rodetacn deorwurðlice scinan . . . (CH, II, 304/7-11)	Cum igitur anxius et multa secum de inminentis belli necessitate pervolens iter ageret atque ad caelum saepius oculos elevaret et inde sibi divinum precaretur auxilium, vidit per soporem ad orientis partem in caelo signum crucis igneo fulgore rutilare. (II, ii, 827)	Cum esset pugnaturus contra Maxentium urbis Romae tyrannum, et inde divinum auxilium deprecaretur, vidit nocte per soporem signum igneum in cœlo . . . (col. 862)

The second possibility is that Ælfric had access not only to Haymo's abridgement of Rufinus, but also to sections from the Historia which were sometimes included in early hagiographic collections. This explanation would account for Ælfric's knowledge of the chapters from Rufinus mentioned above, both of which deal with manifestly hagiographic themes, and both of which can be found in some early legendaries. It could not, however, explain several

places in which Ælfric draws on Rufinus for material which is not essentially hagiographic, and which one could not therefore expect to find in a collection of saints' lives. Several of Ælfric's borrowings from the Historia fall into this category, but one good example is found in the sermon De Falsis Diis (Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, xxi) where Ælfric provides a long and detailed account of the overthrow of the idol Serapis in Alexandria. The ultimate source of this story is XI, xxiii-xxiv of the Historia, but Haymo also provides an abridged version in the concluding chapter of his Epitome (X, viii). It is clear, however, that Ælfric could not have derived his account from Haymo, for the Old English includes several details which Haymo, in his adaptation, omits, such as in the following brief excerpt:

Ælfric	Rufinus	Haymo
Man funde eac syððan under þam fulum weofodum cnapena heafda, þe man acwealde þær þam godum to offrunge, and oðre fracodnyssa, swa þæt heora biggengan þa bysmorlican fylþa sceawian ne mihton, ofsceamode forþearle þæt hi swa lange folgodon swa fulum hlafordum, and gebugon þa to Gode, to his clænum biggengum. (707/565-71)	Horret animus dicere . . . quae funera, quae scelera in illis, quae dicebant adyta, tegebantur, quot ibi infantum capita desecta inauratis labris inventa sunt, quot miserorum cruciabiles mortes depictae. quae cum proderentur in lucem ac sub auras prolata ferrentur, licet confusione ipsa gentiles et pudore diffugerent, tamen si quid adesse potuit, mirabatur tot saeculis se illis tam nefariis et tam pudendis fraudibus inretitum. unde et plurimi ex his . . . fidem Christi et cultum verae religionis amplexi sunt. (II, ii, 1030-31)	Sed et in templo Saturni cum simulacrum dejicitur, tyranni ejusdem fani sacerdotis fraus comperta est: qui tanquam ex responso numinis, suae libidini placentes feminas dignas esse Saturno Deo et ejus vocatione, faciensque in templo pernoctare, clausis januis, et traditis clavibus, cum videretur discedere, per subterraneos aditus simulacrum ingrediebatur a tergo exesum, et parieti diligenter annexum, et mox supplicantem et intentam mulierem, quasi voce Saturni advocabat. Sed et aliae multae paganorum fraudes tunc deteguntur. Itaque dejecto apud Alexandriam ipso capite idololatriae, reliqua idola conculcantur, et veri Dei construuntur ecclesiae. (col. 874)

Unlike the chapters on James and the Invention of the Cross mentioned earlier, moreover, this is not a part of Rufinus's History which one would expect to find excerpted in a collection of saints' lives. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that, although Ælfric undoubtedly had access to Rufinus through intermediaries, particularly Haymo, he also possessed a complete copy of the History to which he turned directly for several of his translations. Significantly, as in the case of Bede's History and the Dialogues of Gregory, Ælfric once again indicates this first hand acquaintance with several specific references to his source which, as the first two examples show, he mistakenly believed to be the work of Jerome:

> Hieronimus, se wisa mæssepreost, awrat on ðære bec ðe we hatað 'Ecclesiastica Historia', þæt sum Romanisc casere wæs Constantinus gehaten . . .
> (CH, II, 304/1-3)

> Hieronimus se wurþfulla 7 se wisa bocere, þe ure bibliothecan gebrohte to Ledene of Greciscum bocum 7 of Ebreiscum, he awrat be Iohanne þam halgan godspellere, Cristes modrian sunu, on þære circlican bec Ecclesiastica Hystoria, þus cweðende be him . . .
> (Crawford, Heptateuch, 61)

> Ecclesiastica historia ita narrat . . . [There follows the account of the imprisonment of John the Baptist by Herod.] (CH, I, 478/32-33)

> Hi [the three Herods] ealle ðry forferdon, and eac Pilatus wearð swa micclum geangsumod þæt he hine sylfne acwealde, swa swa seo boc 'Ecclesiastica Historia' recð.
> (CH, II, 384/4-7)

In addition to Rufinus's translation of Eusebius's History of the Church, it is clear that Ælfric possessed some version of the very popular compendium of saints' lives which has come to be known as the Vitae Patrum. His acquaintance at first hand with some copy of this collection is perhaps witnessed most clearly in a much quoted passage from the Preface to the Lives where he

expresses some qualms about the material which it includes:

> Nec tamen plura promitto me scripturum hac lingua,
> quia nec conuenit huic sermocinationi plura inseri;
> ne forte despectui habeantur margarite christi.
> Ideoque reticemus de libro uitae patrum, in quo multa
> subtilia habentur quae non conueniunt aperiri laicis,
> nec nos ipsi ea quimus implere.
> (LS, I, 2)

It is interesting to note that evidently as a result of the misgivings voiced here, Ælfric does not make extensive use of the collection, but confines his borrowings to some of the more sober hagiographic exempla which it provides. In almost every case, he acknowledges his debt by making explicit reference to the source:

> Seo boc þe is gehaten Uitae Patrum sprecð menigfealdlice embe þyssera ancersetlena, and eac gemænelicra muneca drohtnunge, and cwyð, þæt heora wæs fela ðusenda gehwær on westenum . . .
> (CH, I, 544/35-546/3)

> We rædað on ðære bec ðe is gehaten 'Uitae Patrum', þæt twegen munecas bædon æt Gode sume swutelunge be ðam halgan husle . . .
> (CH, II, 272/13-15)

> . . . swa swa þa clænan munecas doð and ða clænan mynecena on mynstrum gehwær wide geond þas woruld, swa swa hit awriten is on Uitas Patrum . . .
> (Assmann, 33/227-29.)

> On wæstenum wunedon þa wisan fæderas Antonius and Paulus, Hilarion and Macharius, Iohannes, and Aresenius, Pafnutius and Apollonius, and fela þusenda, swa swa Vita Patrum segð, muneca and mynecena, on mycelre drohtnunge Criste þeowigende on modes clænnysse.
> (Assman, 23/215-20)

> Ne mot nan man his lima ne his gesceapu forceorfan. We rædað on þære bec, Uita Patrum, þæt twegen munecas gehældon hi sylfe . . .
> (Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, II, 625/61-2)

> On þære (h)algan bec þe hatte Uita Patrum us segð swutellice þæt sum munuc on (we)stene abæd æt his Drihtene þæt he moste geseon hu se synnfulla mann (hi)s sawle ageafe . . .
> (Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, II, 775-76/17-20)

There is finally[230] one other of Ælfric's hagiographic sources which is not provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection: namely, the Marcellus text of the Acts of Peter and Paul, a life which Ælfric employs for his first series homily Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli (CH, I, xxvi).[231] Ælfric's use of this text is interesting for, in so doing, he makes a clear choice between two well-established and conflicting forms of the Petrine and Pauline apocryphal Acts. The tradition which Ælfric follows, first of all, insisted on the association of Peter and Paul during their last days, and on their martyrdom together--on the same day--under the emperor Nero. It was this tradition which inspired the Marcellus text of the Acts, an account which begins with Paul's entry into Rome and his reunion with Peter, describes their mutual contest with Simon the Magician, and culminates in an account of their shared martyrdom. The second tradition which, in hagiographic literature at least, was the older, insisted on separate martyrdoms, approximately one year having elapsed between the death of Paul and that of Peter. It is this second tradition which is represented in the Cotton-Corpus collection which provides two separate Passion texts: a version of the Passio S. Petri drawn mainly from the Pseudo-Abdias and Linus texts of the Petrine Acts, and a Passio S. Pauli based chiefly on the Linus text of the Acts of Paul.

[230] I have not considered here Ælfric's familiarity with Augustine's De Civitate Dei, one part of which served as a source for one of Ælfric's sermons on St. Stephen (CH, II, ii). As Professor Cross ("Source and Analysis", 450) has pointed out, Paul the Deacon's 'original' homiliary provides for St. Stephen's day an excerpt from De Civitate Dei which includes all the material that Ælfric used except for a few brief sentences. This, as Professor Cross observes, suggests that Ælfric's version of Paul may have contained an excerpt from De Civitate Dei that was slightly longer than the one in the 'original' homiliary.

[231] See Förster, Legenden, 18-21.

That Ælfric follows the tradition of the combined martyrdom in preference to that represented in the Latin legendary is not surprising: the records of early English Church dedications and Anglo-Saxon kalendars show a clear tendency to place religious buildings under the patronage of both saints and to commemorate their passions together on 29 June.[232] More importantly, the tradition of separate martyrdoms had been strictly condemned in several writings which may have been known to Ælfric--including, for example, the Decretum Gelasianum, one of the items preserved in the first 'Ælfrician' part of MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63:

> Addita est etiam societas beatissimi Pauli apostoli 'vas electionis', quia non diverso, sicut heresei garriunt, sed uno tempore uno eodemque die gloriosa morte cum Petro in urbe Roma sub Caesare Nerone agonizans coronatus est.[233]

What is surprising about Ælfric's choice, however, is that he found it necessary to justify his procedure at two separate points in the course of his account. The first of these appears at the beginning of his treatment of the Passion, the very point at which he turns to the Marcellus text. Here he simply mentions and baldly rejects the conflicting tradition:

> Non passus est Paulus, quando uinctus Romam perductus est, sed post aliquot annos, quando sponte illuc iterum reuersus est.
>
> (CH, I, 374/25-27)

[232] A useful though somewhat polemical discussion of this question is found in G. F. Browne, The Importance of Women in Anglo-Saxon Times and Other Addresses (London, 1919), 40-89. Of the nineteen kalendars printed in English Kalendars before A. D. 1100, fifteen commemorate the passion of Peter and Paul on the same day, three (numbers 4, 5 and 19) commemorate the passions on different days, and one (number 8) contains a later revision. In this last instance the original entry was probably Passio Sancti Petri, but this has been altered to Passio apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

[233] "Das Decretum Gelasianum", ed. von Dobschütz, 7.

The second place in which he justifies his choice--once again in Latin--is found towards the end of his account, where in a more characteristic fashion he cites authorities in support of his procedure:

> Samod hi ferdon, Petrus and Paulus, on ðisum dæge . . . Igitur Hieronimus et quique alii auctores testantur, quod in una die simul Petrus et Paulus martirizati sunt. (CH, I, 382/25-29)

Considered on their own, these justifications are perplexing. The fact that both are Latin asides which surely were not intended to have been read with the homily from the pulpit suggests that the whole question was one of which the typical Saxon Christian was unaware, and one which therefore did not require the same sort of clarification--in the vernacular--which we find, for example, in Ælfric's references to the Nativity of Mary (CH, II, 466/18-20), the Assumption (CH, II, 444/17-31), the life of George (LS, I, 306/1-2), and several other feasts prone to heretical elaboration. If this is so, however, then why did Ælfric find it necessary to include the justifications at all? A satisfactory answer can be found, I believe, if one assumes that Ælfric was using a collection which, like Cotton-Corpus, provided a form of the Petrine and Pauline Acts which was at variance not only with established English custom and orthodox teaching, but also--as the first sentence of Ælfric's account clearly indicates--with another earlier and apparently well known English account of the Passio SS. Petri et Pauli:

> We wyllað æfter ðisum godspelle eow gereccan ðæra apostola [Peter and Paul] drohtnunga and geendunge, mid scortre race; forðan ðe heora ðrowung is gehwær on Engliscum gereorde fullice geendebyrd. (CH, I, 370/20-23)

Seen in this light, Ælfric's Latin asides become more understandable, for they become justifications for his departure from his normal

source collection, justifications which, significantly, he includes firstly when he abandons the collection and turns to the conflicting source, and secondly when he finishes with it. The explanation is both simple and complete, accounting not only for Ælfric's manifest awareness of the conflicting tradition, but also for his apparent need to justify its rejection. Paradoxically, it is also totally in accord with the theory that Ælfric had access to a collection whose contents were similar to those of the Cotton-Corpus collection.[234]

To summarize briefly, then, comparison of the selection of texts and saints included in the Cotton-Corpus collection with those treated by Ælfric yields the following results:

(a) that the selection of saints included in the legendary is sufficiently heterogeneous to account for almost all of the hagiographic pieces included in the Homilies and Lives, be these the legends of apostles, martyrs, and confessors or simple narratives such as the story of the Exaltation;

(b) that when Ælfric omits the life of a saint (for example, St. Matthias) whom we would expect him to include, there is normally also a gap in the Latin collection;

(c) that, despite the multiplicity of conflicting Latin texts which were current in the tenth century, Ælfric regularly relies on the particular texts found in the Cotton-Corpus collection;

[234]This same line of reasoning may help to illuminate another perplexing comment which Ælfric includes in one of his homilies. This is found in his account of the Invention of the Cross (CH, II, xix) where he once again abandons a source text included in the Cotton-Corpus collection and uses a different source--this time a section from the Ecclesiastical History of Rufinus (see above, p. 90). In this case too he acknowledges his acquaintance with a different form of the legend: "Ðus wrat Hieronimus, se wisa trahtnere, be ðære halgan rode, hu heo wearð gefunden. Gif hwa elles secge, we sceotað to him" (CH, II, 306/18-20). Here as elsewhere in his writings, Ælfric credits Jerome with the translation of the History.

(d) that this agreement in the selection of texts is maintained even when Ælfric depends on a text of apparent rarity (for example, the lives of SS. Eugenia and Vincent) or on multiple sources (for example, the lives of St. Martin);

(e) that Ælfric's omissions from the collection are entirely consistent both with his stated intentions as outlined in the Prefaces to the Homilies and Lives and with his concern for orthodoxy (for example, the lives of SS. Peter and Paul);

(f) that when Ælfric relies on sources not provided by the collection, the sources are almost always ones which would have been easily accessible to him elsewhere.

The cumulative evidence of these various forms of agreement strongly suggests that the hagiographic source book used by Ælfric must have been very similar to, if not actually related to, the Latin collection studied here. Before establishing a firm conclusion, however, it is perhaps wise to look in more detail at the text of the collection and to examine the new sources which it provides.

CHAPTER II

New Sources: The Martin Homily and the Lives of SS. Eugenia, Martin, and Vincent

In the preceding chapter, reference has been made to four of Ælfric's lives for which new sources have been identified through a study of the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection. The following studies gather together the detailed textual evidence for Ælfric's dependence on these new sources and demonstrate the degree of his indebtedness to them. In each case, references to the Latin texts are taken from the standard printed editions, all of which are more accessible than the manuscripts of the legendary. Textual peculiarities of the Cotton-Corpus copies of the new sources are not considered here, but in two later chapters devoted specifically to such matters. The four lives in question are arranged according to the order of their appearance in the Homilies and Lives.

1) Depositio Sancti Martini Episcopi (CH, II, xxxix)

Max Förster and G. H. Gerould[1] name four different Latin writings as sources for Ælfric's first homily on the life of St. Martin:[2] the Vita Sancti Martini of Sulpicius Severus, the second and third book of Dialogues and the Epistle to Bassula by the same author, and I, 48 of the Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours. As we have already seen,

[1] Förster, Legenden, 41-2; Gerould, "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours", 206-10. Gerould merely confirms Förster's conclusions.

[2] CH, II, 498-519.

all of these sources are preserved in each of the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts. One of these manuscripts (F), however, provides in addition to the texts enumerated above yet another account of St. Martin's life: Alcuin's Scriptum de Vita Sancti Martini Turonensis.[3] It can now be demonstrated that this account served as a major source for Ælfric's translation, providing new and closer parallels for several of the sections hitherto supposed to have been derived directly from Sulpicius's Vita and Dialogues.

Ælfric's dependence on Alcuin's brief account of the life and miracles of St. Martin can be seen most clearly in the lengthy passage which extends from the description of Martin's angelic visitations to the account of the curing of the woman afflicted with a flow of blood. For convenient reference, I shall quote the passage in full and number the various incidents which it includes:

1. Oft hine geneosodon englas of heofenum, and cuðlice to spræcon, for his clænan life.

2. Seo halige Maria eac swilce gecom to ðam halgan were, on sumere tide, mid twam apostolum, Petre and Paule, mid twam mædenum, Tecla and Agna, and mid hire geneosunge hine gearwurðode, and miccłum gehyrte þurh hire andwerdnysse.

3. Eac se halga biscop geseah gelome þa awyrigedan deoflu mid mislicum gedwymorum. He nateshwon ne ondred heora deofellican hiw, ne he næs bepæht ðurh heora leasungum.

4. Hwilon com se deofol, on anre digelnysse, mid purpuran gescryd, and mid helme geglengd, to ðam halgan were, þær he hine gebæd, and cwæð, þæt he wære witodlice se Hælend. Þa beseah Martinus wið þæs sceoccan leoht, gemyndig on mode hu se Metoda Drihten cwæð on his godspelle be his godcundan to-cyme, and cwæð to ðam leasan mid gelæredum muðe, "Ne sæde ure Hælend þæt he swa wolde beon mid purpuran gehiwod, oþþe mid helme scinende, þonne he eft come mid engla ðrymme." Ða fordwan se deofol dreorig

[3]PL, CI, cols. 657-62. All references to this text are taken from this edition.

him fram, and seo stow ða stanc mid ormætum stence, æfter andwerdnysse þæs egeslican gastes.

5. Martinus se halga scean on witegunge, and mannum witegode manega towearde ðing, ðe wæron gefyllede swa swa he foresæde.

6. Hwilon æt his mæssan, men gesawon scinan færlice æt his hnolle swilce fyren clywen, swa þæt se scinenda lig his locc up-ateah.

7. He wolde geneosian sumne adligne mannan, æt sumon sæle, se hatte Euantius, ac he wearð gehæled, ær se halga come into his huse, þurh þæs Hælendes gife.

8. Þa wæs ðær an cnapa geættrod þurh næddran, swiðe toswollen þurh ðæs wyrmes slege, unwene his lifes, ac he wearð ahred, þurh Martines hrepunge, fram ðam reðan attre.

9. Se eadmoda biscop, þe we ymbe sprecað, wæs swiðe geðyldig wið þwyrum mannum, and him ne eglede heora hosp-spræc, ac forbær bliðelice, þeah ðe him man bysmor cwæde.

10. He nolde olæcan ænigum rican mid geswæsum wordum, ne eac soð forsuwian.

11. Gif him ænig heafod-man hwilces þinges forwyrnde, ðonne wende he to Gode mid gewunelicum gebedum, and him sona getiðode his Scyppendes arfæstnys þæs ðe se woruld-rica him forwyrnde on ær.

12. Hit gelamp hwilon þæt an wod man gesæt þær ðær se eadiga wer hine ær gereste, and he wearð gewittig ðurh þæs weres geearnungum, þe on ær þæt setl swa gebletsode.

13. Menn he gehælde fram mislicum coðum, and eac swilce nytenum læcedom forgeaf, ahredde fram wodnysse, and het faran aweg to þære eowode þe hi of-adwelodon.

14. Swa micel mildheortnys wæs on Martine, þæt he het hwilon ða hundas ætstandan, þe urnon on ðam ræse, deorum getenge, and ahredde ða deor fram andwerdum deaðe.

15. Sum earm wif wæs eallunge geswenct þurh blodes gyte, and heo ongann hreppan þæs halgan gewædu, and wearð sona hal.

(CH, II, 512/14-514/28)

If we suppose that Ælfric relied solely on the writings of Sulpicius Severus for this passage and retain the numbering system given above, the following scheme of sources is produced:

1. Vita, xxi (beginning), or Dialogues, II, 13 (end)
2. Dialogues, II, 13 (beginning)

3. Vita, xxi-xxii

4. Vita, xxiv

5. Vita, xxi

6. Dialogues, II, 2

7. Dialogues, II, 2

8. Dialogues, II, 2

9. Vita, xxvi (end), though the patience of Martin is also mentioned in Vita, ii, and in Dialogues, II, 3

10. Vita, xx

11. Dialogues, II, 5

12. Dialogues, II, 8

13. Dialogues, II, 9 (beginning)

14. Dialogues, II, 9 (end)

15. Dialogues, III, 9[4]

Given Ælfric's skill in the handling of source materials, it is, of course, not impossible that he could have drawn so freely on Severus's various accounts. Nevertheless, examination of the following passage from the Alcuinian Vita suggests that in this particular case he used a guide:

1. Saepiusque angelicis visitationibus et familiari locutione fruebatur.

2. Quodam vero die beatissimae Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli; nec non sanctarum virginum Theclae et Agnetis visitatione vir Dei honoratus et confortatus est.

3. Nam daemonum phantasmata, et in diversis figuris horribiles aspectus nihil metuens, nec ullis eorum fallaciis illudi potuit.

[4]Chapter numbers in the list are those found in Sulpicii Severi: Libri qui Supersunt, ed. C. Halm, CSEL, I, 107-216. All references to the works of Severus are taken from this edition, and are included in parentheses in the body of the text.

4. Spiritu vero prophetarum ita claruit, ut multis multa praedixerit futura: veluti Maximo imperatori victoriam in Italia et in Aquileia interitum praedixit.

5. Et eodem beato viro celebrante sanctum mysterium ad altare, globus igneus subito de vertice fulsit illius.

6. Evantius quidam aegrotus, properante ad se beato viro, prius sanitatem recepit, quam sanctus Martinus domum intraret.

7. In eadem quoque domo puerum a serpente percussum, sanctorum tactu digitorum a periculo mortis eruit.

8. Nam tantae fuit vir Dei patientiae, ut convicia non doluerit, opprobria non senserit; imo et quorundam rusticorum flagella placido sustinuit animo, eorumque fixa terris animalia solo solvebat sermone.

9. Nemini adulando blandiebatur; principi nulli veritatis verba tacuit, ad nota semper orationem subsidia recurrens.

10. Unde si quid ei potestas renuit saecularis, mox divina praestitit pietas.

11. Quaedam puella daemoniaco arrepta spiritu, stramine, ubi sanctus Martinus sedebat, a potestate erepta est inimica.

12. Non solum homines, sed etiam animalia a daemonum liberans potestate, et mansueta in suum redire gregem mandavit.

13. Etiam fuit tantae misericordiae, ut canibus sequentibus lepusculum imperaverit stare; et miseram bestiolam a praesenti morte eripuit.

14. Villa quaedam in Senonico grandinea saepius vastata tempestate, ad preces sancti Martini, multis liberata est annis.

15. Mulier a sanguinis fluxu vestimentorum illius tactu sanata est.

(PL, CI, col. 661)

Several features of this passage correspond closely to the Old English translation quoted earlier. In terms of the selection of material, first of all, comparison of the two passages shows that all but one (item 4) of the fifteen subjects treated by Ælfric are included in the Alcuinian epitome. Moreover, Ælfric's arrangement of these subjects is identical to that of Alcuin--even in places where, from an aesthetic or logical viewpoint, the

Alcuinian arrangement is less than satisfactory (as in the juxtaposition of the description of Martin's prophetic powers and the miracle of the fiery globe) or in places where Alcuin has considerably altered the order given by Severus (as in, for example, items 2-3). Thirdly, the method of abridgement employed by both authors is very often almost identical. Comparison of item 2 from the two abbreviated accounts with the much longer discussion provided by Severus in Dialogues, II, 13 furnishes a representative example:

Ælfric	Alcuin
Seo halige Maria eac swilce gecom to ðam halgan were, on sumere tide, mid twam apostolum, Petre and Paule, mid twam mædenum, Tecla and Agna, and mid hyre geneosunge hine gearwurðode, and micclum gehyrte þurh hire andwerdnysse. (CH, II, 512/15-19)	Quodam vero die beatissimae Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli: nec non sanctarum virginum Theclae et Agnetis visitatione vir Dei honoratus et confortatus est. (PL, CI, col. 661)

Sulpicius Severus

> Quodam die ego et iste Sulpicius pro foribus illius excubantes iam per aliquot horas cum silentio sedebamus, ingenti horrore et tremore, ac si ante angeli tabernaculum mandatas excubias duceremus, cum quidam nos, clauso cellulae suae ostio, ibi esse nesciret. interim conloquentium murmur audimus et mox horrore quodam circumfundimur ac stupore, nec ignorare potuimus nescio quid fuisse diuinum. post duas fere horas ad nos Martinus egreditur: ac tum eum iste Sulpicius, sicut apud eum nemo familiarius loquebatur, coepit orare, ut pie quaerentibus indicaret, quid illud diuini fuisset horroris, quod fatebamur nos ambo sensisse, uel cum quibus fuisset in cellula conlocutus: tenuem enim nos scilicet et uix intellectum sermocinantium sonum pro foribus audisse. tum ille diu multumque cunctatus--sed nihil erat quod ei Sulpicius non extorqueret inuito: incredibiliora forte dicturus sum, sed Christo teste non mentior, nisi quisquam est tam sacrilegus, ut Martinum aestimet fuisse mentitum--: dicam, inquit, uobis, sed uos nulli quaeso dicatis: Agnes, Thecla et Maria mecum fuerunt. referebat autem nobis uultum adque habitum singularum. nec uero illo tantum die, sed frequenter se ab eis confessus est uisitari: Petrum etiam et Paulum Apostolos uideri a se saepius non negauit.
> (Halm, 195-96)

In this passage, Ælfric shortens the lengthy description given by Severus in precisely the same way as Alcuin: namely, by discarding the introductory material on the vigil kept by the Gaul and Severus

outside Martin's room, and by reducing all the apparitions to a single occasion. In listing Martin's heavenly visitors, moreover, Ælfric adopts the hierarchical ordering given by Alcuin (Mary, Peter, Paul, Thecla and Agnes) rather than the random arrangement found in the Dialogues (Agnes, Thecla, Mary, Peter and Paul). Finally, in a few places, as comparison of the underlined portions of the passages indicates, the wording of Ælfric's translation corresponds more closely to Alcuin than to anything which can be found in Severus's account. Similar examples of Ælfric's dependence on Alcuin, as evidenced both by the manner of abridgement and by verbal correspondences, are found in items 10, 13, and 14:

10.

Ælfric	Alcuin
He nolde olæcan ænigum rican mid geswæsum wordum, ne eac soð forsuwian. (CH, II, 514/13-14)	Nemini adulando blandiebatur; principi nulli veritatis verba tacuit. (PL, CI, col. 661)

Sulpicius Severus

Adque ut minora tantis inseram--quamuis, ut est nostrorum aetas temporum, quibus iam deprauata omnia adque corrupta sunt, paene praecipuum sit, adulationi regiae sacerdotalem non cessisse constantiam--, cum ad imperatorem Maximum, ferocis ingenii uirum et bellorum ciuilium uictoria elatum, plures ex diuersis orbis partibus episcopi conuenissent et foeda circa principem omnium adulatio notaretur seque degenere inconstantia regiae clientelae sacerdotalis dignitas subdidisset, in solo Martino apostolica auctoritas permanebat. nam et si pro aliquibus regi supplicandum fuit, imperauit potius quam rogauit, et a conuiuio eius frequenter rogatus abstinuit, dicens se mensae eius participem esse non posse, qui imperatores unum regno, alterum uita expulisset.
(Vita, xx; Halm, 128-29)

13-14.

Ælfric	Alcuin
Menn he gehælde fram mislicum coðum, and eac swilce nytenum læcedom forgeaf, ahredde fram wodnysse, and het faran aweg to þære eowode þe hi of-adwelodon. Swa micel mildheortnys wæs on	Non solum homines, sed etiam animalia a daemonum liberans potestate, et mansueta in suum redire gregem mandavit. Etiam fuit tantae misericordiae, ut canibus sequentibus lepusculum

Ælfric

Martine, þæt he het hwilon ða hundas ætstandan, þe urnon on ðam ræse, deorum getenge, and ahredde ða deor fram andwerdum deaðe.
(CH, II, 514/20-26)

Alcuin

imperaverit stare; et miseram bestiolam a praesenti morte eripuit.
(PL, CI, col. 661)

Sulpicius Severus

Per idem fere tempus Martino a Treueris reuertenti fit obuiam uacca, quam daemon agitabat: quae relicto grege suo in homines ferebatur et iam multos noxie petulca confoderat. uerum ubi nobis coepit esse contigua, ii qui eam eminus sequebantur, praedicere magna uoce coeperunt ut caueremus. sed postquam ad nos toruis furibunda luminibus propius accessit, Martinus eleuata [obuiam] manu pecudem consistere iubet: quae mox ad uerbum illius stare coepit inmobilis, cum interea uidit Martinus dorso illius daemonem supersedentem; quem increpans, discede, inquit, funeste, de pecude et innoxium animal agitare desiste. paruit nequam spiritus et recessit. nec defuit sensus in bucula, quin se intellegeret liberatam: ante pedes sancti recepta quiete prosternitur, dein iubente Martino gregem suum petiit seque agmini ceterarum oue placidior inmiscuit . . . Quodam tempore, cum dioeceses circuiret, uenantium agmen incurrimus. canes leporem sequebantur: iamque multo spatio uicta bestiola, cum undique campis late patentibus nullum esset effugium, mortem inminentem iam iamque capienda crebis flexibus differebat. cuius periculum uir beatus pia mente miseratus imperat canibus, desisterent sequi et sinerent abire fugientem. continuo ad primum sermonis imperium constiterunt: crederes uinctos, immo potius adfixos in suis haerere uestigiis. ita lepusculus persecutoribus alligatis incolumis euasit.
(Dialogues, II, 9; Halm, 190-91)

Whilst the correspondences here noted provide ample evidence for Ælfric's dependence on Alcuin's Vita, it should not be inferred that Alcuin was the sole source. As mentioned earlier, the description of Martin's encounter with the devil clothed in purple (item 4 in the Old English passage) finds no parallel in the Alcuinian epitome, but derives directly from chapter xxiv of Sulpicius's Vita (Halm, 133-34). In the earlier sections of his homily, moreover, Ælfric relies even more heavily on this fuller account of Martin's life, often drawing in some detail on material which is either absent from or only very

generally expressed in Alcuin. Yet even in these sections, there are occasional traces of Alcuinian influence, as in the following passages in which Ælfric's halgan heafde and mid eallum his hirede find verbal equivalents only in Alcuin:

(i)

Ælfric	Alcuin
Eac sum oðer arleas hine wolde slean on his halgan heafde mid heardum isene, ac þæt wæpen wand aweg mid þam slege of þæs reðan handum, þe hine hynan wolde. (CH, II, 510/21-24)	. . . alteroque librante ictum in sanctum caput, ferrum effugit de manibus. (PL, CI, col. 660)

Sulpicius Severus

> nec dissimile huic fuit illud. cum eum idola destruentem cultro quidam ferire uoluisset, in ipso ictu ferrum ei de manibus excussum non conparuit.
> (Vita, xv; Halm, 125)

(ii)

Ælfric	Alcuin
. . . and his hlaford [Tetradius] beah mid geleafan to Gode mid eallum his hirede, þe ærðan hæðen wæs. (CH, II, 510/30-31)	Unde et ille [Tetradius] cum tota doma sua ad Christianam conversus est professionem. (PL, CI, col. 660)

Sulpicius Severus

> quo uiso Taetradius Dominum Iesum credidit: statimque catechumenus factus nec multo post baptizatus est, semperque Martinum salutis suae auctorem miro coluit affectu.
> (Vita, xvii; Halm, 126)

In still other passages he seems to combine readings from both accounts, as in his description of the paralysed maiden in which the phrase toslopen on limum corresponds more closely to Alcuin, the rest of the passage to Sulpicius:

Ælfric	Alcuin
Sum mæden . . . þæt ðe langlice læg on leger-bedde seoc, toslopen on limum, samcucu geðuht . . . (CH, II, 510/24-26)	Treveris paralyticam puellam, totisque resolutam membris . . . (PL, CI, col. 660)

Sulpicius Severus

> Treueris puella quaedum dira paralysis aegritudine tenebatur, [ita] ut iam per multum tempus nullo ad humanos usus corporis officio fungeretur: omni ex parte praemortua uix tenui spiritu palpitabat.
>
> (Vita, xvi; Haïm, 125)

In addition to Sulpicius's Vita and Alcuin's epitome, two other texts play an important part in Ælfric's homily: the Epistle to Bassula of Sulpicius Severus, and I, 48 of the Historia Francorum, both of which are identified by Förster and Gerould, and both of which are preserved in the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus legendary. Between them, these accounts provide the basis for Ælfric's discussion of the events surrounding Martin's death and burial. The evidence for Ælfric's use of Sulpicius's Dialogues, on the other hand, is scant. Indeed, of the eleven incidents in the Old English homily which Förster and Gerould attribute to the Dialogues, all but two are included in the lengthy passage quoted earlier (items 2, 6-8, and 11-15), where in each case the correspondence with Alcuin is as close as or closer than Sulpicius. The remaining two incidents, which derive ultimately from Dialogues, II, 4[5] and III, 2, are summarized together at an earlier point in the Old English translation. Here too the Alcuinian epitome seems to have served as the immediate source, as is evidenced both by an agreement in arrangement and by verbal correspondences:

Ælfric	Alcuin
Hit gelamp eac swilce, on oðrum timan, þæt anre wydewan sunu wearð to deaðe gebroht, and hrædlice gewat fram woruldlicum	Tertium ab eodem sancto viro, in Carnoteno oppido, cujusdam mulieris flentem filium sola oratione in conspectu populi

[5]Gerould mistakenly cites Sulpicius's Vita as the ultimate source for the story of the resurrection of the widow's son summarized at 508/7-12 of the Old English translation. Förster correctly identifies Dialogues, II, 4.

Ælfric	Alcuin
ricum; and se halga Martinus for hine gebæd on ðæs folces gesihðe; and he sona aras to ðam lænan life ðe he ær forlet. Þurh ðam tacne gelyfdon of ðære leode gehwilce on þone Lifigendan God, þe hine to life arærde. On ðære ylcan byrig he gehælde an mæden, mid halwendum smyrelse gehalgodes eles, þæt ðe fram cildhade symle ær dumb wæs. (CH, II, 508/7-15)	resuscitavit. Quo miraculo viso, plurimi ex populo crediderunt Christo. Succedente itidem tempore, in eodem oppido, mutam ab infantia puellam benedicti olei inunctione sanavit. (PL, CI, col. 660)

Sulpicius's Vita Sancti Martini, the Epistle to Bassula, I, 48 of the Historia Francorum, and Alcuin's epitome[6]--together these four sources provide the basis for the Old English translation. In constructing his account, Ælfric's intention seems to have been to strike a balance between the prolixity of Sulpicius's Vita and the sketchiness of Alcuin's: the result is a not altogether satisfactory compromise modelled in many respects on the structure of Alcuin's treatise, but including large chunks of material drawn wholesale from the writings of Sulpicius Severus and I, 48 of Gregory's History. There is some evidence that even some of Ælfric's own readers may have been left unsatisfied by the patchwork which inevitably resulted

[6] I am grateful to my former tutor, Dr. D. Letson of St. Jerome's College, Waterloo, Canada, for encouraging my interest in Alcuin's account. In Appendix IV of his doctoral dissertation ("The Vernacular Homily and Old English Poetry: A Study of Similarities in Form and Image", Toronto, 1971), Dr. Letson refers incidentally to some of the similarities between the selection of material found in Ælfric's homily and that given by Alcuin. He does not, however, note the verbal correspondences between the two accounts nor suggest that Ælfric used Alcuin as a source. Instead he speculates that Ælfric and Alcuin were "likely working from different copies each of which ultimately derived from a common exemplar sometime removed from Sulpicius". This explanation which presupposes the existence of some lost and variant copy (or copies) of the works of Sulpicius seems to me less satisfactory than the suggestion that Ælfric used Alcuin in conjunction with Sulpicius. Dr. Letson does not consider the possibility of a relationship between Alcuin's Vita and Ælfric's second account of Martin's life, for which evidence is presented below, pp. 124-25.

from this procedure, for in a Latin note preserved in the principal surviving witness of the third series, we are told of a request for a second Ælfrician account of Martin's life.[7] The result is the much fuller version included in the Lives, where, unfettered by the temporal limitations imposed on texts designed for oral delivery within the liturgy, Ælfric provides a more accomplished account of Martin's life which is the equal of any of the distinguished Latin sources on which it is based.

2) Natale Sancte Eugenie Uirginis (LS, *ii*)

In his study of the sources for the Lives of Saints, J. H. Ott names a Latin legend included in Rosweyd's edition of the Vitae Patrum[8] as the source for Ælfric's Natale Sancte Eugenie Uirginis.[9] Careful reading of this text reveals, however, that it fails to account for several sections of the Old English translation, including much of the conversation between Eugenia and Melantia (lines 160-175) and almost all of the conclusion (lines 423-28). Correspondences for these and several other unexplained features of Ælfric's account can be found in another version of the St. Eugenia legend of which Ott was unaware, a text printed in the second edition of Mombritius's Sanctuarium.[10] Even this second account, however, could not have

[7] See LS, II, 312; and Clemoes, "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works", 220, n. 2.

[8] Printed in PL LXXIII, cols. 605-20 and in PL, XXI, cols. 1105-22. All references here are taken from the latter edition.

[9] Ott, 8-10. Ælfric's account is found in LS, I, 24-51.

[10] II, 391-97.

served as Ælfric's sole source for, though providing close parallels for almost all the passages in which the Vitae Patrum is wanting, it is itself deficient in several other sections, most of which are adequately explained by the Vitae Patrum legend.[11] It seems likely that a conflation has taken place here, but if so--as mentioned in the first chapter[12]--it is one which originated not with Ælfric, but with his source: namely a third and little studied version of the St. Eugenia legend which is provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection.[13]

Ælfric's debt to the Cotton-Corpus version of Eugenia's life is perhaps most readily apparent in the large number of passages in which he reproduces its particular combination of Vitae Patrum and Mombritius readings. At line 136 of Ælfric's account, for example, the Old English reads:

> Eugenia þa hi gesmyrode . mid gehalgodum ele .
> and eac gemearcode mid rode-tacne .
> and heo þæt reðe attor eall ut aspaw.
> (136-38)

The first part of this passage finds correspondences only in the Vitae Patrum legend, the second part only in that of Mombritius:

Vitae Patrum	Mombritius
Quam cum beata Eugenia oleo perunxisset, omnem continuo violentiam fellis evomuit. (PL, col. 1113)	Cui cum fecisset in pectore signaculum crucis: omnem abundantium humoris loetalis euomuit. (394)

[11]Parts of the Old English translation for which Mombritius lacks correspondences include the following: lines 7, 84-87, 100-02, 140-43, 154, 176-77, 204-27, 270, 306-07 and 338-48.

[12]See above, p. 62.

[13]A copy of this version of the legend is printed in Pasionario Hispanico, II, ed. A. Fábrega Grau, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra: Serie Litúrgica, 83-98. Unless indicated otherwise, references here are from this edition.

By contrast, a complete source is furnished by the combined passio preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection:

> Quam quum beata Eugenia oleo perunxisset, et crucis signum in eius fronte depincxisset, omnem continuo virulentiam fellis evomuit.[14]
>
> (Fábrega Grau, 89)

Similarly, in the following two sections, the Cotton-Corpus passio independently provides source readings which one would otherwise have to reconstruct artificially by combining material from the Vitae Patrum and Mombritius legends:

(i)

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus Passio
Þa bead seo wydewe þam mædene sceattas for hyre hæle . ac heo hi forsoc . and tihte ða oþre þæt heo hi dælde. þearfum and wædlum for ðam gewissan eadleane. Ða gewænde seo wydewe ham to hyre agenum and com siððan gelome . mid leasum mode to þam wlytegan mædene . wende þæt heo cniht wære. and mænig-fealde sceattas hyre unmæðlice bead . ac þa þa heo geseah . þæt seo soðfæste fæmne hyre laca ne rohte . ne hyre rununga . þa wearð heo mid yfele . eall afylled . and gebræd hi seoce mid bysmor-fullum geþance . Heo bæd þa eugenian . þæt heo hi geneosode. and ongan hyre sæcgan hyre swearlan geþohtas . cwæð þæt heo wære wydewe on þam geare . and hyre wer læfde unlytle æhta on lande . and on feo . and on fore-wyrcendum . and unc næs gemæne . man on ðysum lyfe . Nu is min mod awend mycclum to ðe . þæt þu hlaford beo þæra æhta and min. lc	Ordinat preterea munera, scyphos argenteos tres solidos implens, et hos salutis suę gratia mittit ad beatam Eugeniam. Cui gratanter illa remittens quę miserat, ait: Abundamus et superabundamus omnibus bonis; unde hortor te, carissima Melantia parens, ut hęc indigentibus dones. Audiens hęc Melantia, contristata est, et veniens, cepit eam rogare ut acciperet et ampliora promitteret. Interea fit assidua circa beatam Eugeniam, et in nullo deprehendens quod esset femina, eligantia decipitur iuventutis. Videns autem iuvenem, purerum putabat esse terrenum; se autem non sanctitate eius, sed aliqua arte existimans fuisse salvatam, in concupiscentia eius labitur, et sui similem exti mans, . . .[putans se ampliores pecunias cupidiorem, coepit infinita offerre et ampliora promittere. Cumque sepius eam deprecatur, et grato animo oblato sibi ab Eugenia cerneret reddi, declinat ad maiorem interitum egritudinem simulat. Quam cum beata eugenia rogata uisitaret, sedenti ante lectulum suum, talia uerba producere

[14] Unbroken underlining here and in the next three pages indicates material which Ælfric and the Cotton-Corpus text share only with the Vitae Patrum. Broken underlining denotes material which Ælfric and the Cotton-Corpus text share only with Mombritius.

Ælfric

wene þæt hit ne sy unrihtwisnysse . ætforan gode þeah ðe þu wifes bruce . and blysse on life . Da andwyrde eugenia pyssere ðiecunge . and cwæð to þam wife . mid þisum ingehyde . þæt ða gewylnunga þissere andweardan worulde . synt swiðe swicole . þeah þe hi geswæse beon . and þæs lichoman lustas getome be-pæceð . and to sarnissum gelædað þa þe hi swiðost lufiað . Æfter þissere tihtinge and on oðrum larum . beclypte seo myltestre þæt clæne mæden . and wolde hi gebygan to bismorlicum hæmede . Hwæt ða eugenia . hi gebletsode . and cwæð . . .
(140-72)

Cotton-Corpus Passio

coepit.][15] Intolerabilis circa te amor meum pectus exagitat, nec ullum remedium fatigationis meę repperire potui, nisi ut te rerum mearum instituam dominum. Quid temetipsum vanis et impiis abstinentiis maceras, et florem perdis gratissime inventutis? . . . Ecce possessionum locupletatio infinita, ecce auri pondus inmensum, argenti ministerium copiosum, familię infinitus est numerus, et dignitas mea et generositas ornat inlustrium. Non puto quod iniustitia sit apud Deum, si maritus esse digneris, et fruaris tempus lętitię, quod tristitię mancipasti. Hoc anno absque filiis a viro viduata sum: succede pro eodum in facultatibus meis, ut non solum rerum mearum, sed etiam meus efficere dominus.

Hęc et his similia dicente Melantia, beata Eugenia monitis salutaribus obsistebat; et volens sancta Eugenia animam eius de laqueo diaboli liberare, ostendebat ei desideria mundi misera esse, et sic, dum teneri putantur , effugere, atque per unius puncti delectamenta perpetua inducere detrimenta. Nec consentiendum est omnino corporali concupiscentię, quę blanditur ut maculet, invitat ut teneat, lętitiam promittit ut perdat. Hęc et his similia prosequente Eugenia, Melantia surda aure transiebat. Interea dum Eugenia conaretur Melantiam de laqueo mortis eripere, et ageret Melantia quatenus Eugeniam inretiret, declinans ad maiorem interitum, egritudinem simulat, et ut a sancta Eugenia visitaretur expostulat. Quumque ad eam visitandam ingressa sancta Eugenia sederet intra cubiculum, obscenis eam amplexibus

[15]The material enclosed in square brackets in taken from our C, p. 416. The printed text, which is based on only one manuscript (B.L. MS Add. 25,600 from Cardeña), provides the same material at a later point. This is also included in the excerpt quoted.

Cotton-Corpus Passio

infelix Melantia temtabat adire, et sermonibus vanis ad lasciviam inclinare.
Tunc beata Eugenia armans frontem crucis tropheo clarissimo, sue vocis strepitu cum gemitu ait . . .
(Fábrega Grau, 89-90)

Vitae Patrum

Ordinat interea munera, scyphos argenteos tres implet solidis, et hos sanationis suae gratia mittit ad beatam Eugeniam. Cui gratanter remittens quae miserat, ait: Abundamus et superabundamus omnibus bonis. Unde te, parens charissima Melanthia, ut ista egentibus magis ac necessitatem patientibus dividas, hortor et moneo.
Audiens Melanthia contristata est: et veniens, coepit rogare et ampliora promittere. Fit assidua circa beatam Eugeniam, et in nullo deprehendens quod esset femina, elegantia decipitur juventutis. Videns eam, juvenem per veritatem putabat esse terrenum: se autem non sanctitate ejus, sed aliqua arte existimans fuisse salvatam, in concupiscentia ejus elabitur, et putans amplioris pecuniae cupidiorem, coepit infinita offerre, et ampliora promittere Cumque saepius eadem precaretur, et grato animo oblata sibi ab Eugenia cerneret reddi, declinat ad majorem interitum, aegritudinem simulans. Quam cum beata Eugenia rogata visitaret, sedenti ante lectum suum sanctae Eugeniae talia coepit producere: intolerabilis circa te amor pectus meum exagitat, nec ullum remedium fatigationi meae reperire potui, nisi ut te omnium rerum mearum dominum instituam Quid teipsum vanis et inanibus abstinentiis

Mombritius

Ex quo tempore quasi uenarationis [sic] intuitu frequentabat ire ad eum: Et ignorans quod esset foemina: non sicut decebat beatum diligi: per quem saluata fuerat diligebat: sed sui similem existimans his uerbis secrete alloquitur: quid temet ipsum inanibus abstinentiis maceras et florem perdis gratissimae iuuentutis: quasi tristes dominus diligat: exurientes suscipiat: delectamenta sua contempnentes foueat: et solis hominum cruciatibus delectetur? Et cur omnis homo idcirco diuinis insistit oraculis: ut laetis successionibus floreat: et tempora iucunda suscipiat. Videmur ergo abuti donis dei: et ingrati refundere largitori: quod donat: Vnde meritis tuis me tibi crede dominum praestitisse: ut per me finem his afflictionibus ponas: et laetiora tempora et iucunda suscipias. Esto dominus rerum mearum: imo et meus efficiaris dominus. Nam dignitas me et generositas ornat illustrium et locupletatio mihi infinita exhuberat. Non enim puto: quod iniusticia sit apud dominum: si maritus meus esse digneris: et fruaris tempus leticiae quod tristiciae mancipasti. Haec et his similia dicente Melancia: Beata Eugenia monitis salutaribus obsistebat: et uolens animam de laqueo diaboli liberare: ostendebat ei desyderia mundi misera esse: et sic dum putantur teneri effugere: atque per unius puncti delectamenta perpetua detrimenta inducunt: nec consentiendum omnino corporali concupiscentiae: quia blanditur:

	Vitae Patrum	Mombritius
	crucias? Ecce possessionum locupletatio infinita, et ecce auri pondus immensum, et argenti ministerium copiosum, et familiae infinitus est numerus: dignitas generositatis est mihi, hoc anno absque filiis viduata sum, succede pro eis in facultatibus meis, et non solum rerum mearum, sed meus esto jam dominus. Cumque haec et his similia loqueretur, dixit ad eam Eugenia . . . (PL, cols. 1113-14)	ut maculet: inuitaur: ut teneat. laeticiam promittit: ut perdat. Haec et huiuscemodi prosequente Eugenia Melantia surda aure transibat. Circundederat enim cor eius clandestina calamitas: et ut scriptum est in maliuolam animam non introibit sapientia salutaris. Interea dum Eugenia conaretur Malanciam de laqueo mortis eripere: At e conuerso ipsa etiam Melancia quatenus Eugeniam irraetiret cogitabat. Simulatur infirmitas: Melancia rogat: ut ab Eugenia salutetur: Cumque ad eam uisitandam ingressa esset Eugenia: et sederet intra cubiculum obsenis eam amplexibus infelix Melancia adire temptabat: et uerbis procacioribus ad crimen hortari. Tunc beata Eugenia exigens dexteram signa frontem suam signo crucis: et clarissimo suae uocis strepitu cum gemitu ait . . . (394)

(ii)	Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus Passio
	Þa wurdon gefullode . philippus and claudia . and heora twægen suna . mid soðum geleafan . and seo mæste mæniu . þæs mennisces gebeah . to cristes bigengum . and þa cristenan gegododon . Ða wurdon geædniwode on ðam eahteoðan geare.[16] Þa forlætenan cyrcan . and seo geleaffulnyss weox. Philippus þa asende to seuero þam casere . and sæde þæt þa cristenan swiðe fremoden . his cynerice . and romaniscere leode . and hi wæl wyrðe wæron . þæt hi wunodon butan æhtnysse on ðære ylcan byrig . þe he hi ær of	Babtizatur prefectus in fascibus constitutus; babtizantur filii eius, babtizatur Claudia mater eius, et plurima multitudo paganorum convertitur, ac restituuntur privilegia christianorum, et mittit prefectus relationes ad Severum imperatorem de christianis, et. memorat satis romane reipublice christianos prodesse, ideo debere eos absque persequutione aliqua in urbibus habitare. Consentit relationibus imperator, et fit tota Alexandrina[17] civitas quasi una eclesia. Eratque omnibus civitatibus gaudium, et dignitas christiani nominis florescebat.

[16]This detail is taken from an earlier passage which is found in each of the three Latin versions.

[17]Our C, p. 420, here gives Alexandria. There are also several other proper names for which the orthography of C is closer to Ælfric than that of the printed edition.

Ælfric

adræfde. Þa geþafode se casere þæt ðam geræfan . and alexandria seo burh sona wearð afylled mid mycclum cristen-dome . and manegum cyrcum . and on ge-hwylcum burgum . blissoden þa cristenan . and mid wurðfulnysse . god wurðodon . Eac for þysum intingan . þæt ægyptisce folc . for-lætenum gedwylde . gelyfde on drihten.
(264-81)

Cotton-Corpus Passio

Hac occasione omnis pene Egypti prouincia ab idolorum errore conversa est.
(Fábrega Grau, 92)

Vitae Patrum

Bapitizatur praefectus in fascibus constitutus, baptizantur filii ejus, baptizatur mater ejus Claudia. Restituit privilegia Christianis, et mittit relationem ad Severum imperatorem de Christianis, et memorat, satis reipublicae Christianos prodesse, ideo debere eos absque persecutione aliqua in urbibus habitare. Consentit relationibus Imperator: et fit tota Alexandrina civitas quasi una Ecclesia. Eratque omnibus civitatibus gaudium, et dignitas Christiani nominis florescebat.
(PL, col. 1116)

Mombritius

Baptizatur Philippus praefectus et filii eius. Baptizatur Claudia et omnis familia et innumerabilis multitudo paganorum conuertitur ad dominum: et omnis Alexandria fit quasi una ecclaesia. Sed qui fuerat antistes diuinae legis in persecutione: quia migrauit ad dominum: omnis ciuitas in episcopatum Philippum elegit: et coepit eum habere sancta ecclaesia dignum Episcopum: et res publica habere praefectum: quia successor nullus aduenerat. Omnis pene prouincia Aegypti hac occasione ab errore idolorum ad Christum conuersa est: et per omnes ciuitates ecclesiae restaurabantur: et dignitas christiani nominis crescebat.
(395)

In addition to the many passages in which Ælfric adopts the particular combination of Vitae Patrum and Mombritius readings found in the Cotton-Corpus passio, two other forms of evidence attest to his reliance on that text. Firstly, in passages in which the Vitae Patrum and Mombritius legends disagree with each other in matters of fact, and where Ælfric, if conflating, would therefore have been compelled to opt for one or the other, the Old English translation is invariably in accord with the particular reading found in the Cotton-Corpus passio. One pertinent example

of this agreement occurs in the passage which introduces the bishop of Rome. In the Vitae Patrum legend, he is called Cornelius (PL, col. 1118), while in Mombritius his name is Soter (396).[18] Here Ælfric agrees with the Vitae Patrum and includes the name Cornelius in his translation. And, significantly, it is this same name which is given in the Cotton-Corpus passio (Fábrega Grau, 94). Agreement with the second text, on the other hand, is found later in the account during the description of the persecution of Eugenia. In the Vitae Patrum legend, she is imprisoned for ten days (PL, col., 1122), in Mombritius for twenty (397). Here Ælfric agrees not with the Vitae Patrum, as he did before, but with Mombritius. And once again, this is the reading which is supplied by the Cotton-Corpus passio:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus Passio
Heo wearð þa gebroht . into blindum cwearterne,[19] and geond twæntig daga . . . (400-01)	Mittitur post hęc in custodia tenebrosa, ubi per vigintim dies . . . (Fábrega Grau, 97)

A final indication of Ælfric's dependence on the passio preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection is that text's occasional provision of source readings which correspond more closely than even a conflation of the other two legends. An illustration is

[18]Soter was pope from 166-174; Cornelius served 251-253. The reference to Cyprian of Carthage in the Mombritius text suggests that Cornelius is probably the correct reading, for Cyprian and Cornelius were contemporaries.

[19]Another example is found in the description of the destruction of the pagan place of worship. In the text of the Vitae Patrum, the entire temple is destroyed, while in Mombritius only the image of Diana falls. Here the Cotton-Corpus passio agrees with the Vitae Patrum; and so does Ælfric (lines 386-88).

provided at line 310 of Ælfric's account:

> Protus . and iacinctus . wurdon sona gelæhte .
> and hi sceoldon geoffrian . heora lac þam godum .
> oððe hi sylfe sceoldon . him beon geoffrode .
> Hi wurdon þa gelædde . to þære laðan anlicnysse.
> ac heo to-feol sona to heora fotum for-molsnod.
> (370-74)

Here neither the Vitae Patrum nor Mombritius offers anything corresponding to the alternatives which Ælfric outlines his description:

Vitae Patrum	Mombritius
Tenti statim Protus et Hyacinthus, trahuntur ad templum; sed orationem illis facientibus, simulacrum Jovis ad quod ducebantur sacrificare, cecidit ad pedes eorum. (PL, col. 1121)	Qua interfecta tenentur Prothus et Hiacinthus: iubenturque Ioui sacrificare. Sed contemnentes perferunt diuersa supplicia: et perseuerantes pariter decollati sunt. (397)

By contrast, the Cotton-Corpus passio does:

> Quia interfecta tenentur Protus et Iachintus, et iubentur Iobi aut ipsis sacrificare, aut de ipsis sacrificium exhibere. Sed orationem illis facientibus, simulacrum Iobis, ad quod ducebantur sacrificare, cecidit ad pedes eorum.
> (Fábrega Grau, 97)

Similarly, in the following passage the Cotton-Corpus legend is the unique supplier of a few of the Latin readings translated by Ælfric

Ælfric

> [Se casere] sænde fram rome
> oðerne gerefan . mid reðum bebode.
> swa þæt he het acwellan þone cristenan philippum.
> gif hit soð wære . swa him gesæd wæs.
> (296-99)

Cotton-Corpus Passio	Vitae Patrum	Mombritius
Mittitur Filippo successor Perennius, qui successor in preceptis acceperat, ut si ita esset, ut sese querella dictaverat, Filippum interficeret. (Fábrega Grau, 93)	. . . veniens Perennius praefectus, dum Alexandriae quaereret percutere eum. (PL, col. 1117)	Mittitur Philippo successor Perennius in praeceptis qui acceperat: ut Philippum interficeret. (395)

The evidence outlined above shows that the Cotton-Corpus passio provides a closer source for Ælfric's translation than either the Vitae Patrum text or that of Mombritius. There are, in fact, only three minor details in the Old English for which either the Vitae Patrum or Mombritius provides verbal parallels slightly closer than those of the Cotton-Corpus account. Firstly, for Ælfric's and æt-ǽwde hyre breost (line 234), Mombritius gives et insignis facie paruit et pulcro pectore uirgo (395), while the Cotton-Corpus passio has et apparuit femina (Fábrega Grau, 92). Secondly, for the Old English Heo aflygde eac swylce þa fulan deofla . fram ofsættum mannum (lines 131-32), the Cotton-Corpus text gives only et dęmones pelleret (Fábrega Grau, 88), while the Vitae Patrum has ut daemones ex obsessis corporibus pelleret (PL, col. 1113). The final instance is the following:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus Passio	Mombritius
Basilla . . . wolde gehyran þa halgan lare, of eugenian muþe. ac heo ne mihte hire ge-nealecean, forðan þe cristen-dom wæs, þær onscunigend-lic. (327-30)	[Basilla] cupiebat ad eam pertingere; sed quia causa nominis christiani ad eam ire non poterat . . . (Fábrega Grau, 93)	Basilla . . . peruenit ed Eugeniam occulte: et audiens sermonem ueritatis ex ore Eugeniae ita credidit Christo: ut in-comparabilis haberetur. Sed quia christiana religio humanis legibus prohibebatur: et quottidie se uidere non poterant . . . (396)

These few passages suggest that Ælfric's exemplar probably contained a few readings which differed slightly from those of any of the copies of the Cotton-Corpus passio examined here. This is not to imply, however, that Ælfric's source readings were identical to those of the printed editions quoted above. In the second excerpt, for example, one should note that the Old English words fram ofsættum mannum are almost formulaic in character and may therefore have originated

with Ælfric himself.[20] In the third example, moreover, it is important to note that, despite its provision of the phrase ex ore Eugeniae, the text in Mombritius disagrees with Ælfric in its insistence that Basilla actually approached Eugenia and spoke with her. Here the Old English is in accord with the Cotton-Corpus passio.

Despite a few minor divergences in the copies examined here, then, it is clear that the Cotton-Corpus version of St. Eugenia's life served as the source for the Old English translation. This new source has much to offer in many areas of Ælfrician scholarship. Apart from its potential value for editors and lexicographers, it may occasionally be of use to literary critics, especially in those cases where interpretation and speculation hinge upon a knowledge of the correct source. A simple example is here provided by the concluding portion of Ælfric's life:

> Heo [Eugenia] wearð þa gemartyrod . and cristene menn hi gebyrgdon.
> Ða weop seo modor . mid mycelre sarnysse .
> æt hyre byrgene . oþ þæt heo hi geseah .
> on gastlicre gesihðe . mid golde gefrætewode
> mid ðam heofonlicum werode . þus hi frefrigende .
> Min modor claudia . me hæfð gebroht
> min hælend crist . to his halgena blysse .
> and minne fæder gelogode on þære heah-fædera getele .
> and þu cymst to us . nu on sunnan-dæg .
> Seo modor gewat ða of worulde to heofonum
> on ðam sunnan-dæge . and þa suna hi be-stodon .
> Sergius . and Auitus . and hi siððan þurh-wunodon .
> on ðam soðan geleafan . oð heora lifes ende .
> (414-26)

The version of the legend which Ott cites as the source for this life has nothing equivalent to the last four lines of this passage, but concludes with Eugenia's prophecy to Claudia. Ott therefore speculates

[20] Cf. lines 6-8 of Ælfric's life of Mark (LS, xv) where we find similar phrases which are not accounted for in known copies of the source.

that these lines are the product of Ælfric's unaided imagination--in a sense, Ælfric's own fulfillment of Eugenia's parting promise:

> Den Schluss . . . muss sich Ælfric aus der Weissagung selber gebildet haben. Wenigstens fehlt er in den gedruckten Versionen der V. P. und des Momb.[21]

Examination of the Cotton-Corpus passio shows, however, that Ælfric found the concluding passage in his exemplar:

> Die autem dominica, mysteriis celebratis, in oratione posita, emisit spiritum. Quam filii iuxta sororem suam sepelientes,[22] ita in timore Dei perfecti esse ceperunt . . . [et] per multos annos Christo vixerunt, et cum bono vitę profectu de hac lucę ad siderea regna migraverunt.
>
> (Fábrega Grau, 98)

Obviously, awareness of the correct source would in this case have eliminated the need for speculation.

3) Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi et Confessoris (LS, xxxi)

Ælfric's Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi et Confessoris[23] differs in a number of ways from the other items included in the Lives of Saints. By far the longest of Ælfric's hagiographic translations, the account is also the only one of Ælfric's lives for which we have an earlier, albeit shorter and less skilfully constructed version (CH, II, 498-519). More importantly for our purposes, the life of Martin is one of the few of Ælfric's saints' lives to be derived from more than one hagiographic source, and the unique example of a life in which Ælfric is known to have used at least seven different

[21] Ott, 9.

[22] Ælfric's translation and þa suna hi be-stodon suggests that his source manuscript varied slightly at this point.

[23] LS, II, 218-313.

Latin writings. In this respect, the life is more closely allied to the exegetical homilies of the first two series than to any of the hagiographic translations considered thus far.

The sources for the life are studied in some detail in G. H. Gerould's "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours",[24] which lists six different Latin authorities: the very famous Vita Sancti Martini by Sulpicius Severus (for lines 1-649, 682-83, and 706-844 of the Old English translation), Books II and III of the Dialogues by the same author (for lines 650-81, 684-705, and 901-1305), Sulpicius's Letter to Eusebius (for lines 845-900), his Epistle to Bassula[25] (for lines 1306-70), I, 48 of the Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours[26] (for lines 1441-95), and I, 3, 4, and 5 of Gregory's De Virtutibus Sancti Martini[27] (for lines 1371-84, 1385-1441, and 1412-40 respectively). In addition to a number of more or less minor inaccuracies, this outline of Ælfric's sources contains two errors of consequence which can now be corrected. The first of these is the citation of I, 3 of Gregory's De Virtutibus as the source for Ælfric's discussion of the date of Martin's death and of the miraculous events which immediately followed it (lines 1371-84). As will be fully demonstrated later,[28] the final part of the passage (lines 1378-84), which describes the glorification of Martin's

[24]Gerould, 206-10.

[25]All edited by Halm, CSEL, I, 107-216. All references here to the works of Sulpicius are taken from this edition.

[26]Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis Libri Historiarum X, Editio Altera, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Script. Rer. Merov., I, i (Hanover, 1951), 32-34.

[27]ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Script. Rer. Merov., I, ii (Hanover, 1885), 589-91.

[28]See below, pp. 148-50.

body, derives not from De Virtutibus, but from a passage in Sulpicius's Epistle to Bassula which was absent from the printed text on which Gerould based his study. The first part of the passage, on the other hand, derives from I, 48 of the Historia Francorum: unlike I, 3 of De Virtutibus this provides close correspondences not only for Ælfric's reference to Martin's age, but also for the allusion to the date of his death and for the description of the angelic voices:

Ælfric	Historia Francorum (I, 48)
On sunnan mergen he ge-wat þa þa he wæs on ylde . an and hund-eahtatig wintre . and æfter cristes þrowunge feower hund wintre . and twelf on getele . and fela manna þa ge-hyrdon on his forð-siðe sigendra engla swiðe hlude stemna up-on hea-nysse geond þa heofonas swegende . swa hit on bocum sægð . þe be him synd awritene. (1371-77)	Arcadia vero et Honori secundo imperii anno sanctus Martinus Turonorum episcopus, plenus virtutibus et sanctitatae, praebens infirmis multa beneficia, octuaginsimo et primo aetatis suae anno, episcopatum autem vicissimo sexto, apud Condatinsem diocisis suae vicum excedens a saecula, filiciter migravit a Christum. Transiit autem media nocte, quae dominica habebatur, Attico Caesarioque consolibus. Multi enim in eius transitum psallentium audierunt in caelum, quod in libro virtutum eius primo plenius exposuemus . . . A passione ergo Domini usque transitum sancti Martini anni 412 conpotantur. (Krusch, 32-34)

De Virtutibus (I, 3)

His nos inlecti, etsi inperiti, temptamus tamen aliqua de virtutibus sancti ac beatissimi Martini, quae post obitum eius actae sunt, quanta invenire possumus, memoriae replicare, quia hoc erit scribendi studium, quod in illo Severi aut Paulini opere non invenitur insertum. Lucidus et toto orbe renitens gloriosus domnus Martinus, decedente iam mundo, sol novus exoriens, sicut anterior narrat historia, apud Sabariam Pannoniae ortus, ad salvationem Galliarum opitulante Deo diregitur. Quas virtutibus et signis inlustrans in urbem Turonicam episcopatus honorem invitus, populo cogente, suscepit; in quo gloriosam et pene inimitabilem agens vitam per quinquennia quinque bis insuper geminis mensibus cum decim diebus, octogesimo primo aetatis suae anno Caesareo et Attico consulibus, nocte media quievit in pace. Gloriosum ergo et toto mundo laudabilem eius transitum die dominica fuisse,

> manifestissimum est, idque in sequenti certis testimoniis conprobamus. Quod non parvi meriti fuisse censetur, ut illa die eum Dominus in paradiso susciperet, qua idem Redemptor et dominus victor ab inferis surrexisset; et, ut qui dominica solemnia semper celebraverat inpollutae, post mundi pressuras dominica die locaretur in requie.
> (Krusch, 589-90)

In view of the correspondences provided by the Letter to Bassula and the Historia Francorum, therefore, we can exclude I, 3 of Gregory's De Virtutibus from the list of sources used by Ælfric. This is an important correction, for, of the various sources listed by Gerould, this is the only one which is not provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection.

The second error in Gerould's schema is the citation of chapter xxvi of Sulpicius's Vita as the source for lines 294-97 of the Old English translation. Despite a general similarity in content, this chapter of the Latin text offers hardly any verbal correspondences for Ælfric's remarkable summary of Martin's virtues:

Ælfric	Sulpicius Severus
He wæs soðfæst on dome . and est-ful on bodunge . arwurð-ful on þeawum . and þurh-wacol on ge-bedum . singal on rædinge . ge-stæððig on his lece . arfæst on ge-wilnunge . and arwurðful on his þenungum. (294-97)	Nam etsi facta illius explicari uerbis utcumque potuerunt, interiorem uitam illius et con-uersationem cotidianam et animum caelo semper intentum nulla umquam--uere profiteor--nulla explicabit oratio. illam scilicet perseuerantiam et temperamentum in abstinentia et ieiuniis, potentiam in uigiliis et orationibus, noc-tesque ab eo perinde ac dies actas nullumque uacuum ab opere Dei tempus, quo uel otio indulserit uel negotio, sed ne cibo quidem aut somno, nisi quantum naturae necessitas cogebat, uere fateor, non si ipse, ut aiunt, ab inferis Homerus emergeret, posset exponere: adeo omnia maiora in Martino sunt, quam ut uerbis concipi queant. numquam hora ulla mom-entumque praeteriit, quo non aut orationi incumberet aut insisteret lectioni, quamquam etiam inter legendum aut si quid aliud forte agebat, numquam animum ab oratione laxabat. (Halm, 136)

Close parallels for the Ælfrician panegyric can be found, however, in a text which, as shown earlier, greatly influenced the structure of Ælfric's first homily on St. Martin: that is, the Alcuinian epitome:

> Humilis in habitu, jucundus in sermone, devotus in praedicatione, verax in judicio, venerabilis in moribus, pervigil in orationibus, assiduus in lectione, constans in vultu, pius in affectu, honorabilis in ministerio sacerdotali . . .
>
> (PL, CI, col. 660)

Similarly, Ælfric's brief allusion to the miracles which occurred at Martin's tomb seems to derive from Alcuin: in any case, the writings of Sulpicius make no mention of such posthumous wonders:

Ælfric	Alcuin
. . . and þær wurdon siððan fela wundra gefremode for his geearnungum. (1487-88)	. . . in qua etiam usque hodie multa miraculorum signa, plurimae sanitatum virtutes, consolationes moerentium, pietates laetantium, praestante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, fieri solent . . . (PL, CI, col. 662)

A revised list of the sources which Ælfric used in the account, therefore,--including corrections of other less important inaccuracies contained in Gerould's study--reads as follows:

1. Sulpicius Severus, Vita Sancti Martini (lines 1-293, 298-571, 574-649, 682-83, 706-844)
2. Sulpicius Severus, Dialogues, II, III (lines 572-73, 650-81, 684-705, 901-1305)
3. Sulpicius Severus, Epistle to Eusebius (lines 845-900)
4. Sulpicius Severus, Epistle to Bassula (lines 1306-70, 1378-84)
5. Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, I, 48 (lines 1371-77, 1441-84, 1489-92)
6. Gregory of Tours, De Virtutibus Sancti Martini, I, 4, 5 (lines 1385-1440)
7. Alcuin, Scriptum de Vita Sancti Martini (lines 294-97, 1485-88)

As we have already seen, the first six of these sources are preserved

(with very little superfluous material) in each of the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection, while all seven are supplied by one witness, F. There can be little doubt that a similar assembly of complete works and excerpts served as Ælfric's immediate source for the life.

4) Passio Sancti Vincentii (LS, xxxvii)

In Ælfric's time, three Latin versions of the life of St. Vincent were current in hagiographic literature: the passio amplissima,[29] the passio fusior, and the passio brevior.[30] Of these, Loomis cites the passio amplissima as the source for the Old English translation,[31] though at one point in his study he also refers indiscriminately to a copy of the passio fusior.[32] The Cotton-Corpus collection shows, however, that Ælfric's translation derives neither from these accounts nor from the passio brevior, but from a fourth version of Vincent's life there preserved.[33]

Because of the ambiguities present in Loomis' analysis of Ælfric's sources, it is necessary to show that the Cotton-Corpus passio is closer to the Old English translation than either the

[29]Printed in ASS, 22 Jan., II, 394-98; and Mombritius, II, 625-30. References here are taken from ASS.

[30]The passio fusior and passio brevior are printed by the Bollandists in Anal. Boll., I (1882), 263-270 and 260-262 respectively.

[31]LS, II, 426-443.

[32]Loomis, 7.

[33]References here to this version of the legend are taken from Fábrega Grau, Pasionario Hispanico, II, 187-96.

passio amplissima or the passio fusior. The first of these problems need not detain us long, for in several passages the Cotton-Corpus passio provides verbal equivalents manifestly superior to those of the passio amplissima. Below we find two representative examples:

(i)

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus Passio	Passio Amplissima
Þa cwæð uincentius to þam arwyrðam (sic) bisceope . andweard þam arleasan mid anrædum geleafan . þæt his wodnys swa wurðe to-brut . mid ealdor-dome ures drihtnes mihte. (76-79)	Quid submurmuras, inquit episcopo suo Vincentius sanctus, cuius iam erat spiritus in corona, et contra canem leviter musitus; exclama in magna virtute, o christicola! ut conterrita rabies, que contra sanctum Dei mysterium latrat, divine percussa protinus vocis auctoritate frangatur. (Fábrega Grau, 188)	ait Vincentius: Si iubes, Pater, responsis Iudicem aggrediar. (ASS, 394)

(ii)

Þa efste se bisceop & se eadiga uincentius to þam æðelan martir-dome. Þohtan þæt hi wurdon witodlice gesælige. gif hi mid estfulnesse eardlice under-fengon þone wuldor-fullan cyne-helm . heora martyr-domes þurh þa andætnysse þæs hælendes ge-leafan. (39-44)	Protinus pervolantes, episcopus gloriosissimus Valerius et Vincentius beatissimus martyr, perniciter in sue laudis titulo cucurrerunt, feliciores se in ipsa futuros confessione credentes, si coronam statim preco quam suis virtutibus et meritis, pro sua devotione rapuissent. (Fábrega Grau, 187)	Protinus ergo Valerius Episcopus et Vincentius Archidiaconus fidei soliditate, et spe fruendi victoria subnixi, in confessionem Deitatis alacriter concurrerunt, tanto feliciores se futuros esse credentes, quanto acriora tyranni supplicia, pia longanimitate certassent euincere. Vnde certaminis ac poenarum dilatio, remunerationis eis videbatur diminutio. (ASS, 394)

In addition, there are a number of passages in which both Ælfric and the Cotton-Corpus passio coincidentally omit material found in the passio amplissima. In the example below such omitted material is recorded in italic type:

Ælfric

. . . & him wearð gebeddod mid hnescre beddinge . & he sylf þa sang his sealmes bliðe his drihten heriende mid incundre heortan . Þa wundrode þa weard-men þæs wynsuman leohtes swiðe afyrhte for þam færlican tacne. Þa cwæþ se halga wer of þam heofonlican leohte . ne beo ge afyrhte . ic heom nu gefrefrod mid engellicre þenunge . gað in & sceawiað ge gebrohten me on þrystum . & ic blissige nu on leohte . mine bendas sund to-lysede . & ic blissige mid sange. Ic eom nu gestrangod & hnesce under-streowod . wundriað þises þæt se þe wurðaþ god mid soþre andetnesse . þæt he sige-fæst byþ æfre. Cyþaþ nu ardlice eowerum arleasan hlaforde hwilces leohtes ic bruce. & hwilcere beddinge . þæt he gyt mage asmeagan sum syllic wite to minum wuldre ne wanige he nan þing þæs þe minum martirdome mage to wuldre becuman . his mildheortednesse ane ic me ondræde swiðost þæt he beo awend swilce he wille mildscian.
(191-210)

Cotton-Corpus Passio

Ipse sanctus Vincentius, stramentis mollioribus iam refectus, psalmum Domino canit, et hymnum lętus exultat, vocis organo modulata suavitate concinens. Tota autem vicina, quę ad eius supplicia mesta pendębat, pro suavitate sonitus demulcet auditus. Trepidi subito expavere custodes, et evasisse per fugam, quem acceperant, putaverunt.

Tunc beatus Vincentius exclamans, ait: Nolite timere: pro vobis laudes meas ipse non fugio. Propere, si potestis, inrumpite, et solacia martyris, angelico obsequio ministrata oculis, aurite securi; ubi relinqueratis tenebras, gaudete lucem; quem ingemescentem in suspiriis credebatis, in laudem Dei veri, et cum Patre unici exultare gaudete. Laxata sunt vincula, crevere vires, corpus stramento molliori reficitur; miramini potius, et plenis pia voce asserite preconiis, confessorem Dei semper esse victorem. Euntes renuntiate quin potius Datiano, qua perfruar luce; commentetur adhuc, si potest, diabolus, et aliquid superaddat ad gloriam meam. Si quid potest, de laudis titulo nicil defraudet, sed exerceat quicquid adhuc furor bacchantis invenerit. Solam eius misericordiam timeo, ne videatur ignoscere.
(Fábrega Grau, 192-93)

Passio Amplissima

. . . laxatumque ligni robur dissiluit, ac testarum asperitas fit florum redolentium iocunditas et mollities. Quibus inuictissimus Dei athleta refectus, psalmum Deo et hymnum dicens, laetus exultat. *Sicque solitudo horribilis Angelica releuatur frequentia. Quorum caterua vallatus Martyr egregius venerando fouebatur obsequio, et mulcebatur alloquio. Agnosce, inquiunt, o Vincenti inuictissime, pro cuius nomine fideliter decertasti. Ipse tibi reuera coronam praeparatam seruat in caelestibus, qui te victorem esse fecit in poenis. Esto igitur iam securus de praemio, quia mox, deposito carnis onere, nostro addendus eris collegio.* Dantur hinc laudes Deo, et resonante organo vocis Angelicae modulata suauitas procul diffunditur.

Turbati vero subito expauere custodes, *et vt vehementi stupore attoniti certius de miraculo explorare contendunt; clausas fores adeunt, et introspicientes per rimas Deitatis ministros siderea venustate coruscare cernebant: antrum tartareis tenebris pridem horribile, immensa luce splendere; testarum aculeos multipliciter florere, sanctumque Dei Martyrem solutis cunctis nexibus deambulantem psallere. Qui mox diuino terrore atque*

respectu còmpuncti, relicto gentilitatis errore Christianae religioni fideliter sese dedere, cupientes iam mente mutata deuotionis suae obsequia ei impendere, in cuius ante fuerant nece grassati. Venerat et multitudo vicina fidelium, dudum de ipsius moesta suppliciis, sed iam de concessa caelitus gloria alacris. Quibus B. Vincentius dixit: Nolite timere, laudesque Dei contemnendas nolite putare. Imo propere irrumpite, et solatia Angelico obsequio ministrata oculis haurite securi. Vbi reliqueratis tenebras, gaudete lucem, et quem ingemiscere in suppliciis credebatis, in laudes veri Dei exultare gaudete. Laxata sunt vincula, creuere vires, corpus stramenta mollia refecereunt. Miramini potius, et veris asserite praeconiis Christum in seruis suis semper esse victorem. Renuntietur ergo Datiano, qua perfruor luce. Commentetur si valet aliquid, et addat ad gloriam meam, de laudis titulo nihil defraudans, sed exercens quicquid adhuc furor bacchantis inuenerit. Siquidem solam illius misericordiam timeo, ne videatur velle ignoscere.

(ASS, 396)

The few passages given above are enough to demonstrate the superiority of the Cotton-Corpus life to the passio amplissima. The passio fusior is a still less likely candidate for Ælfric's source. Indeed, sometimes it is wholly deficient as a supplier of verbal equivalents. For example Ælfric's

> þis is þæt awriten is witodlice on godes ae
> þæt ða ge-seondan ne geseoþ ne þa gehyrendan ne ge-hyrað.
> (141-42)

finds no parallel in the passio fusior, but does in the Cotton-Corpus life:

> Hoc est quod in sancta lege prescribetur: Videntes non videbunt, et audientes non audiunt.
> (Fábrega Grau, 190)

And similarly Ælfric's

> his mildheortednesse ane ic me ondræde swiðost
> (209)

is absent from the passio fusior, but included in the Cotton-Corpus account:

> Solam eius misericordiam timeo . . .
> (Fábrega Grau, 193)

In addition there are many passages in which the passio fusior, though not entirely deficient, nevertheless supplies only remote

correspondences. Below are a few representative illustrations:

(i) Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus Passio	Passio Fusior
. . . nelle ic þæt þu ge-swice . for-þan þe ic sylf gearo eom witu to ðrowienne . for þam wuldor-fullan drihtne . nelle ic þæt ðu wanige min wuldor for gode . & þonne þu me witnast . þu bist sylf ge-wit-nod. (109-12)	Ne cesses, diabole, crudelitate qua adspiras; prestabis mici gloriam, si inter ipsa graviora suppliciorum meorum exitia vincaris. Nolo cesses: insurge, diabole, et toto malignitatis tue spiritu debacchare. Ne gloriam meam minuas, ne damna inferas laudi: paratus est Dei servus ad omnia pro nomine salvatoris sustinenda, ut dum devotionem meam punis, gravius ipse puniaris. (Fábrega Grau, 189)	Haec est gloria nominis christiani: uberiorem praestas mihi gloriam, cum exquisita acerbiora tormenta tecum fuerint superata. Paratus sum ego servus Christi ad omnia; ut, dum devotionem meam punis in corpore, acerbius ipse puniaris in mente. (Anal. Boll., I, 265)
(ii)		
. . . ne ondræde ic þine witu ne þine wælhreowan tintrego . ac ic swiðor on-dræde þæt þu ge-swican wylle þinre reðnusse & swa me ge-miltsian. (153-55)	Non timeo supplicia tua, quecumque iratus impeleris; hoc magis mici formidinis est, quod fingis te velle misereri. (Fábrega Grau, 191)	Ecce video vota tua, cerno cruenta consilia. Misericordiam illi quaerant, qui misericordiam denegant Christi; et iram tuam illi timeant, qui iram divinam non metuunt. Istud quod tu misereri confingis, non est pietas sed egestas. Sed magis in furore quo inchoaveras, cresce. Nihil de cogitatis a te suppliciis subtrahas, ut dum nihil videris remanere quod facias, in omnibus te victum et superatum agnoscas. (Anal. Boll., I, 266)
(iii)		
Ac secaþ nu ic bidde an blind cweartærn . (176)	Querite, inquit, locum tenebrosum . . . (Fábrega Grau, 192)	Tunc fecit eum claudi in tenebroso loco . . . (Anal. Boll., I, 267)

Though it has been shown that neither the passio amplissima

nor the passio fusior is satisfactory as an independent source, it might be argued that Ælfric had access to and used both of them in combination. This is a plausible suggestion, for between them the passio amplissima and the passio fusior contain almost all the material given in the Cotton-Corpus account. Nevertheless, two other forms of evidence argue against this possibility and strongly favour Ælfric's dependence on the Cotton-Corpus text. Firstly, in passages in which the passio amplissima and the passio fusior disagree with each other, and in which a 'conflating' Ælfric would therefore have been forced to make a choice, the Old English translation invariably agrees with whichever reading is included in the Cotton-Corpus text. Near the beginning of the narrative, for example, each of the Latin texts includes a brief description of Valerius's refusal to reply to his persecutor's questions. Different reasons, however, are given for this initial reticence. In the passio amplissima, his silence is the result of a speech impediment, while in the passio fusior it is attributed to God's desire that Vincent, rather than the bishop, should play the central role in the martyrdom. Here the Cotton-Corpus passio agrees with the latter explanation:

> Sed Deus unus voluit, eum etiam ab inferioris ministerii nomine superari, ut adverteret quid facturus aut acturus esset ille, qui in capite sacerdotii erat, quum posset eum etiam levita eius, qui habebat minora officiorum ministeria, vincere.
>
> (Fábrega Grau, 188)

And, it is this same explanation which is included in the Old English translation:

> . . . ac þe bisceop ne ge-andwearde þam wælhreowum swa hraðe
> forþan þe god wolde þæt he wurde ofer-swiðed
> þurh þone diacon on þam martir-dome
> þe þa gearo wæs to þam wuldorfullan sige.
> & þæt se man-fulla mihte eac to-cnawan
> þæt se bisceop mihte mid gebyldum geleafan

his wita for-seon . Þa ða he wearð ofer-swiðed
þurh þone diacon mid his drihtnes ge-leafan.
(68-75)

The reverse situation occurs later in the account. In the passio amplissima the tortures continue unabated until the emperor tells Vincent that he should pity himself lest he lose his life in his youth. In the passio fusior, however, they are interrupted by the emperor's words Nega te christianum esse, et nega Christum Deum esse, et liber abscede, and by a predictably caustic reply from Vincent (265-66). Here the Cotton-Corpus account agrees not with the passio fusior, as it did in the example above, but with the passio amplissima, and makes no mention of the first exchange. And once again, the incident is also absent from the Old English translation.

A second and more telling indication of Ælfric's reliance on the Cotton-Corpus passio is found in its occasional provision of source readings which neither of the other accounts provides. At line 219 of Ælfric's account, for example, the Old English reads:

Hi hine þa bæron bliþelice on æarmun (sic)
þe hine ær witnodon on þam wælhreowum tintregum.
& hi his fet cystun . & his flowende blod
geornlice gaderoden him sylfum to hæle .
& geleddon hine swa on þam softan bedde
swa swa se arlesa het & for-leetan (sic) hine swa.
Hit gelamp þa sona æfter litlum fyrstum.
þæt se halga gewat of worlde to gode
mid sige-fæstum martirdome ofer-swiðdum deofle
to þam ecan wuldre . . .
(219-28)

Here the passio fusior provides very few close verbal correspondences:

Fertur ad lectulum gaudentium manibus et laetantium humeris, qui corpus ejus omne lamberent. Cum honore portatur: nec non etiam eorum qui in ipsius fuerant crassati suppliciis, obsequiis utitur bajulorum. Probatus Dei famulus etiam inimicorum meruit servitutem. Statim ut est in lectulo positus, orans perrexit ad Dominum, perfectam secum martyrii bajulans palmam. Quem ideo continuo Christus accepit, ne diceret Datianus sua eum miseratione servatum.
(Anal. Boll., I, 268)

The passio amplissima supplies a few additional verbal parallels but disagrees with the Old English in the order of presentation:

> Delatus namque Dei Martyr ad lectulum, ac piis Sanctorum manibus in strati mollitie repositus, mox pretiosam resolutus in mortem, caelo spiritum reddidit. Videres circumstantium frequentiam Sancti vestigia certatim deosculando prolambere, vulnera totius laceri corporis pia curiositate palpare, sanguinem linteis excipere, sacra veneratione posteris profuturum.
>
> (ASS, 397)

The Cotton-Corpus account, however, not only agrees with the Ælfrician order of presentation, but also supplies a few verbal correspondences which are absent from each of the other texts:

> Fertur ad lectulum guadentium manibus, et lętantium humeris, qui oscularentur vestigia eius, et omne corpus lacerum lamberent, et ipsum sanguinem profluentem in sue salutis remedia distringerent. Et qui in ipsius fuerant supplicia crassati, utitur eorum obsequiis baiulorum: Dei servus beatissimus accipere inimicorum suorum meruit servitutem. Hic vero statim spiritus, iam victo diabolo, cruento consilio emisit e seculo.
>
> (Fábrega Grau, 193)

Similarly, in the following passage, the Cotton-Corpus passio provides source readings which correspond more closely than anything included in the other two accounts:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus Passio
Seo ylce nædre specð nu þurh þises arleasan muð. þe þa frum-sceapenan men gefurn for-lærde. & mid niðfullum andan him be-næmde þæs wuldres þe him god forgeaf gif hi him ge-hyrsumodon. He ne ge-earnode nanes wuldres . ne he ne wunode on soðfæstnesse . ac þone deað þe he scencte þam frum-sceapenum mannum . þone he dranc ærest him sylfum to bealowe . Winne he wiþ me on þisum ge-winne nu . & he wið me feohte on his feondlicum truwan. & he ge-syhð soðlice þæt ic swyþor mæg . þone ic beo ge-witnod þonne he þe wit-naþ. Forþan þe he sylf sceal swærran witu þrowian . & he byð ofer-swiðed on minre ge-swencednysse. (80-93)	Iste enim ille est venenatissimus serpens, qui in protoplastis gloriam ab omnibus traditam, quam ipse per-diderat, invidit. Statimque in-satiabilis homicida, ut occideret quod Deus inmortalis fecerat mori, et ipse contemtus gustu, quem aliis tradebat, prior ipse propinatus est. Iste ille est quem exigimus e cor-poribus humanis invocatione divina et Christi nomine; mecum decertet, pugnet, si prevalet. Confidentia videbit, me plus posse dum torqueor, quam ille dum torquet: quia, dum punit, gravius ipse punienda patietur. Unde iam singulariter gaudeo, quia dum patior, vindicabor. (Fábrega Grau, 188-89)

Passio Amplissima

> Ille etenim venenatissimus serpens et insatiabilis homicida Christianam innocentiam tormentis et mortibus vos cogit appetere, qui Paradisi felicitatem primis inuidens hominibus, immortalitatis spoliatos dignitate morti miserabiliter subdidit ac substrauit. Ipse malignitatis astu idola pro Deo coli instituit, dolens illuc hominem posse obediendo redire vnde ipse superbiendo noscitur corruisse. Iste est, quem cum satellitibus suis a corporibus humanis diuina inuocatione eiicimus; cui vos sub vanissimis figmentis ritum profani cultus exsoluitis, et noua dementia creatori creaturam praefertis.[35]
>
> (ASS, 395)

Despite the close relationship between Ælfric and the Cotton-Corpus passio demonstrated above, there are two passages in which the passio amplissima and the passio fusior may seem to correspond more closely to the Old English account. The first of these is found in the opening section of the translation:

> On ispanian lande þære speoniscan leode .
> wæs se halga martir þe hatte uincentius
> to menn geboren . & mid his magum afedd .
> on mycclum cristen-dome . & he on cristes lare
> wel þeonde wæs . oððæt he wearð ge-hadod
> to halgum diacone . þam helende þeowiende
> mid þam mæran bisceope ualerium .
> se wæs þa mære lareow on ispanian lande.
>
> (1-8)

The Cotton-Corpus passio provides nothing similar to this discussion, but opens instead with a description of the persecution. Both the passio fusior and the passio amplissima, however, begin in the following way:

> Beatus Vincentius extitit patre Euticio progenitus, qui fuit Agesi nobilissimi consulis filius: mater vero ejus Enola ex Osca urbe noscitur procreata. Qui a pueritia studiis litterarum traditus, superna providente clementia, quae sibi eum praevidebat vas electionis futurum, gemina scientia, sub beato Valerio Caesareae Augustae civitatis episcopo efficacissime claruit; a quo etiam sanctitate

[35]The passio fusior has nothing corresponding to the Old English passage and so is not quoted here. The passio amplissima, at a later point, provides something similar to the final part of the Cotton-Corpus text quoted above. However, in terms of verbal equivalents, this passage too is more remote than Cotton-Corpus.

> insignis diaconii apicem suscepit. Et quoniam idem episcopus impeditioris linguae fuisse dignoscitur, tradito doctrinae ministerio venerabili Vincentio, ipse orationi et divinae contemplationi sedulus insistebat. At vero memoratus archidiaconus vices saepe dicti pontificis diligenter et opportune exequebatur.
>
> (Anal. Boll., I, 263 cf. ASS, 394)

Whilst on first glance it is tempting to speculate that this passage served as the immediate source for Ælfric's discussion, closer examination suggests otherwise. There are, firstly, no verbal correspondences between the two passages--something extremely unusual even for those lives in which Ælfric greatly shortens his Latin sources. Moreover, none of the central details included in the Latin is found in the Old English: there is no mention of the names of Vincent's parents, no allusion to his noble ancestry, no reference even to the rather interesting material about Valerius's speech impediment. Indeed, apart from the three basic details that Vincent was a Spanish Christian, that he was a deacon, and that Valerius was his bishop--all of which are also mentioned incidentally later in the Cotton-Corpus passio --the two passages bear no similarity to each other. For these reasons, it seems probable that the opening either originated with Ælfric or that it derives from some secondary source. This second alternative is perhaps supported by the fact that the ten lines which immediately follow the introduction in Ælfric's account are also absent from each of the Latin lives, and seem likely to have been drawn from some sermon, as yet not conclusively identified.[35]

The second passage in which the Cotton-Corpus passio is slightly

[35]Loomis suggests that these ten lines are taken from the second of St. Augustine's sermons In Festo Vincentii, but the evidence for this is not wholly convincing. See PL, XXXVIII, cols. 1254-1257.

deficient is the following:

Ælfric	Passio Amplissima	Cotton-Corpus Passio
Drihten crist ic andette þæs ælmihtigan fæder sunu mid þam halgan gaste anne soðne god. (143-44)	Dominum enim Christum confiteor, filium altissimi Patris vnici vnicum, ipsum cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vnum solum Deum esse profiteor. (ASS, 395)	Dominum Iesum Christum confiteor Filium Dei Patris altissimi uniti unicum, et cum Patre unum Deum esse protestor . . . (Fábrega Grau, 190)

Yet here again, the evidence for Ælfric's dependence on the passio amplissima is not convincing, for the extra phrase cum Spiritu sancto could easily have been added either by Ælfric himself or by the scribe of his immediate exemplar in order to transform Vincent's somewhat unorthodox profession of faith[36] into the standard trinitarian formula of the Church. Despite the one or two instances of minor divergence, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the Cotton-Corpus version of Vincent's life, rather than the passio amplissima or the passio fusior, served as the major source for Ælfric's translation.

[36]The insistence in Vincent's profession on the equality of the Father and the Son seems to have been inspired by anti-Arian sentiment. As A. Fábrega Grau, I, 104, points out, "Entre les varias veces que el hagiógrafo notaba que Vicente, en medio de los tormentos, confesaba a Jesu-cristo, hay una que es una verdadera fórmula de fe antiarriana. dice: "Dominum Iesum Christum confiteor, Filium Dei Patris altissimi, uniti unicum, et cum Patre unum Deum esse protestor . . .". La fuerza de esta fórmula sólo se comprende si se la considera compuesta durante la efervescencia de las luchas cristológicas, como fórmula antiarriana."

CHAPTER III

Patterns of Textual Agreement

The material presented in the preceding chapters shows that comparison of the texts and saints represented in the Cotton-Corpus collection with those included in the Catholic Homilies and Lives of Saints can be a fruitful approach to the study of Ælfric's hagiographic sources. In view of this, it seems worthwhile to investigate whether detailed examination of the textual peculiarities of the Cotton-Corpus text might also be fruitful, chiefly in the sense that it might bring to light variant readings which correspond more closely to the Old English translations than do those of the printed texts. Such an investigation necessarily involves a detailed textual analysis of each of the sources preserved in the collection. The results of these analyses are presented in the series of individual studies which form Chapter IV of this discussion. The object of the present chapter is to bring together and to evaluate some of the more important patterns which have emerged from these studies, and to consider, in general terms, a few of the problems which have been encountered in their preparation.

In evaluating how closely the text of the Cotton-Corpus collection approximates, in relation to the printed editions, the text of Ælfric's source manuscript, four general problems were encountered. Firstly, because none of the extant witnesses of the collection preserves the complete list of the legendary's contents

as reconstructed in Chapter I, no single copy of the collection could be used as a comprehensive base in this inquiry. Instead it was necessary to refer to more than one witness. Here I have relied in the main on the earliest and most complete witness, A + B + C. In the small number of places where this copy was found to be deficient,[1] I have turned first to the text of D + E, a copy which almost certainly derives from the same immediate exemplar as A + B + C and whose surviving readings have been shown to be almost identical to those of the earlier copy.[2] In a few cases, this later companion copy was also found to be wanting. For these I have relied on the text of F, a manuscript which, though less closely related to A + B + C than D + E, is nevertheless so similar that it was found to contain (in the cases of source texts shared with the other copies)[3] few variants of importance for Ælfric's translations. The final witness--the later and expanded version preserved in H--was found to represent a distinct branch in the transmission of the collection and was therefore examined separately.

Apart from the problems associated with the legendary and the deficiencies of its surviving witnesses, two other complications were caused by the Old English translations. Firstly, although Ælfric's works are described both here and elsewhere as translations,

[1]In six cases (the lives of Alexander, Eventius and Theodulus, Simon and Jude, Andrew, Thomas, John, and Maur) the text of A + B + C is wholly deficient. In two others (Exaltation of the Cross and St. James) it is partially deficient.

[2]See above, pp. 12-13.

[3]These are the sources for the lives of Martin, Cecilia, Clement, Chrysanthus and Daria, Lucy, and Eugenia, and for the legend of the Exaltation of the Cross.

and although Ælfric himself described them as such, they very rarely correspond slavishly to their Latin sources. Indeed apart from scriptural quotations and passages of direct speech which are on the whole quite faithfully translated, many parts of the Old English lives are so free and original that it is often impossible to identify the particular source readings which Ælfric had in front of him. A representative example is the following passage from the life of SS. Julian and Basilissa (LS, iv):

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Text
Þa geseah se arleasa aidlian his smeagunge . and wolde þagyt cunnian anes cynnes wite . þurh reþe deor . þa þa his reðnyss ne mihte . þurh manna dæda . gedon swa he wolde . He het þa gelædan leon . and beran manega and mycele . to þam halgum martyrum . ac þa reðan deor . ne dorston hi reppan ac big don heora heafda to ðære halgena fotum.and heora liða liccodon . mid liðra tungan. (LS, I, 112-114/399-407)	Tunc vidit se vinci Marcianus fecit amphiteatrum praeparari, et iubet sanctos intromitti and dimitti multitudinem ferarum, quae nullum ex eis ledentes, sed singule currentes pedes sanctorum lingebant. (A, 85v)	Tunc exclamauit Marcianus: Heu me! Vincimur. Quid aliud faciam? Superest vnum. Iubet amphitheatrum praeparari, in quod ingressus cum tribunal ascenderet, iubet Sanctos Dei exhiberi, et omnium ferarum dimitti multitudines. Et cum dimissae essent ferrae, singulae veniebant ad Sanctos, et pedes illis lingebant. (ASS, 9 Jan., I, 586)

In other cases, the differences in meaning between the Latin variants are too minute to show up even in passages of quite faithful translation:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Text
. . . and se fæder feoll to sebastianus fotum. (Passio S. Sebastiani, LS, I, 136/304)	. . . Chromatius praefectus adstringebat pedes beati Sebastiani. (A, 111r)	. . . Chromatius Praefectus astringebat plantas B. Sebastiani. (ASS, 20 Jan., II, 274)

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Text
. . . crist geceas . fram frymðe hyrdas . and yrðlingas . . . (Passio S. Sebastiani, LS, I, 130/224-25)	Nam ab origine mundi cum ruris cultoribus et pastoribus ovium deus habuit rationem. (A, 110r)	Nam ab origine mundi cum ruricolis et pastoribus ouium Deus habuit rationem. (ASS, 20 Jan., II, 273)

In several of the instances in which the Cotton-Corpus text provides textual variants, then, it is impossible to make any certain decision about the particular reading which Ælfric had in front of him.

A second problem associated with the Old English texts is the absence of definitive editions of either the Lives or the Homilies. Skeat's edition of the Lives, though based on the earliest, the most complete, and evidently the most reliable of the extant manuscripts, has three flaws: firstly, a tendency to place final authority in the readings of the base manuscript, B.L. MS Cotton Julius E vii, to the occasional exclusion of better readings from other manuscripts;[4] secondly, the omission of variant readings from a few of the extant manuscripts in the otherwise useful apparatus;[5] and finally, an occasional failure to distinguish

[4]Comparison of the lives of Edmund, Oswald, and Swithun printed by Skeat with G. Needham's more recent edition of the same three texts (Lives of Three English Saints, London, 1966), reveals at least three important passages in which Skeat adopts bad readings given in his base manuscript: lines 195-97 and line 56 of the life of St. Edmund in which the scribe of B.L. MS Cotton Julius E vii has carelessly omitted a few words which are preserved in other MSS;and lines 371-72 of the life of St. Swithun in which there is unmistakable evidence of homoeoteleuton in Skeat's base manuscript.

[5]For example, B.L. MS Royal 8 c vii, which contains fragments of the lives of Agnes and Agatha; and Cambridge, Queens' College, MS (Horne) 75 which contains fragments of the lives of Apollinaris and Abdon and Sennen.

between the original and the revised readings of the base manuscript.[6] Similar problems can be seen in Thorpe's edition of the Homilies which has no apparatus and is based entirely on only three of the extant manuscripts.[7] These deficiencies must be noted, but they need not be overstated, for it seems likely that erroneous readings in either of these editions would be limited in the main to matters of slight detail of a sort which would not seriously affect a source study of this kind. This is especially true perhaps of the Homilies where, according to Dr. M. Godden, the readings of the base manuscript are very rarely in error.[8]

There is, finally, one further limitation associated with this study: namely, that none of the printed editions of the Latin sources, which are to be used here for the purposes of comparison, provides the complete range of textual variants that can be found in the numerous Latin manuscripts still extant.[9] Because of this, there can be no question of asserting conclusively that any particular Cotton-Corpus variant is closer to the Old

[6]As, for example, at line 101 of the life of Oswald in which a later scribe's linguistic revisions are adopted without notice, and at the end of the life of Swithun in which, following a suggestion written in the margin by the second scribe, Skeat transfers the concluding doxology from its original position in the base manuscript (corresponding to line 463 of his edition) to the end of the piece which follows (lines 496-98).

[7]Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 3. 28, London, B.M. MS Royal 7 C. xii, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 340 + Bodley 342. The final two are used only in places where there are gaps in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 3. 28.

[8]Dr. Godden was kind enough to personally inform me of this.

[9]A conservative estimate would probably place the number of extant manuscripts containing one or more of Ælfric's sources at well over 700. Many of these still remain uncatalogued.

English than all other extant readings, much less (except in cases of exact verbal equivalence) that it represents precisely what Ælfric had in front of him.[10] Instead, one must be content with more tentative conclusions, and view the discussion which follows chiefly as an attempt to identify those passages in which the Cotton-Corpus text corresponds more closely to the Old English than the printed editions which have hitherto formed the basis of Ælfrician source studies.

In examining the copies of Ælfric's sources preserved in the text of the collection represented in A + B + C, D + E and F, one potentially significant pattern emerges from the outset: namely, that the Cotton-Corpus text[11] preserves almost all of the larger textual variants--prefaces, epilogues, interpolations, etc.--which the early investigators have shown to have been present in Ælfric's source manuscript. Discussion of these variants can be found in the individual studies of Chapter IV, particularly in those sections devoted to the lives of Gregory, Philip, Simon and Jude, Maur, and Maurice. Though not conclusive, the cumulative force of these agreements provides at least a prima facie indication of some broad similarity between the text of the Cotton-Corpus collection and that of Ælfric's Latin exemplar.

In addition to the large textual variants identified by the early investigators, the Cotton-Corpus text supplies a significant

[10]Cf. Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, I, 151, and J. E. Cross, The Literate Anglo-Saxon--On Sources and Dissemination, The Proceedings of the British Academy, LV III (1972), 69.

[11]Unless otherwise stated, references to the Cotton-Corpus text in this chapter refer to the text of A + B + C and, in cases where this witness is deficient, to D + E and F.

number of other, less conspicuous variant readings which seem almost certainly to have been included in Ælfric's exemplar. For the purposes of this study, these smaller readings may be conveniently divided into two categories. The first category is limited to passages in which the printed texts provide a number of textual variants, of which only one corresponds closely to the Old English translation. In these cases, the Cotton-Corpus collection very often provides that particular Ælfrician reading. In the following excerpts, cited by Ott, for example, the collection agrees in the first instance with the text of Mombritius (against that of the Acta Sanctorum) while in the second it agrees with the closer source reading supplied by Surius:[12]

Ælfric	Mombritius and Cotton-Corpus	ASS
. . . and me sylfre geswutelodest . þinne soðan lufe. (Alia Sententia Quam Scripsit Terrentianus, LS, I, 188/323)	. . . semitam michi amoris tui propitius ostendisti . . . (B, 31r; cf. Mombritius, I, 570)	. . . semitam mihi timoris tui propitius ostendisti . . . (25 June, V, 37)

Ælfric	Surius and Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Andsæte bið þæt treow . þe æfre grewð . on leafum . and næfre nænne wæstm . his scyppende . ne bringð. (Passio Sanctorum Iuliani et Basilisse, LS, I, 104/246-7)	Satis horrenda est arbor quae foliis vernat, et creatori suo poma non aufert. (A, 82v; cf. Surius, I, 209)	Satis horrenda est arbor, quae foliis vernat, et cultori suo poma non exhibet. (9 Jan., I, 582)

Similarly, in the following passages in which the printed texts

[12] Ott, 27, 17.

provide a number of textual variants, the Cotton-Corpus text preserves the particular reading translated by Ælfric; of these, passages marked by an asterisk following the page reference denote readings included in the apparatus rather than the text proper of the printed editions:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Other Readings
Hi druncon ða þæt win . wel hund-seofontig manna. (Natale Sancti Mauri, LS, I, 164/281)	Cum enim septuaginta et eo amplius homines ibi adessent, qui tribus vicibus de ipso biberunt vasculo . . . (F, 228v; cf. ASS, 15 Jan., I, 1049*)	Cum enim sexaginta, et eo amplius, homines ibi adessent, qui tribus vicibus de ipso biberunt vasculo . . . (ASS, 15 Jan., I, 1049; cf. Surius, I, 350)
Hwæt hi ða on þam east-dæle ðære stowe cyrcan arærdon, and þam apostole Petre to wurðmynte gehalgodon. (Dedicatio Æcclesie S. Michaelis Archangeli, CH, I, 506/19-20.)	Unde collatione facta ad orientem loci illius beati Petri apostolorum principis nomine condunt ecclesiam et dedicant. (B, 148r-148v; cf. Mombritius, I, 650*)	Vnde collatione facta ad meridiem loci illius beati Petri apostolorum principis nomine condunt ecclesiam: et dedicant. (Mombritius, I, 390)
Forði, mine gebroðra þa leofostan, uton gecuman on ðam feorðan dæge þysre wucan on ærnemerigen, and mid estfullum mode and tearum singan seofonfealde lætanias . . . (Sancti Gregorii Pape, CH, II, 126/10-13)	Proinde fratres karisimi, contrito corde et correctibus operibus ab ipso feriae quartae diluculo septiformis letaniae devota ad lacrimas mente venia(m)us. (A, 168v; cf. Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie, XI [1887], 169*)	Proinde, fratres charissimi, contrito corde et correctis operibus crastina die primo diluculo ad septiformem letaniam deuota cum lacrimis mente ueniamus. (Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie, XI, [1887] , 168-69)

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Other Readings
. . . and ðone halgan lichaman mid wulderfullum lof-sangum aweg ferodon, and getimbrodon mynster wundorlicere micelnysse, and on ðam his halgan reliquias arwurðlice gelogedon. (Passio Sancti Bartholomei, CH, I, 468/35-470/2)	. . . abstulerunt cum hymnis et cum omni gloria corpus eius, et construxerunt ei basil-icam mirae magnitudinis, et in ea posuerunt corpus eius. (B, 94r; cf. Mombritius, I, 629*)	. . . abstulerunt eum cum hymnis et cum omni gloria sepelierunt corpus eius. (Mombritius, I, 144)
Þa axode abbanes þone arwurðan apostol . Sege me to soþan gif þu sy his þeowa. (Passio Sancti Thome, LS, II, 402/ 51-52)	Dixit autem Abanes ad Thomam: Dic michi, vere servus es ipsius . . . (F, 168v; cf. Mombritius, II, 749*)	Cui ait Abbanes: Vere seruus ipsius es? (Mombritius, I, 606)
Martinus þa het þone hetolan deofol . þæt he þanon ge-wite . and he wearð þa yrre gelæhte ænne mannan . . . of þæs þegenes hiwrædene. (Vita Sancti Martini, LS, II, 252-54/531-34)	. . . cui cum ut discederet imperaret, quendam e familia qui ⟨in⟩ interiore parte aedium morabatur arripuit. (C, 285; cf. Halm, 126*)	. . . cui cum ut discederet imperaret et patrem familias, qui in interiore parte aedium morabatur, arripuisset. (Halm, 126-27)

In addition to the many instances in which the Cotton-Corpus text provides the closest of the textual variants listed in the printed editions, there are numerous passages in which it improves upon the printed texts by supplying variants of its own, many of which were obviously included in Ælfric's exemplar. These new readings, which form the second category mentioned above, are particularly important, for they often show that the Old English translations are more faithful and literal than examination of the printed editions alone would lead one to suppose. In some cases, the readings are pure substantive variants as in the following

examples from the lives of Agatha, George, Apollinaris, and Thomas, and from the legend of the Exaltation:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Text
. . . and heo þæt eall forseah on meoxes gelicnysse . þe lið under fotum . (Natale Sancte Agathe, LS, I, 198/37-38)	. . . sed ista omnia quasi stercora quae pedibus suis conculcat, ita pro nihilo computavit. (A, 148r)	. . . sed ista omnia quasi terram, quam pedibus suis conculcat, ita pro nihilo computauit. (ASS, 5 Feb., I, 615)
. . . þu dwelast geori . genealæc nu ærest and geoffra þine lac þam unoferswiðendum (sic) apolline. (Natale Sancti Georgii, LS, I, 308-10/33-35)	Erras Georgy; accede prius et immola invictissimo deo apollini. (A, 204r)	Erras, Georgi; accede pronus et immola invictissimo deo Apollini. (Festschrift zum XII... Deutschen Neuphilologentage, 196)
Cume se blinda to me. (Natale Sancti Apollonaris, LS, I, 482/178)	Veniat ad me diu caecus. (E, 32r)	Veniat ad medium caecus. (ASS, 23 July,V, 349)
Witodlice he mæg þa mihte me syllan þæt ic butan wætere þin wite mene ondræde. (Passio Sancti Thome, LS, II, 424/395-96)	Michi autem hanc potestatem dominus dare potest, ut sine aqua ignem tuum non timeam. (F, 175r)	Mihi autem dominus hanc patientiam dare potest: ut sine aqua ignem tuum non timeam. (Mombritius, II, 613)
. . . and nam his gingran sunu siððan to fulluhte . . . (Exaltatio Sancte Crucis, LS, II, 148/77)	Filiumque eius parvulum quem cum eo invenerat baptizari mandavit. (F, 236r)	. . . filium autem eius baptizari mandauit. (Mombritius, I, 380)

In other cases, proper nouns given in the manuscripts of the collection differ from those of the printed texts; as the following examples from the lives of Agatha and Sebastian illustrate, some of these are too distinctive to be classed simply as orthographical

variants:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Texts
semithetum (Natale Sancte Agathe, LS, I, 208/208)	Semithetum (A, 149v)	Psemithum[13] (ASS. 5 Feb., I, 618)
tranquillinus (Passio Sancti Sebastiani, LS, I, 132/263)	Tranquillinus[14] (A, 110r)	Tarquinius (ASS, 20 Jan., II, 273)

In still other cases, the Cotton-Corpus text corresponds more closely in the number or person of verbs and pronouns; readings such as these are generally less striking than the agreements discussed above, though the correspondence with the Old English is still unmistakable:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Texts
. . . oððe ic inc begen ofslea. (Alia Sententia Quam Scripsit Terrentianus, LS, I, 194/412)	Quod si non feceritis, ambos modo vos gladio feriam. (B, 32r)	Quod si non feceritis ambo gladio peribitis.[15] (Mombritius, I, 572)
" . . . ac gehyrað nu ðone soðan God, eowerne Scyppend, þe on heofonum eardað." (Passio Sancti Bartholomei, CH, I, 464/11-12)	Audite nunc verum deum creatorem vestrum, qui incaelis habitat. (B, 93r)	Audite nunc uerum deum creatorem nostrum: qui in caelis habitat. (Mombritius, I, 143)

[13]This is the closest reading provided by the Acta Sanctorum, and it is preserved in a manuscript described simply as MS Ulimerii. Other variants provided in the apparatus and text include Symaethum, Simetum, Simethum, and Symetheon.

[14]This is almost certainly an agreement in error. See below, pp. 209-10.

[15]Here the ASS provides a different, though equally remote, reading: Quod si non feceritis, ambo modo gladio feriemini (26 June, V, 160).

As in the case of the larger textual variants discussed earlier, therefore, the Cotton-Corpus collection preserves a significant number of the smaller, less conspicuous variant readings which Ælfric found in his source manuscript.

A third distinctive feature of the Cotton-Corpus text is that it sometimes provides very close correspondences for sections of the Old English translations which are not included in the standard printed texts, and which Old English scholars have therefore either attributed to Ælfric himself or for which they have turned to other writings in search of the correct source. A relevant example is provided by Ælfric's second and more lengthy account of the life of St. Martin (LS, xxxi). At line 1378 of this account, the Old English reads:

> His lic wearð ge-sewen sona on wuldre
> beorhtre þonne glæs . hwittre þonne meolc.
> and his andwlita scean swiþor þonne leoht.
> þa iu ge-wuldrod to þam to-werdan æriste.

In his study of the sources for this account,[16] G. H. Gerould notes that the Latin text which Ælfric had been following for this portion of the translation--the third epistle of Sulpicius Severus--does not provide correspondences for Ælfric's metaphorical description of the glorification of Martin's body. This judgment is evidently based upon his examination of the text of Sulpicius's letter established by Halm:[17]

> Cum hac ergo uoce spiritum reddidit: testatique nobis
> sunt qui ibidem fuerunt, uidisse se uultum eius tamquam
> uultum angeli: membra autem eius candida tamquam nix
> uidebantur, ita ut dicerent: quis istum umquam cilicio

[16] Gerould, "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours", 209.

[17] Sulpicii Severi: Libri qui Supersunt, CSEL, I, 146-51.

> tectum, quis in cineribus crederet inuolutum? iam enim sic uidebatur, quasi in futurae resurrectionis gloria et natura demutatae carnis ostensus esset. (149-50)

Gerould therefore suggests that Ælfric abandoned Sulpicius at this point, and turned instead to a very remotely related passage in De Virtutibus Sancti Martini by Gregory of Tours:

> His nos inlecti, etsi inperiti, temptamus tamen aliqua de virtutibus sancti ac beatissimi Martini, quae post obitum eius actae sunt, quantum invenire possumus, memoriae replicare, quia hoc erit scribendi studium, quod in illo Severi aut Paulini opere non invenitur insertum. Lucidus et toto orbe renitens gloriosus domnus Martinus, decedente iam mundo, sol novus exoriens, sicut anterior narrat historia, apud Sabariam Pannoniae ortus, ad salvationem Galliarum opitulante Deo diregitur. Quas virtutibus et signis inlustrans, in urbem Turonicam episcopatus honorem invitus, populo cogente, suscepit; in quo gloriosam et pene inimitabilem agens vitam per quinquennia quinque bis insuper geminis mensibus cum decim diebus, octogesimo primo aetatis suae anno, Caesareo et Attico consulibus, nocte media quievit in pace. Gloriosum ergo et toto mundo laudabilem eius transitum die dominica fuisse, manifestissimum est, idque in sequenti certis testimoniis conprobamus. Quod non parvi meriti fuisse censetur, ut illa die eum Dominum in paradiso suciperet, qua idem Redemptor et dominus victor ab inferis surrexisset; et, ut qui dominica solemnia semper celebraverat inpollutae, post mundi pressuras dominica die locaretur in requie.[18] (I, 3)

Yet examination of the text of the Cotton-Corpus collection shows that reference to this Gregorian excerpt is both unnecessary and incorrect, for the copy of Sulpicius's third epistle given here contains an extra passage which corresponds very closely to Ælfric's translation:

> Cum hac ergo voce flagitatum divinis operibus spiritum caelo reddidit. Testatique nobis sunt qui adfuerunt, iam exanimi corpore glorificati hominis vidisse se gloriam. Vultus luce clarior renitebat, cum membra cetera tenuis quidem macula non fuscaret. In aliis etiam et in illo tantum artibus non pudendis septuens quoadmodo gratia pueri videbatur. Quis istum umquam cilio tectum, quis cineribus crederet involutum? ita vitro purior, lacte

[18] Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Script. Rer. Merov., I, ii, ed. B. Krusch, 589-90.

> candidior, iam in quodam future resurrectionis gloria et natura demutate carnis ostensus est.[19] (C, 296)

In view of the precise parallels provided by this extra material, it is possible to exclude I, 3 of Gregory's De Virtutibus from the list of sources which Ælfric consulted for this life. It is worth mentioning again that of the eight different sources cited by Gerould in his study of the life, this is the only one which is not provided in the Cotton-Corpus collection.

A fourth general form of agreement often observed between the text of the Cotton-Corpus collection and the Old English translations is their mutual omission of parts of the Latin sources included in the standard printed editions. Because of Ælfric's acknowledged tendency to abbreviate independently (Hoc sciendum etiam quod prolixiores passiones breuiamus uerbis, non adeo sensu, ne fastidiosis ingeratur tedium si tanta prolixitas erit in propria lingua quanta est in latina),[20] correspondences of this sort must be interpreted with great caution and, in some instances, may simply be the product of chance. This seems especially true of agreements in the omission of material which is not central to the account, or which on other grounds, such as unfamiliarity or difficulty, one might expect Ælfric to exclude even if it had been present in his exemplar. Nevertheless, there are many instances in which these complicating factors do not intrude and in which, therefore, the agreements in omission seem almost certainly to be significant.

[19] The copy of this text preserved in F, 54v, supplies a few variant readings but none affecting the sense of those parts of the passage included in the Old English.

[20] LS, I, 4.

Comparison of the following passage from the life of Agatha (LS, viii) with both the text of the Latin collection and that of the Acta Sanctorum provides a representative example:

> Hwæt ða Agathes inwærdlice clypode.
> mid astrehtum handum to þam hælende þus.
> Eala ðu min drihten . þe me to menn gesceope.
> and æfre fram cyldhade me gescyldest ofþis (sic).
> þu þe woruldlice lufe awendest fram me.
> þu ðe dydest þæt ic ofer-com þæs cwelleres tintregu.
> scearp isen . and fyr . and þa slitendan clawa.
> þu ðe me on þam witum geþyld forgeafe.
> ðe ic bidde drihten . þæt ðu minne gast
> nu to þe genime . forðan þe nu is tima.
> þæt ic þas woruld forlæte . and to þinre liðan miltheortnysse becuman mote.
>
> (LS, I, 206/183-94)

Cotton-Corpus	ASS[21]
Sancta vero dei . . . expandit manus suas ad Dominum et dixit: Domine qui me creasti et custodisti me ab infantia mea, qui fecisti me in iuventute viriliter agere; qui tulisti a me amorem seculi, qui fecisti me vincere tormenta carnificis, ferrum, ignem et ungulas, qui mihi inter torquentes virtutem patientiae contulisti; te precor ut accipias spiritum meum modo, quia tempus est, ut me iubeas istum seculum derelinquere et ad tuam misericordiam pervenire. (A, 149v)	Sancta vero Agatha . . . expandit manus suas ad Deum, et dixit: Domine, qui me creasti, et custodisti me ab infantia mea, et fecisti me in iuuentute viriliter agere; qui tulisti a me amorem seculi, *qui corpus meum a pollutione separasti;* qui fecisti me vincere tormenta carnificis, ferrum, ignem, et vincula; qui mihi inter tormenta virtutem patientiae contulisti; te deprecor vt accipias spiritum meum modo: quia tempus est, vt me iubeas istud seculum derelinquere, et ad tuam misericordiam peruenire. (5 Feb., I, 618)

In this passage, Ælfric gives an extremely exact and faithful rendering of his source: none of the details is rearranged, nothing of significance is added, and almost every word of the translation finds a close equivalent in the Latin. In view of this, his

[21] Italic type here and elsewhere denotes material omitted both by Ælfric and the Cotton-Corpus text. Note that the Cotton-Corpus text is also superior to the ASS in that it provides an exact equivalent for Old English clawa.

agreement with the text of the Cotton-Corpus collection against that of the Acta Sanctorum in the omission of the phrase qui corpus meum a pollutione separasti seems significant, suggesting that the phrase was also absent from his own exemplar. A slightly different example is provided by the following passage from the account of the visions of Furseus (CH, II, xxii), where an agreement in omission is observed together with another form of correspondence:

Ælfric

Þa deofla eft cwædon, Yfele[21a] spellunge he beeode; ne sceal he ungederod þæs ecan lifes brucan. Se halga engel cwæð, Buton ge ða heafod-leahtras him on befæstnian, ne sceal he for ðam læssan losian. Se ealda wregere cwæð, Buton ge forgifon mannum heora gyltas, ne forgifð se Heofonlica Fæder eow eowere gyltas. Se engel andwyrde, On hwam awræc þes man his teonan? Se deofol cwæð, Nis na awriten þæt hi wrecan ne sceolon, ac, Buton ge forgyfon of eowerum heortum wið eow agyltendum. Se engel cwæð, Us bið gedemed ætforan Gode. Se ealda sceocca eft cwæð, Hit is awriten, Buton ge beon swa bilewite on unscæððignysse swa swa cild, næbbe ge infær to heofenan rice. Þis bebod he nateshwon ne gefylde. Se Godes engel hinebeladode, and cwæð, Miltsunge he hæfde on his heortan, ðeah ðe he manna gewunan heolde. Se deofol andwyrde, Swa swa he þæt yfel of ðam menniscum gewunan underfeng, underfo he eac swa þæt wite fram ðam upplican Deman. Se halga engel cwæð, We beoð ætforan Gode gesemde. [sic]
(CH, II, 336/19-338/1)

Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Satanas . . . dixit: Otiosos sermones sepe protulit; non debere eum inlesum, vita perfrui beata. Sanctus angelus dixit: Nisi principalia protuleris crimina, propter minima non peribit. Accussator antiquus dixit: Si non remiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec pater vester celestis dimittet vobis peccata vestra. Sanctus angelus respondit: Ubi se vindicavit, vel cui iniuriam fecit? Diabolus dixit: Non est scriptum si non vindicetis,	Satanas . . . dixit: Otiosos sermones saepe protulit; et ideo non debet illaesus vita perfrui beata. Sanctus Angelus dixit: Nisi principalia protuleris crimina, propter minima non peribet. Accusator antiquus dixit: *Scriptum est:* Nisi remiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec Pater vester celestis dimittet vobis peccata vestra. Sanctus Angelus respondit: Vbi se vindicauit, vel cui iniuriam fecit? Diabolus dixit: Non est scriptum: Si non vindicetis; sed si non remiseritis de cordibus vestris. Sanctus Angelus excusans, dixit: Indulgentiam in corde

[21a] Dr. M. Godden tells me that this is Thorpe's misreading of Ydele.

Cotton-Corpus

sed si non remiseritis de cordibus vestris. Dixit angelus domini: Iudicemur ante deum. Victus tribus vicibus inimicus viperea restaurat venena dicens: Si iustus est deus, hic homo non intrabat in regno caelorum. Scriptum est enim, Nisi conversi fueritis et efficiamini sicut parvuli non intrabitis in regnum caelorum. Hoc verbum minime inplevit. Santus angelus excusans dixit: Indulgentiam in corde habuit, sed consuetudine humana continuit. Diabulus respondit: Sicut accepit malum ex consuetudine, ita accipiat vindictam a superno iudice. Sanctus angelus dixit: Iudicemur ante dominum.
(A, 94r)

habuit, sed consuetudine humana continuit. Diabolus respondit: Sicut accepit malum ex consuetudine, ita accipiet vindictam a superno Iudice. Sanctus Angelus dixit: Iudicemur ante Dominum. Ter victus inimicus, viperea restaurat venena, dicens: Si iustus est Deus, hic homo non intrabit in regnum caelorum. Scriptum est enim: Nisi conuersi fueritis, et efficiamini sicut paruuli, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum. Hoc verbum minime impleuit. Angelus Domini dixit: Iudicemur ante Dominum.
(26 Jan., II, 38)

In this passage, the first scriptum est included in the text of the Acta Sanctorum is absent both from the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection and from the Old English translation. This correspondence in omission, albeit for only a brief phrase, seems on a number of grounds to be significant. Firstly, from an aesthetic viewpoint at least, the omission is an agreement in error: in any case, without the scriptum est, the tone of the passage is considerably altered, and the devil, who later quite literally quotes scripture for his own ends, appears rather incongruously as a genuine exponent of Christian sentiment. Secondly, if one were to argue that Ælfric deliberately omitted the formula from his translation, one could reasonably expect him to exclude it at other points in the account as well. The same words, however, recur twice later in the same passage, and at least four times elsewhere in the Latin text, and in each case, as in the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection, they appear in

the Old English. Finally, within the same passage the common omission is supported by another striking (and probably erroneous) agreement between the Cotton-Corpus text and the Old English translation: namely, an obvious agreement in the order of presentation.

A fifth and final form of agreement between the Cotton-Corpus text and Ælfric's immediate exemplar is observed in passages in which the Old English translations cut across a number of printed editions of the Latin sources. At line 250 of Ælfric's Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Simonis et Iude (CH, II, xxxviii), for example, these words appear:

> "We bebeodað þam deoflum þe on ðisum anlicnyssum sticiað; þæt hi ut faron, and ða anlicnysse tocwyson, þæt ge magon swa tocnawan þæt sunne and mona ne sind on ðisum anlicnyssum, ac sind mid deoflum afyllede."
> (CH, II, 496/7-11)

Here the copy of Ælfric's source printed by Mombritius fails to provide parallels for the words þæt hi ut faron, and ða anlicnysse tocwyson:

> "Vt sciatis autem: quia simulachra eorum non sole sed daemoniis plena sunt: iubemus nunc huic daemonio quod in simulacris solis et lunae uos ludificat."
> (Mombritius, II, 539)

Another copy of the same source printed by Fabricius, while providing the reading absent from Mombritius, corresponds less closely for the remainder of the passage:

> "Et ut intelligatis, quia simulachra eorum non Sole, sed daemoniis sunt plena, ego praecipiam daemonio, qui in Solis simulachro latet, et frater meus jubebit alteri daemonio quod in simulachro Lunae vos ludificat, ut egrediantur ex eis, et ipsi ea comminuant."
> (Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, I, 633-34)

One could, therefore, reconstruct the passage translated by Ælfric by conflating the readings of the two printed texts. Yet

the Cotton-Corpus text makes this unnecessary, for here we find the conflation already made:

> Ut sciatis quia simulachra eorum non sole sed demonio plena sunt iubemus nunc huic demonio[22] quod in simulachra solis et lunae vos ludificat ut egrediatur ex eis, et ipsi ea comminuat.
> (F, 16r)

A similar example from the same life is the following:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus
Ða heton ða apostoli hi aberæn to heora inne, and hi ðrim dagum ne onbirigdon ætes ne wætes, ac symle hrymdon and grimetedon for ðam ormætum tintregum. (Passio Sanctorum Simonis et Iude, CH, II, 490/10-12)	Tunc apostoli dei iusserunt eos inter manus tolli et duci ad hospitalia sua, et per triduun non manducandi non bibendi neque dormiendi illis possibile fuit, sed sola vociferatio doloribus exorta incessabilis extitit. (F, 14v)
Mombritius	**Fabricius**
Tunc apostoli dei iusserunt eos inter manus tolli: et duci ad hospitia sua: et per triduum non manducare non bibere neque dormire illis possibile fuit. (II, 537)	Haec cum dixissent Apostoli, deporti sunt ad hospitalia magi, qui per triduum nec cibum capere, nec bibere ullo modo poterant, sed in his sola vociferatio doloribus extorta incessabilis extitit. (Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti,[23] I, 624-25)

The discussion above brings together a few examples of the various types of agreement which have been observed between the text of the Cotton-Corpus collection and the Old English translations.

[22]The appearance of demonio rather than demoniis here (corresponding to the plural form in the Old English) does not seem to be significant, as the singular form of devil or heathen god often appears in the plural in the Old English translations. In the life of Thomas, for example, Ælfric translates Cumque urgeretur: ut in templo symulacro solis sacrificium offeret (Mombritius, II, 613) as He wearð þa gelæd to þam lifleasum godum (400). The change may indicate a desire on Ælfric's part to emphasize the polytheistic nature of pagan worship.

[23]Hamburg, 1719.

The cumulative evidence of these agreements, together with those presented in Chapter IV, leads to the following general conclusions:

(i) Of the forty-nine Ælfrician sources preserved in the Latin collection, thirty-nine are quite similar, from a textual viewpoint, to the particular texts translated by Ælfric. In addition to providing most of the source readings identified by Ott, Förster, and Loomis, in their studies of the published editions, these texts supply a number of other correspondences which are closer to Ælfric than anything found in the printed texts.[24] This is not to imply that the textual correspondence for these lives is perfect. As will become apparent later, almost all the texts preserved in the collection contain at least a few readings which cannot have been present in Ælfric's source manuscript. For this group of closely related lives, however, these 'inferior' readings generally fall into one of the following two categories:

(a) Scribal errors: Many of the inferior readings preserved in the Cotton-Corpus text are clearly the product of scribal error or confusion. One of the most easily recognizable errors is homoeoteleuton, as in the following passages from the lives of Agnes and Sebastian:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Text
. . . and eower godas ne synd nahtes. Hi ne magon him sylfum fremian. ne oðrum fultumian. (Natale Sancte Agnetis, LS, I, 182/205-06.)	Nam omnia templa vana sunt, et penitus nec sibi possunt, nec aliis aliquid auxilium exhiberi. (A, 115v)	Nam omnia templa vana sunt: dii qui coluntur, omnes vani sunt, et penitus nec sibi possunt, nec aliis aliquod auxilium exhibere. (PL, XVII, col. 740)

[24] Obviously, even within this group of closely related lives, the degree of correspondence varies slightly from text to text.

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Text
. . . secgað þæt hi syndon swutol-lice wiðer winnan . eowrum cyne-dome . and eac eowrum folce . ac eower kynedome godað þurh heora godan ge-earnunga. (Passio Sancti Sebastiani, LS, I, 144/442-44)	. . . discentes eos reipublice melior-atur et crescit. (A, 113v)	. . . dicentes eos Reipub. esse aduersarios; quorum orationibus ipsa Respublica melioratur, et crescit. (ASS, 20 Jan., II, 278)

Other common errors stem from faulty word division or the careless confusion of similar letter forms. In some cases, corruptions of this sort are peculiar to only one of the extant manuscripts (usually B.L. MS Cotton Nero E i + CCCC MS 9), as in this passage from the life of St. Martin:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Text
Gewit þu wæl-hreowa aweg of þam nytene and þis unscæððige hryþer geswic to dreccenne. (Vita Sancti Martini, LS, II, 284/1048-49)	Discede, inquit, funeste de pecude, et innoxium animalia gitare desiste. (C, 307-08)	Discede, inquit, funeste, de pecude et innoxium animal agitare desiste. (Halm, 191)

In other cases, the error is so destructive of good sense and so easily corrected that, even if it had been present in Ælfric's exemplar, one could safely assume that it would not find its way into the Old English translation:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Text
Hwæt segst þu nu uincentius . hwæt þing þe be þe sylfuum & be þinum earman lichaman on þysum laþum witum. (Passio Sancti Vincentii, LS, II, 432/103-4)	Quid dicis, inquid, Vincenti, ubi istud corpus tuum mirabile conspicis? (A, 119v)	Quid dicis inquit Vincenti, ubi istut corpus tuum miserabile conspicis? (Fábrega Grau, II, 189)

(b) Isolated Instances of Inferior Readings: Several of the thirty-nine Cotton-Corpus texts which in general correspond closely to the

Old English translations contain a few isolated instances of inferior source readings. Some of these may also be the product of scribal carelessness (though the mechanism of error is less obvious than for those included in category (a) above), but others--judging at least from their appearance among the variants listed in the printed texts--are of more venerable textual ancestry. In such lives, however, the balance remains decidedly in favour of the good readings, and the textual correspondence with Ælfric's exemplar, though imperfect, is nevertheless close.

(ii) The remaining ten sources contained in the Latin collection derive from textual traditions which differ markedly from that of Ælfric's presumed exemplar.[25] For these lives, the text of the collection either lacks parallels for some parts of Ælfric's translations(as in the lives of John the Evangelist and Clement), or occasionally exhibits a variant arrangement of the material, or regularly supplies substantive readings differing from those translated by Ælfric (as in the lives of Lucy and Matthew).

Given the textual instability of Latin saints' lives and the special problems associated with the freedom of the Old English translations, the results summarized above are not surprising. They compare favorably not only with those reached by Janet Bately in her study of the Latin manuscripts of Orosius' History and the Old English Alfredian translation,[26] but also with the conclusions set forth in Mechthild Gretsch's more statistical

[25]These are: CH, I, iv, I, xxxi, I, xxxiv, I, xxxvii (main source), I, xxxviii, II, xviii, II, xxxi, II, xxxvii; and LS, ix and xi. A large proportion of these are the lives of the apostles. This raises the possibility that Ælfric might also have had access to a copy of the Abdias passional. Alternatively, it may suggest that Ælfric's copies of these sources contained revisions and additions from other MSS, something not at all uncommon in hagiographic collections.

[26]"King Alfred and the Latin MSS of Orosius' History", Classica et Mediaevalia, XXII (1961), 69-105.

comparison of the Latin and Old English manuscripts of the Regula Sancti Benedicti[27]--a text manifestly less susceptible to textual variation than the Ælfrician sources considered here.[28] Moreover, some of the instances of disagreement between the Cotton-Corpus text and the Old English translations may be due to the influence of external factors. We cannot, for example, exclude the possibility that Ælfric's exemplar was one which, like both A + B + C and D + E, contained extensive scribal revisions or marginal additions, some of which may have been included in the Old English translations. Nor is it impossible, or even unlikely, that a writer as highly skilled in the handling of source materials as Ælfric might have referred occasionally to a secondary exemplar (or exemplars) for passages in which his primary manuscript was corrupt or otherwise deficient. Whilst these factors might account, however, for some of the isolated instances of disagreement in the thirty-nine texts which otherwise correspond closely to the Old English translations, it seems unlikely that they could explain the more pervasive variation which characterized the ten sources included in category (ii) above. The evidence of sustained disagreement in these lives suggests instead that at least some of

[27]"Æthelwold's Translation of the Regula Sancti Benedicti and its Latin Exemplar", Anglo Saxon England, III, ed. P. Clemoes et al. (Cambridge, 1974), 125-51.

[28]In a review of Dr. Gretsch's study, Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England (Munich, 1973), Professor Stanley emphasizes the textual stability of the Latin text: "The very nature of a monastic rule presupposes a striving to follow authority, and that extends to the text which is, as has been shown and as is confirmed by Dr. Gretsch, subject to some interpolation and other change, but far less freely so than is customary in, say, vernacular homiletic texts or even the Ancrene Riwle." Notes and Queries, NS, XXI (1974), 345. Italics my own.

the texts in Ælfric's exemplar must have derived from a textual tradition differing from that of the three manuscripts considered above. Interestingly enough, some support for this suggestion--and at least a partial view of what this variant Ælfrician exemplar must have looked like--can be found in the later copy of the Cotton-Corpus collection to which brief reference was made earlier: namely, Hereford Cathedral, MS P 7 vi.

That the text of Hereford Cathedral, MS P 7 vi should agree in many respects with Ælfric's presumed exemplar seems at first glance somewhat improbable. In comparison to the three Cotton-Corpus witnesses discussed above, this is quite a late version of the collection, a version which, as we have already seen, contains some later additions which cannot possibly have been present in Ælfric's source manuscript.[28] Nevertheless, most of the Ælfrician source texts which this admittedly late manuscript preserves exhibit a remarkable degree of correspondence with the Old English translations. In the pages which follow, I should like to illustrate this close textual affinity by examining some of the more distinctive forms of agreement which have been observed.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Hereford text is that it frequently provides very close correspondences for parts of the Old English translations which the early investigators were unable to find in any of the available printed texts, and which are also absent both from printed editions published subsequent to their work and from the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts examined earlier in this discussion. At line 205 of Ælfric's Assumptio Sancti Iohannis

Apostoli, for example, the Old English reads:

> Se apostol þa gebigde to Gode ealne þone eard Asiam, se is geteald to healfan dæle middan-eardes; and awrat ða feorðan Cristes boc, seo hrepað swyðost ymbe Cristes godcundnysse. Ða oðre þry godspelleras, Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, awriton æror be Cristes menniscnysse. Ða asprungon gedwolmenn on Godes gelaðunge, and cwædon þæt Crist nære ær he acenned wæs of Marian. Þa bædon ealle þa leod-bisceopas ðone halgan apostol þæt he þa feorðan boc gesette, and þæra gedwolmanna dyrstignesse adwæscte. Iohannes þa bead ðreora daga fæsten gemænelice; and he æfter ðam fæstene wearð swa miclum mid Godes gaste afylled, þæt he ealle Godes englas, and ealle gesceafta, mid heahlicum mode oferstah, and mid ðysum wordum þa godspellican gesetnysse ongan, "In principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat uerbum, et reliqua:" þæt is on Englisc, "On frymðe wæs word, and þæt word wæs mid Gode, and þæt word wæs God; þis wæs on frymðe mid Gode, ealle ðing sind þurh hine geworhte, and nis nan þing buton him gesceapen." And swa forð on ealre þære godspellican gesetnysse, he cydde feta be Cristes godcundnysse, hu he ecelice butan angynne of his Fæder acenned is, and mid him rixað on annysse þæs Halgan Gastes, a butan ende. Feawa he awrat be his menniscnysse, forðan þe þa ðry oðre godspelleras geniht-sumlice be þam heora bec setton.
>
> (CH, I, 68/34-70/22)

As Förster points out, nothing similar to this discussion is found in any of the three printed texts of the Latin source which he examined.[29] Equally deficient, moreover, are the copies of the legend found both in our F[30] and in three other printed editions which Förster was unable to consult.[31] By contrast, Hereford Cathedral, MS P 7 vi provides a passage which not only corresponds very closely in content to the Old English discussion, but which also appears at precisely the same point in the narrative:

[29] Förster examined the texts printed in Mombritius, II, 55-61; Fabricius, Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, II, 604-23; and Bibliotheca Casinensis, II, Florilegium Casinense, 66-72.

[30] Folios 191v-197v.

[31] These are: G. M. Crescimbeni, L'Istoria della Chiesa di S. Giovanni Avanti Porta Latina (Rome, 1716), 6-21; G. Heine, Bibliotheca Anecdotorum (Leipzig, 1848), 108-17; Pasionario Hispanico, II, 101-10.

> Ibi [in urbem ephesiorum] autem ob hereticorum refutandas versutias, rogatus est ab omnibus Asie episcopis et presbyteris, ut quia iam in trium evangelistarum libris qualiter de humanitate salvatoris credere deberent habebant, ipse eis de divinitate eius sermonem faceret, atque ad memoriam futurorum scripta relinqueret, maxime ad vincendam illorum heresim qui dicebant Christum ante Mariam non fuisse. Quod ille primo quidem se negavit facturum, nec illis in prece etiam persistentibus aliter adquievit, nisi omnes triduano ieiunio dominum in commune precarentur. Quod cum fecissent, die tercia tanta gratia spiritus sancti secundum sui nominis congruam interpretationem repletus est, ut usque ad contemplandam patris et filii et spiritus sancti divinitatem mente raperetur, et de eterne vite purissimo fonte potaret, quod nobis sitientibus propinaret. Unde et evangelium ipsius, tale habet exordium: In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum, et deus erat verbum. Cum igitur . . . omnis provincia Asie Iohannem excoleret et predicaret, accidit ut . . .[32] (H, 221r)

On the basis of this passage alone--however infrequent its appearance in the extant Latin manuscripts--it would undoubtedly be wrong to attach a special importance to the text of the Hereford exemplar. Equally striking examples, however, can be found in several other of the sources preserved in the collection. In his comments on the life of St. Clement, for example, Förster again cites two passages from the Old English translation which do not appear in any of the printed texts which he examined: lines 74-76 which describe the way in which the Christian prisoners of the Chersonese greeted St. Clement upon his arrival at their place of exile; and lines 92-94 which interpret the greeting as a foreshadowing of St. Clement's miraculous discovery of a stream of water.[33] These same passages are also absent from each of the other editions of the Passio Sancti Clementi which I have been able to locate

[32]There is good reason to believe that, in addition to this passage from the Melito text, Ælfric may also have consulted one of Bede's homilies on St. John (Homilia, I, 9, printed in CCSL, CXXII, 66) for part of his discussion of the fourth gospel. See below, p. 239, n. 127.

[33]See Förster, 29. Förster notes that something similar can be found in the Greek version of Simeon Metaphrastes.

(four in all),[34] and from the copies of the legend preserved in C and F.[35] But once again, the Hereford text supplies very close correspondences for all the details mentioned by Ælfric:

Ælfric	H
Þaða he to ðam westene becom, þa gemette he ðær ma þonne twa ðusend cristenra manna . . . þe his to-cymes micclum fægnodon, mid anre stemne cweðende, "Efne her is ure hyrde, efne her is se frefrigend ures geswinces and weorces." (CH, I, 560/30-562/1)	Cum autem pervenissent ad locum exilii, illic aderant . . . amplius quam duo milia Christiani . . . qui videntes sanctum ac nominatissimum Clementem episcopum, omnes una voce in fletum ac gemitum proruperunt: Ecce pastor noster, ecce consolatio nostri operis ac laboris. (H, 81v)
Þa wæs se cwyde gefylled, þe hi on ðæs biscopes to-cyme gecwædon, "Efne her is ure hyrde, efne her is se frefrigend ures geswinces." (CH, I, 562/17-19)	Completum est itaque in illic quod dixerant: Ecce pastor noster, ecce consolatio nostri operis et laboris. (H, 82r)

Similarly, later in the same life, the Hereford text provides correspondences for another passage in which each of the texts mentioned above is wanting:

Ælfric	H
Swa hwa swa on his freols-tide untrum his byrgene gesehð, he gewent blissigende and gesundful ongean . . . and gehwilce gedrehte þær beoð geblissode; and ealle geleaffulle his wel-daeda brucað. . . (CH, I, 564/33-566/2)	Nam et si quis his diebus quo natalis eius celebratur infirmus advenerit, sanus revertitur . . . Tribulantes letificantur, et omnes ibi cum pacis gaudio beneficia eius consequuntur. (H, 82r)

The evidently rare source readings discussed above, and others

[34]These are: Pasionario Hispanico, II, 40-46; Abdias, Liber de Passione Domini et Apostolorum Discipuli de Historia Certaminis Apostoli, libri decem, ed. W. Lazius (Basel, 1552), 131-36; Narbey, Supplément aux Acta Sanctorum, II, 333-36; L. de la Barre, Historia Christiana Veterum Patrum (Paris, 1583), 47r-48r.

[35]Pages 339-43, folios 118v-121r, respectively.

similar to them, form together but one indication of the remarkably Ælfrician character of the Hereford text. Still other indications emerge when one examines the very large number of passages in which the Latin sources exhibit substantial textual variation. Consider by way of example this passage from Ælfric's life of St. John:

> Þaða se apostol wæs nigon and hund-nigontig geara, þa æteowode him Drihten Crist . . . And he[Iohannes] . . . astrehtum handum to Gode clypode, "Drihten Crist . . . Þu settest on minum muðe þinre soðfæstnysse word, and ic awrat ða lare ðe ic of ðinum muðe gehyrde, and ða wundra ðe ic ðe wyrcan geseah . . . Þu eart Crist, ðæs lifigendan Godes Sunu, þu þe be ðines Fæder hæse middangeard gehældest, and us ðone Halgan Gast asendest. Þe we heriað, and þanciað þinra menigfealdra goda geond ungeendode worulde. Amen." Æfter ðysum gebede æteowode heofenlic leoht bufon ðam apostole . . . and he mid þam leohte his gast ageaf . . . He gewat swa freoh fram deaðes sarnysse, of ðisum andweardan life, swa swa he wæs ælfremed fram lichamlicere gewemmednysse.
>
> (CH, I, 74/12-76/15)

In Latin manuscripts, the passage corresponding to this discussion is expressed in diverse ways. The following is a representative selection from a few of the printed texts[36] and from the Cotton-Corpus text preserved in F:

Fabricius	Crescimbeni
Cum esset annorum nonaginta septem, apparuit ei Dominus Jesus Christus . . . Et [Iohannes] expandens manus suas ad Dominum dixit . . . posuisti ori meo verbum veritatis tuae commemorans me testimonia tuarum virtutum, et scripsi ea opera, quae audivi ex ore tuo auribus meis, et vidi oculis meis . . . Tu es enim Christus filius Dei, cum Patri tuo, et cum Spiritu Sancto, vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum, Cumque omnis populus respondisset Amen, lux tanta apparuit super apostolum . . . (II, 621-23)	Cum esset annorum nonaginta novem apparuit ei dominus jesus christus . . . Et [Iohannes] expandens manus suas ad dominum dixit . . . posuisti ori meo verbum veritatis tuae. Commemorans me testimonia virtutum tuarum, et scripsi ea opera quae audivi ex ore tuo auribus meis. Et vidi oculis meis. . . .Tu es enim Christus filius dei vivi qui praecepto patris mundum salvasti. qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivis et regnat in secula seculorum. Cumque omnis populus respondisset amen. lux tanta apparuit super apostolum . . . (20-21)

[36]For bibliographical details on these texts, see above, p. 161, nn. 29, 31.

Heine

Cum esset annorum nonaginta novem apparuit ei Dominus Jesus Christus . . . Et . . . [Iohannes] expandit manus suas ad Deum et dixit: . . . posuisti in ore meo verbum veritatis tuae commemorans mihi testimonia virtutum tuarum. Et scripsi ea opera quae audivi ex ore tuo auribus meis . . . Tu es enim Christus filius Dei vivi, qui praecepto patris tui mundum salvasti, qui et Spiritum sanctum nobis destinare dignatus es, ut nos de praeceptis tuis commonefaceres, per eundem spiritum tibi gratias referimus per infinita secula seculorum. Et cum omnis populis respondisset amen, lux tanta apparuit super apostolum . . . (116-17)

F

Cum esset annorum nonaginta et octo apparuit ei dominus Iesus Christus . . . et [Iohannes] expandit manus suas ad dominum et dixit: . . . posuisti in ore meo verbum veritatis tuae commemorans michi testimonia virtutum tuarum et scripsi ea opera que audivi ex ore tuo auribus meis, et vidi oculis meis . . . Tu enim es Christus filius dei vivi, qui cum patre tuo et spiritu sancto vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Cumque omnis populus respondisset amen. Lux tanta apparuit super apostolum . . . (197r-197v)

None of these passages corresponds perfectly to the Old English discussion quoted earlier. One could, however, construct a hypothetical source for the Ælfrician translation by extracting and conflating the closest readings from each of the texts: for example, nonaginta novem from Crescimbeni and Heine, et vidi oculis meis from Fabricius, Crescimbeni and F, qui praecepto patris mundum salvasti from Crescimbeni and Heine, and qui et Spiritum sanctum nobis destinare dignatus es . . . seculorum from Heine. Even this, however, would not provide a complete source, for none of the texts quoted above nor any of the other printed editions which I have examined accounts for Ælfric's concluding reflection, he gewat swa freoh fram deaðes sarnysse, of ðisum andweardan life, swa swa he wæs ælfremed fram lichamlicere gewemmednysse. Fortunately, the problem is once again solved by H which supplies not only all the

source readings listed above, but also the missing phrase:

> [C]umesset annorum nonaginta et novem, apparuit ei dominus Iesus Christus . . . Et [Iohannes] extendens manus invocabat deum dicens . . . posuisti in ore meo verbum veritatis tue, commemorans me testimonia virtutum tuarum, et scripsi ea opera que oculis meis vidi, et verba que ex ore tuo audivi auribus meis . . . Tu es enim Christus filius dei vivi, qui precepto patris mundum salvasti, qui et spiritum sanctum nobis destinare dignatus es, ut nos de preceptis tuis commonefaceret. Per eundem spiritum tui gratias referimus per infinita secula seculorum. Et cum omnis populus respondisset amen, lux tanta apparuit super apostolum . . . et statim emisit spiritum. Et collectus est ad patres suos, in senectute bona, tam extraneus a dolore mortis, quam a corruptione carnis invenitur alienus.
>
> (H, 222r-223r)

Another example of Hereford's value for the Ælfric scholar, though one which involves a slightly different form of agreement, is found in the following passage from the conclusion of Ælfric's Passio S. Andreae Apostoli (CH, I, xxxviii):

> Þa clypode se apostol to Hælendum Criste mid ormætre stemne, þus biddende, "Min goda Lareow, ne læt ðu me alysan, buton þu underfo ær minne gast."
>
> Æfter ðisum wordum wearð gesewen leoht micel of heofonum færlice cumende to ðam apostole, and hine ealne ymbscean, swa þæt mennisce eagan hine ne mihton geseon, for ðam heofonlican leohte ðe hine befeng. Þæt leoht ðurhwunode swa for nean ane tide, and Andreas ageaf his gast on ðam leohte, and ferde to Criste samod mid þam leoman, þam is a wuldor geond ealle woruld.
>
> Egeas weard gelæht fram atelicum deofle hamwerd be wege, ærðan ðe he to huse come, and he ðearle awedde, aworpen to eorðan on manna gesihðe þe him mid eodon. He gewat ða of worulde wælhreow to helle, and his broðor heold þæs halgan Andreas lic mid micelre arwurðnysse, þæt he ætwindan moste. Swa micel oga asprang ofer eallum ðam mennisce, þæt ðær nan ne belaf ðe ne gelyfde on God.
>
> (598/12-29)

As in the example from the life of St. John quoted earlier, the passage from the Latin life of Andrew which corresponds to this discussion is variously phrased in the extant manuscripts. The following excerpts from the texts established by Mombritius[37]

[37]Mombritius, I, 104-107.

and du Saussay[38] and from the text preserved in F provide some idea of the diversity:

Mombritius

Tunc beatus apostolus adiurans populum dixit: Oro uos omnes fratres: ut prius unam orationem ad dominum nostrum fundam: et ita me solui patimini eo quoque adiuuante acquieuit plebs. Tunc beatus Andreas apostolus cum ingenti clamore dixit: Non me permittas domine famulum tuum ex hac hora a te seperari. tempus enim est: ut commendes terre corpus meum: et me ad te uenire praecipias: qui uitam tribuis sempiternam. Tu es magister meus ipse: quem dilexi: quem uidi: quem secutus sum: quem cognoui: quem in ista cruce confiteor: Et sicut ego te uno uerbo audiui: sic in isto uerbo me modo exaudi: et antequam corpus meum de cruce soluatur: assumme me. Tunc sanctus Andreas uoce magna dixit: Domine Iesu Christe magister bone iube me de ista cruce non deponi: nisi ante spiritum meum susceperis: Et cum hoc dixisset uidentibus cunctis splendor nimius sicut fulgor de caelo ueniens: ita circundedit eum: ut potius prae ipso splendore occuli eum humani non possent aspicere. Cumque permansisset splendor fere dimidiae hore spatio abscedente lumine emisit spiritum: simul cum ipso lumine pergens ad deum. *Tunc Maximilla quaedam potentissima matronarum in specula posita statim ut cognouit apostolum perrexisse ad dominum: accessit ad crucem: et suorum solatio cum omni reuerentia deposuit corpus eius: condiuitque aromatibus: et in loco quo se constituerat sepelliendam eum sepeliuit. Aegeus uero iratus contra populum disponebat contestationem publicam facere: Et ad Caesarem accusationem contra Maximillam et populum destinare.* Sed cum haec ordinat: in conspectu officii sui a diabolo arreptus est: et medio foro ciuitatis uolutatus expirauit. *Cumque nuntiatum esset fratri eius cui nomen erat Stratocles quam miserabiliter Aegeas uitae suae finem fecisset: sic ait: quae tua sunt: tecum pergant Aegea in perditionem: mihi autem sufficit unus dominus meus Iesus Cristus: quem per Andream famulum eius cognoui. Tunc misit seruos suos: et dixit eis: ut inter Biothanatos sepeliret eum. Ipse autem de facultatibus eius nihil quaesiuit: dicens: non mihi permittat dominus Iesus Christus cui credidi: ut ego de bonis fratris mei aliquid contingam: ne me polluat crimen eius: qui apostolum dei ausus fruit amore pecuniae*

[38] A. du Saussay, De Gloria B. Andreae Apostoli (Paris, 1681), appendix, 9-10. The text printed by Surius, VI, 622ff. is almost identical.

Mombritius

occidere. Haec autem gesta sunt in Achaya prouincia ciuitate patras pridie calendas decembres: Vbi etiam prestantur beneficia gloriosa usque in praesentem diem. Tantus autem timor inuasit uniuersos: ut nullus remaneret: qui non crederet saluatori nostro deo: *qui uult omnes saluos fieri: et ad agnitionem ueritatis uenire: Ipsi gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum.*

(I, 107)

du Saussay

Tunc voce magna sanctus Andreas dixit: Ne permittas, Domine Jesu Christe, ne famulum tuum, qui propter nomen tuum pendeo in cruce, solui: nec permittas eum, qui iam per crucem tuam, cognouit magnitudinem tuam, ab Aegea homine corruptibili humiliari: sed suscipe me tu, Magister meus Christe, quem dilexi, quem cognoui, quem confiteor, quem cernere desidero, in quo sum quod sum. Suscipe Domine Iesu Christe, spiritum meum in pace: quia iam tempus est vt veniam desiderans te videre. Suscipe me Domine Iesu Christe, Magister bone, et iube me de isto cruce non deponi, nisi prius spiritum meum susceperis. Et cum haec dixisset, videntibus cunctis, splendor nimius, sicut fulgor de caelo veniens, ita circumdedit eum, vt penitus prae ipso splendore oculi eum humani non possent aspicere. Cumque permansisset splendor fere dimidiae horae spatio, abscedente lumine, emisit spiritum, simul cum ipso lumine pergens ad Dominum, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Quaedam vero foemina, nomine Maximilla, Senatrix, in specu posita, diligens pudicitiam et sanctitatem, statim vt cognouit Apostolum perrexisse ad Dominum, accessit ad crucem, et suorum solatio, cum omni reuerentia deposuit corpus, et condiuit aromatibus, et in loco quo se constituerat sepeliendam, illic eum sepeliuit. Aegeas vero iratus contra populum disponebat contestationem publicam facere, et ad Caesarem accusationem contra Maximillam et populum destinare. Sed dum ordinat, in conspectu officii sui, a diabolo arreptus est, et in medio foris ciuitatis volutatus exspirauit. *Nunciatum est fratri eius, cui nomen erat Stratocles, et misit seruos suos, dixitque eis, vt inter Biothanatos sepelirent eum: ipse autem de facultatibus eius nihil quaesiuit, dicens: Non mihi permittat Dominus meus Iesus Christus, cui credidi, vt ego de bonis fratris mei aliquid contingam, ne polluat me crimen eius, quia Apostolum Domini ausus fuit pro amore pecuniae occidere.*

Haec autem gesta sunt apud Achaiam prouinciam ciuitatem Patras, pridie Kalendas Decembris: vbi etiam praestantur gloriosa eius beneficia vsque in praesentem diem. Tantus autem

du Saussay

timor inuasit omnes ut nullus remaneret,qui non crederet saluatori nostro deo; *qui vult omnes saluos fieri , et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

(IV, appendix, 9-10)

F

Tunc beatus Andreas apostolus cum ingenti clamore dixit. Non me permittas domine famulum tuum ex hac hora separari a te. Tempus enim est ut commendes terrae corpus meum et me ad te venire praecipias, qui vitam tribuis sempiternam. Tu es magister meus Christe quem dilexi, quem vidi, quem secutus sum, quem cognovi, quem in ista cruce confiter. Et sicut ego te uno verbo audivi, sic meo in isto verbo me exaudi, et antequam corpus meum de cruce solvatur, adsume me. Et cum haec dixisset, videntibus cunctis splendor nimius sicut fulgur de caelo veniens emicuit, et ita circundedit eum,ut penitus pre ipso splendore oculi humani eum non possent aspicere. Cumque permansisset splendor fere dimidiae hore spatio, abscedente lumine emisit spiritum simul cum ipso lumine pergens ad dominum. *Tunc Maximilla quedam potentissima matronarum in speculo posita, statim ut cognovit apostolum perrexisse ad dominum, accesit ad crucem,et suorum solatio, cum omni reverentia deposuit corpus, et condidit aromatibus, et in loco quo se constituerat sepeliendam illic eum sepelivit. Egeas vero iratus contra populum disponebat contestationem publicam facere, et ad Cesarem accusationem contra Maxillam (sic) et populum destinare.* Sed cum haec ordinaret, in conspectu officii sui, a diabolo arreptus est, et in medio foro civitatis volutatus exspiravit. *Nuntiatumque est fratri eius cui nomen erat Stratocles,et misit servos suos dicens eis, ut inter biothanatos sepelirent eum. Ipse autem de facultatibus eius nichil quesivit dicens, Non mihi permittat dominus meus Iesus Christus cui credidi, ut ego de bonis fratris mei aliquid contingam, ne polluat me crimen eius, quia apostolum domini ausus fuit, pro amore pecuniae occidere. Haec autem gesta sunt apud Achaiam provinciam civitatem patras, II kalendas decembris, ubi etiam praestantur gloriosa eius beneficia usque in praesentem diem.* Tantus autem timor invasit universos ut nullus remaneret qui non crederet salvatori nostro deo, *qui vult omnes salvos facere, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum, Amen.*

(136r)

Of these three texts, the version printed by du Saussay is closest to the Old English account, for, like Ælfric, it provides the

doxology cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum at the conclusion of the description of the apostle's death. Some parts of the Old English translation, however, are not fully accounted for in any of the texts. In each of the Latin versions printed above, for example, it is Maximilla who removes the apostle's body from the cross and tends to its burial; in Ælfric's account, on the other hand, Maximilla is not mentioned, and it is the brother of AEgeas who heold þæs halgan Andreas lic mid micelre arwurðnysse, þæt he ætwindan moste. Similarly, in each of the Latin texts AEgeas dies in medio foro civitatis, while in the Old English he dies hamwerd be wege, ærðan ðe he to huse come. These factual discrepancies are compounded further by the relative brevity of the Old English account. Indeed, even in spite of Ælfric's acknowledged tendency to abbreviate, it seems unlikely that so much material (most of Andrew's parting speech, the ministerings of Maximilla, and Stratocles's reaction to his brother's death, here all given in italics) would be swept away without at least some brief mention. Significantly, the text of H bears out this speculation, for here we find a passage which not only corresponds perfectly in matters of fact to the Old English, but which also provides little more than a few brief phrases (again italicized) not found in Ælfric:

> Tunc voce magna sanctus Andreas dixit: Domine Jesu Christe magister bone, *quem dilexi, quem cognovi, quem confessus sum,* iube me de ista cruce non deponi, nisi ante spiritum meum susceperis. Et cum hec dixisset, videntibus cunctis splendor nimius sicut fulgur de celo veniens, ita circumdedit eum ut penitus pre ipso splendore oculi humani eum non possent aspicere. Cumque permansisset splendor fere dimidie hore spatio, abscedente lumine, emisit spiritum, simul cum ipso lumine pergens ad dominum, cui est gloria in secula seculorum, amen. Egeas vero arreptus a demonio antequam pervenisset ad domum suam in via, in conspectu omnium a demonio vexatus expiravit. Frater vero eius tenens corpus sancti Andree evasit. Tantus

> autem timor invasit universos, ut nullus remaneret qui non crederet salvatori nostro deo *qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, ipsi gloria in secula seculorum, amen.*[39]

The excerpts from the lives of John, Clement, and Andrew cited above represent only a few of the many passages in which H exhibits a strikingly close textual correspondence with the Old English translations. Similar examples can be found in the lives of Lucy, Thomas, Cecilia, and Eugenia, and less frequently in the texts which H preserves for the feasts of St. Martin and Saints Chrysanthus and Daria. In five cases (the lives of Lucy, Cecilia, John, Clement, and Andrew), H corresponds even more closely than the other Cotton-Corpus manuscripts, while in the four remaining cases it displays an equally close correspondence. Set against this large number of good readings, there are also, as one might expect, some passages in which the readings of H are inferior to those found in other copies of Ælfric's sources. As examination of Appendix II will show, however, these readings appear only infrequently, even in comparison with the other extant manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection.

The evidence summarized above suggests that the Hereford exemplar can be a useful reference work for Old English editors, lexicographers, and critics whose work requires a more precise knowledge of the textual peculiarities of Ælfric's sources than can be obtained from the printed editions. Whether this same evidence is sufficient to establish more than a fortuitous connection between the text of H and that used by Ælfric is another matter. The difficulty here is not so much any

[39] H, 118r. The copy of Andrew's life printed in Pasionario Hispanico, II, 59-64 provides a passage which is almost identical to this. See also Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, II, ed. M. Bonnet, 1-37.

conspicuous feature of H which argues against such a relationship as the problem of determining exactly what kind of proof could conclusively establish textual affinity. Clearly, evidence that H regularly supplies source readings closer than those of the printed editions would in itself be insufficient, as all of these editions supply only a limited range of textual variants. A more rigorous test might involve comparison with all the hagiographic manuscripts now extant, but even leaving aside the impracticality of such a task, this procedure could not take account of the complications mentioned earlier: namely, that Ælfric may have based his translations on more than one exemplar, or depended on an exemplar containing extensive scribal revisions and additions.[40] Nor could it eliminate the possibility that some of the better source readings in the Hereford text could be the product of contamination by another manuscript which was itself closely related to Ælfric. Apart from these problems, there is also the unfortunate fact that the portion of H which has come down to us is limited entirely to the months of November and December, thereby thwarting a more complete assessment of its closeness to Ælfric. These limitations and problems should be noted, but they should not overshadow the positive claims of the manuscript. In fact, both in terms of the numerous new source readings which it provides and in terms of its independent assembly of known readings not hitherto found in a single manuscript, the text of H is by far the most satisfying source for Ælfric's lives which has yet been identified. Whether this

[40]See above, p. 159.

is the result of chance or contamination or actual relationship with Ælfric is impossible to know for certain. Yet so satisfying is the collection as a source that one cannot help but suspect that Ælfric's own exemplar must have been not only similar but actually related.

CHAPTER IV

Textual Studies of Individual Lives

The following series of studies presents the detailed evidence on which the discussion and conclusions of the preceding chapter are based. Part A contains studies of thirty of Ælfric's lives, using A + B + C (or on occasion D + E or F)[1] as the basis for comparison. Part B examines the sources of the remaining ten lives,[2] using the text of H as a base. In both parts the studies are arranged according to the order of their appearance in Ælfric's works, beginning with the Homilies and continuing through the Lives.

Each of the forty studies has been prepared with a single aim in mind: that is, to present those passage in which the readings of the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts correspond more closely to the Old English translations than those of the printed texts used by the early investigators. To this end, I had originally planned to collate the Cotton-Corpus texts with all of the available printed editions. However, since many of the saints treated by Ælfric are those whose Latin biographies have appeared most often in print, it soon became apparent that this was an impractical task. As a consequence, I

[1] D + E or F are used only when a copy of the source is not found in A + B + C. See above, p. 138.

[2] These are the only sources preserved in the portion of H which has come down to us. As mentioned earlier, this is the preferred text of the Latin sources, though better readings can very occasionally be found in one of the other Cotton-Corpus manuscripts. In such cases, the better readings have been recorded in the notes.

have generally collated the Cotton-Corpus text with only one or two printed texts, taking care, as far as was possible, to choose the texts most suited to the study. Thus, in cases in which the early investigators have themselves identified the printed text which corresponds most closely to the Old English translation, I have relied on that preferred text. When no such identification has been made, I have normally turned either to the Acta Sanctorum or to Mombritius--two collections which, in addition to being generally accessible to scholars, provide a useful range of variant Latin readings. Any exceptions to these procedures, as for example, in the lives of St. Martin where I have used Halm's edition of Sulpicius, or in numbers 5 and 27, where reference to a number of editions seemed desirable, are clearly noted in the studies themselves.

In terms of format, each study follows a more or less regular pattern. The introduction of each normally reviews previous source studies of the Ælfrician account, and provides bibliographical references both for the Latin texts and for the Old English translation. A study of the Cotton-Corpus text of the source then follows. In the main, this section of each study is devoted to the citation of those Cotton-Corpus readings whose correspondence with the Old English is significantly closer than the readings of the printed text. These readings are generally presented with only brief commentary, though usually, as an aid to understanding, within their original context.[3] The number and character of such readings

[3]In the citation of readings from the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts and the printed texts, the same signs and symbols found incidentally in earlier chapters are used again: notably, italic type for material lacking in Ælfric and the Cotton-Corpus text but included in the printed editions, and an asterisk for Latin readings recorded only in the apparatus of a printed text.

varies greatly from life to life. Relatively few instances appear in the group of remotely related sources mentioned in Chapter III, while large numbers are found in those lives for which the text of H has been used.

In choosing the readings included in the studies, it has been necessary to be both judicious and selective. In some cases, the Old English rendering is too free and abbreviated to permit a choice between variant source readings, while in others the difference between variants is so minute as to be negligible. Readings such as these have therefore not been cited. In addition, minor variants in scriptural quotations and in the orthography of familiar proper names have sometimes been excluded, particularly in those cases in which both the Old English and the Cotton-Corpus readings agree either with the Vulgate (for biblical references) or with common English practice (for proper nouns). In these instances, the agreement between the two cannot be viewed as distinctive, for, even had Ælfric found divergent readings in his immediate exemplar, he may simply have emended them silently to make them more accurately reflect the particular forms and spellings that were current in his day. When such emendation seems improbable, however, or when more than minor variation is observed, the variants have been cited in full.

As a final note, it is perhaps helpful to point out here that the studies below do not include those Cotton-Corpus readings which correspond less closely to the Old English than the readings of the printed texts. These are printed separately in Appendix II, where they may be examined as a group.

PART A: The Text of A + B + C (D + E and F)

1) Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli (CH, I, xxvi)

Förster suggests that Ælfric knew at least three different accounts of the lives of SS. Peter and Paul:[4] first, the Marcellus text of the Passio Petri et Pauli (BHL 6657-59)[5] which forms the basis of the final part of the Old English translation; secondly, the letter of Marcellus to Nereus and Achilles (BHL 6060)[6] which Ælfric used for his discussion of Peter's encounter with Simon Magus; and finally, some version of the Linus texts of the Passions of Peter and Paul which Ælfric does not use directly, but which, judging from the remarks at 374/25-27 and 382/28-29, he seems to have known.[7] The first of these accounts is not provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection: as I have suggested earlier, if we assume that it was also absent from Ælfric's primary source book, then we are able to understand better the reasons for Ælfric's Latin interjections at line 374/25-27 and 382/28-29 of the translation.

[4]Förster, Legenden, 18-21. The Old English translation is found in CH, I, 370-385.

[5]Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, I, ed. R. A. Lipsius (Leipzig, 1891), 119-77. As Professor Cross has shown, this text also influenced Ælfric's homily for Rogation Monday (CH, II, xxi). See Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon", 90-92, 97-100. For a similar adaptation of a hagiographic text in a homily, see below, pp. 275-84.

[6]ASS, 12 May, III, 9-10 (cap. 12-14).

[7]Förster (pp. 20-21) suggests that Ælfric also drew briefly on Jerome's De Viris Illustribus and that he knew the Visio Pauli. The latter text is condemned by Ælfric in CH, II, 332/20-22. It is interesting to note that this text is also condemned in the Gelasian decretal, one part of which is preserved in MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63.

The other two texts cited by Förster are found in the collection: B, 3v-4r and D, 244v-245v (Marcellus text); and B, 32v-40v and E, 9v to 22v (Linus texts). No significant variants have been observed in the Cotton-Corpus copies of either of these texts.

2) Passio Beati Laurentii Martyris (CH, I, xxix)

For his life of Lawrence,[8] Ælfric drew upon the lengthy Passio Polochronii, Parmenii, Abdon et Sennen, Xysti, Felicissimi et Agapiti et Laurentii et aliorum sanctorum (BHL 6884, 6, 7801, 4754, 3961), one copy of which is printed in Anal. Boll., LI (1933), 72-98.[9] This legend, as the title itself suggests, does not deal solely with the life of Lawrence, but chronicles a long series of Christian persecutions which took place under Decius and Valerian. Characteristically, Ælfric leaves many of these aside--including the Passio Abdon et Sennen which he returns to later in the Lives--and focuses upon the martyrdom of Lawrence and his closest companions. As a result, his translation is only about two-thirds the length of the Latin narrative, and is based almost entirely on Chapters 11-31 and Chapter 33 as given in the printed edition.

The Latin source survives in two closely related manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: B,67r-73r ; E, 57r-67r.[10] These copies of the legend derive from a textual tradition differing

[8] CH, I, 416-37.

[9] Förster, 26. Förster refers to the copy of the legend printed by Surius (IV,581-91), but this has been stylistically altered. The edition which I have used here is that of H. Delehaye which forms part of his "Recherches sur le légendier romain" and which is preceded by an informative study of the development of the legend (Anal. Boll., LI [1933], 34-98).

[10] The copy of the legend preserved in B contains a number of later revisions. These have been checked against the original readings of E.

slightly from that of Ælfric's source manuscript, as is evidenced particularly by their omission of one brief sentence included both in one of the manuscripts represented in the Latin printed text and in the Old English translation (428/26-27).[11] Their correspondence with Ælfric's exemplar is otherwise, however, quite close. This can be seen particularly in the following passages where the Cotton-Corpus text departs from the printed edition to provide the particular readings translated by Ælfric:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Anal. Boll.
"Witodlice we beorgað ðinre ylde; gehyrsuma urum bebodum, and geoffra ðam undeaðlicum godum." (418/31-33)	Nos quidem consulimus senectuti tuae; audi praecepta nostra et sacrifica. (B, 69v; cf. Anal. Boll., 84*)	"Nos quidem consulimus senectuti tuae; itaque consule tibi vel clero tuo, ut tu vivas et clerus tuus augeatur." (84)
"Awurp nu ðine anwilnysse, and agif ða madmas." (422/31)	Iam depone pertinaciam et da thesauros . . . (B, 70r; cf. Anal. Boll., 87*)	"Iam depone pertinaciam mentis tuae et responde de thesauris . . ." (87)
Þa het se wælhreowa mid stanum ðæs halgan muð cnucian. (428/31-32)	Tunc iussit ut os sancti cum lapidibus cederetur. (B, 71r; cf. Anal. Boll., 92*)	Tunc iussit ut os eius cum lapidibus tunderetur. (92)

In one other passage, both Cotton-Corpus copies of the legend include a revised reading which also seems to have been included in Ælfric's exemplar; this reading is also recorded as a revision in the apparatus of the printed text:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus Rev.	Anal. Boll.
. . . ic geseo Godes engel standende æt-foran ðe . . . (426/29-30)	Video ⟨ante⟩te hominem pulcherrimum stantem . . . (B, 71r; cf. Anal. Boll., 90* REV.)	Video in te hominem pulcherrimum stantem . . . (90)

[11] See Appendix II below, p. 300.

3) De Assumptione Beatae Mariae (CH, I, xxx)

The primary source for the Assumption homily of the first series,[12] as Ælfric himself informs us in the opening sentences, is the Pseudo-Jerome Epistola ad Paulam et Eustochium (PL, xxx, cols. 122-42, BHL 5355). This text served as the guide for all but the final two sections of the Old English homily (448/13-22 and 448/23-452/23), where two exempla of Mary's beneficent intercession are briefly narrated. For these, Ælfric turned first to the Miraculum S. Mariae de Theophilo poenitente (ASS, 4 Feb., I, 489-93, BHL 8121), and then to a chapter of the Vita S. Basilii (Surius, I, 4-19, BHL 1023), a text which he used again later for his own life of Basil in the Lives.[13]

All three of the source texts enumerated above are provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection. The Cotton-Corpus copies of the first, which survive in B, 79r-86v and F, 274v-287v, correspond very closely to each other and include no variants which are significantly closer to Ælfric than the text printed by Migne.[14] The second source, found in A, 157r-160r and D, 157v-162v, is treated so cursorily by Ælfric that it is impossible to make any clear choice between variant Latin readings. The third source, the chapter from the Vita S. Basilii, is found within the complete texts of the Latin life given

[12] CH, I, 436-54.

[13] See Förster, Legenden, 27-28. As Förster notes, none of the three texts listed here provides parallels for Ælfric's brief reference to Mercurius at 452/24-28. The rather inspecific phrasing of this reference suggests that Ælfric was here merely recalling material which he had previously digested in his reading.

[14] As Smetana ("Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary", 192) points out, the Pseudo-Jerome letter is also found "in the PD variants Cas. 305 and PL 95. 44* for the same feast."

in A, 61v-70r and D, 9r-22r. These texts often differ stylistically from the text printed by Surius,[15] but contain no substantial variants of interest for the Old English translation.[16]

4) Passio Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli (CH, I, xxxi)

For his account of the life of the apostle Bartholomew,[17] Ælfric turned to a popular version of the apocryphal Passio Bartholomaei (BHL 1002), one copy of which is printed in Mombritius, I, 140-44.[18] This legend survives in two manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: B, 91v-94r and E, 84v-88v. Several passages in each of these copies are corrupt. In addition, each copy contains numerous scribal revisions, sometimes in the form of interlinear additions, often by erasure. Because of these, it is occasionally difficult to decipher the original readings of the manuscripts.

As one might guess from the presence of the revisions and corruptions mentioned above, the Passio Bartholomaei is one of the Cotton-Corpus sources which corresponds less closely to Ælfric's conjectural exemplar than the majority of texts preserved in the collection. In particular, it lacks correspondences for a few phrases in the Old English homily for which quite precise verbal equivalents are found in Mombritius. Despite these, it is perhaps worthwhile to draw attention here to a few passages in which the

[15]The text in Surius has been silently emended from a stylistic viewpoint by the editor. See Surius, I, 4.

[16]Both the Cotton-Corpus copies of the Vita S. Basilii and the text printed in Surius disagree with Ælfric in his insistence that Libanius returned to Basil æfter ðrim dagum (452/9). Here the Latin texts have septem dies. It is interesting to note that this second reading is the one which Ælfric himself follows later when he depends more heavily on the Latin text for his own life of Basil in the Lives. See LS, I, 66/268.

[17]CH, I, 454-70.

[18]Förster, Legenden, 21.

Cotton-Corpus text corresponds more closely to Ælfric than does the text established by Mombritius:[19]

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
"þæt he ne gedyrstlæcð þæt he furðon orðige oððe sprece syððan se Godes apostol Bartholomeus binnan þæt tempel becom." (456/9-11)	. . . ut neque suspirare neque loqui audeat ex illa hora qua illuc Bartholomeus ingressus est. (B, 92r)	. . . ut neque spirare neque loqui ualeat ex illa hora: qua illuc apostolus Bartolamaeus ingressus est. (140)
". . . Se awyrigeda deofol, siððan he ðone frumsceapenan mann beswac, syððan he hæfde anweald on ungelyfedum mannum . . ." (460/24-26)	. . . per ipsam victoriam pessimam potestatem habere videtur . . . (B, 93r; cf. Mombritius,629*)	. . . per ipsum uictoriam pessimam habere uidetur . . . (142)
. . . se cyning Astriges (468/9)	. . . rex Astriges (B, 93v; cf. Mombritius,629*)	. . . Rex Astiages (144)
"Ic sealde ða mihte ðam deoflum, þæt hi tocwysdon ða idelan anlicnysse þe hi on wunodon, þæt þæt mennisce folc fram heora gedwyldum gecyrde . . . (468/16-19)	Ego dedi potestatem doemonibus qui in eis erant, ut ipsi conquassarent idola vana in quibus degebant, ut omnes homines relicto errore . . . (B, 94r; cf. Mombritius,629*)	Ego dedi potestatem daemonibus qui in eis erant: ut conquassarent idola uana: in quibus seducebant omnes homines: ut relicto errore . . . (144)

As the references above indicate, readings identical to or at least similar to the Cotton-Corpus variants can be found in Mombritius's apparatus.[20]

5) Dedicatio AEcclesie Sancti Michaelis Archangeli (CH, I, xxxiv)

For the feast of the Dedication of the Church of St. Michael,[21]

[19]Two other examples are cited in the discussion of Chapter III. See above, pp. 145, 147.

[20]The readings in Mombritius's apparatus are taken from M. Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha II, 128-50.

[21]CH, I, 502-10.

Ælfric provides a translation of the Narratio de apparitione S. Michaelis in Monte Gargano[22] (BHL 5948), copies of which are found in Mombritius, I, 389-91, ASS, 29 Sept., VIII, 61-62, and Waitz, 541-43.[23] This text survives in two manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: B, 147v-148v and E, 179r-180v. Both of these copies, but particularly that of B, contain several corrections and alterations, some interlined, but most by erasure. In a few cases, these revisions appear in the same passages in both manuscripts; as a result, a few of the original Cotton-Corpus readings have now been irretrievably lost.

Examination of the three printed editions of the legend cited above shows that their readings frequently disagree with each other. When such disagreement occurs, the Cotton-Corpus text often, though not always, agrees with whichever edition corresponds most closely to the Old English translation. In the following passages, for example, the Cotton-Corpus text agrees with the ASS and Waitz (against Mombritius) in its provision of the particular readings translated by Ælfric.[24]

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
Seo dun stent on Campania landes gemæron . . . (502/2-3)	Est autem locus in Campaniae finibus . . . (B, 148r; cf. ASS, 61 and Waitz, 541)	Est autem locus in Apuliae finibus . . . (389)
On ðam east-dæle wæs gesewen micel cyrce to ðære hi	. . . apparet ad orientem basilica pergrandis qua per	. . . apparet ad orientem basilica: qua per gradus

[22]See Förster, Legenden, 28-29.

[23]Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum (Hanover, 1878) 541-43.

[24]One other passage is cited in Chapter III. See above, p. 144.

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
stæp-mælum astigon. Seo cyrce mid hire portice mihte fif hund manna eaðelice befon on hire rymette. (508/11-14)	gradus ascenditur. Haec ipsa cum porticu sua quingentos fere homines capere videbatur . . . (B, 148v; cf. ASS, 62, and Waitz, 543)	ascenditur. Haec cum ipsa porticu sua licet fere homines capere uidebatur . . . (391)
". . . ic eom Michahel se heahengel Godes Ælmihtiges, and ic symle on his gesihðe wunige." (502/28-30)	Ego enim sum Michahel archangelus qui in conspectu domini semper assisto. (B, 148r; cf. ASS, 61; Waitz, 541)	Ego sum Michael archangelus: qui in conspectu domini assisto. (390)

In yet another instance, it provides a source reading which is marginally closer to Ælfric than any of the three printed editions:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Editions
. . . þæt gecigdon ða ðe on þære stowe wunodon, stillam, þæt is, dropa. (508/35-510/1)	. . . quam incolae loci illius stillam vocant. (B, 148v)	. . . quam incolae stillam uocant. (Mombritius, 391; cf. ASS, 62 and Waitz, 543)

Despite these few examples of close correspondence, however, one should note that this is one of the sources mentioned earlier which is on the whole less closely related to Ælfric's conjectural exemplar than most of the Cotton-Corpus texts.

6) Sancti Gregorii Pape urbis Romane Incliti (CH, II, ix)

Max Förster named Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica and the Historia Francorum of Gregory of Tours as the sources for Ælfric's homily on St. Gregory.[25] In a more recent study, however, M. R. Godden has demonstrated that Ælfric's primary authority for the life was Paul the Deacon's Vita beatissimi Gregorii papae urbis Romae (BHL 3639), a text which incorporates material from Bede

[25] Förster, Legenden, 34. The Old English translation is found in CH, II, 116-33.

and Gregory and adds a number of new details.[26] As a refinement of this discovery, moreover, Dr. Godden has shown that of the two versions of Paul's Vita now extant--the shorter, original version published by Grisar,[27] and the longer, interpolated text printed by Migne[28]--Ælfric probably made use of the shorter, uninterpolated account. It is this uninterpolated version of Paul's Vita which is preserved in the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 166v-169v and D, 173r-178r.

The Cotton-Corpus copies of the Latin sources, though not without minor deficiencies, derive from a textual tradition quite closely related to that of Ælfric's conjectural exemplar. Comparison of these copies with the text printed by Grisar, for example, shows that in passages in which Grisar lists a number of variant readings, the Cotton-Corpus text generally provides the particular one translated by Ælfric. One example has already been cited as an illustration in Chapter III.[29] To this we may add the following:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Grisar
Uton standan mid gemaglicum wopum ongean ðam onsigendum swurde swa miccles domes. (124/35-126/2)	Inminente ergo tante animadversionis gladio nos inportunis fletibus insistamus. (A, 168v; cf. Grisar, 168*)	Inminente ergo tante animaduersionis gladio, nos inportunis precibus insistamus. (168)

[26] M. R. Godden, "The Sources for Ælfric's Homily on St. Gregory", 79-88. In addition to Paul's Vita, Ælfric used parts of Bede's Historia, both in the original Latin and in the Old English translation. He did not, however, make independent use of Gregory's Historia Francorum. See above, p. 67.

[27] In Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, XI (1887), 162-73.

[28] PL, LXXV, cols. 41-60.

[29] See above, p. 144.

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Grisar
He wæs fram cildhade on boclicum larum getyd . . . (118/16-17)	Ita a pueritia est institutus . . . (A, 167r; cf. Grisar, 163*)	Ita a puero est institutus . . . (163)
. . . forðan ðe se arfæsta and se mildheorta God . . . (126/4)	. . . quia pius et misericors deus . . . (A, 168v)	. . . quia pius ac misericors dominus . . . (168)

7) De Sancto Philippo Apostolo (CH, II, xviiia)

In his remarks on Ælfric's life of St. Philip,[30] Max Förster comes to the following conclusion: "Diese Passio [i.e. the Latin legend] ist uns in 3 Recensionen erhalten; Ælfric hat wahrscheinlich die erste Recension [BHL 6814, printed in Mombritius, II, 385] vor sich gehabt, da der Prolog (ASS, 1 May, I 11F) sich nicht in seiner Uebersetzung vorfindet."[31] It is this version of the Passio Philippi (BHL 6814) which is found in the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 208r-208v; D, 227v-228r.

As has been mentioned in Chapter III, the Cotton-Corpus text of the Latin source includes several readings which cannot have been present in Ælfric's source manuscript. Nevertheless, one feature of the Cotton-Corpus text seems worth noting, for it helps to illuminate a potentially confusing section of the Old English account. The passage in question is Ælfric's description of the apostle's death:

> . . . and [Philip] lærde hi georne, þæt hi on geleafan ðurhwunedon; and gewat siððan seofon and hund-eahtatig geara to ðam Lifigendan Drihtne, þe he on life folgode. His lic wæs bebyriged on ðære foresædan byrig.
> (298/5-8)

[30] CH, II, 294-98.

[31] Förster, Legenden, 22.

This description, though sufficiently straightforward in itself, is at odds with the accounts found both in Mombritius and in the ASS, where the apostle suffers a martyr's death:

> . . . haec et his similia praedicans apostolus domini Annorum octogintaseptem erat. Post haec infideles ipsum tenuerunt et cruci Instar magistri eius quem praedicabat affixerunt: sicque ad dominum migrauit: et feliciter uitam finiuit: et in ea ciuitate positum est sanctum corpus eius.
>
> (Mombritius, 385; cf. ASS, 12)

Förster therefore concludes that Ælfric must have used a manuscript which lacked the words Post haec . . . affixerunt. The Cotton-Corpus text bears this out:

> Haec et his similia predicans apostolus domini annorum octoginta vii perrexit ad dominum, et in ea civitate positum est sanctum corpus eius.[32]
>
> (A, 208v)

8) Sanctorum Alexandri, Euentii et Theodoli (CH, II, xx: Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, xxiii)

Ælfric turned to the story of Pope Alexander and his associates at two different points in his career. The first was during the composition of the second series of Catholic Homilies when he provided a short piece on the martyrdom of Alexander and his companions to be read on the same day as his homily on the invention of the cross.[33] The second was some time later when he undertook to treat sections of the introductory material (on the miracles of Alexander and the passion of Quirinus and Hermes) which he had omitted from his earlier account.[34] When these two translations are put together according to the instructions of the scribe who copied the later

[32]Some of the MSS consulted by the Bollandists also lack the passage. See ASS, 12, n. M.

[33]CH, II, 308-13.

[34]Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, II, 737-46.

account, we have, as the work of Förster and Pope shows, "a complete rendering (with some minor abridgements and variations) of the Acta Alexandri Papae [BHL 266], as given in the Bollandist Acta Sanctorum for the third of May."[35] This text survives in one copy of the Cotton-Corpus collection: D, 231v-236r. As pointed out earlier, the other Cotton-Corpus copy has been lost at the divide of A and B.

In his study of the printed texts of the Latin source found in the ASS (3 May, I, 371-75), Mombritius (I, 44-49) and Surius (III, 64-68), Förster concludes that Ælfric's first account corresponds more closely, in a few minor details, to the text given by Surius. This copy of the source, however, has undergone editorial activity which makes it an untrustworthy choice for comparison, particularly in cases of minor stylistic detail of the sort cited by Förster. Of the two remaining printed texts, that of the ASS more nearly represents the text which Ælfric had in front of him, as shown by the following passages:

Ælfric	ASS	Mombritius
Þa befran se arleasa casere, hwi he suwade. Þa sæde se halga, þæt he spræce to Criste. (310/1-2)	. . . dixit ei Aurelianus: Quare taces? S. Alexander dixit: Quia tempore orationis homo Christianus cum Deo loquitur. (374)	. . . dixit ei Aurelianus: Quare taces: Sanctus Alexander dixit: Stultissime ego te increpo: quia de tua crudelitate non curo. (48)
He cwæð þæt he . . . wære gefullod for hund-seofontig geara, and to mæssepreoste gehalgod for manegum gearum. (310/16-18)	S. Eventius dixit: Ante hos annos septuaginta, quia cum annorum essem undecim baptizatus sum, cum autem essem viginti annorum, Presbyter ordinatus sum. (374)	Sanctus Euentius dixit: ante hos annos septuaginta: quia cum annorum essem undecim: baptizatus sum. (48)

[35] Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, II, 734. See also Förster, Legenden, 38-39.

Ælfric	ASS	Mombritius
"Ne bist ðu orhlyte eallunge ðæra witena." (310/26-27)	Quasi tu immunis eris? (374)	Quasi tu in minimis eris? (48)

This is the same text which Pope concludes is closest to Ælfric's later account, though at one point he notes a brief passage in which the text given by Surius provides more exact correspondences.

In turning now to the copy of the legend preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection, we find that it displays a correspondence which, for the first of Ælfric's accounts, is equally as close as that of the ASS. In each of the passages quoted above, for example, the Cotton-Corpus readings agree with those of the ASS (against Mombritius), while for the rest of the legend they exhibit no substantial variation of importance for the Old English translation. For the second of Ælfric's accounts, the Cotton-Corpus text preserves a few readings which are slightly more remote than those of the ASS, though in one passage it also provides a marginally closer correspondence:[36]

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Swa hwa swa wyle Cristen beon, cume hider to me. (152)	Quicunque voluerit fieri Christianus, veniat. (D, 233v; cf. Mombritius, 46)	Quicumque voluerit fieri Christianus, fiat: (373)

9) In Letania Maiore: Feria Tertia (CH, II, xxii)

For the Feria Tertia in Rogationtide,[37] Ælfric provides an account of the life of the Scyttisc preost Furseus, a subject which is also treated briefly by Bede in III, 19 of the Historia Ecclesiastica.

[36]The Cotton-Corpus text does not provide the reading from Surius which is mentioned above.

[37]CH, II, 332-48.

Unlike Bede, who concerns himself mainly with Fursey's contribution to the growth of the English Church, Ælfric seems to have been attracted primarily by the story of Fursey's numerous visions of the afterlife, a subject to which Bede gives only brief mention. It was evidently because of this interest in the visionary material of the story that Ælfric did not use Bede as his source, but turned instead to the fuller account from which Bede himself had drawn, the very popular Vita vel Visio Sancti Fursei.[38]

The Latin legend used by Ælfric, of which one copy is printed in the ASS, 16 Jan., II, 36-41, survives in two closely related manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 93r-97v; D, 59v-66v. Leaving aside instances of probable scribal error, of which there are a good many in both manuscripts, each of these copies corresponds closely to the particular text translated by Ælfric. One striking illustration of this close textual agreement--involving a correspondence both in the omission of an essential phrase and in the order of presentation--has already been cited in Chapter III.[39] The agreement is witnessed also by the following passages in which the Cotton-Corpus text provides the particular variants known to Ælfric:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
"Exierunt obuiam Christo." (334/17)	Exierunt obviam Christo. (A, 93v)	Exierunt *autem* obuiam Christo. (37)
		Qui omnes exierunt eis obuiam. (37*)

[38] Förster, Legenden, 39.

[39] See above, pp. 152-54.

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
. . . and se engel cwæð him to, Þas feower fyr ontendað ealne middaneard, and onælað þæra manna sawla þe heora fulluhtes andetnysse and behat ðurh forgægednysse awægdon. Þæt an fyr ontent þæra manna sawla ðe leasunge lufedon; þæt oðer ðara ðe gytsunge filigdon. (338/6-10)	Cui angelus sanctus dixit: Hi sunt quatuor ignes qui mundum succendunt postquam in baptismo omnia peccata dimissa sunt per confessionem et abrenuntiationem diabulo et operibus et pompis eius mentientes ea que promiserunt. Unus ignis accendit mendacium, alter vero ignis cupiditatis est . . . (A, 94v)	Cui sanctus Angelus dixit: Hi sunt quatuor ignes, qui mundum succendunt, postquam in baptismo omnia peccata dimissa sunt, post confessionem, et abrenuntiationem diabolo, et operibus eius, et pompis. Vnus enim est mendaci cum hoc, quod in baptismo abrenuntiare Satane et omnibus operibus eius promiserunt, minime implent. Alter cupiditatis . . . [40] (38)
. . . ælc synn ðe nære ofer eorðan gebet, sceolde beon on ðissere worulde gedemed. (338/34-5)	. . . omne delictum quod non purgatur super terram, in caelo esse vindicandum promisit. (A, 94v)	. . . omne delictum, quod non purgatur super terram, de caelo promisit esse vindicandum. (38)
Þa geseah he geopenian his lichaman under ðam breoste. (346/12-13)	Tunc vidit sub pectore illius corpus aperire. (A, 96v)	Tunc vidit a pectore illius corpus aperiri. (40)

10) Natale Sancti Iacobi Apostoli (CH, II, xxxi)

For the account of the last days and death of St. James the Great,[41] Förster shows that Ælfric drew on the Passio Iacobi Maioris (BHL 4057), a text commonly included in the pseudo-Abdias passional and printed by Mombritius II, 37-40.[42] The middle section of this legend contains a lengthy sermon by St. James which outlines, with a

[40]Here neither Latin text corresponds perfectly to the Old English, but the Cotton-Corpus version is certainly closer.

[41]CH, II, 412-24.

[42]Förster, Legenden, 23.

host of biblical testimonies, the messianic features of Christ's life and work. Förster notes that very little of this finds its way into the Old English account. It is clear, however, that Ælfric was not unimpressed with the sermon, for, as will be demonstrated later, he used it extensively as a source in one of his homilies.[43]

Two copies of the Latin legend survive in the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: B, 52r-53r and E, 33r-35v. Comparison of these copies with each other shows that they exhibit a much wider degree of textual variation than most of the other sources common to both witnesses. In particular, the legend in E contains several passages which are lacking in B, a fact which suggests either independent scribal tampering or the influence of some external exemplar. In terms of their relationship to Ælfric, however, this is an unimportant issue, for the Passio S. Iacobi is one of the instances of somewhat remote textual correspondence mentioned in Chapter III. For this life, then, neither Cotton-Corpus text offers any variant readings which are significantly closer to Ælfric than those found in the printed edition.

11) Sanctorum Septem Dormientium (CH, II, xxxii)

The short sermon on the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus which Ælfric appends to his life of St. James[44] was one of the pieces in the Catholic Homilies for which Förster was unable to locate a satisfactory source among any of the printed materials available to him. Basing himself on Koch's pioneering study of the

[43]See below, pp. 275-84.

[44]CH, II, 424-27.

transmission of the Seven Sleepers story,[45] however, he was able to suggest that Ælfric must have used a Latin model which agreed at some points with the Passio Septem Dormientium apud Ephesum [46] by Gregory of Tours, at others with the Greek version of Simeon Metaphrastes.[47] That such a version did in fact exist was later conclusively demonstrated by M. Huber, who, in a comprehensive study of the Greek, Latin and vernacular forms of the legend, showed that Ælfric's Old English account derived from a Latin text which he classed as L^i (BHL 2316).[48] It is this text which is provided by the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: B, 53r-56v; E, 35v-41v.

In his remarks on the Old English translation, Huber notes that Ælfric disagrees with the L^i text of the Latin legend in one brief passage. This is found at the end of the legend in the description of the commemorative shrine built in honour of the Seven Sleepers:

Ælfric	L^i
Se casere ða and his biscopas arærdon mære cyrcan ofer heora lichaman, to lofe ðam Ælmihtigan Gode . . . (426/24-26)	Et facta est congregatio multa episcoporum et fecerunt ibi memoriam Maximiani et festivitatem sanctis martyribus . . . (78)

There are two minor difficulties with this passage: firstly, the Latin Maximiani which, in contrast to the Old English, suggests that

[45] J. Koch, Die Siebenschläferlegende, ihr Ursprung und ihre Verbreitung (Leipzig, 1883), 154.

[46] Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Script. Rer. Merov., I, i (Hanover, 1884), 847-53.

[47] PG, CXV, cols. 427-48. See Förster, Legenden, 40-41.

[48] See M. Huber, Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern, 157. A text of the L^i version is printed by Huber in Beitrag zur Visionsliteratur und Siebenschläferlegende des Mittelalters, 1 Teil: Texte (Leipzig, 1902-03), 39-78.

the shrine was built only to the leader of the seven martyrs; and secondly, the Old English mære which has no exact equivalent in the Latin. Both difficulties are reduced, however, by the Cotton-Corpus text which replaces Huber's Maximiani with maximam, a superlative form which does not make good sense in the context and which Ælfric may therefore have silently emended to magnam when translating:

> Et facta est congregatio multa episcoporum, et fecerunt ibi memoriam[49] maximam et festivitatem sanctis martiribus.
>
> (B, 56v)

Of the other variant readings found in the Cotton-Corpus text, none is substantially closer to the Old English than the readings of the printed text. Ælfric's treatment of this legend is, however, so abbreviated that, even if substantial variation in source readings were to occur, it would probably be difficult to make a clear choice.[50]

[49] Memoria was often used in ecclesiastical Latin to denote a church built in memory of a saint. See the appropriate entries in C. T. Lewis and C. Short, A Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1879); A. Souter, A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D. (Oxford, 1949); and J. F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (Leiden, 1976).

[50] As M. McC. Gatch in Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan (Toronto, 1977), 86-87 points out, another reference to the Seven Sleepers legend in Ælfric's works is found in a brief passage which Ælfric probably composed as an addition to his first series homily for the First Sunday after Easter. This passage, which appears in six of the eleven surviving MSS of the homily, and which will be published in Professor Clemoes' forthcoming edition of CH, uses the story of the Sleepers as one of a number of exempla of the resurrection of the body. It is interesting to note that in this passage, as in the homily discussed above, Ælfric says that the saints' sleep lasted 372 years. (See Gatch, 230, n. 13.) This figure disagrees with the length of time found in many of the Latin versions of the legend. The Cotton-Corpus text provides the close though not exact correspondence of 370 years.

12) Passio Sancti Mathaei Apostoli (CH, II, xxxviib)

Ælfric's life of St. Matthew[51] is an abbreviated treatment of the pseudo-Abdias Passio Sancti Matthaei (BHL 5690-5691), copies of which are printed in Mombritius, II, 257-63 and in the ASS, 21 Sept., VI, 220-25.[52] This account survives in two closely related manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: B, 133v-137v; E, 156v-162v. As mentioned in Chapter III, each of these copies preserves a number of readings which correspond less closely to the Old English translation than do the readings of the printed texts, particularly the ASS. Most of these inferior readings cannot reasonably be attributed to immediate scribal error, for almost all of them are also recorded in one or other of the printed texts. In view of this, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Cotton-Corpus text of this legend derives from a textual tradition differing somewhat from that of the text included in Ælfric's conjectural exemplar.[53]

13) Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Simonis et Iude (CH, II, xxxviii)

Max Förster names the pseudo-Abdias version of the Passio SS. Simonis et Iudae (printed by Mombritius, II, 534-39, L. de la Barre, 32r-35r,[54] and F. Nausea, 66v-73r)[55] as

[51] CH, II, 472-81.

[52] Förster, Legenden, 24.

[53] At the end of his remarks on the life, Förster speculates that the moralizing note at 480/8-9, Him wære swa-ðeah betere þæt he forburne þonne he ætburste, probably originated with Ælfric himself. However, the Cotton-Corpus text of the legend, in common with some of the printed editions, provides the correspondences sed melius illi fuerat in incendio interire. (B, 137v; cf. ASS, 224; Mombritius, 263).

[54] Historia Christiana Veterum Patrum, (Paris, 1583).

[55] Anonymi Philalethi Eusebiani in Vitas, Miracula Passionesque Apostolorum Rhapsodiae (Cologne, 1531).

the source for Ælfric's life of the two apostles of Persia.[56] Of the numerous recensions of this legend represented in the printed texts, moreover, Förster shows that Ælfric must have used an exemplar which, like the text given by Mombritius (BHL 7750-7751), included (i) a brief epilogue on the authorship of the legend and its translation into Greek and Latin, (ii) a description of the building of a church in memory of the saints, and (iii) a brief account of the healing of the king's cousin, Nicanor. Significantly, the Cotton-Corpus collection provides a copy of the pseudo-Abdias legend which meets all of these requirements.

The pseudo-Abdias Passio Sanctorum Simonis et Iudae survives only in one comparatively late Cotton-Corpus exemplar; F, 11r-16v.[57] For the most part this copy of the legend agrees closely with Ælfric's conjectural exemplar, though, as might be expected for this comparatively late manuscript, not perfectly. Two illustrations of this close textual correspondence have already been cited in Chapter III, where it was shown that the Cotton-Corpus text independently provides source readings which one would otherwise need to reconstruct artificially by excerpting and conflating readings from two different printed texts.[58] Similarly, in the following passages in which the printed texts provide a range of variant readings, the Cotton-Corpus exemplar preserves the particular variants known to Ælfric:

[56] Förster, Legenden, 24-25. The Old English translation is found in CH, II, 480-499.

[57] On its absence from the other manuscripts, see above, pp. 14, 28, n. 88.

[58] See above, pp. 154-55.

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
Ða bead se ealdorman ða æhta þam apostolum, ac hi wiþ-socon, ðus cweðende . . . (484/25-26)	Post haec facultates eorum ipsis iussi conferri, isti autem nichilominus contempnunt dicentes . . . (F, 12v)	Et quae eis offerebantur contempserunt dicentes . . . (535)
"Underfoð sum ðing, forðan ðe ge sind ælðeodige and ðearfan." (484/28-29)	Quibus cum dicerent vel aliquantum accipite; quia pauperes et peregrini estis. (F, 12v; cf. Mombritius, 738*)	Quibus cum dicerem aliquantulum accipite: quia peregrini estis. (535)
Se ealdorman ða þa apostolas mid him to ðam cyninge Xerxes gelædde . . . (486/2-3)	Dux autem applicuit apostolos ad regem dicens . . . (F, 12v)	Dixit autem dux ad regem . . . (535)
Ða astrehton hi ealle hi æt þæra apostola fotum, þus cweðende . . . (488/4-5)	Tunc universi . . . prostraverunt se ad pedes apostolorum dicentes . . . (F, 13v)	Tunc uniuersi . . . prostrauerunt se apostolis dicentes . . . (537)
Þa fleah þæt folc eal to ðam apostolum . . . (492/11-12)	Tunc omnis populus confugit ad apostolos dei . . . (F, 15r; cf. de la Barre, 33v)	nothing

In three other passages, the Cotton-Corpus text provides the particular forms of pronouns and verbs which were translated by Ælfric:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
"Þas . . . sind eow to gewitnysse þæt he is Ælmihtig God, seðe eow gesceop, and sylð eow renas of heofenum . . ." (492/15-17)	Deum autem qui vos creavit ignoratis, qui dat vobis pluviam de caelo . . . (F, 15r)	Deum autem qui nos creauit ignoratis: qui dat nobis pluuiam de caelo . . . (538)
. . . and tæcan hu ge magon þæra drymanna scincræft oferswiðan . . . (486/21-22)	. . . doceant qualiter non solum non vobis praevaleant . . . (F, 13r; cf. Mombritius, 738*)	. . . doceant: qualiter non solum nobis non praeualeant . . . (536)

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
"Þæt ðu wite þæt we sind of ðæra goda getele . . ." (486/12)	"Ut scias nos ex deorum numero esse . . ." (F, 13r; cf. Mombritius, 738*)	Ut sciant nos ex deorum numero esse . . . (536)

14) Depositio Sancti Basilíi Episcopi (LS, iii)

In his search for the source of Ælfric's account of the life of St. Basil,[59] J. H. Ott examined three different printed versions of the Latin legend.[60] The first of these, a text included in the pre-Rosweydian editions of the Vitae Patrum, was found to lack correspondences for the four huge incidents which Ælfric recounts in lines 169-357 of his account. The second, a ninth century work written by the subdeacon Pseudo-Amphilochius of Ursus and printed in PL (LXXIII, 293-312), did not provide parallels either for these same incidents or for the story of Joseph the Hebrew which Ælfric narrates in lines 566-632 of his account. Only the third (BHL 1023), an anonymous translation of an eighth century Greek work falsely attributed to St. Basil's contemporary, Amphilochius of Iconium, and printed in Surius (I, 4-19), furnished correspondences for all the very detailed material given in Ælfric's translation. Significantly, it is this more complete text which is found in the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 61v-70r and D, 9r-22r.

Comparison of the Cotton-Corpus copies of the Latin source with the printed text found in Surius brings to light numerous variant readings, of which the vast majority are stylistic in nature. It seems probable that almost all of these are the product of the

[59] LS, I, 50-90.

[60] Ott, 10-14.

editorial activity of Surius, who tells us that he has silently emended the original legend to rid it of stylistic barbarity.[61] In several instances, these emendations result in the loss of quite precise verbal equivalents for the Old English translations. The following are a few representative examples:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Surius
. . . ic ge-fremme ðinne lust. (380)	. . . ego statim desiderium tuum adimpleo. (A, 65v)	. . . ita confestim efficiam te rei optatae compotem. (12)
. . . Ða clypodon hi ealle . . . up ahafenum handum . wið heofonas weard . . . (450-51)	Et stante populo in horam multam extensas in caelum manus . . . (A, 66v)	Itaque sic permanente populo in horam multam sursum erectis manibus . . . (13)
Eala þu effrem eall swylc is basilius swylce þes fyrena swer . þe þu ge-syhst her standan. (502-03)	Effrem, Effrem, quem ad modum vidisti columnam ignis, talis est magnus Basilius. (A, 67v)	Ephraem, Ephraem, columna ignis, quam vidisti, Magnus Basilius est. (15)
Ðin agen dæd is drihten . þæt þu adylegie synna. þu þe middan-eardes synna myld-heortlice æt-brytst. eaðelice þu miht þyssere anre sawle synna . adylegian . þu soðfæsta drihten. Ealle ure synna synd mid þe awrytene. ac þin myld-heortnys is swiðe mycel . and unasmægendlic. (543-48)	Domine tibi soli est opus istud, qui enim mundi peccatum tollis et unius anime istius facilius delere potes peccatum. Omnia enim nostra delicta numerata sunt apud te; misericordia autem tua innumerabilis et investigabilis est. (A, 69r)	Domine, tu solus hoc praestare potes. Qui enim totius mundi aufers peccata, etiam huius vnius animę haud difficulter potes abolere peccata. Omnes enim iniquitates nostrae apud te numeratae sunt: misericordia autem tua neque dinumerari, neque peruestigari potest. (17)

[61] De Basilio Magno, authore Amphilochio Iconii Episcopo, sed ob styli tum barbariem, tum obscuritatem, quo interpres incertus usus est, hic paulo Latinius pleraque omnia reddidimus, nihil de industria mutata sententia, sed additis non paucis ex vetustis manuscriptis libris, quae in excusis desiderantur. (Surius, I, 4) This is the only complete printed text of the source which I was able to find. Some of the pre-Rosweydian editions of the Vitae Patrum may have been based in part on MSS containing a complete text similar to that of Surius, though none of these prints the complete Vita. See BHL, 1023.

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Surius
Þa com mycel meniu on mergen to ðam lice . . . and gebrohten þæt lic. mid gastlicum sangum. Into godes cyrcean. (629-32)	Crastino autem congregata est multitudo et duxit honorificum corpus eius . . . in sanctam aecclesiam, cum omni oblatione aromatum et timiatum sepelientium. (A, 70r)	Postero die congregata est multitudo, duxeruntque venerabile corpus eius cum aromatibus et thymiamate sepulturae mandandum. (19)
Se ærce-biscop me sende soðlice to ðe. þæt þu ðas ane synne. þe on þyssere ymlan stent. þurh þine gebedu adilige. (641-43)	Archiepiscopus Basilius misit me ad te ut orans ad deum deleas meam iniquitatem, quae in ista carta conscripta iacet. (A, 69r)	Archiepiscopus Basilius misit me ad te, vt deprecans Dominum, deleas quae in hac charta scripta sunt. (18)

In addition to these, there are two instances in which the Cotton-Corpus text departs in a more substantial way from the legend found in Surius to provide more precise parallels for the Old English translation. The first of these corresponds to line 270 of Ælfric's account:

> Iulianus wycode wið þa ea eufraten.
> and him ofer-wacedon syfan-fealde weardes.
> (270-71)

Here the text printed by Surius gives the following reading:

> Cum esset, inquit, ad Euphratem fluuium, et transacta nocte septima militum excubiae eum custodirent.
> (10)

As Ott points out, the adjective septima in this passage modifies nocte rather than excubiae, thereby failing to provide a correspondence for Ælfric's syfan-fealde weardes:

> Sollte das septima zu septem geworden sein und dann auf excubiae bezogen worden? So wenigstens verstand es Ælfric.[62]

However, the problem is at least partially resolved--though perhaps, from a stylistic viewpoint, clumsily--by the reading in the legendary,

[62] Ott, 12.

where septima becomes septimae:

> Quia cum secus Eufraten fluvium esset, et relicta nocte septimae excubiae militum custodirent eum.[63]
> (A, 64v)

The second place in which the Cotton-Corpus text is clearly closer to Ælfric is in its spelling for the name of the Bishop of Jerusalem. Here, as in the Old English translation, we find the form Maximinus (A,63r), rather than the more remote variant Maximus found in the printed text.[64]

15) Passio Sancti Iuliani et Sponse eius Basilisse (LS, iv)

Of the two early Latin versions of the Passio SS. Juliani et Basilissae now extant--the lengthy account printed by the Bollandists (ASS, 9 Jan., I, 575-87) and the shorter version given by Mombritius (I, 384-88, II, 86-87)--Ott shows that the former (BHL 4532) served as the source for Ælfric's Old English translation.[65] This text, as Ælfric himself repeatedly mentions, is swiðe lang-sum, containing many

[63]This Cotton-Corpus reading would also help to explain Ælfric's reference to the seofon weard-setl in his Assumption homily of the first series (CH, I, 452/13), where he also relies in part on the Vita S. Basilii.

[64]In his study of the printed edition of the Latin legend, Ott was unable to find a correspondence for lines 130-31 of the Old English translation: "Die Tatsachen stimmen ebenfalls mit Ausnahme von V. 130-131:

> and seo culfra siþþan . simle hi astyrede.
> æt basilies messan þriwa mid þam husle.

Es ist nicht anzunehmen, dass Ælfric diesen Zug hinzugefügt hätte." (13) However, a source for this passage is found both in Surius and in the legendary. Ælfric has merely altered the position of the incident:

> Id vero cum fieret, et Basilius sancta eleuaret, non extitit eiusmodi signum, quale fieri consueuerat, puta ut columba moueretur, quae cum sacramento Dominico pendebat supra altare, et cum sanctum sacrificium eleuaretur, semper ter moueri solebat.
> (Surius, 10; cf. A, 64v)

[65]Ott, 14-17. The Old English account is found in LS, I, 90-115.

speeches, prayers, and passages of description which add little to, and often confuse the narrative. Ælfric characteristically omits or greatly condenses much of this extraneous detail, and tells the story on þa scortostan wisan (lines 139-40). As a result, the Old English translation is only about one-half the length of its Latin counterpart.

The Latin source survives in two closely related copies of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 77v-85v; D, 34r-47v. These copies belong to a textual tradition which differs markedly from that of the text printed by the Bollandists. In a few passages in which such variation occurs, the Old English translation is so free and abbreviated that it is impossible to choose between divergent Latin readings. There are, nevertheless, a sufficiently large number of passages of faithful translation to permit at least a general evaluation of the extent to which the Old English translation corresponds with the Cotton-Corpus text. Such an evaluation shows that although the Cotton-Corpus text does not correspond perfectly to the Ælfrician exemplar, it is nevertheless much more closely related than the Bollandists' text cited by Ott.

In his remarks on Ælfric's source, Ott draws attention to two passages in which the text established by the Bollandists incorporates readings differing from those translated by Ælfric. In the first instance, he was able to find the correct reading in the apparatus of the ASS, while for the second passage he turned to the Metaphrastian legend printed by Surius (I, 204-16).[66] In both cases, the Cotton-Corpus text also provides the correct Ælfrician variants.

[66]Ott, 17.

One of these has already been cited in the general discussion of Chapter III. The other is provided below:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Ða æt-eowde se hælend hine sylfne on swefne þam æþelan cnihte on ðære eahteoðan nihte. (11-12)	Octava enim die noctu . . . apparuit illi dominus, consolatur fidelem servum. (A, 77_v; cf. ASS, 576*)	Septimo autem die, adueniente nocte . . . adest Dominus et consolatur fidelem seruum. (576)

A third passage which Ott highlights in his discussion of the Old English translation is the following:

Ælfric	ASS
Ða rædde iulianus þas word on þære bec . Se þe for minre lufe middan-eard forsihð . he bið soðlice geteald to þam unbesmitenum halgum . þe næran on heora life besmitene mid wifum. (67-70)	Et accedens sic coepit legere: Iulianus, qui pro amore meo mundum contempsit, deputetur in eorum numero, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati. (577)

Here Ælfric differs from the ASS in his use of the general subject se þe where the Latin has the more specific Iulianus. The Old English version, moreover, is almost certainly erroneous, for the second parallel part of the passage, both in Ælfric's translation and in the Latin, also includes a specific subject, Basilissa:

Ælfric	ASS
Basilissa bið geteald to þæra mædena getæle þe marian folgiað þæs hælendes meder . (71-72)	Basilissa vero, quae ei integro corde sociata dignoscitur, deputetur in numero virginum, in quibus vera virgo mater Domini Maria principatum tenet. (577)

Ott therefore concludes that Ælfric has mistranslated the subject of the first part of the passage:

> Ælfric hat hier falsch interpungiert. Er bezog Julianus als Subjekt auf coepit. So ist der Gegensatz zu Vers 71 zerstört worden.[67]

[67] Ott, 16.

The Cotton-Corpus text, however, shows that he was translating very faithfully indeed, for here we find the same apparently erroneous reading:

> . . . et cepit legere: Qui pro amore mundum contempsit, deputetur in eorum numerum qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati. Basilissa vero deputatur in numerum virginum, quibus virgo mater domini principatum tenet. (A, 78v)

Likewise, in the following brief excerpts, the Cotton-Corpus text introduces other variant readings which must also have been present in Ælfric's exemplar:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
. . . and hi wæron geðeodde mid soðre clænnysse gastlice þeonde on godes gewyrhtnysse. (76-77)	Ceperunt spiritu esse coniuncti, non carne fructificantes . . . (A, 78v)	. . . coeperunt esse spiritu, non carne, fructificantes . . . (577)
Se god is to gelyfanne . þe ða cristenan ongelyfað. (176)	Vere deus est Christianorum, ipse solus adorandus. (A, 81r)	Vere Deus est Christus, ipse solus colendus est, solus adorandus. (581)
Ne þurfe ge us bemænan . ne urne siþ bewepan . bewepaþ eow sylfe . we siðiaþ to heofonum. (318-19)	Lugeant te et se; nos autem quos conspicitis ad regna celorum pergere, lugere non debetis. (A, 83r)	Lugeant se et te: nos autem, quos conspiciunt ad regna caelorum tendere, lugere non debent. (583)

In addition to the correspondences cited above, the Old English translation and the Cotton-Corpus exemplar frequently agree with each other in their mutual omission of material given in the printed legend. Both, for example, omit the lengthy preface presented in the ASS and the equally lengthy concluding chapter (587, cap. XIII, 64). Of these, the second example is particularly noteworthy, for the chapter in question includes a discussion of the miracles which occurred at the place of the martyrs' burial, a subject which Ælfric often uses to conclude his narratives. The following examples of common omissions (here italicized) likewise seem

important, for they all occur in passages which are otherwise quite faithfully translated:

(i)

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus
Se hælend him cwæð to . Ic beo sylf mid þe . and on þe adwesce ealle ontendnysse . and þæt mæden ic ge-bige . eac to minre lufe . and on eowrum bryd-bedde . ic beo eow æt-eowed . and þurh eow me bið ge-halgod manegra oðre clennysse and ic þe under-fo mid ðinum mædene to heofonum. Ða awoc Iulianus gewyssod þurh his drihten. (16-22)	. . . sed per te virgo perseveret, et te et ipsam in caelis virgines recipiam. Multorum enim mihi per vos castitas dedicabitur; adero tibi ut omnes voluptates carnis et hostis libidinis conterantur, et ipsam quae tibi fuerit iuncta convertam in meum amorem, tuamque sequi pedam faciam, ibique me in cubiculum preparatum videbitis. Et dominus tetigit eum et dixit: Viriliter age, et confortetur cor tuum. His virtutibus corroboratus Iulianus exsurgens gratias deo referebat, et completa oratione egreditur letus de cubiculo . . . (A, 77v-78r)

ASS

. . . . sed per te virgo perseuerans, et te et ipsam in coelis virgines recipiam. Multa enim mihi per vos castitas dedicabitur. *Multi iuuenes et virgines per vestram doctrinam in vitam coelestis exercitus probabuntur.* Adero tibi habitans in te, vt omnes in te carnis voluptates conteras; atque ipsam tibi coniunctam, conuertam in meum *desiderium et* amorem, tuamque pedissequam faciam. Ibique me in cubiculo vobis praeparato videbitis, *cum Angelicis choris et innumerabili multitudine Virginum vtriusque sexus, et quos natura faciebat dispares, vna fides in me fecit aequales, quorum tu imitator esse cognosceris.* Cum haec dixisset Dominus, tetigit eum dicens: Viriliter age, et confortetur cor tuum. His virtutibus corroboratus venerabilis puer, exurgens gratias referebat Domino *dicens: Gratias tibi ago, Domine, qui es scrutator cordis et renum; qui a me species et delectationes mundi longe fecisti; vt credulo corde, castitate adiuuante et in me regnante, ad id quod nec oculus vidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparasti diligentibus te, perueniam; qui me dignatus es esse viam et iter verum his qui castitatem diligunt, et integritatem mentis ac corporis amplectuntur. Tu nosti Domine, quia ex die qua in te renatus sum, vsque in horam qua me accersire dignatus es, nihil praeposui amori tuo. Hoc enim desidero, vt quod ex ore meo procedit, tu confirmes quia me tunc credo incipere quando finio.*

Et completa oratione egreditur de cubiculo . . .
(576)

(ii) Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Þa cwæð Iulianus . to þam cwellere þus. Hwær is nu seo fægernys . þines gefrætowodan temples . hwær synd þa anlicnyssa . þe þu onwuldrodest. Swa swa hi besuncon on ðone sweartan grund. swa sceole ge hæðene on helle grund besincan. (380-84)	Tunc beatus Iulianus dixit ad praesidem: Ubi sunt manufacte imagines demonum in quibus gloriabaris? Ubi templi pulchritudo? Invocato nomine christi, hec omnia in terra dimersa sunt. Sicut illa uterus terre recepit, ita et vos . . . (A, 85r)	Tunc B. Iulianus dicit Praesidi: Vbi sunt manufactae imagines daemonum, in quibus gloriabaris? *vbi electrum? vbi aurum? vbi est* templi pulchritudo? *vbi parietes et pauimentum argenteum? vbi metalla pretiosa?* Inuocato Christi nomine, haec omnia in terram euersa sunt, *vnde assumpta sunt, vnde et erant.* Sicut enim omnia illa vterus terrae suscepit, ita et vos . . . (586)
(iii)		
Þonne þu me eft gesihst gesundne of þam fyre . Geþafa þæt min modor me gespræcan . and sume þreo niht on minum ræde beon. ic wene þæt þu ne forleosa naðor ne hi ne me. (322-25)	Cum videris inlesum de igne exire, permitte ad me venire matrem meam, ut habeam cum ea consilium triduo dilatione concessa, et forsitan nec me nec illam amittis. (A, 83v)	Cum me videris illaesum post ignem, permitte ad me venire matrem meam, vt habeam consilium cum ea triduo, dilatione concessa. *Si mihi vnam rem quam voluero concesserit,* nec me, nec illam amittes. (583-84)
(iv)		
Þa het se cwellere hi to þam cwearterne gelædan . and sende his gewrit to þam wælhreowan casere. (249-50)	Et iussit eos praeses in custodiam recipi duci, et fecit suggestionem imperatoribus . . . (A, 82v)	Haec audiens Praeses iubet eos in custodia reduci, *in qua pro eis S. Iulianus et omnes Sancti Deum deprecabantur, ne serpentis falsa blandimenta innocua pectora declinarent ad verba maligna. Ita suscipiunt laetos, de quibus erant suspecti.* Tunc iniquus Marcianus suggestionem fecit Imperatoribus . . . (582)

There are, finally, two other passages in which the close textual correspondence between the Old English translation and the Cotton-Corpus exemplar can be observed. At line 35 of his account, first of all, Ælfric includes the following passage:

> Hit is winter-tid nu and ic wundrie þearle
> hwanon þes wyrt-bræð þus wynsumlice steme .
> and me nu ne lyst . nanes synscipes .
> ac þæs hælendes geþeodnysse mid ge-healdenre clennisse.
> (35-38)

Here the ASS fails to provide correspondences for the concluding portion of Basilissa's speech (ac þæs . . . clennisse); by contrast, the Cotton-Corpus text supplies a passage which, though partially corrupt, nevertheless agrees closely with the Old English:

ASS	Cotton-Corpus
Cum sit tempus hyemis, et omnium rosarum vel liliorum naturam nec-dum grauida terra constricta gelu parturiat, ita in hoc cubiculo mihi omnium odorum suauitas famulatur, vt his suauissimis odoribus satiata, horrescam seculum, nec penitus desiderem thori coniunctionem. (576)	Dum tempus sit hiemis et omnem rosarum et liliorum naturam terra non dum parturiat, ita in hoc cubiculo odor mihi omnium famulatur, ut his suavissimis odoribus satiata horream,[68] et nunc penitus desiderem redemptoris coniunctionem. (A, 78r)

From an aesthetic viewpoint, moreover, this correspondence is almost certainly an agreement in error, for the pagan Basilissa has not yet been told of se hælend, as is evident from the explanatory words of Iulianus which immediately follow:

> þes wynsuman bræð þe ðu wundrast þearle .
> næfð nan angin . ne eac nænne ænde .
> Þes bræð is of criste seðe is clænnysse lufigend.
> (40-42)

As a final point of agreement, it is interesting to note that the Cotton-Corpus text also helps to explain Ælfric's dating of the legend. As Skeat points out, the day which Ælfric gives for the

[68]The scribe here seems to have inadvertently omitted the object of horream.

feast--Idus Ianuarii--does not conform to standard English practice: "The Ides of January correspond to Jan. 13. The right day is Jan. 9."[69] The Cotton-Corpus text, however, gives the same apparently uncommon[70] Ælfrician day in its concluding sentence:

> Passi sunt autem idus Ianuarias, regnante domino Jesu Christo, qui est gloriosus in secula seculorum. (A, 85v)

16) Passio Sancti Sebastiani Martyris (LS, v)

Ott names the Passio S. Sebastiani (BHL 7543), a text printed "ex pluribus veteribus MSS" in the ASS, 20 Jan., II, 265-78, as the source for Ælfric's account of the life of St. Sebastian.[71] This same text, which has been incorrectly attributed to St. Ambrose, is preserved in two copies of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 102r-114r; D, 74r-93r. The Latin text is extremely long, incorporating detailed material both on St. Sebastian and on the long list of pagans whom he converts: Tranquillinus, Martia, Nicostratus, Zoe, Chromatius, Tiburtius, and others. Ælfric's account is predictably much shorter, omitting in particular several of the longer, rhetorical speeches of the Latin source, and condensing much of the narrative detail.

Because of the abbreviated character of the Old English translation, it is often impossible to identify with certainty the particular Latin readings which Ælfric had in front of him. Nevertheless, three readings present in the manuscripts of the

[69] LS, I, 91, n. 1.

[70] Of the three kalendars printed in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100 which represent the feast of Julian and Basilissa, one (no. 5) provides the day VI Id. Ian. and two (no. 20 and no. 8) give V Id. Ian. The entry in no. 8 is a later addition.

[71] Ott, 17-20. The Old English account is found in LS, I, 116-47.

Cotton-Corpus collection deserve brief mention. The first of these is found in the passage corresponding to the following section of the Old English translation:

> Hwæt þa chromatius se mihtiga gerefa .
> þe romana byrig . under þam casere geweold .
> het tranquillinum . þæt he him to come . . .
> (152-54)

As Ott points out, the text printed in the ASS here corresponds more closely to the Old English than does another copy of the source given in Mombritius (II, 459-76).[72] Significantly, in this instance the Cotton-Corpus text agrees with the ASS and provides the particular source reading known to Ælfric:

Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
Chromatius urbis prefectus ad se Tranquillinum Marcelliani et Marci patri[73] venire iubet. (A, 107v-108r; cf. ASS, 271)	Chromatius urbis praefectus ad se Tranquillinum patrem Marcelliani et Marci et matrem uenire iubet. (467)

The second important reading is one in which the Cotton-Corpus text disagrees with the ASS, and concerns the name given to the father of Chromatius, one of the participants in the Passion. In the text printed in the ASS he is called Tarquinius. This reading appears to be common to all the Bollandists' manuscripts, as no variants are recorded in their apparatus. In Ælfric's account, however, the father is called Tranquillinus:

> On þam cræfte aspende tranquillinus min fæder . . .
> (263)

It is tempting to speculate that in this instance an error has been made either by Ælfric or by his scribes. There is already one Tranquillinus in the story, namely Tranquillinus the spouse of

[72] Ott, 18.

[73] Here D, 88v, has patrem.

Martia and father of Marcus and Marcellianus (lines 34-35). The application of the same name, therefore, to the father of Chromatius seems probably to be the result of confusion over the similar name Tarquinius. Reference to the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection, however, shows this speculation to be wrong, for here we find the same apparently erroneous reading:

> In cuius fabrica pater meus Tranquillinus plusquam ducenta pondo auri dinoscitur expendisse.
> (A, 110r; cf. Mombritius, 471)

If an error has been made,[74] therefore, it seems almost certainly to have originated not with Ælfric or with his Old English scribes, but with the Latin exemplar upon which the Anglo-Saxon was based.

Of the other variant readings present in the Cotton-Corpus text of the passio, only one further example need be added here. This, which is quite minor in nature, involves a difference in the person of a pronoun:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
. . . swa þæt ge hi næfre ne geseoð . buton on reðum witum. (73-74)	. . . ut numquam eos nisi in tormento perpetuo videretis. (A, 103v)	. . . vt numquam vos nisi inter tormenta perpetua videretis. (266)

17) Natale Sancti Mauri Abbatis (LS, vi)

For the life of St. Maur,[75] Ott shows that Ælfric used the lengthy Vita S. Mauri (BHL 5773), one copy of which is printed in the

[74] There appear to be no historical records which conclusively clarify the matter. The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, ed. A. H. M. Jones et al. (Cambridge, 1971) contains no entry for Tranquillinus, Tarquinius or Chromatius. For Fabianus, the prefect whom Ælfric (line 368) names as Chromatius' successor, there is an entry. This, however, is of little help, for our only records of Fabiani are the Acta Sebastiani itself and the companion piece, the Acta Tiburtii (ASS, 11 Aug., II, 623-24). See Prosopography, 322.

[75] LS, I, 148-69.

ASS, 15 Jan., I, 1038-1050.[76] This Latin text includes a preface written ostensibly by a monk named Faustus, who claims that he accompanied St. Maur on his mission to Gaul, and then, following the saint's death and his own return to the monastery at Cassino, wrote down what he had observed of the holy man's life and miracles. Faustus's authorship of the piece, however, has been widely disputed, and it is now believed that the Vita is the creation of Odo, Abbot of Glanfeuil in Anjou.[77]

The pseudo-Faustian life of Maur survives in only one copy of the Cotton-Corpus collection: F, 211v-231r.[78] Unlike some copies of the legend, including that printed by Surius (I,341-57), the Cotton-Corpus text includes some additional material drawn from chapters 4-7 of the second book of Gregory's Dialogues. Some of this material, namely the brief reference to Maur's miraculous rescue of the drowning boy, finds its way into the Old English translation:

> Hwilon ær we sædon on sumere oðre stowe
> hu se ylca maurus . þurh godes mihte eode
> uppon yrnendum wætere . on anum widgyllan pole .
> þa þa benedictus hine het gehelpan þæs cnapan .
> þe on þære stream be-feol . þa ða he wæter fette .
> (10-14)

In theory, it is of course possible that, in translating this passage, Ælfric may have depended directly on the Dialogues themselves--just as he had done some years earlier, when, as his words Hwilon ær we sædon suggest, he treated the same incident in his life of St.

[76] Ott, 21-24.

[77] On Odo's authorship, see above, p. 9, n. 19.

[78] On the absence of the text from the other witnesses, see above, p. 34 n. 113. It is interesting to note that in the most complete extant witness of the LS, B.L. MS Cotton Julius E vii, Ælfric's life of Maur is out of sequence in the order of the Church year. It is likewise out of sequence in the Cotton-Corpus collection.

Benedict (CH, II, xi). The fact, however, that the incident occupies precisely the same position in both the Old English and the Latin life of Maur (between the description of the saint's early life and the account of his healing of the crippled youth) argues against this possibility, and suggests instead that Ælfric's immediate source was a text of the Vita S. Mauri which, like that preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection, provided the Gregorian excerpt.[79]

Of the other areas of agreement between the Cotton-Corpus text and the Old English translation, only one has been found to be notable. This, a passage in which the Cotton-Corpus text provides a numerical variant not found in the printed texts, has already been presented as an illustration in Chapter III.[80]

[79]See also Ott, 21. Ælfric narrates only one of the three incidents included in the extra passage, but his words at lines 48-50 seem likely to refer to the other two incidents.

[80]See above, p. 144. In this life, it is often difficult to choose between variant source readings because the Old English translation is unusually free and abbreviated. Indeed, at some points the Latin is rendered so succinctly that it is tempting to speculate that Ælfric derived parts of his text from chapter headings such as those found in F. Compare, for example, the chapter heading given for the description of Maur's early life with Ælfric's treatment of the same:

Ælfric	Chapter Heading II
Maurus wæs gehaten sum swyþe halig abbod. se wæs to lare befæst sona fram iugoðe. þam halgan benedicte. þeah þe he æþel-boren wære. He þeah wel on lare, and wæs swiðe gehyrsum. þam halgan benedicte. on eallum his hæsum, and on eallum godnyssum gode ælmihtigon þeowde. and eac his gebroðrum gode bysne sealde. mid haligre drohtnunge. and he for-þy dyre wæs. his lareowe benedicte þe he geblissode mid weorcum. (1-9)	Quod Beatus Maurus, clarissimo senatorum genere exortus, duodennis sancto benedicto traditus est:a quo magis aliis dilectus imitatione magistri sui austere satis corpus proprium ieiuniis, vigiliis, abstinentiaque, omni tempore et precipue quadragesimae macerabat, et quod illum beatus magister suus aliis imitandum proponebat, et de humilitate eius et perfectione virtutum. (F, 213r)

This is the most striking example of Ælfric's possible dependence on the chapter headings, though there are a few other more or less isolated passages which may have been similarly inspired.

18) Natale Sancte Agnetis Uirginis (LS, viia)

Ott cites a Latin legend (BHL 156) attributed to St. Ambrose and printed in PL, XVII, cols. 735-42, as the source for Ælfric's life of St. Agnes.[81] This legend survives in two copies of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 114r-116v; D, 93r-97r. Comparison of these copies with the printed text of the legend shows that although variations in syntax and orthography are frequent, differences in meaning are generally very minor. In the following few passages, however, the readings of the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts are slightly closer to Ælfric than those of the text printed by Migne:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	PL
An god is on heofonum and eac on eorðan. (204)	Unus est deus in caelo et in terra. (A, 115v)	Unus est Deus in coelo et in terra *et in mari . . .* (col. 740)
. . . hwi synd þa oðre cuce . þe hider inn-eodon. (184-85)	Quare autem omnes qui ad me ingressi sunt, sani sunt? (A, 115v)	Quare autem omnes qui ad me ingressi sunt, sani *egressi* sunt? (col. 739)
. . . buton forðon þe hi arwurðodon þone ælmihtigan god . þe . . . asende me his encgel. (185-87)	. . . quia omnes dederunt honorem deo, qui mihi misit angelum suum. (A, 115v)	. . .quia omnes dederunt honorem Deo, qui misit angelum suum. (col. 739)

19) Alia Sententia Quam Scripsit Terrentianus (LS, viib)

For the short piece, Alia Sententia Quam Scripsit Terrentianus,[82] which follows the life of St. Agnes, Ott found that Ælfric used the Passio SS. Gallicani, Iohannis et Pauli, (BHL 3236, 3238) copies of

[81] Ott, 24-26. The Old English account is found in LS, I, 170-87.

[82] LS, I, 186-95.

which are printed in Mombritius, I, 569-72, and the ASS, 25 June, V, 37-39.[83] This text survives in two copies of the Cotton-Corpus collection as the reading for VI Kalendas Iulii: B, 30v-32v; E, 6v-9v. In each of these copies the text is called simply Passio Sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli. It is interesting to note that this same title precedes Ælfric's account in the copy of the Lives preserved in B.L. MS Cotton Otho B x.

Comparison of the two printed editions of the passio with the text preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection shows that the latter includes few substantive variants which are peculiar to it alone. Nevertheless, because of the particular combination of readings which it preserves, the Cotton-Corpus text more closely resembles Ælfric's presumed exemplar than either of the two printed editions. In a passage already cited in Chapter III, for example, the Cotton-Corpus text, in common with Mombritius, matches Old English lufe (line 323) with amoris (B, 31r), a reading replaced by timoris in the ASS (37). In a few other instances, on the other hand, the Cotton-Corpus text agrees with the ASS (against Mombritius) in its preservation of the particular readings known to Ælfric. The following are the most significant examples:[84]

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
Þa aleat gallicanus . . . and sæde . . . (343-44)	Quem Gallicanus adorans ait . . . (B, 31r; cf. ASS 38)	Tunc Gallicanus . . . (570)

[83] Ott, 26-29. Ælfric's statements that Julian the apostate wære to preoste bescoren (line 394-95) and then later slain þurh sancta marian hæse (line 420), derive not from the Passio SS. Iohannis et Pauli but from the Vita S. Basilii, a source which he also used in CH, I, xxx, and LS, iii. See above, pp. 180-81, 198-201.

[84] In one other passage the Cotton-Corpus text supplies a reading which is marginally closer to Ælfric than either of the printed texts. See above, p. 147.

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
Ealle ða heafod-menn þe to me gebugan. mid heora cempum. ic gebigde to criste. (367-68)	Tribuni omnes qui ad me cum suis militibus reverti voluerunt, nisi fierent Christiani, a me recipi minime potuerunt . . . (B,31v; cf. ASS, 38)	Tribuni omnes. qui ad me cum suis reuerti uoluerunt: nisi fierent christiani a me recipe minime potuerunt . . . (570)

20) Natale Sancte Agathe Uirginis (LS, viii)

J. H. Ott cites the Acta S. Agathae (BHL 134), printed in ASS (5 Feb. I, 615-18) "ex Bonino Mombritio et XVI Latinis MSS." as the source for Ælfric's Natale Sancte Agathe.[85] This same text survives in two copies of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 148r-149v; D, 142v-145v.[86]

In his study of the printed text of the Latin source, Ott shows that, of the various manuscripts represented in the Bollandists' apparatus, an exemplar designated simply as MS Ulimerii most closely represents the text which Ælfric had in front of him. This conclusion is based on that manuscript's provision of three readings which are closer to Ælfric's translation than those of the other Bollandist manuscripts:

(i) At lines 231-32 Ælfric's account states that the eruption of Mount Etna lasted for six dagas and æt-stod on þam dæge þe seo eadige Agathes to ðam ece life gewat. The fire must therefore have begun pridie Kal. Feb., that is, six days before Agatha's feast on the nones.

[85]Ott, 29-31. The Old English translation is found in LS, I, 194-209.

[86]In the rubrics of the Cotton-Corpus passio, III Non. Feb. is given as the date of the feast, but in the concluding sentences of the text itself, and in the table of contents of A (55r), we find the Ælfrician date Non. Feb.

MS Ulimerii gives this date for the beginning of the eruption while the other manuscripts have Kal. Feb. (618).

(ii) At line 15, Ælfric's translation states that Aphrodosia had nine daughters. This number is also found in MS Ulimerii, whereas several of the other manuscripts have septem filias.

(iii) At line 208, Ælfric records that Quintianus crossed the river Semithetus. MS Ulimerii gives a similar reading, Psemithus, while the other manuscripts have more remote variants.

In turning now to the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection, we find that the first two of the correct source readings mentioned above are also preserved there. In the third case, the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts provide a reading which is even closer than that of MS Ulimerii:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	MS Ulimerii
Semithetum (208)	Semithetum (A, 149v)	Psemithum (ASS, 618, n.u)

Similarly, in the following passage taken from the conclusion of the legend, the correspondences provided by the Cotton-Corpus text are closer than those of any of the Bollandists' manuscripts:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Six dagas hit barn. and æt-stod on þam dæge. þe seo eadige Agathes. to ðam ece life gewat. þæt swa wurde geswutelod þæt seo ceaster wearð ahred fram þæs fyres frecednysse. þurh agathen foreþingunge (231-34)	Coepit igitur ignis pridie Kalendarum Februarium et cessavit die nonarum earundem qui est dies sepulturae eius: ac sic fuit ignis per dies sex, ut conprobaret Dominus noster Jesus Christus quod civitatem a periculo mortis et incendii meritis Sanctae Agathae martyris ⟨sue⟩ liberasset. (A, 149v)	Coepit autem ignis die Kalendarum Februariarum, et cessauit die Nonarum earumdem, qui est dies sepulturae eius: vt comprobaret Dominus noster Iesus Christus, quod a periculo mortis et incendij eos S. Agathae meritis et orationibus liberasset. (618)

Two other passages in which the Cotton-Corpus text furnishes closer verbal parallels have already been cited in the general discussion of Chapter III. To these three more minor examples can be added here:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
. . . and gebide þe to þinum scyppende þe soðlice aleofað. (110)	Deum vivum adora . . . (A, 148v)	Deum verum adora . . . (616)
. . . þe læs ðe þu ðin lif forlæte on iugoðe. (107)	. . . ne vitam tuam et iuventutem acerba morte consumas. (A, 148v)	. . . et consule tuae iuuentuti, ne acerba morte consumaris. (616)
and arn seo burhwaru. (177)	Denique omnes cives cucurrerunt . . . (A, 149v)	Denique omnes cucurrerunt . . . (617)

21) Cathedra Sancti Petri (LS, x)

In his composition for the feast of the Chair of St. Peter,[87] Ælfric draws on three different sources: a standard ecclesiastical reference work such as the Liber Pontificalis or a Martyrology (for lines 1-15), the biblical Acts of the Apostles (for lines 19-194), and two parts (BHL 6061, 6062) of the letter of Marcellus to Nereus and Achilles (for the account of Petronilla, Felicula and Nicodemis in lines 195-293).[88] As Ott points out, the first two of these would have been readily available to Ælfric in any monastic library. The third is found in the Cotton-Corpus collection: B, 4r-4v; D, 245v-246v. The Cotton-Corpus

[87] LS, I, 218-39.

[88] Ott, 34-36. Förster (Legenden, 20, n. 2) notes that the lines for which Ott cites the Liber Pontificalis (or a martyrology) as Ælfric's source, may have been derived from Jerome's De Viris Illustribus. This latter text probably provided the basis for a similar discussion of Peter's pontificate in CH, I, xxvi.

text of this final source corresponds closely to that of the ASS (12 May, III, 10-11) and supplies no variant readings of significance for the Old English translation.

22) Natale Sanctorum Quadraginta Militum (LS, xi)

For the story of the Forty Soldiers of Sebaste,[89] Ott found that Ælfric drew on an anonymous Latin passio printed by the Bollandists in the ASS, 10 Mar., II, 19-21.[90] Ælfric treats this source with considerable freedom: several of the longer speeches are paraphrased and abbreviated, and one incident which is only tangentially related to the main story is completely omitted. Towards the end of the narrative, moreover, Ælfric adds a fairly lengthy non-hagiographic discussion (lines 278-364) which is designed to illuminate some of the theological issues raised by the story of the martyrdom: notably, baptism by blood, and God's ability to transform even an apparently evil act into something good. Since nothing similar to this is found in any of the extant Latin Acta, Ott concludes that it is Ælfric's own composition drawn freely from his reading in the writings of the Church Fathers.

The life of the Forty Soldiers preserved in the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection (A, 165r-166v; D, 170r-173r) derives from a textual tradition which is, on the whole, less closely related to that of Ælfric's presumed exemplar than that of the ASS. Despite this, however, there are a few passages in which the Cotton-Corpus text provides closer verbal parallels. The following are the most striking instances:

[89] LS, I, 238-61.

[90] Ott, 36-39.

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Hwæt þa on middere nihte com se ælmihtiga drihten . . . and þysum wordum gespræc . . . (120-22)	Et post orationem circa horam noctis sextam, vox facta est ad eos, apparente eis salvatore et dicente. (A, 166r)	Et vox facta est ad eos, et manifestauit se eis Christus Saluator, et dixit. (20)
Þær wæs eac geset swiþe gehende þam mere . wearm wæter on cyfe. gif þæra cyþera hwylc wolde forlætan his geleafan. and his lic baðian . . . (149-51)	Proximum autem stagno erat balneum quod c[a]lefecerunt diligenter, ut si quis vellet transgredere fidem suam refugeret ad balneum . . . (A, 166r)	Erat autem et lauacrum de quo calefierent: vt si quis eorum voluisset praeuaricari, refugeret ad lauacrum caloris . . . (20)
Þa scinon ða ban swa beorhte swa steorran on þam wætere. and hi ðæs wundrodun. Ealle hi becoman to anre dypan. and næs forloren naht on þam flode. and þæt leoht geswutelode swa hwær swa hi lagon. (269-73)	Et ecce fulgebant sanctorum martyrum reliquiae in aquae profundo sicut luminaria. Ipsa quoque aqua decurrebat super eus sicut sub sinum filii habens eas. Et si alicui reliquiarum fuerat aliquid derelictum, a splendore demonstrabatur. (A, 166v)	Et ecce lucebant Reliquiae in aqua fluminis, sicut luminaria in caelo. Et vbicumque relictum aliquid Reliquiarum fuisset, splendoris magnitudine manifestabantur. (21)

In a few other passages, moreover, the Latin psalms quoted by Ælfric correspond more closely to the Cotton-Corpus text than to the text cited by Ott. In the first two of the following excerpts, for example, there is a perfect agreement in the length of the psalms quoted, while in the final passage the correspondence is one of vocabulary. This final example may not be significant, for, as Ott points out, Ælfric may have independently altered the form of the psalm in his source to make it agree with the Vulgate text:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Deus In nomine tuo saluum me fac et in virtute tua libera me. Et cetera. (86)	Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac, et in virtute tua libera me. Et sequentia. (A, 165v)	Deus in nomine tuo saluum me fac, et in virtute tua libera me. Deus exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe verba oris mei? (20)

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Ad te leuaui oculos meos qui habitas in celis. et cetera. (117)	Ad te levavi oculos meos qui habitas in caelo. et sequentia . . . (a, 165v)	Ad te leuaui oculos meos, qui habitas in caelis. Ecce sicut oculi seruorum in manibus Dominorum suorum, et sicut oculi ancillae in manibus Dominae suae. (20)
Qui tribulant me inimici mei ipsi infirmati sunt et ceciderunt. (107)	Qui tribulant nos inimici nostri, ipsi infirmati sunt et ceciderunt. (A, 165v)	Domine, qui expugnant nos inimici nostri, ipsi infirmati sunt et ceciderunt. (20)

For the second part of the Old English account (lines 278-364), as I have mentioned earlier, Ott was unable to find any specific source. As has recently been demonstrated by J. T. Alego,[91] however, some parts of this discussion find parallels in a Greek sermon for the same feast by Basil the Great, a sermon entitled Oratio de Quadraginta Martyribus Sebastenis in the Latin translation of the ASS (10 Mar., II, 28). Like the final portion of Ælfric's account, this sermon uses the story of the Forty Soldiers as a point of departure for a discussion of baptism by blood. In addition, like the Ælfrician account, it draws a distinctive parallel between one of the characters in the narrative and St. Matthias:

Ælfric	Basil
Gif hwylc ungesælig mann his scyppende bið ungehyrsum . and nele þurh-wunian on wel-dædum oð ende . ac forlæt his gelæfan and þone leofan drihten . þonne bið oðer gecoren to þam kyne-helme þe se oðer nolde geearnian þurh geswinc . swa swa ge gehyrdon on þissere rædinge. þæt an þæra weard-manna wearð	Aspexit [the converted heathen soldier] caelestia miracula, agnouit veritatem, confugit ad Dominum, inter martyras adnumeratus est. Et illud discipulorum exemplum renouauit; Abijt Iudas, et pro eo introductus est Mathias. Imitator factus est et Pauli, qui heri persecutor, hodie factus est euangelizator. Superne et ipse

[91] "Ælfric's 'The Forty Soldiers': An Edition", ed. J. T. Alego, Ph.D. Diss. (University of Florida, 1960).

Ælfric	Basil
þam halgum geðeod. and gelæhte þone kyne-helm þe se oðer forleas. Iudas eac se arleasa þe belæwde þone hælend. aheng hine sylfne sona on grine. and mathias se eadmoda wæs gemærsod siþþan. and to apostole gecoren æfter cristes æriste. and hæfð þone wurðmynt þe se wælhreowa forleas. þurh his agenne swicdom þaða he sealde his scyppend. Nyte we hweþer se weardmann wære æfre gefullod. ac we witon swa þeah hwæt wise lareowas sædan. þæt ælc ðæra þe bið acweald for cristes geleafan bið soðlice gefullod þonne he swylt for gode. and on his blode aðwogen fram synna horwum and [leofað] mid þam drihtne þe he his lif fore sealde. (279-98)	vocationem habuit, non ab hominibus, neque per homines. Credidit in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, baptizatus est in ipsum, non ab alio, sed a propria fide; non in aqua, sed in proprio sanguine. (28)

A second text which also shares some features with Ælfric's concluding discussion is another Greek sermon on the Forty Soldiers, namely Gregory of Nyssa's In Laudem Sanctorum Quadraginta Martyrum.[92] Here the most significant parallel is a lengthy discussion by both authors of God's ability to wring goodness from all human activity, even the deeds of evil men. I quote here from Migne's Latin translation of the original Greek:

Ælfric	Gregory
He [God] is swa mihtig wyrhta . þæt he mæg awendan yfel to gode þurh his godnysse. Micel yfelnyss wæs on iudeiscum mannum. þaþa hi syrwdon mid swearlum geþance hu hi crist acwealdon. and þæt com us to hæle. and to ecere alysednysse and heom to forwyrde. Hi synd þurhscyldige for heora syrwunge. and heom bið gedemed be ðam þe hi dydon. þeah þe ure drihten	. . . ita et nos Dei oppugnatoribus gratiam debemus, ob prosperum eventum, cum nobis tantorum bonorum causa effecti sunt, etsi id quod agebant, non animo benefaciendi, sed oppugnandi agebant. Nam et hostes, licet nolentes, aliquando beneficia conferunt; nec diabolus Jobo minus profuit, quam genuini amici eius. Benefactor Danielis fuit rex Assyriorum. Et tres pueri

[92] PG, XLVI, cols. 773-88.

Ælfric	Gregory
þa dæda him geþafode . Yfele wæron þa ehteras and þa arleasan cwelleras þe ða martyras ofslogon . ac swa þeah hit becom ðam halgum to wuldre and to ecum wyrðmynte. and þa ehteras habbað ece genyðerunge. Næron swa manega martyras nære seo mycele ehtnyss ðe se deofol astyrode ongean drihtnes halgan þurh his arleasan þenas. þe ðone hæðen-scipe lufedon. (315-30)	incensae fornaci gratias agant: et Isaias serra dissectus Hebraeos dilaudet. Et Zacharias inter templum et altare mactatus suos interfectores veneretur et Joannes capite truncatus Herodem ceu benefactorem suum praedicet, et apostoli eos, a quibus ligabantur et flagellabantur, et omnes martyres eos, a quibus persecutionem patiebantur diligant: nisi enim illi stadium aperuissent; haudquaquam athletae fortitudinem suam palam demonstrassent. (786-87)

In this passage, the correspondence is perhaps less striking than that observed in the reference to Matthias and Judas cited above. The discussion by both authors is at once scrupulously traditional and--even in spite of the lists of examples--extremely general, so general indeed that it could be suitably appended to the story of any martyr. Precisely because of this, however, its appearance in two different writings on the same subject seems significant, the distinctive quality residing not so much in the nature of the idea as in its specific application by different authors to exactly the same hagiographic account. In view of this, then, it seems reasonable to assume that the final section of Ælfric's account of the Forty Soldiers, far from being pure, independent elaboration, was based directly on some Latin sermon which had itself been influenced not only by Basil's Oratio de Quadraginta Martyribus Sebastenis, but also by Gregory's In Laudem Sanctorum Quadraginta Martyrum. No such Latin account is provided in the Cotton-Corpus collection, nor has one meeting all of these requirements yet been identified elsewhere.[93] Nevertheless, in view of the parallels

[93]An early Latin translation of Basil's sermon is printed in Pasionario Hispanico, II, 144-48, but this lacks the parallels found in the Gregorian excerpt quoted above.

mentioned above, it seems likely that one did in fact exist.

23) Natale Sancti Georgii Martyris (LS, xiv)

Ott, in his attempt to identify the sources for the Lives, experienced considerable difficulty with Ælfric's life of St. George. An examination of several different Latin versions of the Georgian legend printed in the ASS, Surius, and the Legenda Aurea failed to produce a satisfactory source, and he was finally forced to limit his study to the citation of certain similarities between Ælfric's account and the shorter and later life included in the Speculum Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais.[94] Some years later, however, in a more comprehensive survey of the legend in European writings, John E. Matzke uncovered a version of George's life (BHL 3373) which is very close indeed to Ælfric's work, and which almost certainly served as its source.[95] It is this version which is given in the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 203v-205v; D, 218v-221r.

Comparison of the Cotton-Corpus text of Ælfric's source with a modern edition printed in P. M. Huber's "Zur Georgslegende"[96] reveals few variants of importance for the Old English translation. There are, however, two brief passages in which the Cotton-Corpus text provides slightly closer verbal parallels. One of these has already been presented in Chapter III.[97] The other is the introductory reference to the date of George's feast. Here Huber's text has

[94] See Ott, 39-40. The Old English translation is in LS, I, 306-19.

[95] "The Legend of St. George", PMLA, XVIII (1903), 146-47.

[96] Festschrift zum XII Allgemeinen Deutschen Neuphilologentage in München, Pfingsten 1906, ed. E. Stollreither. (Erlangen, 1906), 194-203.

[97] See above, p. 146.

VII Kal. Maiis, while the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts, in agreement with Ælfric, give VIIII Kal. Maias.

24) Passio Sancti Marci Euangeliste (LS, xv)

Ælfric's life of St. Mark[98] is a free and somewhat abbreviated rendering of an anonymous Passio S. Marci Evangeliste, copies of which are printed in Mombritius (II, 173-75), Lazius (128-31),[99] and in the ASS (25 Apr., III, 347-49).[100] This same version of the St. Mark legend (BHL 5276) survives in two manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 205v-206v; D, 221r-223r.

In his comments on the Latin source, Ott shows that of the three printed editions mentioned above, the text included in the ASS most nearly represents the textual tradition of Ælfric's exemplar. Unlike the texts established by Lazius and Mombritius, this edition of the legend provides the same form for the name of Mark's first convert as Ælfric does, and unlike Lazius alone, it also supplies Latin quotations identical to those found at lines 76 and 86 of the Old English translation. Each of these Ælfrician variants is also provided by the Cotton-Corpus text:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius - Lazius
Anianus (27)	Anianus (A, 206r; cf. ASS, 348)	Amanus (Mombritius, II, 174) Anizanus (Lazius, 129)

[98] LS, I, 320-27. The life proper is followed by an item alia piece which Ott suggests was derived from Jerome, Bede, Isidore, and Gregory the Great.

[99] Liber de Passione Domini Nostri Iesu Christi . . . Abdiae Babyloniae episcopi et Apostolorum Discipuli de Historia Certaminis Apostoli Libri Decem (Basel, 1552).

[100] Ott, 40-41.

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Lazius
Pax tibi marce noster euangelista (76)	Pax tibi Marce noster evangelista (A, 206r; cf. ASS, 348)	Pax tibi Marce euangelista (Lazius, 130)
In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum. (86)	In manus tuas domine[101] commendo spiritum meum. (A, 206r, cf. ASS, 348)	In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum. (Lazius, 130)

In three other passages, moreover, the Cotton-Corpus text introduces variants which correspond more closely than even the text of the Bollandists, thereby querying Ott's somewhat sweeping assertion that "Mit der Version in Boll. stimmt Ælfric ganz und gar überein."[102] The variant commemorasti in the first of these passages is also absent from each of the other printed editions:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
Ic ðancie ðe drihten þæt ðu me ne forlete. . ac gemundest min mid þinum halgum. (69-70)	Gratias tibi ago domine Jesu Christe quia non me dereliquisti sed commemorasti cum sanctis tuis. (A, 206r)	Gratias ago tibi, Domine Iesu Christe, quia non me dereliquisti, sed connumerasti cum Sanctis tuis. (348; cf. Mombritius, 174; Lazius, 130)
þin nama is awriten on ðære liflican bec . . . (63-64)	Ecce nomen tuum in libro uitae caelestis adscriptum est, (A, 206r)	Ecce nomen tuum in libro Vitae caelestis assumptum est. (348)
. . . and se eadige marcus mycclum þæs ðancode þam hælende criste.and cwæð . . . (84-85)	Sanctus autem Marcus cum traheretur gratias agebat domino Jesu Christo dicens . . . (A, 206r)	Sanctus autem Marcus, cum traheretur, gratias agens Deo, *simulque ejus piissimam exorans misericordiam* dicebat . . . (348)

[101]The agreement here may not be significant, for this is the liturgical form of Psalm XXX, 6, still used today in Compline.

[102]Ott, 41.

25) Natale Sancti Apollonaris Martyris (LS, xxii)

According to Ott, Ælfric's life of St. Apollinaris derives from a Latin legend (BHL 623) which is printed ex MS . . . Fuldensi, ad plura alia collato in the ASS, 23 July, V, 344-50.[103] The Cotton-Corpus collection preserves two copies of this same text: B, 49r-52r; E, 27v-33r. The copy of the life surviving in B is imperfect at the beginning, a number of folios containing the concluding sections of the preceding Vita S. Wandregisili and the first part of the Passio S. Apollinaris having been lost. The lost material, corresponding to lines 1-31 of Ælfric's account, survives in the complete copy of the life preserved in E.[104]

In his analysis of the printed edition of the Latin source, Ott concludes that, of the various manuscripts represented in the Bollandists' apparatus, an exemplar designated simply as MS S. Audomari generally provides the closest correspondences for Ælfric's translation. This conclusion is based on that manuscript's provision of three readings which no other single manuscript employed by the Bollandists supplies. The first of these is found in the passage corresponding to Ælfric's statement that for þwam læs ðryttig geara he [Apollonaris] wæs heora bisceop (line 250). Here MS S Audomari gives the correct source reading, Gubernavit autem ecclesiam suam annos viginti octo,whereas several of the Bollandists' other manuscripts have the numerical variant, XXIX anni. The two other readings which Ott cites are variants in the orthography of proper

[103] Ott, 54-56. The Old English translation is found in LS, I, 472-87.

[104] References here are therefore taken from E.

names:

> Denn Ælfric schreibt immer Apollonaris, wie diese Hds. [MS S. Audomari] auch. Der Name Demosthenes (V. 206) lautet bei Boll. Demonsten. Derselbe kehrt mehrere Male wieder, so dass man nicht einen einmaligen Schreibfehler annehmen kann. MS S. Audomari giebt Demosthenes; bei Ælfric nun steht Demosten, welches sehr leicht aus Demosthenes entstehen kann.[105]

In turning now to the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection, we find that they display a correspondence which is equally as close as that of Ott's MS S. Audomari. For the first passage cited above, both B and E agree with MS S. Audomari in supplying the correct source reading, XXVIII. In the second instance, both offer the more remote, but unimportant, variant Apollinaris,[106] while in the third case E supplies Demosten (32r),[107] a reading which is identical to that of Ælfric and superior to that of MS S. Audomari. There is, finally, one additional passage in which the Cotton-Corpus text supplies a verbal parallel closer than any of the Bollandists' manuscripts, including MS S. Audomari: this is cited above in the general discussion of Chapter III.[108]

26) Natalis Sanctorum Abdon et Sennes (LS, xxiva)

For his brief account of the martyrdom of the Persian kings Abdon and Sennen,[109] Ælfric returns to the Passio Polochronii, Parmenii, Abdon et Sennen, Xysti, Felicissimi et Agapiti et Laurentii et aliorum

[105] Ott, 54.

[106] For a name as familiar as this, Ælfric would surely follow his own orthographical preferences, regardless of the spelling in his Latin exemplar.

[107] Here B has Demonsten.

[108] See above, p. 146.

[109] LS, II, 54-59.

sanctorum,[110] the legend which he had drawn upon earlier for his life of St. Lawrence. In his earlier treatment of this legend, Ælfric had omitted ten of the introductory chapters, confining his translation to the lives of Lawrence, Sixtus, and Hippolytus. Here he returns to three of these chapters (8-10), omitting again any material which is not related to the subject at hand.

The Latin source survives in two manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: B, 67r-73r; E, 57r-67r. As mentioned earlier with reference to the life of St. Lawrence, these copies of the legend derive from a textual tradition which differs slightly from that of Ælfric's exemplar. In them, we find no variant readings of interest for the Old English translation.

27) Exaltatio Sancte Crucis (LS xxvii)

Ælfric's account of the recovery and exaltation of the Holy Cross[111] differs in a number of ways from the other texts which fall within the scope of this discussion. A curious mixture of hagiographic material, biblical allusion, and theological commentary, the account is also one of the few of Ælfric's legends in which our attention is focused not on the life and sanctity of an exemplary human figure, but on something else--in this case the cross of Christ. With this change in focus comes also a change in the use of source materials. Whereas most of Ælfric's other legends--circumscribed as they are by the confines of a single human life

[110] Loomis, 1. Loomis refers to the edition printed by Surius (IV, 582-84), but as mentioned earlier, this text has been emended stylistically. Delehaye's edition in Anal. Boll. LI (1933), 72-98 has been used here.

[111] LS, II, 144-59.

--generally derive from a single source text, the Exaltatio Sancte Crucis shows the influence of a number of different Latin writings. Most of these sources are cited in Loomis's "Further Sources of Ælfric's Saints' Lives".[112] However, as this study contains a number of technical inaccuracies in the citation of line references, as well as at least one oversight, it is worthwhile to begin our discussion here with a brief review of the Latin texts which figure in the account.

The major source for the legend is the Latin homily Reversio Sanctæatque Gloriosissimae Crucis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi by Rabanus Maurus (BHL 4178), printed editions of which are found in Mombritius (I, 379-81) and in PL (CX, cols. 131-34). This text provides close correspondences for almost the whole of the first part of the account (lines 1-142), though as Loomis observes it is supplemented by a number of explanatory additions. Most of these additions (lines 1-3, 12-19, 138-42) deal with the liturgical significance of the feast of the Exaltatio, and represent Ælfric's own attempt to underline the meaning and importance of the feast for his audience. At least one addition, however, derives from a different source text --the related legend of the Invention of the Cross:

> Þa iudeiscan hi behyddon mid hetelicum geðance.
> noldon þæt se maðm wurde mannum to frofre.
> ac seo eadige helena . hi eft þær afunde
> þurh cristes onwrigennesse swa swa he mid wundrum geswutelode.
> (4-7)

Here the legend of the Exaltatio by Rabanus provides correspondences only for St. Helena's discovery of the cross and, in part, for the way

[112] Loomis, 3-4.

in which Christ manifested its powers to the people:

> Postquam Constantino Augusto contra Maxentium tyrannum properanti ad bellum et ipso feliciter optinente triumphum ab Helena eius matre sancta Crux fuisset inuenta: atque per sanitatem aegroti et suscitatione mortui fuisset euidenti indicio uirtutis declarata . . . (Mombritius, I, 379)

The references to the Jews, on the other hand, and the brief allusion to cristes onwrigennesse which led to the discovery of the cross,[113] derive from the story of the Inventio, one version of which Ælfric used earlier in CH, II, xix.

The remainder of Ælfric's account can be conveniently divided into two parts: lines 143-83 which discuss the merits of the cross and the guilt of Judas and the Jews for their role in the crucifixion of Christ, and lines 184-219 which consist of a brief summary of the life of Longinus, the centurion who pierced Christ's side during the crucifixion. Loomis suggests that the first of these parts is a "free rendering of Augustine's De Symbolo, Passio, cap. 5"[114] (PL, XL, col. 664), though as the correspondences provided by this text are quite remote, and as the Old English contains little which could not reasonably be attributed to Ælfric himself, one should perhaps regard this suggestion as tentative. The second and final part of Ælfric's account, on the other hand, derives from the short form of the St. Longinus legend (BHL 4965) as found in the ASS, 15 Mar., II, 384-86. As Loomis points out, Ælfric treats this text with considerable freedom and "gives only a brief outline of the facts".[115]

[113] Here Ælfric seems to be referring to the miraculous odour which led Helena to the secret hiding place of the three crosses.

[114] Loomis, 4, n. 1.

[115] Loomis, 4, n. 2.

To recapitulate briefly, then, almost all the hagiographic material given in Ælfric's account is derived from two Latin writings: the homily Reversio Sanctae atque Glorisissimae Crucis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi by Rabanus Maurus and the shorter version of the Acta Sancti Longini Militis. To these may be added a version of the legend of the Inventio from which most of the material in lines 4-7 seems to have been derived, and perhaps a fourth text, not yet positively identified, which may have provided the source for Ælfric's discussion of Judas, the Jews, and the merits of the cross. Significantly, with the exception of the unknown final text, all of these sources are preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection.

The Latin homily by Rabanus Maurus which served as the source for the first part of the Old English translation is preserved in two copies of the Latin legendary: B, 167r-168r and F, 235r-236v. The copy of the text surviving in B, however, is imperfect at the end, concluding abruptly at a point which corresponds to line 85 of the Old English translation. Part of the missing text has been inserted by a different, though almost contemporary scribe, who also makes a number of other revisions and additions throughout the text. The copy of the legend surviving in F is complete, and it is from this witness that references here are taken.

In his study of the printed editions of the Latin legend, Loomis concludes that the "version printed in Mombritius is nearer to the original which Ælfric used than the version printed by Migne, where Heraclius is called Gracchus."[116] This conclusion is also supported by two other passages in which the text printed by Mombritius

[116]Loomis, 3-4, n. 7.

provides closer correspondences for the Old English translation:

Ælfric	Mombritius	PL
. . . and æfter ðysum wordum gewende se engel up. (100)	His dictis: angelus in caelum rediit. (380)	nothing
. . . and se casere siððan fela goda gedyde þær. and godes cyrcan ge-gododе. (133-34)	Tunc Imperator oratione peracta offerens multa dona; ecclesias dei reparari fecit . . . (381)	Tunc imperator, oratione peracta, offerens multa donaria, ecclesias reparare fecit . . . (col. 134)

Notwithstanding these passages, however, there are also two places in which the text printed by Migne provides the better source readings. The most important of these is found in the description of Eraclius' kindness towards Cosdrue's son, where Migne's text includes an extra phrase giving the age of the young boy:

Ælfric	PL	Mombritius
. . . and nam his gingran sunu siððan to fulluhte tyn wintra cnapa . and him cynedom for-geaf. (77-78)	. . . filium autem ejus baptizari iussit, ipseque eum de sacro fonte suscepit; erat enim decem annorum. Descriptiones etiam regni Persarum sub ejus nomine fecit. . . (col. 133)	Filium autem eius baptizari mandauit: ipseque annorum descriptiones etiam regni persarum sub eius nomine fecit. (380)

The second example occurs in the description of Cosdrue's execution:

Ælfric	PL	Mombritius
Þa nolde se cosdrue on crist gelyfan. and eraclyus sona his swurd ateah. and hine beheafdode. (74-76)	Cumque ille nequaquam acquiesceret, Gracchus extracto gladio caput illius amputavit. (col. 133)	Cumque ille nequaquam acquiesceret: Heraclius gladio caput illius amputauit. (380)

In view of these correspondences, then, one must conclude that Ælfric's source manuscript stood somewhere between the textual traditions represented by the two printed texts, containing both the three readings cited earlier from Mombritius, and the two passages from Migne quoted immediately above.

In turning now to the Cotton-Corpus text of the source, we find that it provides this exact combination of readings. As in Ælfric, the Christian emperor who subdues Cosdrue is called Eraclius rather than Gracchus (235v). Similarly, the Cotton-Corpus text provides readings which give the departure of the angel (his dictis, angelus caelo confestim rediit, 236r), the exact equivalent of Ælfric's godes cyrcan (ecclesias dei, 236v), the age of Cosdrue's son (erat enim iam decem annorum, 236r), and the full description of Cosdrue's execution (extracto gladio, 236r). In a few other passages, moreover, the Cotton-Corpus text provides readings which correspond more closely than those of either of the printed texts. In the extant manuscripts of Ælfric's translation, for example, the heathen ruler's name is given either as Cosdrue (B.L. MSS Cotton Julius E vii, and Cotton Vitellius D xvii) or Chosdroe (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii. 1. 33). The orthography of both of these forms corresponds more nearly to the Cotton-Corpus reading Chosdroe than to the variant Chosroe found both in Mombritius and in Migne. Similarly, in the following brief excerpt, the Cotton-Corpus text furnishes a verbal equivalent which is closer than the readings found in either of the printed editions:[117]

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Printed Texts
. . . and sæt se casere on kynelicum horse swa him gecwemast wæs. (85-86)	. . . ipse equo regio ornamentis imperialibus decoratum sedens voluisset intrare. (F, 236r)	. . . ipse regiis ornamentis et imperialibus decoratus in equo sedens uoluisset intrare. (Mombritius, 380; cf. PL, col. 133)

[117] One other example is cited above, p. 146.

In addition to the homily by Rabanus Maurus from which Ælfric derived his material for the story of the Exaltatio, the legendary also preserves the short form of the Passio S. Longini which served as the source for the concluding portion of the translation. This text is found in two copies of the collection: C, 336-39; F, 116v-118v. Although the readings in these copies of the text differ occasionally from those of the printed edition found in the ASS, the freedom of Ælfric's rendering rarely provides a sound basis for deciding which text furnishes the closer correspondences. Only one minor reading which more nearly corresponds to the Old English has been noted:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	ASS
He forlet ða his folgoð. and ferde to þam apostolum. and wearð gelæred to geleafan þurh hi. (192-93)	Et post haec recedens a militia instruebat praecepta domini, audiens sancti apostoli venerabilia Christi mandata. (C, 337)	Et post haec recedens a malitia instruebatur Domini praeceptis, audiens sanctorum Apostolorum venerabilia mandata. (384)

The final hagiographic legend which requires brief mention here is the story of the Inventio from which some of the details mentioned in lines 4-7 seem to derive. A version of this legend (BHL 4169) survives in one manuscript of the Cotton-Corpus collection: D, 228r-231v. Whether this version or the more complete account found in the Ecclesiastical History of Rufinus served as Ælfric's source is impossible to determine, for both include all the details mentioned in the Old English translation. In any case, this seems an unimportant issue, for it seems reasonable to assume that Ælfric was simply remembering his own earlier account in CH, II, xix.

28) Passio Sancti Mauricii et Sociorum Eius (LS, xxviii)

For the life of St. Maurice and his companions, Loomis suggests that Ælfric used the Passio S. Mauricii et sociorum eius (BHL 5743),

one copy of which is printed in Surius, V, 325-30.[118] Unlike St. Eucherius's original version of the St. Maurice legend, this text includes a later eighth-century interpolation on the martyrdom of St. Victor, a subject which Ælfric also treats in some detail from line 90 to line 116 of his account. It is this later interpolated version of the legend which is given in the Cotton-Corpus collection: B, 137v-139v; E, 162v-166v.

In collating the Cotton-Corpus text with that of Surius, several variant readings are observed. In particular the Cotton-Corpus text omits two brief passages included by Surius--one on the discouragement which Maximian suffers through his failure to overcome the spiritual constancy of the saints, and one on the cruelty of the slaughter which ensues. It is interesting to note that neither of these passages finds its way into the Old English translation, though as Ælfric's treatment of this source is characteristically free, it is impossible to dismiss the possibility that these represent independent omissions on Ælfric's part. Of the other variant readings preserved in the Cotton-Corpus text, only one quite minor instance of closer correspondence is observed:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Surius
. . . and ge-unne me nu crist æfter þysre cyþnysse . . . (111)	Sed etiam nunc prestabit Christus, ut Christianum me, vel post professionem meam . . . (B, 139r)	Sed iam-nunc, prę-stabit Christus, vt Christianum me, vel ob professionem meam . . . (329)

[118] Loomis, 4. The Old English account is found in LS, II, 158-69. In the final portion of this translation (lines 119-78), Ælfric abandons his hagiographic source and expatiates upon some of the moral lessons which can be learned from the stories of saints and martyrs. This discussion derives from a number of homiletic sources, some of which have been identified by Professor Cross. On these, see J. E. Cross, "Gregory, Blickling Homily X, and Ælfric's Passio S. Mauricii on the World's Youth and Age", Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, LXVI (1965), 327-30; and J. E. Cross, "'Legimus in Ecclesiasticis Historiis': A Sermon for All Saints, and its Use in Old English Prose", Traditio, XXXIII (1977), 130-31.

29) Passio Sancti Dionisii et Sociorum Eius (LS, xxix)

G. Loomis names Hilduinus's Passio Sanctorum Dionysii, Rustici, et Eleutherii Martyrum (BHL 2175), one copy of which is printed by Mombritius (I, 394-409), as the source for Ælfric's life of St. Denis and his Companions.[119] This text is longer than most of Ælfric's hagiographic sources, and much of it is either omitted or greatly condensed in the Old English translation.[120] As a result, Ælfric's account becomes more an epitome than a full translation.

The Latin legend survives in two manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: C, 176-200; E, 262r-277v. The readings in these copies rarely disagree substantively with those of the printed text, and even where they do, Ælfric's free and abbreviated rendering almost always makes it impossible to identify the particular variants which he had in front of him. In the following brief excerpt, however, the Cotton-Corpus text provides an orthographical variant which is signficantly closer to the Old English than the reading found in Mombritius:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Mombritius
Hwæt þa sisinnius mid swiðlicum prasse ferde . . . (208)	Denique aduentus prefecti Fescennini Sisinnii cum romanorum militum . . . (C, 194; cf. Mombritius, 652*)	Denique aduentus praefecti Fescennini scisimii cum romanorum militum . . . (404)

[119] Loomis, 4. The Old English translation is found in LS, II, 168-191. Ælfric also refers to the Passio Dionysii in his life of St. Clement, on which see below, p. 242, n. 130.

[120] Ælfric's omissions include a reference to the fact that Denis was married (Mombritius, 396), a lengthy discussion of the Greek gods (Mombritius, 395), and a very detailed account of the epistles and other writings attributed to Denis (Mombritius, 396-400).

30) Passio Sancti Vincentii (LS, xxxvii)

As shown earlier, Ælfric's Passio Sancti Vincentii Martyris[121] derives from an early and apparently archaic ~~name~~-version of the St. Vincent legend, of which two copies are preserved in the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: A, 119r-121v; D, 101r-105r.[122] Both of these copies contain numerous revisions and alterations, often by erasure. However, since the corrections of A rarely appear in the same passages as those of D, the original readings generally remain intact in at least one of the two witnesses.

The Latin text has recently been printed, from two tenth century Spanish manuscripts, in A. Fábrega Grau's Pasionario Hispanico, II, 187-96. Comparison of this text with the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts shows that they generally correspond closely with each other, most of the variants being either orthographical or syntactical in character. At the end of the narrative, however, the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts provide an extra passage which the BHL classes separately as an Additamentum (BHL 8634), and which seems almost certainly to have served as the source for Ælfric's brief reference to the distribution of Vincent's relics:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus
. . . & his halgan ban wurdon wide to-dælede . & mid mycelre lufe hi man wyrðaþ ge-hwær swa swa us secgað bec for his soðan geleafan . . . (278-80)	Tantam autem gratiam beato martyri Vincentio post triumphos post coronam victoriae contulit, ut reliquiae eius non solum apud Hispanias sed etiam apud Galliarum provincias miro excolantur affectu. (A, 121v)

[121] LS, II, 426-43. There is also an exegetical portion of the St. Vincent homily, on which see Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, I, 140.

[122] See above, pp. 126-136.

Similarly, in the following two excerpts, the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts preserve substantive variants which correspond more closely to the Old English than the readings of the printed text:

Ælfric	Cotton-Corpus	Pasionario Hispanico
. . . gif hi mid est-fulnesse eardlice under-fengon þone wuldor-fullan cyne-helm, heora martyr-domes . . . (42-43)	. . . si coronam martyrii statim praecones quam suis virtutibus et meritis pro sua devotione rapuissent. (A, 119r)	. . . si coronam statim preco quam suis virtutibus et meritis, pro sua devotione rapuissent. (187)
. . . swilce beorht sunbeam . (190)	. . . ultra solis fulgore radiantes. (A, 120v)	. . . ultra solitum fulgorem radiantes. (192)

PART B: The Text of H

31) Assumptio Sancti Iohannis Apostoli (CH, I, iv)

Ælfric's homily for the feast of the Assumption of John the Evangelist[123] is based upon the Melito text of the Acts of John, one copy of which is printed in Mombritius, II, 55-61.[124] This same version of the Latin legend (BHL 4320), together with a prefatory letter from the supposed author, is preserved in H (217r-223r) under the title Vita sive Assumptio S. Iohannis Apostoli et Evangeliste.[125]

The text of the Latin source preserved in H agrees more closely with that of Ælfric's conjectural exemplar than does any printed copy yet identified. Two remarkable instances of this correlation have already been cited in Chapter III.[126] The first

[123] CH, I, 58-77.

[124] Förster, Legenden, 17-18.

[125] A copy of the same version, though one less closely related to Ælfric than that of H, is found in F, 191v-197v.

[126] See above, pp. 160-162, 164-166.

of these is a hitherto unprinted passage which (both in positioning and in content) agrees very closely with Ælfric's remarks at 68/34-70/22 about the origin of the fourth gospel,[127] while the second is a record of the death of John which corresponds more nearly to Ælfric than even an artificial conflation of the best source readings found in the printed texts. To these we may add several other instances of notable textual correspondence:

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
Hi dydon be his hæse, and he on Godes naman ða grenan gyrda gebletsode, and hi wurdon to readum golde awende. Eft cwæð se apostol Iohannes, "Gað to ðære sæ-strande, and feccað me papolstanas." Hi dydon swa; and Iohannes þa on Godes mægenðrymme hi gebletsode . . . (62/35-64/4)	Quod cum fecissent, invocato nomini domini converse sunt in aurum. Item dixit eis: Deferte mihi lapides minutos, a litore maris. Quod cum fecissent, similiter invocata maiestate domini . . . (218v)	Quod ubi fecissent: inuocata trinitate dei conuersae sunt in aurum. Iterum dixit eis: Deferte mihi lapides minutos a littore maris: quod cum fecissent: inuocata trinitate dei . . . (56)
. . . farað, and bicgað eow land-are; forðan þe ge forluron ða heofenlican speda. (64/12-13)	Ite et redimite vobis terras quas vendidistis, quia celorum predia perdidistis. (218v)	Ite: et redimite uobis terras: quas uaendidistis. (57)
". . . and he eowre saula, þe nu synd adylegode of þære liflican bec, gelæde eft to Godes gife and miltsunge." (68/10-12)	. . . et animas vestras que iam de libro vite delete sunt, reducat ad domini gratiam. (220r)	. . . et animas uestras: quae iam de libro uitae deletae sunt. (58)

[127] The positioning of the passage in H and its provision of a few details not included in other discussions of John's gospel shows that this was Ælfric's first and chief source. However, Ælfric probably consulted two other works as well: Bede's Homilia I, 9 from Homeliarum Evangelii Libri II, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL, CXXII (Turnhout, 1955), and Augustine's In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus, I. 5, ed. D. R. Willems, CCSL, XXXVI (Turnhout, 1954). Bede's homily supplies some closer parallels for 70/2 and 70/15-21, while Augustine has a few closer equivalents for 70/9-11. Ælfric draws on these homiletic sources elsewhere in his writing, on which see Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, I, 221, n. 17-26.

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
"Berað ða gyrda to wuda, and þa stanas to sæstrande: hi synd gecyrrede to heora gecynde". Þaða hi þis gedon hæfdon, ða underfengon hi eft Godes gife, swa þæt hi adræfdon deoflu, and blinde, and untrume gehældon, and fela tacna on Drihtnes naman gefremedon, swa swa hi ær dydon. (68/28-33)	Euntes reportate virgas ad silvam unde eas assumpsistis, quoniam ad suam sunt naturam reverse; et lapides reportate ad litus maris . . . Quod cum fuisset impletum, receperunt gratiam quam amiserant, ita ut etiam fugarent demones sicut prius, et infirmos curarent, et cecos illuminarent, et virtutes multas per eos dominus faceret. (220r)	Ite: et reportate uirgas ad syluam: unde eas asumpsistis: quoniam ad suam sunt naturam reuersae: et lapides . . . quod cum fuisset impletum: receperunt gratiam: quam amiserant ita: ut etiam fugarent daemones sicut et prius: infirmos curarent: mortuos suscitarent: et uirtutes multas dominus per eos faceret. (58)
. . . and he mid rodetacne his muð, and ealne his lichaman gewæpnode . . . (72/22-23)	. . . os suum et totum semetipsum armavit signo crucis . . . (221v)	. . . totum semetipsum armauit signo crucis· · · (59)
. . . ac gif ðu ðas dædan sceaðan, on ðines Godes naman arærst, þonne bið min heorte geclænsod fram ælcere twynunge. (72/30-32)	. . . sed si istos qui hoc veneno mortui sunt, in nomine dei tui excitavis, emundabitur ab omni dubietate mens mea. (221v)	. . . Si hos qui hoc ueneno mortui sunt excitaueris: emundabitur ab omni dubietate mens mea. (59)
He carað dæges and nihtes þæt his feoh gehealden sy. (66/9-10)	. . . ut cognoscat aviditas non sibi pecunias pro futuras, que reposite custodibus suis sollicitudinem diurnam et nocturnam incuciunt. (219v; cf. Mombritius, 667*)	. . . ut cognoscat auiditas non sibi pecunias pro futuras: quae reposite custodibus sollicitudinem diuturnam incutiunt. (57)
. . . þonne færlice gewitt he of ðissere worulde, nacod . . . (66/12-13)	. . . subito exeunt de isto seculo nudi . . . (219v; cf. Mombritius, 667*)	. . . subito exeunt de isto corpore nudi . . . (58)
. . . þu ne cuðest manna Hælend. (66/27)	. . . nescisti salvatorem hominum. (219v)	. . . nescisti saluatorem omnium. (58)
". . . aris, and gecyrr ham, and gearca us gereordunge	Surge in gloriam nominis eius, et pedibus tuis	Surge: et pedibus tuis reuertere domum tuam: et para

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
on þinum huse." (60/17-18)	revertere in domum tuam et prepara mihi refectionem in domo tua. (218r)	mihi refectionem. (56)

Clearly, these passages demonstrate the exactitude of the correspondence between the text of H and that of the source manuscript which Ælfric had in front of him.[128]

32) Natale Sancti Clementis Martyris (CH, I, xxxvii)

Ælfric's homily for the feast of Pope Clement[129] derives chiefly from two Latin sources: an anonymous Passio S. Clementis Martyris (Mombritius, I, 341-44) which forms the basis for Ælfric's account of the life and death of the saint; and a brief narrative,

[128] In his comments on this life, Förster also notes that the Latin Vita fails to provide correspondences for the introduction to the Old English account, in which Ælfric briefly discusses the ancestry of St. John and relates a few of the biblical incidents which became associated with his name. However, the Latin text probably provided the general framework for this discussion, for the concluding passage both in H and in Mombritius gives some of the same material. Cf. 58/1-7 and 17-21 of Ælfric's introduction with the following passage from H: "Hic est beatissimus evangelista et apostolus Iohannes, filius Zebedei, frater Iacobi, qui in primevo adolescentie flore virgo est electus a domino, atque inter ceteros apostolos magis dilectus . . . Hic est Iohannes qui in locum Christi ipso iubente successit, dum suscipiens matrem magistri discipulus, par post Christum alter quodam modo derelictus est filius. De quo idem dominus ad matrem virginem, mulier, inquit ecce filius tuus; deinde ad Iohannem, ecce mater tua, ut virgo virginem servaret, curamque ei gratiosissimi officii exhiberet "(223r). One other feature of Ælfric's introduction, namely, the brief description of the wedding feast at Cana, shows some contact with a homily on the same incident by Haymo, who, like Ælfric, identifies the bridegroom with St. John. Cf. 58/7-15 of the Old English with the following excerpt from Haymo: "Iste sponsus, juxta litteram, ut quidam tradunt, accipitur Johannes apostolus: qui cum nuptias fecisset, viso miraculo Domini, reliquens nuptias, virgo eum secutus est, unde et dilectus Domini dicitur " (Homilia XVIII, PL, CXVIII, col. 136). As Smetana, "Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo", 463-64, notes, Ælfric used parts of the same Latin homily in his sermon for the second Sunday after Epiphany (CH, II, iv).

[129] CH, I, 556-77. The life of Clement, which is our sole concern here, is on pp. 556-67.

listed in the BHL under the title Miracula , which recounts a posthumous miracle ascribed to the saints' intercession.[130] Both of these texts (BHL 1848 and 1855 respectively) survive in H under the single title Passio S. Clementis Martyris.[131]

As is the case with the Vita S. Iohannis, the text of the Passio S. Clementis preserved in H corresponds very closely to that of Ælfric's presumed exemplar. A few striking illustrations of this agreement have already been presented in Chapter III,[132] where it was shown that H provides precise verbal parallels for three parts of the Old English translation which are not included either in the other Cotton-Corpus manuscripts or in any of the printed texts examined by Förster. Similarly, in the following passages, H supplies variant readings which must have been included in Ælfric's source manuscript:[133]

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
Ða cwæð se eadiga biscop, "Uton biddan mid fæstum geleafan Drihten Hælend, þæt he us his andetterum ða æddran his wyll-springes gehendor geopenige, þæt we on his wel-dædum blission." (562/4-7)	Tunc sanctus Clemens dixit: Oremus dominus Iesum Christum fratres, ut confessoribus suis fontis venam prope aperiat . . . ut de eius beneficiis gratulemur. (81v)	Tunc sanctus Claemens dixit: Oremus omnes ad dominum Iesum christum: ut confessoribus suis fontis in isto loco uenas aperiat . . . (344)

[130] Förster, Legenden, 29-31. In addition to these sources, Ælfric also turns briefly (558/31-560/15) in this account to the Passio SS. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, a legend which, as shown above, p. 236, also served as the source for LS, xxix and which is provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection.

[131] H, 80r-83r. The same two sources survive in C, 339-345 and F, 118v-122v. These copies of the source correspond less closely to Ælfric's source manuscript than the text of H.

[132] See above, pp. 162-63.

[133] With the exception of the last example cited below, the closer parallels found in H are also absent from the text of the source printed by Narbey, Supplément aux Acta Sanctorum, II, 333-36.

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
. . . swa þæt . . . næs gemet hæðengild geond hund-teontig mila neawiste. (562/25-27)	. . . omnes luci per trecenta miliaria in gyrum incensi sunt.[134] (82r)	nothing
Þa gelamp hit þæt sume ða hæðenan wurdon mid andan getyrigde, and heora ærende to ðam casere asendon, and him cyddon þæt his folc eall endemes astyred wære, and eallunga fram his biggencgum gecyrred, þurh Clementem ðæra cristenra biscop. (562/28-32)	Tunc paganis insistentibus tam invidiosa relatio cucurrit ad Traianum ut dicerent ibi per Clementem episcopum christianorum culturam deorum deperisse, et innumerabilem christianorum populum accrevisse. (82r)	Post annos autem tres paganis insistentibus tam inuidiosa relatio cucurrit ad imperatorem Traianum: ut dicerent: ubi per Claementem innumerabilem christianorum populam accreuisse. (344)
Se arleasa cwellere ða, Aufidianus, ðaða he ne mihte mid nanum þeowracan ða cristenan geegsian, forðan ðe hi ealle samod blissigende to martyrdome onetton . . . (564/1-4)	. . . cum videret eos nullo timore perterritos, sed omnes gratanter ad passionem accedere . . . (82r)	Dum uideret Aufidianus omnes gaudentes ad passionem accedere . . . (344)
. . . and micel menigu þæra cristenra stod on þære sæ-strande, wepende . . . Þa cwædon his twegen leorning-cnihtas, Febus and Cornelius, "Eala ge gebroðra, uton anmodlice biddan urne Drihten . . ." (564/10-15)	. . . multitudo christianorum cepit ad litus stare et flere. Tunc dixereunt Cornelius et Phebus discipuli eius: Fratres, omnes unanimes oremus deum . . . (82r)	. . . omnis multitudo christianorum flaebat: et flaentibus illis dixerunt cornelius et Phoebus discipuli eius: Omnes oremus unanimiter . . . (344)
Þaða he to ðam westene becom, þa gemette he ðær ma þonne twa ðusend christenra manna,	Cum autem pervenissent ad locum exilii, illic aderant inergastulis ad secanda marmora amplius quam duo milia	Cum peruenissent autem ad locum exilii: inuenerunt ibi secandis saxis ad duomillia

[134]For trecenta here, Thorpe's edition of the Old English homily has hund-teontig (562/26).

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
þe mid langsumere genyðerunge to marmstan-gedelfe gesette wæron . . . (560/30-32)	christiani, diuturna iam religatione damnati . . . (81v)	christianorum diuturna relegatione damnatos. (343)
. . . and cwæð, þæt hi fyrmeste on Godes gecorennysse wæron. . . . (558/22)	. . . primumque locum habere istos apud deum astrueret . . . (80r)	Primum quidem locum ipsos habituros instrueret . . . (341)

33) Natale Sancti Andreae Apostoli (CH, I, xxxviiib)

For his account of the life of the apostle Andrew,[135] Ælfric turned to an anonymous version of the Passio S. Andreae, one copy of which is printed in Mombritius, I, 104-07.[136] This same version of the Latin legend (BHL 428) survives in H, 115v-119r, as the reading for II Kal. Dec.[137]

In his remarks on this life, Förster notes that the Old English account is a very faithful rendering of its Latin source. This judgment was evidently based on his examination of the text printed by Mombritius, the edition which he uses for comparison with Ælfric's translation. The copy of the source preserved in H is, however, even closer to Ælfric than that of Mombritius. One remarkable illustration of this agreement has already been presented in Chapter III:[138] in that passage, it was demonstrated that the account of Andrew's death in H is, in numerous ways, much

[135] CH, I, 586-99.

[136] Förster, Legenden, 21-22.

[137] A copy of the same source survives in F, 133r-136r. The text of this copy corresponds less closely to the Old English than does that of H.

[138] See above, pp. 166-71.

closer to the Ælfrician translation, at 598/12-29, than anything which can be found either in Mombritius or in three other texts of the same legend. The following passages are likewise indicative of this remarkably Ælfrician character of H:

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
". . . Eale ðu gode rod, þe wlite and fægernysse of Drihtnes lymum underfenge, þu wære gefyrn gewilnod and carfullice gelufod, butan to-forlætennysse gesoht, and nu æt nextan minum wilnigendum mode gegearcod.". . . Æfter ðisum wordum he hine unscrydde, and þam cwellerum his gewæda betæhte. Hi þa genealæhton, and hine on ðære rode ahofon, and ealne his lichaman mid stearcum wiððum, swa swa him beboden wæs, gewriðon . . . Se halga Andreas soðlice of ðære rode gehyrte ðæra geleaffulra manna mod, tihtende to hwilwendlicum geðylde, secgende . . . (596/13-27)	O bona crux que decorem et pulchritudinem de membris domini suscepisti, diu desiderata, sollicite amata, sine intermissione quesita, et aliquando iam concupiscenti animo preparata . . . Et hec dicens expoliavit se et vestimenta sua tradidit carnificibus. Qui accedentes levaverunt eum in crucem, et extensis funibus per totum corpus eius, sicut eis iussum fuerat suspenderunt . . . Sanctus vero Andreas confortabat mentes credentium in domino, et hortabatur tolerantiam temporalem, docens . . . (117v; cf. Mombritius, 625*)	O bona crux: quae decorem et pulchritudinem de membris domini suscepisti diu desyderata solicite quaesita et iam concupiscenti animo praeparata . . . Et haec dicens expoliauit se: et uestimenta sua tradidit carnificibus: qui accedentes leuauerunt eum in cruce et extendentes funibus corpus eius sicut eis iussum fuerat suspenderunt . . . Sanctus uero Andreas tantum in domino confortabatur tolerantia temporali: docens . . . (106-07)
Ða cwæð Andreas to ealre ðære menigu, "Mine gebroðra, ne astyrige ge ðone stillan Drihten to ænigre yrsunge mid eowerum anginne." (592/1-4)	Quos sanctus Andreas his verbis admonuit dicens: Nolite fratres quietem domini nostri Iesu Christi in seditionem diabolicam excitare. (117r)	. . . quos sanctus Andreas his uerbis ammonuit dicens: Nolite quietem domini nostri Iesu christi in sedicionem diabolicam excitare. (106)
"Witodlice mannes ege is smice gelic, and hrædlice, þonne he astyred bið, fordwinð." (592/11-12)	Nam humanus timor fumo similis est, et subito cum excitatus fuerit, evanescit. (117r; cf. Mombritius, 625*)	Nam humanus timor fumo similis est: et subito cum extinctus fuerit euanescit. (106)

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
"Þu hæfdest eorðlicne ege, ærðan ðe ure Drihten þe astige." (596/8-9)	Antequam te ascenderet dominus noster, timorem terrenum habuisti. (117v)	. . . ante quam in te ascenderet deus timorem terrenum habuisti. (106)
"Þin gewitlease spræc bodað rode wite to wuldre . . ." (590/6-7)	Insanus sermo tuus predicat crucem gloriam supplicii . . . (116v; cf. Mombritius, 625*)	Insanus sermo tuus praedicat crucem supplicii . . . (105)
". . . ac ic offrige dæghwomlice on weofode þære halgan rode þæt ungewemmede lamb . . ." (590/15-17)	. . . sed immaculatum agnum cotidie in altari crucis sacrifico . . . (116v)	. . . sed immaculatum agnum in altari crucis sacrifico . . . (105)
Þas ðrowunge awriton þære ðeode preostas and ða ylcan diaconas ðe hit eal gesawon . . . (598/30-31)	Passionem sancti Andree apostoli quam oculis nostris vidimus omnes presbyteri et diaconi ecclesiarum Achaie, scripsimus . . . (115v)	Diacones ecclesiarum Acahie scripsimus uniuersis ecclesiis . . . (104)
Egeas sæde, "Humeta segst ðu sylfwilles, ðaða he wæs . . . þurh ðæs ealdormannes cempan ahangen?" (588/20-22)	Egeas dixit: Cum . . . a militibus a militibus[139] praesidis crucifixus, quomodo tu dicis cum sponte crucis subisse patibulum? (116r)	Aegeas autem tunc dixit: Cum . . . a militibus sit crucifixus: quomodo tu dicis spontaneum crucis subisse patibulum? (104)

Finally, there is one minor instance in which H offers a variant form for a verb, thereby supplying a close correspondence for the Old English:

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
". . . þæt hi urum godum geoffrian magon ðancwurðe onsægednysse." (592/33-34)	. . . et ipsi diis offerant grata libamina. (117r; cf. Mombritius, 625*)	. . . et ipse diis offeras grata libamina. (106)

[139]The repetition of a militibus here appears to be a simple scribal error.

34) Depositio Sancti Martini Episcopi (CH, II, xxxix)

In their studies of the sources for the homily on St. Martin included in the second series,[140] Förster and Gerould correctly identify three of the Latin texts which Ælfric consulted for his translation: Sulpicius Severus's Vita S. Martini, the Epistle to Bassula by the same author, and I, 48 of the Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours.[141] To these we may add, as demonstrated in Chapter II, a fourth source, namely Alcuin's Vita Sancti Martini Turonensis, a text which Ælfric used as both a structural guide and a convenient aid in his abridgement of the works of Sulpicius.[142]

As shown in the first chapter, all but one of the sources enumerated above are preserved in each of the extant copies of the Cotton-Corpus collection.[143] The one missing source is Alcuin's Vita, for which F is the sole surviving Cotton-Corpus witness. There is insufficient evidence to determine whether this text was added to the collection after it was first issued as a complete set, or whether it was omitted from some copies because it merely repeats, in summary form, the contents of Sulpicius's works. In either case, it seems probable that Ælfric's exemplar was one which, like F, included Alcuin's Vita as one of its many readings for the feast of St. Martin.

Leaving aside instances of scribal error which are peculiar to

[140] CH, II, 498-519.

[141] Förster, Legenden, 41-42. Gerould, "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin", 206-07.

[142] See above, pp. 99-110. Förster and Gerould also cite the second and third books of Sulpicius's Dialogues as sources, but the evidence of Ælfric's dependence on Alcuin makes these superfluous.

[143] H, 5r-31r; C, 275-98; F, 39r-85r. The October to December portion of D + E is not extant.

only one of the extant manuscripts,[144] the Cotton-Corpus copies of the Latin sources, including those found in H, agree closely with each other and with the printed texts given in Halm's Sulpicii Severi: Libri Qui Supersunt (for the writings of Sulpicius Severus), Monumenta Germaniae Historica (for I, 48 of the Historia Francorum),[145] and Migne (for Alcuin's Vita).[146] In the few passages in which substantial variation occurs, moreover, Ælfric's translation is generally either too free or too abbreviated to allow one to identify the particular variant which he had in front of him. This is particularly true of those sections of the Old English homily which depend on the works of Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours: for these, then, no significant variants have been identified, either in H or in the other witnesses. For Alcuin's Vita,[147] on the other hand, F provides one reading which is marginally closer to the Old

[144]The text of C is very poorly written, and contains an unusually large number of scribal errors, many of which stem from faulty word division or the careless confusion of similar letter forms.

[145]Script. Rer. Merov., I, i, 55-56.

[146]PL, CI, cols. 657-62.

[147]It is perhaps useful to mention here that there are a few details in Ælfric's translation which do not find exact equivalents either in Alcuin's Vita or in the works of Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours: for example, deor (514/25), where Alcuin has lepusculum and Sulpicius leporem; freonda (498/27) and frynd (502/22), where both Alcuin and Sulpicius give parentes; wydewan (508/7), where both Alcuin and Sulpicius simply have mulier; and hundeahtatig (518/12-13) where Alcuin and Gregory of Tours have octogesimo primo. These differences suggest either that Ælfric was working hastily from memory during the composition of some parts of his account, or that his copy of Alcuin's Vita contained a few readings differing from those found in Migne and F. The variant readings could not have been derived from his copies of the writings of Sulpicius or Gregory, for in his second account of Martin's life (LS, xxxi), which follows Sulpicius and Gregory much more closely, he alters deor to hara (ll. 1056-65), changes freonda and frynd to maga (l. 24) and fæder and modor (l. 147) respectively, alters wydewan to wif (l. 1021), and substitutes an and hundeahtatig (l. 1372) for hundeahtatig.

English than the reading found in Migne:

Ælfric	F	PL
Hit gelamp hwilon þæt an wod man gesæt þær ðær se eadiga wer hine ær gereste, and he wearð gewittig ðurh þæs weres geearnungum, þe on ær þæt setl swa gebletsode. (514/18-20)	Quedam persona demoniaco arrepta spiritu, stramine, ubi sanctus martinus sedebat, a potestate eruta est inimica. (84v)	Quaedam puella demoniaco arrepta spiritu, stramine, ubi sanctus Martinus sedebat, a potestate erepta est inimica. (col. 661)

35) Natale Sancte Eugenie Uirginis (LS, ii)

For the life of Eugenia found in the first volume of the Lives,[148] Ott suggested that Ælfric used an anonymous Latin legend included in Rosweyd's edition of the Vitae Patrum.[149] As mentioned earlier, however, this text leaves many features of the Old English translation unexplained. Similarly unsatisfactory is a second and more lengthy version of the legend, a version printed in the second edition of Mombritius's Sanctuarium (II, 391-97). The correct source, as demonstrated fully in Chapter II, is a third and apparently rare form of the passio, of which one copy has recently been printed by A. Fábrega Grau in Pasionario Hispanico, II, 83-98. It is this version which is found in the Cotton-Corpus collection: H, 205v-213r.[150]

Comparison of the printed text of the Latin source with that of H brings to light several instances of textual variation. In almost all of these, the text of H agrees more closely with the Old English translation. Near the end of Ælfric's account, for example,

[148] LS, I, 24-51.

[149] Ott, 8-10. This version of the legend is printed in PL, LXXIII, col. 605-20 and PL, XXI, col. 1105-22.

[150] The same version of the legend survives in C, 410-26 and F, 176r-186v. The text of both of these corresponds closely to that of H.

we find the following passage:

> Ða weop seo modor . mid mycelre sarnysse .
> æt hyre byrgene . oþ þæt heo hi geseah .
> on gastlicre gesihðe . mid golde gefrætewode
> mid ðam heofonlicum werode . þus hi frefrigende .
> Min modor claudia . me hæfð gebroht
> min hælend crist . to his halgena blysse .
> and minne fæder gelogode on þære heah-fædera getele .
> (415-421)

Here the text printed by Fábrega Grau provides only a few verbal parallels; by contrast, the text of H corresponds very closely indeed:

H	Fábrega Grau
Claudia vero mater eius dum ad sepulchrum fleret, apparuit ei Eugenia vigilanti in medio noctis silentio, indutaauro texta veste ciclade cum multa virginum turba et dixit ei: Gaude et letare mater Claudia, quia et me introduxit Christus in exultationem sanctorum, et patrem meum in patriarcharum numero collocavit. (213r)	Claudia vero mater eius dum ad eius sepulcrum fleret, apparuit ei Eugenia vigilanti, et dixit ei: Gaude et letare, mater Claudia, quia et me introduxit Christus in exultatione sanctorum, et patrem meum in patriarcharum gaudio conlocavit. (98)

Similarly, in the following passages in which the printed edition introduces variant readings, the text of H preserves the particular readings translated by Ælfric:[151]

Ælfric	H	Fábrega Grau
. . .oð þæt heo becom þær ða cristenan sungen mid mycelre blisse þus mær-sigende god . . . (36-37)	. . . audivit Christianos psallentes cum magna exultatione atque dicentes . . . (206r)	. . . audivit christianos psallentes atque dicentes . . . (84)

[151] Apart from the closer verbal correspondences cited here, there is one instance in which the arrangement of material in H agrees more closely with Ælfric than does the text of Fábrega Grau. This is the reference to Melantia's feigned sickness (lines 150-51 of the Old English), which both H and Ælfric include before the long exchange between Eugenia and Melantia (lines 153 ff.), but which the text of Fábrega Grau gives afterwards. See above, p. 113, n. 15.

Ælfric	H	Fábrega Grau
. . . oððæt cornelius. þæra cristenra biscop hi dearnunga gefullode . . . (336-37)	Igitur Cornelius cum esset in urbe Roma sacre legis antistes, pervenit ad eum latenter, et baptizavit eam. (211r)	Igitur Cornelius, quum esset in urbe Roma, sacrę legis antestis, pervenit ad eum latenter . . . (94)
. . . ac se hælend com mid heofonlicum leohte . and brohte ðam mædene . mærne big-leofon . snawhwitne hlaf . and on-lihte ðæt cweartern. (403-05)	Apparuit autem illi salvator cum ingenti lumine, de cuius manu illa accipiens panem nivei candoris . . . (213r)	Apparuit autem illi Salvator cum ingenti lumine intus in abditis, qui cotidie eam reficiens . . . (97-98)

36) De Sancta Lucia Virgo (LS, ix)

For the short piece on St. Lucy which is appended to the life of Agatha in the third series, Ott shows that Ælfric used an anonymous Passio S. Luciae, copies of which are printed in Surius (VI, 892-94) and Mombritius (II, 107-09).[152] This same version of the Latin legend survives in three manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection: C, 437-40; F, 199v-201v; and H, 185r-186v. The readings in the first two of these generally correspond closely to each other, while those of H are sometimes divergent. Whenever such variation occurs, the text of H almost always agrees more closely with the old English translation.

In his study of the printed editions of the Latin source, Ott concludes that the text of Surius is, on the whole, a more reliable guide for the Old English translation than that of Mombritius. This conclusion is based on four passages in which Surius disagrees with

[152] Ott, 31-34. The Old English translation is found in LS, I, 210-19.

Mombritius to provide the particular readings known to Ælfric. As the following examples show, each of these readings is also preserved in the text of H:

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
Lucia him andwyrde, ic eom þæs ælmihtigan þinen. forþi ic cwæð godes word. forþan þe he on his godspelle cwæð . . . (73-74)	Ancilla dei sum; et ideo dixi verba dei, quia ipse dixit . . . (186r; cf. Surius, 893)	Dei summi ancilla sum: quia ipse dixit . . . (108)
Ne miht þu gebigan minne willan to þe. swa hwæt swa þu minum lichaman dest. ne mæg þæt belimpan to me. (92-93)	Iam tibi dixi, quod voluntatem meam nunquam poteris ad consensum provocare peccati. Ceterum quicquid feceris corpori, quod in potestate tua videris habere, hoc ad ancillam Christi pertinere non poterit. (186r; cf. Surius, 893)	Tu nunquam poteris uoluntatem meam ad consensum peccati prouocare. Ecce corpus meum paratum est ad omne supplicium. quid moraris? Incipe desyderia poenarum tuarum in me exercere fili diaboli. (108)
. . . ac heo næs astyrod. ac stod swa swa munt. (102)	. . . et illa quasi mons immobilis permanebat. (186r; cf. Surius, 893)	Illa uero fixa et immobilis permanebat. (108)
Þa wearð se wælhreowa wodlice geancsumod þæt his magas ne mihton his modleaste acuman. Ac heton acwellan þæt clæne mæden mid swurde. heo wearð ða gewundod. þæt hire wand se innoð ut. (124-27)	Tunc angustiantem Pascasium non ferentes amici eius, iusserunt gladium mergi in viscera eius. (186v; cf. Surius, 893)	Tunc uidentes angustiantem Paschasium amici eius: iusserunt gladium mergi in gutture eius. (109)

In addition to the examples cited above, there are a few other readings in H which demonstrate its approximation to Ælfric's conjectural exemplar. In the following passages, for example, H agrees not with Surius but with Mombritius in its provision of the

Latin readings translated by Ælfric:

Ælfric	H	Surius
beluc ærest mine eagan . . . (44)	Tege prius oculos meos . . . (185v; cf. Mombritius, 107)	Tege oculos meos . . . (892)
Se apostol behèt þam ðe healdað clænnysse. þæt hi synd godes templ . and þæs halgan gastes wununge. (79-80)	Apostolus dixit: Quod caste viventes templum dei sunt, et spiritus sanctus habitet in eis. (186r; cf. Mombritius, 108)	Apostolus dicit, Quod caste viuentes, templum Dei sunt, et spiritus Dei habitat in eis. (893)

In one final instance the text of H is marginally closer to the Old English than either of the printed texts:[153]

Ælfric	H	Printed Texts
. . . man rædde þæt godspell. hu þæt wif wearð gehæled . þe wæs on blodes ryne . þaða heo hrepode þæs hælendes reaf. (11-13)	Hec evangelii lectio fuit, qua legitur tactu fimbrie vestimenti domini mulier a sanguinis fluxu fuisse salvata. (185r)	. . . haec Euangelij lectio fuit recitata, qua legitur fimbria vestimenti mulier a sanguinis fluxu liberata. (Surius, 892; cf. Mombritius, 107)

37) Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi et Confessoris (LS, xxxi)

In his second and more lengthy account of the life of St. Martin,[154] Ælfric drew on seven different sources: the Vita S. Martini by Sulpicius Severus, Books II and III of Sulpicius' Dialogues, the Epistles to Eusebius and Bassula by the same author, I, 48 of the Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours, I, 4 and 5 of De Virtutibus S. Martini, also by Gregory, and Alcuin's Scriptum

[153] In H, as in all the other copies of the source which I have examined, Paschasius is a judge, while Lucy's suitor is another unnamed person. In Ælfric's text, Paschasius is both judge and suitor (see Ott, 33). This change is probably the result of Ælfric's process of simplification.

[154] LS, II, 218-313.

de Vita S. Martini Turonensis.[155] As demonstrated earlier, all but one of these sources are found in each of the extant manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus legendary, while the one missing text, Alcuin's Vita, is preserved in F. In addition, these same witnesses offer few texts beyond those consulted by Ælfric. Indeed, among the writings common to all of them, we find only one that is superfluous--a brief excerpt from I, 6 of Gregory's De Virtutibus.

That the Cotton-Corpus collection should provide a selection of texts so similar to the list of sources used by Ælfric is in itself a notable point of agreement. The agreement in selection is accompanied, moreover, by a close textual correspondence. One important illustration of this correspondence has already been presented in Chapter III: there it was shown that, near the end of the Epistle to Bassula, each of the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts contains an extra passage describing Martin's glorified body, a passage which, though absent from the text of the Epistle established by Halm,[156] served as the source for lines 1378-84 of the Old English translation. Similarly, in the following few passages, the Cotton-Corpus readings (here taken from H) correspond more closely to the Old English than those adopted in the editions of Halm (for the writings of Sulpicius Severus) and Krusch[157] (for the works of Gregory of Tours):[158]

[155]The first six of these are identified in Gerould's study, "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin", 206-10. Evidence for Ælfric's dependence on Alcuin is presented above, pp. 124-25.

[156]CSEL, I, 107-216, together with Sulpicius' other writings on St. Martin.

[157]For bibliographical details on these, see above, p. 122, n. 26 and 27.

[158]The copy of Alcuin's Vita preserved in F offers no significant variants of interest for the Old English translation.

(i) Sulpicius Severus, Vita Sancti Martini[159]

Ælfric	H	Halm
Þa andette se deofol . . . þæt six-tyne deofle wæron þe worhton þisne hlisan. and to-seowon geond þæt folc. . . . (556-58)	Tunc confessus est sedecim demones fuisse, qui rumorem hunc per populum disseminassent. (9r; cf. Halm, 127*)	Tum confessus est decem daemonas secum fuisse, qui rumorem hunc per populum dispersissent . . . (127)
On þære nihte him com an engel to him sylfum onlocigendum. and his lima smyrode mid halwendre sealfe. (606-08)	Nocte ei angelus visus est eluere vulnera, et salubri unguine contusi corporis membra contingere. (9r; cf. Halm, 128*)	. . . nocte ei angelus uisus est eluere uulnera et salubri unguedine contusi corporis superlinire liuores. (128)
Eft þa on fyrste þa he furðor dwelode . he sæde þæt he dæghwam-lice betwux driht-ne.and him ferdon heofonlice englas . . . (799-801)	Postremo eo usque processit, ut inter se ac deum angelos discurrere predicaret . . . (10r; cf. Halm, 132*)	Postremo eo usquè processit, ut inter se ac Deum nuntios discurrere praedicaret . . . (132)

(ii) Sulpicius Severus, Dialogues, II, III

Ælfric	H	Halm
. . . hwi behylst þu me swa halga. Se bisceop him andwyrde. Ne behealde ic na þe . . . (1187-88)	. . . quid me, inquit, sancte sic aspicis? Tum Martinus, non te inquit . . . (28r; cf. Halm, 205*)	. . . quid me, inquit, sancte sic accipis? tum Martinus, non te, inquit . . . (205)

(iii) Sulpicius Severus, Epistle to Eusebius

Ælfric	H	Halm
Be þam mæg under-gitan se þe þas bóc ræt . þæt martinus næs þurh þa micelan frecednysse to forwyrde gecost-nod . ac wæs afandod . . . (895-97)	Unde intelligat quisquis hec legerit, non temptatum quidem illo Martinum periculo, sed probatum. (12r)	Unde intellegat quisquis haec legerit, temptatum quidem illo Martinum periculo, sed uere probatum. (141)

[159] One other example from this text is cited above, p. 145.

(iv) Sulpicius Severus, Epistle to Bassula

Ælfric	H	Halm
. . . and æfter þysum wordum gewat seo sawl. of þam geswenctan lichaman ge-sælig to heofonum. (1369-70)	Cum hac ergo voce, fatigatum divinis operibus spiritum celo reddidit. (14r; cf. Halm, 149*)	Cum hac ergo uoce spiritum reddidit. (149)

(v) Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, I, 48:

Ælfric	H	Krusch
. . . and fela manna þa ge-hyrdon on his forð-siðe singendra engla swiðe hlude stemna . . . geond þa heofonas swegende . (1374-76)	Multi enim in eius transitum psallentium voces audierunt in celo . . . (14v; cf. Krusch, 32*)	Multi enim in eius transitum psallentium audierunt in caelum . . . (I, i, 32)

(vi) Gregory of Tours, De Virtutibus Sancti Martini, I, 4:

Ælfric	H	Krusch
Sum bisceop seuerinus on þære byrig colonia haliges lifes man gehyrde on ærne mergen swiðe hludne sang on heofonum . (1385-87)	Beatus autem Severinus Coloniensis civitatis episcopus, vir honeste vite . . . dum die dominico loca sancta ex consuetudine post matutinos cum suis clericis circumiret, illa hora qua vir beatus obiit, audivit chorum canentium in sullimi. (14v-15r; cf. Krusch, 590*)	Beatus autem Severinus Colonensis civitatis episcopus, vir honestae vitae . . . dum die dominico loca sancta ex consuetudine cum suis clericis circuiret, illa hora qua vir beatus obiit, audivit chorum canentium in sublimi . . . (I, ii, 590)

38) Passio Sanctae Ceciliae Uirginis (LS, xxxiv)

For his life of St. Cecilia,[160] Ælfric used an anonymous version of the Acta Ceciliae (BHL, 1495), one copy of which is printed in Mombritius, I, 332-41.[161] This same version of the

[160] LS, II, 356-77.

[161] Loomis, 6.

legend, a text which the BHL describes as the recensio longior, survives in three manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus legendary: C, 323-336; F, 108r-116v; and H, 73v-80r. The readings in these three copies generally correspond quite closely to those of the text established by Mombritius, though in the following few passages taken from H, a few more precise parallels for the Old English translation can be observed:

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
Se cwellere hi sloh þa mid his swurde æne eft. and þryddan siðe. ac hire swura næs forod. and he forlet hi sona swa samcuce licgan. forþam-þe witan cwædon þæt nan cwellere ne sceolde feower siðan slean to . þonne man sloge scyldigne. (353-57)	Quam spiculator tertio ictu percuissit, et caput amputare non potuit, Et quoniam legibus tunc ratum erat, ne quartam percussionem decollandus acciperet, sic seminecem truculentus carnifex dereliquit.[162] (80r)	Quam spiculator tertio percussit: et caput eius amputare non potuit. Sic autem seminecem eam cruentus carnifex dereliquit. (341)
. . . and ualerianus feoll afyrht to eorðan. Þa arærde hine se engel and het hine rædan þa gyldenan stafas . . . (58-60)	Et cadens in terram, factus est quasi mortuus. Tunc senior elevavit eum dicens: Lege huius tituli textum . . . (74v; cf. Mombritius, 638*)	. . . cadensque in terram quasi mortuus factus est: Lege inquit huius libri textum . . . (333)
. . . and sum rædbora þa to þam reðan þus cwæð. Hat hi leof acwellan . . . (216-17)	Tunc Assessor prefecti tarquinius dixit prefacto: Prefecte, inventisti occasionem, tolle eos . . . (78r)	Tunc Assessor praefecti Tarquinius lacca dixit praefecto: Inuenisti occasionem: tolle eos . . . (338)
Þa weop maximus . . . and axode þa gebroðra hwi hi swa bliþelice eodon to heora agenum slege . swylce to gebeorscipe. (227-29)	Qui Maximus cepit flere super eos dicens: . . . qua vos impia definitione vultus amittere, ad interitum vestrum quasi ad epulas festinantes? (78r)	Qui Maximus coepit flere super eos dicens . . . quem impia definitione uolentes ammittere quasi ad epulas festimatis. (338)

[162] A reading similar to this, though slightly less close to the Old English is found in Mombritius's apparatus: nam apud veteres lex erat eis imposita, ut si in tribus percussionibus non decollaretur, amplius percutere non audebat (639).

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
Þa beheold maximus and sæde mid aþe to þam ymbstandendum . . . (267-68)	Tunc Maximus iuratus asserebat dicens . . . (78v)	Tunc Maximis iratus asserebat dicens . . . (339)
Almachius þa ofaxode þæt se arwurða maximus mid eallum his hiwum on þone hælend gelyfde . . . (277-78)	Igitur dum comperisset Almachius quod Maximus cornicularius cum suis omnibus factus fuisset christianus . . . (78v)	Igitur cum peruenisset ad Almachium: quod Maximus cornicularius cum suis factus fuisset christianus . . . (339)
. . . gaþ to þam wuldor-beage þæs wynsuman lifes. þonne (sic) se riht-wisa dema deð eow to edleane. (264-65)	Ite ad coronam vite, quam dabit vobis iustus iudex. (78v; cf. Mombritius, 639*)	Ite ad coronam uitae: quam dedit nobis *deus* iustus iudex. (339)

39) Passio Christiani et Dariae Sponse Eius (LS, xxxv)

The legend which the Cotton-Corpus collection provides for the feast of SS. Chrysanthus and Daria is an anonymous version of the Passio SS. Chrisanti et Dariae, copies of which now survive in C, 379-389, F, 136r-143r, and H, 119r-124v. This is the same text which Loomis[163] cites as the source for the Ælfrician account found in the Lives under the date III Kal. Dec.[164]

[163]Loomis, 6.

[164]LS, II, 378-99. Loomis suggests that lines 341-361 of the translation do not derive from the Latin legend. This is certainly true of lines 346-361 where Ælfric discusses the coming of the Antichrist. Lines 341-345, however, were probably suggested by the Prologue of the passio. Cf. these lines with the following excerpt: Hystoriam priorum sanctorum ad aedificationem nostram deus uoluit peruenisse: non ut laudibus mortalium pasceret eos: quos immortalitatis dapibus reficit: sed ut nos exemplo eorum doceat: praesentis huius saeculi blandimenta contemnere: et acquisitione sempiternae gloriae labentem et momentaneam angustiniam non timere . . . (Mombritius, I, 271)

In his study of the printed editions of the Latin legend, Loomis concludes that the source manuscript used by Ælfric "must have compared closely with the one used by Mombritius "[165] (I, 271-78). The readings of this text are on the whole very similar to those of the Cotton-Corpus copies, though in the following brief excerpt taken from H, the Cotton-Corpus text provides a variant which is marginally closer to the Old English translation:

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
Þa cempan þa cyddon þæt claudio heora ealdre. and he sylf com þær-to. and geseah þæt leoht . and het hine utgan and began hine to axienne. (170-72)	Nuntiant hec omnia septuaginta milites Claudio tribuno suo. Et veniens ad locum, vidit lumen immensum. Et iubens eum ad se egredi, dixit ei . . . (122v)	Nunciant haec omnia septuaginta milites claudio tribuno suo: qui posteaquam ad locum lumen immensum conspicatus est iubensque eum ad se egredi dixit ei: (276)

40) Passio Sancti Thome Apostoli (LS, xxxvi)

The life of the apostle Thomas was one of the legends which Ælfric omitted from the first two series of Catholic Homilies, thereby departing from his original intention, as expressed in the Old English Preface of the second series, to treat the lives of those saints whom Angel-cynn mid freols-dagum wurðað (CH, II, 2/15-16). In so doing, he had heeded Augustine's misgivings about the legend, particularly his doubts about the two incidents which Ælfric himself condemns in the Excusatio Dictantis of the second series.[166] Pressed by Æthelwerd to provide an account of Thomas' life, however, he returned to the legend after the completion of the second series, and

[165] Loomis, 6.

[166] CH, II, 520.

included it as the last item in the Lives.[167]

The sources for the life have been investigated by G. Loomis who, following an examination of the various printed editions, came to this conclusion: "A careful comparison of the versions printed in Lazius, LaBarre, and Fabricius with the younger recension of the Passio Thome printed in Mombritius, and by M. Bonnet shows that the manuscript Ælfric was using must be classed with the younger recension group".[168] Significantly, it is this later recension of the St. Thomas legend (BHL 8136) which is preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection: F, 168v-176r and H, 195r-201v.

Comparison of the Cotton-Corpus copies of the Latin source with that of Mombritius (II, 606-14) brings to light numerous instances of textual variation. In such cases, the readings of the Cotton-Corpus text almost always provide closer equivalents for the Old English translation. The following passages taken from the text of H are some of the more conspicuous examples:

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
Þisne ic wille sendan gif þu swa wylt mid þe þæt þu mid wurð-mynte æfter þam weorce eft hine asende gesundne to me. (45-47)	Hunc itaque mittam tecum, ut expletis omnibus ad me eum facias cum honore remeare. (195r)	Hunc itaque mittam tecum: et ad me eum facies cum honore remeare. (606)
Swa hwæt swa bið on marmstane. oþþe on	Omnia que in marmore, omnia que in structura	Omnia in struc-tura quae possunt

[167] LS, II, 398-425. Ælfric mentions Æthelwerd's persistent request for the translation in the opening remarks of his account (lines 11-12).

[168] Loomis, 6-7.

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
mærlicre getimbrunge. ic soþlice wyrce. and gif þu wilt me befæstan cnapan to lærenne ic him cuðlice tæce. (74-76)	esse possunt necessaria, ego faciam; et quantos volueris michi dare discipulos, ego docebo eos. (195v)	esse necessaria ego faciam: et quotquot uolueris mihi discipulos ego docebo. (606)
Hi dydon sona swa. and on þone sunnandæg wurdon feowertyne þusenda gefullode on criste. butan wifum and cildum. þe ne wurdon ge-tealde. Þa wearð se halga thomas gewissod eft þurh god þæt he sceolde faran to þære fyrran indian. (252-56)	Quod cum fecissent, veniente die dominica baptizati sunt quattuordecim milia virorum, exceptis parvulis et mulieribus. Profectus est autem apostolus ad Indiam superiorem per revelationem. (198r)	Quod cum fecissent: ueniente die dominico baptizati sunt ad nouem millia uirorum exceptis paruulis et mulieribus. Profectus est autem apostolus per reuelationem in Indiam. (610)
. . . se is godes freond . and godes englas him þenioð. (135)	. . . amicus dei est et omnes angeli dei famulantur ei. (197r)	. . . amicus dei est et omnes angeli famulantur ei. (608)
. . . and he ge-sohte þone apostol secgende mid wope. Min broþor nyste leof þæt þu þæs lifigendan godes apostol wære. and he hæfð healice agylt. (152-53)	. . . misit se ad pedes apostoli, plorans et postulans fratri suo indulgentiam dicens: Frater meus ignorans quod apostolus dei sis, incurrit grave delictum. (197r)	. . . misit se ad pedes apostoli: plorans et postulans fratri suo indulgentiam dixit: Ignorans quod apostolus dei sis, incurri graue delictum. (608)
Eala þu halga god ungesewenlice wealdend and unawendend-lic þurhwunigende æfre. þu þe asendest us þinne sunu ælmihtigne . . . (213-15)	Agie invisibilis et incomprehensibilis et incommutabilis perseverans deus, qui misisti nobis illuminatorem filium tuum omnipotentem dominum Iesum Christum . . . (197v)	Agie inuisibilis et incompraehensibilis et immutabilis perseuerans: qui misisti nobis illuminatorem filium tuum dominum nostrum Iesum Christum . . . (609)
. . . Þa com þær swilc leoht. swilce þær liget brude þæt hi ealle wendon . . . (226-29)	. . . venit tanta choruscatio super eos, ut omnes se putarent . . . (197v)	. . . uenit coruscus super eos: At omnes se putassent . . . (609)

Ælfric	H	Mombritius
Eala þu min swuster. wistest þu þæt ic wat. þas word þu ne cwæde. (312-13)	O soror Tripetia, si scires, que ego didici a sancto Thoma apostolo, non tu ista diceres. (199v)	O soror Treptia: si scires quae ego didici. (611)
. . . se þe lufað on eorþan his eorðlican fæder . modor . oððe bearn . oþþe wif ofer god . ne bið he gode wurð.[169] (378-80)	. . . quia qui diligit patrem aut matrem, aut filios aut uxorem plus quam deum, deo dignus non est. (200v; cf. Mombritius, 750*)	Quia qui diligit patrem aut matrem plus quam deum: non est deo dignus. (613)
Þa cwæð sona gad to þam godes apostole. Þa gebytlu ic sceawode þe þu minum breþer getimbrodest. and englas me gearndodon to þam ælmihtigan hælende. þæt ic hi gebicgan moste. (174-77)	Dicit ei Gad: Palatium quod fratri meo fabricasti conspexi, et petentibus angelis dei hoc merui ut illud emerem. (197r; cf. Mombritius, 749*)	Dicit ei Gad: Palatium quod fabricasti conspexi: et petentibus angelis hoc merui obtinere. (608-09)
. . . and hu micel se geleafa mæg þurh god gedon . . . (285)	. . . et quantum possit fides . . . (199v	. . . et quid possit fides . . . (611)
Thomas him andwyrde. þu eart min drihten. and ic eom þin þeowa. (27-28)	. . . dixit: Dominus meus es tu et ego servus tuus. (195r)	. . . dixit: Deus meus es tu: et ego seruus tuus. (606)

[169] The Ælfrician form of this biblical adaptation corresponds more closely to tne Cotton-Corpus text than it does to any of the Gospel versions. See Matthew X, 27 and Luke XIV, 26.

CHAPTER V

Conclusions and Continuations

In the preceding chapters, two main aspects of the relationship between Ælfric's hagiographic sources and the Cotton-Corpus collection have been considered. The first of these is the question of the nature and range of their relationship in terms of the selection of saints and of texts common to both. Here it has been shown that although there existed prior to the tenth century numerous Latin biographies of each of the saints treated by Ælfric, the Cotton-Corpus collection regularly provides the particular biography which Ælfric is known to have used. The regularity of this correspondence, accounting as it does for some forty of Ælfric's saints' lives, is in itself impressive. Even more striking is the fact that the correspondence is maintained not only when Ælfric employs what was probably the most popular source available, but also when he relies on texts of apparent rarity (as for the lives of SS. Eugenia and Vincent), or on multiple sources (as for his lives of St. Martin), or on texts whose popularity was rivalled by an unusually large number of other potential sources (as for the lives of SS. Gregory, George, Maurice, Thomas, Andrew, and numerous others). Nor are the areas of conspicuous agreement with Ælfric the only notable features of the collection: of equal interest are the instances of disagreement, almost all of which form patterns that, far from weakening the correspondence with Ælfric, curiously support it. Thus, for example,

in the comparatively few cases in which the collection lacks texts which served as sources for the Old English translations, the texts are almost always ones which, on numerous grounds, seem certain to have been available to Ælfric elsewhere. Or conversely, when the collection provides texts not used by Ælfric, the texts are almost invariably ones which we would expect him to exclude--either because they contain unorthodox material (as in the case of the Cotton-Corpus lives of SS. Peter and Paul), or because they lie beyond his intentions as outlined in the Prefaces to the Homilies and Lives. One final feature of the Latin collection has also been shown to be noteworthy: namely the omission of the feast of St. Matthias. As mentioned earlier, this feast is also absent from Ælfric's writings--an omission which represents a clear departure from the author's stated intentions, and which is almost certainly explained by his failure to locate a suitable source.

The second major aspect of the relationship between Ælfric's sources and the Latin collection which has been considered here is the thorny question of textual correspondence. Here it has been shown that although the earliest surviving witnesses of the collection, A + B + C, D + E, and F, provide numerous readings which are closer to Ælfric than the readings of the printed texts, these same witnesses also preserve a sufficiently large number of remote readings to suggest that they derive from a textual tradition differing from that of Ælfric's conjectural exemplar. The copy of the collection preserved in the comparatively late witness H is another matter. Despite some instances of variation, this manuscript regularly provides source readings which are as close as and in many notable instances closer to Ælfric than any

of the printed editions upon which scholars have hitherto relied. One could only wish that more of this copy had come down to us, for those Latin sources which survive in it correspond very closely to the particular texts which Ælfric had in front of him.

Whether one looks, then, at general features of the collection or at the specifics of its text as preserved in H, one finds several different and notable areas of agreement with the hagiographic sources used by Ælfric. These areas of agreement can be interpreted in two different ways. The first and more cautious way is to state simply that the Cotton-Corpus collection fortuitously incorporates many features of the source book or books used by Ælfric. That chance is the operative element in this claim is of little practical importance: what is important is the fact that in a number of different ways the collection brings us to a fuller understanding of Ælfric's sources and of his methods of working than has previously been possible. The second and bolder claim eliminates the workings of chance and postulates the existence of some real relationship between the Old English translations and some early form of the Cotton-Corpus collection. It is difficult to know precisely what kind of evidence could conclusively support such a claim. Clearly any argument based solely on a single and particularly striking feature of the collection could be dismissed with ease, for although several of its features are, on various grounds remarkable, few, if any, can --in view of the large number of hagiographic compendia produced in Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries--be thought to be unique. The selection of documents on the life of St. Martin described earlier, for example, can also be found, with some variation, in other early legendaries, though not usually, one might add, with

Alcuin's epitome. Similarly, the life of St. Matthias is also occasionally absent from other hagiographic collections, some of which provide an otherwise comprehensive selection of saints. A stronger argument for real and dependent relationship, on the other hand, is one which takes into account not only the individually striking features of the collection but also their collective presence in a legendary which is known to have been available in England at the close of the Anglo-Saxon period. This argument finds much support here. Whether one looks at striking correspondences in individual texts, or at sustained agreement over a large number of texts, or at the remarkably Ælfrician character of the text of H, the Cotton-Corpus collection is closer to Ælfric than anything which has yet been identified. Nor has my own examination of other early legendaries brought to light any collection with equal claims. In all of these others, there are numerous instances of disagreement--instances which render such collections thoroughly unsuitable as potential sources for Ælfric's lives.

Within the realm of probability of scholarship, then, it seems reasonable to conclude that Ælfric derived a significant number of his hagiographic sources from some early form of the Cotton-Corpus collection. As our knowledge of early collections of Latin saints' lives increases, and as the relationships between the thousands of extant manuscripts are more fully determined, it may be possible to identify versions of the collection or manuscripts which correspond even more closely to Ælfric than those studied here. Like the problem of defining the precise version of the Carolingian homiliary used by Ælfric, however, it seems probable that this will be a long term project, the success of which will depend as much on the work

of librarians and Latin scholars thoroughly familiar with the composition and transmission of early hagiographic collections as on the perseverance of Anglo-Saxonists. For those interested specifically in Ælfric, however, the Cotton-Corpus collection provides a good start, for by bringing to light several previously unidentified features of Ælfric's source book, and by exhibiting a close, albeit occasionally imperfect, textual correspondence over a wide range of sources, it provides a standard of agreement against which the degree of correspondence of other manuscripts and collections can be more accurately measured.

These, then, represent the immediate results of the preceding investigation. Since the study of Ælfric's sources is, however, not an end in itself, but is chiefly designed, as Professor Pope observes, to illuminate Ælfric's "learning, his methods as a homilist, and his style",[1] there are also several other insights which have emerged from this inquiry. It is with a consideration of some of these that I should like to conclude, concentrating especially on a few of the ways in which the Cotton-Corpus collection can contribute to other areas of Ælfrician and Old English scholarship.

The study and identification of sources is central to the literary criticism of most forms of literature, but this is especially true for literature which is professedly translation. In this sense, both the new source texts and the large number of previously unrecorded source readings identified here are of considerable interest, for they extend to the critic a surer base

[1] Homilies of Ælfric, I, 153.

from which to comment on Ælfric's methods of translation and from which to identify and to interpret the major patterns which governed his use of hagiographic source materials. There are, however, other more specific ways in which information provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection can assist the critic. In Chapter I, for example, attention has already been drawn to the Martiniana of the legendary, a feature of the collection which considerably modifies previous opinion on Ælfric's lives of St. Martin and especially his treatment of the works of Gregory of Tours. In the same lives, the evidence of Ælfric's dependence on a new source provided by the collection, namely Alcuin's Vita, affords additional insights. In his comments on the shorter biography included in the Catholic Homilies, for example, G. H. Gerould makes the following observation:

> The entire homily is a plain tale in rapid, unadorned prose of the saint's life and death, as brief as was consistent with clarity yet by no means ill fashioned.[2]

This judgment, however, is more charitable than accurate, for some parts of the homily seem to have been thrown hastily together in a manner which is uncharacteristic of even the most abbreviated of Ælfric's translations. This is particularly true of the lengthy passage from the homily quoted earlier,[3] the final part of which (items 5-15) compresses into eleven short sentences an account of almost as many different miracles. The knowledge, however, that this haphazard and confusing grouping of subjects was not the product of Ælfric's own abridgement of the works of Sulpicius, but

[2] "Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours", 207.

[3] See above, pp. 100-01.

was imported directly from Alcuin, helps to explain the anomaly. His use of the Alcuinian short-cut in this particular case, moreover, may suggest that Ælfric was here pressed for time, or as we learn from the Excusatio Dictantis which immediately follows, that he was simply concerned that the length of his second series might mannum æðryt þurh hire micelnysse astyrige.[4]

Ælfric's dependence on Alcuin both for the shorter biography of the Catholic Homilies and for the much fuller version of Martin's life included in the Lives also illuminates other features of his method, especially the influence exercised by stylistic considerations in his choice of source materials. Many of the more or less isolated verbal borrowings from Alcuin in the Catholic Homilies life, for example, betray a strong preference for a metaphorical or figurative form of description, as in the following passage in which Ælfric abandons the rather prosaic appraisal of Bishop Hilarius given in his main source, Sulpicius, in favour of the more vivid Alcuinian portrait:

Ælfric	Alcuin	Sulpicius Severus
Hwæt ða Martinus ðone wælhreowan forlet, and beah to Hilarium, þam gelæredan biscope, seðe þa on worulde wuldorful wæs gehæfd, scinende swa swa tungel on soðre lare, mid ðam he wunode on weligre lare . . . (CH, II, 502/18-21)	Sed inde Arianorum saevitia principum depulsus Gallicanas secessit in partes, venerabilique Pictaviensis urbis antistiti Hilario junctus, qui tunc temporis quasi firmissima fidei columna omnibus laudabilis exstitit: et quasi Lucifer in coelo stellis clarior caeteris clarescit, ita ille sanctus vir in Ecclesia Christi, omnibus famae magnitudine et sanctitate vitae, et doctrinarum veritate sanctarum excellentior effulsit. (PL, CI, col. 659)	Exinde relicta militia sanctum Hilarium Pictauae episcopum ciuitatis, cuius tunc in Dei rebus spectata et cognita fides habebatur, expetiit et aliquamdiu apud eum commoratus est. (Halm, 115)

[4] CH, II, 520/3-4. The first life of Martin was also, of course, intended to be read as part of the liturgy, and so could not be too long.

Another example is found in the description of Martin's powers of prophecy, where Ælfric borrows an image of light suggested by Alcuin:

Ælfric	Alcuin	Sulpicius Severus
Martinus se halga scean on witegunge . . . (CH, II, 512/34-35)	Spiritu vero prophetarum ita claruit . . . (PL, CI, col. 661)	In Martino illud mirabile erat, quod non solum hoc, quod supra rettulimus, sed multa istius modi, si quotiens accidissent, longe antea praeuidebat aut sibi nunciata fratribus indicabat. (Halm, 131)

This same alertness to the stylistic grace of Ælfric's account is also evident in the Lives of Saints biography, where Ælfric's unique departure from Sulpicius in the first 1370 lines of the translation seems almost certainly to have been prompted by a liking for a highly mannered and balanced piece of Alcuinian prose:

Ælfric	Alcuin
He wæs soðfæst on dome . and est-ful on bodunge . arwurð-ful on þeawum . and þurh-wacol on ge-bedum . singal on rædinge . ge-stæððig on his lece . arfæst on ge-wilnunge . and arwurðful on his þenungum.[5] (LS, II, 238/294-97)	Humilis in habitu, jucundus in sermone, devotus in praedicatione, verax in judicio, venerabilis in moribus, pervigil in orationibus, assiduus in lectione, constans in vultu, pius in affectu, honorabilis in ministerio sacerdotali . . . (PL, CI, col. 660)

[5]This rhetorical structure appears frequently in Ælfric's translations, as in the following examples:

> He wæs swiðe snotor wer . and soðfæst on spræce . rihtwis on dome . and on ræde fore-gleaw getreowe on neode . and strang fore-þingere on godnysse scinende . and on eallum þeawum arwurðful. (Passio S. Sebastiani , LS, I, 116/4-7)

> He [Furseus] wæs fram cildhade gelæred, on clænnysse wunigende, estful on mode, lufigendlic on gesihðe, and on halgum mægnum dæghwomlice ðeonde. (In Letania Maiore, Feria Tertia, CH, II, 332/27-334/2)

> Þa wæs sum mæden . . . daria gehaten . . . wlitig on wæstme . and on uðwitegunge snoter. (Passio SS. Chrisanti et Dariae, LS, II, 382/80-83)

Those who have argued that Ælfric's own style was somehow inspired by and consciously adapted from the rhetorical devices of Latin prose may here find further support for their views.[6] There is, in my view, insufficient evidence for this position, but Ælfric's remarkable borrowing from Alcuin here seems clearly to indicate that he was continually and consciously alert to those sections of Latin prose which could most effectively be adapted to his own form of writing.

In addition to providing new material for the literary critic, the Cotton-Corpus and Hereford collections may occasionally be of service to Old English editors and lexicographers. Professors Pope and Cross have recently outlined, with numerous examples, the "very practical uses"[7] of sources in these fields, and have in particular shown how reference to sources can sometimes help the editor to choose between variant readings recorded in the Ælfric manuscripts. I have not tried here to add to their examples, as new editions of Ælfric's works are now in preparation, and as detailed examination of the extant manuscripts for this purpose alone would demand a labour out of all proportion to the results. A minor example of the way in which a source can lead one to question an accepted reading incidentally came to light, however, in my examination of Ælfric's life of Furseus (CH, II, xii for the Tuesday in Rogationtide), where one of the readings found in

[6] See G. H. Gerould, "Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose", Modern Philology, XXII (1925), 353-66.

[7] Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon", 71.; Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, I, 153-54.

Thorpe's edition was so at variance with the source that reference to the manuscripts seemed essential. The passage in question occurs immediately after Ælfric's introduction of the priests Beanus and Meldanus where Thorpe's text reads and twegen englas flugon swilce ðurh anre duna in to ðære heofenan. (342/5-7) Here for Old English duna, hill, the Latin source gives ostium, door.[8] This discrepancy suggests that duna has in some way been confused with the similar form dura, the equivalent of the Latin ostium. And significantly, reference to the extant Ælfric manuscripts bears out this speculation, for, in all but one of these, we find forms of dura, the reading initially suggested by the source.[9]

The brief examples given thus far indicate a few of the ways in which the Latin texts preserved in the Cotton-Corpus and Hereford manuscripts can be of service to those whose primary interest is not the study and identification of sources. There is, however, also some new material here for source hunters per se, and by these I mean not the students of Ælfric's lives, for whom some new sources have already been presented, but those who study other forms of early English literature, or who concentrate chiefly on the exegetical and liturgical homilies of Ælfric's first two series. It has already

[8]This reading is found in all the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus collection and in the standard printed texts of the legend.

[9]The MSS which have forms of dura are Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 342 (29v) and Hatton 115 (31v); and London, British Library, MS Vespasian D xiv (127v). Only one witness, Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 3. 28 (201v) has duna. In other cases, reference to the source brings to light errors in Thorpe's translation of the Homilies. In the life of Simon and Jude (CH, II, xxxviii), for example, Thorpe translates Ælfric's "Þæt ðu wite þæt we sind of ðæra goda getele . . ." (II, 486/12) as "'That thou mayest know that we are of the number of the good . . ." (II, 487/11-12), where, for Old English of ðæra goda getele the Latin source gives ex deorum numero. On the confusion of Old English god and gōd, see Pope, I, 449, n. 162.

been shown, for example, that the Cotton-Corpus collection provides a new and apparently rare source for Ælfric's Passio Sancti Vincentii (LS, xxxvii). The evidence of Ælfric's dependence on this text shows that, despite its apparently limited circulation on the continent, it must nevertheless have been available in England by the end of the tenth century, and so could also have been used by other early English hagiographers. Strong evidence that this was in fact the case can be found, moreover, in the entry on Vincent contained in the Old English Martyrology.[10] In his edition of this early document, Herzfeld cites the very popular 'classical' version of Vincent's life--the same version which Loomis had mistakenly believed that Ælfric had used--as the source for the martyrologist's epitome.[11] Close comparison of the two accounts, however, shows that the Old English abridgement departs from the Latin text in one important passage of direct speech:

Old English Martyrology	Passio classique
Þa swigode se biscop; þa cwæð se diacon to þam biscope: 'clypa ongen þissum deofles hunde þe þe on beorceð. (Herzfeld, 28)	Cumque reticeret Episcopus, erat enim mirae simplicitatis et innocentiae; eruditus scientia, sed, vt praemisimus, impeditioris linguae; ait Vincentius: Si iubes, Pater, responsis Iudicem aggrediar. Et B. Valerius, Dudum, inquit, fili charissime, diuini verbi tibi curam commiseram; sed et nunc pro fide pro qua adstamus, responsa committo. Tunc Vincentius, cuius mens tota iam erat coronae conscia, conuersus ad Datianum . . . (ASS, 22 Jan., II, 394)

Close parallels for the Old English, however, are furnished by the

[10] ed. G. Herzfeld, EETS, o.s. 116 (London, 1900), 28.

[11] Herzfeld, xxxvii.

version of the legend given in the Cotton-Corpus collection:

> Qui[d] submurmuras, inquid episcopo suo Vincentius sanctus, cuius iam erat spiritus in corona, Quid contra canem leviter musitas? Exclama in magna virtute, christicola! ut conterrita rabies, quae contra sanctum dei ministrum latrat, diuinae percussa protinus uocis auctoritate frangatur . . .
> (A, 119v; cf. Fábrega Grau, II, 188)

The same passio, moreover , also provides satisfactory parallels for the remainder of the entry. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the apparently little known Cotton-Corpus version of Vincent's life served as the ultimate source for this part of the Old English Martyrology or its Latin exemplar.

In addition to their potential importance for source studies of non-Ælfrician Old English literature, the texts of the Cotton-Corpus collection also help to illuminate a few hitherto unexplained sections of Ælfric's exegetical and liturgical homilies. The evidence of these passages suggests that Ælfric's debt to Latin hagiography was more varied and extensive than has been previously supposed, and underscores the dangers of limiting the search for Ælfric's homiletic sources purely to homiletic literature. In order to illustrate this, I should like to conclude this study with a few previously unnoticed examples of the different ways in which Ælfric seems to have adapted his hagiographic sources to essentially non-hagiographic purposes.

One of the more complicated of Ælfric's works, from the viewpoint of source analysis, is his second homily on the birth of Christ.[12] Unlike most of the liturgical[13] homilies, this text does

[12] CH, II, 4-23.

[13] I adopt Professor Pope's usage here to distinguish homilies which the Ælfric MSS assign to a specified occasion in the Church year from those which were to be read quando volueris. See Homilies of Ælfric, I, 137, 141, n. 2.

not expound a particular scriptural reading, but consists of a series of brief discussions on a number of individual topics, all of which relate in a general way to the central theme of the Nativity. This heterogeneous character of the piece, in conjunction with the general manner in which many of its themes are developed, suggests that parts of it have no specific source, but are the freely constructed product of Ælfric's wide reading in the Fathers, the Bible, and other religious writings. Only recently, however, Professor Cross has shown that several passages in the homily derive directly from two Advent selections included in the original version of Paul the Deacon's homiliary.[14] There is evidence, moreover, that Ælfric went even further afield than Paul the Deacon in his composition of the piece, for at least one passage in the homily shows a clear dependence on--surprisingly for a sermon on the Nativity--the Cotton-Corpus version of the Passio Sancti Iacobi Apostoli Filii Zebedei.[15]

The passage with which we are particularly concerned here is Ælfric's lengthy treatment of the Old Testament messianic prophecies which, in Thorpe's edition, extends from 12/13 to 18/9. Professor Cross has suggested that some parallels for this discussion are found in Chapters XI-XIV of the Sermo de Symbolo, contra Judaeos, Paganos, et Arianos,[16] by Quodvultdeus, a work which Ælfric employs later in the homily for his treatment of Nebuchadnezzar and the

[14]"Ælfric and the Mediaeval Homiliary", 14-17.

[15]Printed in Mombritius, II, 37-40. All references are from this edition.

[16]Printed in PL, XLII, 1123-7. See Cross, "Ælfric and the Mediaeval Homiliary", 15. Throughout the middle ages, the sermon was attributed to Augustine, but it is now known to be the work of Quodvultdeus.

Erythraeean Sibyl. The sermon by Quodvultdeus, however, is only remotely related to this earlier section of Ælfric's account, exhibiting primarily--as Professor Cross himself observes--"a similarity of general purpose"[17] rather than any distinctive verbal correspondences. Indeed, comparison of the two texts shows that Quodvultdeus includes only five of the twenty-one prophecies mentioned by Ælfric and none of the explanatory connectives which, in the Old English, organize and tie together the vast array of biblical testimonies. Very close parallels for almost the whole of Ælfric's discussion can be found, however, in the Passio Sancti Iacobi. The passage in question is a lengthy speech which the apostle delivers to the Jews immediately before his martyrdom. For ease of comparison, I quote the relevant parts of the Latin and Old English:

Se Ælmihtiga God behet gefyrn worulde Abrahame þam heahfædere, þæt on his cynne sceolde beon eal mancynn ge-bletsod, and him eac swa gelæste . . . Eft, Isaias se witega awrat on his witegunge, and þus cwæð, "Efne an mæden sceal geeacnian, and acennan Sunu, and his nama bið Emmanuhel," þæt is gereht, 'God is mid us.' Eft, Ezechiel witegode be ðære byrig Hierusalem and be Criste, ðus cweðende, "Þin Cyning cymð to ðe eadmod, and ge-edstaðelað þe." . . . Eft, be Cristes acennednysse Dauid se sealm-wyrhta sang and cwæð, þæt he gehyrde Cristes stemne, þus cweðende, "God cwæð to me, Ðu eart min sunu, nu to-dæg ic gestrynde þe." Eft þæs Fæder stemn be his Bearne clypode, and cwæð, "He sylf clypode to me, Þu eart min Fæder." And eft, se Fæder be him cwæð, "Ic beo him Fæder, and he bið me Sunu, and ic gesette hine frumcennedne and healicne toforan eallum eorðlicum cynegum." . . . Be ðam wundrum þe Crist geworhte witegode Hieremias to þære byrig Hierusalem, þus cweðende, "To ðe cymð þin Alysend, and þis bið his tacn, He geopenað blindra manna eagan, and deafum he forgifð heorcnunge, and mid his stemne he arærð þa dædan of heora byrgenum." . . . Be his ðrowunge cwæð Isaias, "He is geläd to slege swa swa scep,

[17] Cross, "Ælfric and the Mediaeval Homiliary", 15.

and he suwade, and his muð ne ondyde, swa swa lamb deð, þonne hit man scyrð." And eft cwæð Dauid, "Hi purhðydon mine handa and mine fet, and hi dældon min reaf betwux him." Be Cristes deaðe witegode se ylca Dauid, and cwæð be Cristes lice, "Min lichama gerest on hihte, forðan þe þu ne forlætst mine sawle on helle, ne ðu ne geðafast þæt min lichama gebrosnige." Ðas word Crist geclypode to his Fæder; and siððan he cwæð be his æriste, "Ic aras of deaðe, and ic eft mid þe eom." Be his upstige cwæð se ylca Dauid, "God astihð up to heofonum mid micelre myrhðe." . . . Be ðam þe Crist sitt æt his Fæder swiðran, cwæð se ylca witega, "God cwæð to minum Drihtne, Site her to minum swiðran." . . . Eft, be his to-cyme to ðam micclum dome, cwæð se ylca, "God cymð swutellice, and he ne suwað; fyr byrnð on his gesihðe , and stiðlic hreohnys bið onbuton him." Be mancynnes æriste witegode Isaias, "Þa deadan sceolon arisan, and þa ðe licgað on byrgenum hi ge-edcuciað." Be ðam dome Dauid cwæð to Gode, "Þu, Drihten, forgylst ælcum be his weorcum."

(CH, II, 12/23-18/9)

Tunc Iacobus repletus spiritu sancto dixit: Audite uiri fratres et omnes qui uos filios Abrahae scitis. Promisit omnes patri nostro Abrahae quod in saemine eius haereditentur esse gentes . . . Hoc autem promissum Ipsaias* praedixit: quo ordine fieret. Ait enim: ecce uirgo concipiet in utero: et pariet filium: et uocabitur nomen eius Emanuel: quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus. Ieremias autem dixit: Ecce ueniet redemptor tuus hierusalem: et hoc eius erit signum: Caecorum oculos aperiet . surdis reddet auditum: et uoce sua excitabit mortuos: Ezechiel autem assignat dicens: Veniet rex tuus Syon humilis: ut restauret te . . . Dauid autem dicit uocem filii dei dicentis: Dominus dixit ad me: filius meus es tu: et patris uox de filio dicit: Ipse inuocabit me: pater meus es tu: et ego primogenitum ponam illum excelsum apud reges terrae . . . De passione autem eius dicit Isaias: sicut ouis ad occisionem ductus est: et dauid in persona eius dicit: foderunt manus meas et pedes meos: . . . diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea: . . . De morte autem eius dicit: Caro mea requiescet in spe: Quia non derelinques animam meam in inferno: nec dabis sanctum tuum uidere corruptionem. uox autem filii ad patrem dicit: Exurgam: et adhuc tecum suum*: . . . De ascensione autem eius dicit . . . Ascendit deus in iubilatione . . . Nam quod sedeat ad dexteram patris idem dicit per Dauid: Dixit dominus domino meo: sede a dextris meis: et quod uenturus sit iudicare terram per ignem: dicit propheta: Deus manifeste ueniet deus noster: et non silebit. Ignis in conspectu eius ardebit: et in circuitu eius tempestas ualida. Haec omnia in domino nostro Iesu christo impleta: quae transacta sunt: et quae nondum facta sunt implebuntur ita: sicut prophetata sunt.

> Ait enim Isaias: Surgent mortui: et resurgent omnes: qui in monumentis sunt. si interroges: quid erit cum resurexerit. Dicit Dauid audisse se deum loquentem: quidnam: ut probetis ita esse audite quid dicat: Semel locutus est deus duo haec audiui: quia potestas dei est: et tibi domine misericordia: quia tu reddes singulis secundum opera eorum.
> (Mombritius, II, 38-39)

Evidence of Ælfric's dependence on this passage is plentiful. Firstly, like the author of the Passion text, Ælfric tightly orders his material through the skilful application of a single structural principle: the Christological articles of the Apostles' Creed. The systematic expression of this principle in the form of brief introductory formulae is also the same, even to the point of literal translation: De passione autem eius . . . Be his ðrowunge; De morte autem eius . . . Be Cristes deaðe; De ascensione autem eius . . . Be his upstige; Nam quod sedeat ad dexteram patris . . . Be ðam þe Crist sitt æt his Fæder swiðran; Et quod uenturus sit iudicare terram per ignem . . . Eft be his to-cyme to ðam micclum dome. It will be noticed, however, that Ælfric--having adopted the Creed structure of the Latin--makes it characteristically his own. In particular, he builds upon the original idea by making explicit a few prophetic categories which are not formally itemized by the Latin author: Be Cristes acennednysse . . . Be mancynnes æriste . . . Be ðam dome. In addition, he modifies the structure further by including one subdivision which is not even included in the Creed: Be ðam wundrum. Even with these, however, the Latin text provides the raw materials through its provision of prophecies which at once suggest and exemplify Ælfric's new categories.

In addition to this structural correspondence, there is a striking correspondence in content. All but seven of the twenty-one prophecies mentioned by Ælfric are included in the Latin text, and most of these are also presented in the same order and combination.

That such a correspondence--both of content and of arrangement--could be the result of Ælfric's independent amalgam of biblical testimonies seems scarcely credible. Indeed, in terms of content at least, it can be shown to be impossible for, as I hope to show presently, a few of the prophecies which Ælfric shares with the Latin text are not biblical at all, and so could only have been derived from some apocryphal intermediary such as the Passion oration.

The first of these apocryphal testimonies is Ælfric's rendering of the so-called prophecy from Jeremiah _be þam wundrum þe Crist geworhte:_

> "To ðe cymð þin Alysend, and þis bið his tacn, He geopenað blindra manna eagan, and deafum he forgifð heorcnunge, and mid his stemne he arærð þa deadan of heora byrgenum."
>
> (_CH_, II, 16/11-14)

Though Ælfric ascribes this prophecy to Jeremiah, there is in fact nothing in Jeremiah, or indeed in Baruch or Lamentations--books commonly attributed to Jeremiah in early patristic texts[18]--which even remotely compares with it. Indeed, in his study of _Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers_, this was one of the few of Ælfric's scriptural references for which A. S. Cook was unable to locate a source.[19] Yet, the Latin Passion of St. James solves the problem through its provision of a very exact equivalent:

> Ieremias autem dixit: Ecce ueniet redemptor tuus hierusalem: et hoc eius erit signum: Caecorum

[18] On the patristic attributions of these books, see A. Robert and A. Feuillet, _Introduction à la Bible_, I (Tournai, 1959), 677-78, 733; and R. H. Charles, _Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament_, I (Oxford, 1913), 580. Baruch was the secretary of Jeremiah.

[19] (London, 1898), 256-57. This prophecy which Ælfric attributes to Jeremiah is the only untraced passage from Ælfric's _Homilies_ listed in Cook's study for which subsequent researchers have been unable to locate a source.

> oculos aperiet. surdis reddet auditum: et uoce sua excitabit mortuos.
>
> (Mombritius, II, 38)

A similar example is provided by Ælfric's reference to 'Ezekiel's prophecy' on the coming of the Messiah:

> Eft, Ezechiel witegode be ðære byrig Hierusalem and be Criste, ðus cweðende, "Þin Cyning cymð to ðe eadmod, and ge-edstaðelað þe." (CH, II, 14/3-6)

This too is an apocryphal prediction, though in this case Cook suggests that the Old English is a falsely attributed paraphrase of Zechariah, 9:9:

> Ecce rex tuus ueniet tibi iustus, et saluator; ipse pauper . . .[20]

Once again, however, the speech of St. James provides a precise correspondence:

> Ezechiel autem assignat dicens: Veniet rex tuus Syon humilis: ut restauret te.
>
> (Mombritius, II, 38)

Here it is interesting to note Ælfric's effective transposition of the word Syon from its place in the body of the quotation to a new position as part of one of the introductory structural formulae.

A final example is provided by Ælfric's translation of Isaiah's prophecy on the resurrection of mankind:

> Þa deadan sceolon arisan, and þa ðe licgað on byrgenum hi ge-edcuciað. (CH, II, 18/6-7)

This prophecy, though not uncanonical, is a very loose paraphrase of Isaiah, 26:19:

> Vivent mortui tui, interfecti mei resurgent.

Here Professor Cross has suggested that the immediate source for the Old English rendering was a passage given in Bede's Commentaries on

[20]Cook, 135.

Mark and Luke, works which, through frequent use, "were held firmly in Ælfric's mind for recall or possible consultation":[21]

> Suscitabuntur mortui et resurgent qui in sepulchris sunt.[22]

The Latin Passion of St. James, however, offers an equally close paraphrase and, in view of Ælfric's dependence on this text for the surrounding parts of the translation, there can be no doubt that it served as the immediate source:

> Ait enim Isaias: Surgent mortui: et resurgent omnes: qui in monumentis sunt.
>
> (Mombritius, II, 39)

These very close correspondences both in manner and in matter provide, I believe, more than ample evidence of Ælfric's use of the Passion text for his treatment of the Old Testament prophecies in the Nativity Sermon. This is not to suggest, of course, that Ælfric follows the oration in every detail, nor even that he uses it alone. Three of the five prophecies not found in the Latin Passion but used by Ælfric, for example, seem quite clearly to be taken from the Sermo de Symbolo of Quodvultdeus: it is this text which, as Professor Cross has demonstrated, Ælfric turns to later in his homily. Other details seem to be Ælfric's own additions, or at least his own independent expansions of brief references found in the Latin sources. The lengthy treatment of Daniel, 9:21-24, for example, seems to have been suggested by an allusion in Quodvultdeus to that part of the Old Testament, while the introductory discussion of the messianic line seems in the same way to have been born of a similar theme in the Passion text. Still other features

[21]Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon", 90.

[22]Quoted in Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon", 90, n. 1 (ii).

embody a number of creative processes as, for example, does Ælfric's effective addition of the prophecy from Isaiah, 9:6-7, to produce with the apocryphal prophecy from the Passion text his new prophetic unit on the miracles of Christ.

That Ælfric used the speech from the Passio Sancti Iacobi in a way all his own--adding, expanding, and rearranging--is not surprising: these are commonplaces of Ælfrician source criticism. Nor is it surprising that he should have perceived and exploited the benefits of the creed structure. As early as the time of Bede,[23] the Creed was, together with the Pater Noster, one of the two prayers which ælc cristen man sceal æfter rihte cunnan,[24] and the Jacobean device of combining a restatement of its central Christological articles with an orderly presentation of Old Testament messianic prophecies must have seemed to Ælfric--as indeed it would centuries later to medieval iconographers and dramatists[25]--a peculiarly economical artistic and didactic tool. What is surprising about his use of the structure, however, is that the hagiographic text which provided its immediate inspiration should even have occurred to him

[23]See The Homilies of Wulfstan, ed. D. Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), 299-300.

[24]CH, I, 274/17-18. Ælfric repeats this injunction in CH, II, 604/15-16, LS, I, 370/96-97, and in the Letter for Wulsige, Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics, ed. B. Fehr, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, IX (Hamburg, 1914), 15.

[25]On the use of the Creed structure in medieval drama and art, see Rosemary Woolf, The English Mystery Plays (London, 1972), 59-61, 72, 156-57; and M. D. Anderson, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches (Cambridge, 1963), 37-40. In medieval stained glass and manuscript illuminations, the articles of the Creed were artistically glossed not only by prophets (and their prophecies), but also by the apostles. In the Creed Page of the Arundel Psalter, for example, Dr. Anderson (p. 39) points out that "the Prophets and Apostles, holding appropriately inscribed scrolls, flank small pictures illustrating the relevant clauses of the Creed."

during the composition of a Nativity Sermon. What were the mechanisms which prompted the consultation of a text so remotely related in general purpose and subject matter? Or what, in Professor Cross's words, were Ælfric's "processes of association"?[26]

The ways in which Ælfric worked during the composition of his second Nativity sermon can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty. It seems probable, first of all, that the sermon by Quodvultdeus was the first work which Ælfric consulted for this particular part of his homily, for the Sermo de Symbolo was one of the Advent readings included in Paul's homiliary,[27] and a text to which Ælfric would therefore quite naturally turn during the composition of a Christmas homily. Once having read Quodvultdeus, the seemingly long leap to the Passio Sancti Iacobi could be made in a number of ways. The relevant passages in both texts, first of all, deal almost exclusively with Christ's fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies. Both, moreover, are directed at the recalcitrant Jews. These similarities may in themselves have been enough to trigger the association in Ælfric's mind, though one sometimes wonders if such general correspondences are not more properly the machinery of the detached literary critic than of the working author. There is, however, one feature of Quodvultdeus's sermon which displays a very close and distinctive correspondence with the speech from the Latin Passion text, and which may therefore have served as the bridge between the two works. This is

[26]For a discussion of this subject in two other Ælfrician texts, see J. E. Cross, "Ælfric--Mainly on Memory and Creative Method in Two Catholic Homilies", Studia Neophilologica, XLI (1969) 135-55.

[27]See the list of contents of the original homiliary as printed by Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary", 166.

Quodvultdeus's brief sentence on the prophecies of the heathen Sibyl, a sentence which Ælfric translates, with one significant addition, later in his homily:

> Haec [Sibylla] de Christi nativitate, passione et resurrectione, atque secundo ejus adventu ita dicta sunt . . . [28]

In this one brief sentence, we have an evocative summary both of the content and of the organizing principle of the speech of St. James. The fact, moreover, that the natural divisions of the Passion oration are the articles of the creed--words which for Ælfric were more than mnemonic--suggest that the broad outlines of the speech would have stayed firmly in his mind, ready for quick recall and use. This is not to suggest, however, that Ælfric did not directly consult the Passion text. The Sermo de Symbolo may have provided the stimulus for the initial recall, but Ælfric's selection and arrangement of the same prophecies--both canonical and otherwise--as those of St. James, leave everywhere the mark of direct consultation.

In addition to instances in which Ælfric seems to have turned directly to a Latin saint's life for homiletic matter, there are also several passages in which he appears simply to have remembered a specific piece of historical description or exegesis expounded in a Latin legend, or in which his reading in hagiography seems to have exercised a more fluid influence upon his thinking. A good and previously unnoticed example of the first 'intermediate' form of dependence is observed in the description of the circumstances surrounding the composition of the fourth gospel which Ælfric

[28] PL, XLII, col. 1126.

includes in his fourth Nativity Sermon (lines 20-29) recently printed in the supplementary edition of the Homilies (Pope, I, i). Professor Pope has suggested that this description, like Ælfric's more extended treatment of the same subject in the homily for the feast of the Assumptio Sancti Iohannis Apostoli (Thorpe, I, 68/35-70/22), "draws . . . upon Bede's homily I, 9"[29] as given in Hurst's edition of the fifty genuine homilies.[30] It has already been shown, however, that Ælfric's earlier discussion of the subject in the Assumption homily was primarily based not on Bede, but on an apparently interpolated version of the Mellitø text of the Acts of John, as is evidenced clearly by the copy of those Acts preserved in the Hereford exemplar, which provides an extra passage corresponding closely both in content and in positioning to the Old English treatment.[31] In view of this, there is no reason to suppose that Ælfric's reworking of precisely the same material in the Nativity Sermon should have been based on an additional source. Indeed, this can be shown to be more than speculation, for at least one of the details mentioned by Ælfric in the Nativity Sermon finds no parallel in Bede, but does in the Hereford Mellitø text:

Ælfric	Hereford	Bede
And he him bead þa þreora daga fæsten, 7 æfter þa(m) fæstene he wearð swa afylled mid	Quod ille primo quidem se negavit facturum, nec illis in prece etiam persistentibus aliter adquieuit, nisi omnes triduano ieiunio dominum in commune	Quod ille se non aliter facturum respondit nisi indicto ieiunio omnes in commune dominum precarentur

[29] Homilies of Ælfric, I, 221, n. 17-26.

[30] Homeliarum Evangelii Libri II, CCSL, CXXII (Turnhout, 1955), 60-67.

[31] See above, pp. 160-62.

Ælfric	Hereford	Bede
þam Halgan Gaste þæt . . . (Homilies of Ælfric, I, 197/ 23-25)	precarentur. Quod cum fecissent, die tertia tanta gratia spiritus sancti . . . repletus est, ut . . . (H, 221r)	ut ille digna scribere posset. Et hoc ita patrato, instructus reuelatione ac sancti spiritus gratia debriatus . . . (Hurst, 66)

There is no need to suspect, moreover, that the text of Bede's homily as given above is deficient, for the same material is rehearsed in much the same form in Alcuin's Commentaria in Iohannis Evangelium (PL, C, col. 741) and in Jerome's prologue to the Commentaria in Matthaeum, (PL, XXVI, col. 19) both of which also fail to stipulate the length of the prescribed fast.

Another passage in which Ælfric seems to have drawn indirectly upon his reading in hagiography is found in the Pentecost Homily of the first series (CH, I, xxii) which explicates Acts, 2:1-47, 4:4, 32-35, and 5:1-16. The passage in question here is the description of the relationship between the New Testament Pentecostal gift of tongues and the Old Testament story of the Tower of Babel:

> Ge gehyrdon lytle ær, on ðisre rædinge, þæt se Halga Gast com ofer ða apostolas on fyrenum tungum, and him forgeaf ingehyd ealra gereorda; forðan ðe se eadmoda heap geearnode æt Gode þæt iu ær þæt modige werod forleas. Hit getimode æfter Noes flode, þæt entas woldon aræran ane burh, and ænne stypel swa heahne, þæt his hrof astige oð heofon. Þa wæs an gereord on eallum mancynne, and þæt weorc wæs begunnen ongean Godes willan. God eac forði hi tostencte, swa þæt he forgeaf ælcum ðære wyrhtena seltcuð gereord, and heora nan ne cuðe oðres spræce tocnawan. Hi ða geswicon ðære getimbrunge, and toferdon geond ealne middangeard: and wæron siððan swa fela gereord swa ðæra wyrhtena wæs. Nu eft on ðisum dæge, þurh ðæs Halgan Gastes to-cyme, wurdon ealle gereord ge-anlæhte and geðwære; forðan ðe eal se halga heap Cristes hyredes wæs sprecende mid eallum gereordum; and eac þæt wunderlicor wæs, ðaða heora an bodade mid anre spræce, ælcum wæs geðuht, ðe ðe bodunge gehyrde, swilce he spræce mid his gereorde, wæron hi Ebreisce, oððe Grecisce, oððe Romanisce, oððe Egyptisce, oððe swa hwilcere ðeode swa hi wæron þe

> ða lare gehyrdon. On ðysre geferrædene geearnode heora eadmodnys þas mihte, and ðæra enta modignys geearnode gescyndnysse.
>
> (CH, I, 318/11-32)

As Förster points out, the immediate inspiration for the typology expounded here was provided by a brief passage in Gregory's Homilia XXX of the series In Evangelia,[32] a homily which Ælfric also draws upon later for his discussion of the physical manifestations of the Holy Spirit:

> Qui vero contra Deum turrim aedificare conati sunt communionem unius linguae perdiderunt in his autem qui Deum humiliter metuebant linguae omnes unitae sunt. Hic ergo humilitas virtutem meruit, illic superbia confusionem.
>
> (PL, LXXVI, col. 1222)

In terms of verbal correspondences, however, this passage accounts only for the first and last sentences of the Ælfrician excerpt quoted earlier: Förster therefore concludes that the central part of the Old English discussion is a selbstandig addition on Ælfric's part. An interesting precedent for Ælfric's expansion of the Gregorian passage, however,--together, indeed, with a narrative restatement of the essentials of the typology--is found in the Cotton-Corpus version of the Passio Sancti Matthaei, the same text which Ælfric translates fully for his own homily on the life of St. Matthew. The passage in question is a dialogue between Matthew and one of the Ethiopian converts:

> Tunc Candacis eunuchus qui eum susceperat cum omni affectione interrogauit eum dicens: Obsecro te: ut digneris indicare mihi quomodo cum sis hebreus nosti grecam et aegyptiacam, et ethiopican sermocinationem: ut hi qui in eis nati sunt ita loqui non possint. Apostolus respondit. Totus muudus* unam sermicinationem omnium hominum habuisse cognoscitur. Sed nata est presumptio hominum talis: quae eos turrim tantae

[32] Förster, "Über die Quellen von Ælfrics exegetischen Homiliae Catholicae", Anglia, XVI (1894), 8.

> magnitudinis facere hortaretur: ut cacumem ejus perueniret ad caelum. Hanc presumptionem deus molientium hoc ordine repressit: ut nullus ullum posset sibi loquentem aduertere. Facta sunt autem plurima linguarum genera: et diuisa est illa conspiratio: quae per unam linguae intelligentiam consistebat. Ueniens autem filius dei . . . misit spiritum sanctum de caelo: cum in unum essemus locum: uenit super unum quemque nostrum inflammatus ab igne. Post haec cum a nobis pauor simul et splendor abcessit: caepimusque uariis linguis loqui gentibus magnalia dei . . . Non ergo ut putas istas quattuor sed omnium linguas scimus nos duodecim discipuli eius non mediocriter sed perfecte.
>
> (Mombritius, II, 258)

It is, of course, impossible to prove conclusively that this passage influenced the Old English treatment, for the narrative details are all provided in Genesis and in Acts, and Ælfric may simply have independently believed that some elaboration of the rather terse Gregorian exposition would be useful. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that whereas Acts provides a long and detailed list of the different peoples who could understand the apostolic teaching, both Ælfric and the Matthew Passion speech provide simplified lists which correspond closely to each other:

Acts, ii, 5-11

> Erant autem in Ierusalem habitantes Iudaei, viri religiosi ex omni natione quae sub caelo est . . . Stupebant autem omnes, et mirabantur dicentes: Nonne ecce omnes isti qui loquuntur Galilaei sunt? Et quomodo nos audivimus unusquisque linguam nostram, in qua nati sumus? Parthi et Medi et Elamitae, et qui habitant Mesopotamiam, Iudeam et Cappadociam, Pontum et Asiam, Phrygian et Pamphyliam, AEgyptum et partes Libyae quae est circa Cyrenen et advenae Romani, Iudaei quoque et proselyti, Cretes et Arabes, audivimus eos loquentes nostris linguis magnalia Dei.[33]

Ælfric	Passio S. Matthaei
. . . ælcum wæs geðuht, ðe ða bodunge gehyrde, swilce he	. . . Obsecro te: ut digneris indicare mihi quomodo cum sis

[33] Biblia Sacra, Vulgatae Editionis (Rome, 1954). All further biblical references in this chapter are from this edition.

Ælfric	Passio S. Matthaei
spræce mid his gereorde, wæron hi Ebreisce, oððe Grecisce, oððe Romanisce, oððe Egyptisce, oððe swa hwilcere ðeode swa hi wæron þe ða lare gehyrdon. (CH, I, 318/27-30)	hebreus nosti grecam et aegyptiacam, et ethiopicam sermocinationem: ut hi qui in eis nati sunt ita loqui non possint. Apostolus respondit: . . . Non ergo ut putas istas quattuor sed omnium linguas scimus nos duodecim discipuli eius non mediocriter sed perfecte. (Mombritius, II, 258)

This is admittedly a small correspondence, but it seems the sort of detail which an author might recall even unconsciously from his previous reading.

Another passage from the homilies which may have been indirectly inspired by a Latin saint's life is the sequence on the miracles of Christ found in the Sermo de Initio Creaturae of the first series (CH, I, i):

> He awende wæter to wine, and eode ofer sæ mid drium fotum, and he gestilde windas mid his hæse, and he forgeaf blindum mannum gesihðe, and healtum and lamum rihtne gang, and hreoflium smeðnysse, and hælu heora lichaman; dumbum he forgeaf getingnysse, and deafum heorcnunge; deofolseocum and wodum he sealde gewitt, and þa deoflu todræfde, and ælce untrumnysse he gehælde; dæde men he arærde of heora byrgenum to life . . . (CH, I, 26/8-15)

The details given in this passage derive ultimately, of course, from the Gospels--in particular, as Professor Pope points out,[34] from Luke, vii, 21-22, which enumerates six of the twelve miracles mentioned by Ælfric:

> In ipsa autem hora multos curavit a languoribus, et plagis et spiritibus malis; et caecis multis donavit visum. Et respondens dixit illis: Euntes renuntiate Ioanni quae audistis et vidistis: quia caeci vident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, surdi audiunt, mortui resurgunt, pauperes evangelizantur.

[34] Homilies of Ælfric, I, 473-74, n. 102-27.

Once again, however, it seems possible that at least part of the Ælfrician translation may have been inspired by a hagiographic intermediary, for in the Cotton-Corpus version of the Passio Sanctae Caeciliae we find the following discussion of the same subject:

> Transmeabat maria super undas ambulans pedibus siccis: Imperabat uentis:tempestates arcebat: atque saeuientes procellas ac turbines compescebat: Restituebat caecis uisum: mancis reddebat dexteram: claudicantibus gressum: mutis uocem dabat: et surdis auditum. Paraliticos uerbo sanabat: leprosos uerbo mundabat: infirmos curabat: lunaticos instaurabat: et daemones effugabat.
>
> (Mombritius, I, 335-36)

In addition to a general similarity in the selection and arrangement of miracles, two features of this passage seem noteworthy. Firstly, like Ælfric, the author of the Latin text couples the account of the walking on the water with the story of the stilling of the winds. This seems a significant agreement, for the two events are not associated with each other in any of the Gospels:

> Walking on the Water: Matthew, xiv, 25; Mark, vi, 48; John, vi, 19.
>
> Stilling of the Winds: Matthew, viii, 26; Mark, iv, 39; Luke, viii, 24.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, in describing the first of these miracles, both texts refer specifically to Christ's 'dry feet' (mid drium fotum . . . pedibus siccis), a detail which is not mentioned in any of the three Gospel accounts of the incident, and which seems unlikely to have occurred independently to two different authors in such a brief and allusive summary of the miracles. Clearly, it is a detail which stuck firmly in Ælfric's mind, for it appears again in precisely the same context in Ælfric's reworking of the passage in On the Old and New Testament:

> . . . and he wæter awende to winlicum drence,
> and ofer sæ eode eall drium fotum,

and windas gestilde mid his wordes hæse . . .[35]
(Crawford, 55/914-18)

The passages discussed above illustrate cases in which Ælfric has either turned directly to Latin saints' lives for homiletic matter, or in which he has simply drawn on them from memory. In several other cases, it seems probable that his reading in hagiography would have exercised a more general and hence less discernible influence upon his homiletic writings. Latin saints' lives, for example, frequently include detailed expositions of the doctrine of the Trinity[36] and long lists of the pagan gods and their attributes[37]--subjects which also figure prominently in Ælfric's own writings. I have not found evidence of Ælfric's direct dependence on such passages, but one might expect that they would have influenced his thought and perhaps even his form of expression, particularly in those passages in which he seems to have been writing freely without reference to any specific source. In the case of the pagan gods, this seems especially true, for in his discussion of Jove's parentage in De Falsis Diis, he supports his genealogical facts with a specific reference to hagiographic literature:

[35]I have not encountered the phrase pedibus siccis in any patristic exposition of this miracle, nor does it appear in Ælfric's more lengthy account of the incident in CH, II, 388/17-20 which simply has He com nu wunderlice gangende on ðære sæ: þa yða arison, ac he hi offræd; se byrm hwoðerode under his fotswaðum, ac swa-ðeah he hine bær, wolde he nolde he. Variations of the phrase do occasionally appear in diverse contexts in the Old Testament (eg., 4 Kings, xix, 24; 4 Kings, ii, 8; Judith, v, 12; and Isaiah, xi, 15), but not in the New Testament accounts of Christ's miracle.

[36]The Latin sources which Ælfric uses for his lives of St. Thomas and St. Cecilia, for example, both draw the Augustinian parallel between the three-fold division of the soul and the three persons of the Trinity, an interpretation used by Ælfric in De Fide Catholica (CH, I, 288-90).

[37]See the Passio SS. Chrysanthi et Dariae (Mombritius, I, 274-75) and the Passio SS. Dionysii, Rustici, et Eleutherii, (Mombritius, I, 394-95).

> Nu secgað þa Deniscan on heora gedwylde
> þæt se Iouis wære, þe hi Þor hatað,
> Mercuries sunu, þe hi Oðon hatað:
> ac hi nabbað na riht, for þam þe we rædað on bocum,
> ge on hæþenum ge on Cristenum, þæt se hetola Iouis
> to soðan wære Saturnes sunu
> . . . . . .
> and eac on martira þrowungum we gemetað swa awriten.
> (Homilies of Ælfric, II, 684-85/141-49)

These, then, are some of the ways in which a study of the Latin lives preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection can contribute to our understanding not only of Ælfric's hagiographic writings, but also of his homilies. Clearly other possibilities should also be explored. It is interesting to note, for example, that all of the hagiographic sources which I have cited above for the homilies are drawn from lives which Ælfric elsewhere treats fully, either in the Homilies or in the Lives of Saints. However, if--as the Preface to the third series seems to imply, and as this study has suggested-- these lives represent but a small proportion of the hagiographic writings which were known to Ælfric, then it is conceivable that he may occasionally have depended for brief passages on lives which to us seem to have no obvious connection with his work. In my own examination of the non-Ælfrician lives preserved in the Cotton-Corpus collection, I have not found examples of this, but others more familiar with the detail of the exegetical homilies might find that there is material there which is worthy of their attention.

APPENDIX I

A Note on Ælfric's Use of the Word Boc

In a previous chapter,[1] it was briefly suggested that Ælfric's use of the word boc may help to shed light on his use of sources and in particular on the form in which they came to him. An exhaustive analysis of his use of the term in all of his works is beyond the scope of this investigation. Nevertheless, a preliminary study based on the first two series of Catholic Homilies, the Lives of Saints, and the texts printed in Homilies of Ælfric brings to light some interesting patterns which may be of use to Ælfric scholars.

The term boc, in its various substantive and adjectival forms, appears in the volumes mentioned above well over 350 times. Most of these occurrences fall into two general categories which are of little interest for our purposes here. In these cases, the word is used either in a general way without reference to any specific source (swa swa we on bocum rædað, swa swa bec secgað, Hit is awriten on halgum bocum, boclice lare, etc.),[2] or a more specialized manner with reference to the Bible or one of its parts (on Cristes bec, on ðære bec þe is gehaten Actus Apostolorum, etc.) In a comparatively small number of passages, however, the term is applied to a specific non-biblical source text.

[1]See above p. 86.

[2]In some of these instances, Ælfric is simply translating the word from his source. For an example, see the passage from the Historia Francorum quoted above, p. 123.

These sources are the following:

(i) Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica:

CH, II, 116/27-118/4
CH, II, 348/11-12
LS, I, 432/24
LS, I, 440/118-119
LS, II, 142/272

(ii) Vitae Patrum:

CH, I, 544/35
CH, II, 272/13
LS, I, 2/12
Homilies of ÆIfric, II, 625/62
Homilies of ÆIfric, II, 775/17
Homilies of ÆIfric, II, 778/83

(iii) Gregory the Great, Dialogues:

CH, II, 354/29-30
CH, II, 358/28-29

(iv) Rufinus Historia Ecclesiastica:

CH, II, 304/1-2
CH, II, 384/6

(v) Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita:[3]

Homilies of ÆIfric, II, 730/60-61, 67

(vi) Abbo, Passio Sancti Eadmundi:

LS, II, 314/8

(vii) Amalarius, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis:

CH, II, 84/22-23

(viii) Pseudo-Augustine, unnamed sermon:[4]

LS, I, 368/67

The first six of the texts listed above are all sources which, on numerous grounds, (evidence of manuscript survival, ÆIfric's own statements, the frequency and character of his borrowings, the

[3]As Pope, (Homilies of ÆIfric, I, 169) points out, this work is traditionally ascribed to Cassiodorus, but [is] largely the work of his pupil Epiphanius.

[4]ÆIfric attributes the sermon to Augustine, but it is now believed to be the work of Caesarius of Arles. See Raynes, "MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and ÆIfric", 71.

nature of the sources, etc.)[5] seem almost certainly to have been known to Ælfric not simply through intermediaries, such as Paul and Haymo, but as complete and separate works. The same is probably also true of the seventh work in the list, the De Ecclesiasticis Officiis of Amalarius. Like Bede's History and Gregory's Dialogues, this ecclesiastical handbook was well known to Anglo-Saxon churchmen: Wulfstan used it in several of his homilies,[6] Æthelwold turned to it in the Regularis Concordia, and Ælfric himself drew on it both in his homilies[7] and in his Letter to the Monks of Eynsham. In this latter work especially, he speaks of it with some familiarity, once again calling it a 'book':

haec pauca de libro consuetudinum quem sanctus aðelwoldus uuintoniensis episcopus . . . collegit . . . addens etiam aliqua de libro amalarii presbyteri.[8] The last work included in the list--the pseudo-Augustinian sermon--seems on first glance to stand apart from the others in that, as a short homiletic piece, it may have come to Ælfric via an intermediary--that is a homiliary drawn from various sources--rather than as part of a 'book' attributed solely to Augustine. In fact, however, this may not have been the case, for this is one of the texts included

[5]See above pp. 82-93, and (for the Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita) Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, I, 169.

[6]See Bethurum's notes in The Homilies of Wulfstan, particularly 302-305 and 312-313.

[7]See Förster, "Über die Quellen von Ælfrics exegetischen Homiliae Catholicae", 48-49 and B. Fehr, "Über einige Quellen zu Ælfrics Homiliae Catholicae." Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, CXXX (1913), 378.

[8]"Excerpta ex Institutionibus Monasticis Æthelwoldi Episcopi Wintoniensis Compilata in Usum Fratrum Egneshamnensium per Ælfricum Abbatem.", ed. M. Bateson, in Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester, ed. G. W. Kitchin, Hampshire Record Society (London, 1892), 174-75.

in MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63, the collection of excerpts which ÆIfric himself probably assembled by lifting sections from 'books' to which he had only temporary access.[9]

The one thing common to the eight texts which ÆIfric specifically describes as 'books', then, is that all of them are works which seem quite likely to have been known to ÆIfric not simply through his normal intermediaries, but in some other way--probably at first hand. In contrast to this, I have not found a single instance in which ÆIfric specifically applies the term 'book' to a source which he is known to have derived from a homiliary or to a source provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection. From all this, it seems reasonable to speculate: (i) that just as a modern author distinguishes between his sources by the discriminating use of terms such as book, monograph, article, excerpt, etc., so too did ÆIfric; and (ii) that when translating from a work which he knew at first hand, and which therefore probably had a physical existence of its own (that is, a volume or codex), ÆIfric used the term boc, while when translating from a work which was simply part of a collection (such as a homiliary or legendary), he used other terms (for example, gewrit, racu, gesetnysse, traht, etc.). Such an explanation helps to account for ÆIfric's application of the term boc to Gregory's Dialogues, but not to the Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus (which are included in the Cotton-Corpus collection); to the Ecclesiastical History of both Bede and Rufinus, but not to that of Josephus (which he could only have known via Rufinus or Haymo); to Abbo's Vita S. Eadmundi, but not to the lives provided by the Cotton-Corpus collection, many of which are equally long (for example, the lives of Dionysius and Basil); and to the pseudo-Augustinian sermon preserved in the Boulogne exemplar, but not to the sermons which he derived from the homiliary of Paul the Deacon. In addition, such an

[9]See Raynes, 71, 73 and Pope, Homilies of ÆIfric, I, 162-63.

explanation is consistent with the way in which Ælfric used the term when referring to his own works, for, as Professor Clemoes points out, Ælfric normally applies the term only to any volume of his writings.[10]

[10]See Clemoes, "Chronology", 224, n. 4. An exception to the generalization stated above is Ælfric's regular application of the term to his translations from the Bible.

APPENDIX II

Textual Divergence Between ÆLfric and the Cotton-Corpus MSS

As has been shown in Chapters III and IV, several of the sources presented in A + B + C, D + E, and F, and almost all of those surviving in H exhibit a close, albeit occasionally imperfect textual correspondence with the Latin lives translated by ÆLfric. In order that these closely related sources might be of maximum service to ÆLfric scholars, it is perhaps useful to supplement the numerous instances of agreement presented earlier with a list of those passages in which the Cotton-Corpus readings correspond less closely to the Old English translations than do the readings of the printed texts. A list of such readings from the group of closely related lives identified in Chapter III is presented in the pages below.[1] Not included in these pages are the six lives from A + B + C which, as mentioned earlier, exhibit more frequent and substantial divergence from ÆLfric's conjectural exemplar.[2] For a reliable text of these, the student of ÆLfric's sources may consult the printed editions cited in the individual studies of Chapter IV.

As in Chapter IV, the material here has been divided into two parts. In Part A, the text of A + B + C (or, when this is deficient,

[1]The printed editions on which I have relied here are the same as those used in the individual studies of Chapter IV. Full bibliographical details of these editions are provided in that chapter. Here abbreviated references have been used.

[2]These are the following: CH, I, xxxi; CH, I, xxxiv, CH, II, xviiia; CH, II, xxxi; CH, II, xxxviib; and LS, xi.

D + E or F)[3] has been used as the basis for comparison, in Part B, the preferred, though incomplete, text of H.[4] In both parts, the lives have once again been arranged according to the order of their appearance in Ælfric's works, beginning with the Homilies and continuing through the Lives.

In selecting the readings listed below, it has been my aim to present the evidence of variation between the Cotton-Corpus text and Ælfric's conjectural exemplar in as fair a manner as possible. To this end, I have generally been more scrupulous in citing instances of minor variation than of minor correspondence. As a consequence, some of the Cotton-Corpus readings included here may not in fact--in view of the freedom of the Old English translations--differ very substantially, if at all, from those which Ælfric knew. In other cases, the evidence of divergence is unmistakable though as indicated in the notes, several of these are quite clearly the product of scribal error and carelessness.

As a final note, it perhaps worthwhile to point out that four of the lives for which A + B + C was used as a base[5] and two of those for which H was employed[6] were found to contain no significantly inferior source readings. Like the small group of texts which exhibit more than infrequent divergence, then, these six lives are not represented in the pages below.

[3]The few instances of scribal error which seem almost certainly to have originated with the scribe of A + B + C and which are not found in the closely related witness, D + E, have not been included in the list below.

[4]All inferior source readings from H--including those which are quite clearly the product of scribal carelessness--have been cited in the list.

[5]These are CH, I, xxvi, and LS, iii, x, and xv.

[6]These are CH, II, xxxix and LS, ii. On CH, II, xxxix, however, see below, p. 313, n.35.

PART A : The Text of A + B + C (D + E and F)

1) Passio Beati Laurentii Martyris (CH, I, 416-36)

Ælfric	Anal. Boll. (LI, 72-98)	Cotton-Corpus
Decius andwyrde, "Soðlice is seo æ godcundlic ðe ðe swa gebylde þæt ðu nelt ure godas wurðian, ne ðu nanes cynnes tintregan þe ne ondrætst." Laurentius cwæð, "On Cristes naman ne forhtige ic for ðinum tintregum." Se wælhreowa casere ða cwæð, "Gif ðu ne offrast urum godum . . . (428/24-28)	Decius Caesar dixit: "Vere divinam, quia nec deos times, nec tormenta pavescis." Beatus Laurentius dixit: "In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi tormenta non pavesco nec metuo." Decius Caesar dixit: "Sacrifica diis . . ." (91-92)	Decius caesar dixit: Vere divina, qui nec deos times nec tormenta pavescis. Sacrifica diis . . . (B, 71r)
"Ic on mines Drihtnes naman nateshwon ne forhtige for ðinum tintregum, ðe sind hwilwendlice . . ." (426/9-10)	"Ego in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi non pavesco tormenta tua quae ad tempus sunt." (90)	Ego in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi non pavesco tormenta tua, ad tempus fac quod facis. (B, 70v)
". . . and us fram deofles ðeowte alysdest . . ." (426/15-16)	". . . ut nos a servitute daemonum liberares . . ." (90)	. . . ut [nos][7] a servitio liberares . . . (B, 70v)
"Sy ðe lof, Drihten, forðan ðe ðu eart ealra ðinga God." (428/34-35)	"Gratias tibi ago, domine Deus, quia tu es Deus omnium rerum." (92)	Gratias tibi ago, quia tu es deus omnium rerum. (B, 71r)

2) De Assumptione Beatae Mariae (CH, I, 436-54)

Ælfric	PL (XXX, cols. 122-42)	Cotton-Corpus[8]
Soðlice fram anginne þæs halgan	Porro ab exordio sancti Evangelii	Porro ab exordio sancti evangelii

[7]Absent from B, but provided in E, 63v.

[8]Each of the Cotton-Corpus readings cited here is from the Ps.-Jerome Epistle to Paula and Eustochium. No inferior variants were observed in the Cotton-Corpus copies of the other sources Ælfric used here.

Ælfric	PL (XXX, cols. 122-42)	Cotton-Corpus
godspelles ge geleornodon . . . (438/3-4)	Gabrielem archangelum collequentem Mariae didicistis . . . (col. 122)	Gabrihelem archangelum colloquentem Mariae audistis . . . (B, 79r)
Heo is gecoren swa swa sunne mid leoman healicra mihta . . . (444/3-4)	Electa ut sol, fulgore virtutum . . . (col. 130)	Electa ut sol, fulgore . . . (B, 82r)

3) Sancti Gregorii Pape Urbis Romane Incliti (CH, II, 116-32)

Ælfric	Grisar[9]	Cotton-Corpus[10]
Gregorius is Grecisc nama, se sweigð on Ledenum gereorde, 'Uigilantius' . . . (118/11-13)	Gregorius nanque ex Greco eloquio in nostram linguam Vigilantius sonat. (163)	Gregorius namque ex greco eloquio in nostram linguam vigilans sonat. (A, 167r)
Ac se halga sacerd ne geswac þæt folc to manigenne þæt hi ðære þene ne geswicon, oð-þæt Godes miltsung þone reðan cwealm gestilde. (126/20-23)	Sed non destitit sacerdos tantus populo predicare, ne ab oratione cessarent, donec miseratione diuina pestis ipsa quiesceret. (169)	Sed non destitit sacerdos tantus populi praedicare, ne ab oratione cessarent, donec miseratione divina ipsa quiesceret. (A, 168v)
. . . þeah ðe he eall wolde . . . (122/12)	. . . etsi pontifex concedere illi quod petierat uellet . . . (172)	. . . etsi pontifex concederet illi quod petierat . . . (A, 169r)
. . . ðe he eft æfter fyrste mid hunig-swettre þrotan þæslice bealcette. (118/21-22)	. . . que post congruenti tempore mellito gutture eructaret. (163)	. . . quae post congruenti mellito gutture ructuaret. (A, 167r)

[9]Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, XI (1887), 162-73.

[10]Apart from the readings cited here, the Cotton-Corpus text includes a number of corruptions in the section describing Gregory's encounter with the English slave boys. These are not noted here, as Ælfric's account of the incident is taken from Bede.

4) Sanctorum Alexandri, Eventii et Theodoli[11] (Pope, Homilies of Ælfric, II, 734-48)

Ælfric	ASS (May, I, 371-75)	Cotton-Corpus[12]
. . . þu hæfdest þinne sunu ansundne nu todæig. (19)	. . . hodie filium tuum haberes incolumem. (372)	. . . filium tuum haberes incolumem. (D, 232v)
Gif we for urum synnum ofslagene beon sculdon, and mid ealle amyrde . . . (177-78)	Si pro criminibus nostris mori habuimus ac perire . . . (373)	Si pro criminibus nostris mori habuimus aperire. (D, 234r)

5) In Letania Maiore: Feria Tertia (CH, II, 332-48)

Ælfric	ASS (Jan., II, 36-41)	Cotton-Corpus[13]
Se gewæpnode engel ða fleah him ætforan, todælende ðone lig, and ða oðre twegen him flugon on twa healfa, and hine wið þæs fyres frecednysse gescyldon. (338/19-22)	Tunc vidit sanctum Angelum praecedentem, et ignem flammae diuidentem in duos muros vtroque latere: et duo sancti Angeli vtroque latere ab igne eum defendebant. (38)	Tunc vidit sanctum angelum precedentem et ignem flamme dividere in duos muros utroque latere ab igne defendebant eum. (A, 94r)
. . . and geseah him onbuton micele menigu læwedra manna and gehadodra, and mid micelre geomerunge	. . . conspiciensque parentum multitudinem, vel vicinorum, siue etiam Clericorum, ingemiscensque	. . . conspiciens multitudinem parentum vel vicinorum sive etiam clericorum ingemescens

[11]For the portion of this account printed by Thorpe (CH, II, 308-13), the Cotton-Corpus text includes no significantly inferior source readings.

[12]The Cotton-Corpus text also lacks the one reading from Surius which Pope cites as superior to the ASS. See Homilies of Ælfric, II, 739, n. 62-67.

[13]Both of the Cotton-Corpus passages cited here show evidence of homoeoteleuton. In the first passage, the scribe's eye has jumped from the first latere to the second identical form. Likewise, in the second passage, he has jumped from the first magnitudinem to the second one. The same errors are found in the closely related witness, D, 59v-66v.

Ælfric	ASS (Jan., II, 36-41)	Cotton-Corpus
heora mennisce anginn and dysig bemænde. (346/19-22)	magnitudinem humanae stultitiae, arduumque et difficilem transitum admirans, magnitudinem quoque remunerationis . . . (41)	magnitudinem quoque remunerationis . . . (A, 96v)

6) Sanctorum Septem Dormientium (CH, II, 424-26)

Ælfric	Huber[14]	Cotton-Corpus
Þis wundor wearð ða þam cristenum casere Theodosie gecyd, and he mid bliðum mode ðider siðode . . . (426/5-7)	Et haec audiens Theodosius imperator [nimio gaudio perfusus] surrexit . . . (74)	Et haec audiens imperator Theodosius, surrexit . . . (B, 56r)

7) Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Simonis et Iude (CH, II, 480-98)

Ælfric	Mombritius (II, 534-39)	Cotton-Corpus
Þa hæfde se cyning Xerxes gecweden gefeoht ongean ða Indiscan . . . (482/5-6)	Hic autem contra Indos qui fines persidis inuaserant susceperat bellum . . . (534)	nothing
. . . on oðre healfe stod ðæs monan cræt . . . (494/23-24)	In alia autem stabat luna fusilis . . . (539)	. . . in alia autem ede stabat fusilis[15] . . . (F, 16r)
Iudas se apostol cwæð ealswa to	Similiter cum hoc Iudas ad simulacrum	Cum haec Symon ad simulachrum

[14]Beitrag zur Visionsliteratur, 37-78. The phrase nimio gaudio perfusus in the excerpt quoted here is from Huber's apparatus. Though this phrase provides a correspondence for Ælfric's mid bliðum mode, one should note that the joy of Theodsius is suggested at several other points in this part of the Latin legend and that Ælfric's rendering here is greatly abbreviated.

[15]The passages surrounding this excerpt make it clear that the part of the temple alluded to here was dedicated to the moon. Had Ælfric found the Cotton-Corpus reading in his own exemplar, then, it seems likely that he would have emended it to include luna.

Ælfric	Mombritius (II, 534-39)	Cotton-Corpus
þæs monan anlicnysse . . . (496/15-16)	lunae dixisset . . . (539)	lunae dixisset . . .[16] (F, 16r)

8) Passio Sancti Iuliani et Sponse Eius Basilisse (LS, I, 90-115)

Ælfric	ASS (Jan., I, 575-87)	Cotton-Corpus[17]
. . . and hi mycclum þæs fægnodon. (24)	Exhilarantur genitores . . . (576)	nothing
. . . and het siððan for-bernan ealle his gebroðra . samod binnan þam ylcan huse . þe hi heora beda beeoden. (121-22)	Multitudinem vero Sanctorum eodem loco, in quo degebant, et laudibus Dei vacabant, iussit incendio concremari. (579)	. . . illos autem omnes iussit in eodem loco in quo erant igne copioso cremari. (A, 80r)
. . . and clypode ofer eall. (280)	. . .et voce magna clamabat. (583)	. . . et clamabat. (A, 83r)
Beo se man ongean gelæd. for minum leofan iuliane. (294)	Propter dilectum meum Iulianum reducatur huius anima . . . (583)	Propter dilectum meum reducatur . . . (A, 83r)
Þa bed Iulianus gebigedum cneowum. mid his ge-ferum. (373-74)	. . . fixis gentibus S. Antonius Presbyter, et B. Iulianus cum sociis suis, dixit. (586)	Tunc sanctus Iulianus et Antonius presbyter fixi⟨s⟩ gentibus, talem fundunt orationem . . . (A, 85r)

[16]Apart from these readings, there are a few passages in which both F and Mombritius disagree with the Old English translation. At 492/24-25 and 492/32, for example, Ælfric says that the apostles spent fourteen months in Babylon and then preached for fourteen years in Persia. In both these instances, both F and Mombritius give the numeral XIII. Similarly, whereas Ælfric at 484/21 states that there were 100 idolators, both F and Mombritius give the number CXX.

[17]Apart from the readings cited here, there are a few others which are peculiar to only one of the extant Cotton-Corpus witnesses. All of these are clearly the result of scribal error.

Ælfric	ASS (Jan., I, 575-89)	Cotton-Corpus
. . . on-æl hi siððan ealle oðrum mannum to bysne. (260)	. . . ad exemplum aliorum . . . (583)	. . . ad[18] exemplum omnium . . . (A, 82v)

9) Passio Sancti Sebastiani Martyris (LS, I, 116-47)

Ælfric	ASS (Jan., II, 265-78)	Cotton-Corpus
. . . and nu ge awurpað eowerne cyne-helm. (55)	. . . et nunc . . . coronam deponitis sempiternam? (266)	. . . et . . . coronam deponitis sempiternam. (A, 103r)
Ærað eower sige-becn . fram eorð-licum ge-wilnungum. (59)	Erigite igitur a terrenis affectibus tropaeum vestri . . . (266)	Erigite igitur a terrenis aspectibus[19] tropheum vestri. (A, 103r)
. . . alecgað eowre ge-wit-leaste . . . (397)	. . . deponite amentiam vestram . . . (278)	. . . deponite amentiam . . . (A, 113v)

10) Natale Sancti Mauri Abbatis (LS, I, 148-69)

Ælfric	ASS (Jan., I, 1039-50)	Cotton-Corpus
On ðam timan asende sum ge-sælig biscop. . . . mænigfealde lac . . . (53-55)	. . . cum magnis xeniis . . . (1042)	. . . cum magnis precibus . . . (F, 218r)
Þu godes dyrling . hwi eart ðu swa dreorig. (326)	Quid, dilectissima Deo anima, tanto moerore pro his, quae a Deo agi disposita sunt, afficeris? (1050)	Quid delectissima deo anima tanto timore pro his quae a deo agi disposita sunt afficeris? (F, 230r)
. . . swa þæt an hund muneca. and syxtyne	Factum est enim, ut infra quinque menses	Factum est enim ut infra quinque menses

[18]There is evidence of revision by erasure at this point in the passage.

[19]There is evidence of revision by erasure here.

Ælfric	ASS (Jan., I, 1039-50)	Cotton-Corpus
munecas . binnan fif monðum . of ðam mynstre gewiton. (348-49)	centum et sexdecim ibi morerentur. (1050)	centum quatuor decim[20] morerentur. (F, 230v)

11) Natale Sancte Agnetis Uirginis (LS, I, 170-86)

Ælfric	PL (XVII, cols. 735-42)[21]	Cotton-Corpus
Þam anum ic healde minne truwan æfre . (56)	Ipsi soli servo fidem meam . . . (col. 736)	Ipsi soli servo fide . . . (A, 114v)
Þa com þæs gerefan suna . . . wolde þa godes þinene gebysmrian. (163-64)	. . . prefecti filius . . . venit . . . quasi insultaturus puellae . . . (col. 739)	. . . prefecti filius . . . veniens . . . quasi exultaturus de virgine . . . (A, 115r)

12) Alia Sententia Quam Scripsit Terrentianus (LS, I, 186-94)

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 569-72)[22]	Cotton-Corpus
. . . swa ic þam ælmihtigan behet . (373)	. . . quam uoui. (571)	. . . quam perfecti cognovi. (B, 31v)

[20]The Cotton-Corpus reading here is clearly the result of scribal carelessness. In the table of contents prefixed to the account in F, the correct reading is given: et quod infra quinque menses CXVI ibi morerentur (214v). Moreover, both Ælfric and the text of F agree that there were originally 140 monks and that 24 escaped the pestilence. The subtraction of these figures again gives the correct figure. Thus, even if Ælfric had found the reading centum quattuor decim in his source manuscript, it seems likely that he would have spotted the error and corrected it accordingly.

[21]In addition to the passages from Migne cited here, there is one passage in which the ASS (21 Jan., II, 351-54) provides a better source reading. Here for Ælfric's and hire sylfre ane ðruh . þaer het gesettan (289), the ASS has et sibi illic mausoleum collocari praecepit (353), while both A and D replace mausoleum with mansionem. See A, 116v.

[22]There is also one passage in which the ASS (25 June, V, 37-39) provides a reading which is marginally closer than the Cotton-Corpus text. Here for Ælfric's ge-bæde þe . . . to his apostolum 341-42) the ASS has ejus Apostolos adoras (38), while Cotton-Corpus has eius adoras apostolum (A, 31r).

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 569-72)	Cotton-Corpus
Bardan (363)	Bardan (570)	Bradam (B, 31v)

13) Natale Sancte Agathe Uirginis (LS, I, 194-209)

Ælfric	ASS (Feb., I, 615-18)	Cotton-Corpus
. . . þæt heo geond þrittig nihte hire þeawas leornode . (12)	. . . ut per dies triginta quotidie blandirentur ei . . . (615)	. . . per dies triginta quinque ut cottidie blandirentur ei . . . (A, 148r)
. . . þæt ge beoð þeowan synne and stanum (52)	. . . vt non solum vos peccati faciat seruos, verum etiam lignis et lapidibus faciat obnoxios. (616)	. . . ut non solum peccato uos faciat obnoxios sed etiam perpetuo igne arsuros. (A, 148r)

14) Natale Sancti Georgii Martyris (LS, I, 306-19)

Ælfric	Huber[23]	Cotton-Corpus
. . . ac ðu næfst swa þeah mine sawle . . . (103)	. . . animam autem meam non habes in potestate. (198-99)	. . . animam meam non habes in potestate. (A, 204v)
Ic gange into þe on mines drihtnes naman. (110)	In nomine Domini mei Jesu Christi insilio in te. (199)	In nomini Domini nostri Jesu Christi insylio in te. (A, 204v)
Hu magon hi ahreddan ðe fram frecednyssum. þonne hi ne mihton hi sylfe ahreddan. (149-50)	. . . qui se non potuerunt liberare de inferis: te quomodo liberare poterunt? (201)	. . . qui non potuerunt liberare se de inferis te quo liberabunt? (A, 205r)

15) Natale Sancti Apollonaris Martyris (LS, I, 472-87)

Ælfric	ASS (July, V, 344-50)	Cotton-Corpus
Asende ure hælend	Mittat Dominus noster	Mittat Dominus noster

[23] Festschrift zum XII Allgemeinen Deutschen Neuphilologentage, 194-203.

Ælfric	ASS (July, V, 344-50)	Cotton-Corpus
crist his halgan engel . . . (28)	Jesus Christus angelum suum . . . (345)	Jesus Christus angelum . . . (E, 27v)
. . . ge-opena nu his muð þæt he mærsige þinne naman . and gelyfe þæt þu eart lifigende god on worulde . (89-90)	. . . aperi continuo os ejus, ut tuum nomen, quod est benedictum, invocet, et credat quia tu es Deus vivens in secula seculorum. (346)	. . . aperi continuo os eius, et tuum nomen quod est benedictum invocet et credat, quia tu es deus unus in secula seculorum. (E, 29r)

16) Natalis Sanctorum Abdon et Sennes (LS, II, 54-58)

Ælfric	Anal. Boll. (LI, 72-98)	Cotton-Corpus
. . . cyð hwæt þu wylle. þæt þu wite soðlice . þæt we orsorge syndon on urum hælende criste . . . (23-25)	". . . Fac quod putas: scies quia nos securi sumus de domino nostro Iesu Christo . . ." (79)	. . . Fac quod putas; nos securi sumus de domino Iesu Christo . . . (B, 68r)

17) Exaltatio Sancte Crucis (LS, II, 144-58)

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 379-81)	Cotton-Corpus[24]
. . . and het delfan þa eorðan digellice mid cræfte . swa þæt hors urnon embe þæt hus gelome þurh þa digelan dica dynigende mid fotum wolde þunor wyrcan gewit-leas swa-ðeah (37-40)	Et dum subterraneo specu equis in circuitu contrahentibus cir-cumacta turris fabrica moueri uidebatur: quasi quodammodo rugitum tonitrui iuxta possibilitatem artificis imitabatur. (380)	Et sic subterraneo specu aquis in circumitu trahentibus cir-cumacta turris fabricata movere videbatur.[25] (F, 235v)

[24]All the readings cited here are from the legend of the Exaltation. No examples of inferior source readings are found in the Cotton-Corpus text of the Acta S. Longini, from which lines 184-219 of the Old English translation derive.

[25]The Cotton-Corpus reading here may be the result of homoeoteleuton, the scribe's eye having jumped from videbatur to imitabatur, (cf. the excerpt from Mombritius.) In this passage, as in the excerpt cited immediately after it, the missing text has been inserted in the margin of the text in C by the reviser.

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 379-81)	Cotton-Corpus
. . . gif þu þonne elles dest . þu scealt deaþe sweltan . (73)	Sin autem aliud egeris: meo mox gladio interibis. (380)	nothing
. . . and godes engel hi bær bufan þam geate . (93)	Angelus enim domini tenens illud in manibus stetit super portam . . . (380)	Angelus autem domini accipiens illud in manibus stetit in porta . . . (F, 236r)
. . . and þæt folc þæs fægnode. afylde mid þam bræðe . (112)	omniumque pectora ille odor summa alacritate infudit. (381)	. . . omniumque peccatorum se gratanter infudit. (F, 236v)

18) Passio Sancti Mauricii et Sociorum Eius (LS, II, 158-68)

Ælfric	Surius (V, 325-30)	Cotton-Corpus
. . . buton us drihten crist oþþe his leoht forgife . oþþe us læde onweg . (109-10)	. . . nisi nobis aut viam Christus ostenderit, aut lumen Christi affulserit. (329)	. . . nisi vobis aut viam Christus ostenderit, aut lumen Christus effulserit. (B, 139r)

19) Passio Sancti Dionisii et Sociorum Eius (LS, II, 168-90)

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 394-409)	Cotton-Corpus
. . . þeos deorce niht getacnaþ micel leoht towerd eallum middan-earde . (14-15)	. . . haec nox . . . totius mundi ueram lucem aduenturam signauit. (395)	Haec . . . totius mundi veram lucem adventuram significat. (C, 178)
. . . swa swa cristes cempa . (133)	. . . ut bonus miles Christi[26] (402)	. . . ut bonus miles (C, 190)

[26]The phrase miles Christi appears regularly in Latin hagiography. Thus, had Ælfric found simply bonus miles in his exemplar, it is conceivable that he could have altered it himself to the more common miles Christi.

20) Passio Sancti Vincentii Martyris (LS, II, 426-43)

Ælfric	Fábrega Grau[27]	Cotton-Corpus
. . . ne on-cnawe ic eowere handa þe æfre hetole wæran . swa oft swa ge ge-witnodon þa ðe wæron for-scyldegode. oþþe þurh man-slihte oþþe þurh morþ-dæda . oððe þurh dry-cræft . oððe dyrne forliger . (132-35)	. . . non agnosco manus vestras obsistentes pertinaciter: homicidas sepe vicistis, parracidarum magorumque silentia alta rupistis . . . (190)	. . . non agnosco manus vestras, obsistentes pertinaciter homicidas sepae vicistis, parricidorum magnorum quae silentia alta rupistis . . . (A, 120r)
Be he be-siwod on anum sæcce . (260)	Insuatur fiscinule, quasi in culleum parracide, immo in eronis angustiis cum gravissimo lapidum pondere corpus lacerum constipetur. (194)	Insuatur fuscine,[28] quasi in eculeum parracidae immo in heronis augustias cum gravissimo lapidum pondere corpus laterum constipetur. (A, 121r)

PART B: The Text of H

21) Assumptio Sancti Iohannis Apostoli (CH, I, 58-77)

Ælfric	Mombritius (II, 55-61)[29]	H
"Min Drihten, Hælend Crist! Arære ðe, Drusiana; aris, and gecyrr ham, and gearca us gereordunge on þinum huse." (60/16-18)	Domine meus Iesus christus excitet te Drusiana. Surge: et pedibus tuis revertere domum tuam: et para mihi refectionem. (56)	"Drusiana, surge in nomine Iesu Christi domini nostri. Surge in gloriam nominis eius, et pedibus tuis revertere in domum tuam, et prepara mihi refectionem in domo tua. (218r)

[27] Pasionario Hispanico, II, 187-96.

[28] The reviser of D has corrected this reading. The revised reading agrees with that of Fábrega Grau.

[29] For the first and third examples cited here, readings almost identical to those of Mombritius are found in F, 192v and F, 195v respectively.

Ælfric	Mombritius (II, 55-61)	H
Ydel bið se læcedom þe ne mæg ðone untruman gehælan . (60/33-34)	Sicut uana medicina est: ex qua non curantur aegretudines corporum . . . (56)	Sicut enim vana medicina est ex qua non absciditur morbus . . . (218r)
Aristodemus (72/14)	Aristodemus (59)	Aristodimus (221v)

22) Natale Sancti Clementis Martyris (CH, I, 556-66)

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 341-46)[30]	H
Aufidianus (562/34)	Aufidianus (344)	Aufridianus (82r)
. . . and þæs halgan cyðeres lic ðærbinnan ðurh engla ðenunge gelogod . . . (564/20-21)	. . . et ibi in arca saxea corpus sancti Claementis positum credentes sine dubio ministerio angelorum fuisse praeparatum. (344)	. . . et ibi in archa saxea corpus sancti Clementis discipuli Petri . . . (82r)
Þa wearð him geswutelod . . . þæt on ælces geares ymbryne, ymbe his ðrowung-tide . . . (564/22-24)	. . . quibus etiam hoc intimatum est: quod omni anno die passionis eius . . . (344)	. . . Quibus etiam hoc a domino intimatum est, quod omni anno die depositionis eius . . . (82r)
Heo . . . genealæhte to þære byrgene mid wope, þus biddende, "Þu Drihten Hælend, þe ðære wydewan ancennedan sunu to life arærdest, beseoh me to miltse, þæt ic, ðurh ðingunge þines halgan þe her gerest, beo ðæs tiðe þe ic geornlice bidde." (566/9-15)	Cumque se prostratum ut solita erat in oratione misisset in pauimentum: et mugitum imi cordis daret: ita dicebat: . . . Tu domine qui filium unicum uiduae lachrymis misertus et feretro portatum tu misericordia redonauit incolumem: et nunc domine respice ancillam tuam: ut beati Claementis martyris tui suffragiis adiuta: impertiar inseqeunti: quod obnixe peto. (345)	Cumque prostrata solo orationem explesset. (82v)

[30]With the exception of the second example cited here, readings very similar to those of Mombritius are preserved in both C and F. See C, pp. 343, 343, 344, and 344 respectively, and F, 121r, 121r, 122r and 122r respectively.

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 341-46)	H
Heo ða mid micelre blisse hit awrehte, and wepende cossode . . . . Þæt geleaffulle folc ða micclum blissigende, herode and bletsode þone Ælmihtigan Hælend, seðe his halgan mid tacnum and wundrum gewurðað, and swa heora geearnunga geswutelað. (566/18-27)	Sed cum eum dormire cognouisset excitatum uelociter . . . et osculabatur . . . Tunc iterum atque iterum omnes populi qui aderant: benedixerunt dominum nostrum Iesum christum: qni[31] tanta mirabilia ostendit seruis suis. (345)	Sed cum eum dormire cognovisset, excitatum velociter . . . Nam et hoc miraculum non silebo, quod dominus per eius reliquias dignatus fuit ostendere. (82v)

23) Natale Sancti Andreae Apostoli (CH, I, 586-99)

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 104-07)	H
"Romanisce ealdras gyt ne oncneowon Godes soðfæstnysse." (588/7-8)	Romani principes nondum cognouerunt ueritatem (104)	Romani principes nondum cognoverunt virtutem dei (116r)
. . . and se deofol hi gebysmrað swa lange . . . (588/12-13)	. . . et tandiu eos deludit[32] . . . (104)	. . . et tamdiu eos deludant . . . (116r)

24) De Sancta Lucia Virgo (LS, I, 210-18)

Ælfric	Surius (VI, 892-94)[33]	H
Hluttor offrung þæt is . and licwurðe gode . . . (61)	Sacrificium viuum et immaculatum apud Deum et patrem hoc est . . . (892)	Sacrificium purum et immaculatum apud patrem hoc est . . . (185v)
Cadent a latere tuo mille et decem milia a	Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem millia	Cadent a latere meo mille, et decem milia

[31]Thus in Mombritius.

[32]This reading is also preserved in F, 133v.

[33]The readings of both C and F agree with Surius in the two passages cited here. See C, pp. 438 and 440 respectively, and F, 200v and 201r respectively.

Ælfric	Surius (VI, 892-94)	H
dextris tuis . . . (113)	a dextris tuis.[34] (893)	a dextris meis. (186v)

25) Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi et Confessoris (LS, II, 218-313)[35]

Ælfric	Halm (CSEL, I, 107-216)	H
He wearð swa-þeah ge-bunden bæftan to his bæce . and heora anum betæht þæt he hine bereafode . . . (155-56)	. . . uinctis tamen post tergum manibus uni adseruandus et spoliandus traditur. (115)	Vinctis tamen post tergum manibus, uni servandus et custodiendus traditur. (6v)
He sæde eac for-oft mid incundre geomerunge . . . (889)	. . . mihi ipse referebat et non sine gemitu[36] fatebatur . . . (141)	. . . mihi ipse referebat, et non sine lacrimis fatebatur . . . (12r)
. . . and sæde his gebroðrum þæt he sceolde forð-faren.[37] (1331)	. . . conuocatisque fratribus indicat se iam resoli. (148)	. . . convocatisque discipulis indicat se iam resoli. (13v)

[34]This is the Vulgate reading. See Psalm xc.

[35]For Ælfric's first life of St. Martin (CH, II, 498-519), the source texts found in H preserve no readings which are significantly more remote from Ælfric than the readings of Halm's edition. However, one inferior reading is found in the copy of Alcuin's Vita preserved in F. Here for Ælfric's Þurh ðam tacne gelyfdon of ðære leode gehwilce on þone Lifigendan God (508/11-12), Migne has Quo miraculo viso, plurimi ex populo crediderunt Christo (CI, col. 660), while F has the more remote Quo miraculo viso, plurimi ex populo reddiderunt Christo (F, 83v).

[36]This reading is also preserved in C, 294 and in F, 51v.

[37]Ælfric's agreement with Halm's fratribus here may not be significant, for at line 1352 of the account, Ælfric again has gebroðra where both Halm and H have discipulis. Similarly, in his life of St. Benedict (CH, II, xi), Ælfric renders discipuli both as leorningcnihtas and as gebroðra.

26) Passio Sanctae Ceciliae Uirginis (LS, II, 356-77)

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 332-41)[38]	H
Se cniht wearð þa afyrht. (38)	Tunc Valerianus nutu dei timore correptus ait . . . (333)	Tunc Valerianus nutu dei correptus ait . . . (74r)
. . . hwa com þanon hider þe mihte us secgan gif hit swa wære? (154-55)	Et quis ibi fuit: et huc ueniens nobis potuit hoc indicare. (336)	Et quis ibi fuit, et inde huc veniens, vobis hoc potuit indicare. (75v)
. . . sylle wacne stan . and wurðfulne gym under-fo. (299)	. . . dare lapidem uilem qui pedibus conculcatur: et accipere lapidem preciosum. (339)	. . . dare lapidem vivum[39] qui pedibus conculcatur et accipere lapidem preciosum. (78v)

27) Passio Chrisanti et Dariae Sponse Eius (LS, II, 378-98)

Ælfric	Mombritius (I, 271-78)[40]	H
. . . þe his biggengan macaþ swa mihtige on gewinne. (201)	. . . qui cultores suos in omni faciat pugna uincentes. (276)	. . . qui victores suos in omni facit pugna vincentes. (123r)
Numerianus þa . . . het læden buta þa halgan togædere to anum sand-pytte . and setton hi þær-on. (322-25)	Tunc Numerianus . . . iussit eos duci in uiam salariam: atque in harenario deponi simul. (278)	Tunc Numerianus . . . iussit eos duci in viam salariam, atque in salinario deponi simul. (124r)

[38]In each of the excerpts cited here, the readings of both C and F agree with Mombritius. See C, pp. 325, 328, and 334 respectively, and F, 109r, 111r, and 115r respectively.

[39]This reading does not make good sense in the context. Had Ælfric found it in his source manuscript, he would surely have recognized it as a corruption.

[40]In each of the passages given here, the readings of C and F are almost identical to those of Mombritius. See C, pp. 387 and 389 respectively, and F, 141v and 143r respectively.

28) Passio Sancti Thome Apostoli (LS, II, 398-425)

Ælfric	Mombritius (II, 606-14)[41]	H
Ic bidde þe leof þæs lifigendan godes apostol þæt þu for me ne under-fo. swa fullicne teonan. (279-80)	Oro te apostole dei: ne propter me hanc iniuriam sustinens . . . (611)	Oro te apostole domini, ne hanc iniuriam sustinens . . . (199v)
. . . Swa swa þu becymst þurh me to þam ecan life . . . (289-90)	. . . quia sicut per me tu ad uitam aeternam attinges . . . (611)	. . . quia sicut per me tu ad vitam attinges . . . (199v)
. . . and sægð us to soþan þæt sy oþer lif undeadlic and ece. ælces yfeles bedæled. (315-16)	His ostendit esse alteram uitam immortalem nesciam omnis doloris: omnisque tristiciae. (611)	Hic ostendit esse alteram vitam, nesciam omnis doloris, omnisque tristicie. (199v)
He gefullode hi þa . and fela oþre mid hire wera and wifa. and þa unwittigan cild. (345-46)	. . . et baptizauit[42] eam: et omnes qni aderant: aqua consecrati uniuersi uiri et mulieres et puellae et pueri . . . (612)	Et baptizavit eam, et omnes qui ibi aderant. Et consecrati universi mulieres et pueri et puelle . . . (200v)
Migdeus (275)	Mygdeus (610)	Mesdeus (199r)
Triptia (323)	Treptia (611)	Tripetia (199v)

[41]The readings of F (173v) agree with Mombritius in each of the excerpts cited here except number four.

[42]Thus in Mombritius.

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This bibliography does not reflect all the reading which has been done in preparing the thesis, but is limited to those works which are of primary importance for the subject. Part A, which lists manuscript sources, does not include all the manuscripts which have been examined or studied from printed descriptions, but is limited to those consulted or studied from microfilm which are referred to in the thesis itself. Part B, which lists texts or editions, is divided for convenience into three sections: (i) Old English Works of Ælfric, (ii) Other Old English Texts, and (iii) Latin Texts. Since many of the works in these sections are by anonymous authors whose writings are printed in large collections, the items here have been arranged according to editor. In the section on editions of Latin writings, no attempt has been made here to list separately the very numerous texts (individual saints' lives and homilies) cited from such large collections as PL, ASS, etc. Full details on these are provided in the notes. The final part of the bibliography, which lists studies or secondary sources, is limited on the whole to works mentioned in footnotes, and does not include standard reference aids (dictionaires, catalogues, etc.) unless special reference has been made to them in the thesis.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary Preserved in B.L. MS Cotton Nero E i + CCCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts

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D. Phil.

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The attention which has recently been devoted to Ælfric's dependence on large collections of Latin writings for his homiletic sources is in this study extended to hagiographic texts through an examination of the relationship between the sources of Ælfric's saints' lives and an early Latin legendary, here termed Cotton-Corpus. Chapter I reconstructs the contents of an early form of the collection and outlines broad areas of agreement and disagreement between these and the particular sources used by Ælfric. Chapter II builds on this general discussion by examining new sources provided by the collection The more specialized problem of the textual relationship between the extant manuscripts of the collection and Ælfric's conjectural exemplar is introduced in Chapter III, and then developed in Chapter IV (and Appendix II) where individual studies of the Cotton-Corpus sources for forty of Ælfric's lives are presented. The final chapter draws conclusions and suggests ways in which the sources in the collection may be of use in other areas of Ælfrician scholarship.

Though the nature of the material precludes absolutely firm conclusions, the evidence suggests that Ælfric had access to a collection belonging to the same family as Cotton-Corpus. In all, this collection, as we know it, provides some fifty of Ælfric's sources, some not previously identified, as well as a large number of individual source readings (particularly prevalent in the comparatively late witness, Hereford Cathedral, MS P 7 vi) not available in the standard printed texts. In addition, it helps to shed light on several related features of Ælfric's work: notably, the extent of his acquaintance with the works of authors such as Gregory of Tours, the principles which governed his selection of saints for the Homilies and Lives, his references, or lack of them, to sources and books, and his occasional adaptation of hagiographic sources to essentially homiletic purposes.