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# The Corpus of Prose Saints' Lives and Hagiographic Pieces in Old English and its Manuscript Distribution

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The Old English prose saint's life has for many years been the poor relation of the prose homily in terms of scholastic interest. Often considered of less value as literature and less of a challenge for the source hunter, saints' lives have nevertheless recently begun to enjoy greater attention from scholars in the field. This article attempts to demonstrate the importance of prose hagiography in the period by showing both the large number of extant texts in this category and also the wide-spread dissemination of manuscripts in which they are preserved.<sup>1</sup>

The prose saint's life is defined here in its widest possible sense as any narrative text primarily concerned with a saint who is assigned a feast day. It is not my intention to investigate the place of such texts in the Anglo-Saxon liturgy and consequently this article does not attempt to make any distinctions between lives clearly written for different purposes. As a result, there are included in the corpus lives composed for public worship as part of the Proper of the Saints, hagiographic reading pieces written for the private devotional use of monks as well as fragments and additions to other texts concerning saints whose specific purpose may be non-devotional. Within this grouping will be found all the pieces which might reasonably be connected with the Sanctorale, although many do not make any explicit reference to a particular feast day.<sup>2</sup>

The main organisational feature of the corpus of prose saints' lives as presented here will be that of authorship, effectively this means breaking up the pieces into those texts by Ælfric and those which are anonymous. Ælfric is the only Anglo-Saxon author of vernacular prose saints' lives whose name is known. One of the illuminating elements

of this survey is the clear indication of Ælfric's dominance in this area - in many ways he is more important here even than in the field of *Temporale* homilies, where Wulfstan and the Vercelli and Blickling homilists also make a considerable contribution. The canon of Ælfrician lives found in the two series of *Catholic Homilies*,<sup>3</sup> the *Lives of Saints*<sup>4</sup> and elsewhere represents roughly two-thirds of all the extant prose saints' lives in Old English.

## 1. THE CORPUS

In all there are some one hundred and three distinct hagiographic texts written in Old English prose. These are preserved in forty-six original manuscripts, sixteen of which are damaged or fragmentary.<sup>5</sup> Of these forty-six manuscripts, thirty-one feature at least one hagiographic text by Ælfric and there are sixty-six individual pieces by him. It is thus immediately clear that Ælfrician texts represent the majority of surviving *Sanctorale* pieces in Anglo-Saxon. However, there are some signs that a tradition of anonymous prose saints' lives in Old English was already developing in Ælfric's time, although how far back this tradition went is impossible to determine.<sup>6</sup>

In the first section of this article the corpus of prose hagiographic texts is considered and then, in the second, the relevant witnesses are listed with some accompanying analysis. Ælfrician texts are examined first.

The subsequent discussion uses the following short titles:

**Assmann:** B. Assmann, ed., *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 3 (Kassel 1889); reprinted with a supplementary introduction by P.A.M. Clemoes (Darmstadt 1964).

**Belfour:** A.O. Belfour, ed., *Twelfth-Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343*, EETS os 137 (London 1909; reprinted 1962).

**Bodden:** M-C. Bodden, ed., *The Old English Finding of the True Cross* (Cambridge 1987).

**Bright:** J.W. Bright, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Reader* (New York 1892); re-ed. F.G. Cassidy and R.N. Ringler as *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*, 3rd ed. (New York 1971).

**Brotanek:** R. Brotanek, ed., *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altenglischen Literatur und Kirchengeschichte* (Halle 1913).

**CH I:** B. Thorpe, ed., *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, 2 vols, (London 1844-6).

**CH II:** M.R. Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series: Text*, EETS ss 5 (London 1979).

**Cockayne:** T.O. Cockayne, ed., *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols, Rolls Series 35 (London 1864-6; reprinted New York 1965).

**Colgrave and Hyde:** B. Colgrave and A. Hyde, 'Two Recently Discovered Leaves from Old English Manuscripts', *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 60-78.

**Crawford:** S.J. Crawford, ed., *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, EETS os 160 (London 1922); reprinted with additions by N.R. Ker (1969).

**Förster 1:** M. Förster, 'Zur altenglischen Quintinus-Legende', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 106 (1901), 258-61.

**Förster 2:** M. Förster, 'Die altenglischen Beigaben des Lambeth-Psalters', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 132 (1914), 328-335.

**Gonser:** P. Gonser, ed., *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des heiligen Guthlac*, Anglistische Forschungen, 27 (Heidelberg 1909).

**Healey:** A. di Paolo Healey, ed., *The Old English Vision of St Paul*, *Speculum Anniversary Monographs*, 2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1978).

**Herbst:** L. Herbst, ed., *Die altenglische Margaretenlegende in der HS.Cotton Tiberius A.III* (Göttingen 1975).

**Ker 1940:** N.R. Ker, 'An Eleventh-century Old English Legend of the Cross before Christ', *Medium Ævum*, 9 (1940), 84-5.

**LS:** W.W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 4 vols, EETS os 76, 82, 94, 114 (London 1881-1900; reprinted in 2 vols, 76, 82 as vol. I, 94, 114 as vol. II, 1966).

**MacLean:** G.E. MacLean, *Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon Version of Alcuini Interrogationes Sigeuulfi Presbyteri in Genesin*, Leipzig Ph.D. dissertation (Halle 1883). Also published separately as *Anglia*, 6 (1883), 425-73 and 7 (1884), 1-59.

**Matthews:** P.M. Matthews, ed., 'The Old English Life of St Pantaleon', unpublished M.A. dissertation (London University, 1965-66).

**Morris 1:** R. Morris, ed., *Old English Homilies. First Series*, EETS os 29 (London 1867; reprinted 1969).

**Morris 2:** R. Morris, ed., *Legends of the Holy Rood*, EETS os 46 (London 1871; reprinted 1969).

**Morris 3:** R. Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies*, 3 vols, EETS os 58, 63, 73 (London 1874-80; reprinted in 1 vol., 1967).

**Napier:** A.S. Napier, ed., *History of the Holy Rood-Tree*, EETS os 103 (London 1894; reprinted 1973).

**Picard:** B. Picard, ed., *Das altenglische Aegidiusleben in Ms. CCCC 303*, Hochschulsammlung Philosophie Literaturwissenschaft, Band 7 (Freiburg 1980).

**Pope:** J.C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, 2 vols, EETS os 259, 260 (London 1967-8).

**Rypins:** S. Rypins, ed., *Three Old English Prose Texts*, EETS os 161 (London 1924; reprinted 1971).

**Sisam:** K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford 1953).

**Szarmach:** P.E. Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII* (Toronto 1981).

**Tristram:** H.P. Tristram, ed., 'Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Freiburg University, 1970).

**Vleeskruyer:** R. Vleeskruyer, ed., *The Life of St Chad* (Amsterdam 1953).

**Warner:** R.D-N. Warner, ed., *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespasian D.XIV*, EETS os 152 (London 1917; reprinted 1971).

**Yerkes:** D. Yerkes, ed., *The Old English Life of Machutus* (Toronto 1984).

#### ÆLFRICIAN SAINTS' LIVES AND EXTENDED HAGIOGRAPHIC PIECES

The *Catholic Homilies* provided vernacular texts designed to accompany the Reading of the Day within the liturgy.<sup>7</sup> The two series consist, in the main, of Temporale homilies, but Ælfric also included saints' lives for the major feasts of the church year.<sup>8</sup> Thirty Sanctorale texts can immediately be listed from the two series.<sup>9</sup> Lives in the First Series are: CH I, III-V, IX, XIII, XXV-VII, XXIX-XXXII, XXXIV, XXXVI-XXXVIII; in the Second Series: CH II, II, IX-XI, XVII, XVIII (Thorpe [II] XIX and XX), XXIV, XXVII (Thorpe [II] XXXI and XXXII), XXIX, XXXII-XXXIV.<sup>10</sup>

After the composition of the *Catholic Homilies*, Ælfric put together a new collection of prose saints' lives designed primarily for monastic use.<sup>11</sup> This set is best preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii, which also contains some specifically non-hagiographic material and non-Ælfrician pieces.<sup>12</sup> It seems clear that while it preserves most if not all of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* set as issued, BL Cotton Julius E. vii represents a composite collection going some way beyond the original scope of the set, perhaps designed to match the *Catholic Homilies* in terms of size.<sup>13</sup> Within the Cotton Julius manuscript there are twenty-seven texts which can confidently be regarded as saints' lives: LS II-XI, XIV, XV, XIX-XXII, XXIV-

XXIX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIV-XXXVI. These may be defined as developed narratives concerning saints which were assigned feast days within the Sanctorale.<sup>14</sup>

In addition there are a further nine vernacular saints' lives or associated pieces by Ælfric to be considered.<sup>15</sup>

The majority of the lives in the *Catholic Homilies* have traditionally been assigned to the Ælfrician Sanctorale canon, as pieces for the Proper of the Saints.<sup>16</sup> There are, however, further texts which are part of the *Catholic Homilies*, concern saints, yet are associated with the Temporale in context. Two texts concerning visions are assigned to Rogationtide in the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, but they specifically centre upon saints.

The *Vision of St Fursey* (CH II, XX) has four witnesses: it is headed *Item in Letania Maiore. Feria Tertia* in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 (199v) and *In Letania maiore. Feria .III.* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 342 (27v), but *S Furseus gesihðe* in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4-169 (123r) and *De Visionibus Fursei Et Drihthelmi* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 (47v). This makes it immediately clear that the piece concerns a saint, yet was assigned to Rogation Tuesday within the Greater Litany, rather than a Proper of the Saints feast day.

The Festival of Letania Maior in the week before Ascension Day was a time for prayer, fasting and the contemplation of God, often associated with intercession.<sup>17</sup> In keeping with this tradition Ælfric chose to concentrate on visions of life after death in his Second Series homily for Rogation Tuesday.<sup>18</sup> At the outset he rejected the apocryphal *Visio Pauli* as proper material for such a homily by pointing out that it was patently 'false'<sup>19</sup> and substituted instead another vision of the afterlife, that of St Fursey, which had more authority due to its presence in Bede. The result is a text which begins with an exhortation typical of a Temporale homily,<sup>20</sup> then conforms to the conventional hagiographic model, giving details of the background of the saint and the miraculous events of his life. St Fursey is provided with an entry in the *Old English Martyrology* and in the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary*<sup>21</sup> and there is no doubt that he was assigned a feast day at the time.<sup>22</sup> Ælfric used the *Vision of St Fursey* in a Temporale context as part of a homily for the Greater Litany. Yet, the text is an account of the experiences of a saint and on these grounds it may be included in the corpus.<sup>23</sup>



The *Vision of St Drihthelm* (CH II, XXI), which follows *St Fursey* in the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, is a similar case. This piece has the heading *Alia Visio* in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 (202v) and Bodley 342 (34r), *De Visionibus Drihthelmi* in Bodley Hatton 115 (53v) and *Of drihtelme* in BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4-169 (131r) and was clearly designed to compliment *St Fursey*. Hurt included this text in his group of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* hagiography.<sup>24</sup> The *Vision of St Drihthelm* has much in common with the story of *St Fursey*, providing a second hortatory picture of the afterlife encompassing both Hell and Heaven.<sup>25</sup> The vision is also associated with Rogationtide, but should be included here as another developed narrative concerned with a saint.<sup>26</sup>

This sequence of texts for Rogationtide is completed by a piece which follows the *Vision of St Drihthelm* (CH II, XXI, lines 140-80) under the separate heading *Hortatorius Sermo De Efficacia Sanctae Missae* (Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 [204v], Bodley Hatton 115 [57r] and Bodley 342 [37r]). It concerns the miraculous power of the Mass to free a captured thane, Ymma, from his bonds and is loosely linked with the other texts in its theme of the power of intercession. All three pieces are associated with Bede<sup>27</sup> as well as Rogation Tuesday, but they have no specific textual connections within their common source.<sup>28</sup> Unlike the visions of *St Fursey* and *St Drihthelm*, this brief account of the liberation of Ymma does not have any direct connection with hagiography and should be excluded from our list.<sup>29</sup>

Outside the *Catholic Homilies* and the *Lives of Saints*, there are two further texts assigned to the Sanctorale. The first is *St Vincent* (LS XXXVII), the second is a homily for the Nativity of Mary the Virgin (Assmann III).<sup>30</sup>

A life of *St Vincent* is uniquely preserved in Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33 (fols 128v-32v). The text is an Ælfrician saint's life typical of those found in BL Cotton Julius E. vii. It is an essentially narrative reading piece concerning the passion of *St Vincent of Saragossa* and may be included in the corpus without further analysis.<sup>31</sup>

Following the homily for the sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost (CH II, XXXI) in the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, there is a brief note under the heading *De Sancta Maria* (p.271, lines 1-10). In it, Ælfric explained his reticence about producing a Nativity homily:

Hwæt wylle we secgan ymbe Mariangebyrdtide. buton þæt heo wæs gestryned þurh fæder. and ðurh moder. swa swa oðre men. and wæs on ðam dæge acenned þe we cweðað Sexta Idus Septembris.<sup>32</sup>

He went on to explain 'þæs dæges godspel is swiðe earfoðe læwedum mannum to understandenne'<sup>33</sup> and therefore omitted it. However, at a later stage Ælfric decided to fill this gap in the Second Series and wrote a homily for the Nativity of Mary the Virgin.<sup>34</sup> Ælfric's *Life of St Thomas* represents a simliar case.<sup>35</sup> The Nativity homily has some associations with Ælfric's own reissue of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, as preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116, and represents a deliberate attempt to provide a text for a feast day previously avoided. Both the brief note on the Virgin from the Second Series and this late Nativity homily should be included in the corpus.

Finally, there are four further texts to be considered as part of the canon of Ælfrician hagiography: the addition to *De Auguriis* (LS XVII) on St Macarius (Pope XXIX); the extra piece concerning SS Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus designed as a new opening to precede CH II, XVIII, line 69, (Pope XXIII); the homily for the Assumption of the Virgin preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v and the homily on St John the Evangelist found in Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeward* (Crawford, lines 1017-153), but also on its own in two manuscripts.

A short text concerning St Macarius is found as an *Item Alia* after the *Life of St Swithun* in BL Cotton Julius E. vii (fol. 103r-v), but the piece is also found independently of *St Swithun* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178 (pp.97-8) and Bodley Hatton 116 (pp.360-1) as part of an enlarged version of the homily *De Auguriis* preserved in BL Cotton Julius E. vii (LS XVII).<sup>36</sup> The St Macarius text is a short treatise on the deceptions of magic and as an addition to *St Swithun* seems to function as a strong assertion of orthodoxy at the conclusion of a text which has perhaps strayed into heretical territory.<sup>37</sup>

A second witness of *St Swithun*, London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x (fols 37r-42r), preserves the life without the St Macarius *Item Alia*. It seems likely, therefore, that the piece on St Macarius was written after the original composition of *St Swithun* and was subsequently added to it in the form of an *Item Alia*, as is preserved in Cotton Julius E.vii. At an even later stage it appears that the text was

enlarged (probably by Ælfric) with another text concerning similar themes of witchcraft and the dangers of sorcery and added to *De Auguriis*. This final addition may well have been the work of an anonymous compiler.<sup>38</sup> *St Macarius* seems to have been composed as an independent text designed firstly to complement *St Swithun* and later enlarged further. Although it is unlikely that such a short text was ever issued on its own, it can still be considered as a distinct text of the Sanctorale type for the purposes of this survey.

The addition to the story of St Alexander (CH II, XVIII, lines 62-156) is uniquely found in part of an extra gathering at the start of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Hatton 114 (fols 5r-8v). The scribe indicated after the text that it should be inserted 'æfter þam spelle de inuentione sanctæ Crucis' and included a chrismon sign at the insertion point.<sup>39</sup> The composite piece thus formed provides complete coverage of the *Acta Alexandri Papæ*.<sup>40</sup> The Second Series of the *Catholic Homilies* were composed at a time of renewed Danish raids on England and Pope has proposed that 'under these circumstances he [Ælfric] may have thought the preliminary chapters of the *Acta* dispensable or even distracting, for while they exhibit the miracles performed by Alexander they make much of two remarkable converts, Hermes and Quirinus.'<sup>41</sup> However, it seems very likely that at a later date this additional text was written to enlarge the existing *Catholic Homilies* piece by Ælfric himself and since it concerns a saint it should be admitted as an independent item into the corpus of Ælfric's hagiographic writings.

Clemons included the composite homily on the Assumption of the Virgin from BL Cotton Vitellius C. v (fols.182v-4v) in his breakdown of Ælfric's Proper of the Saints homilies.<sup>42</sup> The text consists of the *Letter to Sigefyrth* without the address to Sigefyrth, but with some Ælfrician expansions (Assmann II, lines 13-224) and the *Nativity of Mary* homily (Assmann III), lines 505-97, on the Beatitudes. Pope commented: 'There can be little doubt that Ælfric adapted the letter to service as a homily and added certain passages internally that now appear only in H [BL Cotton Vitellius C. v] and in another compilation, called *De Virginitate*, in V [Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421].'<sup>43</sup> However, Pope doubted that the compilation of the homily in the Vitellius manuscript was the work of its author: 'My reasons for hesitation are chiefly that the transferred conclusion seems to me less effectively related to what precedes in its new position than in its old. ... I also wonder why Ælfric, having on hand

two appropriate sermons for the feast of the Assumption, should have put together such a makeshift as this for a third.<sup>44</sup> He concluded that if the compilation was Ælfric's, then it would be more appropriate to the heading *quando volueris* than for the Assumption. The position is a difficult one, but since the Vitellius homily represents a unique Ælfrician text, concerned with a saint, it shall be included here, with all of Pope's worries duly noted.

The case is in some ways similar with the *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* homily (Crawford, *Letter to Sigeward*, lines 1017-153) found in BL Cotton Vitellius C. v (fols 33r-5r) and London, British Library, Harley 3271 (fols 126r-8v). Clemoes argued that such a short piece should be regarded as an extract, rather than a homily *per se*, on the grounds that it omits any reference to the writing of the *Book of the Apocalypse*,<sup>45</sup> and because it covers ground already dealt with in the *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* homily in the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* (CH I, IV), showing a repetition unusual for Ælfric. The fact that the passage is given a doxology within the *Letter*<sup>46</sup> may initially seem to indicate that it was absorbed into the longer text from elsewhere complete, but there are other similar passages with doxologies also present.<sup>47</sup> Clemoes concluded his argument: 'This is an obvious passage to excerpt and quite easily could have been extracted twice independently: there is no need to suppose that Ælfric was himself responsible.'<sup>48</sup> This may well be the case, but what is more important for this survey is that, while it repeats some of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, the homily also includes material not found in CH I, IV and thus has an independent value as an Ælfrician text, in the same way that the Vitellius homily on the Assumption does. In fact, the two homilies on St John the Evangelist only overlap in their openings, where they both narrate the background to John's time in Ephesus and here too there are differences. The *Catholic Homilies* text begins with a pericope exposition and then continues:

Eft on fyrste, æfter Cristes upstige to heofonum, rixode sum wælhreow casere on Romana ríce, æfter Nerone, se wæs Domicianus gehaten, cristenra manna ehtere: se het afyllan ane cyfe mid weallendum ele, and þone mæran godspellere þæron het besucfan; ac he, ðurh Godes gescyldnyse, ungewemmed of ðam hatum bæðe eode. Eft ðaða se wæltreowa ne mihte ðæs eadigan apostoles bodunge alecgan, þa asende he hine on wræcsið to anum igeoðe þe is Paðmas

gecigeð, þæt he ðær þurh hungres scearpnysse acwæle. Ac se Ælmihtiga Hælend ne forlét to gymeleaste his gelufedan apostol, ac geswutelode him on ðam wræcsiðe þa towardan onwrigenyssse, be ðære hé awrat ða bók ðe is gehaten APOCALIPSIS: and se wælhreowa Domicianus on ðam ylcan gearo wearð acweald æt his witena handum; and hí ealle anmodlice ræddon þæt ealle his gesetnyssa aydlode wæron. Þa wearð Nerua, swiðe arfæst man, to casere gecoren.<sup>49</sup>

The extracted homily from the *Letter to Sigeward* begins by citing the authority of Jerome for what it contains and then reads:

Domicianus hatte se deoflica casere, þe æfter Nerone þa reðan ehtnyssa besette on þam cristenum, 7 hi acwealde mid witum. Se het genyman þone halgan apostol 7 on weallendum ele he het hine baðian, for ðan þe se hata ele gæð in to ðam bane; 7 him wæs eaðgete ele to þam baðe. Hig gebrohton þa Iohannem binnan þære cyfe on þam weallendan ele; ac he wearð gescild þurh Godes mihte 7 mid halum lichaman of þam baðe eode, swa swa he unwemme wæs fram flæsclicum lustum 7 fulre galnyssse. Æfter þisum gehet se hetola casere, for ðan ðe Iohannes nolde his bodunge geswican, þæt man hine gebrohte binnan anum igode feor on wræcsiðe, Pathmos gehaten, 7 he þær wunode, oð þæt þæs caseres witan heora hlaford ofslogon, swa swa him eallum gewearð, for his wælhreownysse 7 his gewittleaste, 7 þa witan þa demdon þæt eall wurde aidlod, 7 mid ealle awend, swa hwæt swa he wolde mid his yfelan ræde ær þam gefremman.<sup>50</sup>

Clearly, these two passages have much in common, but there are also some striking differences. The *Letter* homily gives a more detailed description of the trial by boiling oil, including the aside concerning 'se hata ele gæð in to ðam bane', whereas the *Catholic Homilies* text shows a greater interest in the banishment, noting its purpose as 'þæt he ðær þurh hungres scearpnysse acwæle'. The *Catholic Homilies* text also refers to the *Book of the Apocalypse*, something Clemoes noted as conspicuous by its absence in the *Letter* text. After these opening remarks, the two texts are quite different. The *Catholic Homilies* piece recounts a number of the miracles performed by the Evangelist, including turning stone to gold, raising the dead, etc. Whereas the

*Letter* text tells a single story in nearly one hundred lines concerning a conversion, lapse from faith and the importance of repentance as a path to forgiveness.<sup>51</sup> There are no ostentatious miracles or wondrous events. The *Letter* homily has a single, didactic message, unlike the *Catholic Homilies* text which aims to provide a more wide ranging piece for public worship. Thus, the *Letter* homily, which is more than a simple recasting of the text, complements the *Catholic Homilies* piece. This relationship is underlined in BL Cotton Vitellius C. v where the *Catholic Homilies* piece is followed by the *Letter* extract, indicating an association in the compilation of the collection.<sup>52</sup> The appearance of this section of the *Letter to Sigeward* as an independent text may demonstrate an influence outside Ælfric, but that does not alter its status as a distinct piece in two surviving witnesses. Under these circumstances, this homily, although probably an extract, can have an independent place in the list of Ælfrician lives.

Thus, the complete canon of Ælfric's vernacular hagiographic works consists of the *Lives of Saints* and the *Catholic Homilies* texts as defined above with the addition of these further nine items, which have now been examined at length.

#### NON-ÆLFRICIAN SAINTS' LIVES AND HAGIOGRAPHIC PIECES

The most important anonymous Old English prose hagiographic text is the collection of short Sanctorale entries known as the *Old English Martyrology*.<sup>53</sup> The entries contained within the *Martyrology* are the product of a particular tradition based on expanded calendars of saints' feasts and stand apart from the more developed lives found both in the Latin passionals and legendaries of the time and in Old English manuscripts.<sup>54</sup> Whilst Latin legendaries (and perhaps Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*) were designed for use in the monastic Night Office, the brief notices found in Martyrologies were part of the Chapter Office read or sung after Prime or the morning Mass.<sup>55</sup> Gatch outlined the difference between the *Martyrology* entries and Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*:

Though thought to have been collected from several source books, it [the *Lives of Saints*] is probably not related closely to the martyrologies read daily at Chapter in the monasteries in which Ælfric had resided.<sup>56</sup>

The collection as a whole should be included here as an addendum to

the corpus, being something of a special case unlike any of the other texts considered here.<sup>57</sup>

The definition of the remaining contents of the non-Ælfrician prose hagiography group has some difficulties, yet there are many texts which are clearly part of the Sanctorale and these can be listed briefly:<sup>58</sup> Assmann, X, XV; Bodden, pp.61-103;<sup>59</sup> Bright, pp.205-19;<sup>60</sup> Förster 1, pp.258-9; Gonser, pp.117-34;<sup>61</sup> Herbst, pp.62-82; Morris 2, I; Morris 3, I, XIII-XV, XVII, XVIII,<sup>62</sup> XIX; Napier, pp.2-34/Ker 1940/Colgrave and Hyde; Picard, pp.96-129; Rypins, pp.68-76; LS XXIII, XXIIIB, XXX, XXXIII; Szarmach XVII, XVIII; Tristram I, II; Vleeskruyer, pp.162-84; Warner XI, XLII; Yerkes, pp.3-107. Three further texts might be included in this group - the unpublished edition of *St Pantaleon* submitted as an M.A. dissertation by P.M. Matthews,<sup>63</sup> the unpublished *Life of St Nicholas* found in CCC 303 (pp.171-85),<sup>64</sup> and a *Life of Saint Margaret* originally preserved only in BL Cotton Otho B. x ('195r'). Unfortunately this last text was destroyed in the Cotton Library fire of 1731, so that all that remains is Wanley's record of its *incipit* and *explicit*.<sup>65</sup>

There are a further eight texts, which require discussion with reference to this group: they all concern saints, but are not all explicitly linked with any particular feast day. Two short texts are associated with the Sanctorale: the fragmentary *Deposition of St Augustine* (Tristram, p.428) and a brief text on St Paulinus, bishop of Rochester (Sisam, 'Studies', pp.151-2). The first sixteen lines of a homily for St Augustine of England are uniquely preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162 (p.563, lines 7-23). The text is added at the end of the manuscript in a different hand from that of the collection's main scribe. It is headed *In Die Depositionis Beati Augustini Anglorum Doctoris*, without reference to the Sanctorale, but may be linked with the feast of the Archbishop's death on 26 May. The text on St Paulinus is twenty-four lines long and was added in a blank space on fol. 202v of Bodley 342, extending into the lower margin. It ends abruptly. The hand is that of the manuscript's principal corrector (s.xi). The source is Bede.<sup>66</sup> St Paulinus was traditionally assigned a feast day on 10 October. Both these texts give brief biographical details about saints who have a position in the Sanctorale and can therefore be admitted to the group of anonymous prose hagiographic pieces on these grounds.

The case is more complicated with *St Mildred* and *St Seaxburg*. The British Library manuscript, Cotton Caligula A. xiv, fols 93-130,



preserves a text headed *III. Id. Iulii. Natale Sanctae Mildryðe Uirginis*,<sup>67</sup> which is, in fact, a tract on the resting places of several Kentish saints, including Mildred, followed by the story of the murder of the princes Æthelred and Æthelbriht by Thunor, one of King Ecgbriht's reeves. The connection with Mildred comes towards the end of the text, where Thunor gives part of the Isle of Thanet to Eafe, her mother, as *wergild* for the princes and this land is used to set up a nunnery.<sup>68</sup> The text then ends imperfectly. A description of Mildred's ritual of admission to her mother's nunnery appears as a separate fragment in London, Lambeth Palace Library, 427, fols 210-1<sup>69</sup> which goes on to tell something of her life and virtues. This text has no heading indicating an association with the Sanctorale, but clearly shows a greater concern with the saint than is the case in the Caligula text, which does have such a heading. Cockayne printed both pieces in full from the Caligula and Lambeth manuscripts,<sup>70</sup> whilst Förster printed the Lambeth fragment.<sup>71</sup> It would seem likely that these two texts may be associated in some way and this is made clear in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, pp.1-178, B (article 54) and London, British Library, Stowe 944 (d), where both pieces appear successively in a larger text, printed by Liebermann as *The Resting Places of Saints*.<sup>72</sup> However, there are significant textual differences between these two versions of this material. The Caligula and Lambeth fragments seem to represent extracted expansions of parts of the *Resting Places* text and their original association would suggest that they are two parts of the same extract. The text in Caligula clearly came from a tradition of isolating an extracted part of the *Resting Places* text on St Mildred, as its Sanctorale heading shows. It ends abruptly, but the Lambeth fragment provides a suitable continuation of the text. This composite piece would be appropriate to its heading. Strictly speaking, only the Lambeth Palace fragment represents a piece of narrative prose concerning a saint, but if the above supposition is true, it should really be included in the corpus with its introduction found in BL Cotton Caligula A. xiv as a single, composite extract.<sup>73</sup>

The second fragment of Lambeth Palace 427, fols 210-11 concerns St Seaxburg (Förster 2, pp.334-5).<sup>74</sup> Seaxburg was associated with St Mildred as her sister and both fragments appear, in a different textual form, as successive parts of the *Resting Places of the Saints*. The first section of the *Seaxburg* fragment corresponds closely to the *Resting Places*, but the second, which includes more details about her, is an independent development.<sup>75</sup> As with St Mildred, the evidence would



seem to point towards the Lambeth fragment of *St Seaxburg* as an expanded extract of the *Resting Places* text, rather than simply a dismembered part of it. However, it is impossible to say whether this fragment comes from an independent homily for *St Seaxburg* or was part of the expanded *St Mildred* homily examined above, following on as it does in the *Resting Places* text.<sup>76</sup> Although the fragment cannot be established as representing part of a homily distinct from *St Mildred*, its fragmentary preservation allows it to be included in the corpus as an independent narrative text concerning a saint.

A text concerning *St Veronica* (Assmann XVI) is preserved in full in Cambridge, University Library, li.2.11<sup>77</sup> and in part in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196 (Assmann XVI, lines 39-261)<sup>78</sup> and BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4-169 (Warner XXXII).<sup>79</sup> *Veronica*, whose feast day is celebrated on 12 July,<sup>80</sup> is traditionally associated with the stages of the Cross at Easter. The text does not indicate any direct connection with the *Sanctorale*, rather it comes from a tradition of apocryphal legends.<sup>81</sup> However, the saint's miraculous powers of healing are listed and the text as a whole forms a recognisable hagiographic narrative.<sup>82</sup> As with *St Mildred*, this text is not a straightforward life of a common saint, but it has both the hagiographic content and independent existence consistent with the group of texts defined here. *St Veronica* is neither a Martyr nor a Confessor, but had a special position in the *Sanctorale* due to her association with Christ's Passion.

Another apocryphal text which may be included here is the fragmentary *Vision of St Paul* (Healey, pp.63-73) preserved uniquely in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 and 86 (5196-7), fols 3r-11v. This piece fits into the same tradition as the *Visions of St Fursey* and *St Drihthelm* mentioned above.<sup>83</sup> The *Vision of St Paul* has a typical homiletic format<sup>84</sup> and no connection with the *Sanctorale*, but is included here due to its central concern with the experiences of a saint who is otherwise assigned a feast day.

There are two further items in need of discussion: the late homily entitled *Sermo In Festis Sancte Marie Virginis* (Warner XLIII) and some extracts from the *Vitae Patrum* (Assmann XVIII). *In Festis Sancte Marie* occurs uniquely in BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4-169,<sup>85</sup> a manuscript written s.xii<sup>med</sup>, according to Ker.<sup>86</sup> The text concerns the Annunciation of the Virgin and has a pericope exposition on Luke.<sup>87</sup> It has no heading associated with the *Sanctorale* and ends abruptly, without a doxology. The subject matter of the text fits the

hagiographic rubric used here, but this piece, which is a version of a twelfth century sermon by Ralph d'Escures,<sup>88</sup> should be excluded from the corpus because of its late date of composition. Translations of three extracts from the *Vitae Patrum* are uniquely preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i, vol. 2.<sup>89</sup> Assmann printed them as his XVIII, with each extract separately numbered. All three are short narrative texts with a common interest in the acts of anchorites. The first two sections are brief narratives about unnamed hermits, but the third is a more substantial text concerning St Malchus.<sup>90</sup> The three parts were designed to work as a single exemplary text, as a short preface attests,<sup>91</sup> and the balance of the three sections suggests that the first two parts were intended to work as an introduction to the considerably longer third part.<sup>92</sup> The *Vitae Patrum* group of Latin texts was associated with the Sanctorale<sup>93</sup> and provided source material for the anonymous life of St Mary of Egypt (LS XXIIIB).<sup>94</sup> Although the extracts in BL Cotton Otho C. i are not given a Sanctorale heading, they form a homily centrally concerned with a saint and should consequently be included in the corpus.

In conclusion, the anonymous texts to be included with those by Ælfric in the corpus of Old English hagiographic prose pieces consist of the Sanctorale lives listed above plus *The Deposition of St Augustine*, *St Paulinus*, *St Mildred*, *St Seaxburg*, *St Malchus* (*Vitae Patrum*) and the apocryphal *St Veronica* and *Vision of St Paul*.

In the second section of this paper the manuscript dissemination of the texts considered above will be discussed. This will follow next year.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This article is indebted to a number of earlier works, particularly N.R. Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford 1957, reprinted 1990 with the supplement originally published in *ASE*, 5 [1976], 121-31) and D.G. Scragg, 'The corpus of vernacular homilies and prose saints' lives before Ælfric', *ASE*, 8 (1979), 223-78. The list of texts was put together initially with reference to P.A.M. Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of Their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P.A.M. Clemoes (London 1959), pp.212-47, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, compiled by A. di Paolo Healey and R.L. Venezky (Toronto 1980) and P.H. Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary preserved in BL MS Cotton Nero E. i + CCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1979) and 'Saints Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric', *Peritia*, 1 (1982), 17-37. The

following were also consulted to check for further, lost witnesses of hagiographic texts: Sir Robert Cotton's own catalogue of his collection (London, British Library, Harley 6018); John Joscelyn's notebook (London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. vii); H. Wanley, *Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium. Catalogus Historico-Criticus*, vol. II of G. Hickes, *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus* (Oxford, 1705). However, no new material was found. I should like to thank the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the Keepers of manuscripts in the Bodleian, British and Cambridge University Libraries for access to unpublished manuscripts. My thanks are also due to Mr. Colin Tite for help with the examination of the catalogues of the Cotton collection.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the non-Ælfrician lives are not given explicit headings indicating their feast days, although they generally correspond to the Sanctorale: see note 58 below.

<sup>3</sup> For the First Series, see B. Thorpe, ed., *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, 2 vols, (London 1844-6); for the Second Series, see M.R. Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series: Text*, EETS ss 5 (London 1979).

<sup>4</sup> See W.W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 4 vols, EETS os 76, 82, 94, 114 (London 1881-1900; reprinted in 2 vols, 76, 82 as vol. I, 94, 114 as vol. II, 1966).

<sup>5</sup> I do not include the witnesses of the *Old English Martyrology* in this number. The *Martyrology* is included in the corpus, but as a special case. This is discussed further below. For editions of the *Martyrology* see G. Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, EETS os 116 (London 1900; reprinted 1973) and G. Kotzor, ed., *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, 2 vols, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen neue Folge 88 (Munich 1981).

<sup>6</sup> The lives preserved in s.x/xi manuscripts obviously predate Ælfric, the relevant witnesses are: the Vercelli Book (s.x<sup>(2)</sup>3), the Blickling Homilies (s.x/xi) and London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols 94r-209r (s.x/xi). See Scragg, 'The corpus of vernacular homilies', pp.223-4 and pp.264-6. Various attempts have been made to establish lives preserved in s.xi/xii witnesses as much earlier compositions, but these have tended to be based on doubtful linguistic evidence; see, for instance, R. Vleeskruyer, ed., *The Life of St Chad* (Amsterdam 1953) and for a response J.M. Bately, 'Old English prose before and during the reign of Alfred', *ASE*, 17 (1988), 93-138.

<sup>7</sup> The texts in the *Catholic Homilies* are notable for their internal references to *toðæg* or *þis anweardan dæg*, indicating their link with the Reading of the Day: see Clemoes, 'Chronology', p.220, note 3. The exceptions are the *Decollation of St John the Baptist* (CH I, XXXII) and *St Andrew* (XXXVIII). However, the latter is given such a reference in a later revision in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188 (p.440), apparently by Ælfric (see Pope I; 140, note 2). Many of the texts in the *Catholic Homilies* begin with a pericope exposition. In his breakdown of the Ælfrician canon, Clemoes indicated such texts with 'P' and of the eighty-five homilies listed as the contents of the two

series of *Catholic Homilies*, fifty include pericope expositions; see 'Chronology', pp.214-7.

<sup>8</sup> Ælfric described the contents of the *Catholic Homilies* as not only coming from the gospels, 'ac sind forwel fela of godes halgena life oððe þrowunge gegaderode', CH II; 2, lines 39-40.

<sup>9</sup> All of the lives in the *Catholic Homilies* are given headings appropriate to their position in the Sanctorale in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 (the only manuscript containing all of both series) and also in most of their other witnesses.

<sup>10</sup> The Christmas sequence of lives (*St Stephen*, *Assumption of St John the Evangelist*, *Nativity of the Holy Innocents*) is often listed as part of the Temporale (cf. Clemoes, 'Chronology', p.214 and Pope I; 137), but these feasts are all provided with entries in the *Old English Martyrology* and it is clear that they also functioned as part of the Sanctorale.

<sup>11</sup> The Latin preface states, 'Nam memini me in duobus anterioribus libris posuisse passiones uel uitas sanctorum ipsorum, quos gens ista caelebre colit cum ueneratione festi diei, et placuit nobis in isto codicello ordinare passiones etiam uel uitas sanctorum illorum quos non uulgas sed coenobite officii uenerantur', Latin preface, LS I; 2, lines 5-9. 'For I call to mind that, in the two former books, I have set forth the Passions or Lives of those saints whom that illustrious nation celebrates by honouring their festival, and it has (now) pleased me to set forth, in this book, the Passions as well as the Lives of those saints whom not the vulgar, but the monks, honour by special services.'

<sup>12</sup> The non-Ælfrician pieces are LS XXIII, XXIIIB, XXX and XXXIII; the non-Sanctorale texts are LS I, XII, XIII, XVI, XVII and XVIII.

<sup>13</sup> By means of an ingenious analysis of the contents of BL Cotton Julius E. vii, A.A. Prins saw Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* as consisting of forty pieces paralleling the construction of the two series of *Catholic Homilies*, 'Some Remarks on Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* and his Translations from the Old Testament', *Neophilologus*, 25 (1940), 112-22, at p.121.

<sup>14</sup> All of the lives found in BL Cotton Julius E. vii are given headings indicating their feast day in the Sanctorale, apart from *St Alban* (LS XIX) and *St Martin* (XXXI). *St Alban* is given its correct heading - *X Kalendas Iulii* - in another witness, Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33 (147r).

<sup>15</sup> This does not include his Latin *Life of St Æthelwold* found in the s.xii manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5362 (fols 74r-81r); see M. Winterbottom, ed., *Three Lives of English Saints*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts (Toronto 1972), pp.15-30.

<sup>16</sup> see, for instance, Clemoes, 'Chronology', pp.216-7.

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1974; reprinted 1985), p.1193.

<sup>18</sup> For a note on the recurring themes concerning Doomsday in the vernacular Rogationtide homilies of the period, see the Introduction to J. Bazire and J.E.

Cross, eds., *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies* (Toronto 1982; 2nd ed. as King's College London Medieval Studies, 4 1989), p.xxiv.

<sup>19</sup> The veracity of the text is undermined by its own author's words; Ælfric commented, 'Humeta rædað sume men. ða leasan gesetnysse. ðe hí hatað paulus gesihðe. nu hé sylf sæde. þæt he ða digelan word gehyrde. þe nán eorðlic mann sprecaþ ne mót' (CH II, XX, lines 14-16).

<sup>20</sup> Men ða leofostan, CH II, XX, line 1. Although this is the common opening for Temporale homilies, it is also found at the start of the *Invention of the Cross* (CH II, XVIII) and *SS Simon and Jude* (XXXIII), texts which are not assigned to the Temporale.

<sup>21</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i, fols 93r-7v; Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 221 (formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 4), fols 59v-66v; see Zettel, 'Sources', p.16.

<sup>22</sup> St Fursey was assigned 16 January as a feast day in the *Old English Martyrology*, Kotzor, *Martyrologium*, II; 16-17. Both visions involve their protagonists dying in order to view life after death and thus embody a form of martyrdom which would be appropriate to a standard *passio*.

<sup>23</sup> Zettel included *St Fursey* in his list of Ælfrician lives: Zettel, 'Sources', p.42. However, his definition of the canon of Ælfric's Sanctorale materials was more restricted than here; compared with the above list of lives in the *Catholic Homilies* he omitted CH I, III, V, IX, XIII, XXV, XXVII, XXXII, XXXVI and CH II, II, XXIV, XXIX.

<sup>24</sup> J. Hurt, *Ælfric*, Twayne's English Authors Series, 131 (Indiana 1972), p.53.

<sup>25</sup> See M.McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto 1977), pp.71-3 for a context and analysis of these two texts.

<sup>26</sup> However, the position is less clear-cut than with St Fursey. Drihthelm does not appear as a saint in the *Old English Martyrology*, nor is he present in the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary*, since the source of the story is Bede. Yet, there was a tradition for his inclusion in the Sanctorale (his feast day is 1 September), based on the authority of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*; as D.H. Farmer has commented: 'Bede's detailed account of him is the only source of authentic information; his assurance of the quality of Drihthelm's life and death is the reason why his name is found in Lives of the Saints', see *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1987), p.121.

<sup>27</sup> The St Fursey story appears in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, eds, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* [Oxford 1969]), III, chapter 19, pp.268-76, but Ælfric's actual source was the *Vita Fursei* (see Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, p.218, note 50). The *Vision of St Drihthelm* follows *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, chapter 12, pp.488-98, and the story of Ymma IV, chapter 22, pp.400-4.

<sup>28</sup> Godden believed that these two vision texts and the story of Ymma (printed as three separate pieces in Thorpe; II, XXII-XXIV) were designed 'to be combined in some way to form one or two homilies' for Rogationtide, 'The Development of Ælfric's Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*', *ES* 54 (1973),

209-16, at p.213. Godden also suggested that the *Vision of St Drihthelm* and the text concerning Ymma may be considered as a single homily of a general nature found with the *Vision of St Fursey* 'not because [Ælfric] wanted two homilies for Tuesday in Rogationtide but because this composite homily was not adapted for any particular occasion and had the same subject as [Thorpe] XXII. Then XXIV would be an *exemplum* of part of the argument of XXIII', *ibid.*, p.212.

<sup>29</sup> The *Memory of the Saints* homily (*Sermo De Memoria Sanctorum*) found in BL Cotton Julius E. vii (LS XVI) is omitted from this list for the same reason. It has no place in the Sanctorale and it is not hagiographic in terms of content.

<sup>30</sup> Both *St Vincent* (16 January) and the *Nativity of Mary* homily (8 September) are part of the Sanctorale and are given suitable headings in Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33 (128v) and CCC 188 (p.357) and CCC 303 (p.132) respectively. *St Vincent* is close to the format of the Sanctorale pieces in the *Lives of Saints*, as a reading piece, whereas the *Nativity* homily shares the liturgical setting of the *Catholic Homilies*.

<sup>31</sup> Clemoes believed that *St Vincent*, as preserved in Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33, represented half of a homily completed by the pericope exposition on *John* XII.24-6 found as a Common of a Martyr out of Paschaltide piece in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (fols 121v-2r; Belfour VIII). The pericope exposition includes the note 'swá swá Uincencius dyde be þam þe wé eow sæden áer' (Belfour VIII, p.76, lines 12-3). See Clemoes, 'Chronology', p.236, note 1 and S.E. Irvine, 'Bones of contention: the context of Ælfric's homily on St Vincent', *ASE* 19 (1990), 117-132. The life may have been a special commission produced after the *Lives of Saints* set.

<sup>32</sup> CH II, XXXI, p.271, lines 1-4. This note on the Nativity of the Virgin (p.271, lines 1-10) is specifically non-Sanctorale in its setting and Clemoes categorised it under 'Miscellanea', 'Chronology', p.219. However, it may be included here due to its narrative detail and central concern with a saint.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 6-8.

<sup>34</sup> Ælfric's worries only delayed him from writing a homily for the Nativity. However, when he did produce it he carefully concentrated on her virginity as a safe topic for discussion: as Gatch has commented, he was 'critical of speculation on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin', *Preaching and Theology*, p.178, note 25. Ælfric's concerns over the *Nativity* homily have been further explored by M. Clayton, 'Ælfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary', *Anglia*, 104 (1986), 286-315.

<sup>35</sup> A text for St Thomas did not appear in the *Catholic Homilies*, but one was written for the *Lives of Saints*. The life begins with an explanation of Ælfric's former reluctance to translate the story because of its possible unorthodoxy as cited by Augustine, but notes that it has now been produced at the request of his patron Æthelweard. See LS XXXVI, lines 1-12.

<sup>36</sup> The complete composite text is constructed as follows: LS XVII (lines 1-267) followed by a brief linking passage not by Ælfric (Pope XXIX, lines 1-3), then the St Macarius text as found in BL Cotton Julius E. vii (LS XXI, lines 464-95), then a second linking passage and a piece about Saul and the witch of

Endor, which does not exist outside this context. Pope printed all of this composite text after *De Auguriis* as XXIX.

<sup>37</sup> See Pope XXIX: Pope II; 787. A similar relationship may be seen between LS XV and the *Item Alia* which succeeds it.

<sup>38</sup> See Pope II; 787-8.

<sup>39</sup> See Pope XXIII, note to line 208. The insertion is indicated to go before CH II, XVIII, line 69, 'Alexander papa. Ic sece ærest æt þe,' etc.

<sup>40</sup> See *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Iohannes Bollandus, Godefridus Henschenius et al., 67 vols (Antwerp 1643-1770; Brussels 1780-), 3rd ed., 3 May.

<sup>41</sup> Pope II; 734-5.

<sup>42</sup> 'Chronology', p.217. In the manuscript, the text has the heading *De Sancta Virginitate. Uel De Tribus Ordinibus Castitatis*.

<sup>43</sup> Pope I; 31, also I; 140-1. He noted that Assmann printed all of both the *Letter* (as II) and the *Nativity* homily (III) separately and did not acknowledge the Vitellius homily as an independent item.

<sup>44</sup> See Pope I; 31. The two *Assumption* homilies are CH I, XXX and CH II, XXIX.

<sup>45</sup> 'Chronology', p.238, note 3. This seems to be because the *Letter to Sigeward* mentions the *Apocalypse* in the passage immediately preceding the homily, Crawford, lines 1010-4. If this is the case, clearly the homily must have been extracted from the *Letter*, rather than have been included from elsewhere, having first had an independent existence.

<sup>46</sup> Crawford, *Letter to Sigeward*, line 1153, 'se þe a rixað on ecnysse. Amen.'

<sup>47</sup> See also *ibid.*, lines 1226, 1261.

<sup>48</sup> 'Chronology', p.238, note 3.

<sup>49</sup> CH I, IV, p.58, line 24-p.60, line 6.

<sup>50</sup> Crawford, *Letter to Sigeward*, lines 1025-38.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 1051-148.

<sup>52</sup> These are articles 6, 7; the *St John the Evangelist* homily is given the heading *Item De Eodem. VII*. In BL Harley 3271, the other witness of the homily, it follows another text found in the *Letter to Sigeward* (Crawford, lines 1227-61), a piece on the suffering of the Jews after the death of Christ (articles 21, 22). It seems likely that both these texts were extracts, associated in the manuscripts because of their common origin.

<sup>53</sup> The extant manuscripts containing some or all of the *Old English Martyrology* are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (Ker 32, article 3) and 196 (47, article 1), London, British Library, Add. 23211 (127, article 2), Add. 40165A (132), Cotton Julius A. x (161) and Harley 3271 (239, article 11 i).

<sup>54</sup> Gatch has commented, 'The martyrology, originally a calendar of saints' days, had only brief narratives; longer lessons for use in the offices were collected in the passionals', *Preaching and Theology*, p.208, note 96. The *Old English Martyrology* is, however, useful in establishing an association with the *Sanctorale* for some of these texts.



<sup>55</sup> See H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology', *Literature and Learning in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge 1985), pp.91-141, at pp.125-9.

<sup>56</sup> *Preaching and Theology*, pp.16-7.

<sup>57</sup> Much has been written about the *Old English Martyrology* recently, see, for instance, J.E. Cross, 'Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts. *The Old English Martyrology, Peritia*, 1 (1982) 38-62. For comments on the tradition of Continental martyrologies in general see J. Dubois, *Les Martyrologes du moyen âge latin*, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 26 (Turnhout 1978).

<sup>58</sup> Of all these texts only seven are given a heading indicating their feast day within the Sanctorale. They are: *St Euphrosyne* (BL Cotton Julius E. vii, 207r), *St Eustace* (Julius E. vii, 169v; BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, '133v'), *St Margaret 2* (BL Cotton Otho B. x, '195r'), *Nativity of Mary the Virgin* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, part II, 11r), *St Mildred* (BL Cotton Caligula A. xiv, 121v), *St Pantaleon* (BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, '72v'), *Seven Sleepers* (BL Cotton Otho B. x, '95v'). The majority of these texts are given Sanctorale headings in what may be defined as the main witnesses of the *Lives of Saints* (BL Cotton Julius E. vii, Otho B. x and Vitellius D. xvii); this suggests that the purpose of these collections was primarily to represent the Sanctorale. This is considered further below.

<sup>59</sup> This is the same text as Morris 2, I (*Invention of the Cross*). However whilst Morris printed his text from CCC 303, Bodden edited the text found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32. Both editions should therefore be noted.

<sup>60</sup> This is the same text as Morris 3, XIX (*St Andrew*), but the two are differentiated because each edition follows a different manuscript: Morris printed the life from the Blickling manuscript with collations from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 for the imperfect parts. Bright published the text from CCC 198 in full.

<sup>61</sup> Part of this text (*St Guthlac*) is also found in Szarmach XXIII, adapted as a homily with a different conclusion.

<sup>62</sup> This is the same text as Szarmach XVIII (*St Martin*), but Morris follows the Blickling manuscript copy and Szarmach the Vercelli Book, so the two editions are listed separately.

<sup>63</sup> Matthews, pp.62-126.

<sup>64</sup> This life has been edited in an unpublished undergraduate thesis by R.M. Slocombe, *Prologus de Sancto Nicholao episcopo et confessore and Vita* (Bristol University, 1962).

<sup>65</sup> Wanley, 'Catalogus', pp.192-3: see Ker, 'Catalogue', p.228. These portions of the life clearly indicate that it was a different text from the other two extant lives of St Margaret.

<sup>66</sup> The text follows Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, chapters 9-10 and 20 (Colgrave and Mynors, pp.162-71, 202-6). See Sisam, 'Studies', p.152, note 2.



<sup>67</sup> Article 3, fols 121v-4v.

<sup>68</sup> Cockayne III; 426.

<sup>69</sup> Fols 210r-v. This manuscript consists of two fragmentary folios.

<sup>70</sup> Cockayne III; 422-30.

<sup>71</sup> Förster 2, pp.333-4.

<sup>72</sup> F. Liebermann, ed., *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hannover 1889), pp.1-5.

Liebermann included collations from both the Caligula and Lambeth manuscripts in his edition. D.W. Rollason has considered some of the textual problems related to *St Mildred, The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester 1982); see particularly pp.29-31.

<sup>73</sup> It is, of course, also possible that the Lambeth fragment was originally part of an expanded *Resting Places* text and not a composite homily for St Mildred. Wanley gives no help as to the original structure of the Lambeth Palace text.

<sup>74</sup> Fol. 211r-v. The *Mildred* and *Seaxburg* texts are preserved on separate, fragmentary binding sheets and Ker stated that they were 'non adjacent'; this may indicate that the *St Seaxburg* piece was originally quite separate from *St Mildred* in this manuscript. However, there is no further evidence for its independence, such as a heading.

<sup>75</sup> The St Mildred section is followed by a brief text concerning Queen Seaxburg and her founding of a monastery in Kent; Liebermann, 'Heiligen', p.5, lines 17-9. Förster 2, p.334, lines 1-15 correspond to Liebermann, p.5, line 17 - p.6, line 16. However, Förster 2, p.334, line 16 - p.335, line 28 have no equivalent in the *Resting Places of the Saints*.

<sup>76</sup> St Seaxburg is also associated with St Mildred in Ælfric's *Life of St Æthelthryth* (LS XX, lines 70-101) and *St Edmund* (LS XXXII, lines 262-3). The account in LS XX follows the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, chapter 19 (Colgrave and Mynors, pp.390-6).

<sup>77</sup> Article 3, fols 193r-202r.

<sup>78</sup> Article 2, pp.111-122.

<sup>79</sup> Article 32, fols 100v-102r. Warner, p.88, line 15-p. 89, line 4 corresponds to Assmann XVI, lines 1-39.

<sup>80</sup> See, for instance, Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints*, p.422. The standard account of the Veronica legend is contained in E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 18 (Leipzig 1899), 197-262.

<sup>81</sup> The Old English text is a translation of the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, see C. Tischendorff, ed., *Evangelia Apocrypha* (Leipzig 1876; reprinted Darmstadt, 1966), pp.471-86.

<sup>82</sup> The text opens with the scene setting typical of a saint's life, as opposed to a Temporale homily: 'On Tiberius dagum ðæs miclan caseres hyt gelangp bynnan lytlum fyrste' etc., Assmann XVI, lines 1-2.

<sup>83</sup> Healey described the *Vision of St Paul* as 'an accessible and instructive guide to the fate of souls at the moment of death' (p.41) and this might also serve as a general description of the other vision texts.

<sup>84</sup> The fragmentary text begins 'And, men þa leofestan', Healey, p.63, line 1.

<sup>85</sup> Article 44, fols 151v-7v.

<sup>86</sup> Ker, 'Catalogue', pp.271.

<sup>87</sup> Warner (XLIII), p.134, line 5 - p.135, line 7.

<sup>88</sup> See Ker, 'Catalogue', p.275. This text is usually considered one of the earliest pieces of Middle English; see, for instance, C. Clark, *The Peterborough Chronicle* (Oxford 1958; 2nd ed. 1970), p.lii, note 1.

<sup>89</sup> Article 2, fols 137v-43v. There is only one formal break indicated in the manuscript: at the beginning of part two there is the heading *Finit prima sententia. Incipit II<sup>a</sup>* (fol. 138v; Assmann XVIII, line 66). However, each section has a Latin opening which marks it out.

<sup>90</sup> His feast day is 21 October.

<sup>91</sup> 'We willaðnu ærest writan be sumum westænsetlan, swa swa Ieronimus hit of Ebrean on Greca gereorde awænde and Pelagius syðð an on ure geþ eode, þæt is on Læden, to bysne and to lare þam ðe anrædlice deofles costnungum and his lotwrencum wiðstandan willað.' (Assmann XVIII, lines 1-5).

<sup>92</sup> Parts one and two occupy 110 lines (Assmann XVIII, lines 13-123), whilst part three is 300 lines long (lines 124-424).

<sup>93</sup> Ælfric specifically rejected the *Vitæ Patrum* as a source in the Latin preface to the *Lives of Saints*, 'reticemus de libro uitæ patrum, in quo multa subtilia habentur quæ non conueniunt aperiri laicis, nec nos ipsi ea quimus implere.' (Latin preface, LS I; 2, lines 12-14): 'I hold my peace as to the book called *Vitæ Patrum*, wherein are contained many subtle points which ought not to be laid open to the laity, nor indeed are we ourselves quite able to fathom them.' J.E. Cross has noted that the Old English Martyrologist had some contact with the *Vitæ Patrum* (or, more specifically, the section of the collection now known as *Verba Seniorum*), using some material from it in his notice on St Arsenius; 'On the Library of the Old English Martyrologist', *Literature and Learning in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp.227-250, at pp.244-5.

<sup>94</sup> Skeat noted that the source of the life was to be found in the *Vitæ Patrum*, LS II; 447.