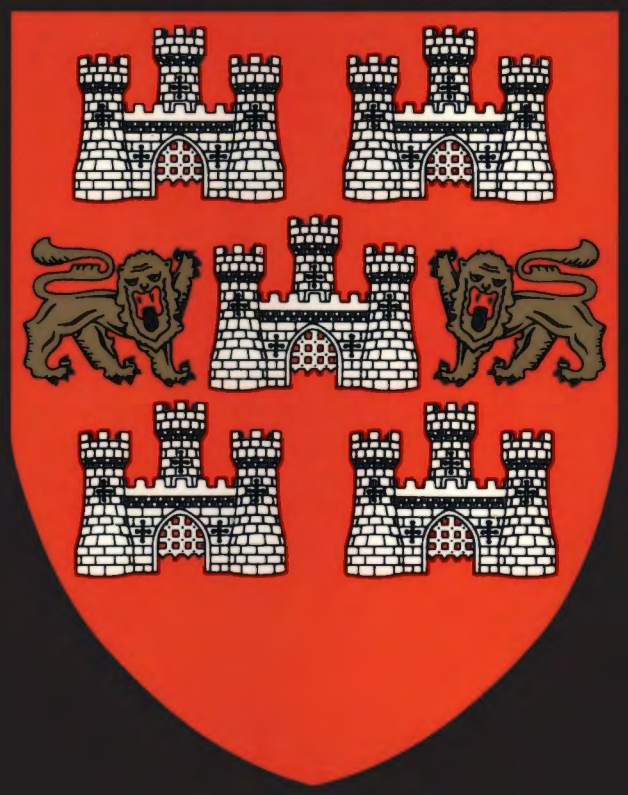
WINCHESTER STUDIES · 4.ii
General Editor: Martin Biddle

THE ANGLO-SAXON MINSTERS OF WINCHESTER

The Cult of St Swithun



MICHAEL LAPIDGE

WINCHESTER STUDIES

General editor: Martin Biddle

4

THE ANGLO-SAXON MINSTERS OF WINCHESTER

PART ii

THE CULT OF ST SWITHUN





St Swithun in episcopal vestments giving a blessing, from the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold
London, BL, Add. 49598, fo. 97v, 971x984
(see pp. 179–85).

WINCHESTER STUDIES 4.ii

THE ANGLO-SAXON MINSTERS OF WINCHESTER

THE CULT OF ST SWITHUN

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

With contributions by
John Crook, †Robert Deshman, and Susan Rankin

Published for
the Winchester Excavations Committee



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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

ROGER QUIRK's landmark paper on 'Winchester Cathedral in the Tenth Century' appeared in 1959 in Volume 114 (for 1957) of the *Archaeological Journal*. In the great tradition of Arthur Waley and F. J. E. Raby, Quirk combined a distinguished career in the Civil Service with in his case a devotion to the study of Anglo-Saxon Winchester. In this, the first of two papers dealing with the Old and New Minsters, he set out to explore the written sources for all that might be learnt about the physical reality of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral church, a building totally lost, of which even the site was then uncertain.

Roger Quirk based his study on the two principal accounts of Anglo-Saxon Winchester, Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* and Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*. Neither text was then in a modern edition with commentary and notes. Lantfred's *Translatio* had not even been printed in its entirety. Comparison between the two was difficult and reference awkward. Anyone reading 'Winchester Cathedral in the Tenth Century' will see at once the difficulties facing Quirk in the 1950s.

Supported by his wife Paula, Roger sought to place his view of the Old Minster as revealed by analysis of the written sources in the context of the then current understanding of European architecture in early medieval France and Germany. It was a remarkable achievement, the scale of which will be made clear in Winchester Studies 4.i, *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester*, to which *The Cult of St Swithun* is the companion. In 1961 Roger published a paper on the 'Winchester New Minster and its Tenth-Century Tower' (*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., vol. 24), but his early death in 1964 brought an end to these studies.

Following the start of excavations in 1961 and the identification of the sites of the Old and New Minsters in 1962–3, the need for scholarly modern editions of the two basic texts became an obvious and urgent need. By this time the Winchester Excavations Committee had entered through the good agency of Professor Urban Tigner Holmes into a fruitful seven-year collaboration with the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, in association with Duke University and with North Carolina State University at Raleigh. It was the basis of our agreement that the American universities would send students to take part in the excavations each year and that faculty members would share in the academic work. This was the context in which I invited Professor Daniel J. Sheerin to undertake an edition of Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica*, since this was of obvious immediate importance for the architectural study of Old Minster. Dan agreed and rapidly produced a text and translation of Wulfstan's *Epistola specialis*, together with an outline commentary which was of crucial value for the on-going archaeological investigations. He also demolished the value of Vigilantius's purported account of the pre-conquest church, now seen as 'a late medieval pseudo-history' (see below, p. 177). It was at about this point that Michael Lapidge contacted Dan Sheerin: Michael Lapidge describes what happened next in his Preface. Working with Dan Sheerin was always a great pleasure for Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle and for me: we remain grateful to him for his generous collaboration and substantial contributions to our understanding of Old Minster in the years when the excavations were still in progress and immediately afterwards.

Our work has been immeasurably enhanced by our long collaboration with Michael Lapidge. He provided us years ago with texts, translations, and burgeoning commentary on both Lantfred and Wulfstan, and both have been invaluable in the course of our own work. The three volumes of Winchester Studies 4 will form an entity, but this is not to say that Birthe and I and Michael agree on every point of the architectural interpretation of the text of Wulfstan's *Epistola specialis*. The degree of agreement has been very encouraging and the disagreements always stimulating, but no attempt has been made to smooth over complex passages to produce a seamless garment. The points of agreement and disagreement are signalled here and in our *Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester* to allow readers to make up their own minds on what are complicated and difficult problems of meaning and emphasis.

The Winchester Excavations Committee is most grateful to Professor Lapidge for his devoted pilgrimage over a period of more than thirty years through the texts on St Swithun. Swithun himself is often described as a 'pillar': this study of his cult provides a pillar, a very substantial pillar, in our understanding of Anglo-Saxon and later liturgy and piety and not least in our comprehension of the great church which honoured his grave and preserved his memory.

Martin Biddle
17 March 2003

General Editor's Preface to the Reprinted and Open Access Edition

Since 2021, volumes in the *Winchester Studies* series have been made available in facsimile of the original out-of-print editions. Developments in digital technologies now enable academic publishing to reach wider audiences with options to read online or print on demand. From the earliest days of the development of technology to enable online publication, we have been exploring options for digitising our volumes, while maintaining close attention to the quality of reproduction, especially of our large scale and complex illustrations. Those familiar with our volumes will understand and appreciate the care that has been taken with the illustrations. The team at Archaeopress have ensured important facets like scale and pagination are maintained throughout each volume. It is only through the expertise, dedication, and enthusiasm of Archaeopress and their team that this attention to detail and accuracy in digital reproduction has been achieved, and for that we are very grateful.

Martin Biddle
March 2023

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE present volume represents the results of some thirty years' work on the hagiography and cult of St Swithun. My interest in Anglo-Latin literature, and particularly in some unusual poems (which I was subsequently able to attribute to the school of Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester), led me in July 1971, in the second week of that month—perhaps even on 15 July, though I did not keep a diary of my trips to libraries—to the British Museum, as it then was, and in particular to MS Royal 15. C. VII, and to its text of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*. It was clear that the Royal manuscript offered a better text than any in print, and I set to work transcribing it, with (I suppose) the aim of publishing an edition and commentary. As I set out to work on this important Winchester source, I learned perforce of the Biddles' excavations at Winchester, and at the Old Minster in particular, and of the proposed series of Winchester Studies which was to result from it; and I also learned from Martin Biddle that a classics professor then at the University of Delaware, Daniel J. Sheerin, was at work on a new edition of Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, a text which (as could quickly be established) was a verse contrafactum of Lantfred's prose text and inextricably linked with it. I wrote to Dan Sheerin, I think in 1974, marking out what I thought was my territory and making clear, no doubt abrasively, my intention of editing the Lantfred text; he replied courteously, with characteristic generosity, offering to make available to me everything he had done to date on Wulfstan, so that our work could proceed in parallel. Through further correspondence I came to learn of his vast project of assembling all the pre-Reformation source-material bearing on the cult of St Swithun—historical, liturgical, art-historical, etc.—which was to be published in his volume in the Winchester Studies series. In 1976, after consultation with Martin Biddle, Dan Sheerin generously invited me to contribute my Lantfred edition to the Swithun volume; and I readily agreed. In spite of our mutual enthusiasm for St Swithun, however, neither of us made much progress; and Dan subsequently decided, in April 1977, for personal and understandable reasons, to abandon the project altogether. It was shortly thereafter, in March 1978, that Martin Biddle invited me to take over responsibility for the volume as Dan Sheerin had conceived it, now to be entitled *The Cult of St Swithun*. I naively agreed. It was at this point (July 1978) that Dan sent to me, in one great carton, the entire results of his ten years' research on Swithun materials—transcriptions, references, photocopies. (Neither of us was then to know that, late in our academic careers, we would both end up at the University of Notre Dame, with offices a few feet from each other.) My first duty, therefore, is to acknowledge Dan Sheerin's generosity: without his carton of materials, and his preliminary mapping of the terrain, the present volume would have taken even more years than it has.

I have also incurred many other debts during the past thirty years. Among my Cambridge colleagues, Simon Keynes has given help and support in ways too numerous to recall: but I think it would be fair to say that there is not a historical problem arising from the Swithun materials which I have not discussed with him, and had the benefit of his advice, at some point during our long friendship. I have also had excellent guidance on the texts printed here: from Michael Winterbottom on Lantfred, Neil Wright on Wulfstan, Mechthild Gretsch on Ælfric, Richard

Beadle, Jill Mann and Tony Edwards on *The South English Legendary*, and Richard Hamer on *The Gilte Legende*. David Chadd and Susan Rankin helped with liturgy and music, and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Pádraig Ó Riain with Irish liturgy and history. Three good friends did not live to see the publication of the volume, but their help was invaluable in many ways: Peter Clemoes, Jimmy Cross and Bob Deshman. I also benefited from advice on individual points from numerous friends and colleagues: James Carley, John Crook, David Dumville, Helmut Gneuss, Michael Gullick, Catherine Hills, Leslie Lockett, Rosalind Love, Nigel Morgan, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, Andy Orchard, Giovanni Orlandi, Katharine Scarfe Beckett, Richard Sharpe, Rebecca Stephenson, Rod Thomson, Gordon Whatley, and Patrick Wormald. Throughout the production of this volume, Anne Joshua and her colleagues at Joshua Associates have been unfailingly attentive to every kind of detail. Finally, Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle and Martin Biddle have been exceedingly generous with help and advice for more than twenty-five years, and that the volume has finally reached completion owes more than I can say to their enduring enthusiasm for the project.

Michael Lapidge
15 August 2001

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II Lantfred, *Translatio*, the beginning of the Prefatory Letter: London, BL, Royal MS 15. C. VII, fo. 2r

III Lantfred, *Translatio*, the end of the Preface and the beginning of c. 1: London, BL, Royal MS 15. C. VII, fo. 6r

IV Wulfstan, *Narratio, Epistola specialis*, lines 47-70; London, BL, Royal MS 15. C. VII, fo. 52r

V Wulfstan, *Narratio, Epistola specialis*, lines 37-72; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Auct. F. 2. 14, fo. 1v

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Permission to publish these illustrations has been granted by the British Library, London (frontispiece and pls. II–IV); Collections Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen [Photographie Thierry Ascencio-Parvy 2003] (pl. I); the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (pls. V, XV); the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (pl. VI); the University Library, Helsinki (pl. VII); the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (pl. VIII); the Courtauld Institute of Art, London (pls. IX-X); the National Monuments Record, English Heritage, Swindon (pl. XI); the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (pls. XII-XIV); and Dr John Crook (pl. XVI).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
'Abingdon Glossary'	a Latin–Old English glossary preserved in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, M. 16. 2 + London, BL, Add. 32246; partly ptd (from a transcript by Junius) in WW i, cols. 104–91
Acta SS.	*Acta Sanctorum*, ed. J. Bolland *et al.* (Antwerp, 1643–)
Ælfric, *Glossary*	*Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. J. Zupitza, 3rd edn. rev. H. Gneuss (Hildesheim, 2001), pp. 297–322
—, *CH* i	—, the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, ed. P. Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text*, EETS s.s. xvii (London, 1997)
—, *CH* ii	—, the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, ed. M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series. Text*, EETS s.s. v (London, 1979)
—, *CH* iii	M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS s.s. xviii (Oxford, 2000)
—, *Hom. Supp.*	*Homilies of Ælfric. A Supplementary Collection*, ed. J. C. Pope, 2 vols., EETS o.s. cclix–cclx (London, 1967–8)
—, *LS*	*Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 4 vols., EETS o.s. lxxvi, lxxxii, xciv, cxiv (London, 1881–1900; repr. as two vols., 1966)
—, *LME*	*Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. C. A. Jones, CSASE xxiv (Cambridge, 1998)
AH	*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. G. M. Dreves and C. Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922)
Aldhelm, *CdV*	Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH, AA xv (Berlin, 1919), 350–471
—, *prDV*	—, prose *De uirginitate*, ed. Ehwald, ibid. pp. 228–323
—, *Enigm.*	—, *Enigmata*, ed. Ehwald, ibid. pp. 97–149
Ann. Wint.	'Annales Monasterii de Wintonia', in *Annales Monastici* II, ed. H. R. Luard, RS (London, 1865), pp. 3–79
AntJ	*Antiquaries Journal*
Arator, *HA*	Arator, *Historia apostolica*, ed. A. P. McKinlay, CSEL lxxii (Vienna, 1951)
Arch	*Archaeologia*
ArchJ	*Archaeological Journal*
ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892–9); trans. D. Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Revised Translation* (London, 1961)
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASNSL	*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*

ASPR	The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York, 1931–42)
ASSAH	*Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports (Oxford)
BCS	W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols. and index (London, 1885–93)
Bede, *HE*	Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*: ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896); ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (OMT, 1969)
—, *VCM*	Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica*: ed. W. Jaager, *Bedas metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti*, Palaestra cxcviii (Leipzig, 1935)
Berschin, *Biographie*	W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil in lateinischen Mittelalter*, 4 vols. in 5 (Stuttgart, 1986–2001)
BHL	[Bollandists], *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols. (1899–1901), with supplements (1911, 1986)
Biddle, '*Felix urbs Winthonia*'	M. Biddle, '*Felix urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, pp. 123–40
Binns, *Dedications*	A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales, 1066–1216* (Woodbridge, 1989)
BL	British Library (London)
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris)
Brooks, *Canterbury*	N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984)
BTL	CETEDOC Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina [electronic database] (Turnhout, 1998)
Caelius Sedulius, *CP*	Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale*, ed. J. Huemer, CSEL x (Vienna, 1885), 1–146
Campbell, *OEG*	A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959)
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CCM	Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum (Siegburg)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout)
CGL	*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. Goetz, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1888–1923)
Chron. Abingdon	*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, 2 vols., RS (London, 1858)
CLCLT4	CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts [electronic database] (Turnhout, 2000)
'Cleopatra Glossary' i, ii, iii	three Latin–Old English glossaries in London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii, ptd WW i. 338–473 [i], 258–83, 474–85 line 19 [ii], 485 line 20–535 [iii]
COE	Dictionary of Old English (Toronto), Corpus of Old English [electronic database], ed. A. diP. Healey (Toronto, 1998)

Councils & Synods	*Councils & Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church. I. A. D. 871–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1981)
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–53)
Deshman, *Benedictional*	R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, ix (Princeton, NJ, 1994)
DMLBS	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham, D. R. Howlett *et al.* (London, 1975–)
DNB	*The Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen, 63 vols. (London, 1885–1900)
Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*'	F. Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*. Un poème inconnu de Wulfstan, chantre de Winchester', *AB* cvi (1988), 35–98
Dumville, *English Caroline Script*	D. N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030* (Woodbridge, 1993)
Dumville, *Liturgy*	D. N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 1992)
Earle, *Gloucester Fragments*	J. Earle, *Gloucester Fragments. I. Facsimile of some Leaves in Saxon Handwriting on Saint Swiðhun* (London, 1861)
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen)
EETS	Early English Text Society
— os	— original series
— ss	— supplementary series
EHD i, ii	*English Historical Documents. I. c.500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn. (London, 1979)[i]; *English Historical Documents. II. 1042–1189*, ed. D. C. Douglas (London, 1953)[ii]
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Ekwall, *DEPN*	E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 1960)
Encic. Virgil.	*Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, ed. F. della Corte, 5 vols. in 6 (Rome, 1984–91)
Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*	R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977)
GiL	*The Gilte Legende*
Gneuss, *Handlist*	H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Revised Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to A.D. 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001)
Gneuss, *Hymnar*	H. Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1968)
Goodman, *Chartulary*	A. W. Goodman, *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester, 1927)

Görlach, *Studies*	M. Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*, Anglistische Forschungen cclvii (Heidelberg, 1998)
Görlach, *Textual Tradition*	M. Görlach, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary* (Leeds, 1974)
Grad. Rom.	*Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae de tempore et de sanctis* (Solesmes, 1974)
Gransden, *Historical Writing* i, ii	A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307* (London, 1974) [i]; *Historical Writing in England, ii. c.1307 to the early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982) [ii]
Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*	*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–78)
Hagiographies	*Hagiographies*, ed. G. Philippart, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout, 1994–)
Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*	T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols. in 4 (RS, London, 1862–71)
Harmer, *Writs*	F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952)
Harper, *Forms and Orders*	J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991)
Hart, *ECNENM*	C. R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975)
HBC	*Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, 3rd edn. (London, 1986)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society Publications
HCY	*Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, 3 vols., RS (London, 1879–94)
Heads	*The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940–1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 2001)
HexLexikon	*Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon*, ed. O. Schumann, 6 vols. (Munich, 1979–82)
Holschneider, *Organa*	A. Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* (Hildesheim, 1968)
Horstman, *NLA*	*Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. C. Horstman, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901)
I Interim, etc.	M. Biddle, Interim reports on the Winchester excavations, 1961–71, in *ArchJ (I Interim)* and *AntJ (II–X Interim)*
ICL	D. Schaller and E. Könsgen, *Initia Carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo Antiquiorum* (Göttingen, 1977) [cited by item no.]
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JW	*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 2 vols. (OMT, 1995–8)
KCD	J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols. (London, 1839–48)
Ker, *Catalogue*	N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957)
Ker, *MLGB*	N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd

	edn. (London, 1964; with *Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. A. G. Watson, 1987)
Keynes, *Diplomas*	S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016. A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980)
Keynes, *Atlas*	S. Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c.670–1066* (Cambridge, 1993) [privately printed]
Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*	S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great* (Harmondsworth, 1983)
KH	R. Kühner and F. Holzweissig, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, 2nd edn. (Hannover, 1912)
Knowles, *Religious Orders*	D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1948–59)
Lantfred, *Translatio*	Lantfred, *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*; below, pp. 217–334.
Lapidge, *ALL* i, ii	M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London, 1996) [i]; *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1993) [ii]
Lapidge, *ASx Litanies*	M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, HBS cvi (London, 1991)
Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems'	M. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems from Æthelwold's school at Winchester', *ASE* i (1972), 85–137 (repr. *ALL* ii. 225–77)
Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*	*Wulfstan of Winchester: the Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (OMT, 1991)
Lehmann-Brockhaus	O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1955–60)
Leland, *Collectanea*	*Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 6 vols. (London, 1774)
Levison, *England and the Continent*	W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946)
LHS	M. Leumann, J. B. Hofmann, and A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1963–5)
Liber . . . de Hyda	*Liber monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards (RS, London, 1866)
Liber uitae	*Liber uitae* of the New Minster, Winchester: ed. W. de G. Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (London, 1892); ed. S. Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, EEMF xxvi (Copenhagen, 1996)
Liebermann, *Gesetze*	F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1903–16)
Linguistic Atlas	*A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, ed. A. McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and M. Benskin, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986)
Love, *Three Lives*	*Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, ed. R. C. Love (OMT, 1996)
Marouzeau, *Traité*	J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique appliquée au Latin* (Paris, 1935; 4th edn., 1962)

ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*, ed. H. Kurath, S. M. Kuhn *et al.* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1956–)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
—, AA	—, Auctores Antiquissimi
—, Epist.	—, Epistolae
—, PLAC	—, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini
—, SS	—, Scriptores (in folio)
—, SS rer. Germ.	—, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
MLatWb	*Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*
MS	*Mediaeval Studies*
New Grove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980)
NLA	C. Horstman, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901)
O'Donovan, 'Episcopal dates, ii'	M. A. O'Donovan, 'An interim revision of episcopal dates for the province of Canterbury, 850–950: part ii', *ASE* ii (1973), 91–113
OE	Old English
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. W. G. Glare *et al.* (Oxford, 1968–82)
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*	E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. M. Beaumont (Collegeville, MN, 1998)
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
Pevsner	N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, 30 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1951–76)
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
Planchart, *Repertory*	A. E. Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1977)
PLD	Patrologia Latina Database
Quirk, *OM*	R. N. Quirk, 'Winchester Cathedral in the tenth century', *ArchJ* cxiv (1957), 28–68
RB	*Revue Bénédictine*
Reg. conc.	*Regularis concordia*: ed. T. Symons (London, 1953); ed. T. Symons and S. Spath, CCM vii/3.61–147; ed. L. Kornexl, *Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (Munich, 1993)
Regesta i, ii	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*. I. *Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi 1066–1100*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913) [i]; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Anglo-Normannorum*. II. *Regesta Henrici Primi*, ed. C. Johnson, H. A. Crone, and H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1956) [ii]

Royal Catalogue	G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921)
RS	Rolls Series (London)
S	P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968) [cited by item no.]
S.C.	*A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, ed. R. W. Hunt, F. Madan, H. H. E. Craster *et al.*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1953)
SCBI	Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles
Searle, *Onomasticon*	W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897)
SEL	*The South English Legendary*
Settimane	*Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto)
Sharpe, *Handlist*	R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997)
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1600*, ed. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, rev. K. Pantzer *et al.* (London, 1976–)
Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*	P. Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinische Sprache des Mittelalters*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1996–; in progress)
Stubbs, *Memorials*	*Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS (London, 1874)
Taylor and Taylor, *AS Architecture*	H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1965–78)
Tenth-Century Studies	*Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. D. Parsons (Chichester, 1975)
Thiel, *Hebräischkentnisse*	M. Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkentnisse des frühen Mittelalters* (Spoleto, 1973)
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Munich, 1896–)
VCH	*Victoria County History* (London, 1900–75; Oxford, 1976–)
VIII Interim	[see above, *I Interim*]: *AntJ* l (1970), 277–326
Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*	*Anglia Sacra*, ed. H. Wharton, 2 vols. (London, 1691)
WIC	H. Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum*, 2nd edn. (Göttingen, 1969)
Winchester Cathedral, ed. Crook	*Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093–1993*, ed. J Crook (Chichester, 1993)
Winterbottom, *Three Lives*	*Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972)
WMalm, *GP*	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS (London, 1870)
—, *GR*	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (OMT, 1998–9)
Wormald, *Kalendars*	F. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, HBS lxxii (London, 1934)

Wulfstan, Ep. spec.	**Wulfstan of Winchester, 'Epistola specialis ad Ælfhegum episcopum': below, pp. 372–97**
—, Ep. gen.	**—, 'Epistola generalis (ad monachos Veteris Coenobii)': below, pp. 398–400**
—, Praef.	**Praefatio to the *Narratio*: below, pp. 400–10**
—, *Narratio*	**—, *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*: below, pp. 410–551**
—, *BreuiloquiumSS*	**—, *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*: ed. Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*'**
—, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*	**—, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 1–69**
WS	**Winchester Studies, ed. M. Biddle (Oxford)**
WS 4.i	**Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester*, Winchester Studies 4.i (Oxford, forthcoming). References below are to Parts, Chapters, Sections, and Sub-sections (e.g. Part II, Chapter VIII.1.iii)**
WW	**T. Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2nd edn. rev. R. P. Wülcker, 2 vols. (London, 1884)**

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PART I

STUDIES ON ST SWITHUN

1

THE HISTORICAL SWITHUN

In the centuries following the translation of his remains into the Old Minster, Winchester, on 15 July 971, St Swithun[1] became one of the best-known and most widely culted Anglo-Saxon saints, both in England and on the Continent. But of the saint's career on this earth, by contrast, very little is known.[2]

To begin with the most generalized sort of evidence, Swithun is listed under the see of Winchester in all the surviving Anglo-Saxon collections of episcopal lists which postdate the ninth century;[3] in all cases he appears as the successor of Helmstan (838 × 839–844 × 852) and in all cases but one as the predecessor of Ealhferth (862 × 867–871 × 877).[4] The manuscripts in question are: CCCC 183 (Wessex [Glastonbury?], 934 × 937), fo. 62v;[5] London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B. v, vol. i (Winchester, s. xi^{1}), fo. 21r;[6] CCCC 140 (Bath, s. xi^{1}), fo. 115r, where the list is an addition of *c.*1100;[7] and CCCC 173, fo. 55r, where the list is an addition to the manuscript made at Winchester, s. x^{ex}.[8] There is also a list of the bishops of Winchester in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (London, BL, Stowe 944), fo. 16r, where Swithun is listed as no. xviii and is singled out among bishops in the following words:

> sanctus ac mitissimus Spiðhunus antistes . nostris temporibus ineffabili Dei clementia manifestatus . cuius sanctissima in .vi. non. Iulii [= 2 July] celebratur natiuitas.[9]

[1] The name is rare but not unattested in Anglo-Saxon sources. Various persons of this name are listed in Searle, *Onomasticon*, p. 437. The name derives from OE *swið* ('strong, mighty') and *hun* ('cub'); see H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, EETS o.s. lxxxiii (London, 1885), 625, 635–6. Although the name would, from a philological point of view, be most accurately modernized as *Swithhun*, I use the less accurate form *Swithun* throughout, because it has gained currency in Anglo-Saxon studies (the form *Swithin*, however, is philologically inaccurate and should be rejected).

[2] There is a concise and helpful presentation of biographical data by O'Donovan, 'Episcopal dates, ii', p. 108; but the data presented there require substantial revision.

[3] See R. I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, ix (1965), 71–95 [parts i, ii], x (1966), 1–24 [part iii]. Swithun is (obviously) not recorded in the lists in London, BL, Cotton Vespasian B. vi (s. ix^{in}), but is found in all the remaining four lists printed by Page. Note also that Page does not print the lists preserved in the *Textus Roffensis* and in WmMalm, *GR*.

[4] These dates for Helmstan and Ealhferth are taken from *HBC*, p. 223; they need to be revised in light of what is said below. In the one case in which Ealhferth is not recorded as Swithun's successor, namely CCCC 183, Helmstan is listed as no. xvii, Swithun as no. xviii, but there is a blank space against no. xix (see Page, 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists' [part iii], p. 9, and the plate illustrating the relevant folio in S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143–201, pl. X).

[5] Ed. Page, ibid.; for the date of the manuscript, see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 64–5 (no. 42), as well as discussion by D. N. Dumville, 'The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists', *ASE* v (1976), 23–50, at pp. 25–6.

[6] Ed. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists' [part iii], p. 14; see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 255–6 (no. 193), who points out that Swithun is the only name among Anglo-Saxon bishops which is given in capitals, suggesting an origin for this copy of the lists in Winchester. See also Dumville, 'The Anglian collection', pp. 26–8, and idem, 'The catalogue lists', in *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany*, ed. P. McGurk *et al.*, EEMF xxi (Copenhagen, 1983), 55–8, at p. 56.

[7] Ed. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists' [part iii], p. 19; see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 47–9 (no. 35).

[8] Ed. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists' [part iii], p. 23; see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 57–9 (no. 39, item 5).

[9] *Liber uitae*, ed. Birch, p. 18; ed. Keynes, fo. 16r, with discussion at pp. 84–5.

The reference here (*nostris temporibus*) is to the saint's translation on 15 July 971, and so the entry must postdate that event.

The dates of Swithun's episcopacy must be deduced from Anglo-Saxon charters in which his name appears in witness-lists. In all, Swithun appears as a witness to nine Anglo-Saxon charters.[10] Of these, the earliest is S 308 = BCS 469, dated 854. (The latest charters witnessed by Helmstan, Swithun's predecessor, are S 294 and S 322, both dated 844.) However, there is some presumption that Swithun had been in post before 854, even if the lacunose charter record for this period does not in itself allow greater precision. Various Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendars record the date of Swithun's ordination as bishop—an event which, from a liturgical point of view, may be presumed to have taken place on a Sunday—on 30 October.[11] Of the several years preceding and including 854, the only one on which 30 October fell on a Sunday was 852.[12] Thus, if the date of Swithun's ordination on 30 October has any historical validity,[13] it must be concluded that Swithun was ordained as bishop of Winchester on 30 October 852.[14]

The date of Swithun's death[15] can be precisely determined from the evidence of charters, as Simon Keynes has conclusively demonstrated.[16] Swithun attests a charter of Æthelred, king of the West Saxons, issued in 863 (S 336 = BCS 508); however, he is absent from the witness-list of a charter issued by Æthelred's brother, Æthelberht, at Dorchester in December 863.[17] The implication is that Swithun died on 2 July 863.[18]

On the basis of such evidence as we have—and not all of it is incontestable—the dates of Swithun's episcopacy may be fixed as 852–63. There are very few recorded *acta* of this brief

[10] Keynes, *Atlas*, Table XIX; the charters in question (in chronological order) are S 308, 290, 317, 1274, 326, 327, 329, 335, 336.

[11] Ed. Wormald, *Kalendars*, nos. 6 (Cambridge, UL, Kk. 5. 32), 12 (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii), 16 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113).

[12] See C. R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (London, 1970), Table 20 (pp. 122–3). It may also be worth noting that 30 October also fell on a Sunday in 847 (see ibid.).

[13] One must reckon with the possibility that the date was confected in Winchester circles at some time after the explosion of Swithun's cult in the late tenth century.

[14] Confusion about the date of Swithun's ordination has resulted from a comment in Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 634 n. *a*, which, after noting the evidence of liturgical calendars in favour of 852, adds the qualification 'were it not that in another MS. of the same church (MS. Reg. 15. C.7) it [*scil.* Swithun's ordination] is placed on the 29th of October, which throws it forward to A.D. 853'; and this confusion is repeated by O'Donovan, 'Episcopal dates, ii', p. 108: 'His ordination is given as 29 or 30 October (*Councils* III, 634). These were Sundays in 853 and 852 respectively.' Haddan & Stubbs's comment is based on a rubric on fo. 5or of Royal 15. C. VII, where it accompanies a supplementary distich intended to commemorate the feast of St Swithun's ordination in Wulfstan's epanaleptic poem on Swithun's deposition (see below, pp. 783–7). The rubric reads: 'De ordinatione .iiii. kl. nou.' (= 29 October); in all other liturgical sources, the feast of the ordination is commemorated on 30 October. However, the rubric and the distich were evidently added to the manuscript at some point in the late eleventh century, long after the feast of the ordination had been established at Winchester on 30 October (see below, pp. 22, 80); I therefore take it that the late eleventh-century rubricator made a simple error (by writing '.iiii. kl.' instead of '.iii. kl.'), and that his error therefore has no bearing on the historical date of Swithun's ordination.

[15] There is pervasive confusion in narrative historical sources about the date of Swithun's death: the 'Annales Domitiani' [= *ASC* MS. F], which were compiled no earlier than the end of the eleventh century, give 861 (ed. P. S. Baker, *MS. F*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition (Cambridge, 2000), p. 66); John of Worcester gives 862 (JW ii. 276); and William of Malmesbury gives 863 (*GP*, p. 162). Cf. also the dates given in the *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 8 (below, p. 638), and in the 'Lansdowne Redaction' of the *Vita et miracula S. Swithuni* (below, p. 701).

[16] 'The West Saxon charters of King Æthelwulf and his sons', *EHR* cix (1994), 1109–49, at pp. 1129–30.

[17] S 333 = BCS 510; see also Keynes, *Atlas*, Table XIX, and idem, 'The West Saxon charters', p. 1130 n. 2.

[18] The deposition of St Swithun on 2 July is recorded in most Anglo-Saxon liturgical calenders dating from the late tenth century and onwards: Wormald, *Kalendars*, nos. 5–20 (including no. 15, the 'Missal of Robert of Jumièges', not ptd by Wormald). Contrary to what is stated by O'Donovan ('Episcopal dates, ii', p. 108), namely that '2 July is the date given already in a ninth-century calendar' (Wormald *Kalendars*, no. 1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63), the record of St Swithun's deposition in that manuscript is a much later addition (s. xi) to the original calendar. There is thus no evidence that the date of the deposition was recorded anywhere before the late tenth century—that is, after the translation in 971 led to the popularization of his cult.

episcopacy. One important surviving document, however, is the episcopal profession which Swithun made—presumably at the time of his ordination on 30 October 852—to Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury (833–70). Swithun's profession is preserved in two Canterbury manuscripts among other such professions made to the archiepiscopal see: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra E. i, fos. 16–55 (Christ Church, Canterbury, 1121 × 1123), fo. 24r; and Canterbury, Cathedral and Chapter Library, Register A (the 'Prior's Register') (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xiv[1]), fo. 220v.[19] In the 'Waverly Annals', compiled at the Cistercian house of Waverly (Surrey) in the late twelfth century and preserved in London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A. xvi (the first scribal stint of which, recording annals up to A.D. 999, is in a hand of s. xii[ex]), Swithun's profession has been added on a separate slip of parchment inserted between fos. 40 and 41, and is stated to have been 'found in an ancient book' (*in antiquo libro reperta*).[20] The text contained on this slip agrees broadly with that in Cotton Cleopatra E. i, although it omits various words and phrases found in that manuscript.[21] In the fifteenth century, Thomas Rudborne included an abbreviated and much redacted text of Swithun's profession in his *Historia maior Wintoniensis*; he (or his source) altered the wording, for example, so as to imply that Swithun was a monk, and had made a monastic profession to the archbishop at a time earlier than the present episcopal profession.[22] The text of Swithun's profession has been printed several times previously,[23] and may be given here as follows:

[a]In nomine Dei summi et Domini nostri Iesu Christi,[a] ego Suuithunus,[b] humilis[c] seruunculus[d] seruorum Dei [e-f]Ceolnotho archiepiscopo[e] sospitatis salutem.[f] Licet indignus ad episcopalem sedem electus Wentanae ciuitatis ecclesiae, imprimis confiteor tibi, reuerentissime pater Ceolnothe archiepiscope, continentiam meam[g] et dilectionem meam ad te, quod absque ambiguitate[h] et absque ulla falsitatis commentione[i] est. Credo[24] in Deum patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, filium natum et passum pro humani generis redemptione et salute, cuius potestas et imperium erat ante seculum, 'et regni eius non erit finis';[25] et illam rectam et orthodoxam fidem quam priores patres nostri deuote[j] seruauerunt, cum omni humilitate et sincera deuotione, sicut predecessores mei ipsi sanctae sedi Dorobernensis ecclesiae subiuncti[k] sunt, semper[l] seruare me[m] uelle humiliter per omnia fateor, [n]necnon et tibi, pater beatissime et amantissime Ceolnothe archiepiscope, tuisque successoribus ueridica professione confiteor, stabile obedientiae prebere preceptum uotorum meorum, sine ullo scrupulo falsae cogitationis usque ad terminum uitae meae. [o]Beatitudinem uestram diuina gratia custodiat.[o]

[a–a] *om. Waverly* [b] *Rudborne here interpolates the word* monachus [c] *om. Waverly* [d] seruulus *Rudborne* [e–e] in Domino *Waverly* [f–f] *om. Rudborne* [g] *Rudborne here interpolates the words* quam prius in professione monachali expressi

[19] For a description of the manuscripts, see M. Richter, *Canterbury Professions* (London, 1973), pp. xxvii–xxviii, as well as the discussion of T. J. Brown, ibid. p. xxxi.

[20] *Annales Monastici* ii, ed. H. R. Luard, RS (London, 1865), p. 160.

[21] For example, Waverly omits the words *humilis* and *Ceolnotho archiepiscopo* of the salutation, as well as the final phrase *Beatitudinem . . . custodiat*. It shares with Rudborne's text the reading *subiecti* for *subiuncti*.

[22] On Rudborne, see below, pp. 165–71. Rudborne's text of Swithun's profession is ptd Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 203. Note that Rudborne claims to be quoting the profession from Vigilantius, *De basilica Petri*, c. 12; on 'Vigilantius', see below, pp. 177–8. The profession is also contained in the unprinted *Liber historialis* preserved as London, BL, Cotton Galba A. xv (on which see below, pp. 173–6), which for much of its extent is closely related to Rudborne's *Historia maior*; Swithun's profession is found at fo. 62r–v.

[23] *Textus Roffensis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1720), p. 269, from a manuscript of Thomas Smith (presumably therefore a Cottonian manuscript, and so presumably Cotton Cleopatra E. i); Earle, *Gloucester Fragments*, p. 59; Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 633–4; and BCS 463. Richter, who points out that Swithun's profession is based on that of an earlier Winchester bishop (Wigthegn), prints only variants which distinguish Swithun's profession from that of his predecessor: *Canterbury Professions*, p. 19 (no. 22).

[24] The wording of this creed is modelled very loosely on that of the *textus receptus* of the so-called 'Apostles' Creed' (see J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd edn. (London, 1972), pp. 368–97), but does not agree in wording with any of the numerous credal statements printed in *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, ed. H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, 36th edn. (Freiburg and Rome, 1976).

[25] Luke 1: 33.

[h] ambiguitatis scrupulo *Rudborne*, ambiguitatis *Waverly Rudborne* [i] conuentione *Register A* [j] *om. Rudborne* [k] subiecti *Waverly*, [l] *om. Rudborne* [m] *om. Cleopatra* [n] *Rudborne omits the remainder of the text* [o–o] *om. Waverly*

In the name of God on high and of our Lord Jesus Christ, I Swithun, a humble little servant of the servants of God, [send] to Archbishop Ceolnoth best wishes for prosperity. Although unworthy to be elected to the episcopal see of the church of Winchester, I first of all confess to you, reverend father Archbishop Ceolnoth, my purity and my love for you, which is [offered] without uncertainty and without any fabrication of falsehood. I believe in God the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, the Son Who was born and suffered for the redemption and salvation of the human race, Whose authority and dominion existed before time, 'and there shall be no end to His realm'; and I state humbly my wish to maintain that orthodox belief which our fathers maintained, with all humility and sincere devotion, just as my predecessors [who were] subservient to the holy see in the church of Canterbury, and I also promise to you in truthful profession, blessed father and beloved Archbishop Ceolnoth, and to your successors, to offer the steadfast commitment of obedience of my vows, without any trace of false intention, up to the end of my life. May divine grace preserve your blessed self.

Note that this profession shows a higher level of competence in Latin than those of some ninth-century Anglo-Saxon bishops, including his predecessor Helmstan.[26] It is interesting, for example, that he employs the exceptionally rare word *commentio* ('fabrication, falsehood, lying'; cf. the verb *commentior*), which is possibly a coinage by Swithun himself.[27]

The next recorded appearance of Bishop Swithun in the historical record is in the so-called 'Second Decimation' charters of King Æthelwulf (839–58). This group of charters, which were issued at Wilton and which are dated to Easter Sunday [22 Apr.] 854, records the fact that the king conveyed a tenth part of the land which made up the royal demesne into the hands of others, including ecclesiastics, who for their part were to say prayers and masses for the king.[28] The details of this exchange are spelled out in several of these charters which, interestingly, stipulate that Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne, and Swithun, bishop of Winchester, together with all those who serve God (whether monks or nuns) are to chant fifty psalms every Saturday; what is more, every priest is to say two masses for King Æthelwulf and for his bishops and ealdormen.

Placuit autem Alhstano episcopo Sciriburnensis ecclesie et Suuithun Wentanae ciuitatis ecclesie episcopo cum omnibus Deo seruientibus, ut in unaquaque ebdomada die sabbato unanimis congregatio famulorum famularumque Dei .l. psalmos cantet, et unusquisque presbiter duas missas, unam pro Aðeluulfo rege et alteram pro episcopis et ducibus.[29]

It was determined by Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne, and by Swithun bishop of Winchester, together with all those serving God, that every week, on Saturdays, the entire congregration of God's religious, both men and women, should chant fifty psalms, and each priest should celebrate two masses, one for King Æthelwulf and the other for his bishops and ealdormen.

However these words are to be interpreted, the fact that Swithun is specifically named seems to imply that he played an important role in formulating and executing King Æthelwulf's ecclesiastical policies

[26] See M. Lapidge, 'Latin learning in ninth-century England', in *ALL* i. 409–54, at p. 434 and nn. 121–2.

[27] Richter, *Canterbury Professions*, p. 19, rightly notes that the words *et absque ulla falsitatis commentione est* were added by Swithun to his model (Wigthegn's profession), though he wrongly reports the reading *conuentione*, which is in fact only found as a scribal error in the fourteenth-century 'Prior's Register' (Register A). The entry for *commentio* in *DMLBS* s.v. cites only the present text, and the word is apparently not found in other Medieval Latin lexica.

[28] See Keynes, 'The West Saxon charters', pp. 1119–22.

[29] The text is taken from S 304 = BCS 468; the others of the group which mention Swithun are S 308 = BCS 469, S 302 = BCS 471, S 303 = BCS 472, and S 307 = BCS 474.

from 854 onwards. Furthermore, the fact that in 854 Swithun had only recently been appointed to his bishopric (whereas the other named bishop, Ealhstan of Sherborne, had been a bishop for many years),[30] may imply that it was Swithun who supplied the impetus for the legislation.[31]

Swithun's final appearance in the historical record is in a poem, undatable but perhaps of the tenth century, in which it is stated that Swithun constructed a bridge at the East Gate of Winchester in 859.[32] The poem, which purports to be a *titulus* or dedication-inscription for the bridge, must have been composed not only after 859, but also after Swithun's death in 863, since it speaks of the bishop as *antistite quondam* (line 3). The likelihood is that the poem was confected on the basis of an inscription (perhaps in prose) which was engraved on the bridge itself, recording the date of completion and dedication by Bishop Swithun. Unfortunately, these conjectures cannot be confirmed, since the bridge and its inscription have long since perished.

The evidence cited above represents the sum of what can be known, from contemporary sources, of the historical Swithun. Beyond this evidence lies the realm of conjecture and hypothetical reconstruction: but it must be stressed that we know nothing of Swithun's life beyond the scant information given above. This is the situation which confronted the author of the *Vita S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. 5) when, some 250 years after Swithun's episcopacy, he attempted to present an elaborate portrait of the bishop. The anonymous author had at his disposal the same fragmentary evidence which we have: an episcopal list of the bishops of Winchester; Swithun's profession to Archbishop Ceolnoth (perhaps); one or more copies of the 'Second Decimation' charters; and the poem on Swithun's bridge at East Gate.[33] Drawing on this fragmentary evidence, the anonymous author conjectured: that Swithun was born during the reign of King Ecgberht (802–39); that, having become a cleric, he was promoted to the priesthood under Bishop Helmstan (838 × 839–844 × 852); that he was appointed by King Ecgberht to be tutor to his son, the future king Æthelwulf; that it was Æthelwulf who subsequently appointed Swithun as bishop of Winchester; that Swithun restored a number of dilapidated churches in his diocese; that he was exceedingly humble; and that as a reflex of this humility he asked to be buried outside the church in an inconspicuous grave. All of these conjectures are more or less plausible, though none of them can be verified. One conjecture, however, is utterly implausible: namely that Swithun in his humility sought an inconspicuous burial place. On the contrary, he was buried in a highly prominent position, his tomb marked by a stone cross and covered by a house-shaped tomb-structure, which lay immediately outside the west door of the Old Minster, between that door and the adjacent tower of St Martin.[34] Possibly the tomb also carried an inscription recording the identity of its occupant. According to my understanding of the evidence, it was the prominence and position of the tomb which in the late 960s suggested to Bishop Æthelwold and his advisers the possibility of translating Swithun's remains into the Old Minster itself, and making them the focus of a new cult.[35]

[30] *HBC*, p. 222; Ealhstan was consecrated 816 × 825.

[31] The legislation might also represent Æthelwulf's response to the renewed Viking activity of the 850s, such as the battle of *Aclea* recorded in *ASC* s.a. 851.

[32] The poem (inc. 'Hanc portam presens') is ptd and discussed below, pp. 781–2 (no. 12 (i)).

[33] For the sources drawn on by the author of *Vita S. Swithuni*, see below, p. 622.

[34] All these architectural details are explicit in the early chapters of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (below, no. 1); see also the full discussion in WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter II.1.iv, v; VIII.1.iii.

[35] I am grateful to the late Dorothy Whitelock for providing me with the text of an unpublished lecture on St Swithun which she delivered at Winchester Cathedral in 1971 in celebration of the millennium of the saint's translation; and to Barbara Yorke, for allowing me to see the text of her article on St Swithun forthcoming in the *New Dictionary of National Biography*. Here, as elsewhere throughout this volume, my comments on Anglo-Saxon history have been guided by the learning and judgement of Simon Keynes.

2

THE ORIGINS OF THE CULT OF ST SWITHUN

THE cult of St Swithun began, at a stroke, on Saturday 15 July 971, when Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (963–84), together with the abbots of the Old Minster and the adjacent New Minster, and a large assembly of monks from both monasteries, lifted the relics of Bishop Swithun from a prominent stone sarcophagus lying outside the west door of the Old Minster, and translated them into the Old Minster itself. The translation had the support of King Edgar, who, although not present at the ceremony itself, shortly afterwards commissioned a lavish gold and silver reliquary to house the saint's relics. And within a few years, Bishop Æthelwold began reconstructing the Old Minster on a vast scale in order to incorporate the site of Swithun's original tomb and to make it the focal point for the saint's cult. Quite simply, no translation on this scale had previously taken place in England.[1] We are well informed about the ceremony of Swithun's translation from two contemporary accounts: that of Wulfstan, later precentor at Winchester, who as a young oblate had taken part in the ceremony and who described it at length in his *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* (below, no. 2); and that of Lantfred, who many not have been present on the occasion itself, but who was in an excellent position to acquire first-hand information when in the few years following the translation he was working at Winchester on his *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (below, no. 1). We will consider these accounts in due course; but we must first examine the context within which Æthelwold conceived the event.

A translation involved various phases: the discovery (*inventio*) of the saint's location and miraculous power; the formal liturgical ceremony of translation (*translatio*); the provision of a reliquary to serve as a focal point for the cult; the reconstruction of the church in which the reliquary was housed, in order to allow increased public access to the shrine; publicity for the shrine; and provision of the various prayers for mass and Office needed for liturgical commemoration of the saint. These various phases in the process of establishing a saint's cult were well established on the Continent; and Bishop Æthelwold, who was well informed about ecclesiastical developments on the Continent, will have modelled the translation of St Swithun on contemporary continental translations. Before turning to the first-hand accounts of the translation of St Swithun, it is necessary briefly to consider these continental antecedents.

[1] There is evidence of other translations of saints' relics in tenth-century England: the relics of St Wilfrid were translated from Ripon to Canterbury by Archbishop Oda in 948; the refoundation of Evesham *c.* 970 must have involved the translation of St Ecgwine's relics; and the refoundation of Winchcombe at the same time must have involved the translation of the relics of St Kenelm. But as far as one can judge, none of these translations was accompanied by the magnificent liturgical procession which took place at Winchester in July 971.

i. THE BACKGROUND

During the years of persecution, Christian martyrs, particularly at Rome and in western Europe, were executed at public places of execution and often their bodies were left either to rot, or to be collected furtively at night by relatives or members of the Christian community, and entombed in Christian cemeteries (catacombs). Records do not seem to have been kept of these interrals. With the Peace of the Church in 313, however, it became possible for Christian communities publicly to retrieve the remains of those who had died for the faith, and to translate them to a publicly-recognized place of interment which in many cases could serve as the focus of a developing cult. The translation of saints' relics is thus as old as the formal recognition of Christianity as a permissible religion, and the early (fifth- and sixth-century) *passiones* of the martyrs frequently record the recovery and removal (*translatio*) of a saints' remains. Already by the second half of the fourth century, Pope Damasus (366–84) took immense pains to identify and adorn the resting-places of martyrs;[2] and many of his successors involved themselves in the translations of martyrs and the reconstruction of churches and shrines. It was particularly in times of barbarian invasion of Italy that care was taken to remove martyrs' remains from extra-mural cemeteries to safer keeping in churches within the walls of Rome.

The earliest translation of a martyr in the eastern Church was that of St Babylas, who was martyred at Antioch under Decius (251) and buried in the extra-mural cemetery, but whose remains were translated a century later, *c.*351, and housed in a suburb of Antioch (Daphne) in a lavish *martyrion*[3] built, probably in 379, in the form of a cruciform church.[4] A few years later the first such translation in the West took place at Milan, where in 386 Bishop Ambrose translated the newly-discovered relics of the local SS Gervasius and Protasius from the extra-mural cemetery at the Vercelli Gate into his newly-constructed basilica church at the Roman Gate, later to be known as S. Ambrogio.[5] Ambrose describes the discovery and translation in his own words as follows:

> Formidantibus etiam clericis iussi eruderari terram eo loci, qui est ante cancellos sanctorum Felicis atque Naboris. Inueni signa conuenientia; adhibitis etiam quibus per nos manus imponenda foret, sic sancti martyres eminere coeperunt; ut, adhuc nobis silentibus, arriperetur urna, et sterneretur prona ad locum sancti sepulchri. Inuenimus mirae magnitudinis uiros duos, ut prisca aetas ferebat. Ossa omnia integra, sanguinis plurimum. Ingens concursus populi per totum illud biduum. Quid multa? Condiuimus integra ad ordinem: transtulimus uespere iam incumbente ad basilicam Faustae; ibi uigiliae tota nocte, manus impositio. Sequenti die transtulimus ea in basilicam, quam appellant Ambrosianam. Dum transferimus, caecus sanatus est.[6]

[2] See most recently J. R. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 137–57.

[3] On the *martyrion* (Latin *martyrium*), the architectural elaboration of the cult of a martyr, see *DACL* x/2 (1932), cols. 2512–23, and the classic study by A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946), esp. vol. i (which is concerned with the architecture of *martyria*).

[4] See (briefly) R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn. rev. R. Krautheimer and S. Curcic (Harmondsworth, 1986), pp. 75–8.

[5] See *DACL* vi/1 (1924), cols. 1232–9, as well as discussion of Ambrose's building works at Milan by R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1983), pp. 77–81, and idem, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 174–5. For the political circumstances of the discovery and translation, see E. Dassmann, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, xviii (1975), 49–68, and J. Moorhead, *Ambrose: Church and Society in the Late Roman World* (London, 1999), pp. 150–4.

[6] The account of the translation is contained in Ambrose's *Ep.* xxii. 2 (PL xvi. 1019–26, at 1019–20). The great Abbé Breuil, a pioneer in the field of Stone Age archaeology, famously pointed out that the quantity of blood (*sanguinis plurimum*) was probably red ochre, and that the two 'martyrs' were in fact a Stone Age burial; but such considerations would not have deflected Ambrose from his goal.

Although the clergy was in fear and trembling, I ordered the ground to be cleared in that place which lies in front of the enclosure of SS Felix and Nabor. I found encouraging signs; attending to these, I set to work myself, and thus the holy martyrs began to emerge, to the point where, as we all fell silent, a burial urn was recovered and laid out flat at the holy tomb. We found two men of wondrous size, as they were in those days. Their bones were intact, and there was a great deal of blood. This attracted huge crowds of people for the space of two whole days. Why say more? We embalmed the remains thoroughly; as evening approached, we removed them to the basilica of Fausta, where vigils and the laying on of hands took place throughout the night. On the following day we translated them into the basilica which is called the 'Ambrosian'. As we were transferring them, a blind man was cured.

This brief description, in Ambrose's characteristic telegraphic style, set the pattern for many later translations of saints' relics.

In Rome itself, many sites of martyrdom lay outside the city walls; and with the political upheavals of the fifth and sixth centuries, beginning with the invasions of the Goths and the sack of Rome in the early fifth century, a succession of popes—notably Symmachus (498–514),[7] John I (523–6),[8] Pelagius II (579–90),[9] and especially Honorius (625–38)[10]—undertook, as we learn from the *Liber pontificalis*, to enhance the shrines of martyrs within Rome itself, and to rebuild those cemeteries which lay closest to the city. A century later, Italy was in the throes of the Langobard invasions, and it was at approximately this time that the remains of St Benedict were taken from Monte Cassino to Fleury, when Monte Cassino itself lay deserted.[11] And when Rome itself had been besieged (756), a later pope, Paul I (757–67), extended the work of his predecessors by removing the relics of many saints from extra-mural cemeteries and rehousing them in intra-mural churches and monasteries. The *Liber pontificalis* reports Paul I's activity as follows:

[Paul I] observed that very many locations in these cemeteries of the saints had been largely demolished through the neglect and carelessness of antiquity and were now nearly reduced to ruin, so he forthwith removed the saints' bodies from these destroyed cemeteries. With hymns and spiritual chants he brought them inside this city of Rome, and he took care to have some of them buried with fitting honour around the *tituli*, deaconries, monasteries and other churches.[12]

This papal activity established important precedents for the translation of saints' relics; more importantly, perhaps, the opening up of the extra-mural cemeteries made available large numbers of relics, so that the growth of the relic-trade, and the export of relics beyond the Alps, dates in effect from this period.

[7] *Liber pontificalis*, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH, Gesta Pontificum Romanorum (Berlin, 1898), pp. 122–5; trans. R. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): the Ancient Biographies of the first Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*, 2nd edn. (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 46–8. Symmachus built or enhanced the churches of SS Protus and Hyacinthus, Sossius, Apollinaris, Agatha, Pancras, and John and Paul.

[8] *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Mommsen, p. 137; trans. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, p. 52. John I renewed the cemeteries of SS Nereus and Achilleus, Felix and Adauctus, and Priscilla.

[9] *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Mommsen, p. 160; trans. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, p. 63. Pelagius II built the cemetery of St Hermes, and 'over the body of St Laurence he built a basilica from the ground up and decorated the martyr's tomb with silver panels.'

[10] *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Mommsen, pp. 170–3; trans. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, pp. 66–7. Honorius 'built from the ground up' the churches of SS Agnes, Apollinaris, the Quattuor Coronati, Marcellinus and Peter, Pancras, Hadrian, and Lucia.

[11] The precise date of the translation (or, indeed, theft) is unknown; see *DACL* v/2. 1715–43, and (briefly), T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: the Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 23–4.

[12] *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. R. Davis (Liverpool, 1992), p. 82. See discussion by J. M. McCulloh, 'From antiquity to the middle ages: continuity and change in papal relic policy', in *Pietas: Festschrift für Bernhard Kötting*, ed. E. Dassmann and K. Suso Frank (Münster, 1980), pp. 313–24.

It was particularly during the Carolingian period, from the late eighth century onwards, that continental churches—especially in France and Germany, but also to a lesser extent in England—began to acquire the relics of Roman saints and martyrs, by legitimate as well as illegitimate means.[13] The numbers of such acquisitions were so large that it is not yet possible to say how many relics of how many saints came north of the Alps at this time.[14] In any event, the acquisition of such relics provided the pretext for elaborate ceremonies of translation and re-dedication; and it is from this period, especially from the early ninth century onwards, that *translationes* (that is, accounts of the acquisition and re-dedication of relics) become a dominant literary genre.[15] An early essay in the genre is the *Translatio et miracula SS Marcellini et Petri* (*BHL* no. 5233) by Einhard, written to commemorate the acquisition (by means of a notorious *furtum sacrum*) of the relics of SS Marcellinus and Peter by his church of Seligenstadt in 827.[16] A year previously, in 826, Hilduin of Saint-Denis, sometime arch-chaplain to the emperor Louis the Pious, had acquired for his church of Saint-Médard in Soissons the relics of St Sebastian, an acquisition which was commemorated, along with that of relics of Pope Gregory, by Odilo of Saint-Médard in his *Liber de translatione reliquiarum S. Sebastiani martyris et Gregorii papae* (*BHL* no. 7545). A few years later, probably in 832, Hilduin rebuilt a chapel in his church of Saint-Denis in Paris in order to rehouse the relics of St Dionysius;[17] as part of this rebuilding and re-dedication, he composed his *Passio S. Dionysii* in prose and verse.[18] These are but a few examples of the ways that the acquisition and translation of relics were reflected in hagiography and architecture in the early ninth century.

The importation, whether licit or illicit, of relics of Roman saints and martyrs, inevitably caused Carolingian churchmen to reflect on the potential of developing the cults of their own local saints who had perhaps lain in obscurity in local churches since Merovingian times. During the tenth century in particular large numbers of local saints were translated into lavish shrines and their translations recorded by hagiographers.[19] There would be little point in discussing each of these many translations, but a few examples will clarify the picture: in 914, the remains of St Eugenius were translated to Brogne, and the translation recorded in an anonymous account composed 935 × 937;[20] St Maximinus was translated at Trier and a *translatio* composed by Sigehard of Trier 962 × 963;[21] St Glodesindis, a seventh-century abbess of Metz, was translated and an account of the translation and miracles composed by John of Saint-Arnoul in Metz;[22] the remains of St Hunegund, the seventh-century foundress of Homblières in Picardy, were translated in 946 and the translation and accompanying miracles were recorded by Abbot Berner of Homblières in 964;[23] and the

[13] P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. edn. (Princeton, NJ, 1990).

[14] A valuable beginning has been made by J. M. H. Smith, 'Old saints, new cults: Roman relics in Carolingian Francia', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. J. M. H. Smith (Leiden, 2000), pp. 317–39.

[15] See (briefly) *DACL* xv/2 (1953), cols. 2695–9, and esp. M. Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, xxxiii (Turnhout, 1979).

[16] MGH, SS xv/1. 238–64.

[17] See S. McK. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151*, ed. P. Z. Blum (New Haven, CT, 1987), pp. 85–94, as well as J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c.300–c.1200* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 98–101.

[18] Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* is ptd PL cvi. 23–50; the verse *passio* has never been published (and only recently came to light): see M. Lapidge, 'The lost *Passio metrica S. Dionysii* by Hilduin of Saint-Denis', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 22 (1987), 56–79.

[19] A list of such translations is ptd H. Fros, 'Liste des translations et inventions de l'époque carolingienne', *AB* civ (1986), 427–9; a similar list is found in L. Zoepf, *Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 240–5.

[20] *BHL* nos. 2689–90; [ed. Bollandists], 'Translatio S. Eugenii Toletani ad monasterium Broniense', *AB* iii (1884), 29–57.

[21] *BHL* no. 5826; ptd PL cxxxiii. 967–78.

[22] *BHL* no. 3563; ptd PL cxxxvii. 211–18.

[23] *BHL* nos. 4046–8; ptd PL cxxxvii. 49–60 [*vita*], 61–8 [*translatio*], 67–72 [*miracula*].

translation to Gorze from Italy of St Gorgonius, who became the patron saint of Gorze, was recorded in 965 by an anonymous monk of Gorze.[24] These examples may suffice to show that, by the mid-tenth century, it was a customary practice in continental churches to translate the remains of local saints and to enhance the translation architecturally, and to record the fact in a hagiographical *translatio*.

Bishop Æthelwold will have been well aware of this aspect of continental spirituality. Although he had never himself been to the Continent—his one planned trip had been prevented by royal intervention[25]—he was no doubt kept informed of continental developments from the continental monks who made up his entourage. Thus, when compiling the monastic customs which constitute the *Regularis concordia* in *c.*973, he noted in his preface that he had summoned advisers from Fleury and Ghent;[26] and although Æthelwold does not name the advisers in question, their identity can easily be inferred: we know that one Womar, sometime abbot of St Peter's in Ghent, was resident at Winchester at this time, and it is highly likely that Lantfred, the Winchester monk who composed the *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, had come to Winchester from Fleury.[27] From Womar Æthelwold will have learned of translations of relics in the monasteries of Lotharingia, such as those at Brogne and Gorze mentioned above, as well as translations at Ghent itself;[28] and it is significant that, after his return to Ghent, Womar presided at the translation of St Landoald and his companions into the church of St Bavo in Ghent on 25 March 980.[29] And Lantfred, as a monk of Fleury, will have known of the translation of the relics of St Benedict from Monte Cassino to Fleury, and of the account, written 865 × 877 by Adrevald of Fleury, of the many *miracula* which attended the translation.[30] It was perhaps through discussions with continental monks such as Womar and Lantfred that the idea of creating a cult-centre in Winchester, focussed on a ninth-century bishop who happened to be entombed in a prominent position outside the west door of the Old Minster, first occurred to Æthelwold.

[24] *BHL* no. 3621; ed. MGH, SS iv. 238–47.

[25] See Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 10 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 18–19).

[26] *Reg. conc.*, ed. Symons, p. 3; ed. Symons and Spath, pp. 71–2; ed. Kornexl, pp. 5–6: 'accitis Flor⟨iac⟩ensis beati Benedicti necnon precipui coenobii, quod Gent nuncupatur uocabulo, monachis.'

[27] See M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as scholar and teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 89–117, at 98–9 (repr. *ALL* ii. 192–3). For Womar, see *LVH*, ed. Birch, p. 24; ed. Keynes, fo. 18r (with discussion at p. 88): 'Domnus abba Womarus qui olim coenobio Gent prelatus hanc deuotus adiit gentem huiusque se familie precibus humillime commendauit'. Womar subsequently returned to Ghent, where he died in 981 (see *ASC* s.a. 981, trans. Whitelock, p. 80); on his abbacy of St Peter's, see P. Grierson, *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand* (Brussels, 1937), pp. xvi, 19, 21. On Lantfred and Fleury, see below, pp. 220–3. It should also be noted that Æthelwold's pupil Osgar, later to become abbot of Abingdon, had spent a period of study at Fleury: see Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 14 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 26–7).

[28] See N. Huyghebaert, *Une translation de reliques à Gand en 944: Le Sermo de aduentu sanctorum Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulfranni in Blandinium*, in *Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'histoire. Recueil de textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire de Belgique* (Brussels, 1978); see also idem, 'La consécration de l'église abbatiale de Saint-Pierre de Gand (975) et les reliques de saint Bertulfe de Renty', in *Corona Gratiarum. Miscellanea Patristica, Historica et Liturgica Eligio Dekkers OSB XII lustra completi oblata*, 2 vols. (Bruges, 1975), ii. 129–41.

[29] *Annales S. Bavonis Gandensis*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH* SS ii. 185–91, at p. 188: 'elevatio S. Landoaldi . . . domno abbate Womaro . . . presenti'; see discussion by O. Holder-Egger, 'Zu den Heiligengeschichten des Genter St Bavosklosters', in *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet* (Hannover, 1886), pp. 622–65, at 626–30. Note also that the Folcuin who wrote *c.* 967 the account of the Life and miracles of his namesake Folcuin (d. 855), bishop of Thérouanne (ptd MGH, SS xv/1. 424–30), had been accepted *c.* 948 as an oblate into Saint-Bertin by Womar, then abbot of Saint-Bertin and subsequently abbot of the two monasteries (St Peter's and St Bavo's) in Ghent.

[30] PL cxxiv. 901–10 (*translatio*), 909–48 (*miracula*); see A. Vidier, *L'historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les miracles de Saint Benoît* (Paris, 1965), pp. 153–62, and Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 135–52.

ii. THE DISCOVERY OF THE RELICS

During times of persecution, when Christians were publicly executed as martyrs for their faith, it was not always possible for the Christian communities to retrieve the martyrs' corpses and bury them safely. Accordingly, after the Peace of the Church in A.D. 313, there was often doubt about the location of martyrs' relics. If the relics of a particular martyr were to be translated into a church and made the focus of a cult, it was first necessary to discover their location. Failing written records of any kind, the discovery—*inuentio*—of the location of the saint's relics had to be effected by divine agency: characteristically through the appearance in a dream-vision of a heavenly agent who was able to reveal the location of the relics to the dreamer; it was then the dreamer's duty to inform the local bishop, who would be in a position to recover the relics and translate them to a suitable shrine.

The paradigm of such revelations was the account by a priest named Lucian of how the location of the relics of the protomartyr Stephen was revealed to him in a dream: the so-called *Epistola Luciani ad omnem ecclesiam de reuelatione corporis Stephani martyris primi.*[31] Lucian's *Epistola* was composed in Greek in 415; it was, according to Gennadius, subsequently translated into Latin by one Avitus (otherwise unknown), whence it circulated widely in the West and established itself as a model for all *inuentiones* of saints. According to the *Epistola*, Gamaliel, the tutor of St Paul (Acts 5: 34, 22: 3), appeared three times to Lucian in dreams, telling him about the location of St Stephen's remains. The third apparition is described in c. 2 as follows:

> tertia enim uice mihi ostensum est, dum quiescerem in basilica baptisterii in stratu meo . . . dum adhuc prope uigilarem, tanquam in excessu mentis effectus, uidi uirum aetate senem, statura procerum, uultu decorum, promissa barba, in uestitu candido, amictum pallio, in cuius summitate erant tanquam aureae cruces intextae (et manu tenebat uirgam auream), calceatum caligis in superficie deauratis, deambulantem coram me . . . [32]
>
> and on the third occasion it was revealed to me, while I was lying asleep on my bed in the baptistery; . . . while I was lying nearly awake, as in a sort of ecstasy, I saw approaching me an aged man, tall in height with a pleasant face and a long beard, dressed in shining clothes, vested in a cloak, on the top of which were woven golden crosses (and he held in his hand a golden rod), wearing shoes which were gilded on the surface . . .

The divine agent (here Gamaliel) tells Lucian to go to Bishop John of Jerusalem and announce the vision. Lucian hesitates to do so, and instead prays to God to reveal whether the vision came from Him (*ex uoluntate tua*). Six nights later Gamaliel comes again to Lucian, at the same time of night, dressed as before, and asks why he has not reported the vision to Bishop John (c. 4). This happens a third time (c. 5), but eventually Lucian does go to Bishop John; together they go to the place indicated in the dream and dig there (c. 8); a fragrance redolent of Paradise is emitted, and many infirm persons are cured there:

> et statim terraemotus factus est, et tanta suauitas et fragrantia odoris inde egressa est, quantam nullus hominum sensisse se meminit: ut putaremus nos in amoenitate Paradisi esse positos. Multitudo namque populi aderat nobiscum, inter quos plurimi erant infirmi uariis languoribus: in ipsa hora mox de odore suauitatis eius septuaginta et tres animae curatae sunt. Ab aliis fugati daemones, aliorum fons restinctus est sanguinis; alii a strumis et furunculis liberati; alii a secretiore infirmitate sanati, alii a tertianis et quartanis; alios febris reliquit, alios morbus regius; alii a cephalargia curati et hemicranio; et multas alias curationes senserunt homines, quas enumerare longum est.[33]

[31] *BHL* no. 7851; ptd PL xli. 805–16. [32] PL xli. 810. [33] PL xli. 816.

And immediately an earthquake took place, and such great sweetness and fragrance emerged as no man remembered ever having experienced—to the point that we all thought that we had been transported to Paradise. There was a large crowd of people there with us, among whom some were disabled with various afflictions: in that same hour seventy-three people were cured by the sweetness of the fragrance. Demons were expelled from some, in others the flow of blood was staunched; others were released from tumours and boils, others were cured from unknown internal illness, others from tertian and quartan fevers; from some people the fever departed entirely, from others leprosy; some were cured from headaches and brain fever, and people experienced many other cures which are too numerous to list.

It is the power of St Stephen's relics to provide immediate and miraculous relief to the diseased and disabled which establishes beyond doubt their authenticity.

The miraculous efficacity of St Swithun's remains were discovered in the same way, and there seems little doubt that Lantfred, the first three chapters of whose *Translatio* are in effect an *inuentio*, was familiar with Lucian's *Epistola*.[34] According to Lantfred's account—and he makes it clear that he is reporting what he learned at first hand from the smith who was vouchsafed the vision[35]—St Swithun first appeared in a vision to a certain smith, three years before he was eventually translated, hence in 968: 'this same Bishop Swithun, comely with attractive white hair and resplendent in the likeness of an angel, being clothed in a linen robe and wearing golden sandals on his feet, appeared in the quiet of a dream to a certain trustworthy smith.' Swithun asks the smith to go to one Eadsige, a canon whom Bishop Æthelwold had expelled, along with others, from the Old Minster, in February 964; the smith is to tell Eadsige, who is now living at Winchcombe, to go to Bishop Æthelwold in Winchester, and tell him to exhume his—that is, Swithun's—remains. Swithun helpfully supplies a test that will allow Eadsige to verify the divine origin of the commands (that if Eadsige will go to the tomb of a prominent bishop, lying outside the west door of the Old Minster, and try pulling up the rings which are fixed in the lid of the stone coffin, the rings will come away easily, thus proving the divine origin of the command); instead, the smith himself goes to the tomb and tries pulling up the rings, which come away easily. Later that day, the smith happens to pass through the market-place at Winchester, and meets one of Eadsige's tenants; he begs the tenant to tell Eadsige of the divine command. The tenant forgets to do so for a long time, but eventually, after nearly two years have passed, does finally remember to tell Eadsige. Lantfred leaves this story there (*Translatio*, c. 1); but we are left to deduce that Eadsige, in spite of his hatred of Æthelwold, did eventually make his way to Winchester and report the vision, at third hand, to Æthelwold.

Meanwhile, another miracle occurs which helps to publicize the potential *uirtus* of St Swithun (this miracle is related in Lantfred's *Translatio*, c. 2). In 969 a man named Æthelsige, who was suffering from the pain of a terrible hump-back, heard in a dream that there was a saint in Winchester who could cure all infirmity. The man goes to Winchester, and after a long (and largely irrelevant) story involving his genial host at Winchester, a moneyer who apparently had some social standing but who is not named by Lantfred, he goes to the tomb of St Swithun and falls asleep there; he is immediately cured. However, because the tomb was situated near a tower dedicated to St Martin, and because the cure took place on 4 July, the feast of St Martin's ordination, the monks of the Old Minster assumed that the cure had taken place through the agency of St Martin. Another miracle was clearly required. The requisite miracle involved a citizen of Winchester (Lantfred,

[34] See below, pp. 232–3.

[35] *Translatio*, c. 1: 'quo narrante ipsoque opifice, didicimus ita gestum esse penitus quemadmodum presens demonstrat codicellus' (below, p. 264).

Translatio, c. 3) who went to see his horses in a pasture near Winchester and, in the heat of the day, was struck down with a temporary paralysis (caused, so Lantfred reports, by the apparition of three terrifying and naked Ethiopian women); when he managed to crawl back to Winchester, his kinsmen proposed to take him to the shrine of St Iudoc in the New Minster; the man, however, had a dream-vision in which he was told to go and lie by night at the tomb of a certain bishop which stands outside the west door of the Old Minster. When the man was duly cured of his paralysis at what came to be recognized as St Swithun's tomb, there could no longer be any doubt that the agent of this cure was St Swithun. At this point (and following the cures of a further eight persons, which Lantfred omits to recount), the monks of the Old Minster realize the miraculous *uirtus* of St Swithun, and preparations are set in train to translate his relics.

It is clear from this summary that the framework for the *inuentio* of St Swithun is that of the discovery of the relics of the protomartyr St Stephen, as related in the *Epistola* of Lucian. However, there are some striking discrepancies between the two accounts that require explanation. Why, for example, was the smith instructed by the saint to go to Eadsige, a secular canon living (from the Benedictine monks' point of view) in disgrace, rather than directly to Bishop Æthelwold himself? In Lucian's *Epistola*, the dreamer was instructed to go directly to Bishop John. There must be some explanation as to why the smith was instructed to go, not to Æthelwold, but to Eadsige. The first point to be borne in mind is that Eadsige, as I mentioned previously, was one of the secular canons expelled by Æthelwold from the Old Minster, Winchester, on 19 February, 964.[36] Secondly, in his 'Life of St Swithun' (printed below, no. 4), Ælfric supplies the crucial piece of information that Eadsige and Æthelwold were related by ties of kinship. Referring to Eadsige's initial refusal to comply with the divine command, Ælfric explains that, 'at that time this Eadsige detested Bishop Æthelwold and all the monks who were in the Old Minster because of the expulsion which Æthelwold had enforced upon them; and he did not wish to obey the holy man's command, even though the saint [Æthelwold] was a kinsman of his in this world' (c. 5).[37] Nevertheless, Eadsige eventually recanted, and with three other clerics who had been expelled in 964 returned to the Old Minster and was professed as monk. Upon his return, and following the translation of St Swithun in 971, he was made sacrist of Swithun's shrine, a position which he filled admirably until his death, as we learn from Wulfstan, who includes a long eulogy on Eadsige in his *Narratio* (ii. 134–50). It is difficult not to think that the translation of St Swithun served as a pretext for Æthelwold to effect a reconciliation with his kinsman, and that the promotion to the post of sacrist was in some sense a reward for Eadsige's recantation. In any case, the process of reconciliation between Eadsige and Æthelwold provides a convenient explanation of why St Swithun's message, announced in a dream-vision to an unnamed smith, had to be mediated to Æthelwold by Eadsige, and could not be delivered directly to Æthelwold himself. The departure from the model offered by Lucian's account of the *inuentio* of St Stephen, in other words, is a reflex of local Winchester politics.

One might ask, finally, why it was Bishop Swithun whom Æthelwold and his advisers chose to translate, for there were certainly several bishops of Winchester (for example Birinus, Hæddi, Frithestan, Beornstan and Ælfheah 'the Bald') entombed within the Old Minster. One cannot help thinking, perhaps cynically, that Bishop Swithun was chosen to become the focus of a new cult not because he had appeared in dreams, but because his tomb was situated in an extremely prominent

[36] On the expulsion, see Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, cc. 17–18 (ed. Lapidge, and Winterbottom, pp. 30–3).
[37] See below, p. 592.

position outside the west door of the Old Minster, in a direct line midway between the door and the tower of St Martin. Winchester sources, such as Wulfstan and Ælfric, are unanimous and explicit in stating that nothing whatsoever was known of Swithun's life at the time of the translation.[38] In that case, one might ask, how was it known that the occupant of the prominent tomb was Bishop Swithun?[39] There are several possible answers. Records may have been kept in the Old Minster as to who was buried where within the cathedral precincts (a suggestion which is impossible to verify, because no records of this sort have survived from any Anglo-Saxon church). Alternatively, there may have been an inscription on the tomb of the sort 'Hic iacet Suuithunus ep. Wint.' (*vel sim.*). Thirdly, and perhaps most probably, the identity of the tomb's occupant was known by folk memory and oral tradition.[40] In any event, for reasons which are not in effect irrecoverable, St Swithun made known his miraculous potential to the community of the Old Minster, and the decision was taken to translate his remains. We may now turn to the ceremony of translation itself.

iii. THE TRANSLATION

Concerning the process which led to the discovery or *inuentio* of St Swithun's miraculous potential, we have the detailed account by Lantfred who, as he tells us, had learned at least the story of the saint's first appearance to the smith from the smith himself. Concerning the translation, however, Lantfred is curiously reticent: after describing in c. 3 the cure of the man who had been paralyzed by the supernatural women, and noting briefly that eight more persons were cured at the tomb, he describes the translation itself in a single sentence:

> After these events had taken place, the holy and venerable remains of the bishop were exhumed from his sepulchre on the 15th of July—at the command of the glorious and blessed King Edgar—by the venerable lord bishop Æthelwold and by the distinguished abbots Ælfstan and Æthelgar, and by the monks leading the heavenly life in both monasteries; and the remains were placed with honour in the above-mentioned minster.[41]

This skeletal account of so important an event is so briefly told that one is obliged to think that Lantfred was not present in person at the time of the translation itself, although he was demonstrably present at the Old Minster in the following year or two. Fortunately, however, Wulfstan witnessed the translation when he was a young oblate at the Old Minster, and he has inserted into his *Narratio* not only a lengthy account of the event itself, but of the preparations for the translation, and of the miraculous cure of a blind woman immediately beforehand, and the cure of a crippled boy immediately afterwards (i. 789–1078). Because this detailed account of the

[38] See Wulfstan, *Narratio* i. 452–6 (below, p. 432): 'His name was still unknown to us at that time [*scil.* at the time of the translation], nor were there any, save very few, who had the knowledge to reveal the name or merits of the man, inasmuch as a long time had already passed since that holy bishop had been buried there'; Ælfric, 'Life of St Swithun', c. 1 (below, p. 590): 'It was negligence on behalf of those who knew him during his lifetime, that they did not wish to write down his deeds and conduct for the benefit of future men who did not know his mighty works.'

[39] See the valuable discussion of this problem by the Biddles, WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter II.1.iv, v.

[40] The Biddles (ibid. Chapter II.1.iv) raise the intriguing possibility that it may have been Eadsige himself who revealed the identity of the tomb's occupant, a fact which he may have learned as a young member of the cathedral clergy in the earlier tenth century. When Æthelwold expelled the (secular) cathedral clergy, including Eadsige, in 964, he replaced them with his own Benedictine monks from Abingdon; and it is reasonable to suppose that the newly-introduced monks will not have been in possession of folk memories of who was buried where in the cathedral cemetery.

[41] See below, p. 284.

translation of St Swithun is a unique witness to such a ceremony, it is appropriate to summarize what Wulfstan reports.

According to Wulfstan's report, once the holy *uirtus* of St Swithun had been made manifest, Bishop Æthelwold went directly to King Edgar to seek royal permission for the translation (i. 814–15). No date for this audience is given by Wulfstan; but once Æthelwold had explained to the king the number of miracles which were taking place through Swithun's agency (824–8), the king gave thanks to God and instructed Æthelwold to return to Winchester and translate Swithun's remains into the Old Minster (830–43). Accordingly, on Sunday, 9 July 971, the bells of the Old Minster summoned people to church; during the course of mass, Æthelwold addressed the congregation in the vernacular, and told them of the arrangements for the ceremony of translation which were to take place on the following Sunday (850–78). Beginning on the following Wednesday, a three-day fast was imposed on the congregation (884–5). Wulfstan here adds the personal remark that he too, as a young oblate, kept the fast (889–90). After sunset on the Friday (14 July) the fast was broken, in readiness for the mighty events of the following day (893–6). As a sort of prelude to these events, a blind woman was miraculously cured at the tomb (897–902). Then tents were erected around the tomb itself so that the people would not press in upon the saint (910–12). At that point the bells rang for the Office of Vespers. After singing Vespers in the Old Minster, the monks made what Wulfstan calls their first procession to the tomb, equipped with candles, incense, gospelbook and crucifix, chanting the praise of St Swithun (916–19). After nightfall, the populace assembled around the tomb with lamps and candles, and kept vigil there throughout the night; at the same time, the monks sang first the Night Office (Nocturns), and then, just before daybreak, Lauds (930–5), all within the Old Minster, presumably. The day of the translation itself dawned (15 July 971). Bishop Æthelwold, along with Abbots Ælfstan and Æthelgar, of the Old and New Minster communities respectively, were vested in white and advanced in solemn procession, with their communities of monks bearing candles and a gospelbook, and burning incense (937–46). Bishop Æthelwold intoned a chant (based, judging from Wulfstan's hexameter paraphrase, on Wisdom 10: 10), and the procession drew up at the tomb (948–52). Only a few were permitted to enter the tents; the remainder stayed outside chanting psalms. Of those who entered, Æthelwold was the first to dig, but he soon handed over the task to his attendants. The lid of the tomb was removed by means of three poles (inserted, presumably, through the rings which the smith had been the first to try to lift), and thus they reached St Swithun's remains (958–72). A wonderful odour filled the city (973–5). They washed the precious relics, wrapped them in a clean shroud, placed them in a new but temporary reliquary, and placed the reliquary on a feretory (976–9). The feretory was carried by the two abbots (980–2), and with Bishop Æthelwold intoning the *Te Deum* (984–1021), they processed back into the church, where Æthelwold celebrated mass at the saint's head (i.e. standing where the reliquary had just been placed in the choir of the Old Minster) (1032–7). After mass the people returned to their homes. However, a woman cast her crippled son upon the tomb from which the saint's relics had just been translated, and he was miraculously cured, thereby demonstrating that miraculous *uirtus* was still residual in the tomb itself (1047–74).

Wulfstan's account is exceptionally valuable, insofar as it is an eye-witness account of the translation of a saint's relics and, as such, unique among our records from Anglo-Saxon England. The account, however, is poetically conceived, and leaves out many prosaic details. For example, it may be safely assumed that, in the service for the translation of Swithun's relics, Æthelwold was

following the procedure and liturgy specified in a pontifical *ordo*. It is likely that the *ordo* in question was that known (from the principal edition of pontifical *ordines*) as *Ordo* XLII, entitled *Ordo quomodo in sancta romana ecclesia reliquiae conduntur*, a text which is preserved in several Anglo-Saxon pontificals.[42] The *ordo* specifies how the relics are first to be placed on a paten, then wrapped in a cloth (*sindon*), then carried by two or three *ministri* into the new church where they are to be deposited; the altar is then asperged while the *scola* chants a litany; the bishop then goes back to the door and says a prayer ('Deus qui in omni loco tuae dominationis dedicator adsistis'); he then takes the relics from the *ministri* and takes them to the new altar where they are now to be deposited, and covers them and the altar with a veil, while the *scola* chants the *Kyrie eleison* and *Gloria in excelsis*; thereafter, for an entire week, public masses are to be celebrated in the church.[43] Although this ceremony squares in broad outline with that described by Wulfstan (the processions, the role of the *ministri* here fulfilled by the two abbots, the veiling of the altar, the saying of mass on completion of the translation, etc.), there were evidently differences. The service conducted by Æthelwold, judging from Wulfstan's evidence, included a prayer drawn from Wisdom 10: 10; but no such prayer is found in *Ordo* XLII. What emerges most clearly from Wulfstan's account (and could hardly be clear from the bare stage directions contained in *Ordo* XLII) is that the translation was an occasion for celebration and rejoicing by the entire populace of the city.

iv. THE RELIQUARY

As we have seen, St Swithun's remains were at first housed in a temporary reliquary. Subsequently, however, King Edgar, who had sponsored the translation from the outset, commissioned a wonderfully lavish reliquary to replace the temporary one. It is not clear how much time had elapsed after the translation on 15 July 971 before the reliquary was commissioned. Certainly Lantfred, who was at the Old Minster soon after the translation (although, as we have seen, he was probably not present at the translation itself), knows nothing of any lavish reliquary. On the contrary, it is clear that what he describes (for example, in c. 20) is the arrangement whereby Swithun's remains were placed in a (temporary) reliquary on an altar—probably the high altar—within an enclosed space separated from the congregation by means of a barrier. Our knowledge of the reliquary derives from Wulfstan, who in a lengthy passage (which has no correlate in Lantfred) describes the royal commissioning of the lavish reliquary, its construction at a royal estate, and the ceremony by which the reliquary was taken in procession from the royal estate to the Old Minster, where it was placed on the altar (again, presumably the high altar) (*Narratio* ii. 1–77).

Wulfstan's account is as follows. King Edgar commissioned a reliquary, and made available for the task three hundred pounds of silver, ruby gems and gold (ii. 5–6). He then commanded goldsmiths to come to his royal estate, that estate described as 'the Great' (probably King's Somborne, though Wulfstan does not name it), in order to fashion the reliquary (9–12). The reliquary was engraved with scenes of Christ's Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and other scenes (12–15). When it was complete, Æthelwold placed 'part of the saint's body within it' (*corpore de sancti partem conclusit in illa*). The reliquary was then ready to be taken to the Old Minster. On the day in

[42] See below, comm. to *Narratio* i. 940.

[43] M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931–61), iv. 395–402.

question, 8 October in a year not specified,[44] two processions formed: one set out barefoot from Winchester to meet the other, which had set out from the royal estate. After the procession setting out from Winchester had traversed some three miles (35–9)—and Wulfstan notes proudly that he had taken part in this procession—the reliquary with its astonishing metalwork came into view, borne on a feretory by those proceeding to Winchester from the royal estate (42–5). The procession from Winchester then joined the other, chanting psalms all the while. When they reached West Gate, the city gates were opened, and immediately a blind girl was cured on the spot (52–8). The procession then made its way to the Old Minster, and Æthelwold placed the reliquary on the altar (67–8)—presumably the principal altar situated in the choir of the Old Minster.

The reliquary constructed for St Swithun's remains was remarkably lavish, and might have resembled surviving examples of Anglo-Saxon metalwork such as the 'Gandersheim Casket'.[45] But although it survived into the late Middle Ages, it was unfortunately melted down after the death of Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester (1405–47), in order to provide metal for a new shrine of St Swithun.[46] It is possible, however, that the reliquary is depicted in a twelfth-century wall-painting which has only recently come to light in Winchester Cathedral.[47]

v. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLD MINSTER

We saw earlier that, from the Carolingian period onwards, the translation of a saint's relics was very often accompanied by reconstruction of the church in question in order to make the translated relics the focal point of worship, and to accommodate the (anticipated) increase in visitors to the shrine. Æthelwold was well aware of continental antecedents of this sort, and from the outset he must have had in mind the possibility of enlarging the Old Minster so as to create a shrine for his newly-discovered saint. Lantfred indicates as much when, in the the Praefatio to his *Translatio*, he states that the remains of St Swithun were translated into the Old Minster where they were housed *donec illi templum fabricaretur*, 'until such time as a shrine should be constructed for him'.[48] Furthermore, although the relics which had been exhumed were located within the Old Minster, first in a temporary, then in a royally-commissioned reliquary near the high altar (see above), the original site of the tomb continued to display miraculous *uirtus*: that is the point of the story told by Wulfstan (related above) concerning the crippled boy who was healed by being cast into the tomb from which Swithun's relics had only just been removed. It was obviously part of Æthelwold's design from the outset to extend the cathedral westwards so as to incorporate the (site of the) original tomb; and when Ælfric, writing his 'Life of St Swithun' between the years 993 and 998, had

[44] This re-translation must have taken place before the death of King Edgar (8 July 975); but there is no way of deciding between 972, 973, and 974. It is striking that Lantfred's narrative contains no mention of the reliquary and the re-translation, which presumably implies that he had left Winchester before the event took place. Since his narrative of miracles includes events which took place a year and more after the original translation in 971 (see below, pp. 235–7), there may be grounds for supposing that the re-translation and dedication of the reliquary took place in 974. Note also that 8 October did not fall on a Sunday in either 972, 973, or 974. The Biddles offer intriguing arguments for dating the retranslation to October 971 (WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter II.1.v).

[45] See C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: a New Perspective* (Manchester, 1982), pp. 198–200.

[46] See discussion by John Crook, 'St Swithun at Winchester', in *Winchester Cathedral*, ed. Crook, pp. 57–68, at 64, who notes that the 'Old Reliquary', as it was then called, yielded 47 lb. 7 1/4 oz. of silver.

[47] See J. Crook, 'King Edgar's reliquary of St Swithun', *ASE* xxi (1992), 177–202, esp. pp. 197–202, with pls. XVI–XVIII.

[48] See below, p. 258.

occasion to speak of the original tomb, he described 'the stone coffin which now stands within the new edifice' (c. 2).[49]

The 'new edifice' in question is the massive double-apsed west-work which has been recovered by excavation and which is described in detail by Birthe and Martin Biddle in WS 4.i. We know from the 'Epistola specialis' which Wulfstan dedicated to Bishop Ælfheah (Æthelwold's successor as bishop of Winchester, 984–1006), and which was put in its final form in late 996, that Bishop Æthelwold 'formerly renewed' (*quondam renouauit*) the Old Minster. Wulfstan describes Æthelwold's reconstruction as follows (Ep. spec. 45–54):

> Æthelwold also rebuilt the building of the Old Minster with lofty walls and new roofs, strengthening it on its southern and northern sides with solid side chapels and arches of various kinds. Similarly, he added numerous chapels to house holy altars; these disguise the entrance of the main doorway so that, if someone were to walk through the interior of the church with unfamiliar steps, he would not know whence he came, nor how to retrace his steps, because in every direction open doorways may be seen and there is no sure route apparent to him.

In sum, this is a rather restrained description of what must have been one of the architectural glories of western Christendom, at least as we know the rebuilt Old Minster from excavation. But the purpose of Wulfstan's 'Epistola specialis' was to praise the building works of Bishop Ælfheah, his patron, at the east end of the church, which included a massive ring-crypt and a tower; in these circumstances, it is perhaps understandable that he did not dwell at excessive length on the achievements of Ælfheah's predecessor.

In any event, the west-work was built as a massive *martyrium*, the central and focal point of which was the site (and possibly the structure) of Swithun's original tomb. The apse(s) as revealed by archaeology correspond to Wulfstan's description of the structures on the 'southern and northern sides', with their many side chapels and arches near the entrance of the main doorway, so that someone unfamiliar with the church could easily get lost in them (Wulfstan goes on to compare the construction with that of the Daedalian labyrinth of Greek mythology).[50] It was this double-apsed *martyrium* which was dedicated by Bishop Æthelwold, in the presence of King Æthelred and most of the bishops of the realm, including Archbishop Dunstan, on 20 October 980.[51] With the completion of the *martyrium*, the Old Minster had two sites for the veneration of St Swithun: the lavish, royally-commissioned reliquary which housed the saint's remains and which was located on the high altar in the eastern part of the church; and the site of the saint's original tomb in the centre of the newly-constructed west-work. This was an arrangement which existed throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and which was reproduced (though on a different architectural footprint) in Bishop Walkelin's Norman cathedral, dedicated in 1093; it may be seen in the present-day cathedral.

[49] See below, p. 590.

[50] See the detailed discussion by Birthe and Martin Biddle, WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter VII.1.ii, 2.i, 3.i, and esp. 5; see also Chapter VIII.1.vii and Figs. 16, 19, 96*a*, 96*b*: 'It was a *martyrium* in both plan and elevation, roofed throughout, the saint's tomb flanked to north and south by deep apses and covered by a tall central tower visible from every direction. The builders seem to have achieved everything which the significance of the site required and the massive foundations imply.'

[51] The date of the dedication is known from Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 40 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 60); see also below, p. 377 (comm. to Ep. spec. 61–114).

vi. PUBLICITY

The point of undertaking the translation of St Swithun's remains and of creating a focal point for veneration of the saint, was that of attracting substantial numbers of pilgrims (and hence of revenues) to the Old Minster, the assumption being that if a person of means received a cure, s/he would make a financial contribution to the saint's church. Lantfred describes a number of wealthy people who received their cure and made a donation to the saint. For example, a 'powerful lady' from Bedfordshire who was blind 'promised that she would present many gifts to the holy bishop Swithun, if only she were to receive her eyesight through his merit' (c. 8); 'another land-owning lady' with a serious illness was cured by St Swithun, but although she promised 'to come to his tomb as quickly as she could with many gifts', she 'did not repay to God the thanks which were due', whereupon she was struck down again, but eventually came to her senses and made a donation to the saint (c. 9). A principal purpose of Lantfred's *Translatio* is that of demonstrating how pilgrims were attracted, in large numbers, from far and wide, to the Old Minster once the translation had taken place. Ever-increasing numbers of pilgrims are described as coming from increasingly distant locations: within three days of the translation, four or five sick persons were cured, and during the next five months there was scarcely a day on which persons were not cured, 'but most often seven, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen' (c. 4). Lantfred reports that he personally saw 'more than two hundred sick people cured through the saint's merit in ten days', and allows himself the personal observation that 'the precincts around the minster [were] so packed on either side with crowds of sick persons, that any traveller would find difficulty in gaining access to it; yet after a few days they were all cured in such a way . . . that even within the church itself scarcely five sick people could be found' (c. 4). As the numbers of sick pilgrims increased, so did the distances which they travelled to Winchester: three blind women from the Isle of Wight (c. 5), a paralytic from Hampshire (c. 7), the aforementioned rich lady from Bedfordshire (c. 8), a paralytic from London (c. 11), sixteen blind people from London (c. 12), a lame man from London (c. 13), a paralytic from Rochester (c. 17), four sick persons in Essex (c. 19), a man who heard of St Swithun's miraculous power while staying in Rome (c. 16), and even a number of persons in France (cc. 32–4); and so on.

It would be interesting to know the agency by which Swithun's reputation as a miracle-worker reached people so far distant from Winchester. One might think in the first instance of written hagiography; but Lantfred's *Translatio* survives in only four manuscript copies, Wulfstan's *Narratio* in two, the *Epitome* (below, no. 3) in one, and Ælfric's Old English 'Life of St Swithun' in three. Clearly people were not coming to Winchester because they had *read* about the saint. On the contrary, it would seem that oral report was the agency by which the saint's fame was spread abroad in England and France. Lantfred frequently stresses that a certain diseased person had *heard* about the saint's powers (cc. 5, 7, 11, 19, 25, etc.). Whether the church of Winchester took an active role in spreading the reports, and if so, how, is unclear. But there is no doubt that St Swithun very quickly became one of the most widely culted saints in England, as we shall see in the following chapter (ch. 3, below, pp. 25–65).

vii. LITURGICAL COMMEMORATION

Although it appears to have been popular rumour which spread the fame of St Swithun abroad in the early years following the translation in 971, if the cult was to become properly established in the Anglo-Saxon church, it was necessary to compose prayers of various sorts so that St Swithun could be formally commemorated in the liturgy. We shall see in a subsequent chapter (ch. 5, below, pp. 74–138) that Swithun was widely commemorated in liturgical books of the later Anglo-Saxon church, in the period from *c.*1000 onwards. Our present concern, however, is with the origins of that cult in the generation following the translation, up to (say) *c.*1000. Unfortunately it is not as easy as might be wished to reconstruct the liturgy of St Swithun from that early period because, with the notable exception of the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold', there are no surviving liturgical books written at the Old Minster during the period 971–1000; accordingly, it is often necessary to extrapolate back from the evidence of later liturgical manuscripts. In effect, two feasts of St Swithun are in question: that of the deposition on 2 July, and that of the translation on 15 July (a third feast, for the ordination on 30 October, is recorded in some Winchester calendars, but does not seem to have generated proper prayers of any sort).

We may begin with the evidence of the one liturgical book which can be firmly dated to the period in question, namely the famous 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' (now London, BL, 49598).[52] This is a book which was evidently written for Æthelwold's personal use—a benedictional was a book containing prayers pronounced only by a bishop when he happened to be officiating at mass—and which has been dated to *c.*973, to a period, that is, following the translation of St Swithun in 971. Curiously, however, although the book contains a set of benedictions for the feast of St Swithun's deposition on 2 July, there are no benedictions for the feast of the translation on 15 July. Does this mean (assuming the dating of the manuscript to be correct) that even Æthelwold himself did not commemorate the feast of St Swithun's translation when he happened to say mass in the two years immediately following the translation, and hence that liturgical commemoration of the translation was a somewhat later phenomenon? Or perhaps it implies that the text of the benedictional itself was assembled, and prayers for St Swithun's deposition composed, before the translation in 971? In either case, the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' throws frustratingly little light on the origins of the cult of St Swithun, and, judging solely from the evidence of surviving manuscripts, the provision of episcopal benedictions for the feast of the translation may have been a later phenomenon; but how much later is impossible to say.

As far as liturgical commemoration of St Swithun at mass is concerned, we are obliged to rely on manuscripts of a much later period. The so-called 'Missal of the New Minster' (now Le Havre, BM, 330), written at the New Minster in Winchester at some time in the second half of the eleventh century, contains mass-sets for both the deposition and translation, and even for the vigil of the deposition, implying a high level of liturgical commemoration at the adjacent monastery (we unfortunately have no comparable mass-book for the Old Minster).[53] The diction of the prayers in these mass-sets, particularly those for the deposition and translation, is strikingly individual in its use of grecisms and unusual phrases; and since both the grecisms and the unusual phrases are also to be found in Lantfred's *Translatio* and in a Winchester poem which he may have composed (the

[52] For the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold', and the episcopal benedictions for St Swithun which it contains, see below, pp. 86–8.
[53] See below, pp. 75–80.

Carmen de libero arbitrio), it could be argued that it was Lantfred who in the first instance provided mass-sets for the two principal feasts of St Swithun. Since Lantfred appears to have remained at Winchester for a relatively short time (during which he composed the *Translatio*), perhaps a year or two at most following the translation in 971, the mass-sets in question would date from the very earliest phase of the cult of St Swithun.

The liturgy of St Swithun also includes a substantial corpus of tropes and sequences intended for embellishment of the sung parts of the mass.[54] Although the manuscripts which preserve these texts (the so-called 'Winchester tropers') date from a later period than has previously been assumed, there are nevertheless stylistic reasons for associating at least some of the compositions with the work of Wulfstan, who was precentor at the Old Minster in the last decade of the tenth century, and as such will have been responsible for overseeing the sung parts of the mass, and for composing texts and music where necessary. The hypothesis that Wulfstan composed some at least of the tropes and sequences for St Swithun takes us to the last decade of the tenth century. Whether such compositions existed at an earlier period, is impossible to say.

For the performance of the divine Office on the saint's feast days, in particular for the Night Office (which consisted of three Nocturns), various prayers (collects) and lections were required. The earliest surviving manuscript which contains Office collects for St Swithun is the famous 'Portiforium of St Wulstan', written for Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (1062–95), now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391.[55] Some of the collects in question are identical with collects from mass-sets which were conjecturally composed by Lantfred; but others occur in no source earlier than the 'Portiforium', and it is therefore impossible to say when or where they were composed. Given the importance of Swithun's cult to the community of monks at the Old Minster, Winchester, in the years immediately following the translation of 971, it is a plausible hypothesis that the collects from the mass-sets were quickly pressed into service for the Night Office, and others composed to make up the full complement of necessary prayers; but proof is lacking.

Certainly St Swithun was commemorated in the Night Office at the Old Minster from a very early period, judging from the evidence of London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII, the principal manuscript of Lantfred's *Translatio* and of Wulfstan's *Narratio*. Royal 15. C. VII was written at the Old Minster, *c.*1000; very soon after it was written, the text of Lantfred was marked up so as to provide the requisite eight lections for the (monastic) Night Office.[56] It is also probable that a homily for reading in the Night Office on a feast of St Swithun was produced at this time. In a late eleventh-century homiliary from Durham, now Durham, Cathedral Library, A. III. 29, there are homilies for various Winchester saints, which suggests that the manuscript was copied from an exemplar of Winchester origin. In particular, the manuscript contains a copy of a homily for All Saints, and it was this homily which served as the basis for a poem composed by Wulfstan of Winchester, the *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*. In the same manuscript is a homily (composed originally to commemorate an unspecified confessor) adapted to commemorate St Swithun; and the Winchester associations in general, and the links with Wulfstan in particular, suggest that the homily on St Swithun was produced at the Old Minster in Wulfstan's time (that is to say, the last decade of the tenth century).[57] As so often with liturgical composition, however, it is impossible to verify this suggestion.

[54] See below, pp. 90–101, as well as discussion by Susan Rankin, below, pp. 191–213.

[55] See below, pp. 102–3.

[56] See below, pp. 104–5.

[57] See below, pp. 117–18.

No matter how sceptical a view one takes of dating the liturgical evidence, it is nevertheless clear that there was a respectable corpus of liturgical prayer available at Winchester in the first decades following the translation of St Swithun, enough to enable to saint to be commemorated with proper prayers at mass and Office. As the saint's fame grew and his cult spread beyond Winchester, more and more liturgical prayers will have been required by the churches in which the saint's cult was introduced. In the first instance these prayers were evidently supplied from Winchester itself, but as the cult developed outside Winchester, so too were prayers composed in churches other than Winchester. Before looking at these prayers, and considering the role which St Swithun assumed in the medieval liturgy, it is necessary to examine the evidence for the development of his cult.

3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULT OF ST SWITHUN

As we have seen, the cult of St Swithun began with Bishop Æthelwold's translation of Swithun's relics into the Old Minster on 15 July 971; within a generation, by the early eleventh century at latest, there was at Winchester itself a fully developed cult of the saint, with two major feasts (deposition, translation) and vestiges of a third (ordination) and the requisite panoply of prayers and chants for mass and Office which full liturgical commemoration entails. In the following centuries, the cult spread from Winchester to other English centres, particularly in the South, and then to various places overseas, notably Ireland, Scandinavia and France. It is the purpose of the present chapter to set out the evidence for this development of Swithun's cult.

i. ENGLAND

It is clear already from the accounts of Lantfred and Wulfstan that the report of Swithun's miracle-working reached other parts of southern England soon after his translation in 971: notably Canterbury, Rochester, London, Bedfordshire, Somerset, and elsewhere. The spread of oral report was no doubt accompanied, and enhanced, by the circulation of copies of Lantfred and Wulfstan, and by Ælfric's vernacular version of Swithun's miracles. Not surprisingly, many churches, especially in southern England, began to add the name of St Swithun to their own cycle of liturgical commemorations; and in many cases, the spread of the cult was supported by the acquisition of relics of the saint, and further attested by the dedications of local churches in the saint's name.

Liturgical commemorations

Evidence that the feast of a particular saint was commemorated at a particular church is found principally in three kinds of liturgical text: the calendar, the martyrology, and the litany of saints. The calendar consists of tables, one for each month, with the dates (in Roman reckoning) running in a vertical column down the left-hand side of each page; the feasts of the individual saints are then entered against the appropriate date. All western liturgical calendars contain a core of commemorations derived from late antiquity and pertaining to saints culted universally by the Roman church.[1] However, individual churches made additions and alterations to this inherited core, so as to

[1] See J. Dubois and J.-L. Lemaitre, *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale* (Paris, 1993), pp. 135–60, as well as the important earlier studies by W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy I. The Kalendar* (Oxford, 1930); H. Leclercq, 'Kalendaria', *DACL* viii (1928), cols. 624–67; and R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie, ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire*, with supplement by R. Godding, Subsidia hagiographica, lxxx (Brussels, 2000), pp. 11–31.

incorporate commemorations of saints culted locally. The calendar is thus the indispensable index to which saints were culted at a particular church. Of course a calendar entry need not by itself imply full liturgical commenoration: a saint who was a martyr or a confessor, for example, might have been commemorated in general terms by (say) a mass 'for a martyr' (*missa unius martyris*) or 'for a confessor' (*missa unius confessoris*), or, if commemorations of several saints fell on the one day, by masses 'for several martyrs' (*missa plurimorum martyrum*) or 'for several confessors' (*missa plurimorum confessorum*). In other words, the calendar entry alone cannot tell us whether the saint was commemorated at the particular church with a 'proper' mass (that is, a mass whose formularies were composed specifically for a named saint) or with a non-specific commemoration 'for a martyr', etc. This question can only be answered by correlating the evidence of calendar entries with other liturgical books from the same church, to see whether a feast-day in the calendar is accompanied by 'proper', that is individual, prayers.[2]

In all, some twenty-six calendars (some of them fragmentary) survive from Anglo-Saxon England in the period before *c.*1100; the earliest of these date from the eighth century.[3] No calendar dating from the period between Swithun's death in 863 and his translation in 971 contains a commemoration,[4] and it is only from the early eleventh century that commemorations become frequent. It is unfortunate that no calendar survives from the Old Minster from the last thirty years of the tenth century, when the cult of St Swithun was beginning, but from later liturgical sources it is clear that three commemorations are in question:

2 July: Deposition of St Swithun
15 July: Translation of St Swithun
30 October: Ordination of St Swithun

I record in Table 1, in rough chronological order, all the surviving Anglo-Saxon calendars which date from after 971. In cases where a calendar has been printed by Wormald, I give the number which he assigned to it in square brackets; and I use the following abbreviations: Dep. = Deposition; Trans. = Translation; Ord. = Ordination; CaCC = Christ Church, Canterbury; WinOM = Old Minster, Winchester; and WinNM = New Minster, Winchester. An 'x' indicates that the calendar contains a commemoration, a '–' that no commemoration is found. Several observations are pertinent. Among the earliest calendars, two (my nos. 1 and 3) have no entries for St Swithun: presumably because they were written before the cult of the saint had spread beyond Winchester. Another calendar (no. 21) has an erroneous entry 'Translatio Spiðhuni' against 2 July, the feast of the deposition;[5] the error possibly indicates that the calendar was compiled at a time before the feasts of St Swithun became well established outside of Winchester. The omission of any feast for St Swithun from my no. 11 is surprising, for it was written at a time (in the 1030s) when the cult was becoming well established elsewhere in southern England; perhaps the explanation lies in the geographical remoteness of Leominster (north of Hereford), where the calendar was arguably written. On the

[2] In the case of St Swithun, proper prayers are printed below, ch. 4.

[3] The earliest is the 'Calendar of St Willibrord' (d. 739), a book which was prepared for Willibrord's personal use: *The Calendar of St Willibrord from MS. Paris. lat. 10837*, ed. H. A. Wilson, HBS lv (London, 1918). Twenty calendars from the later Anglo-Saxon period are ptd Wormald, *Kalendars*.

[4] Two calendars are in question: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63, written 867 × 892 (Wormald, *Kalendars*, no. 1, where, however, Swithun's name has been added against 2 and 15 July in an eleventh-century hand: see above, p. 4 n.); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27, written probably at Winchester in the third decade of the tenth century.

[5] Wormald, *Kalendars*, p. 22.

TABLE 1

Entries for St Swithun in Anglo-Saxon calendars

	Dep.	Trans.	Ord.
1. Oxford, Bodl., Bodley 579 (?Glastonbury, 969 × 987) [no. 4]	–	–	–
2. London, BL, Add. 37517 (Canterbury, s. x^2) [no. 5]	x	x	–
3. Paris, BNF, lat. 7299 (?Ramsey, s. x/xi)	–	–	–
4. Paris, BNF, lat. 10062 (CaCC, s. xi^{in})[6]	x	x	–
5. Cambridge, UL, Kk. 5. 32 (?Winchcombe, 1012 × 1030) [no. 6]	x	x	x
6. BL, Arundel 155 (CaCC, 1012 × 1023) [no. 13]	x	x	–
7. Rouen, BM, Y. 6 (?Ely, 1014 × 1023) [no. 15]	x	x	x
8. BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvii (WinNM, 1023 × 1031) [no. 9]	x	x	–
9. Cambridge, Trinity Coll., R. 15. 32 (WinNM, 1025 × 1036) [no. 10]	x	x	–
10. Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 12 (Bury St Edmunds, s. xi^1) [no. 19]	x	x	–
11. BL, Cotton Nero A. ii (?Leominster, s. xi^1) [no. 3]	–	–	–
12. Oxford, Bodl., Douce 296 (Crowland, s. xi^{med}) [no. 20]	x	x	–
13. BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii (WinOM, *c.*1060) [no. 12]	x	x	x
14. Cambridge, CCC 422 (Sherborne, *c.*1061) [no. 14]	x	x	–
15. Cambridge, CCC 391 (Worcester, *c.*1065) [no. 17]	x	x	–
16. BL, Arundel 60 (WinNM, 1073?) [no. 11]	x	x	–
17. Oxford, Bodl., Hatton 113 (?Evesham, 1064 × 1083) [no. 16]	x	x	x
18. Cambridge, CCC 9 (Worcester, s. xi^2) [no. 18]	x	x	–
19. BL, Cotton Vitellius A. xviii (SW England, s. xi^2) [no. 8]	x	x	–
20. BL, Cotton Vitellius A. xii (Salisbury, s. xi^{ex}) [no. 7]	x	x	–
21. Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 150 (?Wilton, s. x^2) [no. 2]	[x]	–	–

[6] The calendar is ptd by B. Ebersperger, *Die angelsächsischen Handschriften in den Pariser Bibliotheken mit einer Edition von Ælfrics Kirchweihhomilie aus der Handschrift Paris, BN, lat. 943*, Anglistische Forschungen, cclxi (Heidelberg, 1999), pp. 123–7.

other hand, most Anglo-Saxon calendars dating from the early eleventh century onwards have entries for both the feasts of the deposition and translation, which is a reliable index to the development and spread of Swithun's cult. The feast of the ordination, however, is entered in only four calendars, and is apparently a feast which was little observed outside Winchester itself.

In the period after *c.*1100 the situation becomes more complex for various reasons, notably the foundation of new monastic orders, and the exponential increase in the numbers of surviving calendars. No comprehensive list of such calendars has ever been compiled, and, in the absence of such a list, one is obliged to proceed on the partial basis of calendars which have been printed or collated. In the late nineteenth century, Robert Stanton compiled a list of feasts of English saints (which he called a 'menology') on the basis of collation of some 108 calendars.[7] More recently, Francis Wormald published two volumes of editions of calendars from Benedictine houses with names beginning A–N, but unfortunately never completed the third volume for houses beginning with the remaining letters of the alphabet.[8] The merit of his edition is that he collated all relevant calendars known to him for each house in question: in the case of Christ Church, Canterbury, for example, his edition represents the collation of ten manuscripts; that for St Augustine's, six; those for Durham and Ely, five each; and so on. But for Benedictine houses with names beginning with the letters O–Z, for monastic houses of orders other than Benedictine, and for secular uses, no edition comparable to Wormald's yet exists.[9] In Table 2, nos. 1–18 refer to calendars printed by Wormald, and nos. 19–25 are based on the earlier collations of Stanton.[10] And with the exception of no. 24, from Winchester, none of these calendars contains an entry for the ordination of Swithun on 30 October. From this table it is clear that St Swithun was commemorated in most, but not all, English houses,[11] and that the feast of his deposition was more frequently commemorated than that of the translation.

The evidence of calendars is interestingly supplemented by that of martyrologies.[12] In its simplest form, the martyrology consisted of a series of entries for each day of the year, in which were recorded the day in question (in Roman reckoning), the name of the saint, and the place of his/her martyrdom or death. From the eighth century onwards, the practice developed of reading aloud from the martyrology the commemorations of the day when the monks or canons assembled at chapter (immediately following the Office of Prime).[13] As in the case of the calendar, the mention of a saint in a martyrology entry might, but would not necessarily, entail full liturgical commemoration: depending on preferences of the chapter, the saint in question would be commemorated either with a proper mass or Office, or with the more generalized form of service specified 'for a martyr' or 'for a confessor'. All western martyrologies derive ultimately from the so-called *Martyrologium*

[7] R. Stanton, *A Menology of England and Wales; or, Brief Memorials of the Ancient British and English Saints* (London, 1887).

[8] *English Benedictine Kalendars after 1100*, ed. F. Wormald, 2 vols., HBS lxxvii, lxxxi (London, 1939–46).

[9] Nigel Morgan has in hand an edition for the Henry Bradshaw Society of calendars from Benedictine houses beginning with the letters O–Z; his edition will be based on some thirty-five manuscripts and will complete the project undertaken by Wormald in 1939. A fourth volume of indexes is also in preparation.

[10] With the exception of nos. 21 and 25—calendars representing the secular uses of Sarum and York—the houses in question are Benedictine.

[11] Among the exceptions, those of Deeping and St Neots are perhaps surprising: Deeping was a cell of Thorney which, like St Neots, had been refounded by Bishop Æthelwold, and one might expect that their calendars would reflect Winchester use.

[12] On the nature and function of the martyrology, see briefly Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 165–6, and, in greater detail, H. Leclercq, 'Martyrologe', *DACL* x (1912), cols. 2523–619, and Dubois and Lemaitre, *Sources et méthodes*, pp. 103–34.

[13] B. de Gaiffier, 'De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrologe. Témoignages antérieurs au XIe siècle', *AB* lxxix (1961), 40–59, and (briefly), Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 162–4.

TABLE 2

Entries for St Swithun in calendars post 1100

	Dep.	Trans.
1. Abbotsbury	x	x
2. Abingdon	x	x
3. St Albans	x	–
4. Canterbury, St Augustine's	x	–
5. Canterbury, Christ Church	x	–
6. Chertsey	x	x
7. Chester	–	–
8. Crowland	x	–
9. Deeping	–	–
10. Dunster (Somerset)	x	–
11. Durham	x	x
12. Ely	x	x
13. Evesham	x	–
14. Gloucester	–	–
15. Westminster	x	x
16. Malmesbury	x	x
17. Muchelney	x	x
18. St Neots	–	–
19. Ramsey	x	–
20. Reading	x	–
21. Salisbury (Sarum use)	x	x
22. Tewkesbury	x	x
23. Winchcombe	x	x
24. Winchester[14]	x	x
25. York (secular)	x	x

Hieronymianum, a compilation (having, in spite of its title, nothing to do with Jerome) which was made some time in the mid-fifth century, perhaps at Aquileia.[15] The individual entries in this work are telegraphic in the extreme, giving simply date, name of martyr and place of martyrdom. Bede was the first western scholar to compile what is called a 'historical martyrology', a text in which he supplied for each of 114 feasts a brief (usually one-paragraph) synopsis, drawn from *passiones* and *vitae*, of the saint(s) in question.[16] Bede's work served as the source and model for later compilers of martyrologies (notably Hrabanus, Florus of Lyon and Ado of Vienne), but the martyrology which

[14] The Winchester calendar on which this entry is based is that found in the 'Psalter of Henry of Blois' (London, BL, Cotton Nero C. iv, of mid-twelfth-century date), which was the personal book of Bishop Henry (1129–71); ed. F. Wormald, *The Winchester Psalter* (London, 1973).

[15] J. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, xxvi (Turnhout, 1978, with *Mise à jour*, 1985), pp. 29–37.

[16] See H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1908), pp. 17–119. Bede's *Martyrologium* does not, unfortunately, survive intact in the form in which he left it. The earliest surviving manuscript (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 451) is complete only for the months January–July; entries for the remainder of the year need to be supplied from later (and inevitably interpolated) manuscripts. See J. Dubois and G. Renaud, *Edition pratique du martyrologe de Bède, de l'Anonyme lyonnais et de Florus* (Paris, 1976).

proved decisive for the form and content of all later medieval martyrologies was that of Usuard (d. 877), a monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris.[17]

The earliest English manuscript of the *Martyrologium* of Usuard is in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57 (Abingdon, s. x/xi),[18] a chapter-book containing, in addition to Usuard (fos. 41r–94r), copies of the *Regula S. Benedicti* and the *Diadema monachorum* of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel.[19] In this manuscript, the text of Usuard has been supplemented by additions and marginal annotations, in various eleventh-century hands, mostly pertaining to saints of English origin or culted in England, or recording obits of (primarily) Abingdon monks. Among the additions are brief notes for the commemoration of St Swithun on the feast of the deposition (fo. 66v: 'et depositio S. Spiþuni episcopi et confessoris') and of the translation (fo. 68v: 'eodem die translatio S. Spiðuni episcopi et confessoris').[20] A similar kind of annotation is found in another augmented Usuard, dating from a century or so later than the Cambridge manuscript, namely Durham, Cathedral Library, B. IV. 24, a manuscript written and annotated in the 1090s by the Durham precentor, Symeon.[21] Among the additions are two commemorations for St Swithun, one for the feast of the deposition on 2 July ('In Brittannia ciuitate Wintoniae depositio sancti Suithuni episcopi et confessoris'), the other for the translation ('et translatio beati Suithuni episcopi').[22] No doubt many monastic foundations had similarly annotated copies of Usuard in the later Anglo-Saxon period.[23]

For the period after 1100, substantial numbers of martyrologies survive,[24] and entries for St Swithun normally took on a somewhat more developed form than those in the Cambridge and Durham manuscripts, as will be clear from the following list. In this list I give entries from such post-1100 martyrologies as are known to me;[25] the order is alphabetical, by name of religious house, and the dates given are based on palaeographical consideration of the manuscripts in question.

[17] See, briefly, Dubois, *Les martyrologes*, pp. 45–56, and, for an edition and full discussion, J. Dubois, *Le martyrologe d'Usuard. Texte et commentaire*, Subsidia hagiographica, xl (Brussels, 1965), as well as the articles reptd in J. Dubois, *Martyrologes: d'Usuard au Martyrologe romain* (Abbéville, 1990), pp. 43–149.

[18] See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 46–7 (no. 34), and Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 153–4.

[19] On the form and development of the chapter-book, used for reading at morning chapter, see briefly Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 163–4, and the important article of J.-L. Lemaitre, '*Liber capituli*: Le livre du chapitre, des origines au XVIe siècle: L'exemple français', in *Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Schmid and J. Wollasch, Münstersche Mittelalter Schriften, xlviii (Münster, 1984), pp. 625–48.

[20] See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912), i. 117, and esp. T. Graham, 'Cambridge Corpus Christi College 57 and its Anglo-Saxon users', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. P. Pulsiano and E. M. Treharne (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 21–69.

[21] For the identification of Symeon as the scribe of the martyrology in Durham B. IV. 24, see M. Gullick, 'The scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B. IV. 24) and the Durham martyrology scribe', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 93–109, and idem, 'The hand of Symeon of Durham: further observations on the Durham martyrology scribe', in *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D. Rollason (Stamford, 1998), pp. 14–31.

[22] The text and additions are discussed in detail by A. J. Piper, 'The Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B. IV. 24)', in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. Rollason *et al.*, pp. 79–92; the entries for St Swithun are ptd at p. 91.

[23] There is a fragmentary English copy of Usuard's *Martyrologium* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (Exeter, s. xi$^{3/4}$), pp. 270–1; but this contains only Usuard's dedicatory letter to Charles the Bald and part of the preface (ed. Dubois, *Le martyrologe d'Usuard*, pp. 144, 146). Another English copy of Usuard dating from *c.*1100 and containing local additions is London, BL, Cotton Vitellius C. xii, fos. 114–56 (on the date of the manuscript, see R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c.1066–1130)* (Oxford, 1999), no. 422). The additions point unambiguously to St Augustine's, Canterbury (e.g. fo. 130v, for 26 May: 'In Brittannia ciuitate Dorobernie natale sanctissimi ac beatissimi patroni nostri AVGVSTINI Anglorum apostoli'; etc.), and include no commemorations for St Swithun, or indeed for any Winchester saint.

[24] Stanton, *A Menology*, presented the results of collation of some eighteen post-1100 martyrologies.

[25] Much information can be gleaned from S. J. P. Van Dijk, 'Handlist of the Latin liturgical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford', 7 vols. in 8 (unpubl. typescript: Bodleian Library Eng. liturg. d. 8); I have also had the benefit of notes on English martyrologies compiled by D. J. Sheerin in the early 1970s.

1. Bermondsey, Surrey, s. xv[1] [Cluniac] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A. 371 (S.C. 15450)) [2 July]: 'Ciuitate Wyntonie deposicio sancti presulis et eximii sacerdotis Dei Swithuni mirifice sanctitatis uiri' (fo. 38v); [15 July]: 'Item ipsa die de ciuitate Wenta translacio sancti Swithuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 42r).

2. Bury St Edmunds, church of St Mary, s. xv[2] [secular] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson liturg. e. 42 (S.C. 15845) [2 July]: 'Apud Occidentales Saxones ciuitate Wyntonia deposicio sancti patris nostri et eximii sacerdotis Dei Swythuni mirifice sanctitatis uiri' (fo. 44v); [15 July]: 'Idem ipso die ciuitate Wenta translacio sancti Swythuni episcopi' (fo. 47r).

3. Canterbury, Christ Church, s. xii (London, BL, Royal 7. E. VI)[26] [2 July]: 'In Anglica ciuitate Þentonie sancti Spithuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 37v).

4. Canterbury, Christ Church, s. xiv[med] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough 4 (S.C. 18339)) [2 July]: 'Ciuitate Wyntonie deposicio sancti Swithuni episcopi cuius merita usque hodie choruscant miraculis' (fo. 21v); [15 July]: 'Apud Wyntoniam translacio sancti Swythuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 24v).

5. Canterbury, Christ Church, s. xiv/xv (London, BL, Arundel 68)[27] [2 July]: 'In Anglia ciuitate Wentonie sancti Swithuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 104v).

6. Evesham, s. xii (London, Cotton Vitellius E. xii, fos. 1–54)[28] [2 July]: 'Eodem die depositio sancti Swiðuni' (fo. 28r).

7. Faversham, Kent, s. xiv/xv [Cluniac] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jones 9 (S.C. 8916)[29] [3 July (*sic*)]: 'Apud Occidentales Saxones ciuitate Wyntonia beatissimi Swythuni episcopi et confessoris, cuius merita usque hodie miraculis choruscant' (fo. 41r); [15 July]: 'Eodem die translacio sancti Swithuni episcopi' (fo. 42r).

8. Gloucester or S.W. England, s. xiii[1] (London, BL, Royal 12. A. XIII)[30] [2 July]: 'Apud Occidentales Saxones ciuitate Wintonia deposicio sancti Swithuni episcopi et confessoris cuius merita usque hodie miraculis coruscant' (fo. 26r); [15 July]: 'Et translacio sancti Swithuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 28r).

9. Hereford Cathedral, s. xiv[med] [secular] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 328 (S.C. 11667))[31] [2 July]: 'Apud gentem Anglorum ciuitate Wentana depositio sancti Swithuni eiusdem urbis episcopi, quem cum Christo uiuere miracula gloriosa testantur' (fo. 81v).

10. Norwich, s. xiv[1] (London, BL, Lansdowne 366) [2 July]: 'Britannie ciuitate Wintonie deposicio sancti Swithuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 56r); [15 July]: 'Ipso die apud Wintoniam translacio sancti Swithuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 56v).

11. Norwich, s. xiv/xv (London, BL, Cotton Julius B. vii) [2 July]: 'Eodem die in Britannia ciuitate Wyntonia deposicio beati Swithuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 34r); [15 July]: 'Ipso

[26] *Royal Catalogue*, i. 196; Ker, *MLGB*, p. 37.

[27] *The Martiloge in Englysshe after the Use of the Chirch of Salisbury and as it is redde in Syon*, ed. F. Procter and E. S. Dewick, HBS iii (London, 1893), pp. 287–91, and Ker, *MLGB*, p. 35.

[28] Ker, *MLGB*, p. 35.

[29] Ibid. p. 87.

[30] *Royal Catalogue*, i. 31.

[31] Ker, *MLGB*, p. 99.

die apud Wyntoniam translacio sancti Swithuni episcopi et confessoris sociorumque eius'[32] (fo. 36r).

12. Shrewsbury, St Chad's, s. xii^{2} [secular] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D. 1225 (S.C. 13957))[33] [2 July]: 'In Anglica ciuitate Wentonie sancti Swithuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 76r); [15 July]: 'Translatio sancti Swithuni episcopi cuius sanctitas insignia sepulchrum pandit per mirabilia' (fo. 80r).

13. Syon Monastery, Middx., s. xv (London, BL, Add. 22285)[34] [2 July]: 'Apud Occidentales Saxones ciuitate Wintonia deposicio sancti presulis et eximii sacerdotis Domini Swithuni mirifice sanctitatis uiri, cuius post sacratissimi corporis reuelacionem innumerabilia sanitatum beneficia mortalibus utriusque sexus celitus ac mirabiliter collata, non solum ad sepulchrum ipsius honorabile, uerum eciam in diuersis Anglorum prouinciis insigniter patrata celeberrime claruerunt' (fo. 133v); [15 July]: 'Item translacio sancti Swythuni episcopi cuius sanctitatis insignia sepulchrum pandit per miracula' (fo. 137v).[35]

14. Windsor, Royal Collegiate Chapel of St George, s. xiv^{2} [secular] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 821 (S.C. 2701)[36] [2 July]: 'Britannie sancti Swithuni episcopi et confessoris' (fo. 19r); [15 July]: 'Et translacio sancti Swythuni episcopi' (fo. 20v).

15. Winteney Priory, Hants., s. xiii^{in} (London, BL, Cotton Claudius D. iii)[37] [2 July]: 'Ciuitate Wintonia sancti Suuithuni episcopi' (fo. 26v).

16. English [unattributed], s. xv^{1} [secular] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 731 (S.C. 2694) [2 July]: 'Apud Occidentales Saxones ciuitate Wenta deposicio sancti patris et eximii sacerdotis Dei Swithuni mirifice sanctitatis uiri' (fo. 32v); [15 July]: 'Item ipsa die ciuitate Wenta translacio sancti Swithuni episcopi' (fo. 35r).

It will be seen that, amidst this apparent variety, there are only two or three basic types of martyrology entry. One type has the opening phrase, 'Apud Occidentales Saxones ciuitate Wenta / Wintonia', followed by Swithun's name and ecclesiastical grade in the genitive, and completed by the phrase 'mirifice sanctitatis uiri' (nos. 2, 13, 16; no. 1 is also of this type, but has omitted the opening phrase 'Apud Occidentales Saxones'). Another (related) type has the opening phrase 'Apud Occidentales Saxones' once again, but is completed by the phrase, 'cuius merita usque hodie miraculis coruscant' (nos. 7, 8; no. 4 is also of this type, but has omitted the opening phrase 'Apud Occidentales Saxones'). A third type begins with the word *Britannie* in the genitive (nos. 10, 14; no. 11 is a simple variant).[38] Both types of formulation—the Roman province given in the genitive or

[32] St Swithun had no companions. This mistaken notice apparently derives from a Sarum Missal (see below, p. 85 with n. 42).

[33] Ker, *MLGB*, p. 179.

[34] *The Martiloge*, ed. Procter and Dewick, pp. xxv-xxvii, and Ker, *MLGB*, p. 185.

[35] The Latin text of the Syon martyrology (similar if not identical to what is preserved in Add. 22285) was translated into English for the benefit of the community of Brigittine nuns at Syon by Richard Whitford (*c.*1495–1555), and it is his translation which is edited by Procter and Dewick in *The Martiloge*. Whitford's translations of the entries for St Swithun are as follows: [2 July]: 'In Englonde at Wynchester ye deposicyon of saynt Swythune a preest of high perfeccyon whose holy body was founde by reuelacyon 7 therby many people cured 7 grete myracles done not only there but also in dyuerse partes of Englonde' (p. 104); [15 July]: 'The translacion also of saynt Swythune a bysshop of synguler vertue 7 many miracles whiche dayly ben showed at his tombe' (p. 111).

[36] Ker, *MLGB*, p. 204.

[37] Ibid.

[38] This is the also the formulation used in the entry for Swithun's deposition in the addition to the martyrology in Durham B. IV. 24, discussed above.

the name of a people or province preceded by *apud* and given in the accusative—are found in Usuard. It is unfortunately not possible to draw any conclusions concerning the relative chronology of the types of formulation, but it would be reasonable to assume that a formulation concerning West Saxons (*Occidentales Saxones*) was drafted before the Norman Conquest.

Mention should also be made of a somewhat different kind of martyrology entry, namely that found in a thirteenth-century metrical calendar. Although various metrical calendars were composed during the Anglo-Saxon period—indeed the form is evidently an Anglo-Saxon invention—none of them contains an entry for Swithun.[39] However, there is a much later essay in the genre preserved in the so-called 'Pembroke Hours', now Philadelphia, Museum of Art, 45-65-2, with the metrical calendar at fos. 21r–26v.[40] The manuscript is a lavishly decorated product of the mid-fifteenth century, but the metrical calendar itself must date from approximately two centuries earlier, to judge from liturgical evidence (it commemorates St Richard de Wych, who was canonized in 1262, but does not commemorate either St Thomas of Hales (d. 1295) or St Thomas of Hereford, who was canonized in 1320), which points to a date of composition in the second half of the thirteenth century; and this dating is corroborated by the complex schemes of leonine rhyme in the poem, including *versus collaterales* and *versus cruciferi*.[41] The poem is unprinted; its commemoration of St Swithun is as follows:

> Corporis ac anime pro sancti laude Swithuni
> Tela, Iesu, reprime, precor et nos undique muni.[42]

O Jesu, suppress the weapons afflicting our body and soul, in return for our praise of St Swithun and, I pray, fortify us in every respect.

The position of these verses in the sequence of commemorations for July indicates that they were intended for the feast of the translation; note that in this couplet the collateral rhyme falls both at the caesura (*anime / reprime*) and in the final foot (*Swithuni / muni*). Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to determine where in England this metrical calendar was composed.

A final kind of liturgical commemoration provides valuable evidence of the extent of St Swithun's cult, namely the litany of the saints.[43] This liturgical form consisted of a series of petitions (*Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*), then invocations to the persons of the Trinity and the Trinity itself, then a sequence—which could be extended or abbreviated as the situation required—of individual invocations to the Virgin Mary, archangels, patriarchs, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins, each invocation being coupled with the petition *Sancte .N., ora pro nobis*. A litany of the saints might be recited as a private devotion (and hence be contained in private prayerbooks) or might be used in public liturgy to accompany solemn processions, for example at the dedication of a church (whence they are preserved in manuscript pontificals), but they also formed part of the devotions following the monastic Office of Sext but preceding the principal mass of the day (hence they are also found in psalters and breviaries); variant and breviate forms were also used as part of the services for the ordination of a monk and for visitation of the sick and dying. Given this breadth of usage, litanies of

[39] See M. Lapidge, 'A tenth-century metrical calendar from Ramsey', *RB* xciv (1984), 326–69, repr. in Lapidge, *ALL* ii. 343–86.

[40] I am grateful to James Marrow for drawing this metrical calendar to my attention and supplying me with excellent photographs of the relevant folios.

[41] On these types of rhyming hexameter, see A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 319–20.

[42] 'Pembroke Hours', fo. 24r.

[43] On the origins and development of this liturgical form, see Lapidge, *ASxLitanies*, pp. 1–61.

the saints can provide a valuable index to the popularity of a particular saint, in both public and private worship. From the later Anglo-Saxon church (the period from *c.*960 to *c.*1100), some sixty litanies of the saints survive (with two or three often being contained in a single manuscript). St Swithun is commemorated in some twenty of these.[44] (No litany written before 971 has a commemoration for St Swithun.) In only one of these litanies is Swithun accorded special veneration (either by repetition of his name, or by the name being written in capitals, or in gold), namely Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 173, a manuscript written at Winchester itself.[45] Given that a number of the Anglo-Saxon litanies are of a highly abbreviated nature, containing few petitions to saints other than the apostles, that others of them were written on the Continent, and that only one of them was written in Winchester (the aforementioned manuscript now in Worcester), the fact that Swithun is petitioned in twenty litanies—that is, in a third of those which survive—is a very respectable showing,[46] and indicates that by 1100 his name was frequently on the lips of those performing public liturgy and private devotions.

For the period after 1100, the picture is less clear, for the simple reason that so very few litanies from post-Conquest and late medieval English manuscripts have been printed.[47] One unprinted litany from Winchester, however, deserves particular consideration: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 2. 6 (S.C. 3636), is a choir psalter from St Swithun's (the former Old Minster), Winchester, dating from the late twelfth century.[48] Following the usual monastic canticles is a litany on fos. 150v–153r, in which the list of confessors is brought to a conclusion by the following petitions to Winchester (Old Minster) saints: 'Birine .ii., Hedda, Suuithune .ii., Byrstane [bishop of Winchester, 931–4], Ælphege [Ælfheah 'the Bald', bishop of Winchester, 934–51; Archbishop Ælfheah (bishop of Winchester, 984–1006) is commemorated among the martyrs], Ætheluuolde' (fo. 151v). It will be noted that it is SS Birinus and Swithun who are particularly venerated with repeated petitions. This litany reflects the cult of saints at Winchester itself; the situation will have differed elsewhere in England at this time. Random collation of manuscript litanies suggests that the pattern which obtained during the last days of the Anglo-Saxon church continued in the period after 1100: namely that Swithun was an extremely popular native saint, though, in comparison (after 1170) with St Thomas Becket, he could not fairly be described as *the* most popular.

Relics

When St Swithun's tomb was opened by Bishop Æthelwold on 15 July 971, such remains of his corpse as survived after 108 years were removed and placed in a shrine within the Old Minster. In the first instance these relics were probably housed in a temporary shrine of some sort (a simple box, of wood or ivory?), kept within a locked sanctuary and watched over closely by the sacristan;

[44] Lapidge, *ASxLitanies*, nos. L95, II.i.51, VI.81, VIII.i.65, VIII.ii.53, IX.i.104, XII.89, XIII.81, XVI.i.66, XVI.ii.208, XXII.i.103, XXIII.246, XXIV.176, XXXII.96, XXXVI.76, XXXIX.76, XLII.i.32, XLIII.87, XLV.79, XLVI.43.

[45] Ibid. no. XLVI.

[46] Some figures for comparison: Ælfheah (16×), Æthelthryth (26×), Alban (18×), Birinus (15×), Cuthbert (26×), Dunstan (20×), Edmund king and martyr (19×), Guthlac (20×), and Kenelm (14×). On this criterion alone, one would be obliged to conclude that Æthelthryth and Cuthbert were the two most popular Anglo-Saxon saints, closely followed by Dunstan, Guthlac and Swithun.

[47] A volume of post-Conquest Benedictine litanies of the saints is in preparation for the Henry Bradshaw Society by Nigel Morgan, based on some eighty-seven manuscripts from thirty-three ecclesiastical centres.

[48] See Van Dijk, 'Handlist of the Latin liturgical manuscripts', ii. 11. The manuscript is composite; the Winchester choir psalter occupies the present fos. 9–155, and is preceded by a calendar (fos. 1–8) of similar date but distinct (non-Winchester) origin.

immediate public access to the shrine was prevented by means of a barrier of some sort.[49] Within a short space of time—three years at the most, but perhaps only a few months—King Edgar, presumably at the prompting of Æthelwold, made available 300 pounds of gold, silver and rubies in order to fashion a lavish reliquary. This reliquary is described in detail by the precentor Wulfstan (*Narratio* ii. 1–77), who also notes that Swithun's relics were translated into it on 8 October of a year not specified, but which fell between 971 and 974.[50] Throughout the Middle Ages this reliquary housed Swithun's remains.[51] Evidence suggests that the reliquary (and hence the principal shrine) was located in the retrochoir behind the high altar; but a second site was marked by a tomb shrine located north of the west end of the nave at the presumed location of Swithun's original tomb. [52] In any case Edgar's reliquary was known in late medieval sources as the 'Old Reliquary', and may be depicted in a late twelfth-century wallpainting in the present cathedral.[53] Following the death in 1447 of Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester (1405–47), this 'Old Reliquary' was melted down;[54] the relics were temporarily housed in an ivory reliquary until such time as a more imposing gold and silver reliquary could be constructed. When the new reliquary was finally completed in 1476, the new site of St Swithun's relics was inaugurated by a formal liturgical procession which took place on the feast of St Swithun's translation, 15 July, in that same year. There is a detailed description of this great procession in the archiepiscopal register of Cardinal John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury (1486–1500), who had previously been Master of the Rolls under Edward IV and archdeacon of Winchester from 1474.

Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo sexto, mensis vero Iulii die quartodecimo, qui est vigilia translationis sancti Swythini episcopi et confessoris, ante primas vesperas eiusdem festi, quidam de confratribus ecclesiae cathedralis Wintoniensis quandam cistam eburneam pallio decenter coopertam, in qua beati Swythini reliquiae recondebantur a sacrista, ubi fere per viginti annos dictae pretiosae reliquiae pausabant, deportantes, magna cum reverentia super magnum altare collocarunt; postea vero absque magno intervallo reverendus pater praefatae ecclesiae antistes, in sua sede aderat, ac officium vesperum devote executus est; quibus et matutinis etiam, ut quidam de confratribus retulerunt, ante noctis tenebras, secundum morem ecclesiasticum solenniter decantatis, eiusdem ecclesiae confratres, praeter duos aut tres in excubiis circa reliquias vigilantes, quieti se dederint. In die vero sequenti hora congrua convenerunt in choro dictae ecclesiae ad solennem processionem faciendam episcopi Wintoniensis et Cicestrensis, ac suffraganeus episcopi Wintoniensis, qui adtunc erat; etiam prior domus canonicorum regularium de Mottesham, abbas de Hida

[49] Our knowledge of this first phase of Swithun's shrine derives from Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 20, who speaks of 'the sanctuary in which the renowned body lay' (*sacello . . . quo quiescebat preclue corpusculum*) and of 'the sanctuary which was kept under lock and key by the sacrists' (*in sacello . . . quod obseratum claue a custodibus*); see below, p. 302.

[50] The outer dating terminus is supplied by the death of King Edgar on 8 July 975. A date in either 971 or 972 is probably ruled out by the fact that Lantfred in his *Translatio* makes no mention of King Edgar's lavish reliquary; see below, pp. 237, 302.

[51] There is full discussion of the location of St Swithun's relics within the cathedral itself by John Crook, 'The architectural setting of the cult of St Swithun in Winchester Cathedral, 1093–1538', in WS 4.i, Part IX, and (briefly), idem, 'St Swithun at Winchester', in *Winchester Cathedral*, ed. Crook, pp. 57–68. See also the brief discussion of M. Spurrell, 'The promotion and demotion of whole relics', *AntJ* lxxx (2000), 67–85, at pp. 73–4.

[52] On the appearance of this tomb shrine, some fragments of which survive, see J. Crook, 'The typology of early medieval shrines—a previously misidentified "tomb-shrine" panel from Winchester Cathedral', *AntJ* lxx (1990), 49–64, qualifying the earlier discussion by J. D. LeCouteur and D. H. H. Carter, 'Notes on the shrine of St Swithun, formerly in Winchester Cathedral', *AntJ* iv (1924), 360–70. See also P. Tudor-Craig and L. Keen, 'A recently discovered Purbeck marble sculptured screen of the thirteenth century and the shrine of St Swithun', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Transactions, vi (1983), 63–72.

[53] See J. Crook, 'King Edgar's reliquary of St Swithun', *ASE* xxi (1992), 177–202 (with pls.).

[54] When melted down, the 'Old Reliquary' is said to have yielded 47 lb. 7 1/4 oz. of silver: see Crook, 'St Swithun at Winchester', p. 64.

iuxta Wintoniam, et prior conventualis ecclesiae Wintoniensis, pontificalibus induti; monachique et ministri praefatae ecclesiae, albis et cappis secundum formam in tanta solennitate consuetam vestiti. Qui gradatim in ordine debito constituti, abbas de Hida et prior ecclesiae Wintoniensis ad magnum altare accedentes, praefatam cistam eburneam cum gloriosis reliquiis, ut praefertur, pallio coopertam, et super quodam feretro portatili positam, suis humeris imposuerunt; et omnes more processionali ecclesiam exeuntes, maiorem partem civitatis devote circuierunt, et in medio chori processionalis, dicti abbas praecedens et prior subsequens huiusmodi reliquias honorifice baiulabant; ex uno latere nobili viro domino Willielmo Downley, comite de Arundell, et ex altero latere, ut quidam asseruerunt, domino de Storton incedentibus, ac praefatam cistam super humeris deportantibus. Interfuit denique magna procerum caterva, et populi quasi innumerabilis multitudo, quae processionem sequebatur. Antistes Wintoniensis missam celebrabat. Lecto evangelio et offertorio finito, episcopus Cicestrensis sermonem habuit ad populum in vulgari. Post missam finitam praelati pontificalibus induti, pretiosas reliquias ab altari devotissime accipientes, ad locum ubi iam requiescunt cum magno gaudio vocis, iubilo organorum uno ac diversorum generum musicorum, et instrumentorum modulamine detulerunt; et modo processionali pervenientes ad locum, ubi tumba marmorea gloriosi sancti constituitur, super quam capsa argentea et deaurata perprius fuerat collocata; de praelatis, qui commode poterant, scalam ligneam ab humo usque ad capsam extendentem ex parte orientali ascenderunt; et in summo existentes episcopus Wintoniensis et prior ibidem, cistam cum gloriosis reliquiis in capsam per quoddam ostium ob hanc causam in parte orientali eiusdem capsae apertum, intromiserunt. Deinde episcopus Wintoniensis in capsam introivit, et cum magna devotione osculatus exiit; sicque alii praelati, unus post alium, et quidam magnates fecerunt. Quibus peractis, clausum est ostium, et scala removebatur, fusisque ad Deum et eius sanctum gloriosum beatum Swythinum precibus, qui aderant recesserunt.[55]

On the vigil of the feast of the translation of the relics of St Swithun, bishop and confessor, some of the monks of the cathedral church of Winchester took from the sacristy, where it had rested for almost twenty years, an ivory reliquary covered attractively with a pall, in which rested the relics of St Swithun. They carried it with great reverence to the high altar, where they set it down. Shortly afterwards the bishop of Winchester [William Waynflete (1447–86)] celebrated First Vespers, and, as some of the brethren have stated, when Matins had also been sung before the dead of night, according to ecclesiastical custom the brethren rested, apart from two or three guarding the relics. The next day, at the appointed hour, they gathered at the choir and formed a solemn procession, which included the bishops of Winchester and Chichester [John Arundel (1459–77)], the suffragan of the bishop of Winchester [William Westbane, OSA, suffragan bishop of Winchester (1457–86)], the prior of Mottisfont [unidentifiable], the abbot of Hyde [Thomas Wirscetur (1471–80)] and the prior of Winchester [Thomas Hunton (1470–98)], clad in pontificals, and the monks and ministers of the church, vested in albs and copes according to the solemnity of the occasion. The abbot of Hyde and the prior of Winchester approached the high altar and took on their shoulders the aforementioned ivory reliquary with the glorious relics covered, as was mentioned, by a pall, and placed on a portable feretory; leaving the church, they processed around the greater part of the city, praising God. The reliquary was in the middle of the procession, with the abbot in front and the prior behind it, and on either side William Downley, earl of Arundel [William fitz Alan (1417–87; earl from 1438)] and Lord Storton, carrying it on their shoulders, and a huge crowd of people followed the procession. The bishop of Winchester celebrated mass, and after the gospel and offertory the bishop of Chichester preached in the vernacular. After mass the prelates, vested in pontificals, reverently lifted the relics from the high altar and bore them to their present resting place, to the accompaniment of singing and the music of the organ and other instruments, processing to the marble tomb constructed for the glorious saint, on which a

[55] D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols. (London, 1737), iii. 610–11; trans. in *The Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1486–1500*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society, lxxv, lxxviii (1987–91), i. 52–3 (no. 184). Note that I have corrected a number of errors of translation and supplied identifications, where possible, of the persons in question.

silver reliquary, decorated with gold, had been placed. Those prelates who were able climbed a ladder on the east side of the tomb up to the reliquary and the bishop and prior of Winchester placed the coffin with its glorious relics in the reliquary, through an opening made for that purpose. The bishop of Winchester then entered the reliquary, reverently kissed the relics and stepped out, and in turn the other prelates and certain magnates did the same. The opening was then sealed and the ladder removed, and when they had prayed to God and His glorious saint Swithun, those who were present departed.

It was this lavish shrine in the retrochoir which was subsequently demolished by Thomas Wriothesley and other Commissioners of Henry VIII on 21 September 1538; Wriothesley recorded that they dismantled it and, in order to discourage worshippers, undertook 'to sweep away al the rotten bones', so it would not be thought that they had come solely to acquire the precious metal![56] A modern monument in the shape of a metal hearse, constructed in 1962, marks the location in the retrochoir where St Swithun's shrine stood in the years between 1476 and 1538.

From very early on, and in spite of the fact that it housed the relics of many of its former bishops, the Old Minster became identified preeminently as the 'resting-place' of St Swithun, as is recorded in the early eleventh-century tract known as 'The Description of God's Saints who Formerly Rested in England' (*Secgan be þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*).[57] Pilgrims came to the Old Minster in ever-increasing numbers, and from ever-increasing distances, in hope of salvation and cure. As the fame of the saint's miraculous powers spread, other English churches wished to gain access to these powers: in other words, to have their own relics of St Swithun. It was customary for churches to acquire very substantial collections of relics, on the principle (presumably) that if one saint's intercessory powers failed, those of another might avail. But how was another church to acquire relics of St Swithun? As long as King Edgar's 'Old Reliquary' was closed and the tomb-shrine guarded by a sacristan, the relics would have remained intact. But there are several recorded instances where the reliquary was either damaged or opened for some other reason, and on such occasions it is not impossible that some bones would go missing. In 1093, on the completion of Bishop Walkelin's (present) cathedral, a procession of monks transported the reliquary of St Swithun from the Old Minster into the new building,[58] after which Walkelin gave the order to demolish the Old Minster.[59] In the mid-twelfth century, during the episcopacy of Henry of Blois (1129–71),[60] the relics of Swithun and other saints were translated within the

[56] Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii. 353. The shrine of St Swithun was considered to be worth 2,000 marks when it was demolished: see *Calendar of Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer *et al.*, 22 vols. (London, 1862–1932), xiii/2. 401–2. See also discussion by Keynes, *Liber uitae*, p. 46.

[57] See F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hannover, 1889), p. 15, with D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* vii (1978), 61–93, at p. 91, and *idem*, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 182.

[58] The move of St Swithun's relics in 1093 and the continuity of his grave site as a focus of the cult through the Middle Ages are discussed, with plans and photographs, in WS 4.i.

[59] *Ann. Wint.* s.a. 1093: 'ad festam vero sancti Swithuni, facta processione de novo monasterio ad vetus, tulerunt idem feretrum sancti Swithuni et in novo honorifice collocaverunt. Sequenti vero die, iussu domni Walkelini episcopi, coeperunt homines primum vetus frangere monasterium' (p. 37). Judging from context alone, *novum monasterium* in this entry must refer to the newly-built cathedral, and *vetus monasterium* to the Old Minster which it was built to replace; but in Winchester sources it is customary to use the term *Novum Monasterium* to refer to Edward the Elder's 'New' Minster, which must still have been standing in 1093 (and was presumably only demolished after its community moved to Hyde in 1110).

[60] Ibid. s.a. 1150: 'hoc anno translatae sunt reliquiae sanctorum confessorum Birini, Swithuni ... etc.' (p. 54). It is probable that this is the same translation referred to in a charter of 1158, to the effect that Bishop Henry 'raised up from an unseemly place the bodies of kings and bishops which were translated from the Old Minster into the new church and had them bestowed more honourably about the high altar' (Goodman, *Chartulary*, p. 3 (no. 4)); see also Crook, 'King Edgar's reliquary', pp. 199–200, and Y. Kusaba, 'The function, date and stylistic sources of the treasury of Henry of Blois in the south transept of Winchester Cathedral', *Winchester Cathedral Record*, lvii (1988), 38–49, at p. 42.

cathedral itself.[61] A century later, in 1241, the reliquary was broken open by the fall of a *flabellum* from the tower above the tomb-shrine.[62] Each of these occasions would have provided access to the saint's relics and, arguably, the pretext for their licit or illicit dispersal.

There may, of course, have been many such opportunities, and it is perhaps unnecessary to focus on the three recorded openings of the 'Old Reliquary' listed above. Relics were often carried in liturgical processions such as that which took place in 1476 (described above), and on such occasions they may have been temporarily transferred from King Edgar's heavy and lavish 'Old Reliquary' (before it was melted down following the death of Cardinal Beaufort in 1447) into a more portable reliquary, made of a lighter material such as ivory or wood. The transfer of the relics from the permanent metalwork shrine to a portable reliquary on such occasions could have provided opportunity for the dispersal of the saint's relics, licit or illicit.

It is clear in any event that relics of St Swithun were dispersed to other churches in England. The earliest recorded dispersal concerns Bishop Ælfheah, Æthelwold's successor at Winchester (984–1006), who was elevated to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1006. According to a tract by Eadmer of Canterbury entitled *De reliquiis S. Audoeni* [*BHL* no. 758] and dating from the late eleventh century,[63] Ælfheah, when moving from Winchester to Canterbury, took with him the head of St Swithun, which was duly housed in a reliquary near to the great altar dedicated to Christ the Saviour (Christ Church itself was so dedicated, and is often referred to in records as St Saviour's):

> Porro aliud altare congruo spatio antepositum praedicto altari, erat dedicatum in honorem Domini nostri Iesu Christi . . . In quo altari beatus Ælfegus caput sancti Suuithuni, quod ipse, a pontificatu Wintoniensi in archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem translatus, secum tulerat, cum multis aliorum sanctorum reliquiis solenniter reposuerat.[64]
>
> But another altar, placed a fitting distance in front of the aforementioned altar, was dedicated in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . In this altar the blessed Ælfheah solemnly placed the head of St Swithun, which he had brought with him when he was translated from the bishopric of Winchester to the archbishopric of Canterbury, along with the relics of many other saints.

[61] The deposition of the royal burials in the Old Minster, and specifically what happened to the relics of St Swithun and the other saints in the new Norman cathedral, are discussed by M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Danske kongegrave i Winchester: Knud den Store og hans familie', in *Danske Kongegrave*, ed. K. Kryger, Selskabet til udgivelse af danske Mindesmærker (Copenhagen, in press).

[62] *Ann. Wint.* s.a. 1241: 'feretrum sancti Swythuni fractum est flabello de turri cadente; reliquiae eiusdem sancti ostensae sunt .xvi. kal. Iunii' (p. 88). It is not precisely clear what *flabellum* (which normally means a 'fan') means in this context. *DMLBS* suggests 'fan', 'bellows' or 'clapper (of a bell)', but without reference to the present passage; of these three meanings, only the last is appropriate here. LeCouteur and Carter ('Notes on the shrine', p. 367) quote the passage in question and comment, '*flabellum*, whatever that unlucky contraption may have been'; Crook ('King Edgar's reliquary', p. 195) noted that *flabellum* is 'usually translated "weather-vane"', but it is not clear to me how a weather-vane could have fallen into the inside of the cathedral. See also discussion by John Crook in WS 4.i, Part IX, to the effect that the *flabellum* was a bell-clapper, and that the bells in question were suspended from the central lantern tower, then open to roof timbers; but Martin Biddle points out to me that there is no sign that the *feretrum* in the Norman cathedral was ever anywhere else than east of the high altar, i.e. at least 100 ft east of the tower. It is therefore impossible that it could have been damaged by the fall of an (iron) clapper from a bell suspended from the central lantern tower: either *flabellum* is not a clapper, or the tower in question was not the main tower, for there was no tower directly above the *feretrum*.

[63] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 104; the tract is ed. A. Wilmart, 'Edmeri Cantuariensis cantoris nova opuscula de sanctorum veneratione et obsecratione', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, xv (1935), 354–79, at pp. 362–70. The tract is preserved uniquely in CCCC 371 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xii[1]), pp. 441–51.

[64] Wilmart, 'Edmeri . . . opuscula', p. 365. Gervase of Canterbury (d. 1210) recycled the passage in his treatise *De combustione et reparatione Cantuariensis ecclesiae* (ed. W. Stubbs, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 2 vols., RS (London, 1879–80), i. 8). The passage is also ptd Lehmann-Brockhaus i. 176 (no. 658).

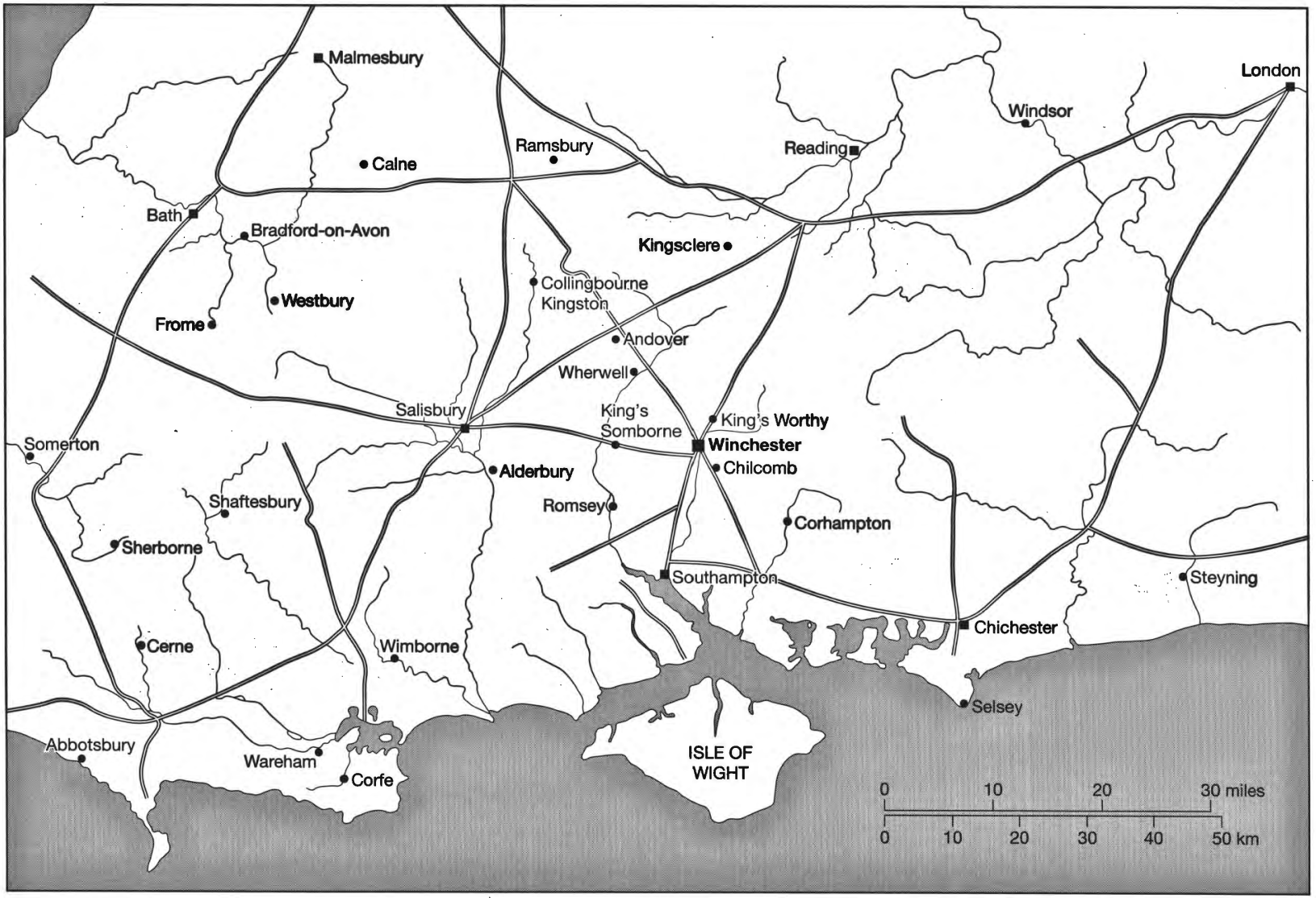


FIG. 1. Winchester and its environs

The circumstances in which Bishop Ælfheah availed himself of so precious a relic are not stated. It is hard to believe that Ælfheah had the permission of the monks of the Old Minster; if he did not, then his act must count as one of the great *furta sacra* of the English Middle Ages.[65]

By the twelfth century, many English churches claimed to possess relics of St Swithun, as may be seen from surviving relic-lists.[66] A relic of Swithun is recorded in some fourteen relic-lists; in what follows, I give first the church (in alphabetical order), then the date of the list, then the record itself.

1. Abingdon (1116): 'Costa sancti Suuithuni'.[67]
2. Bath (s. xii^2): '⟨De⟩ S. Swithuno'.[68]
3. Canterbury, Christ Church (1316): 'Corpus sancti Swithuni in cista super trabem ultra altare sancti Martini'.[69]
4. Glastonbury (s. xiii): 'In maiori et rotunda pixide eburnea, quam dedit Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, hec reliquiae continentur . . . Reliquiae de sancto Suthuno [*sic*]. De pulvere corporis eius. De vestimentis sepulturae eius. De ligno locello et de lapideo sarcophago eius. Dens unus eiusdem.'[70]
5. Glastonbury (*c.*1340): 'De vestimento et pulvere corporis sancti Swithuni episcopi'.[71]
6. Glastonbury (s. xiv): 'Diuerse reliquie de sancto Swithuno episcopo'.[72]
7. London, St Paul's (1295): 'una reliquia cristallina . . . in qua continentur reliquiae sanctorum Swithini [et aliorum]'.[73]
8. Meaux (*c.*1386): 'De casula sancti Swythuni in qua iacuit'.[74]
9. Peterborough (s. xii): 'Brachium s. Suithuni episcopi'.[75]

[65] See the important discussion of this frequent medieval phenomenon by P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ, 1991); his 'Handlist of Relic Thefts' (pp. 183–90) does not include the head of St Swithun. Similar shady circumstances may have attended the subsequent removal of St Swithun's head from Canterbury to Evreux in the late fourteenth century: see below, pp. 60–5.

[66] There is no complete collected edition of surviving English relic-lists, and several are as yet unprinted. There is an invaluable guide to these lists in I. G. Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics in medieval England' (unpubl. Ph. D. dissertation, London Univ., 1974), on which the present discussion relies heavily. I am grateful to Christopher Brooke for the extended loan of his copy of this dissertation, which was undertaken at his suggestion and completed under his supervision.

[67] *Chron. Abingdon*, ii. 158.

[68] *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, ed. W. Hunt, Somerset Record Society, vii (1893), p. lxxvi; repr. Lehmann-Brockhaus, i. 61 (no. 231).

[69] *Inventories of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. J. Wickham Legg and W. H. StJohn Hope (Westminster, 1902), p. 80. Of course Canterbury did not have the entire body (*corpus*) of St Swithun; presumably the reference here is to St Swithun's head: in which case it is interesting to note that by 1316 this important relic had not yet been taken to Evreux.

[70] *Iohannis Glastoniensis Chronica*, ed. T. Hearne, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1726), ii. 452.

[71] Ibid. i. 27; also ed. J. P. Carley, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 26.

[72] London, BL, Cotton Titus D. vii, fo. 4v; ed. J. P. Carley and M. Howley, 'Relics at Glastonbury in the fourteenth century: an annotated edition of British Library, Cotton Titus D. vii, fols. 2r–13v', in *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition*, ed. J. P. Carley (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 569–628, at 585.

[73] W. Dugdale, *History of St Paul's Cathedral*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1818), p. 337; repr. Lehmann-Brockhaus ii. 216 (no. 2951).

[74] London, BL, Cotton Vitellius C. vi, fo. 241v. The meaning of *casula* here is unfortunately ambiguous. It could possibly refer to the house-like tomb-structure, described by Lantfred (below, p. 268 n. 78), in which Swithun's remains were housed before the translation of 971 (this is the primary meaning of *casula*: see *DMLBS* s.v.; and cf. the Glastonbury entry above, 'de lapideo sarcophago eius'); the more likely interpretation, however, is that it refers to a contact relic taken from the cloak or chasuble (*casula*) in which Swithun's remains were buried.

[75] *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (London, 1949), p. 54; repr. Lehmann-Brockhaus ii. 334 (no. 3478).

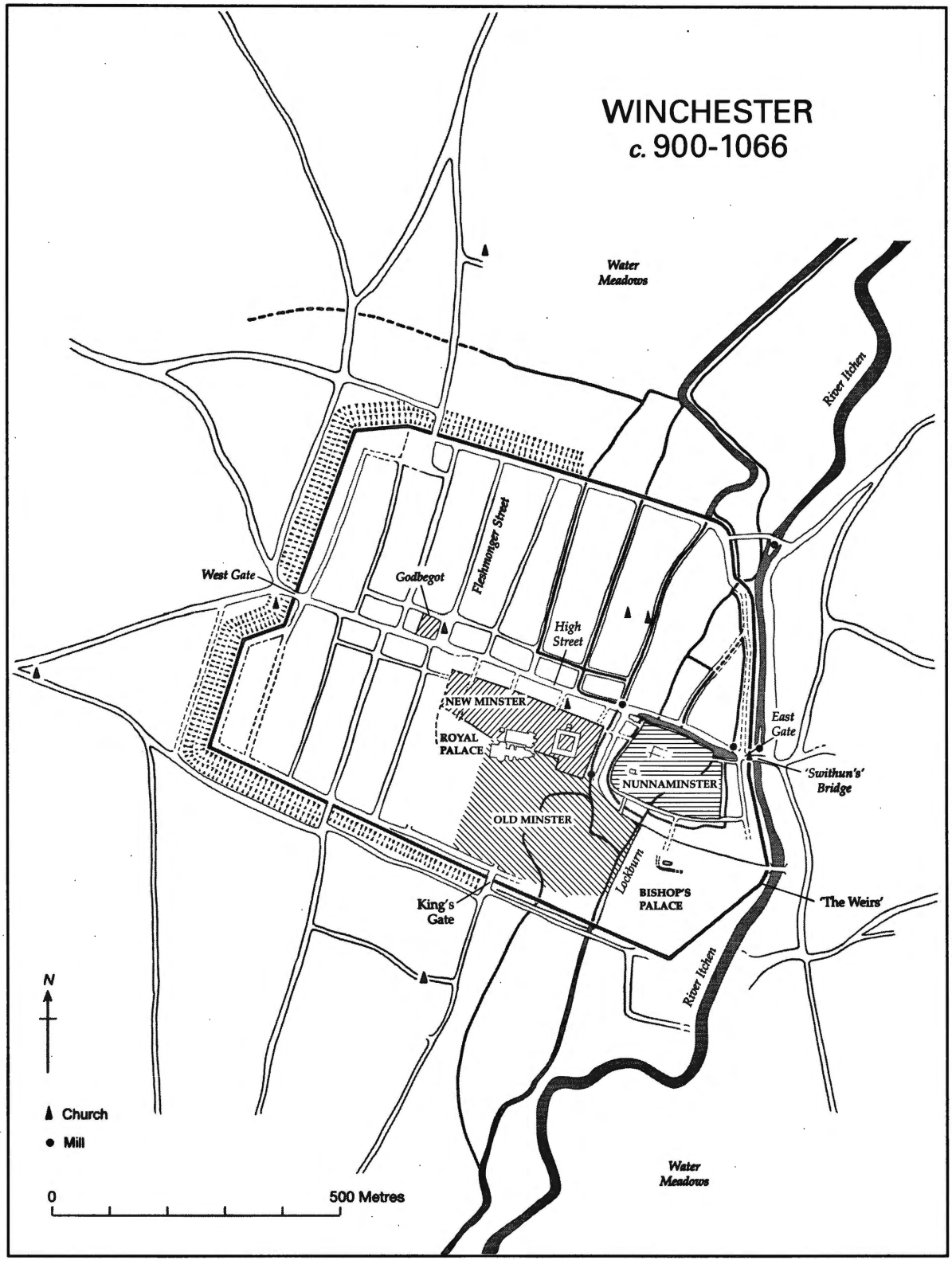


FIG. 2. Winchester in the tenth century

10. Reading (*c.*1200): 'De sancto Swithuno in duobus locis'.[76]

11. St Albans (s. xv): 'De sancto Swithuno'.[77]

12. Salisbury Cathedral (s. xv): 'A relike of Seint Suythune'.[78]

13. Waltham (s. xiii): 'De costa sancti Swithuni'; 'De digito S. Swithuni episcopi et confessoris'.[79]

14. Warwick, St Mary (1445): 'Reliquiae sanctorum Edw. regis, Swithini . . . sc. ossa eorum'.[80]

From this list it is clear that, by the fifteenth century, many of the major churches of England claimed to have a relic of St Swithun.[81] One wonders how many bones still remained in the 'Old Reliquary' at Winchester when it was melted down in 1451.

Church dedications

Another valuable index to the cult of St Swithun is the number of churches dedicated in his name. Not only in Winchester itself, but in many parts of England (particularly in the South) substantial numbers of dedications are recorded, even if in many cases the church which once bore the dedication no longer survives, or survives under a different dedication.

We may begin with Winchester Cathedral itself. The Old Minster, which was demolished in 1093 in order to make way for construction of the present cathedral,[82] was originally dedicated to SS Peter and Paul, as is clear from a number of pre-Conquest sources, not least Bede, who refers to the church *in Ventam ciuitatem* as the *ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli*.[83] The dedication is repeated in a number of eighth-century charters,[84] and is specified as such by Lantfred.[85] However, already during the pre-Conquest period the Old Minster acquired, by way of accretion, a further dedication to the Holy Trinity.[86] As part of this process of accretion, and as his cult began to develop from the late eleventh century onwards, the name of St Swithun was often added to those of the cathedral's other patrons.[87] From the mid-twelfth century onwards, however, St Swithun is usually

[76] London, BL, Egerton 3031, fo. 10v; on the Reading collection of relics, see D. Bethell, 'The making of a twelfth-century relic collection', *Studies in Church History*, viii (Cambridge, 1972), 61–72.

[77] *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols., RS (London, 1867–9), iii. 543.

[78] *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, ed. C. Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1901), p. 37.

[79] London, BL, Harley 3776, fos. 32r, 32v. The Waltham relic-list is preceded on fo. 31r-v by a poem consisting of seventy hexameters (inc. 'Hoc sacrum pondus sibi conseruauit Haroldus'; not listed in WIC) describing the relics in Waltham's possession, in which the following line occurs: 'sic ex Ambrosio, Swithuno, de Cyriaco' (line 12). The poem and relic-list are ed. and discussed by N. Rogers, 'The Waltham Abbey relic-list', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), pp. 157–81, with the entries for St Swithun at pp. 170, 172, 174; see also P. G. Schmidt, 'König Harold und die Reliquien von Waltham Abbey, Essex: Die Reliquienliste in B. L. MS Harley 3376', in *Anglo-Saxonica. Festschrift für Hans Schabram zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. R. Grinda and C.-D. Wetzel (Munich, 1993), pp. 75–90; the entries for St Swithun are found on pp. 77, 79, 81.

[80] W. Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 2 vols. (London, 1730), i. 433.

[81] And churches outside of England as well, such as Stavanger in Norway (see below, p. 56) and Evreux in France (see below, p. 60).

[82] *Ann. Wint.* s.a. 1093 (p. 37), quoted above, n. 59.

[83] *HE* iii. 7 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 232).

[84] S 254 = BCS 158, S 258 = BCS 179, S 384 = BCS 398, S 354 = BCS 565, S 444 = BCS 731, etc.

[85] *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, Praef.: 'basilica apostolorum Petri et Pauli' (below, p. 258).

[86] See A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 68, 92 (with discussion at p. 305). It is referred to solely as the 'old community of the Holy Trinity at Winchester' (*þæm ealdan hierede to sancte Trinitate*) in the will of Wulfgar, dated *c.* 931 (ibid. p. 52).

[87] See Binns, *Dedications*, p. 90, as well as discussion by Goodman, *Chartulary*, p. xlv. Basing himself on a series of royal charters from Edward the Confessor to Henry II, Goodman noted eleven dedications to St Peter alone, eight to St Swithun alone, five (all dating from the reign of Stephen) to SS Peter, Paul and Swithun, and three to SS Peter and Swithun (ibid.).

named as the sole patron.[88] The community of monks which served the cathedral comes to be referred to as the 'priory of St Swithun'.[89] The slow process by which Swithun eventually ousts the apostles from the dedication is a useful index of the growing prestige of his cult.[90]

Several of the numerous parish churches in Winchester itself were also dedicated solely to St Swithun. Like some other wealthy cities in late medieval England, notably Lincoln and Norwich, Winchester had a substantial number of parish churches, certainly well over fifty.[91] Among them are two, and perhaps three, churches which were dedicated to St Swithun.[92] Of these, the best attested is the chapel of St Swithun over King's Gate (see fig. 2), which is recorded in 1264,[93] and which is still substantially intact today.[94] A second church of St Swithun, located in Shulworth Street (*Sildwortenestret*) was attested from the thirteenth century, but had closed by *c.*1350.[95] A list of churches which were in ruin in 1452 includes one dedicated to St Swithun in Fleshmonger Street; but this church is not attested in any other source, and has possibly been confused with a better-attested church of St Martin on the same street.[96]

As St Swithun's fame spread, the geographical distribution of churches in his name widened. The earliest attested dedications are from churches which either had historical links with Winchester, or were in its diocese, or were situated on estates owned by Winchester. For example, we learn from the early thirteenth-century treatise *De abbatibus Abbendoniae* that Abbot Ingulf (1130–59) dedicated a chapel to St Swithun at Abingdon.[97] By the same token it is probably safe to assume that churches on Winchester estates, such as Patney, Compton Basset, Headbourne Worthy, Martyr Worthy, Nately Scures, and Little Hinton (Hinton Parva), bore their dedications to St Swithun from the twelfth century onwards.[98] But these churches raise the problem which in general bedevils study of the dedications of local parish churches lying outside major ecclesiastical centres: namely that, only in exceptional circumstances, do we have reliable and early documentary evidence for their existence. For example, we may be certain that the little parish church of Woodbury in Devon bore a dedication to St Swithun from no later than the end of the twelfth century, because it was acquired by the bishop of Exeter in 1205, and a later bishop of Exeter, John Grandisson (1327–69), included lections for St Swithun in his massive *Legenda sanctorum* precisely because Woodbury then belonged to Exeter.[99] In many other cases, however, such evidence is wholly lacking, and our knowledge of a dedication may date from no earlier than the sixteenth century. A record of many such dedications is

[88] See Goodman, *Chartulary*, nos. 8 (*c.*1150), 14 (1153 × 1171), 24 (1258), 26 (1171), 35 (1323), 36 (1319), 37 (1286), 39 (1293), etc.

[89] *Ann. Wint.* p. 101: 'conventum S. Swithuni'.

[90] See discussion in WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter I.1.iii, where the history of the changing dedication from the seventh century to the twentieth is set out in detail.

[91] Cf. WS i. 329–35 and WS ii. 106–36. The most complete medieval list from Winchester includes forty-seven churches, but a number of others are known from independent sources: see *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara Episcopi Wyntoniensis*, ed. C. Deedes, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society, xix, xxx (London, 1915–24), ii. 597–9, and Goodman, *Chartulary*, pp. lvi–lix.

[92] For the location of medieval churches in Winchester, see the excellent map in WS i, fig. 32.

[93] *Ann. Wint.*, p. 101: '4. Non. Maii [4 May 1264] Wyntonienses contra priorem et conventum S. Swithuni insurrexerunt, et portam prioratus et portam quae vocatur Kingate cum ecclesia S. Swythuni supra et universis aedificiis et redditibus prioris et conventus prope murum combusserunt.'

[94] WS ii. 113, 126 ('now substantially intact'), 135.

[95] WS ii. 117n., 135, and see fig. 8 in WS ii, where the church in question is no. 53.

[96] WS ii. 97, 117, 135n.

[97] *Chron. Abingdon*, ii. 291.

[98] For evidence that these estates pertained to St Swithun's, Winchester, see Goodman, *Chartulary*, nos. 2 (Patney: *c.*1137), 3 (Patney, Compton Bassett: 1171/2), 25 (Patney, Martyr Worthy: 1243), 42 (Patney: 1171/2), 45 (Patney: 1204/5), etc. See also the *Registrum Henrici Woodlock, Diocesis Wintoniensis A.D. 1305–1316*, ed. A. W. Goodman, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society, xliii–xliv (Oxford, 1940–1), i. 441–2 (Headbourne Worthy), i. 60, ii. 949 (Martyr Worthy), ii. 892 (Nately Scures), and *The Register of the Common Seal of the Priory of St Swithun, Winchester, 1345–1497*, Hampshire Record Series, ii (Winchester, 1978), nos. 24 (Patney; cf. p. 198 n. 3), 33 (Little Hinton), 61 (Little Hinton).

[99] See below, p. 109 with n. 125.

preserved in the *Valor ecclesiasticus*, the comprehensive record of church properties drawn up by Henry VIII's commissioners in 1536.[100] This massive work, comparable in many ways to the Domesday Surveys, was first published in the early eighteenth century (1711) by John Ecton. It then served as the basis for Ecton's own *Thesaurus rerum ecclesiasticarum*, the first edition of which appeared in 1742. The second edition of this work, revised by the antiquary Browne Willis and printed in 1754, is described on its title-page as 'an account of the valuations of all the ecclesiastical benefices in the several dioceses in England and Wales . . . to which are added the names of the patrons and dedications of the churches.'[101] Ecton's *Thesaurus* is therefore the starting-point for all study of church dedications in England; and because it is so largely based on the *Valor ecclesiasticus*, there is the presumption that a dedication recorded by Ecton will have been in existence before 1536, and may arguably therefore date from the Middle Ages. Using Ecton as his source, John Earle in 1861 compiled a list of forty-three dedications to St Swithun.[102] But it was not until the late nineteenth century that a comprehensive analysis of the church dedications in Ecton's *Thesaurus* was undertaken by Frances Arnold-Forster;[103] in her listings, any dedication deriving from Ecton is recorded as being 'ancient'. In the list which follows I mark with an asterisk the 'ancient' dedications to St Swithun as identified by Arnold-Forster or verifiable by other means (some fifty-five dedications are in question). The resulting list may then be augmented from the current list of dedications to St Swithun issued by the Council of Churches (some sixty-eight dedications); I mark these with an obelus. Thus churches marked with both asterisk and obelus bear 'ancient' dedications which have continued in use up to the present day; those bearing an obelus alone are presumably twentieth-century dedications. I have grouped the dedications by county (according to the county redistribution of 1974), rather than diocese and deanery (as they are listed by the Council of Churches), since the point of the list is to illustrate the geographical distribution of the cult of St Swithun (see fig. 3). Because many of the churches in question are or were in tiny villages, I also supply Ordnance Survey grid references. Episcopal sees in cities in which there was a church dedicated to St Swithun are given in capital letters, without grid reference.[104]

Avon: [105] *†Bathford (ST 7964)
Bedford: *†Sandy (TL 1749)
Berkshire: *†Wickham (SU 3971)
Buckingham: *†Swanbourne (SP 8027)
Cambridge: *†Great Chishill (TL 4239), *†Old Weston (TL 0977)[106]
Cheshire: *Swettenham (SJ 8067)

[100] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter, Record Commission, 6 vols. (London, 1810–34). For general orientation, see Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii. 241–54.

[101] J. Ecton, *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, 2nd edn. rev. B. Willis (London, 1754).

[102] *Gloucester Fragments*, pp. 87–8. Earle's list is not complete, and the spellings of many of the place-names he recorded directly from Ecton have inevitably changed during the succeeding 250 years.

[103] F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications, or England's Patron Saints*, 3 vols. (London, 1899); the results of her analysis are contained in the indispensable 'Index of Parishes', iii. 27–320.

[104] Martin Biddle meticulously analysed the following list, and he has generously made available to me the results of his further research on dedications to St Swithun, as well as the personal comments of various persons whom he consulted about present-day dedications.

[105] See E. H. Bates, 'Dedications of the churches of Somersetshire', *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, li. 2 (1905), 105–35, at p. 116 [Bathford].

[106] This dedication is mentioned in the fourteenth-century cartulary of Ramsey Abbey: 'ecclesia [*scil.* at Weston] est matrix ecclesia, et est constructa in honore sancti Swythuni' (ed. W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons, *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, 3 vols., RS (London, 1884–93), ii. 35).



FIG. 3. Churches dedicated to St Swithun

Cornwall: †Launcells (SS 2405)[107]

Derby: †Belper (SK 3447),[108] *†Holmesfield (SK 3277), *Twyford (SK 3228)

Devon:[109] *†Combe (SX 7250), *†Littleham (SS 4323), *†Pyworthy (SS3102), *†Sandford (SS 8202), †Shobrooke (SS 8601),[110] *†Woodbury (SY 0187)

Gloucester: *Brookethorpe (SO 8312), *†Hempsted (SO 8116), *†Quenington (SP 1404), *†Leonard Stanley (SO 8003)[111]

Hampshire: *†Headbourne Worthy (SU 4832),[112] *†Martyr Worthy (SU 5132), *†Nately Scures (SU 7052),[113] †Romsey [St Swithin Crampmore] (SU 3521),[114] *†WINCHESTER (4 dedications)

Hereford and Worcester: *†Ganarew (SO 5217), *†WORCESTER

Humberside: *†Sproatley (TA 1934)[115]

Isle of Wight: *St Cross (SZ 5288),[116] *†Thorley (SZ 3689)

Leicester: *†Great Dalby (SK 7414)

Lincoln:[117] *Asgarby (TF 3367), *†Baumber (TF 2274), *†Bicker (TF 2237), *†Leadenham (SK 9552), *†LINCOLN,[118] *†Long Bennington (SK 8344)

London, Greater: †Lewisham [St Swithin, Hither Green Lane] (TO 3775),[119] *†LONDON, †Purley (TQ 3161)

Norfolk: *†Ashmanhaugh (TG 3222), *†Bintree (TG 0123), *†Frettenham (TG 2417),[120] *†NORWICH

[107] According to Pevsner, Launcells is a medieval church, with St Swithun's Holy Well opposite. It was dedicated (16 Oct. 1321) to St Andrew, 'but the patron saint-ship is also claimed by S. Swithun': see J. Polsue, *Lake's Parochial History of the County of Cornwall*, 4 vols. (Truro, 1867–73), iii. 60. See also N. Orme, *English Church Dedications* (Exeter, 1996), p. 95, who observes that, 'since [1870] Swithun has appeared [as the result of] a conjecture from the parish feast day.'

[108] The church listed by the Council of Churches was founded in 1912 by a Mrs Hanson in memory of her husband, whose birthday happened to be 15 July (!). It is not listed in Pevsner, nor in J. C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* (Chesterfield, 1875–9).

[109] See J. B. Rowe, 'Dedications of the ancient parish churches, chapels and religious houses of Devon', *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, xiv (1882), 93–104, at p. 104, and D. W. Oldham, 'Church dedications in Devonshire', ibid. xxxv (1903), 746–58, at p. 755.

[110] According to Pevsner, Shobrooke is a medieval church with nineteenth-century restoration. The dedication to St Swithun dates only from about 1880, and was perhaps borrowed from nearby Sandford (see Orme, *English Church Dedications*, pp. 199–200).

[111] There is a church at Leonard Stanley of pre-Conquest date, probably late tenth- or eleventh century, which is now a farm building (see Taylor and Taylor, *AS Architecture*, ii. 567–8) located to the south-west of the twelfth-century Benedictine priory, now the parish church. The priory was dedicated to St Leonard, but the dedication to St Swithun may have been borne by the parochial nave of the priory church before the Dissolution. There were two fairs at Leonard Stanley, one 'on Saturday after St Swithun': *VCH Gloucs.* x. 264–6, with plan on p. 265; cf. Robert Atkyns, *Ancient and Present State of Glostershire* (London, 1712), pp. 682–3, and C. Swynnerton, 'The priory of St Leonard of Stanley', *Arch* lxxi (1921), 199–226.

[112] According to Pevsner, the church is Anglo-Saxon. It is recorded in 1839 and 1845 as being dedicated to St Martin (*Archaeological Institute, Winchester Meeting*, 1845). In describing the restoration of 1865–6 by G. E. Street, the rector recorded information provided by F. J. Baigent, a noted Winchester scholar, that in a Winchester will of 1518 the testator stipulated burial in the church of St Swithun at Headbourne Worthy (see J. H. Slessor, *Notes on the Church of St Swithun, Headbourne Worthy* (London and Winchester, 1888), p. 9). Since then the church has been consistently listed as dedicated to St Swithun (e.g. in *VCH Hants.* iv. 428–30 and Pevsner).

[113] The church at Nately Scures is of twelfth-century date and is virtually unchanged (Pevsner); see also *VCH Hants.* iv. 153–5. There is no reason to suppose that the dedication ever changed.

[114] Not in Pevsner; the church was built in 1859 (pers. comm. to Martin Biddle from F. Green, Test Valley Conservation Officer).

[115] Cf. Arnold-Forster, *Studies*, i. 413: 'The one known Yorkshire [*sic*; now Humberside] dedication to this saint at Sproatley in the East Riding was changed in 1819 to All Saints. Perhaps at some future time the parishioners may consider how worthy a patron they have ousted, and resume their old dedication', and she notes in a footnote: 'Now done: see *Clergy List* 1896'.

[116] The chapel of the alien (Tironian) priory was dedicated *c.*1140 by Henry of Blois (bishop of Winchester, 1129–71) in honour of the Holy Cross, the Apostles Peter and Paul, *et beati Swithuni*: see Binns, *Dedications*, p. 104.

[117] See E. Venables, 'The dedications of the churches of Lincolnshire, as illustrating the history of the county', *ArchJ* xxxviii (1881), 365–90, at p. 384.

[118] See F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), figs. 17–18.

[119] Built 1892 (Pevsner).

[120] The church is medieval (Pevsner). The dedication is not listed in Parkin, *An Essay* [Towards a Parochial History of Norfolk], x. 416–18. The present church of Frettenham results from a

Nottingham:[121] *†Kirklington (SK 6857), *†East Retford (SK 7181), *†Wellow (SK 6766), *†Woodborough (SK 6347)
Oxford:[122] *†Compton Beauchamp (SU 2787), *†Kennington (SP 5202), *†Merton (SP 5717)
Shropshire: *†Cheswardine (SJ 7230), *†Clunbury (SO 3780)
Warwickshire: *†Quinton (SP 1040)[123]
West Midlands: *†Barston (SP 2078)
West Sussex: *†East Grinstead (TO 3938)
Wiltshire:[124] *†Compton Basset (SU 0372), *†Little Hinton [Hinton Parva] (SU 2283), *Patney (SU 0758), *Walcot (SU 1684)
Yorkshire (WR): †Stanley St Peter (SE 3423),[125] †Wakefield (SE 3321)[126]

Several conclusions emerge from this list. The number of dedications to St Swithun is substantial, and although it is dwarfed by numbers of dedications to the Virgin (2,300+), to All Saints (1,200+) and to various apostles, it compares very favourably with those for other native Anglo-Saxon saints—those to SS Cuthbert, Oswald king and martyr, Botulf, and Edmund king and martyr are most numerous—and is only slightly lower than that of dedications to St Thomas Becket, the patron of what was indisputably England's most popular shrine.[127] Equally interesting is the geographical distribution of the dedications (see fig. 3). The largest clusters of dedications lie in (what for convenience might be described as) the ancient Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex (Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Devon and the Isle of Wight),[128] and in the so-called 'Five Boroughs' of the Danelaw (especially in Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire). With the exception of Sproatley (Humberside), just a few miles north of the Humber, there is no ancient dedication in Northumbria, not even one as far north as York:[129] St Swithun, apparently, is a purely Southumbrian saint. By the same token, there is no dedication west of Offa's Dyke, the furthest west being Clunbury (Shropshire): none, that is to say, in Wales or Cornwall.[130] The medieval cult of St

combination of three ancient parishes, two dedicated to St Peter, one to St Swithun (pers. comm. from A. R. Good, present rector).

[121] See E. Venables, 'Remarks on the dedications of the parish churches of Nottinghamshire', *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, xvii (1883), 1–8, at pp. 5–6.

[122] See, in general, K. E. Kirk, *Church Dedications in the Oxford Diocese* (Oxford, 1946). In addition to the churches listed here, a church at Yelford (Oxon.: SP 3504) is listed in Arnold-Forster. The dedication to St Swithun was added *c.*1740 as a result of an error, whereby the will of Sir John Ardern (d. 1408) stipulated his burial in the church of St Swithun, Elford (Staffs.), which was mistaken for Yelford (Oxon.): see *VCH Oxon.*, xiii. 216 n. 51.

[123] The church is medieval (Pevsner), and there is no reason to suppose that the dedication to St Swithun ever changed (pers. comm. from Lt. Col. the Revd. J. P. M. Wilson).

[124] See J. E. Jackson, 'Names of Wiltshire churches', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, xv (1875), 98–110, at p. 110.

[125] Arnold-Forster states that the church was 'formerly' dedicated to St Swithun. However, according to Pevsner, there is no sign of any church pre-1821/4, and the present vicar, W. E. Henderson, claims never to have heard of a dedication to St Swithun (pers. comm.).

[126] The dedication to St Swithun of a church on Kilnsey Road, Wakefield, is modern, made when the church was built in the mid 1950s (per. comm. from the churchwarden, Mrs Mavis Worth), but the dedication was taken from that of a chantry chapel dedicated to St Swithun founded by John, 7th Earl Warenne (1286–1347), for a priest to say mass to the sick in time of plague, allowing the rest of the parishioners to attend their own parish church without fear of infection; it was suppressed in the reign of Edward VI (J. W. Walker, *Wakefield: its History and People*, 2nd rev. edn. (Wakefield, 1939), pp. 225–8).

[127] Arnold-Forster did not attempt to quantify the statistics which result from her Index; that task was undertaken by F. Bond, *Dedications & Patron Saints of English Churches* (London, 1914), pp. 17–25. Bond gives the numbers of dedications as follows: Thomas Becket (80), Cuthbert (72), Oswald (67), Botulf (64), Edmund (61) and Swithun (58). These numbers do not square precisely with the listings in Arnold-Forster. But since Bond does not cite the evidence on which his table is based, it is impossible to verify his statistics.

[128] Cf. the account of St Swithun in several martyrology entries, in which it was stated that he died *apud Occidentales Saxones* (see above, pp. 32–3).

[129] The dedication in Wakefield is unambiguously modern (see above, n. 126), and that in Stanley St Peter probably a chimera.

[130] The dedication to St Swithun in Launcells, Cornwall, is modern; there are no dedications, ancient or modern, in Wales.

Swithun penetrated as far west as Devon, but no further. Surprisingly, perhaps, there are no dedications in Kent or East Sussex: this was apparently the heartland of St Thomas Becket, into which strangers did not penetrate.

St Swithun in popular legend

The evidence cited above indicates that the cult of St Swithun was well established, particularly in southern England, in the later Middle Ages, and, as we shall see in a later chapter (ch. 5), was well represented in the formal liturgy. What is less clear is the extent to which the cult impinged on popular consciousness. There appears to have been a fair on 'St Swithun's Day' (presumably 15 July) in late medieval Winchester,[131] and to this day a street in Winchester is named after him.[132] As a Christian name, Swithun is not widely attested,[133] although it was borne by the famous Catholic martyr, Swithun Wells (d. 1591).[134]

The one way in which St Swithun impinges indelibly on popular consciousness is the legend concerning rain on St Swithun's day (15 July): that if it rains on that day it will rain for forty days more. It is difficult to determine how old this legend is, or precisely when it started.[135] Prognostics of this sort became attached to the names of various saints, such as St Medard of Soissons and SS Gervasius and Protasius of Milan, during the central Middle Ages, if not earlier. Interestingly, one of the earliest of such prognostics is framed in an elegiac couplet, perhaps of twelfth-century date, pertaining to SS Processus and Martinianus:

> Si pluit in festo Processi et Martiniani
> quadraginta dies continuare solet.[136]
>
> If it rains on the feast of Processus and Martinianus, it is usually continuous for forty days.

The feast of SS Processus and Martinianus falls on 2 July, which happens also to be the feast of St Swithun's deposition. It is difficult to avoid wondering whether the prognostic was first attached to St Swithun because his feast fell on the same day as that of SS Processus and Martinianus, and was subsequently reassigned to Swithun's other feast (the translation on 15 July), specifically to dissociate Swithun's prognostic powers from those of the two Roman martyrs. Like most legends, the origins of this one are lost in antiquity.

In any event, the earliest attestation of the legend in vernacular (popular) literature is in a Scots rhyme (of uncertain, but perhaps medieval, origin), as follows:

> Saint Swithin's day, gif ye do rain,
> For forty days it will remain;

[131] See WS ii. 1123.

[132] WS i. 278–9, 301.

[133] The name is listed in E. G. Withycombe, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1977; 1st edn., 1945), p. 274, but not in P. Hanks and F. Hodges, *A Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford, 1990).

[134] Cf. the comment by A. Rumble (WS ii. 1406), that such naming probably represents conscious antiquarianism rather than widespread popularity.

[135] It is often stated that Wulfstan of Winchester alludes to the legend in describing a 'tempest' which occurred on the day of Swithun's translation: see Quirk, *OM*, p. 40, and F. Bussby, *Saint Swithun: Patron Saint of Winchester*, 4th edn. (Winchester, 1997), p. 3 n. 1: 'Wulstan, a boy at the time, took part in the procession and was amongst those frightened by a tempest.' Such statements are based on erroneous understanding of Wulfstan's Latin: he wrote, 'Nos quoque nos pueri qua tempestate pusilli' (*Narratio* i. 889), where the phrase *qua tempestate* means 'at that time', and has nothing to do with a tempest of any kind.

[136] R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, 2 vols. in 1 (London, 1841), i. 321. See also B. Blackburn and L. Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 294–5.

Saint Swithin's day, an ye be fair,
For forty days 'twill rain na mair.[137]

The same tradition was known to the Elizabethan playwright Ben Jonson, who in his play *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599) has his character Sordido exclaim to a female student, 'O here, S. Swithins, the XV day, variable weather, for the most part raine, good; for the most part raine: Why it should raine fortie daies after, now, more or lesse, it was a rule held afore I was able to hold a plough.'[138] A century or so later the playwright John Gay (1685–1732) paraphrased the prognostic in his *Trivia* (1716):

How, if on Swithin's Feast the Welkin lours,
And ev'ry Penthouse streams with hasty Show'rs,
Twice twenty Days shall Clouds their Fleeces drain,
And wash the Pavement with incessant Rain.
Let not such vulgar Tales debase thy Mind;
Nor Paul nor Swithin rule the Clouds and Wind.[139]

There are various other versions of the prognostic in eighteenth-century verse.[140] But the most famous author to treat the subject was Jane Austen, who spent the last days of her life in Winchester in a house in College Street. At the beginning of July 1817 she was already gravely ill, and the end was thought to be nigh. Surprisingly, she perked up on St Swithun's Day, and took advantage of her brief remission to compose a poem on the Swithun prognostic legend and on the fact that races were held—sacrilegiously, so she felt—on this great saint's day. The poem, entitled simply 'Venta', is as follows:

When Winchester races first took their beginning
It is said the good people forgot their old Saint
Not applying at all for the leave of St. Swithin
And that William of Wykham's approval was faint.

The races however were fix'd and determin'd
The company met & the weather was charming
The Lords & the Ladies were sattin'd & ermin'd
And nobody saw any future alarming.

But when the old Saint was inform'd of these doings
He made but one spring from his shrine to the roof
Of the Palace which now lies so sadly in ruins
And thus he address'd them all standing aloof.

Oh, subjects rebellious, Oh Venta depraved
When once we are buried you think we are dead
But behold me Immortal.—By vice you're enslaved
You have sinn'd & must suffer.—Then further he said

These races & revels & dissolute measures
With which you're debasing a neighbouring Plain

[137] Ibid. i. 320.

[138] *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925–52), iii. 453.

[139] *John Gay: Poetry and Prose*, ed. V. A. Dearing and C. E. Beckwith, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1974), i. 140.

[140] Some are quoted in Bussby, *Saint Swithun*, pp. 14–16.

Let them stand—you shall meet with your curse in your pleasures
Set off for your course, I'll pursue with my rain.
Ye cannot but know my command in July.
Henceforward I'll triumph in shewing my powers,
Shift your race as you will it shall never be dry
The curse upon Venta is July in showers.[141]

Three days later, at 4:30 a.m. on 18 July, Jane Austen died and was buried in Winchester Cathedral. The poem 'Venta' is thus her last composition.

ii. IRELAND

In the late eleventh century, probably as a result of the Norman conquest of England, close contacts were established between the churches of Ireland and England.[142] From the time of Archbishop Lanfranc (1070–89) onwards, Irish bishops, notably of sees recently established in Hiberno-Norse towns such as Dublin, Wexford, Waterford and Limerick, came to be consecrated in Canterbury, a situation which obtained up to 1140.[143] The first bishop so to be consecrated was Patrick, bishop of Dublin (1074–84), who had studied as a Benedictine monk at Worcester, and was consecrated by Lanfranc in London in 1074.[144] This pattern—of study in an English Benedictine house followed by consecration at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury—was followed by numerous Irish ecclesiastics,[145] and led in due course to monastic reform and to the establishment in Ireland of other orders, for example Cistercians and Augustinian canons, during the twelfth century.[146] One result of this contact was that native English saints came to be commemorated in Irish calendars and martyrologies, St Swithun among them.

A number of Irish calendars and martyrologies containing English saints has survived, although (unfortunately) these have never been collected and printed together in the way that English Benedictine calendars have been edited by the Henry Bradshaw Society. Accordingly, it is not possible as yet to form a comprehensive picture. It is clear, however, that Irish contact with various English churches led to a variety of local English saints being commemorated at various places in Ireland. For example, the (incomplete) calendar in the so-called 'Martyrology of St Thomas's, Dublin', now preserved in Dublin, Trinity College 97 and written there *c.*1300,[147] contains commemorations both of the deposition of Oswald, archbishop of Worcester and York (d. 992) on 28 February, and of the much rarer feast of his translation on 8 October.[148] These

[141] *The Works of Jane Austen* VI. *The Minor Works*, ed. R. W. Chapman (London, 1954), pp. 451–2.

[142] See, in general, M. Richter, 'The first century of Anglo-Irish relations', *History*, lix (1974), 195–210, and M.-T. Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the late Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 1–35.

[143] See A. Gwynn, 'Lanfranc and the Irish church', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lvii (1941), 481–500, lviii (1941), 1–15, repr. in his *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 68–83, and Richter, 'The first century', pp. 198–202.

[144] See Gwynn, 'Lanfranc', as well as *The Writings of Bishop Patrick, 1074–1084*, ed. A. Gwynn, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, i (Dublin, 1955), 1–7.

[145] Some examples are listed by K. Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London, 1966), pp. 258–9.

[146] See, in general, D. Bethell, 'English monks and Irish reform in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Historical Studies*, viii (1971), 111–35.

[147] See A. Gwynn, 'The early history of St Thomas' Abbey, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxxiv (1954), 1–35, at pp. 27–31, and M. L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin. Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1991), i. 183–95 (the calendar is on fos. 1–4).

[148] J. Hennig, 'The sources of the martyrological tradition of non-Irish saints in medieval Ireland', *Sacris Erudiri*, xxi (1972–3), 407–34, at pp. 410–11 (repr. in his *Medieval Ireland, Saints and Martyrologies*, ed. M. Richter (Northampton, 1989), no. XII).

commemorations can best be explained on the assumption of contact between Dublin and Worcester of the sort embodied in Bishop Patrick of Dublin, mentioned earlier. This is a subject which requires scholarly attention.

However, our present concern is with St Swithun. Commemorations of St Swithun are relatively rare in Irish liturgical sources.[149] The feast of Swithun's deposition (2 July) is commemorated in the 'Martyrology of Christ Church Dublin', preserved in Dublin, Trinity College 576 (Dublin, s. xii/xiii),[150] but not that of his translation on 15 July.[151] More interesting is the evidence of an unprinted liturgical calendar dating from the earlier thirteenth century now preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 405.[152] The calendar is contained in a separate quire of six (now pp. 23–34 [pencilled foliation: 11r–16v]), but the fact that it is bound up with materials pertaining to Waterford (and in particular to the community of Hospitallers of St John in that city) suggests that it, too, probably originated in Waterford,[153] a probability which is confirmed by the numbers of local saints commemorated in the calendar.[154] In any event, the calendar contains commemorations for both feasts of St Swithun (2 and 15 July, both on p. 29). What is striking, however, is that in addition to these two feasts of St Swithun, the Waterford calendar contains commemorations of a number of distinctively Winchester saints: translation of Iudoc (9 Jan.), Ælfheah (19 Apr.), Æthelthryth (23 June), translation of Eadburg (18 July), translation of Æthelwold (10 Sept.), translation of Æthelthryth (17 Oct.), Beornstan or Byrnstan (4 Nov.), and Birinus (3 Dec.). Some of these feasts—those for the translations of Iudoc[155] and Æthelwold,[156] and for Beornstan (an obscure bishop of Winchester, 931–4)[157]—are exceptionally rare outside of calendars written at Winchester itself. The question naturally arises of how they came to be entered in a calendar from Waterford.

It is interesting to note, therefore, that the bishop of Waterford in the late eleventh century was one Malchus (Máel Ísu Ua hAinmere) who, before becoming bishop, had been a Benedictine

[149] There is no commemoration of St Swithun in either the 'Corpus Missal' (ed. F. E. Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College Oxford* (London, 1879)) or the 'Drummond Missal' (ed. G. H. Forbes, *Missale Drummondiense: The Ancient Irish Missal in the Possession of the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Burntisland, 1882)). Note, however, that a collect and postcommunion prayer for the common of a confessor in the 'Drummond Missal' agree in wording with a mass-set for the translation of St Swithun, according to Forbes (ibid. pp. 63, 69).

[150] On the manuscript, see Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue*, ii. 1038–40 and, on the martyrology, Hennig, 'The sources of the martyrological tradition', pp. 416–24.

[151] *The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin*, ed. J. C. Crosthwaite [and J. H. Todd] (Dublin, 1844), p. 132: 'eodem die sancti Swithini episcopi et confessoris'.

[152] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912), ii. 277–88.

[153] See A. Gwynn, 'The origins of the diocese of Waterford', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lix (1942), 289–96, and A. Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 197. There was a house of Augustinian canons regular at St Catherine's Priory in Waterford from at least 1207, and the calendar may have been written there.

[154] Local saints diagnostic of an origin in Waterford include Broccán of Dési Muman (8 July), Carthach (Mo Chutu) of Les Mór (14 May), Déclán of Ard Mór (24 July), etc.

[155] On the rarity of the feast of the translation of St Iudoc outside Winchester, see M. Lapidge, 'A metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* from tenth-century Winchester', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, x (2000), 255–306, at p. 263 n. 27.

[156] The translation of St Æthelwold is commemorated on 10 Sept. in the following Anglo-Saxon calendars: Wormald, *Kalendars*, nos. 6 (Cambridge, CUL, Kk. 5. 32: W. England), 7 (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius A. xii: Salisbury), 9 (London, BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvi: New Minster, Winchester), 10 (Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 15. 32: New Minster, Winchester), 11 (London, BL, Arundel 60: New Minster, Winchester), 12 (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii: Old Minster, Winchester), 14 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422: New Minster, Winchester), 19 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 12: Bury St Edmunds), 20 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296: Crowland).

[157] The feast of St Beornstan is commemorated in Wormald, *Kalendars*, nos. 7 (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius A. xii: Salisbury), 9 (London, BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvi: New Minster, Winchester), 10 (Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 15. 32: New Minster, Winchester), 11 (London, BL, Arundel 60: New Minster, Winchester), 12 (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii: Old Minster, Winchester), and 18 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9: Worcester).

monk at Winchester in the time of Bishop Walkelin (1070–98). As we learn from the *Historia nouorum* of Eadmer, the clergy and laity of Waterford wrote in 1096 to Archbishop Anselm, notifying him of their decision to elect Malchus to the vacant bishopric of Waterford. Eadmer quotes their letter:

> Propterea nos et rex noster Murchertachus et episcopus Dofnaldus, et Dermeth dux noster, frater regis, eligimus hunc presbyterum Malcum Walchellini Wentoniensis episcopi monachum, nobis sufficientissime cognitum, natalibus et moribus nobilem, apostolica et ecclesiastica disciplina imbutum, fide catholicum, prudentem, moribus temperatum, uita castum, sobrium, humilem, affabilem, misericordem, litteratum, hospitalem, suae domui bene praepositum, non neophytum, habentem testimonium bonum in gradibus singulis.[158]
>
> Accordingly we [the citizens of Waterford] and our king Muirchertach [Ua Briain] and Bishop Domnall [Ua hÉnna] and Diarmait, the king's brother, elect this priest Malchus [Máel Ísu Ua hAinmere], a monk of Walkelin bishop of Winchester, who is well known to us, is noble by birth and behaviour, trained in papal and ecclesiastical doctrine, catholic in his faith, wise, balanced in his manner, chaste in his life, abstemious, humble, kindly, merciful, literate, hospitable, well in charge of his household, no mere beginniner, and having sound approval in individual respects.

Malchus was duly consecrated in Canterbury on 27 December 1096, by Anselm, Ralph of Chichester and Gundulf of Rochester; his profession of obedience is preserved in the Canterbury archives.[159] Malchus subsequently became archbishop of Cashel (*c.*1111) and died in 1135. He was described by the great St Bernard, in his *Vita S. Malachiae*, as a man of eminent learning.[160] A simple explanation of how a Winchester calendar came to be available in Waterford and subsequently to be used as one of the sources for the Waterford calendar in CCCC 405, is that Malchus brought it with him when he returned to Ireland from Winchester.

Ireland, of course, had its own saints and its own martyrological traditions: its church antedated the Norman conquest of England, and indeed the English settlement of Roman Britain. The cornerstone for the commemoration of native Irish saints was laid at Tallaght in the early ninth century, and is reflected in two closely related martyrologies compiled at that time:[161] the 'Martyrology of Tallaght' (in Latin)[162] and 'The Martyrology of Oengus' (in Irish verse).[163] Neither of these Tallaght martyrologies contains a commemoration of St Swithun, nor indeed of any Anglo-Saxon saint of tenth-century or later date.[164] However, St Swithun is commemorated in a later metrical martyrology in Irish verse, the 'Martyrology of Gorman'.[165] This martyrology is named for its author, Máel Muire Ua Gormáin, and was composed between 1168 and 1170 at Knock (co. Louth), a house of Augustinian canons regular of which Máel Muire was abbot.[166] The 'Martyrology

[158] *Eadmeri Historia Nouorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, RS (London, 1884), pp. 76–7.

[159] *Canterbury Professions*, ed. M. Richter, Canterbury and York Society, lxvii (Torquay, 1973), p. 35 (no. 54).

[160] See below, p. 54 with n. 177.

[161] See P. Ó Riain, 'The Tallaght martyrologies, redated', *CMCS* xx (1990), 21–38 (where persuasive arguments in favour of a dating 828 × 833, against earlier datings of *c.*800, are advanced), and *idem*, *Anglo-Saxon Ireland: the Evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures, iii (Cambridge, 1993).

[162] *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. R. I. Best and H. J. Lawlor, HBS lxviii (London, 1931).

[163] *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. W. Stokes, HBS xxix (London, 1905).

[164] They do contain commemorations for Anglo-Saxon saints from the period (late seventh century) when there was close contact between Ireland and Northumbria, such as St Cuthbert; see Ó Riain, *Anglo-Saxon Ireland*, pp. 9–10.

[165] *The Martyrology of Gorman*, ed. Whitley Stokes, HBS ix (London, 1895).

[166] On Knock (*Cnoc na sengani*), see Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, pp. 155, 181. Knock was founded in 1148 by St Malachy.

of Gorman' contains two commemorations of St Swithun, one for the feast of the deposition on 2 July—'Suuithun co soimein'[167]—and one for the feast of the translation on 15 July:

Suuithun sruith sluagfer
a mathius ní maeded.[168]

Venerable Swithun, a man of hosts; he did not boast of his goodness.

As in the case of the Waterford calendar, the 'Martyrology of Gorman' contains commemorations of a large number of specifically Winchester saints.[169] I list these saints (with reference to page numbers in Stokes's edition given in parentheses):

9 Jan.: translation of Iudoc (p. 12)
9 Apr.: Ælfheah (p. 80)
15 June: Eadburg (p. 116)
7 July: Hæddi (p. 130)
8 July: Grimbald (p. 130)
18 July: translation of Eadburg (p. 138)
2 Aug.: Æthelwold (p. 148)
4 Sept.: translation of Birinus (p. 170)
17 Oct.: translation of Æthelthryth (p. 198)
4 Nov.: Beornstan (p. 212)
3 Dec.: Birinus (p. 230)

The sources used by Máel Muire in the compilation of his martyrology have been well studied,[170] and include the 'Martyrology of Tallaght' and an augmented copy of Usuard. But neither of these sources could account for the large number of distinctive Winchester commemorations (especially the translations of Iudoc[171] and Eadburg,[172] and the feasts of Beornstan[173] and Hæddi[174]), and these are best explained on the assumption that Máel Muire had access to a Winchester calendar. One possible explanation is that Máel Muire Ua Gormáin acquired a Winchester calendar through the agency of Flann Ua Gormáin (d. 1174), who was probably his brother, and who, according to the

[167] *The Martyrology of Gorman*, ed. Stokes, p. 128: 'Swithun with a good mind'.

[168] Ibid. p. 136. It is not entirely clear what *sluagfer*, 'man of hosts' means in this context: does it refer to the hosts of the infirm who were cured by the saint? I am grateful to Máire Ní Mhaonaigh for helpful discussion of this problem.

[169] Note that these commemorations square with those in a litany from an unprinted choir psalter, of late twelfth-century date from Winchester (St Swithun's priory, formerly the Old Minster), now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 3. 6 (S.C. 3636): see above, p. 34 (and note that SS Æthelthryth and Eadburg are commemorated in this litany among the virgins). For the question of which saints and feasts may be regarded as distinctively 'Winchester', see [F.] Gasquet and E. Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter* (London, 1908), p. 60, and Dumville, *Liturgy*, p. 58.

[170] J. Hennig, 'Studies in the Latin texts of the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, of *Félire Oengusso* and of *Félire Hui Gormain*', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* lxixC (1970), 45–112, at pp. 89–105 (repr. in his *Medieval Ireland*, ed. Richter, no. X), and J. Dubois, 'Les sources continentales du Martyrologe irlandais de Gorman', *AB* c (1982), 607–17 (repr. in his *Martyrologes*, pp. 191–201).

[171] For the translation of Iudoc, see above, n. 155.

[172] The translation of Eadburg is commemorated solely in Wormald, *Kalendars*, nos. 9 (London, BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvi: New Minster, Winchester), 10 (Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 15. 32: New Minster, Winchester), 11 (London, BL, Arundel 60: New Minster, Winchester), 12 (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii: Old Minster, Winchester).

[173] For the feast of the deposition of Beornstan, see above, n. 157.

[174] The deposition of Hæddi (bishop of the West Saxons, 676–705) is commemorated solely in Wormald, *Kalendars*, nos. 9 (London, BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvi: New Minster, Winchester), 10 (Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 15. 32: New Minster, Winchester), 11 (London, BL, Arundel 60: New Minster, Winchester), 12 (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii: Old Minster, Winchester), and 20 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296: Crowland).

obituary entry in the *Annals of Ulster*, was a learned man who had spent twenty-one years among the Franks and Saxons (i.e. English);[175] Flann could conceivably have acquired a Winchester calendar during his travels in England and subsequently passed it on to his brother.[176] There is a case for an equally plausible hypothesis, however. We have seen that the Winchester saints in the Waterford calendar probably owe their presence there to Bishop Malchus, who had been a monk at Winchester during the episcopacy of Walkelin. Subsequently, in the twelfth century, both Waterford and Knock were communities of canons regular, and it is not unreasonable to imagine some sort of intellectual contact between them. What is striking in this respect is that St Malachy (Máel-Máedoc Ua Morgair), who founded Knock in 1148 in the last year of his life, had at an earlier stage of his career gone to consult the then aged (Arch)bishop Malchus about doctrinal and spiritual matters. Bernard of Clairvaux, in his *Vita S. Malachiae* (c. 4), describes at length the intellectual and spiritual debt which Malachy owed to Malchus:

> [Malachias] subiit animum adire episcopum Malchum, qui se plenius de omnibus informaret. Hic erat senex plenus dierum et virtutum, et sapientia Dei erat in illo. Natione quidem Hibernus, sed in Anglia conversatus fuerat in habitu et proposito monachali in Wintoniensi monasterio: de quo assumptus est in episcopum in Lesmor ciuitate Mumoniae, et ipsa nobilior inter caeteras regni illius. Ibi tanta ei desuper collata est gratia, ut non modo vita et doctrina, sed et signis clareret. Quorum duo pono exempli causa, ut omnibus innotescat, qualem in scientia sanctorum Malachias habuerit praeceptorem.[177]
>
> Malachy determined to go to Bishop Malchus, who would instruct him fully in all matters. Malchus was an old man 'full of days' [Job 42: 16] and virtues, and 'the wisdom of God was in him' [3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 3: 28]. He was Irish in origin, but had been trained in monastic custom and discipline in England, at the monastery of Winchester, from where he was appointed to the bishopric in Les Mór [Lismore] of the Dési Muman, which was itself nobler than other cities in that realm. And so much divine grace was bestowed upon him there that he was distinguished not only by his life and learning, but also by his miracles. I give two of these by way of example, so that it will be clear to all what kind of teacher Malachy had in the doctrine of the saints.

Given the nature of Malachy's discipleship, Malchus could evidently have supplied him with a copy of the Winchester calender which he had himself brought to Waterford, and that copy would then have been available at Knock for the use of Máel Muire some twenty years later. Unfortunately, in the present state of evidence, neither of these (equally plausible) hypotheses can be proven. The essential point is that St Swithun was commemorated, albeit to a modest degree, in medieval Ireland.

iii. SCANDINAVIA

Throughout the early Middle Ages, the inhabitants of Scandinavia were robustly pagan. The first attempts at conversion undertaken in the mid-ninth century by Ansgar (d. 865) of Hamburg-Bremen are well documented, but soon petered out.[178] Less well documented, but more effective in

[175] *Annals of Ulster*, ed. W. M. Hennessy, 4 vols. (Dublin, 1887–1901), ii. 176–7.

[176] This is the hypothesis of P. Ó Riain, 'The martyrologies of Flann Ua Gormáin' (forthcoming). I am very grateful to Pádraig Ó Riain for allowing me to see this article in advance of publication, and for much helpful discussion of the 'Martyrology of Gorman'.

[177] PL clxxxii. 1079.

[178] See C. J. A. Oppermann, *The English Missionaries in Sweden and Finland* (London, 1937), pp. 34–55, and the valuable collection of essays in *The Christianization of Scandinavia*, ed. B. and P. Sawyer and I. Wood (Alingsås, 1987).

the long term, were missionary efforts undertaken during the tenth and eleventh centuries by the English church.[179] The earliest phases of this activity are far from clear. It is known, for example, that the future King Hákon 'the Good' of Norway (d. *c.*960) was fostered at the court of King Æthelstan (924–39), and that, according to Snorri Sturluson writing in the thirteenth century, he requested an English bishop and priests to be sent to Norway after he had himself returned back home to take up the kingdom;[180] but whether any such religious were ever sent, is unknown. Later in the tenth century, there is, among a list of Glastonbury monks compiled in the early eleventh century (but probably composed during the reign of Æthelred, 978–1016) and preserved by William of Malmesbury, a reference to one *Sigefridus* (OE Sigefrith or Sigeferth), who is described as *Norwegensis episcopus*;[181] but where in Norway he exercised episcopal authority is unknown.[182] It was also in the reign of Æthelred that in 994 the Norwegian king Olaf Tryggvason accepted confirmation while the English king stood as his sponsor;[183] and Adam of Bremen, in his *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* (composed in the 1070s), noted that English bishops (including one *Iohannes episcopus*) and priests had returned with Olaf to Norway.[184] But the identity of this *Iohannes* is unknown,[185] as is that of any English priests who may have accompanied him.[186] Finally, King Olaf Haraldsson (who died in 1030 and was subsequently venerated in England as St Olaf or Olave),[187] was also said by Adam of Bremen to have had English priests in Norway with him; Adam names these priests (in German spelling) as *Sigafrid*, *Grimkil*, *Rudolf*, and *Bernard*.[188] Of these, the name Grimkil is Scandinavian, not English; if Adam's report is based on reliable evidence, it is possible that Grimkil was from the English Danelaw.[189] *Sigafrid* and *Bernard* were possibly Englishmen named Sigefrith (or Sigeferth) and Beornheard, respectively; but nothing certain is known of their missionary activities.[190] Concerning *Rudolf* (OE Hrothwulf) more is known: he was a

[179] There is a lucid exposition of the complex (and often contradictory) evidence by L. Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia', *ASE* xxiv (1995), 213–49.

[180] L. M. Hollander, *Heimskringla. History of the Kings of Norway* (Austin, TX, 1964), p. 106.

[181] J. Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury: an Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (Woodbridge, 1981), p. 138 (c. 67).

[182] See Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization', pp. 218–20, as well as the earlier and less critical discussion by F. Birkeli, 'The earliest missionary activities from England to Norway', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xv (1971), 27–37.

[183] *ASC* s.a. 994 CDE (ed. Plummer, i. 128–9; trans. Whitelock, p. 83); see discussion by P. H. Sawyer, 'Ethelred II, Olaf Tryggvason, and the conversion of Norway', *Scandinavian Studies*, lix (1987), 299–307.

[184] *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, 3rd edn., MGH, rer. Germ. (Hannover, 1917), pp. 98 (ii. 37), 268 (iv. 34).

[185] It is possible that this *Iohannes* is identical with a bishop referred to as Jón-Sigurd in the later vernacular saga of Olaf Tryggvason: *Saga Oláfs Tryggvasonar*, ed. F. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1932), pp. 98, 246 (cc. 28, 81).

[186] Abrams ('The Anglo-Saxons and Christianization', pp. 221–2) makes the interesting conjecture that two missionaries mentioned in a passage in Goscelin's *Miracula S. Iuonis* (written at Ramsey in the 1080s), namely a monk Wulfred and a bishop Siward, who are said by Goscelin to have returned to Ramsey in the period 993 × 1009 following a stint as missionaries 'per alta pericula maris et nationum gentilium', may have been in Norway in connection with Olaf Tryggvason.

[187] See B. Dickins, 'The cult of S. Olave in the British Isles', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, xii (1937–45), 53–80, and G. Iversen, 'Transforming a Viking into a saint: the Divine Office of St Olav', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. M. E. Fassler and R. A. Baltzer (Oxford, 2000), pp. 401–29. Among English sources for the cult, St Olaf is commemorated (on 29 July) in a calendar which was arguably written at Winchester (Wormald, *English Kalendars*, no. 19: CCCC 422), and the 'Leofric Collectar' (London, BL Harley 2961) includes an office for St Olaf: *The Leofric Collectar I*, ed. E. S. Dewick, HBS xlv (London, 1914), cols. 209–14.

[188] *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. Schmeidler, p. 118 (ii. 57).

[189] See A. O. Johnsen, 'Om misjonsbiskopen Grimkellus', *Norsk historisk Tidsskrift*, liv (1975), 22–34.

[190] It is presumably this English Sigefrith (discussed below, p. 58) who figures so importantly in later accounts of the Swedish conversion: see Oppermann, *The English Missionaries*, pp. 73–83, Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization', pp. 233–4, and the earlier monograph by T. Schmid, *Den helige Sigfrid* (Lund, 1931).

kinsman of King Edward the Confessor,[191] held a bishopric in Norway (Nidaros?),[192] spent nineteen years as bishop in Iceland,[193] and returned to England to become abbot of Abingdon in 1051 shortly before his death the following year.[194]

Although the identities of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries to Norway are often uncertain, what is certain is that by the later eleventh century, three bishoprics had been established in Norway, in Oslo, Bergen and Nidaros (modern Trondhjem). And with the establishment of bishoprics through the efforts of Anglo-Saxon missionaries came the establishment of Anglo-Saxon saints' cults, St Swithun among them.[195] The English missionaries will have taken liturgical books with them, and although no complete manuscripts survive, large numbers of fragments of such books, retrieved for the most part from the bindings of early printed books, survive in modern Scandinavian archives and libraries.[196] Some of these fragments are in a style of script associable with Winchester (see below); and this, in combination with the numerous commemorations of St Swithun in Scandinavian liturgical manuscripts, raises the question of whether any of the English missionaries in Norway were from Winchester. Unfortunately there is insufficient evidence to answer the question.

More certain, however, is the link between Winchester and Stavanger. In addition to the three previously-mentioned Norwegian sees (Oslo, Bergen, and Nidaros), a see at Stavanger was established sometime in the 1120s (*c.*1128?) by a Bishop Rainald (d. 1135).[197] The cathedral was (and is) dedicated to St Swithun, and is known to have possessed a relic of the saint (an arm);[198] furthermore, the communities of Winchester and Stavanger are linked in a rhymed office, perhaps of twelfth-century date, preserved in a printed breviary from Nidaros (see below, pp. 128–34). The logical inference is that Bishop Rainald was from Winchester, and that he brought the relic of St Swithun with him to Stavanger.[199] It is interesting to note in this connection that the name of one *Rainnaldus*, described as a *conuersus*,[200] is listed among the monks of Hyde Abbey (formerly the New

[191] It is stated by Sir Frank Stenton (*Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), p. 463), that 'Rudolf is known to have been a Norman from Rouen, and a kinsman of Queen Emma'. It is not clear what sources this statement is based on: perhaps on the assumption that Rodulf is a Norman rather than an English name, and that the statement in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* s.a.1050 (see below, n. 194), to the effect that Rodulf was a kinsman of King Edward the Confessor, should therefore properly pertain to King Edward's wife, Queen Emma. But Hrothwulf is a well-attested English name, and there is perhaps no need to rewrite historical sources on the basis of assumptions.

[192] *Chron. Abingdon*, i. 463–4.

[193] *Íslendingabók*, c. 7 (referring to Bishop *Hródólfr*), ed. and trans. H. Hermannsson, *The Book of the Icelanders* (Ithaca, NY, 1930), pp. 54, 67.

[194] *ASC*, ed. Plummer, i. 171–2; trans. Whitelock, p. 116: 'ond geaf [*scil.* Edward the Confessor] Roðulfe bisceope his mæge þæt abbudrice on Abbandune' (s.a. 1050 C). See also T. Graham, 'A runic inscription in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript from Abingdon and the Scandinavian career of Abbot Rodulf (1051–2)' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xl (1996), 16–24.

[195] There is an overview of the liturgical evidence for Anglo-Saxon saints' cults in Scandinavia by J. Toy, 'The commemorations of British saints in the medieval liturgical manuscripts of Scandinavia', *Kyrkhistorisk Årsskrift* (1983), pp. 91–103; for St Swithun, see p. 100.

[196] See discussion in L. Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis: the Regularis Concordia and Decreta Lanfranci. Manuscript Studies in the early Medieval Church of Norway* (Oslo, 1961), pp. 29–67.

[197] See discussion by A. W. Brøgger, *Stavangers historie i middelalderen* (Stavanger, 1915), pp. 1–21, and C. Hohler, 'The cathedral of St Swithun at Stavanger in the twelfth century', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., xxvii (1964), 92–119, at pp. 92–6. A study by the present bishop of Stavanger, Ernst Baasland, entitled *Stavanger: Bispedømme 1125–2000*, is in preparation; I am grateful to Bishop Baasland for much helpful discussion.

[198] Swithun's arm is mentioned among the cathedral's relics in an inventory of 1517; see A. D. Jørgensen, *Den nordiske kirkes grundlæggelse og første udvikling*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1874–8), ii. 861, and Brøgger, *Stavangers historie*, p. 21.

[199] See, for example, P. A. Munch, *Det norske folks historie*, 6 vols. (Christiania [Oslo], 1852–9), ii. 613, 615. The logical inference is doubted (perversely, in my view) by Hohler, 'The cathedral', pp. 93–4, principally on the grounds that there is no recorded opening of St Swithun's shrine which would coincide with the approximate date of the founding of Stavanger. On the dating of various openings of the shrine in Winchester, see above, pp. 37–8.

[200] On the meaning of *conuersus* in twelfth-century sources, see G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 77–9, and C. N. L. Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), pp. 238, 244–52.

Minster) in the time of Abbot Osbert (1124–35).[201] In any event, later sources confirm that Rainald was considered to be the first bishop of Stavanger,[202] and the fabric of the present cathedral church at Stavanger, although eccentric in some respects, is evidently of twelfth-century date.[203]

In 1152, Nicholas Breakspear (later to become Pope Hadrian IV, 1154–9) visited Norway as papal legate, and established Nidaros as the seat of the archdiocese. The first archbishop of Nidaros was Jon Birgisson, who was translated from the bishopric of Stavanger.[204] It was possibly as a result of this translation that St Swithun figures in the liturgy of Nidaros. St Swithun is commemorated, for example, in a litany in the so-called *Manuale Norvegicum* or *Presta Handbók*,[205] and in the calendar of the Nidaros Breviary.[206] In the Ordinary or *Orðubók* of Nidaros,[207] the feasts of both the deposition and translation are commemorated, as they would have been in the Nidaros Antiphonary.[208] Finally, in the printed Nidaros Breviary of 1519, the feast of St Swithun's deposition has been omitted (having been replaced by the new feast of the Visitation of St Mary); but the omission is compensated for by the fact that feast for the translation is upgraded to semiduplex; the proper (rhymed) office was not included in the breviary itself, but was added as an appendix at the end of the breviary.[209] The office, which evidently derives from a Stavanger exemplar, is printed and discussed below, pp. 128–34.

Norway served as a staging-post for the establishment of the church elsewhere in Scandinavia. The see of Nidaros, once it had become an archbishopric as a result of the visitation of Nicholas Breakspear in 1152, had metropolitan authority over Iceland, Greenland, the Faroes and the Orkneys.[210] But the indirect influence of the English church in Iceland possibly dates from an earlier period. As we have seen, one of the aforementioned English helpers of St Olaf, Rodulfus or Hrothwulf, is known to have spent nineteen years in Iceland, helping to establish the church there, before finally returning to England to become abbot of Abingdon in 1051. Some of the many commemorations of English saints in Icelandic liturgical sources may derive from contacts of this sort.[211] Among these commemorations is one for the feast of St Swithun's deposition in a calendar prefixed to a psalter from Skálholt, dating *c.*1200 (now Copenhagen, Arnamagnaean Institute, AM 2496),[212] but this one commemoration scarcely implies that the cult of Swithun was well established in Iceland.

[201] *Liber uitae*, ed. Keynes, fo. 23r; ed. Birch, p. 39. The fact that Rainnaldus is there described as a *conuersus* is no barrier to his having subsequently become bishop, of Stavanger or elsewhere; his abbot, Osbert, is similarly described as a *conuersus* (ibid.).

[202] See *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* XVII B, ed. O. Kolsrud (Christiania [Oslo], 1913), p. 231.

[203] The fabric of the church is well discussed by Hohler, 'The cathedral', pp. 97–118, with pls. I-XXV.

[204] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* XVII B, ed. Kolsrud, p. 232. Birgisson was bishop of Stavanger, 1135–52.

[205] *Manuale Norvegicum* (*Presta Handbók*) *ex tribus codicibus saec. XII-XIV*, ed. O. Kolsrud and H. Faehn, Libri Liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi, i (Oslo, 1962), p. 164.

[206] See H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1891–2), ii. 241, and W. J. Weale, *Analecta Liturgica* (Lille and Bruges, 1899), pp. 111–17, with the entry for St Swithun at p. 114 ('Translatio Swithuni ep. et conf. *semiduplex*'). Note that, as a result of the rapid development of the feast of the *Divisio apostolorum* on 15 July, the feast of Swithun's translation is displaced in the Nidaros calendar to 16 July.

[207] *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* (*Orðubók*), ed. L. Gjerløw, Libri Liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi, ii (Oslo, 1968), pp. 361–2 (deposition), 367 (translation); cf. pp. 429, 447.

[208] *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, ed. L. Gjerløw, Libri Liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi, iii (Oslo, 1979), pp. 184–5.

[209] *Breviarium Nidrosiense* (Parisiis, 1519; repr. anastatically, Oslo, 1964); the office for St Swithun is at Sign. ccc. iv-viii (= pp. 894–8).

[210] See Oppermann, *The English Missionaries*, pp. 166–7.

[211] See, in general, C. E. Fell, 'Anglo-Saxon saints in Old Norse sources and vice versa', in *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress* (Odense, 1981), pp. 95–106, and M. Cormack, *The Saints of Iceland. Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400*, Subsidia Hagiographica, lxxviii (Brussels, 1994), from which it is apparent that the principal English saints culted in Iceland were Cuthbert and Edmund king and martyr.

[212] See L. Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1980), i. 199, with discussion at pp. 206–7. This commemoration of St Swithun is not noted in Cormack, *The Saints of Iceland*.

The church of Sweden was similarly established from that of Norway.[213] According to Adam of Bremen, the English missionaries who assisted St Olaf worked sometimes in Norway, sometimes in Sweden; and foremost among these was the aforementioned *Sigafrid* or Sigefrith, who worked actively in Sweden and died at Växjö in the decade 1060 × 1070.[214] The activities of English missionaries such as Sigefrith is reflected in the large numbers of commemorations of English saints in Swedish liturgical sources.[215] Significantly, in a missal from Skara (one of the seven Swedish sees), Swithun's name has been added to the prayer *Communicantes* of the Ordinary of the mass: a clear sign of especial veneration.[216] Consonant with this especial veneration is a missal, the medieval provenance of which is Skara, but which was written in the Style I Anglo-Caroline script associated with Winchester at the turn of the tenth century.[217] The manuscript was broken up for use as binding strips in the sixteenth century; some forty-eight surviving leaves have been identified. Among these is a fragment now in Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Mi. 1, which preserves complete a mass-set for the feast of the translation of St Swithun which is otherwise known only in fragmentary form in the 'Missal of the New Minster'.[218]

Finally, since in the period before the Reformation, Finland was part of Sweden, the establishment of the church in Sweden entailed that of Finland, with a bishopric being established at Åbo (now Turku) in the twelfth century.[219] It may have been in a church such as that at Åbo that the elaborate rhymed office for St Swithun (ptd below, pp. 125–8), which only recently came to light in the University Library in Helsinki, was used.

There is less evidence among surviving liturgical manuscripts for the cult of St Swithun in Denmark. It is interesting to note, however, that—according to a breviate version of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* preserved in London, BL, Lansdowne 436—relics of St Swithun were sent to Denmark by King Cnut (1016–35), who was himself of Danish origin: 'in Dacia quo pars reliquiarum eius [*scil.* Swithuni] a rege Cnutone est translata'.[220] The Lansdowne manuscript dates from the mid-fourteenth century, but in spite of its late date, its breviate version of the *Miracula* preserves information not found elsewhere, including this notice of Cnut's translation of Swithun's relics. The presence of St Swithun's relics in Denmark could have served as the focus of a cult; but there is little evidence of such a cult in surviving Danish liturgical manuscripts.

As a reflex of the English missions to Scandinavia, St Swithun was frequently commemorated in the liturgy, particularly in Norway and Sweden (and Finland), less so in Denmark, in spite of the intervention of King Cnut. The bulk of the commemorations are found in books dating from the twelfth century to the fourteenth; in fifteenth-century books, however, no commemorations to Swithun are recorded, which implies that his cult had faded away by that time.[221]

[213] Oppermann, *The English Missionaries*, pp. 56–97.

[214] Ibid. pp. 89–90.

[215] Ibid. pp. 121–2: 'That so many English saints were early venerated in Sweden shows how strong must have been the influence of the English missionaries in the development of church life there'; and see also Toy, 'The commemorations of British saints'.

[216] See Toy, 'The commemorations of British saints', p. 100; the manuscript in question is Skara, Diocesan and County Library, Mus. 1–2.

[217] Dumville, *Liturgy*, p. 88.

[218] T. Schmid, 'Smärre liturgiska bidrag, VIII. Om Sankt Swithunusmässen i Sverige', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, xxxi (1944), 25–34; the mass-set is ptd below, pp. 78–80.

[219] Oppermann, *The English Missionaries*, p. 127.

[220] The text is ptd below, p. 702: 'in Denmark where part of his [*scil.* St Swithun's] relics were translated by King Cnut'.

[221] See the statistics given by Toy, 'The commemorations of British saints', pp. 92–3.

iv. FRANCE

Knowledge of the miracle-working powers of St Swithun spread to France very soon after his translation in 971. Among the miracles described by Lantfred in his *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* are several which took place at unspecified places in France: a woman suffering from temporary paralysis (c. 32), another French woman whose jaw was dislocated through yawning (c. 33), and a thief who escaped torture and punishment by appealing to St Swithun, whose name he did not know, but the report of whose miracles had come to his notice (c. 34). It is likely that these miracles were known personally to Lantfred, who was himself of Frankish origin, and who apparently made frequent trips to France. Sometime after he had completed his *Translatio*, Lantfred returned to the monastery of Fleury, whence he had apparently come to England (see below, pp. 220–3), and took with him a copy of the *Translatio*, from which a manuscript now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Reg. lat. 566) descends (see below, pp. 244–5). Vatican Reg. lat. 566 was written at Fleury in the early eleventh century; but in spite of the availability there of this copy of Lantfred's text, there is, as far as I am aware, no evidence that St Swithun was ever commemorated in Fleury calendars or liturgical books. The earliest evidence for such commemoration comes not from Fleury but from Laon.

In 1113, a group of cathedral canons from Laon made a tour of southern England, during the course of which they visited Winchester.[222] Our knowledge of this trip derives principally from Guibert of Nogent (1053–1124), renowned as the author of a cynical treatise on relic-cults (*De pignoribus sanctorum*), as well as for his autobiographical treatise *De vita sua sive monodiarum libri tres*, which contains the account of the trip to England. According to Guibert, the purpose of the trip was to raise money for the reconstruction of the cathedral in Laon following a disastrous fire in 1112. While at Winchester the canons were, again according to Guibert, much impressed by miracles that took place there.[223] Among these was a miracle performed by St Swithun, which Guibert records in detail:

> Et sanctus Witonus apud urbem Wintonium se in signis hucusque praebuit efficacem. Nam non ante multa tempora monachus utramque horribiliter exulceratus manum, ut hac in parte esset elephantioso omni deterior, eo prorsus ad omnia erat destitutus officio. Cui sanctus, cum a suis absentatum vigiliis hac de causa nocte offendisset, apparuit et generali cur abesset psallentio, inquisivit. Illico ille torturam et purulentiam manuum occasionem absentiae sancto suggessit. 'Porrige', inquit, 'huc manus.' Quibus exporrectis, sanctus utramque constrinxit et universam scabiosam illam cutem ab eo quasi chirothecas extraxit, et leniorem pueruli carne substituit.[224]
>
> St Swithun in the city of Winchester has shown himself potent in wonders up to the present day. Not long ago a monk who had dreadful ulcers on both hands, so that in those members he was worse than any leper, entirely lost the use of them. The saint appeared to him in displeasure because this condition kept him away from the night offices on the eve of the saint's feast, and asked him why he was missing the common chanting of the psalms. Thereupon he gave as the reason for his absence the pain and festering of his hands.

[222] See S. Martinet, 'Le voyage des Laonnais en Angleterre en 1113', *Mémoires de la Fédération des Sociétés d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Aisne*, ix (1963), 81–92, esp. p. 86 for the visit to Winchester.

[223] Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, iii. 13: ed. E.-R. Labande, *Guibert de Nogent: Autobiographie*, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, xxxiv (Paris, 1981), p. 388: 'igitur prospere devecti ad Anglos, cum ad Wintoniensem venissent urbem, plurima inibi miracula claruerunt.'

[224] *De vita sua*, iii. 20; ed. Labande, *Guibert de Nogent*, p. 462; trans. J. F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France: the Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent* (New York, 1970), p. 226. The spelling *Witonus* evidently represents Guibert's misunderstanding of *Swithunus*, as Benton rightly saw.

'Stretch out your hands', said he. He did so and the saint grasped them both and drew off like gloves the whole of the scabby skin and left it smoother than the flesh of a child.

One result of the visit to Winchester was that (so it would seem) the canons of Laon were presented with a sumptuously-written sacramentary. The sacramentary survives as Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 238.[225] Its sanctorale includes a number of Anglo-Saxon saints, including Æthelwold, Kenelm, Eormenhild, Archbishop Oswald, Cuthbert, Dunstan, Botuulf, Æthelthryth, Oswald king and martyr, Edmund king and martyr, and Birinus. The presence of Æthelwold and Birinus points unambiguously to Winchester as the point of the manuscript's origin. The fact that the manuscript does not in its present state contain mass-sets for either of Swithun's feasts is probably to be explained by physical loss of leaves. On the assumption that the sacramentary in its pristine form did include a mass-set for one or other of St Swithun's two principal feasts, his cult can be said to have been celebrated to a modest degree at Laon.

However, the most striking evidence for the cult of St Swithun in France comes from Evreux in Normandy. St Swithun is commemorated in several liturgical calendars from Evreux,[226] and the explanation for this commemoration is that Evreux possessed a relic of the saint. We have seen that a prestigious relic of St Swithun—his head—was taken from Winchester to Canterbury by Bishop Ælfheah on his elevation to the archbishopric in 1006, and that, according to a Christ Church relic list, it was still there in 1316.[227] In a later (printed) breviary from Evreux there are several lections for the feast of St Swithun,[228] and these lections refer specifically to the presence at Evreux of the relic of St Swithun's head before the end of the fourteenth century (*ante seculi decimi-quarti fine*):

> Caput eius Ebroicas ante seculi decimi-quarti fine advectum, et in ecclesia cathedrali depositum est; ubi prima vice, Guillelmo de Canteriis episcopo Ebroicensi involutum fuit in capsa lignea nono Calendas Augusti, anno millesimo quadringentesimo quarto. Anno vero millesimo sexcentesimo undecimo, die decima septima eiusdem mensis Iulii, in nova theca sancti pontificis imaginem praeferente conditum est, quae hactenus populorum venerationi proponitur.[229]

His head was brought to Evreux before the end of the fourteenth century, and placed in the cathedral. In the first instance Bishop William of Cantiers placed it in a gilded wooden reliquary on 24 July 1404. In the year 1611, on the 17th day of the same month, the head was relocated in a new reliquary having a picture of St Swithun on its outside, and is shown to the people as an object of veneration up to the present.

William of Cantiers was bishop of Evreux, 1400–17; the bishop who in 1611 retranslated the relic was William of Péricard. The implication is that Evreux somehow acquired the precious relic between 1316 and 1400.[230] In any event, the relic survived the French Revolution; writing in 1919,

[225] V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1924), i. 219–21. The script of the manuscript is English; but that it was subsequently used at Laon is clear from the *ordo missae* (fos. 74–6) added in the thirteenth century, as well as from a fifteenth-century note on the fly-leaf: 'Iohannes Vielliart, capellanus cappellanie ecclesie Laudunensis beati Pauli.'

[226] See R. Delamare, *Le calendrier de l'église d'Evreux* (Paris, 1919), p. 74. For the cult of Anglo-Saxon saints in Normandy, see M. Chibnall, 'Les Normands et les saints anglo-saxons', in *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale*, ed. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen, 2000), pp. 259–68, with discussion of St Swithun at pp. 266–7.

[227] See above, pp. 38, 40. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of St Swithun in a thirteenth-century calendar from Evreux printed by Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, ii. 39, implying that Evreux did not at that time possess the relic.

[228] The lections are ptd below, pp. 114–15, from the *Breviarium Ebroicense* of 1737.

[229] Ibid.

[230] In his late eighteenth-century account of the antiquities of Winchester Cathedral, John Milner offered an account of how the relic was removed from Canterbury: 'The architect employed in repairing the cathedral of Canterbury ... was a native of Sens, who, returning home, seems to have carried a fragment of the saint's skull, in consequence of which St Swithun's head was believed to be at Sens, and his festival was kept there with great solemnity'

the historian Robert Delamare, basing himself on notes supplied by Canon Delanoë, was able to state that 'this precious relic has, since the Revolution, been enclosed in a reliquary made of gilded wood.'[231] Subsequent accounts of the treasures of Evreux Cathedral contain no mention of the relic.[232] Recently, however, the relic has been rediscovered; an account of the events which led to the rediscovery is given by John Crook in the Appendix, below, pp. 61–5; the relic itself is illustrated in pl. XVI.

v. ST SWITHUN IN UNIVERSAL PERSPECTIVE

The sum of this evidence indicates that St Swithun was a widely, but not universally, culted saint: widely commemorated, that is, throughout southern England and Scandinavia, and also at scattered locations in Ireland and France. It could not be said that he was culted throughout Europe. Nevertheless, when Cardinal Baronius (1538–1607) compiled in 1586 the *Martyrologium Romanum* which (with updatings) has served as the basis for the cult of saints in the universal or catholic church up to the present day, he included a small number of Anglo-Saxon saints, among them such great names as Bede and Boniface.[233] Among the Anglo-Saxon saints are five saints the focal point of whose cult was Winchester: Birinus, Æthelthryth, Hæddi, Æthelwold and Swithun. The entry for St Swithun, set against the feast of the deposition on 2 July, is as follows: 'Wintoniae in Anglia sancti Swithuni episcopi, cuius sanctitas gratia miraculorum effulsit' ('At Winchester in England, the deposition of Bishop Swithun, whose sanctity is resplendent through his many miracles').[234] In this sense, then, St Swithun can justly be regarded as a saint of the universal church.

APPENDIX: THE REDISCOVERY OF ST SWITHUN'S HEAD AT EVREUX

by JOHN CROOK

In 1928 the historian of Evreux Cathedral, l'Abbé Robert Delamare, printed a manuscript list of the relics in existence at that cathedral before the French Revolution. It had been compiled in the early nineteenth century by Canon Delanoë, who, Delamare stated, had been 'personally acquainted with the priests of the cathedral chapter before the Revolution'.[235] The relic was described as follows:

(*The History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester*, 2 vols. (Winchester, 1798–9), ii. 69 n. 1; the sentence is repeated in Milner's more popular *Historical Account of Winchester Cathedral, with a Supplement describing the Alterations and Repairs*, 9th edn. (Winchester, [1830]), p. 115 n. 1). But Sens is not Evreux, and I can find no evidence for commemoration of St Swithun at Sens. The likelihood is that Milner misunderstood a story relating to Evreux.

[231] Delamare, *Le calendrier*, p. 74.

[232] For example, there is no mention in G. Bonnenfant, *La cathédrale d'Evreux* (Paris, [1925]).

[233] *Martyrologium Romanum . . . accesserunt notationes atque tractatio de Martyrologio Romano, auctore Caesare Baronio* (Rome, 1586). An attempt to revise and update the *Martyrologium Romanum* in the early twentieth century, which resulted in the publication of a revised edition in 1922, was judged wholly inadequate in light of (for example) three centuries' work by the Bollandists: see H. Quentin, 'La correction du martyrologe romain', *AB* xlii (1924), 389–406, and, more recently, J. Dubois, 'Introduction à la révision du martyrologe romain', repr. in his *Martyrologes d'Usuard au Martyrologe romain*, pp. 90–101. For this reason one still cites the so-called *editio typica* of 1914, as in the following note.

[234] *Martyrologium Romanum Gregorii XIII iussu editum Vrbani VIII et Clementis X auctoritate recognitum* (Vatican City, 1914), p. 123.

[235] R. Delamare, *Le calendrier spirituel de la ville d'Evreux au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1928), p. 341. The relic lists are ptd on pp. 342–6.

Le chef de saint Swithun, évêque de Winchester, en Angleterre. Cette sainte relique fut apportée à Evreux avant la fin du XIVe siècle; elle a été conservée, elle est maintenant dans un reliquaire de bois doré semblable à celui qui renferme les reliques de saint Taurin et, sous ces reliques, toutes celles qui n'ont pu être reconnues. Guillaume de Cantiers, évêque d'Evreux, l'avoit placée, en 1404, dans un reliquaire de bois, mais, le 17 juillet 1611, elle fut mise dans un nouveau reliquaire représentant ce saint évêque.[236]

The head of St Swithun, bishop of Winchester, in England. This holy relic was brought to Évreux before the end of the 14th century. It has been preserved and is now in a reliquary of gilded wood like the one which contains the relics of St Taurin and, with these relics, all those which could not be identified. William de Cantiers, bishop of Évreux, had it placed in 1404 in a wooden reliquary, but on 17 July 1611 it was placed in a new reliquary representing this holy bishop.

Doubt has been cast on the reliability of Canon Delanoë's testimony, and some of his assertions are said to be 'de pures inventions'.[237] Fortunately, the existence at Evreux of a relic believed to be of St Swithun is corroborated by the late medieval lections surviving in the printed *Breviarium Ebroicense* of 1737.[238]

Robert Delamare's writings have not hitherto been used by scholars of the cult of St Swithun, and the survival of the relic at Evreux was long forgotten, apart from a brief mention in an article by Marjorie Chibnall.[239] My attempts to locate the head of the saint at Sens, following up John Milner's assertion that it had found its way from Canterbury to that city, was of course unsuccessful: as Michael Lapidge points out, Milner may have confused the two French cathedrals. [240] But early in 2000 my opinion was sought on a matter which for the two previous years had been the subject of a confidential discussion within the cathedral chapter of Winchester. In 1997/8 a member of the cathedral congregation, Robert Darley-Doran, had been touring cathedrals in northern France armed with a copy of Benjamin Winkle's *French Cathedrals*.[241] On consulting the text relating to Evreux Cathedral he had been intrigued to read, in an account of the effects of the French Revolution on that church, that 'the Cathedral was robbed of every thing it possessed, sacred vessels, precious shrines, and ornaments, even the linen was taken away. The holy relics were however preserved, and among them the head of St. Swithun, bishop of Winchester.'[242] On arrival at Evreux Cathedral, Mr Darley-Doran asked to view the relic, but the head of St Swithun was not obviously visible in the cathedral treasury, and his enquiries led to nothing. Mr Darley-Doran reported his discoveries to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, and the Canon Librarian, the Revd Dr Keith Walker, subsequently visited Evreux and was shown the relic. The chapter considered a proposal to bring it to England, to be displayed in the cathedral as part of an exhibition devoted to St Swithun, but it was felt in higher ecclesiastical circles that the display of such a relic would be inappropriate at this stage of the ecumenical dialogue between the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. Instead, my suggestion that a photograph of the relic might be included in the exhibition was accepted, and I visited Evreux on 20 April 2000, where, through the kind offices of the Priest in Charge, Père Pinel, and his assistant, M. Feilleu, I was permitted to examine and photograph the relic (pl. XVI).

[236] Ibid. p. 345.

[237] Mme A. Gosse-Kischinewski (Archives Départementales de l'Eure), pers. comm.

[238] Quoted and discussed by Michael Lapidge, below, pp. 114–15; see also above, p. 40.

[239] 'Les Normands et les saints anglo-saxons', pp. 266–7 (quoting information supplied by Michael Lapidge).

[240] See above, p. 60 with n. 230.

[241] B. Winkle, *French Cathedrals . . . illustrated by Drawings taken on the spot by R. Garland, Architect, with an Historical and Descriptive Account* (London, 1837).

[242] Ibid. p. 139.

Somewhat confusingly, the relic is one of three contained in a large, early nineteenth-century reliquary-chest, bearing the inscription *Reliquiæ S. Nigasii presbiteri et martiris* in low relief on the front face. The chest underwent conservation treatment in 1998, when it was regilded. It was probably originally designed only for the fragment of the femur of St Nicasius (Saint Nicaise), visible through the glazed arch occupying the centre of the front face, but the casket proved large enough to accommodate two other sets of relics which are visible through openings at the two ends: the upper jaw-bone and a finger-bone of St Taurinus of Evreux (left face), and the skull fragment here under discussion (right face). The reliquary is said to have been given to the cathedral in 1836, and an inventory drawn up in that year states that it contained all three relics.[243]

The relic itself (see pl. XVI) consists of the upper part (*calvaria*) of a human skull, and includes the frontal and parietal bones. The upper jaw is missing, but the fragment is firmly bound to the cushion on which it is mounted, preventing examination of the underside. Despite being so incomplete, the relic could nevertheless be broadly described as a 'head', as it was in the Evreux lections cited by Michael Lapidge, which refer to the *caput*.[244] Likewise Canon Delanoë, in his list of the Evreux relics, referred to 'le chef de saint Swithin'.[245]

The cushion on which the relic is mounted is covered in red satin, adorned with gold braid. The skull fragment is attached to it by means of red ribbons, knotted at the top and sealed with red wax. There can be little doubt that this arrangement dates from the early twentieth century, and is referred to in a document of authentication, dated 1904, cited below. The relic is identified by means of a small paper *titulus*, bearing the words *Ex capite S^ti Switini abbatis.*

Two certificates of authentication (*authentiques*) were discovered with the relic during the recent conservation of the reliquary casket. The earlier certificate, dated 13 March 1822, consists of two statements signed by the two vicars general who had been appointed to supervise diocesan affairs following the death on 30 October 1820 of the bishop of Evreux, Monseigneur Bourlier, and seems to be in the hand of the junior vicar general, Jean-Baptiste Delacroix.[246] It consists of two statements signed by the vicars general. The first statement, reproduced here as written, relates how the head of St Swithun was placed in a reliquary which had just been repaired, presumably the predecessor of the present one; the second concerns miscellaneous fragments of bone and cloth, assumed to be relics, which were placed in the same reliquary—there is no reason to suppose that these are connected with the Swithun fragment.

Cejourd'hui treize mars Mil huit cents vingt deux, Nous vicaires Généraux soussignés, administrateurs capitulaires du diocèse d'Evreux, le siège vacant, avons extrait le chef de St. Scwinthin de la serviette où nous l'avions, momentanément, enfermé, sous le sceau de l'Evêché, le lundy 2. juillet 1821. pour etre ainsi conservé dans le tresor de la Cathédrale, jusqu'à la réparation de la châsse, et ayant trouvé le sceau intact, avons déposé la dite relique dans la presente Châsse scellé du sceau du chapitre.

A Evreux les mêmes jour, mois et an que dessus.
De la Brunière [?] vic[aire]. g[énér]al
N[ommé] a l'Ev[êché] de Mende.
Delacroix vic. gen.

[243] Mme V. Péché, Conservateur des objets d'art du département de l'Eure (pers. comm.), citing 'Archives de l'Éveché, *Inventaire de 1836*, p. 122'.

[244] See below, p. 115.

[245] Delamare, *Le calendrier spirituel*, p. 345.

[246] The senior vicar general, Claude Jean Joseph Brulley de la Brunière (born 1 Feb. 1760), was dean of Evreux and had been nominated bishop of Mende. Jean-Baptiste Delacroix (born 6 Feb. 1764) was the diocesan treasurer. (Mme A. Gosse-Kischinewski, pers. comm., citing 'Archives départmentales de l'Eure, cote 6 V 1'.)

This day, the 13 March 1822, we the vicars general undersigned, being the capitular administrators of the Diocese of Evreux, *sede vacante*, removed the head of St Swithun from the cloth in which it had temporarily been placed under the episcopal seal on Monday 2 July 1821 in order that it should be deposited in the Treasury of the cathedral pending the repair of the reliquary, and having found the seal to be intact have placed the said relic in the present reliquary, sealing it with the capitular seal. At Évreux, this day, month and year aforesaid. [signed]

According to Canon Delanoë, the reliquaries at Evreux had been carried off in 1792, but the relics had been preserved by being buried in the courtyard of the sacristy.[247] They were dug up again three years later, and in 1812 were the subject of a *procès-verbal*. It is probable, therefore, that the reliquary repaired in 1821–2 was quite recent; and it appears to have been replaced once again in 1836—although the possibility cannot be excluded that the reliquary first mentioned in the 1836 inventory was in fact of somewhat earlier date.

The second document dates from 1904 and was issued by Philippe Meunier, bishop of Evreux 1898–1913.[248] It consists of a pro-forma with inserted material in the hand of the Bishop's Secretary, Père Beaujean (printed in italics in the extract given here). The use of a pro-forma suggests that the treatment of the relic of St Swithun formed part of a complete reappraisal of the relics of Evreux Cathedral at that time, and it is likely that similar certificates accompany all the other relics in the cathedral treasury.

Philippus Meunier, miseratione diuina et sanctæ sedis apostolicæ gratia, Episcopus Ebroicensis. Vniuersis et singulis præsentes Litteras inspecturis, notum facimus ac testamur, quod Nos, ad majorem Dei omnipotentis gloriam, suorumque Sanctorum uenerationem, recognouimus ~~sacra . . . particula~~ *os insigne capitis S^ti Swithini abbatis* . . . quo*d* ex authenticis locis extract*um*, deposuimus reuerenter super pannum sericum *rubeum cum ornamentis deauratis decoratum*, ab anteriori parte crystallo munita, a posteriori uero bene clausa, et funiculo serico coloris *rubri* colligata, nostroque in cera hispanica rubra impresso sigillo obsignata, cum facultate collocandi in quacumque ecclesia, oratorio aut capella nostræ dioecesis, et fidelium uenerationi exponendi.

Datum Ebroicis, sub signo ~~Vicarii nostri generalis~~ *et* sigillo nostr*i* ac Secretarii Episcopatus nostri subscriptione, anno Domini millesimo nongentesimo *quarto*, die uero mensis septembris 17°.
+ *Philippus Ep. Ebr.*
De mandato Ill. ac Rev. D. D. Episcopi Ebroicensis:
Beaujean [*illegible*].

Philippe Meunier, by divine mercy and by the grace of the holy and apostolic see, Bishop of Evreux, to all and singular who shall inspect this present document, we make it known and attest that we, to the greater glory of God and the veneration of His saints, hereby recognise the *os insigne* of the head of St Swithun, abbot, which, having been removed from authenticated places we have reverently installed on a red silk cloth decorated with gilt ornaments, furnished with a glass panel in front, and well closed up behind, and bound together with a silk ribbon red in colour, and sealed with our seal impressed in red Spanish wax, with the permission to place it in any church, oratory or chapel within our diocese and to display it for veneration by the faithful.

Given under our sign manual and seal and countersigned by the secretary of our episcopate, A.D. 1904, on the 17th day of the month of September. + Philippus, bishop of Evreux.

[247] Delamare, *Le calendrier spirituel*, p. 343.
[248] Information from J.-B. Mesnel, *Les saints du diocèse d'Evreux*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1912–18).

These documents show that the existence of the supposed relic of St Swithun at Evreux was common knowledge locally from the late eighteenth century onwards, and that it was considered sufficiently important to be rehoused in 1822 and embellished in 1904. Naturally they cannot be used to prove or disprove the authenticity of the relic; and our sources do not explain how the relic rehoused in 1822 was identified as the one known during the period before the French Revolution. Still less may they be used as evidence that the relic really is authentic: this must remain a matter of faith.

The most powerful argument in favour of the authenticity of the relic in at least the fourteenth century is the tradition itself. The cult of St Swithun was not widespread in Normandy, and there is no obvious link between Winchester and Evreux. The fact that Evreux venerated a relic of what for the clergy of that cathedral would have been an obscure Anglo-Saxon saint is perhaps the strongest argument in favour of its authenticity.

How the relic reached Evreux from Canterbury is a mystery. We must reject Delamare's conjecture that the fragment had been brought back from Winchester by Gilles du Perche, bishop of Evreux, said to have crowned 'the son of the king of England' in Winchester Cathedral in 1172.[249] The event recalled by Delanoë was the second coronation of Henry the Young King and his wife Margaret in Winchester Cathedral.[250] The coronation was conducted by the archbishop of Rouen (the archbishopric of Canterbury being still vacant), rather than by the bishop of Evreux; but in any case by 1172 the head of St Swithun had by then been at Canterbury Cathedral for nearly 170 years.[251]

[249] Delamare, *Le calendrier spirituel*, p. 345 n. 1: 'En 1172, Gilles du Perche, évêque d'Evreux, fit couronner le fils du roi d'Angleterre dans l'église Saint-Swithin de Winchester. Peut-être faut-il chercher dans ce fait l'origine de la venue à Evreux du chef de cet évêque.'

[250] *Ann. Wint.* p. 60: 'Hoc anno coronatus est rex Henricus, filius regis Henrici, cum Margareta regina sua, filia regis Francorum Lodovici, apud Wintoniam'. A slightly different emphasis on the coronation is provided by Roger of Wendover: 'Rex iuvenis cum sponsa sua Margareta mense Augusti in Angliam transfretavit, et duodecimo kalendas Septembris apud Wintoniam praefatam Margaretam Rothrodus, Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, in reginam Angliae, ministrantibus sibi quibusdam suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiae, consecravit' (ed. H. J. Hewlett, *Roger of Wendover: Flores Historiarum*, 3 vols. (RS, 1886–9), i. 91).

[251] See above, p. 38.

4

ST SWITHUN IN HAGIOGRAPHY

THE principal vector of the cult of any saint was the hagiography which, in the case of a confessor, characteristically described the saint's exemplary life and the posthumous miracles which took place at his tomb. In the case of St Swithun, a very substantial corpus of hagiography, in prose and verse, in Latin and the vernacular, was produced between the time of the saint's discovery and first translation in 971, up to the time of the Reformation, when saints' cults were suppressed as a matter of royal decree. During those seven centuries, at least a dozen individual hagiographies of St Swithun were composed, and it is the principal aim of the present volume to make these works accessible in modern editions. The purpose of the present chapter is simply to give an overview of the hagiography of St Swithun; for each of the works in question (numbers in bold print refer to texts printed in the second part of the volume), more detailed discussion will be found in the individual introductions. An overview, however, has the merit of highlighting both the literary aims of the hagiographers and the expectations of the audiences at which the individual works were aimed, and of revealing how these aims changed during the course of seven centuries, as the reading public for hagiography itself changed.

The earliest essay in the hagiography of St Swithun was composed within a few years of the first translation of the saint's relics on 15 July 971. Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (no. **1**) is one of the most substantial Latin prose texts which have survived from Anglo-Saxon England. It has never been printed in its entirety, and is barely known to students of the period. The work was apparently composed at Winchester no earlier than 972 and no later than 974 or 975. As is clear from the text, Lantfred was himself a witness to many of the miracles which took place at Swithun's tomb, and his reports often have a pressing immediacy which is lacking in later accounts of the saint. His intention was to describe the saint's *inventio*, that is, the events which led to the discovery of Swithun's miraculous powers (cc. 1–3); the *translatio* or removal of the saint's relics from the conspicuous tomb at the west front of the Old Minster into a custom-built shrine within the church itself (c. 3 *ad fin.*); and the *miracula* or miracles which took place through the saint's intercession at the new shrine inside the Old Minster (cc. 4–39; c. 40 is a brief peroration). Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* consists of forty chapters; of these, the early ones, especially the first three chapters describing the *inventio*, are long and rich in detail, whereas later chapters are sometimes extremely telegraphic in nature: implying that Lantfred set out with a hugely ambitious design in mind, but was forced to curtail his ambitions, perhaps as a result of the urgency with which his work was required by the Old Minster monks and their bishop.

Lantfred's *Translatio* is in every way an idiosyncratic work; but that is not to say that he was unaware of previous hagiographical tradition. His account of the *inventio* of St Swithun, for example, is evidently modelled on the account of the discovery in Jerusalem, in 415, of the remains of the protomartyr, St Stephen, as described in the sixth-century *Inventio S. Stephani*. As in the *Inventio*

S. Stephani, so in Lantfred the saint appears three times to the dreamer (in Lantfred, a blacksmith), dressed in a white robe with golden sandals, at first gently questioning whether the dreamer is awake or asleep, but becoming on each subsequent visit increasingly insistent that the dreamer report the vision to the local bishop. Lantfred's account of the *translatio* itself is modelled on earlier *translationes*, a literary genre which had its origin in western tradition in St Ambrose's account of the translation of SS Gervasius and Protasius, but which was widespread in tenth-century continental houses. For the *miracula* subsequent to the translation, Lantfred will have followed the model of Adrevald of Fleury, whose account of the miracles which accompanied the translation of St Benedict to Fleury, written 865 × 877, was one of the most influential essays in the genre of medieval *miracula* collections. But Lantfred, in addition to showing that he was familiar with the appropriate hagiographical models, was also determined to reveal to his English audience that he was a master of sophisticated Latin style. His sentences characteristically consist of four or five rhyming clauses (he is the earliest Anglo-Latin author to have essayed rhyming prose), and the rhyming prose at several places breaks out into rhymed octosyllabic verse. In order to display his (very considerable) learning Lantfred used Greek vocabulary wherever possible, even though his inability to produce correct case-endings often shows that his knowledge of Greek was superficial. Stylistic considerations aside, however, the great merit of Lantfred's work is the astonishingly detailed picture which he gives us of life in late tenth-century England: the parties of the rich upperclasses and the wretched mistreatment of their slaves; the violent and vicious exactions of royal law (with all its rebarbative bodily mutilation—blindings, amputations of limbs, noses and ears, scalpings, and so on) as well as the excruciating pain of those forced to undergo judicial ordeals by fire; and the indescribable pain and suffering of those who lived in times when there was no adequate medical treatment.

Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* was commissioned by the monks of the Old Minster, and is clearly written with this local and restricted audience in mind. However, whether or not it was part of Lantfred's design, the work quickly came to enjoy wide circulation, not only in England, but on the Continent as well. For over a century it served as the source of liturgical lections for the saint's feast day, and indeed as the principal source for knowledge of the saint's miraculous powers.

Some twenty years after Lantfred had completed his *Translatio* and had returned to Fleury, another monk of Winchester, Wulfstan, who had been given as an oblate to the Old Minster and was the precentor there by the 990s—but about whom very little else is known—undertook to cast Lantfred's prose work into Latin hexameters (no. 2). In so doing Wulfstan produced the longest surviving pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin poem (some 3,400 verses). It is also one of the most skilful: indeed, it might be said that Wulfstan, in his mastery of Vergilian hexameter structure and of metrical devices which control the flow of the verse (such as elision, hiatus, enjambement, and so on) is one of the most technically accomplished Latin poets of the early Middle Ages. For the most part, his poem follows Lantfred's narrative closely, only occasionally departing from it (as, for example, when Wulfstan includes a lengthy panegyric on Eadsige, the secular cleric who had been expelled by Bishop Æthelwold from the Old Minster but subsequently returned, was reconciled with the bishop, became a Benedictine monk, and was placed in charge of St Swithun's new shrine). However, Wulfstan prefaced his poem with a lengthy *Epistola specialis* or 'individual letter' addressed to Bishop Ælfheah, Æthelwold's successor, who held the see at Winchester from 984 to 1006, before being translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury and achieving eventual martyrdom at the hands

of Viking invaders. In this *Epistola specialis* (which consists of 334 elegiac verses), Wulfstan describes in detail the building works undertaken at the Old Minster, largely in response to the growth of the cult of St Swithun, first by Æthelwold and then brought to completion by Ælfheah, including a great tower with a weathercock, a ring-crypt where the relics of other Winchester saints were housed, and a massive organ, whose thunderous roar was so loud that citizens of Winchester had to clap their hands over their ears when it was playing. The *Epistola specialis* thus provides crucial evidence for interpreting the remains of the Old Minster which were excavated by Martin and Birthe Biddle in the 1960s and early 1970s.

In spite of its metrical elegance, Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* did not reach a wide audience (only two manuscripts of the entire text survive); nor was it meant to. There was in Anglo-Saxon England a lively tradition of rendering hagiographical prose into verse, stretching back to Bede (whose *Vita metrica S. Cuthberti* is a hexameter version of the earlier, anonymous, prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*). In comparison with their prose counterparts, the verse *contrafacta* characteristically presented a dense and often figural interpretation of the prose, a feature which implies that they were composed for use in private meditation rather than public celebration. Wulfstan's *Narratio* will have been read in meditation by small numbers of scholars who had a taste for refined verse.

The last of the early (pre-Conquest) Winchester hagiographers who treated the translation and miracles of St Swithun was Ælfric, who, like Wulfstan, was a student of Æthelwold and a scholar of distinction. Ælfric was above all an educator: he composed the first Latin grammar in any European vernacular, and in his several series of English homilies was concerned to expound the articles of Christian faith accurately but cogently to a wider lay audience. The same intention lay behind his vernacular treatment of St Swithun. Given his scholarly predilection for clarity and brevity, it is easy to understand that he will have been unhappy with Lantfred's bombastic Latin as a vehicle for reaching a wide audience. Ælfric accordingly recast and abbreviated Lantfred's text into an *Epitome* of about five pages' length (no. 3), and then, using both the *Epitome* and Lantfred's text, set about producing his Old English 'Life of St Swithun' (no. 4). The 'Life of St Swithun', completed some time in the 990s, and in any case before *c.*998, took its place in Ælfric's collection of *Lives of Saints* (which, like his earlier two series of *Catholic Homilies*, was presumably designed to have forty items, although no surviving manuscript preserves the collection intact). The *Lives of Saints* was dedicated to Ælfric's patrons, the ealdorman of the western shires, Æthelweard, and his son and successor, Æthelmær; from the dedicatory letter which prefaces the collection, it is evident that Ælfric intended his collection of saints' Lives to be read by laymen such as his patrons in a way which would allow them to follow in their own vernacular the content of the Latin lections which were read to monks during the Night Office. Significantly, St Swithun is one of the very few native English saints included in this collection (the others being Cuthbert, Æthelthryth, Oswald king and martyr, and Edmund king and martyr), which is mostly devoted to saints of universal reputation such as St Martin. The inclusion of Swithun in Ælfric's collection is a token of the importance which this local Winchester saint had assumed within twenty-five years of his discovery and translation. During the following century, thanks largely to the efforts of the three early Winchester hagiographers, the cult of St Swithun spread so that he became arguably the principal native English saint, at least in Southumbria.

There was no further essay in the hagiography of St Swithun before the Norman Conquest. By the late eleventh century, the new Norman ecclesiastical order was well established throughout

England, and Norman ecclesiastics sought to realize their break with the Anglo-Saxon past by erecting new churches in place of the earlier Anglo-Saxon ones: as happened, for example, in Winchester with the consecration of the present cathedral by Bishop Walkelin in 1093. A similar move to renovation took place in the field of hagiography. The Lives of St Swithun by Lantfred, Wulfstan and Ælfric had served their purpose for over a century, and were now deemed to be in need of renovation; more to the point, all three Lives dealt solely with the miracles which took place *after* Swithun's invention and translation. Given the spreading fame of his cult, there was justifiable curiosity about the man himself, about the earthly career of the bishop who had occupied the see of Winchester in the mid-ninth century. At some time in the early 1090s, perhaps as a reflex of the building of the new cathedral in Winchester, a scholar who had access to Winchester archival materials but who seems also to have been a cleric at Sherborne, compiled the first proper *vita* of our saint's earthly career. The *Vita S. Swithuni* (no. **5**) is a brief but remarkable piece of historical research and imaginative reconstruction. The anonymous hagiographer had no more historical sources at his disposal than we do, yet he deployed these sources with intelligent skill. He knew from consulting the *Liber vitae* of the New Minster that Swithun's predecessor was Bishop Helmstan, and that Æthelwold was his eighth successor. From one or more of King Æthelwulf's 'decimation' charters, he inferred (no doubt correctly) that Swithun had been a counsellor to King Æthelwulf. And from a brief Latin poem (no. **12a**) he learned that Swithun had built the bridge over the river Itchen at East Gate. From these meagre resources, well padded out with biblical quotation, our anonymous hagiographer produced his account of Swithun's life: that he was born near Winchester of noble parents; that at an early age he devoted himself to biblical study; that he thereby came to the attention of Bishop Helmstan and was made tutor to the young prince Æthelwulf; that when Æthelwulf had acceded to the throne and Helmstan had died, Swithun was made bishop of Winchester; that, as an active bishop in his diocese he constructed a bridge over the Itchen at East Gate; that he performed many miracles (including one in which he restored to their pristine state a basketful of eggs belonging to a poor woman, which had been broken when the woman was jostled by some workmen on the same bridge); that he lived a life of great humility, preferring to travel around his diocese by night, on foot, rather than ostentatiously on horseback; and that, as a reflex of his great humility, he asked his monks, when he saw his own death approaching, to bury him not in the monks' cemetery but in an obscure and inconspicuous place near the Old Minster. And thus he died as he had lived, in great humility.

One can see at once that this *Vita S. Swithuni* is a work of pure fiction—the creation of a scholar who had few historical sources at his disposal, but knew how to manipulate hagiographical topoi imaginatively. His reconstruction of the saint's life on earth is plausible in most respects, save one: that Swithun, out of deep humility, chose an inconspicuous place to be buried. On the contrary, the historical Swithun chose the most ostentatious site in the entire vicinity of the Old Minster: directly outside the west doors of the church, midway between them and St Martin's tower. But by the 1090s the topography of St Swithun's original tomb was unknown, having been replaced by successive phases of building work, culminating in the great new Norman cathedral. The humility story is thus no more than a hagiographer's pious fiction. It is a pity that we know nothing about the hagiographer's identity. In the sixteenth century, Lorenz Surius conjectured that he may have been Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, a well-known contract hagiographer who is known to have lived at both Winchester and Sherborne in the years following the Conquest. But by the 1090s Goscelin was well

ensconced at St Augustine's, Canterbury, and there are serious ways in which his learned and flamboyant style differs from that of Swithun's hagiographer. Regrettably, Surius's conjecture, which has plagued scholarship for four centuries, must be rejected.

When he had finished his *Vita S. Swithuni*, our anonymous hagiographer turned his attention to composing a collection of miracles to accompany the *vita*, which became the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (no. 6). During the twelfth century, it became increasingly common to assemble dossiers of *miracula* as testimony to a (putative) saint's sanctity; and in the thirteenth century, such dossiers became the indispensable written evidence which underpinned the formal judicial process of canonization instigated by the papacy. In undertaking to compile a collection of *miracula*, therefore, our anonymous hagiographer was well in keeping with the times. But where was he to find material for such a collection of *miracula*? Apparently—and bizarrely—Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* was unknown to him. His ignorance in this regard provides grounds for doubting that he was permanently employed at Winchester, for we know that the principal manuscript of Lantfred's work, now in the British Library with the shelfmark Royal 15. C. VII, remained at Winchester until at least the sixteenth century, when it came into the hands of Thomas Dackomb, and then subsequently into the Royal collection. Accordingly, in default of a manuscript copy of Lantfred, our hagiographer happened on a copy of Wulfstan's *Narratio*—itself a metrical version of Lantfred's prose work—and then went to the trouble of turning Wulfstan's verse back into prose. (By chance we have the very manuscript of Wulfstan's *Narratio* which he consulted at Sherborne: a manuscript now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Auct. F. 2. 14).) The result is that the first forty *miracula* in the collection are our hagiographer's prose renderings of Wulfstan's poem. However, the collection as a whole consists of fifty-six miracles, and the final sixteen—which have no identifiable source—are a wonderful record of the sorts of miracles which captured the popular imagination in early twelfth-century England: the leper who, through St Swithun's aid, was cured of his leprosy to the extent that his leprous skin fell to his feet like a cloak, revealing a pristine body; or the deaf-mute who, after praying to St Swithun, was able to converse with the abbots and monks of Winchester in English, French and Latin; or the boy who was apprehended as a thief, had his eyes put out, but through Swithun's mercy found that in one eye-socket, a small eye-let the size of a sparrow's eye grew in time to become a normal eye. These additional miracles also concern a number of prominent Winchester personalities of the later eleventh century: dowager Queen Emma, whose house is mentioned in the text and can be identified in the later 'Winchester Survey'; Walkelin, the aforementioned bishop of Winchester (1070–98); and the local Winchester sheriff, Durand, whose activities are otherwise known from *regesta* of William Rufus and Henry I. In other words, the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, which have not previously been printed, illuminate the spirituality and social conditions of the late eleventh century, in the way that Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* help to illuminate those of the late tenth.

The anonymous hagiographer's *Vita S. Swithuni* and *Miracula S. Swithuni* set the bench-mark for all future veneration and hagiography of St Swithun. After their publication, by *c.*1100, no further copies were ever made of the earlier works of Lantfred, Wulfstan or Ælfric. As soon as they became available, they were widely circulated (the *vita* more so than the *miracula*), and henceforth were the source of all breviary lections for the night Office. All medieval historians, from William of Malmesbury, John of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon onwards, based their accounts of the saint on the two anonymous works. A number of breviate versions were produced (no. 7). In the

mid-fourteenth century John of Tynemouth compiled his massive *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae*, a collection of 149 Insular saints' Lives which, in its scholarly use of manuscript sources, resembles the later editorial efforts of Heribert Rosweyde and the Bollandists. For his account of St Swithun, the *Vita et miracula S. Swithuni* (no. 9), John simply abbreviated, drastically, the *vita* and *miracula* of the anonymous late eleventh-century hagiographer. John had arranged the Lives in his *Sanctilogium* in the order of the liturgical calendar, beginning with January; at some point in the fifteenth century an unknown scribe rearrranged the collection into alphabetical, rather than calendrical, order. It was this alphabetically-arranged *Sanctilogium* was was printed in 1516 by Wynkyn de Worde with the title *Nova Legenda Anglie*. For nearly five centuries this collection has been the defining source of knowledge for Insular saints, Swithun among them.

In the late Anglo-Saxon period, much of the hagiography of St Swithun was written by, and intended for, a readership of monks and/or clerics literate in Latin; the sole exception was Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun', which, as we have seen, was explicitly created for a lay readership. In the period after *c.*1100 there was a significant increase in Latin literacy, and newly-available works such as the *Vita S. Swithuni* and *Miracula S. Swithuni* will have reached wider audiences than was possible in the period before 1066; but these audiences will still have consisted largely of monks and clerics. It was not until the late thirteenth century that a hagiographical vehicle was created which could bring saints' Lives to a lay readership ignorant of Latin, namely *The South English Legendary*. This massive work is one of the longest surviving Middle English poems: it consists of some 20,000 lines, made up of approximately one hundred biblical narratives and saints' Lives of varying length, including a 'Life of St Swithun' (no. 8). The original conception of the work was apparently that of providing the vernacular equivalent of a Latin legendary; although no manuscript of the original survives, various evidence suggests that it was composed at Worcester or its immediate environs *c.*1270, but thereafter was subject to much redaction and adaptation, including the incorporation of legends drawn from the *Legenda aurea* of Iacopo da Varazze, and of biblical narratives of various kinds. There is good reason to think, however, that the 'Life of St Swithun' was part of the original design, and is not a later accretion. In any event, *The South English Legendary* 'Life of St Swithun' is a brief poem of some 160 lines, translated from both the *Vita S. Swithuni* (no. 5) and the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (no. 6). It is cast in rhythmical rhyming couplets, each line of which consists of two components, the first having four stresses, the second three (as in: 'Sir Robin was a noble knight, a noble knight was he'). This verse form was extremely popular, and was widely used as a vehicle for medieval romances and ballads; it is easily imitated, and in its worst form turns quickly into doggerel. The verse-form by itself suggests that the original intention lying behind *The South English Legendary* was that of communicating the spiritual content of saints' Lives to a lay audience, so that in their reading they could emulate the devotions of monks at the Night Office, when lections drawn from saints' Lives were read from the breviary. In any event, *The South English Legendary* was widely popular in the West and Southwest Midlands (Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire), and survives in large numbers of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts.

Although *The South English Legendary* enjoyed wide circulation in those parts of England, it was eclipsed in popularity by the aforementioned *Legenda aurea*, both in its original Latin form, and also in numerous vernacular translations, notably the French translation by Jean de Vignay (d. *c.*1340), known as *La légende dorée*. In the year 1438 an anonymous translator who refers to himself as a 'sinful wretch' translated the *Légende dorée* into Middle English prose, so as to constitute a work

known as *The Gilte Legende*. To judge from manuscript evidence, it circulated primarily in London. However, it was soon felt to be inadequate for English audiences, inasmuch as it lacked any English saints (with the exception of Thomas Becket, there were no English saints in Iacopo's original *Legenda aurea*). So at some point in the mid-fifteenth century a further anonymous translator added to *The Gilte Legende* various additional Lives of English saints, and among these was a 'Life of St Swithun' (no. **10**). As the source for his 'Life of St Swithun' the translator simply turned to that in *The South English Legendary*, and rendered its rhyming doggerel into flat English prose. *The Gilte Legende* enjoyed only limited circulation in manuscript, for the most part in London. However, the pioneering entrepreneur and printer William Caxton issued in 1483 a massive hagiographical collection which he entitled *The Golden Legend*, and which was drawn from various sources, including the Latin *Legenda aurea* of Iacopo da Varazze, the *Légende dorée* of Jean de Vignay, and the Middle English *Gilte Legende*. Among the Lives which Caxton derived from *The Gilte Legende* was his 'Life of St Swithun' (no. **10 appendix**).

Caxton's venture into the new technology of print made plain that there was a reading public eager for hagiography. Various later printers attempted to cater for this taste. We have seen that Wynkyn de Worde, in 1516, printed the *Noua Legenda Anglie*, an alphabetically-arranged redaction of John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium*. In the same year, the printer Richard Pynson printed *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende of England* which, as its name implies, was essentially an (early modern) English translation, much abbreviated, of the Latin *Noua Legenda Anglie*. Pynson's *Kalendre* included among its contents a Life of St Swithun (no. **11**); but this Life is so abbreviated that it is difficult to form any but the most rudimentary impression of Swithun's miraculous sanctity.

The hagiography of St Swithun thus stretches from a few years after 971 to the very eve of the Reformation. It constitutes a very substantial corpus, and even though some further works have unfortunately been lost—for example, a metrical *Vita S. Swithuni* by the indefatigable hagiographer Henry of Avranches (d. 1260)[1]—it is one of the largest corpora of an Anglo-Saxon saint. During the five centuries of hagiographical production, the story of the miracles performed by the saint was told in Latin prose (Lantfred), then recast as verse (Wulfstan), then turned from verse back into prose (*Miracula S. Swithuni*). Latin texts (Lantfred and the *Epitome*) were rendered into Old English prose by Ælfric; the Latin prose of the *Vita* and *Miracula S. Swithuni* was recast as rhyming Middle English verse by the author of *The South English Legendary*, and his verse was subsequently turned into vernacular prose by the translator of the additional Lives of *The Gilte Legende*. These many transformations are a valuable index to the changing tastes of the literate public, and perhaps deserve study, as a corpus, by students of medieval literacy.

In spite of the continuing process of transformation, certain features of St Swithun's hagiography remain constant. The motif of St Swithun's great humility, for example. Lantfred (no. **1**) had supposed that Swithun, 'affected by the virtue of humility', chose to be buried in the 'lowly cemetery of common people' located in front of the west door of the Old Minster, 'arguing with many tears that his corpse was not worthy to be buried within the church nor among the distinguished interments of ancient fathers' (c. 2). In fact he was buried in a very conspicuous tomb in a commanding position within the cathedral precincts, and his motives in choosing such a position were probably anything but humble ones. Nevertheless, Lantfred's supposition about the

[1] On Henry of Avranches, see Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 429. For the lost *Vita S. Swithuni*, see A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 180.

saint's humility was picked up and embellished a century later by the anonymous author of the *Vita S. Swithuni* (no. **5**), so that during his lifetime Swithun was said always to have 'provided an attractive example for everyone of his humility', as proved by the fact, so the hagiographer assures us, that he did not employ horse-drawn transportation when he went to consecrate a church, but instead went barefoot, and, what is more, did so at night so that no-one could see him (c. 7). As a reflex of this humility he always took his meals with the poor and needy rather than with the rich, and always 'spoke to his neighbour as if to himself, in humble and modest speech' (ibid.). The motif of Swithun's humility and his affinity with the poor figured prominently in all later hagiography dependent upon the *Vita*.

Over succeeding centuries, the valuable detail concerning the saint's life and miracles which characterizes the earliest essays in hagiography (Lantfred, Wulfstan, Ælfric, and, to a lesser extent, the *Vita S. Swithuni*) was all but eliminated, so that Swithun became in effect an icon of humility. His humility and affinity with the poor was crystallized in the miracle which more than any other typifies Swithun as a saint: that of the poor woman carrying a basket of eggs to market when she was jostled by workmen at work on the bridge at East Gate (which Swithun is known to have constructed: see no. **12** (**i**)), and all the eggs were broken. Upon hearing her cries of anguish, St Swithun blessed the eggs, and they were all restored to their pristine state. This miracle-story was first devised in the late eleventh century—it is not clear whether its earliest recorded form is in the *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 6, or in the poem devoted entirely to the miracle, 'Inter signa gloriosi', no. **12** (**vi**)—and thereafter figures in all subsequent hagiography of the saint, and is even represented in a twelfth-century wall-painting in the present-day church of Corhampton (see below, pp. 185–7). On the face of it, it is a rather undistinguished miracle, and scarcely reveals Swithun as a powerful thaumaturge. But it was popular precisely because it exemplified, in a way unparalleled (I think) in any other hagiographical source—Swithun's affinity with the poor. And that was the achievement of five centuries of hagiography: that an obscure saint about whom nothing was known at the time of his translation in 971 achieved huge popularity as a humble saint who cared especially for the poor.

5

ST SWITHUN IN THE LITURGY

THE growth of the cult of St Swithun was reflected not only in the burgeoning corpus of hagiography which originated at Winchester and which accompanied the translation of the saint's relics, but also in the increasing number of liturgical commemorations, relics and church dedications which marked the development of the cult, both in England and abroad. In order that the saint could be suitably commemorated, in mass and Office, on the feast-days which were dedicated to his cult, various forms of prayer and chant were needed for each of the feasts. As we have seen, the principal feasts of the cult of St Swithun were in origin those of the deposition (2 July), translation (15 July) and ordination (30 October). As the cult developed, the first two of these feasts were often accorded a high grading, and were commemorated through the following octave. The feasts in question, together with the gradings[1] which they were normally given at Winchester, are as follows:[2]

2 July: Deposition of St Swithun (*duplex*)
9 July: Octave of the Deposition (*in albis*)
15 July: Translation of St Swithun (*duplex*)
21 July: Octave of the Translation (*in albis*)
30 October: Ordination of St Swithun (*in albis*)

Although it was the translation of the saint which initiated the cult,[3] it would appear from liturgical evidence that the feasts of both the deposition and translation (and perhaps the ordination as well) were commemorated from very early on, and probably from the outset.[4] As we saw in the previous chapter, commemorations for St Swithun are found in calendars and martyrologies from most parts of England; but whether commemoration implied full liturgical celebration (with proper mass and Office) can only be determined from study of the liturgical forms which constituted those celebrations. A very substantial body of liturgical forms pertaining to the cult of St Swithun has survived from the Middle Ages, and it will be convenient to treat individual forms separately. In what follows, my principal concern has been to provide as full a dossier as possible of liturgical texts illustrating the cult of St Swithun in the period before 1100, and of such texts as elucidate their survival or transformation in subsequent centuries. The texts are arranged to include those for the mass (nos. i–iv), Office (nos. v–viii), and occasional prayers (nos. ix–x).

[1] On the significance of the gradings specified for the feasts of St Swithun (*duplex*, *in albis*), see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 53–4.

[2] The identification of these feasts is based on the evidence of Winchester liturgical calendars assembled by N. J. Morgan, 'Notes on the post-Conquest calendar, litany and martyrology of the cathedral priory of Winchester, with a consideration of Winchester diocese calendars of the pre-Sarum period', in *The Vanishing Past. Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. A. Borg and A. Martindale, BAR International ser., iii (Oxford, 1981), pp. 133–71.

[3] See above, pp. 8–12.

[4] See ch. 2, above, pp. 22–4.

i. PRAYERS FOR THE MASS

The central part of the mass, the *canon missae*, was fixed and invariable. However, this fixed core was combined with various prayers (collect, secret, preface,[5] and postcommunion) which are together referred to as a 'mass-set' or 'mass formulary', and which varied from Sunday to Sunday and from saint's day to saint's day; such prayers were peculiar or 'proper' to the feast for which they were specified. In the commemoration of an individual saint, the celebrant might choose to use a generalized mass-set specified 'for the feast of any confessor' (*in natali unius confessoris*); but if the saint in question was deemed sufficiently important, it was necessary to have a mass-set composed *ad hoc* for the saint's feast day.

The feast of the deposition (2 July)

Liturgical evidence suggests that, from the time of his translation in 971, St Swithun was commemorated at Winchester both on the feast of his deposition (2 July) and on that of his translation (15 July). However, it is not easy to determine precisely when such commemorations came into existence: one might suspect that they began within a year of the translation, that is to say in July 972. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that no sacramentary of late tenth-century date (971 × *c.*1000) and Winchester origin preserves a mass-set for St Swithun.[6] The fullest witness to his commemoration at mass is the so-called 'Missal of the New Minster, Winchester' (now Le Havre, BM, 330: written at the New Minster, s. xi^2), a plenary missal of late eleventh-century date.[7] This book has a full mass-set, together with an alternative collect, secret and postcommunion, for the feast of the deposition;[8] what is more, this mass-set is preceded by a further mass-set specified for the vigil (that is, the day preceding the feast of the deposition, namely 1 July). No other surviving Anglo-Saxon mass-book has a mass for the vigil of any of St Swithun's feasts. The mass for the vigil is as follows:

[5] The canon of the mass included a prayer called a 'preface' (inc. 'Vere dignum et iustum est aequum et salutare nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte pater omnipotens'), but it became common practice from at least the fifth century (as attested in the Verona or 'Leonine' Sacramentary) to replace the fixed preface with proper prefaces, which often served as the forum for brief theological exposition. The Gregorian sacramentary had in effect eliminated these proper prefaces; but because they were a feature of Gallican liturgy, the 'Supplement' to the Gregorian Sacramentary compiled by Benedict of Aniane included numerous prefaces in order to make good what was felt at that time to be a defect. Because they derive from Gallican liturgy, some Anglo-Saxon sacramentaries include proper prefaces; but by the time of the Norman Conquest proper prefaces had been eliminated from English massbooks for all but the most important feasts. See, in general, *DACL* xiv. 1704–16, and esp. E. Moeller, *Corpus Praefationum*, 5 vols., *CCSL* clxi–clxiD (Turnhout, 1980–1), vol. i.

[6] Two fragmentary sacramentaries survive which may have been owned or written at Winchester in the time of Bishop Æthelwold, or shortly thereafter: the first, a Gregorian sacramentary (*Hadrianum ex autentico*) of Breton origin which was broken up in the twelfth century to make boards for the 'Winton Domesday' and is now preserved as London, Society of Antiquaries 154* (see F. Wormald, 'Fragments of a tenth-century sacrementary from the binding of the Winton Domesday', in WS i. 541–9); the second is a collection of fragments from a sacramentary which may have been written at Winchester *c.*1000, now Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. fragm. 207, 208, 210 + Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, M. H. 3084, 3085 (see L. Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis* (Oslo, 1961), pp. 29–32). Neither of these fragmentary sacramentaries contains a mass-set for St Swithun. See also Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. lxii–lxvii.

[7] *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. D. H. Turner, HBS xciii (London, 1962).

[8] Note that in Latin the term for deposition is *dies natalis* or simply *natale*, that is, the day on which the saint was born into eternal life i.e. died on earth.

VIGILIA SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI

[COLLECTA] Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens et misericors Deus, ut sicut beati confessoris tui atque antistitis Spiðuni gloriosum natale deuotis preuenimus obsequiis, sic ad tua beneficia promerenda maiestatem tuam pro nobis ipse preueniat. Per.

[SECRETA] Da, misericors Deus, ut hec salutaris oblatio qua beati confessoris tui patroni nostri Spiðuni gloriosa preuenimus sollempnia, et a propriis reatibus nos indesinenter emundet et ab omnibus tueatur aduersis. Per.

[PRAEFATIO] ꝼ aeterne. Et maiestatem tuam supplici deuotione exorare, ut qui beati confessoris tui atque antistitis Spiðuni festum sollempnibus ieiuniis et deuotis preuenimus officiis, illius apud misericordiam tuam et adiuuemeur meritis et instruamur exemplis. Per Christum.

[POSTCOMMVNIO] Tuere nos, misericors Deus, per hec sancta que sumpsimus et presta ut beati confessoris tui atque antistitis Spiðuni, cuius natalicia preuenimus, semper muniamur suffragiis. Per.[9]

[COLLECT] Grant, we beseech You, almighty and merciful God, that, just as we anticipate the glorious birthday of Your blessed confessor and bishop, Swithun, with devout prayer, so may he himself anticipate on our behalf Your majesty in earning Your bounties. *Per.*

[SECRET] Grant, O merciful God, that this salvific offering, through which we anticipate the glorious celebrations of our patron Swithun, Your confessor, may both purify us unceasingly from our own guilt and may protect us from all adversities. *Per.*

[PREFACE] ꝼ *aeterne* and beseech Your majesty through devout supplication that we, who are anticipating the feast-day of Your blessed confessor and bishop, Swithun, with solemn fasting and devout services, may be assisted by his merits in the presence of Your mercy and be instructed by his example. *Per Christum.*

[POSTCOMMUNION] Protect us, merciful God, through these holy mysteries which we have ingested, and grant that we may always be fortified through the assistance of your blessed confessor and bishop, Swithun, whose feast-day we are anticipating. *Per.*

The sense of anticipation implied by a vigil mass is stressed in all these prayers through repetition of the verb *praeuenio*, 'to anticipate'. The mass for the feast of St Swithun's deposition follows immediately in the 'Missal of the New Minster'; note that in the case of collect, secret and postcommunion alternative prayers are given.

.VI. ⟨NON.⟩[10] IVLII. DEPOSITIO SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI.

[COLLECTA] Deus, qui presentis annua sollempnitatis gaudia in sancti confessoris tui atque antistitis Spiðuni commemoratione populis Anglorum tribuisti hodierna luce, da nobis ad illam peruenire beatitudinem quam ipse percepit, cuius olimpicam celebramus natiuitatem. Per.

[COLLECTA] Concede nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens et misericors Deus, per sancti Spiðuni meritum nostrorum remissionem peccaminum, et per gloriosi eiusdem presulis interuentum superne felicitatis premium. Per.

[SECRETA] Oblatio quam tibi offerimus, Domine, nos purget ab omni crimine, quo per eius intercessionem, cuius sacram recolimus festiuitatem, sumamus patrie celestis hereditatem. Per.

[ALIA SECRETA] Suscipe, Deus clementissime, munus quod tibi offerimus deuotissime et, interueniente sancto confessore tuo Spiðuno atque pontifice, ad utriusque prosperitatem uitae, illud nobis prouenire misericorditer concede. Per.

[9] *The Missal of the New Minster*, ed. Turner, p. 117.

[10] The manuscript here reads erroneously .VI. KAL. IVLII (which corresponds to 26 June); 2 July is .VI. NON. IVLII.

[PRAEFATIO] VD per Christum. Qui seruilem humane condicionis formam sumere non respuens cum esset dominus angelorum et creator hominum, suis sequacibus prebuit humilitatis exemplum. Quem beatus antistes ac uenerabilis confessor Spiðunus toto corde dilexit, et pro eius dilectione caducam huius seculi pompam reliquit atque Deo conditori sincera mente seruiuit. Cuius supplici prece exposcimus maiestatem, quo per ipsius sancti intercessionem cuius hodie annuam celebramus sollempnitatem, consequamur a Domino coronam inmarcescibilem et sempiterne claritatis feliciter portionem. Et ideo.[11]

[POSTCOMMVNIO] Sanctificet nos, quaesumus, Domine Deus, huius sacri perceptio sacramenti, et gloriosa sancti intercessio Spiðuni angelorum coetibus faciat aggregari. Per.

[POSTCOMMVNIO] Plebem tuam, Domine, a cunctis aduersitatibus protege, ut beato pastore nostro intercedente Spiðuno et presentis uitae opportunitatem et future sentiamus sempiternitatem. Per.[12]

[COLLECT (1)] O God, Who by today's light granted to the peoples of the English the annual joys of the present festival in commemoration of Your confessor and bishop, Swithun, grant to us that we may arrive at that blessed state which he himself received, whose heavenly birth we celebrate. *Per.*

[COLLECT (2)] Almighty and merciful God, grant to us, we beseech, the remission of our sins through the merit of St Swithun, and the reward of heavenly bliss through the intervention of this same glorious bishop.

[SECRET (1)] May this oblation, which we offer to You, O Lord, purify us from all sin, so that we may acquire the inheritance of the heavenly homeland through the intercession of him whose holy feast-day we celebrate.

[SECRET (2)] Receive, O merciful God, the gift which we offer to You devoutly, and mercifully grant that it may benefit us in respect of prosperity in each life, through the intercession of Your holy confessor and bishop, Swithun.

[PREFACE] VD *per Christum.* He Who did not disdain to take on the base form of the human condition, even though He was lord of angels and creator of men, offered an example of humility to His followers. The blessed bishop and venerable confessor Swithun loved Him with his whole heart, and for love of Him relinquished the transient glory of this world and served God the creator with devout mind. We beseech His majesty in humble prayer, that through the intercession of that same saint whose feast-day we are celebrating today we may blessedly obtain from the Lord an imperishable crown and a portion of eternal splendour. And therefore.

[POSTCOMMUNION (1)] O Lord God, may the ingestion of this holy sacrament sanctify us, and may the glorious intercession of St Swithun cause us to join the assemblies of angels. *Per.*

[POSTCOMMUNION (2)] Protect, O Lord, Your flock from all adversities, so that, with our blessed shepherd, Swithun, interceding for us, we may experience both the advantage of this present life and the eternity of the life to come. *Per.*

It is interesting to note that the diction of these mass-sets, especially their unusual vocabulary and phrasing, is reminiscent of Lantfred's prose *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. 1). For the poetic word *peccamen*, used in place of prosaic *peccatum* in both collects, cf. Lantfred *Translatio*, c. 1 ('uniuersaque baptismatis peccamina purificantis'); and for the rare adjective *olimpicus*, used here in the preface, cf. Lantfred, c. 3 ('a fratribus Olimpicam in utroque coenobio ducentibus uitam'). To these examples may be added the adjective *inmarcescibilis* in the preface: cf. Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 1: 'ad caelestis patriae beatitudinem incessanter festinare inmarcescibilem' (below, p. 262). Even more striking is the phrase in the alternative secret, 'ad utriusque prosperitatem uitae', with which may be

[11] These words, the beginning of an incomplete sentence, imply that the scribe of Le Havre 330 failed to copy out the Preface complete.

[12] *The Missal of the New Minster*, ed. Turner, pp. 117–18.

compared Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 1: 'utriusque uitae desiderat perfrui sospitate' (below, p. 262). These similarities suggest that it was Lantfred who composed the mass-sets for the deposition of St Swithun (and also, perhaps, that for the vigil of the feast of the deposition, though there is no vocabulary in that mass-set which is distinctively Lantfredian); and the suggestion is confirmed by consideration of the diction of the mass-sets for the feast of the translation (see below). The implication is that, once the physical translation had been completed, Æthelwold envisaged full-scale liturgical commemoration, involving the feasts of both the deposition and translation, of his newly-created saint, and asked Lantfred, then a member of the Old Minster *familia*, to provide the essential liturgical prayers..

The mass-sets for the deposition soon enjoyed circulation outside Winchester. The two collects were incorporated in the 'Portiforium of St Wulstan' as Office collects for the feast of the deposition.[13] The scribe of the 'Sacramentary of Giso of Wells' (BL, Cotton Vitellius A. xviii, fo. 106v) selected individual prayers so as to constitute a mass-set consisting of the first collect ('Deus qui presentis annua sollempnitatis'), the second secret ('Suscipe Deus clementissime') and the first postcommunion prayer ('Sanctificet nos').[14]

The feast of the translation (15 July)

The 'Missal of the New Minster, Winchester' also includes a mass-set for the feast of St Swithun's translation. Unfortunately, however, the manuscript is in a lacunose state, having lost substantial numbers of leaves, particularly from its beginning, but also randomly throughout. Lacunae in its text of the mass-set for the translation can fortunately be filled by consulting another manuscript of probable Winchester origin *c.*1000, now broken up into a collection of fragments (some forty-eight leaves in all) preserved in various Scandinavian libraries.[15] These two manuscripts offer the following text of a mass-set for the translation of St Swithun:

IDVS IVLII. TRANSLATIO SANCTI SPIÐVNI EPISCOPI

[COLLECTA] Deus qui iubar aethereum antistitem Spiðunum moderno tempore dignatus es mundo reuelare: suppliciter tuam imploramus omnipotentiam, quatinus per gloriosa ipsius sancti merita quem facis choruscare signis miraculorum praebeas nobis supplicantibus famulis omnium incrementa uirtutum et sempiterne felicitatis tripudium. Per.

[SECRETA] Munus quod tibi offerimus, Domine, quaesumus gratanter suscipe, et suffragante beati confessoris tui atque pontificis Suuithuni intercessione, omnes nostrorum nexus peccaminum soluat ac lucrum sempiternitatis nobis adquirat. Per.

[PRAEFATIO] VD aeterne: Cuius prouidentia diuino profecto omnia considerat, et cuius dispositio immota serie uniuersa ordinat, cuiusque maiestas sacro regimine cuncta creata gubernat: qui prisca tempestate per apostolos eorumque successores martyres, et apostolicos uiros semine totum orbem prodigiis miraculorum de erroribus tartari tenebrosis liberatum, dignatus es reuocare ad tui nominis agnitionem, tu idem quoque

[13] *The Portiforium*, ed. Hughes, i. 129 (nos. 1821–2).

[14] Partially ptd F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford, 1883), p. 305.

[15] Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Mi 1 + Göteborg, Friherre August Viklhelm Stiernstedts Samling, no. 4 + Jönköping, Per Brahe gymnasiet, Fragm. 5 and 6 + Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Fragm. membr. lat. 1 + Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. fragm. 204, 5–6 and 205, 1–2 + Växjö, Smalands Museet, Fragm. L 1505/15; for the pages pertinent to St Swithun, see T. Schmid, 'Om Sankt Swithunmässen i Sverige', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteks-väsen*, xxxii (1944), 25–34, and, most recently, Dumville, *Liturgy*, p. 88, who confirms that the script of the fragments is Style I Anglo-Caroline (a script associable with Winchester and its daughter-houses), but who nonetheless hesitates to confirm a Winchester origin.

columnam rutile claritatis olimpicam sanctum pontificem Suuithunum mirabili splendore fulgidum prope metam cosmi egris mortalibus contulisti. O felicem Anglorum gentem cui Dominus rerum talem [concessit patronum, ut merito a predictarum populis gentium colatur quasi unus apostolorum. Tuam igitur, munificentissime Deus, clementiam exoramus, ut sicut ⟨per⟩ sancti istius meritum multiplices sanas languentium turmas, ita eodem intercedente primum a nostris pellas mentibus spurcas uitiorum cateruas, deinde ad gaudia celestis patrie feliciter nos perducas. Per Christum.

[POSTCOMMVNIO] Deus qui per sanctum confessorem tuum antistitem Suuithunum mederis languoribus infirmorum, concede nobis tuum iuuamen per eius implorantibus interuentionem praesentis uitae fungi salubritate et ciuium supernorum societate. Per Dominum nostrum.][16]

[COLLECT] God, Who deigned in recent times to reveal Bishop Swithun, the ethereal brilliance, to the world: we humbly beseech Your omnipotence that through the glorious deserts of this same saint, whom You make to gleam with signs of miracles, You may grant to us your servants beseeching You the enhancements of all virtues and the joy of eternal bliss. *Per.*

[SECRET] Accept willingly, O Lord, the gift which we offer to You and, with the intercession of Your blessed confessor and bishop Swithun in attendance, may it dissolve all the chains of our sins and purchase for us the wealth of eternity. *Per.*

[PREFACE] ꝺ *aeterne.* You, Whose providence considers all things through divine procedure, and Whose articulation ordains everything in an immovable chain, and Whose majesty governs all creation with sacred rule: You Who in an ancient time, through the apostles, and their successors the martyrs and apostolic saints, deigned to recall to the recognition of your name the entire world freed, through Your offspring and the prodigies of miracles, from the murky errors of hell: You also granted to ailing mortals the heavenly column of radiant brilliance, Bishop Swithun, gleaming with marvellous brightness to the limit of the cosmos. O blessed race of the English, to whom the Lord of things granted so great a patron saint, that he might duly be worshipped as one of the apostles by the peoples of the aforesaid race. Therefore, O bountiful God, we beseech Your mercy, that just as You heal multiple crowds of sick persons through the merit of this saint, thus with him interceding You may first expel from our minds the foul throngs of sins, and then lead us blessedly to the joys of the heavenly homeland. *Per Christum.*

[POSTCOMMUNION] O God, Who through Your holy confessor Bishop Swithun heal the infirmities of the weak, grant Your assistance through his intervention to us begging to be sustained by health in this present life and by the company of the heavenly citizens. *Per Dominum nostrum.*

In a liturgical context, the language of these prayers is striking, especially that of the preface, with its emphasis on providence and on the unalterable chain of cosmic events. In this respect it is interesting to compare a poem composed at Winchester in the late tenth century, almost certainly by Lantfred,[17] entitled *Carmen de libero arbitrio.*[18] The invocation to God which opens the poem similarly lays stress on the chain of fate and the providence of the universe (line 5: 'quid series fati, quid porrouidentia cosmi'), and the all-creating power of God: with the preface's wording *cuncta creata gubernat* – a hexametrical cadence in itself[19]—cf. line 29 of the poem: 'O Diuina Dei pietas quae cuncta gubernas'. Similarly, the preface's apostrophe to the English people (*O felicem Anglorum gentem*) has a parallel in an apostrophe at the end of the *Carmen* (line 179: 'gentes Anglorum felices praesule tanto'). Furthermore, as in the case of the mass-sets for the feast of the deposition, many

[16] *The Missal of the New Minster*, ed. Turner, p. 125, and Schmid, 'Om Sankt Swithunmässen'.

[17] See below, p. 223.

[18] Ed. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', pp. 126–37 (repr. *ALL* ii. 266–77).

[19] See *HexLexikon* i. 522.

aspects of the vocabulary of that for the translation have parallels in Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*: with the phrase from the collect, *sempiterne felicitatis tripudium*, cf. Lantfred, cc. 2 ('tripudium percipies sempiternum'), 10 ('tripudium per inmortalia secula seculorum'); for the poetic word *peccamen*, used in place of prosaic *peccatum*, cf. c. 1 ('uniuersaque baptismatis peccamina purificantis'); and for the rare adjective *olimpicus*, used here in the preface, cf. Lantfred, c. 3 ('a fratribus Olimpicam in utroque coenobio ducentibus uitam'). These similarities of thought and diction suggest that Lantfred himself was the author of the original mass-set for the feast of St Swithun's translation.

From late tenth-century Winchester, the mass-set for the translation spread to other centres. It was copied, for example, into the 'Missal of Robert of Jumièges' (now Rouen, BM Y. 6 (274), a manuscript written in the earlier eleventh century, perhaps at Christ Church, Canterbury),[20] but without the preface.[21] The collect of the mass-set was copied—to be used as an Office collect—into the 'Portiforium of St Wulstan' (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391) at Worcester in the second half of the eleventh century.[22] At roughly the same time, the mass-set was copied—again without the preface—into the so-called 'Sacramentary of Giso of Wells' (now London, BL, Cotton Vitellius A. xviii); the scribe of this manuscript, however, simplified the diction of the prayers by substituting (in the collect) the word *beatum* for *iubar aethereum*, and by eliminating the phrase *moderno tempore* (which was pertinent at Winchester in the 970s but not perhaps to Giso a century later).[23]

The feast of the ordination (30 October)

To the best of my knowledge, no pre-Conquest mass-book includes a mass-set for the feast of St Swithun's ordination.

A daily mass for St Swithun

From the pre-Conquest period there also survives what appears to be a priest's private mass for St Swithun (no feast is specified), preserved in the 'Red Book of Darley', now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 (the mass for St Swithun is on pp. 137–41).[24] On palaeographical (and liturgical) grounds, the manuscript was apparently written at Winchester, perhaps at the Old Minster, *c.*1060. It is an idiosyncratic mass-book, evidently compiled for personal use: although prefaced by a kalendar and the Canon of the Mass, it lacks both temporale and sanctorale, and contains instead an extensive Commune sanctorum and various votive masses. Among the masses for individual saints

[20] The origin of the 'Missal of Robert of Jumièges' has been much debated, and turns on the evidence of the decoration as well as on the saints who are commemorated in the sanctorale: some scholars have thought in terms of a monastery within the ambit of Winchester, such as Ely or Peterborough, others in terms of Christ Church, Canterbury: see J. B. L. Tolhurst, 'Le Missel de Robert de Jumièges: Sacramentaire d'Ely', in *Jumièges*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1955), pp. 287–92, and C. Hohler, 'Les saints insulaires dans le Missel de l'archevêque Robert', ibid. pp. 293–303. See also Dumville, *Liturgy*, p. 87.

[21] *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. H. A. Wilson, HBS xi (London, 1896), p. 189.

[22] *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 391)*, ed. A. Hughes, 2 vols., HBS lxxxix–xc (London, 1958–60), i. 132 (no. 1840). For discussion of Office collects for feasts of St Swithun, see below, pp. 101–3.

[23] The 'Sacramentary of Giso' has never been printed integrally. The mass-set for St Swithun's translation is found on fos. 108v–109r; the collect (but not the remaining prayers) is printed from this manuscript by Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, p. 305.

[24] This important manuscript has never been printed integrally; excerpts are printed by Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, pp. 271–5. See the brief study by C. Hohler, 'The Red Book of Darley', in *Nordiskt Kollokvium II i latinsk liturgiforskning*, Institutionen för klassiska sprak vid Stockholms Universitet (Stockholm, 1972), pp. 39–47.

and feasts is the following 'daily mass' for St Swithun; note that the proper chants are all taken from the *Commune sanctorum*, and that none was composed specifically for St Swithun:[25]

MISSA COTIDIANA DE SANCTO SWITHVNO

[ANTIPHONA AD INTROITVM] Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis et principem fecit eum, ut sit illi sacerdotii dignitas in eternum. [PSALMVS] Misericordias Domini.[26]

[COLLECTA] Deus qui multis ostendisti mirabilibus sanctum Suuiðhunum pontificem tibi esse pretiosum, ipsius nobis praesta suffragia et concede ut non ad penas inferni sed ad coronam deputemur celestem, qui huius patroni nos committimus patrociniis. Per.

[LECTIO LIBRI SAPIENTIE] Ecce sacerdos magnus . . . in odorem suauitatis.

[RESPONSORIVM GRADVALE] Iurauit Dominus, et non penitebit eum. Tu es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. [VERSVS] Dixit Dominus Domino meo sede ad dextris meis.[27]

[ALLELVIA] Amauit eum Dominus, et ornauit eum, stolam glorie induit eum.[28]

[SECVNDVM MATTHEVM] In illis. Dixit Iesus discipulis suis parabolam hanc. Homo quidam peregre . . . gaudium Domini tui.

[OFFERTORIVM] Inueni Dauid seruum meum, oleo sancto uncxi eum, manus enim mea auxiliabitur, et brachium meum confortabit eum.[29]

[SECRETA] Super hanc hostiam quesumus, Domine, ut[a] tua descendat benedictio, nosque a peccatis emundet sancti Suuiðhuni antistitis interuentio et cotidie crescere adiuuet in tuo sancto seruitio. Per.

[PRAEFATIO] ℣D aeterne Deus. Et misericordie tue medicinae uulnera nostra committere qui te animarum medicum clementissimum esse et nos ex nostro nichil preter quod fragile et debile est habere agnoscimus. Vnde te humillime petimus ut sanctum Suuiðhunum tibi pontificem pretiosum et in miraculis gloriosum pro nobis facias exorare, cuius confidimus nos posse meritis saluari. Memento quoniam[b] suffragia sumus, et tanto amplius nos adiuuet tua misericordia quanto amplius nostra cotidie crescit miseria. Et quia magis tibi placet ut peccatores[c] salui fiant quam pereant, ne permittas nos amplius perire, sed fac de uia iniquitatis nostre ad iustitiam tuam redire et dignare nos suscipere et in brachiis misericordie tue custodire. Et dum nobis hec defecerit, angelum sanctum tuum iube nos perducere ad illud gloriosum regnum quod fidelibus omnibus promisisti. Per Christum.

[COMMVNIO] Fidelis seruus et prudens quem constituit dominus super familiam suam, ut det illis in tempore tritici mensuram.[30]

[POSTCOMMVNIO] Deus qui ad decorem ecclesie tue sanctum Suuiðhunum presulem miraculis fecisti glorianter rutilare, ipsius pro meritis nobis peccatorum detur remissio et totius bone uoluntatis infusio, nosque post hanc uitam suscipiat paradisus ubi nos regnum eternum tuus comparauit sanguis pretiosus. Per.[31]

[a] in *MS* [b] quam (?) *MS* [c] peccatoris *MS*

[ANTIPHON FOR THE INTROIT] Therefore the Lord made to him a covenant of peace, to be the prince of the sanctuary for ever [Ecclus. 45: 30]. [PSALM] The mercies of the Lord [Ps. 88: 2].

[COLLECT] O God, Who have revealed through many miracles that Bishop Swithun is precious to You, grant to us his assistance, and allow that we may be destined not for the punishments of hell but for the heavenly crown, we who entrust ourselves to the protection of this patron saint. *Per.*

[25] In this and the texts which follow, references to mass-chants are to *Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae de tempore et de sanctis* (Solesmes, 1974) [abbreviated *Grad. Rom.*].

[26] *Grad. Rom.*, p. 445.

[27] *Grad. Rom.*, pp. 486–7.

[28] *Grad. Rom.*, pp. 495–6.

[29] *Grad. Rom.*, p. 447.

[30] *Grad. Rom.*, pp. 491–2.

[READING FROM THE BOOK OF WISDOM] Behold the great priest . . . and a good savour [cf. Ecclus. 44: 16–45: 20].

[GRADUAL RESPONSORY] The Lord hath sworn, and He will not repent. Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech [Ps. 109: 4]. [VERSE] The Lord said to my Lord, Sit on my right hand [Matt. 22: 44].

[ALLELUIA] The Lord loved him, and adorned him, and clothed him with a robe of glory [cf. Ecclus. 15: 5].

[GOSPEL READING FROM MATTHEW] In those days. Jesus said to his disciples this parable. For even as a man . . . the joy of the Lord [Matt. 25: 14–23]

[OFFERTORY] I have found David my servant: with my holy oil I have anointed him. For my hand shall help him: and my arm shall strengthen him [Ps. 88: 21–2].

[SECRET] We beseech, O Lord, that Your blessing may descend upon this offering, and that the intercession of St Swithun the bishop may cleanse us from sin and assist us to grow daily in Your holy service. *Per.*

[PREFACE] And entrust our wounds to the mercy of Your medicine, Whom we know to be the most merciful physician of souls, and that we possess nothing of our own save what is fragile and weak. Accordingly we beseech You most humbly that You make St Swithun, the bishop precious to You and glorious in miracles, to pray for us, through whose merits we trust that we may be saved. Remember that we are in need of support (?), and that Your mercy will assist us to the extent that our misery grows day by day. And because it pleases You that sinners be saved rather than that they perish, do not permit us to perish further, and deign to receive us and protect us in the arms of Your mercy. And while this mercy is lacking for us, order that Your holy angel lead us to that glorious kingdom which You have promised to all your faithful. *Per Christum.*

[COMMUNION] Who is the faithful and wise steward, whom his lord setteth over his family, to give them their measure of wheat in due season [Luke 12: 42].

[POSTCOMMUNION] O God, Who have made St Swithun the bishop gleam brilliantly to the glory of Your church, may forgiveness for our sins be given to us on behalf of his merits, and an injection of all good will, and may paradise receive us after this life, where Your precious blood has prepared for us an eternal realm. *Per.*

Because the 'Red Book of Darley' was prepared for the use of a single priest, who would have been obliged to officiate at mass without the assistance of deacons and subdeacons, all the proper chants and lessons are supplied in addition to the mass-set, so that it is possible for the first time to envisage the entire service. It is not possible to determine how widely this mass was used; but it is worth noting that the collect and postcommunion, at least, were incorporated in the 'Portiforium of St Wulstan' alongside other Office collects for the feast of the deposition.[32]

A mass for the living and the dead

The 'Leofric Missal' (so-called because it was owned at one stage by Leofric, bishop of Exeter, d. 1072, and gifted by him to the cathedral of Exeter), now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, is one of the most interesting and complex liturgical books to have survived from Anglo-Saxon England.[33] Its core is a sacramentary written somewhere in northern Francia (?Saint-Vaast at Arras)

[31] Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, pp. 273–4.

[32] *The Portiforium*, ed. Hughes, i. 130 (nos. 1825–6).

[33] Ed. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*; see the brief but helpful description by R. W. Pfaff, 'Massbooks', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R. W. Pfaff, *Old English Newsletter Subsidia*, xxiii (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995), pp. 7–34, at 11–14.

*c.*900, which Warren, the book's first editor, described as 'Leofric A'. However, once the manuscript arrived in England it attracted various layers of accretion, including a large bloc of material on fos. 38–58 (liturgical calendar and *computistica*), described by Warren as 'Leofric B', and thought by some to have been added at Glastonbury[34] and by others at Canterbury, perhaps in association with Archbishop Dunstan (960–88);[35] and, finally, liturgical materials of various kinds added at various places in the book (notably on fos. 1–37 and in blank spaces in 'Leofric A'), which Warren described as 'Leofric C', and which he assumed was added during Leofric's ownership of the book, hence at Exeter or at Crediton, where Leofric's see was located before its removal to Exeter in 1050. Warren's three-stage schema is almost certainly too simple, but what concerns us here is one of the obviously late accretions to the manuscript. The mass in question is found on fo. 20r–v, and thus belongs to Warren's 'Leofric C'. The question of precisely where the materials which constitute his 'Leofric C' originated may be left open, pending publication of a new edition of the 'Leofric Missal';[36] it is enough for now to state that the mass in question is perhaps to be associated with the period of Leofric's ownership of the book, and was accordingly perhaps added at Exeter. I include here only the collect (although it is not specified as such in the manuscript, its inclusion before prayers rubricated respectively as *Secreta*, *Prefatio* and *Ad complendum* suggests that it was intended as such), since only the collect makes mention of St Swithun.

MISSA GENERALIS VIVORVM ET MORTVORVM

Pietate tua quesumus, Domine, nostrorum omnium solue uincula delictorum, et intercedente beata Maria semper uirgine omnique celesti uirtute, ac beatorum patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, uirginum, omniumque sanctorum precibus, domnum apostolicum .N., pontifices, abbates, regem nostram et reginam nostram et principes nostros, omnesque congregationes illis commissas, et nos famulos tuos, ac locum nostrum, et familiam beatissime Dei genitricis Marie, necnon et sancti Petri apostoli, atque sancti Suuithuni confessoris Christi, et omnia loca sanctorum in omni sanctitate custodi; omnesque affinitate et familiaritate nobis coniunctos, et nobis commissos, nobisque seruientes, necnon et omnes Christianos a uitiis purga, uirtutibus illustra, pacem et sanitatem nobis tribue, hostes uisibiles et inuisibiles remoue, carnalia desideria repelle, aeris commoditatem tribue, iter famulorum famularumque tuarum fidelium in salutis tue prosperitate dispone, nauigantibus fidelibus portum salutis indulge, inimicis nostris ueram caritatem et perfectam remissionem largire, nosque ab eorum insidiis potenter eripe, et omnibus fidelibus uiuis et defunctis uitam et requiem eternam concede. Per.[37]

We ask, O Lord, that through Your mercy You release the chains of all our sins and, with the intercession of the blessed Mary perpetually a Virgin and all heavenly power, and through the prayers of the blessed patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins and all saints, that You protect in all holiness the apostolic pope .N., the bishops, abbots, our king and our queen and our leaders, and all congregations entrusted to them, and us Your servants, and this place, and the *familia* of Mary the blessed Mother of God, as well as of St Peter the apostle and of St Swithun the confessor of Christ, and all holy places; and purify all those joined to us through kinship or acquaintance, and entrusted to us and serving us, as well as all other Christians, from sin, and illuminate them with virtue; grant peace and health to us, take away our enemies visible and invisible, drive away our carnal desires, grant us clement weather, arrange the voyages of Your faithful servants, male and female, in the prosperity of Your salvation, and grant the port of salvation to all

[34] E. Bishop and F. A. Gasquet, *The Bosworth Psalter* (London, 1908), pp. 15–21.

[35] Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 47–50.

[36] A two-volume edition by Mr N. Orchard is forthcoming in HBS, vols. cxiii–cxiv (London, 2002).

[37] Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, pp. 11–12.

your faithful travellers, bestow true love and complete forgiveness on our enemies, and snatch us mightily from their traps, and give life and peace to all the faithful, both living and dead. *Per.*

A significant feature of this collect is the veneration of the Virgin, which takes precedence over that of other saints; but it is also interesting that SS Peter and Swithun are mentioned in addition to the Virgin (but no other saints are specified by name). As we shall see, there survives a blessing for a statue of St Swithun which is preserved in two late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts alongside a blessing for a statue of St Peter (ptd below, no. x). Furthermore, the late eleventh-century *Miracula S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. 6) contain a description of a statue of St Swithun which stood in the cathedral at Sherborne.[38] It is interesting to note, therefore, that the cathedral at Sherborne was dedicated to the Virgin Mary;[39] a prayer invoking Mary in conjunction with St Swithun (and St Peter?) would be appropriate for Sherborne. But by the late eleventh century many English houses were dedicated to the Virgin,[40] and there are perhaps other circumstances which could explain the conjunction with SS Peter and Swithun.

Mass-sets for St Swithun in the post-Conquest period

It will be clear from these various texts that, by the time of the Norman Conquest, there was in circulation a substantial body of prayers for use in celebrating mass on either of the two principal feasts of St Swithun. In the post-Conquest period, compilers of missals drew to some extent upon the pre-Conquest prayers, but there was also an attempt on the part of post-Conquest liturgists to refine and simplify the diction of pre-Conquest prayers. The result was that those mass-sets for St Swithun which were couched in Lantfredian diction were replaced by newly-composed prayers of greater simplicity and directness. The normative form of such prayers is that found in the 'Sarum Missal'. The service for the feast of the deposition is given as follows in the 'Sarum Missal'.

EODEM DIE SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS

[ORACIO] Deus qui hodiernam diem sacratissimam nobis in beati Swithuni confessoris tui atque pontificis deposicione celebrare concedis, adesto propicius ecclesie tue precibus ut cuius gloriatur meritis muniatur suffragiis. Per.

[SECRETVM] Suscipe, clementissime Deus, munus quod maiestati tue offerimus et interueniente beato Swithuno confessore tuo atque pontifice ad utriusque uite prosperitatem illud nobis prouenire concede. Per.

[POSTCOMMVNIO] Deus qui nos a delictorum contagiis tuorum expias perceptione sacramentorum, presta quesumus ut beati Swithuni confessoris tui atque pontificis meritis a cunctis eruamur aduersis, et celestis uite deliciis perfruamur. Per.[41]

[COLLECT] O God, Who grant that we celebrate today this holiest of days with the deposition of St Swithun, Your confessor and bishop, be present in the prayers of Your church that the saint in whose merits it rejoices may be fortified by his assistance. *Per.*

[SECRET] Receive, O merciful God, the gift which we offer to Your majesty, and grant that it may benefit us in respect of prosperity in each life through the intercession of Your holy confessor and bishop, Swithun. *Per.*

[38] *Miracula S. Swithuni*, cc. 44, 53 (below, pp. 680, 686).

[39] *Heads*, p. 70; Binns, *Dedications*, p. 85.

[40] Binns, *Dedications*, pp. 22–3. The Biddles draw my attention to the fact that the Nunnaminster in Winchester itself was dedicated to the Virgin.

[41] *The Sarum Missal edited from Three Early Manuscripts*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1916), p. 287.

[POSTCOMMUNION] O God, Who avert us from the contagion of sin through the ingestion of Your sacraments, grant, we beseech You, that we may be snatched from all adversities through the merits of St Swithun, Your confessor and bishop, and that we may enjoy the delights of heavenly life. *Per.*

Two of these prayers, the collect (= *oracio*) and the postcommunion, have apparently been freshly composed; but the secret is very clearly modelled on the (Lantfredian) secret as preserved in the 'Missal of the New Minster' (ptd above, p. 76). The mass for the feast of the translation, complete with chant-cues, etc., is given in the 'Sarum Missal' as follows.

IN TRANSLACIONE SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS SOCIORVMQVE EIVS.[42]

[ANTIPHONA AD INTROITVM] Sacerdotes eius.[43]

[ORACIO] Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui hodiernam diem honorabilem nobis in beati Swithuni confessoris tui atque pontificis sociorumque eius translacione fecisti, da ecclesie tue in hac celebritate leticiam ut quorum sollempnitatem ueneramur in terris eorum intercessione sulleuemur in celis. Per.

[EPISTOLA] Plures facti sunt.

[RESPONSORIVM GRADVALE] Sacerdotes eius.[44]

[ALLELVIA]. ℣ Fulgebunt.[45]

[EWANGELIUM] Sint lumbi uestri.

[OFFERTORIVM] Exultabunt.[46]

[SECRETVM] Respice, quesumus, Domine, populum tuum ad tua sacramenta currentem, in presenti festiuitate beati Swithuni confessoris tui atque pontificis sociorumque eius et concede ut ipsis intercedentibus quod in honore tui nominis detulerunt cunctis prosit ad ueniam.

[COMMVNIO] Ego uos elegi.[47]

[POSTCOMMVNIO] Pignus uite eterne capientes, Domine, humiliter imploramus ut, intercedente beato Swithuno confessore tuo atque pontifice sociisque eius, quod in ymagine contigimus sacramenti manifesta participacione sumamus. Per.[48]

[COLLECT] Omnipotent and eternal God, Who made this day glorious for us through the translation of St Swithun Your confessor and bishop, and his companions, grant joy to Your church on this feast-day, that we may be raised to heaven through the intercession of those saints whose festival we are venerating on earth.

[SECRET] We beseech You, O Lord, to look kindly upon Your people hastening to Your sacraments, on the present feast-day of St Swithun Your confessor and bishop, and his companions, and grant that, with them interceding that which they brought forward in honour of Your name may contribute to the forgiveness of us all.

[POSTCOMMUNION] We humbly beseech You, O Lord, as we receive the pledge of eternal life, that, through the intercession of St Swithun Your confessor and bishop and his companions, we may ingest in full participation that which we have touched in a likeness of the sacrament.

The other major English rites essentially followed the model of Sarum. Thus the 'Missal of Westminster' (given to the abbey by Abbot Nicholas Litlington, 1362–86) preserves masses for the

[42] St Swithun had no companions in the sense, say, that St Dionysius did. Either the entry here is simply mistaken, or else the compiler was thinking of saints who shared the feast-day 15 July with Swithun, such as Jacob of Nisibis, or the martyrs of Alexandria (Philip, Zeno and Narses).

[43] *Grad. Rom.*, p. 446; cf. also *Graduale Sarisburiense*, ed. W. H. Frere (London, 1894), p. 224.

[44] *Grad. Rom.*, p. 446; *Graduale Sarisburiense*, ed. Frere, p. 224.

[45] *Grad. Rom.*, p. 446; *Graduale Sarisburiense*, ed. Frere, p. 225.

[46] *Grad. Rom.*, pp. 466–7; *Graduale Sarisburiense*, ed. Frere, p. 218.

[47] *Grad. Rom.*, pp. 436–7; *Graduale Sarisburiense*, ed. Frere, p. 219.

[48] *The Sarum Missal*, ed. Wickham Legg, p. 290.

deposition and translation; both are taken from the Sarum missal.[49] The use of Hereford included a mass for the feast of the deposition, but none for the translation; the collect is similar to that of Sarum ('Deus qui hodierna die'), but the secret ('Munus quod tibi offerimus') and the postcommunion ('Deus qui per sanctum confessorem') are identical to those in pre-Conquest mass-sets for the translation, as preserved in the 'Missal of the New Minster' (ptd above, pp. 78, 79).[50] The use of York commemorated the feast of the deposition on 2 July (but not the translation on 15 July); however, the York use had no proper mass for St Swithun, but simply borrowed the relevant prayers of the mass-set (collect, secret and postcommunion) from a mass for the common of a confessor (*ut in Communi*).[51] By the same token, an unprinted fourteenth-century missal from Durham, now London, BL, Harley 5289, has a commemoration for the translation of St Swithun (fo. 337v); but in this case the prayers of the mass-set are drawn from the Common of a confessor. As far as the church of Scotland is concerned, the missal of the church of St Andrews commemorated both the deposition and translation of St Swithun; in each case the prayers of the mass-set are drawn directly from those in the Sarum Missal.[52]

It is likely that these examples, which cover the major uses of England and Scotland, are representative of the liturgical cult of St Swithun in the late Middle Ages: that Swithun was commemorated by proper masses in most, but not all, of the major churches; and that when a proper mass for one of his feasts was specified, it was in nearly every case one (or both) of those given in the Sarum use. There is a substantial number of surviving English missals from the later Middle Ages, few of which have been printed or described;[53] but it is unlikely that a complete collation would greatly alter the general picture which emerges from consideration of the principal uses.

ii. PONTIFICAL BENEDICTIONS

It was a practice of the Gallican (Frankish) church, but never of the Roman church, that, on occasions when mass was being pronounced by a bishop, a set of three brief but distinctive prayers, called blessings or benedictions, was inserted in the Canon of the Mass, after the *Pater noster* and immediately before communion. From the late eighth century, collections of episcopal benedictions for Sundays and saints' days began to be assembled into a book known as a 'benedictional'.[54] (Because the 'benedictional' was *ipso facto* a bishop's book, it was often combined with a pontifical proper, that is, the book containing the services which only a bishop could perform, such as the consecration of a church or the coronation of a monarch.) Two principal Frankish collections have

[49] *Missale ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, 3 vols., HBS i, v, xii (London, 1891–7), ii. 858, 867, with discussion at iii. 1562–3, 1565–6. Note however that the secret for the feast of the translation (col. 867: 'Suscipe, clementissime Deus') is derived, perhaps mistakenly, from that for the feast of the deposition in Sarum, and is thus a repeat of a prayer given earlier (col. 858) for the feast of the depostion.

[50] *Missale ad Usum percelebris Ecclesiae Herfordensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson (London, 1874), p. 281.

[51] *Missale ad Usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson, 2 vols. (Durham, 1874), ii. 60–1.

[52] *Liber Ecclesiae Terrenani de Arbuthnott. Missale secundum Usum Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae in Scotiae*, ed. A. P. Forbes (Burntisland, 1864), pp. 326–7 (deposition), 332–3 (translation).

[53] W. H. J. Weale, *Catalogus Missalium Ritus Latini ab anno . M. CCCC. LXXIV. impressorum*, ed. H. Bohatta (London, 1928). See also the unprinted Sandars Lectures of 1936 by C. A. Gordon, *Manuscript Missals: the English Uses*, now deposited in the BL with the shelfmark Add. 44920, together with Gordon's notebook list of manuscripts, Add. 44921.

[54] See, in general, Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 200–1, as well as *Corpus Pontificalium Benedictionum*, ed. E. Moeller, 4 vols., *CCSL* clxii, clxiiA-C (Turnhout, 1971–9), iii, pp. vi–lxv.

been identified: the 'Gallican'[55] and the 'Gregorian'.[56] The Anglo-Saxon church, particularly during the period of the Benedictine reform movement in the later tenth century, was deeply influenced by Gallican practice; and the evidence of surviving liturgical books makes it clear that the Gallican practice of episcopal benedictions during mass was adopted in England. In any event, a substantial number of benedictionals survives from the later Anglo-Saxon period.[57]

The earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon benedictional is also the most famous: the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' (now London, BL, Add. 49598).[58] This book was evidently Æthelwold's personal benedictional. It was written *c.*973, and decorated lavishly on a scale that cannot be paralleled in any other surviving bishop's book.[59] The 'Benedictional' is also a substantial monument of liturgical scholarship: the compiler—conceivably Æthelwold himself, perhaps with the assistance of scholars such as Lantfred—carefully combined benedictions from the Gallican and Gregorian traditions, and then composed additional benedictions for specifically English saints.[60] Among these English additions was a set of benedictions for St Swithun. Although no liturgical feast is specified in the manuscript, the fact that it is placed between the feast of SS Peter and Paul (29 June) and the translation of St Benedict (11 July) implies that it was intended for the feast of Swithun's deposition on 2 July. It is also worth noting that if a date of 973—which has persuasively been argued for the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' by Robert Deshman—is correct, then the blessings must have been composed within a year or two of Swithun's translation, possibly by Æthelwold himself.

a. Deus qui praesentis diei festiuitatem in beati antistitis Suuithuni celebritate uenerabilem sanxisti, tribue nobis tanti patronis interuentu practice uite subsidium ac aeterne theorice lucrum. Amen.

b. Quique illum nouissimis ferme mundi temporibus multiplici ac pene ineffabili miraculorum copia ut fidei faculam identidem succenderet sanctissimum manifestare uoluit. Vos uirtutum omnium fecunditate floridos fidei spei caritatisque rore perfusos, in sancto proposito cum bonis operibus perseuerare concedat. Amen.

c. Quo pii suffragatoris doctrina irradiati, et multiplici suffragio corroborati, illi in celesti regione mereamini adiungi, qui hodierna die tripudians caeli secreta penetrauit. Amen.
Quod ipse prestare dignetur.[61]

a. O God, Who have blessed the venerable feast of this present day for the celebration of St Swithun, grant us through the intercession of so great a patron assistance in this active life and the bounty of the eternal contemplative life. Amen.

[55] The 'Gallican' benedictional, consisting of some seventy-five benedictions, was possibly compiled in the diocese of Autun in the late seventh century; see J. Deshusses, 'Le bénédictionnaire gallican du VIIIe siècle', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, lxxvii (1963), 169–87. The text is ed. R. Amiet, *The Benedictionals of Freising*, HBS lxxxviii (London, 1974), pp. 76–120.

[56] The 'Gregorian' benedictional was assembled in the early ninth century, probably by Benedict of Aniane, and added as a supplement to the Gregorian sacramentary known as the *Hadrianum ex autentico*; ed. J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, Spicilegium Friburgense, xvi (2nd edn., Fribourg, 1979), pp. 576–98.

[57] Listed by H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 91–141, at 133–4; see also J. L. Nelson and R. W. Pfaff, 'Pontificals and benedictionals', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Pfaff, pp. 87–98.

[58] Facsimile edition by G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1910).

[59] See Deshman, *Benedictional*, esp. pp. 260–1 (dating).

[60] See the important discussions by A. Prescott: 'The text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', in *Bishop Æthelwold, his Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 119–47; and idem, 'The structure of English pre-Conquest benedictionals', *British Library Journal*, xiii (1987), 118–58.

[61] London, BL, Add. 49598, fos. 98r–99r; listed *Corpus Pontificalium Benedictionum*, ed. Moeller, no. 1088, and ptd *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold*, ed. Warner and Wilson, pp. 104–5.

b. And may He Who wished in almost the last days of the world to reveal him as most holy through an abundant and all but inexpressible supply of miracles so that he should constantly ignite the torch of faith, grant that you may, flourishing in the fertility of all virtues and suffused with the dew of faith, hope, and charity, persevere in the sacred task with good works. Amen.

c. So that, illuminated by the teaching of this merciful supporter and strengthened by his manifold assistance, you may deserve to be joined in the celestial realm with him who on this day joyfully entered the recesses of heaven. Amen.

Quod ipse praestare.

But although Æthelwold's personal benedictional contains blessings for the feast of St Swithun's deposition, it is curious that the book contains no blessings for the feast of the translation on 15 July. The absence of such blessings in a book which was written within a year or two of the translation might imply that the book was designed (again, probably by Æthelwold himself) before the translation itself had taken place.

In any event, the blessings for the feast of Swithun's deposition in the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' were subsequently incorporated in other Anglo-Saxon benedictionals, such as the (unprinted) 'Anderson Pontifical', now London, BL, Add. 57337 (written, to judge from the script, at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the first quarter of the eleventh century), fo. 141r, and the 'Canterbury Benedictional', now London, BL, Harley 2892 (also written at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the second quarter of the eleventh century), fo. 162r–v.[62] In another Anglo-Saxon pontifical, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146, the core of which (pp. 61–318) was apparently written—to judge from the liturgical commemorations of Winchester saints which it contains—at the Old Minster, Winchester, in the early eleventh century,[63] but which was later owned and supplemented at Worcester (s. xi^2), are found the same blessings for St Swithun's deposition (p. 256).

What is striking about CCCC 146, however, is that it also contains (on pp. 257–8) blessings for Swithun's translation on 15 July, as follows:

a. Deus, qui inter ecclesie luminaria sanctum Suuithunum pontificem miraculis concessit coruscare, uos faciat donis uirtutum exuberare et illuc tota mente properare quo uos huius sancti miracula incitant festinare. Amen.

b. Quique hodierna die hunc sanctum miraculis coruscantibus Anglorum populis dignatus est manifestare, uobis suam misericordiam dignetur prestare, ut cum ipso possitis habere portionem, cuius sanctissimam celebratis translationem. Amen.

c. Huius intercessio confessoris clarissimi, qui innumeros sanitati restituit languidos, uos uirtutibus faciat floridos, et sic in hac uita adiuuet Deo placere, ut inter rutilos celorum choros in perpetuum ualeatis lucere. Amen.

Quod ipse prestare dignetur.[64]

a. May God, Who granted that St Swithun the bishop should shine out through his miracles among the lights of the church, make you abound with the gifts of the virtues and speed with all your heart to that place where the miracles of this saint urge you to hasten. Amen.

[62] *The Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. R. M. Woolley, HBS li (London, 1917), p. 100.

[63] Cf., however, Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 72–3, who points out that the script of the original part of the manuscript is Style II Anglo-Caroline, a script which is not known to have been written at Winchester, and is normally associated with Canterbury. On this hypothesis, the Winchester saints commemorated in the manuscript belong, in Dumville's view, 'to the prehistory of this book' (p. 72).

[64] CCCC 146, pp. 257–8.

b. And may He, Who on this day deigned to reveal to the English peoples this saint with his resplendent miracles, deign to show to you His mercy, that you may have your share with him whose holy translation you are celebrating. Amen.

c. May the intercession of this distinguished confessor, who restored countless sick persons to health, make you flourish in virtues and thus help you in this life to please God, so that you may be able to shine among the gleaming choirs of heavenly citizens in perpetuity. Amen.
Quod ipse prestare dignetur.

Given the probable Winchester origin and early eleventh-century date of CCCC 146, the assumption must be that the present blessing for the feast of the translation was composed in the generation following the translation in 971, but after the writing of the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' in 973.

Finally, an unprinted pontifical written at Exeter, very probably for Bishop Leofric,[65] in the second half of the eleventh century, now London, BL, Add. 28188, contains on fo. 146r–v a set of episcopal benedictions for St Swithun which is clearly based on those in the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold', but which has been recast so as to eliminate the compressed diction of the originals:

a. Deus omnipotens astantem dignare de celis benedicere familiam ac presentis diei festiuitatem ei fac esse in beati antistitis Suuithuni celebritate salutiferam, simulque interuentu tanti patroni actiue uite illi tribue subsidium et eternum contemplatiue dulcedinis emolumentum. Amen.

b. Quique beatum Suuithunum ineffabili miraculorum splendescere fecisti copia, tu populum hunc sacre fidei facula succende feruida, uirtutumque omnium diuinitus perfusum fecunditate in sancto proposito tu, Domine, cum bonis operibus perseuerare concede. Amen.

c. Sicque hunc, Domine, conuentum emeriti confessoris tui doctrina perficias irradiatum ac multiplici precum eius suffragio corroboratum, quatinus in celesti regione eum facias adiungi, quo sanctus hodie Suuithunus tripudians penetrauit superni culmina regni. Amen.
Quod ipse.[66]

a. Almighty God, deign to bless from heaven this present household and the festivity of the present day: make it salvific in celebration of the blessed bishop Swithun, and at the same time, through the intervention of so great a patron saint, grant to it the support of this active life and the eternal benefit of contemplative bliss. Amen.

b. And You Who have made St Swithun gleam with the inexpressible abundance of miracles, ignite this people with the burning torch of holy faith, and grant that, divinely infused with the fruitfulness of all virtues, it may persevere in its holy undertaking through good works. Amen.

c. And thus, O Lord, may You perfect this assembly, illumined by the teaching of Your veteran confessor and strengthened by the manifold support of his prayers, so that You may make it join the celestial region, where today St Swithun rejoicing entered the summits of the heavenly realm. Amen.
Quod ipse.

These prayers mark the end of the career of episcopal benedictions in the Anglo-Saxon church. With the coming of the Normans, and their reformed Roman rites, the practice of pronouncing episcopal benedictions during mass was abandoned in England. There are thus no post-Conquest benedictionals, and so no post-Conquest blessings for St Swithun.

[65] See M. Lapidge, 'Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33–89, at 67.

[66] London, BL, Add. 28188, fo. 146r–v.

iii. TROPES

In addition to the spoken parts of the mass, some of which were fixed and unchanging (called 'ordinary'), others being 'proper', in that they varied according to the Sunday or saint's day on which mass was celebrated, so there were sung parts of the mass which were fixed (*Kyrie eleison*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*), and others which were proper (the Introit, Gradual, Alleluia, Offertory and Communion chants).[67] At some point in the ninth century, the practice developed in certain regions in France and Germany, as well as in northern Italy, of embellishing the antiphonal chants of the Roman mass by adding supplementary words, which were then sung in conjunction with the mass chant. These embellishments are called tropes, and the books in which they were collected are called tropers.[68] It was quite common in this period for the Latin text of tropes to be composed in hexameters.

It would appear that trope repertories, and the practice of troping mass chants, was introduced into England at the latest with the Benedictine reform movement of the later tenth century. Two manuscript tropers, often referred to together as the 'Winchester troper',[69] illustrate the trope repertory of late tenth-century Winchester:[70] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, written at the Old Minster, Winchester, in the mid-eleventh century, but possibly based on an earlier Winchester exemplar;[71] and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473, written at the Old Minster *c.*1000, apparently for the use of the precentor there (presumptively Wulfstan of Winchester himself).[72] Planchart's detailed analysis of the tropes in these two manuscripts has established that the Winchester trope repertory was heavily indebted to Frankish antecedents. However, in the case of English saints culted at Winchester, St Swithun among them, tropes were often, but not invariably, composed afresh.

In these two 'Winchester Tropers', the feasts both of the deposition and the translation are commemorated with Introit and Offertory tropes.[73] The full set of tropes for the Introit[74] on the feast of the deposition is as follows (Bodley 775, fo. 46r; CCCC 473, fo. 78v); note that, in accordance with current musicological practice, the chants are printed in capital letters, with the tropes above them:

TROPI IN DEPOSITIONE SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI

Ecce patronus adest meritis signisque refulgens;
de quo dulcisonum personat officium.
STATVIT EI ⟨DOMINVS TESTAMENTVM PACIS⟩
Quod maneat solido firmum per secula pacto.
ET PRINCIPEM ⟨FECIT EVM⟩

[67] See R. Steiner, 'Trope', *New Grove*, xix. 172–87.

[68] See Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 75–7; M. Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, lii (Turnhout, 1988), pp. 29–32.

[69] See *The Winchester Troper*, ed. W. H. Frere, HBS viii (London, 1894); also J. Handschin, 'The two Winchester tropers', *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxvii (1936), 34–49, 156–72.

[70] The indispensable analysis of the Winchester repertory is Planchart, *Repertory*; see also, very briefly, E. C. Teviotdale, 'Tropers', in *The Liturgical Books*, ed. Pfaff, pp. 39–44.

[71] See the discussion of Susan Rankin (below, pp. 191–213), and the earlier remarks of Holschneider, *Organa*, pp. 20–7, and Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 34–43.

[72] See Holschneider, *Organa*, pp. 14–20; Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 17–33.

[73] On the tropes for St Swithun in general, see Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 105–7. Planchart argues that the tropes for St Swithun were composed at the time of the translation in 971, and are therefore too early in date to have been composed by Wulfstan.

[74] Introits are antiphons sung in alternation with a psalm-verse or verses. One verse is normal, but when there is a second

Ordine Melchisedech libamina sacra ferentem.
VT SIT ILLI ⟨SACERDOTII DIGNITAS⟩
O Suuithune tuos defende benignus alumpnos.[75]
IN AETERNVM.

Behold, our patron saint is present, gleaming with accomplishments and miracles; in his honour a sweet service resounds. Let it remain forever fixed through a firm agreement. Melchisedech, bearing the sacred offerings from his order [the priesthood]. O gentle Swithun, protect your followers.

Immediately following in both manuscripts is a second trope for the same Introit, marked *AD REPETENDVM*, and thus sung after the psalm-verse at the end of the first singing of the Introit (Bodley 775, fo. 46r–v; CCCC 473, fos. 78v–79r); the fact that a second trope was supplied is an indication of the great solemnity of the feast:

Aurea lux hodie rutilat Suuithunus in orbe,
qui quia pacificus fuerat mitissimus atque
STATVIT EI ⟨DOMINVS TESTAMENTVM PACIS⟩
gentibus Anglorum pacem mittendo per illum
ET PRINCIPEM ⟨FECIT EVM⟩
pontificale decus concessit eique benignus.
VT SIT ILLI ⟨SACERDOTII DIGNITAS⟩
Huius nos meritis Christus conscribat in astris.[76]
IN AETERNVM.

A golden light—Swithun—shines in the world today, who, because he was peaceful and gentle, by sending peace through him to the English peoples, He, the Kindly One, granted to him pontifical distinction. May Christ enrol us in the heavens through his merits.

Also apparently intended for the feast of the deposition is a third Introit trope, given with no rubric in either manuscript (Bodley 775, fo. 46v; CCCC 473, fo. 39v):

Os ky hereos kata tin taxin Melchisedech
STATVIT EI ⟨DOMINVS TESTAMENTVM PACIS⟩
ut uigeat summus stola uernante sacerdos
ET PRINCIPEM ⟨FECIT EVM⟩
inter primates regni celestis heriles.
VT SIT ILLI ⟨SACERDOTII DIGNITAS⟩
Grex tuus, Suuithune, petit memorare tuorum.[77]
IN AETERNVM.

verse, it is usually called a 'uersus ad repetendum', and is added to the previous scheme. The proper mass-chant for the Introit (which is that of the Common of a Confessor) is: 'Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis | et principem fecit eum | ut sit illi sacerdotii dignitas | in aeternum'; see *Grad. Rom.*, p. 445.

[75] Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 169 (no. 164); *AH* xlix. 151–2 (no. 352); *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Frere, p. 45 (no. 220). This trope is preserved only in Bodley 775 and CCCC 473; it is presumably an English composition, therefore.

[76] Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 166 (no. 160); *AH* xlix. 152 (no. 353); *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Frere, p. 45 (no. 221). This trope is preserved only in Bodley 775 and CCCC 473; it is presumably an English composition, therefore.

[77] Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 173 (no. 169); *AH* xlix. 147 (no. 343); *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Frere, p. 29 (no. 146). This trope is preserved in many continental tropers, especially from St Gallen in Switzerland and Saint-Martial of Limoges in Aquitaine (Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 173–5); it is used to commemorate numerous saints, including St Martin and St Martial, and was apparently adapted at Winchester to commemorate St Swithun.

You are a priest according to the order of Melchisedech [from the Greek of the Septuagint Psalter, Ps. 109: 4: *εἶ καὶ ἱερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ*], so that this high priest might flourish with his radiant stole amidst the lordly princes of the heavenly realm. O Swithun, your flock requests that you remember your own.

Besides these Introit tropes for the deposition of St Swithun, the 'Winchester Tropers' include tropes for Introit on the feast of the translation (so specified in Bodley 775, fo. 47r; in CCCC 473, fo. 39r, the same trope is preceded on fo. 38v by the rubric 'TROPI IN DEPOSITIONE SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS'):

TROPI IN TRANSLATIONE SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI

Ecce dies magni meritis ueneranda patroni
  qui fuit in populo splendor ouans ideo.
STATVIT EI ⟨DOMINVS TESTAMENTVM PACIS⟩
Rex regum cunctis pandentem uerba salutis
  tutauit famulum ante minas procerum.
ET PRINCIPEM ⟨FECIT EVM⟩
Digne, Christe, tibi famulantem constituisti
  patris in excelso pontificem solio.
VT SIT ILLI ⟨SACERDOTII DIGNITAS⟩
Qui bene certauit terris modo regnat in astris,
  conlaudatque suum laetus in axe Deum.[78]
IN AETERNVM.

Behold the day, venerable through the accomplishments of our great patron saint, who accordingly was a joyous splendour among the people. The King of kings protected His servant, who was spreading words of salvation to everyone, in face of threats from the elders. Rightly, O Christ, did You establish this bishop, Your servant, on the lofty throne of Your Father. He who fought well on earth now reigns in heaven, and joyously praises his God on high.

The manuscript includes a second set of Introit tropes for the feast of the translation, again marked *AD REPETENDVM* and intended to be sung after the psalm-verse at the end of the first singing of the Introit (Bodley 775, fo. 47r; CCCC 473, fo. 39r–v).

Diuini fuerat quoniam feruoris amator [eia]
STATVIT EI ⟨DOMINVS TESTAMENTVM PACIS⟩
et pactum uite firmum stabiliuit in euum.
ET PRINCIPEM ⟨FECIT EVM VT SIT ILLI SACERDOTII
DIGNITAS⟩
Incensumque sue condignum deferat arae.[79]
IN AETERNVM.

Because he was once a lover of divine inspiration, indeed, and established forever a firm pact of life. And may he bring suitable incense to his altar.

[78] Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 168 (no. 163); *AH* xlix. 132 (no. 299); *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Frere, p. 29 (no. 144). This trope is attested in numerous French tropers (Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 168–9), where it is specified either for St Martin or for St Martial.

[79] Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 167 (no. 162); *AH* xlix. 161 (no. 376); *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Frere, p. 29 (no. 14). This trope is attested in numerous French, Swiss and Italian sources, specified for a variety of saints (Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 167–8).

In addition to these various Introit tropes for the two feasts of St Swithun, the manuscripts include a set of Offertory tropes (for the chant *Inueni Dauid*)[80] specified for both the deposition and the translation (Bodley 775, fo. 47v; CCCC 473, fos. 39v–40r):

AD OFFERTORIVM

Hos inter mea quos fecit mihi gratia caros.
INVENI ⟨DAVID SERVVM MEVM⟩
Egregium uirtute uirum, pietate modestum.
ET IN OLEO ⟨SANCTO VNXI EVM⟩
Vinceret inuictus saeuos ut belliger hostes.
MANVS ENIM ⟨MEA AVXILIABITVR EI⟩
⟨Ad uersum⟩
O dee uirtutum, cui uelle subest, cui posse.[81]
℣. POTENS ES ⟨DOMINE ET VERITAS TVA IN CIRCVITV TVO.⟩

Amidst these dear ones, which my favour created for me. A man outstanding in his virtue, modest in his devotion. That the unvanquished warrior might conquer savage enemies. O God of virtues, in Whom resides the will, in Whom the power.

Finally, the manuscripts preserve a single communion trope (for the chant *Fidelis seruus*)[82] for St Swithun (Bodley 775, fo. 47r; CCCC 473, fo. 40r); elsewhere the same trope is used for various other saints, such as Benedict, Birinus, and Martin.

Quam bene letatur dum premia digna recenset.[83]
FIDELIS SERVVS ⟨ET PRVDENS QVEM CONSTITVIT
DOMINVS SVPER FAMILIAM SVAM.⟩

How well he rejoices as he reckons up the appropriate rewards.

The above tropes may be said to constitute the Winchester repertory for St Swithun, but their use is specified in different ways in the two manuscripts. In CCCC 473, the feast of the deposition alone was commemorated, and for that feast the compilers of CCCC 473 specified two tropes which in Bodley 775 are specified for the feast of the translation ('Ecce dies magni meritis', 'Diuini fuerat quoniam'); a further trope ('Os ky hereos') is specified for the deposition in both manuscripts.[84] Note also that in CCCC 473 two Swithun tropes which are apparently Winchester compositions ('Aurea lux hodie' and 'Ecce patronus adest') did not form part of the original manuscript, but were added at some point in the mid-eleventh century on an originally blank folio (fo. 78v).[85] For this reason it is

[80] The proper mass-chant for the offertory is: 'Inueni Dauid seruum meum | ⟨et in⟩ oleo sancto unxi eum | manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei et brachium meum confortauit eum'; the chant has the accompanying verse: 'Potens es, Domine, et ueritas tua in circuitu tuo'; see *Grad. Rom.*, pp. 445–6.

[81] Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 204 (nos. 249–50); *AH* xlix. 305 (no. 593); *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Frere, p. 29 (nos. 147–8). This trope is preserved only in Bodley 775 and CCCC 473, and is arguably, therefore, an English composition. It is also specified for the feasts of St Martin and St Birinus in these manuscripts.

[82] The proper mass-chant for communion is: 'Fidelis seruus et prudens quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam'; see *Grad. Rom.*, pp. 491–2 (from Luke 12: 42).

[83] Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 226 (no. 303); *AH* xlix. 349 (no. 711); *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Frere, p. 30 (no. 149),

[84] CCCC 473, fos. 38v–39v; see Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 105. Note that these three tropes are attested in numerous continental tropers, and are manifestly not English compositions.

[85] Cf. Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 107: 'It is strange, nevertheless, that the two local pieces in honor of the eventual patron saint of Winchester were left out of the original redaction of [CCCC 473]. It may well be that such occasional pieces did not hold their own against the older and more traditional tropes for the Introit *Statuit*, which in the course of the 10th and 11th centuries were provided with an uncommonly large number of tropes.'

very difficult to establish the chronology of the composition of the tropes, or to determine which of the two principal feasts of St Swithun was first celebrated with troping.

In any event, the practice of troping mass-chants was discouraged by Norman ecclesiastics (and was eventually suppressed by the Council of Trent, 1545–63). No tropes for St Swithun survive beyond those printed here from the two 'Winchester Tropers', and it may be doubted whether our saint was commemorated with troped mass-chants outside of Winchester itself.

iv. SEQUENCES

Among the fixed chants of the mass is the *Alleluia*, sung before the gospel.[86] Just as other mass chants were embellished by tropes, so the *Alleluia* was sometimes embellished by melodies known as 'sequences', the accompanying texts of which are properly referred to as 'proses' (*prosae*); but in what follows I shall follow normal practice and refer to the proses simply as 'sequences'.[87] Sequences took a form very different from that of tropes: normally they consisted of strophes or stanzas set out in pairs, each one corresponding precisely to its correlate in number of syllables, and usually, in the early period, concluding with the letter *-a* (or an assonantal variant thereof) so as to echo the final syllable of the *Alleluia*; the pairs of strophes were prefaced and concluded by a single, unmatched, strophe. In performance the pairs of strophes may have been sung antiphonally by divisions of the choir.

It is probable that the practice of adding sequences to the *Alleluia* was introduced, along with troping, to Anglo-Saxon England at the time of the Benedictine reform movement. But unlike the situation with tropes, where the English trope repertory has been extensively studied, no such concerted study has been devoted to the repertory of sequences.[88] However, the two Winchester tropers—Bodley 775 and CCCC 473—variously contain sequences for St Swithun.

Laude resonet

The first such sequence, 'Laude resonet', is preserved uniquely in CCCC 473, fo. 130r–v, where it was copied by one of the original scribes (Scribe I) of the manuscript, hence *c.*1000. The text of the sequence reveals that it was intended for joint commemoration of SS Birinus and Swithun.[89]

1. Laude resonet
te, Christe, deuote
supplex turma,

2a. ecclesiae qui gemmas
de mundi puluere
tollis ad sidera,

2b. per quas pacis uisio,
mater Ierusalem
ornata rutilat.

[86] See Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 117; note that ferial masses do not include the *Alleluia*, and that the *Alleluia* was omitted (being replaced by the chant called the 'tract') during Lent.

[87] See, in general, R. Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1977), and R. L. Crocker and J. Caldwell, 'Sequence', *New Grove* xvii. 141–56.

[88] See, however, D. Hiley, 'Editing the Winchester sequence repertory of *c.*1000', in *Cantus Planus*, ed. L. Dobszay, P. Halász, J. Mezaei and G. Prószéky (Budapest, 1990), pp. 99–113. Professor Hiley has in hand a study of the Winchester sequence repertory. A preliminary list of sequences preserved in the Winchester tropers is provided by Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, pp. 70–83.

[89] SS Birinus and Swithun were commemorated jointly in a prayer in the 'Portiforium of St Wulstan', ptd below, p. 135.

3a. Patrem ab arce
Birinum
missum Romulea,

3b. misit Suuithunum
patria
natum et Anglica.

4a. Qui candelabra
Christi aurea
spargunt carismata
superna,

4b. quorum lauacri
prior dat fontem,
sequens pluit signa
triumphans.

5a. Sanat hic corda,
curat hic corpora,

5b. dux et hic tonat
lux et hic fulgurat.

6a. Hic plantat,
hic rigat,
hic talenta dupplicat,
hic fidus consecrat
nummisma.

6b. Baptisma
hic prebet,
crisma hic sanctificat,
hic docet, hic ornat,
hic firmat.

7a. Hic proreta est
fidei,
hic est et anchora,

7b. ambo presules,
angelis
Anglos qui sociant.

8. Nos promere
per quos tu fac, Christe,
in astris. *Alleluia.*[90]

(1) May the faithful throng, O Christ, devoutly resound with your praise,
(2a) You Who from the dust of the earth raise up jewels to the stars (2b) through which mother Jerusalem, the 'vision of peace', gleams adorned.
(3a) She sent Father Birinus from the Romulean citadel [Rome], and (3b) Swithun, born in this English homeland,
(4a) saints who, as golden candlesticks of Christ, scatter heavenly grace, (4b) the first of whom [Birinus] provides the font of baptism, the follower [Swithun] rains down miracles in triumph.
(5a) The former cures hearts, the latter cures bodies; (5b) the former thunders as a leader, the latter casts lightning-bolts as a light.
(6a) The one plants, the other irrigates, the one doubles the talents, the other faithfully consigns the coin. (6b) The one offers baptism, the other sanctifies the chrism, he teaches, he prays, he confirms.
(7a) The one is the helmsman of faith, the other is the anchor; (7b) both of them bishops, who join the English to the angels.
(8) Through them, O Christ, make us be led forth among the stars. *Alleluia.*

The sequence has been composed with some literary skill by a poet of some learning: note the verbal play throughout (e.g. 7b: *angelis / Anglos*), or the pun on the meaning of the word *Ierusalem* in 2b.[91] The complementary virtues of the two saints are praised in parallel strophes, but even within strophes antitheses are maintained and developped metaphorically, as in 4b, where the metaphor of Birinus's work with the water of baptism is transformed into that of Swithun's metaphorical rain (*pluit*) of

[90] Listed Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, p. 79; ptd *AH* xxxvii. 138–9 (no. 153).

[91] For *Ierusalem* as meaning *pacis uisio*, see Thiel, *Hebräisch-kenntnisse*, p. 327. This sort of punning on the meaning of Hebrew words was common in Old English poetry: see F. C. Robinson, 'The significance of names in Old English literature', *Anglia*, lxxxvi (1968), 14–58.

miracles, or in 5b, where Birinus's metaphorical thunder is transformed into Swithun's lightning, the antithesis being pointed by wordplay on *dux* / *lux*. But the antitheses are dissolved in strophes 6a-b, where, instead of pointing a contrast with *hic* / *ille* ('the one', 'the other'), the poet simply uses *hic* to refer to both saints, so that their distinctive virtues merge and become indistinguishable.

Psallat ecclesia

At some point in the late eleventh century, the sequence 'Psallat ecclesia' was added both to CCCC 473 (fo. 192v–193r) and to Bodley 775 (fo. 189r–v).

DE SANCTO SWITHVNO

1. Psallat ecclesia
mater decora;

2a. mente deuota et uoce consona Domino pia personet organa.	2b. Laudes, cantica iubilans persoluat, ª cordis dulcia ª feriens tympana,
3a. recolens sollempnia atque festa diei gaudia,	3b. Suuithunus in qua alta letus scandit celorum culmina,
4a. euangelica radians gratia ut lampas splendida.	4b. Noctis tenebras effugat, erroris amputat scandala.
5a. Semina uerbi sancta et catholica	5b. per populorum arua Deo seminat.
6a. Talenta sibi credita a patrefamilias	6b. multiplicat et augmentat usuras dominicas.
7a. Plenus sapientia millena animarum Deo lucratur agmina.	7b. Oues sibi creditas diuina per pascua pastor peruigil educat.
8a. Ad cuius ossa sepulta Dei gratia uirtutum miracula ad laudem suam percelebrat.	8b. Vnde nos tanta precamur patris merita, ut nos ad celestia secum pertrahat palatia.
9a. Vbi uita, claritas eterna et immensa letitia,	9b. Vbi sancta angelorum turma Deo personat cantica

10. uoce clara.[92]

ª–ª dulcia cordis *MSS*

[92] Listed Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, pp. 82, 83; ptd W. G. Henderson, *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, 2 vols., Surtees Society, lix–lx (Durham, 1872–4), ii. 316–17 (from Bodley 775), and *AH* xxxvii. 265–6 (no. 306).

(1) Let mother Church sing suitable praises;
(2a) with devout mind and harmonious voice let it chant holy melodies to the Lord; (2b) rejoicing let it render praise and song, striking the sweet timbrels of the heart,
(3a) commemorating the solemn and festive joys of the day (3b) on which Swithun ascends joyfully the lofty summits of the skies,
(4a) gleaming like a radiant lamp with evangelical light. (4b) He puts to flight the shadows of night, he cuts off the disgrace of error.
(5a) The holy and catholic seeds of the Word (5b) he sows for God in the fields of the populace.
(6a) The talents entrusted to him by the head of the household (6b) he multiplies, and increases these lordly endowments with interest.
(7a) Filled with wisdom he acquires a thousandfold flock of souls for God. (7b) The attentive shepherd leads the sheep entrusted to him through divine meadows.
(8a) At the burial-place of his bones the grace of God celebrates miracles in praise of itself. (8b) Wherefore let us beseech the great accomplishments of this father so that he may lead us with him to the celestial dwellings,
(9a) where there is life, eternal radiance and immense joy, (9b) where the throng of angels sings holy chants to God
(10) in a clear voice.

The poet of this sequence has attempted to achieve clear and limpid expression by avoiding the use of complex syntax and unusual words, so that his sequence will ring out—in the words of his final strophe – *uoce clara.*

Gaudens Christi

A third sequence for St Swithun is preserved as a late-eleventh-century addition to one of the Winchester tropers, Bodley 775, fo. 129v (it is not in CCCC 473). Unlike the limpid diction of 'Psallat ecclesia', that of 'Gaudens Christi' is richly embellished.

1. Gaudens Christi
praesentia iucunda

2a. caelicolarum
cohors laetabunda
gaudia
huius diei praecelsa

2b. laude celsa
sollemnizet Suuithuni
inclita
et praeconizet merita.

3a. Orbis et quadrifidus
multisona
laude respondeat,

3b. mira depromens gesta
insigniter
in se demonstrata,

4a. per Paradisi rutili[a]
pretiosissimum ierarcham,

4b. patrem Suuithunum uernantem
meritorum clara corona;

5a. qui gentem ortus sui
[b]decore sacrat,[b]

5b. uirtutum nobili
ornatu decorat.

6a. Malagmate
caelifluo pie sanans
agmina

6b. inualida,
plebis atque uota Deo
praesentans.

7a. Veneranda ipsius
caelitus ad pignora
per spatia creberrima

7b. huius saecli extrema
tempora fere tanta
replens miranter gloria,

8a. quanta sub ipsa
tempora
apostolica
iam fulserant,
cum quaeque pelleret
umbra debilia.

8b. Haec est columna
praeclua
Christi gratia
coruscans per
climata laudanter
mundi uniuersa.

9a. Haec est gemma
angelica lucens
poli per capitolia,

9b. quae illustret
corda nostra atque
ad aeterna

10. leuet regna.[93]

[a] rutilis *MS* [b–b] sacri decorat *MS*

(1) Rejoicing in the delightful presence of Christ,
(2a) may the joyous cohort of heavenly citizens sollemnize the lofty delights of this day (2b) with heavenly praise, and publicize the outstanding merits of Swithun.
(3a) And let the four-cornered world respond with multifarious praise, (3b) announcing the marvellous deeds accomplished so remarkably within it,
(4a) through the precious hierarch of gleaming Paradise, Father Swithun, (4b) verdant with the distinguished crown of his accomplishments;
(5a) who sanctifies this people with the glory of his birth, (5b) who adorns it with the noble embellishment of his miracles,
(6a) mercifully healing infirm throngs with a heaven-sent poultice, (6b) and presenting the prayers of the people to God,
(7a) and, filling, from on high in marvellous fashion, His venerable offspring, over vast spaces, (7b) at the final times of this world, with almost as much glory,
(8a) as had once gleamed in those apostolic times, when any shadow would drive away the weak. (8b) Through Christ's grace this [one] is an excellent column, gleaming in a praiseworthy way through all the regions of the world.
(9a) This [one] is an angelic jewel, shining through the summits of the sky, (9b) which illuminates our hearts and raises them
(10) up to the eternal realms.

In spite of the late date at which this sequence was copied into Bodley 775, its hermeneutic diction is reminiscent of the literary language which was affected at Winchester in the time of Bishop Æthelwold:[94] note the unusual compound adjectives (*multisonus*, 3a; *caelifluus*, 6a), unusual adverbs (*miranter*, 7b; *laudanter*, 8b); grecisms (*ierarcha*, 4a; *malagma*, 6a; *clima*, 8b; *poli*, 9a), and grecizing verbs in *-izo* (*sollemnizo*, *praeconizo*, 2b). Such evidence might suggest a late tenth-century date for the composition of this sequence. However, until the repertory of Winchester sequences has been firmly established, and their diction properly studied, no safe conclusions about the date of any Winchester sequence are possible.

[93] Listed Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, p. 70; ptd *Missale . . . Eboracensis*, ed. Henderson, ii. 287, and *AH* xl. 288–9 (no. 337).

[94] See Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style', pp. 85–90 (repr. *ALL* ii. 123–8).

Alma cohors una

In addition to the three sequences printed above, which on the face of it are Winchester compositions, the 'Winchester Tropers' contain two sequences specified for St Swithun which have evidently been adapted from sequences of continental composition in honour of continental saints. The first of these, 'Alma cohors una' was originally composed for St Martial, and occurs in a number of Saint-Martial tropers.[95] However, it was at some point adapted for commemoration of St Swithun, no doubt at Winchester, and the adaptation is preserved in Bodley 775, fo. 182r–v.

DE SANCTO SWITHVNO. ALLELVIA.

1. Alma cohors[a] una
laudum sonora
nunc prome preconia!

2a. Quibus en insignis rutilat
Suuithunus ut luna
solque sidera:

2b. meritorum est mirifica
radians idem sacra
prerogatiua.

3a. Hic nam sophie mistica
ornauit mire dogmata,
qua fulsit nitida
luculenter per ampla
orbis spatia.

3b. Verbi necnon fructifera
seuit diuini semina
mentium per arua
pellendo quoque cuncta
noctis nubila.

4a. Hinc famina fundens diua
utpote celestia
ferens in se numina,

4b. sublimauit catholica
uehementer culmina
sancta per eloquia.

5a. Is nemphe celsa
compos gloria
nunc exultat
inter letabunda
celicolarum
contubernia.

5b. Sublimis extat
sede supera
fruens uita
semper inexhausta
sat per saluberrima
Christi pascua.

6a. O dignum cuncta
laude precelsa
presulem tanta
nanctum gaudia
uirtutum propter merita
quibus uiguit ardens
uelut lampada:

6b. nos quoque clara
hinc et iocunda
dantes oremus
preces et uota:
qui nobis ferat commoda
impetret et eterna
poscens premia.

7a. Quod petit presens caterua
praesulum gemma,
deuota rependens

7b. Quoniam intrent palatia
stantes suprema
leti gratulemur

[95] Ptd *AH* vii. 238 (no. 218) as well as in *Missale . . . Eboracensis*, ed. Henderson, ii. 312–13; the version of the sequence dedicated to St Martial is found in the two Saint-Martial tropers: Paris, BNF, lat. 887 (s. xi[in]) and 1138 (s. xi); it is also found in BNF, lat. 10508 (Saint-Evroul, s. xii) and nouv. acq. lat. 1177 (Fleury, s. xi, where the sequence is adapted for St Martin). The sequence is also ptd J. Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1873), pp. 350–1 (no. 503), from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 11004 (s. xi), where it is dedicated to St Augustine.

munia mente sincera,
fauens[b] da
sibi precum instantia,
scilicet ut polorum
intret limina.

adepti polorum regna
qui tua,
presul, sistentes hac aula
iubilemus ingenti
cum letitia,

8. recinentes dulcia
nunc celsaque Alleluia.[96]

[a] choors *MS* [b] fauen *MS*

(1) Kindly company, bring now forth in unison the resounding celebrations of praise!
(2a) Among which shines the outstanding Swithun, like the moon, sun and stars: (2b) he is gleaming by the holy privilege of his merits.
(3a) For this (saint) adorned the mystical doctrines of marvellous wisdom, by which he shone brightly through the vast bright regions of the world. (3b) He also sowed the fruitful seeds of the divine Word through the fields of minds, likewise driving away all the clouds of night.
(4a) Accordingly, pouring out divine speech, bearing in himself as it were celestial powers, (4b) he eagerly surpasses all summits through his holy eloquence.
(5a) For this (saint), having acquired glory on high, now rejoices in exultation amidst the happy companies of heavenly citizens. (5b) He stands aloft on his heavenly throne, enjoying eternally inextinguishable life, amid the highly salubrious pastures of Christ.
(6a) O bishop, worthy of all celestial praise, who acquired such great bliss as a result of the merits of his miracles, in which he flourished like a burning lamp: (6b) let us too pray, issuing clear and joyous prayers and petitions: (that) he bring us favours and obtain eternal rewards on request.
(7a) That which the present throng seeks, repaying devout gifts and sincere affection, O jewel among bishops, please grant graciously through the insistence of prayers on its own behalf, namely that it may enter the thresholds of heaven. (7b) That those standing here may enter the lofty palaces, we joyously give thanks, attaining the realms of heaven, we who, O bishop, standing here in this your church, may shout out with great joy,
(8) singing now the sweet and heavenly Alleluia.

The process of adaptation was not wholly successful: there is no evidence that Swithun ever taught 'mystical doctrines of marvellous wisdom' (3b), and the replacement of the name *Martialis* (four syllables) with the trisyllabic name *Suuithunus* (2a) destroys the syllabic balance with the corresponding line in 2b. The adaptation may have been pressed into service until such time as the sequences dedicated specifically to St Swithun (nos. (b) and (c) above) were composed. And presumably the same situation obtained with respect to the following sequence, 'Via lux ueritas'.

Via lux ueritas

There is finally a brief sequence, 'Via lux ueritas', intended to commemorate St Swithun, in CCCC 473, fo. 87v; a copy of the very same sequence occurs elsewhere in the manuscript, where however it commemorates St Æthelwold (fo. 126v). It is also found in Bodley 775, where it commemorates Æthelwold alone. It is clear that the two stanzas have simply been excerpted from a longer sequence for St Stephen preserved in the Saint-Martial tropers.[97] The stanzas in question are preserved as follows in the Saint-Martial tropers:

[96] Ibid. [97] Ptd *AH* vii. 217–18 (no. 198), from Paris, BNF, lat. 887 (fo. 101r) and 1138 (fo. 57v).

4a. Proles summa,
uirtus paterna,
uia, lux, ueritas
paxque tuorum
omnia per tempora
guberna tuum plasma
quod imago est tua.

4b. Cuius laeta
audi carmina
preces et munera
hac domo sacra
suscipe per saecula
resonat quod lyricis
chordis flabra musica . . .

8a. Ipsius uerbigena
et piis precibus almi
Stephani martyris
relaxa facinora
et omnia
errata admissa,

8b. inque caelestia patria
regna concede beata
sanctorum in gloria
et sancta tabernacula
cum supera
quiritum caterua.

At some point a precentor at Winchester adapted this Saint-Martial sequence for St Stephen so as to commemorate St Swithun, as follows:

1a. Via, lux, ueritas
paxque tuorum
omnia per tempora:

1b. preces et munera
hac domo sacra
suscipe per secula.

2a. Et piis precibus almi
omnibus Suuithuni
relaxa peccamina.

2b. Regna concede beata
sanctorum in gloria
et sancta tabernacula.[98]

(1a) O way, light, truth, and peace of Your worshippers throughout all time: (1b) accept for ever the prayers and gifts from this holy house.
(2a) And through all the holy prayers of kindly Swithun, forgive our sins. (2b) Grant the blessed realms of saints in glory, and their holy tabernacles.

v. COLLECTS FOR THE OFFICE

Whereas mass was initiated by a prayer called a 'collect' (*collecta* or, in the later Middle Ages, *oratio*), celebrations of the Divine Office were normally concluded by a prayer of the same name.[99] The Office collect was proper, that is to say, it varied according to feast day or to Sunday (and the week following). In the earlier Middle Ages, collects were preserved in a book called the 'collectar';[100] from the eleventh century onwards, collects are found in breviaries as part of the Office for each day. It is thought that many collects in medieval collectars may have great antiquity; in any case it is clear that compilers of collectars very frequently turned to sacramentaries when seeking collects for particular occasions, with the result that collects which formed part of a mass formulary were reused as prayers for the Office. Several collectars survive from Anglo-Saxon England,[101] but for

[98] Ibid.
[99] See Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 85.
[100] See P.-M. Gy, 'Collectaire, rituel, processionnal', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, xliv (1960), 441–69, repr. in his *La liturgie dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1990), pp. 91–126, and A. Corrêa, *The Durham Collectar*, HBS cvii (London, 1992), pp. 3–75.
[101] See Gneuss, 'Liturgical books', pp. 112–13, and A. Corrêa, 'Daily office books: collectars and breviaries', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Pfaff, pp. 45–60. The collectars in question are: Durham, Cathedral Library, A. IV. 19 (the 'Durham Collectar'), ed. Corrêa, *The Durham Collectar*; London, BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii ('Ælfwine's Prayerbook'), ed. B. Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (*London, British Library, Cotton*

various reasons none of them contains a collect or an Office for St Swithun: the 'Durham Collectar' was written before the translation of Swithun in 971 and in any case includes commemorations for Roman saints only; the collects in 'Ælfwine's Prayerbook' are specified solely for the *commune sanctorum*; and, although the 'Leofric Collectar' includes offices for various named saints, including notably St Olaf (see above, p. 55), there is none for a native Anglo-Saxon saint.

The earliest Office-book which contains proper collects for a feast of St Swithun is the 'Portiforium of St Wulstan', an early kind of breviary written at Worcester for the use of Bishop Wulfstan II (1062–95), now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391.[102] The 'Portiforium' contains six collects for the feast of St Swithun's deposition (nos. 1821–6 in the numbering of Hughes's edition), and a further four for the feast of the translation (nos. 1840–3). Of those for the deposition, the first two (nos. 1821–2) are identical with mass collects found in the 'Missal of the New Minster, Winchester' ('Deus qui presentis annua', 'Concede nobis quesumus'), discussed and ptd above, p. 76. Two more (nos. 1825–6) are from the mass for St Swithun preserved in the 'Red Book of Darley' ('Deus qui multis ostendisti mirabilibus', 'Deus qui decorem ecclesiae'), also discussed and ptd above, pp. 80–2. The remaining two collects (nos. 1823–4) are not, however, found in an earlier Anglo-Saxon mass-book, and may have been composed specifically for Office use.

[ITEM ALIA] Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, apud quem mors sanctorum pretiosa est et laudabilis, fac nos, quesumus, dilecti confessoris tui Suuithuni sollempnia ad ueniam peccatorum et ad prosperitatem dierum nostrorum celebrare, et quo ipse hodie assumptus est ab angelis, illuc nos perducat tua clementia ineffabilis. Per.[103]

Almighty and eternal God, for Whom the death of saints is precious and praiseworthy, grant, we beseech You, that we may celebrate the feast of Your beloved confessor Swithun for the forgiveness of our sins and for the prosperity of our days on earth, and where he is today taken up by angels, may Your inexpressible mercy lead us there. *Per.*

[CVIVS SVPRA] Deus qui preclarum confessorem tuum Suuithunum aeternae beatitudinis excellentia sublimasti, quique depositionis suae celebritate hodiernam diem nobis uenerabilem statuisti, concede omnibus haec festa celebrantibus huius sancti meritis dies suos in bono finire, et post hanc uitam ueram et sempiternam inuenire. Per Dominum.[104]

O God, Who have exalted your distinguished confessor Swithun through the excellence of eternal felicity, and Who have established this venerable day for us through the distinction of his deposition, grant to all those celebrating this feast that they may finish their days in good works through the merits of this saint, and discover the true and eternal life after this one. *Per Dominum.*

Of the four collects included in the 'Portiforium' for the translation of St Swithun, two (nos. 1840–1) are attested in the 'Missal of the New Minster' ('Deus qui iubar aethereum', 'Deus qui per sanctum confessorem'), and were discussed and printed above. The remaining two, however, are not apparently attested in an earlier liturgical source.

Titus D.xxvi + xxvii), HBS cviii (London, 1993), pp. 158–78; and London, BL, Harley 2961 (the 'Leofric Collectar'), ed. E. S. Dewick and W. H. Frere, *The Leofric Collectar*, 2 vols., HBS xlv, lvi (London, 1914–21).

[102] *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, ed. Hughes; see also Dewick and Frere, *The Leofric Collectar*, ii. 501–85.

[103] *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, ed. Hughes, i. 129 (no. 1823).

[104] Ibid. i. 130 (no. 1824).

[DE EODEM] Deus qui inuisibilem tuae medicinae potentiam meritis sanctorum tuorum inuisibiliter ostendis, nostrarum quesumus animarum meritis beati confessoris tui atque antistitis tui Suuithuni medere languoribus, ut aeternam nobis eius prebeat intercessio medelam, qui temporaliter languentes multiplici suffragio consolatur. Per.[105]

O God, Who invisibly reveal the invisible power of Your medicine through the merits of Your saints, we beseech that You heal the diseases of our souls through the merits of Swithun, Your blessed confessor and bishop, so that his intercession may provide for us an eternal remedy, who with manifold assistance consoles those suffering on earth. *Per.*

[VT SVPRA] Deus qui ecclesiam tuam lucernarum caelestium fulgoribus illustras, concede ut antistitis sacratissimi Suuithuni precibus et meritis semper et ubique subleuemur, cuius miraculis multiplicibus te glorificare ac beatitudinis suae excellentiam celebrare monemur. Per.[106]

O God, Who illumine Your church with the brilliance of celestial lamps, grant that we may always and everywhere be sustained through the prayers and merits of Your holy bishop Swithun, through whose miracles we are instructed to glorify You and to celebrate the excellence of his felicity. *Per.*

Breviaries of the later Middle Ages preserve collects (by now the term *oratio* has replaced *collecta*) for feasts of St Swithun in cases where a specific office is devoted to his cult.[107] Among secular uses, the breviary of Sarum use commemorates the feasts both of the deposition and of the translation. For that of the deposition, the breviary simply takes over the *oratio* for the same feast from the Sarum Missal ('Deus qui hunc diem sacratissimum', ptd above, p. 84); similarly, for that of the translation, the compilers of the Sarum breviary once again simply took over the *oratio* for the translation from the Sarum Missal ('Omnipotens sempiterne Deus', ptd above, p. 85).[108] In the Hereford Breviary, the commemoration of the deposition is taken from the *commune plurimorum martyrum* (!), but the *oratio* is an adaptation of that for the feast of the deposition in the Sarum Missal ('Deus qui hodierna die'), ptd above, p. 84.[109] Among monastic uses, the breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, commemorates the deposition with an *oratio* taken from the Sarum Missal where, however, it is specified for the feast of the translation, not the deposition ('Omnipotens sempiterne Deus'). The sum of this evidence suggests that, for the later English Middle Ages, it was principally the Sarum Missal which supplied collects for use in the Divine Office. There is only one apparent exception: the unprinted breviary of Ely (now Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 20) has a collect for the feast of the translation which is an adaptation of one in the 'Missal of the New Minster, Winchester' ('Deus qui iubar aethereum');[110] the remainder of the office is taken from the *Commune unius confessoris.* But it is likely that the general picture of the dependence of later medieval breviaries on the Sarum Missal would not be greatly altered by collation of the numerous unprinted breviaries.

[105] Ibid. i. 132 (no. 1842).

[106] Ibid. i. 132 (no. 1843).

[107] In the breviaries of Exeter and York, St Swithun is commemorated with an *oratio* taken in the first case from the *Commune plurimorum confessorum*, in the second from the *Commune unius confessoris*: see *Ordinale Exoniensis*, ed. J. N. Dalton, 4 vols., HBS xxxvii, xxxviii, lxiii, lxxix (London, 1909–40), iii. 282, and *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. S. W. Lawley, 2 vols., Surtees Society lxxi, lxxv (Durham, 1880–3), ii. 366.

[108] *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1879–86), iii. 425, 471–2.

[109] *The Hereford Breviary*, ed. W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown, 3 vols., HBS xxvi, xl, xlvi (London, 1904–15), ii. 223.

[110] CUL Ii. 4. 20, fo. 247r: 'Deus qui sancti Swithuni confessoris tui merita miraculorum signis coruscare facis, eius precibus in nobis dona tue augmentum misericordie, quos tanti patris uotiua letificas translacione.'

vi. BREVIARY LECTIONS

A principal constituent of the night Office of Matins, which was made up of three linked services called Nocturns, was the provision of substantial readings, called 'lections' or 'lessons' (*lectiones*). These Office lections were drawn originally from the writings of the church Fathers, but increasingly came to be drawn from hagiographical texts;[111] in particular, a saint's day was usually celebrated by lections from (or based on) the relevant *vita* of the saint. The number of lections varied according to season, and to whether the use was secular (three lections in each Nocturn, hence nine in all) or monastic (four lections in each, hence twelve in all, although the third set of four, in the third Nocturn, was often replaced by readings from a homily or biblical texts). Each lection was normally concluded by a verse ('Tu autem Domine miserere nobis') and responsory ('Deo gratias').[112] Because the Night Office had to be complete by daybreak (when the office of Lauds began), the length of each lection was necessarily limited.[113]

The practice of reading from saints' *vitae* only developed from the ninth century onwards. It has been demonstrated, on the basis of *Ordo Romanus XII* (*c.*800), that up to the time of Pope Hadrian I (772–95), *passiones* of saints were permitted to be read only in the titular churches of the individual saints, and that it was Hadrian himself who encouraged the reading of *passiones* for saints commemorated throughout the year: in the first instance at St Peter's in Rome, then subsequently throughout Europe.[114] It is from this period, and in response to the need for Office readings for all saints' days, that the first passionals or legendaries were compiled.[115] Of course in the first few centuries after the practice of reading saints' Lives in the Night Office developed, compilers of legendaries were obliged to make do with whatever Lives were available for a particular saint; and, needless perhaps to say, most of these Lives were written with a purpose other than reading at the Night Office in mind. In a word, many such Lives were wholly unsuitable for such a purpose. In the case of St Swithun, for example, from the time of the translation in 971 until the composition of the *Vita S. Swithuni* in the last decade of the eleventh century, the only text available for reading in the Night Office was Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*. It is clear that this text was indeed used for liturgical reading, for in the earliest surviving manuscript of the work (London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII), the margins of first few chapters have been marked up with the directions *Lectio .i.* (etc.), to indicate the beginning of a lection, and *Tu autem*, to indicate the end. Here, for example, is *Lectio .iii.*:

> Denique ymeris septies septenis typice completis post gloriosam eius anastasim, consolator spiritus—a genito promissus, a genitore missus, ab utroque progressus, compar ambobus et coaeternus—repentino fragore ignis instar et linguae proseucam irruit quo latebant fornifori, metu tribulum territi; quorum corda compleuit sancti tanta infusione carismatis, ut in una etiam apostolorum uaticinatione pariter eadem tempestate

[111] See Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 149–60.

[112] See Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 81, 86–96.

[113] See A. Davril, 'La longueur des leçons de l'office nocturne: étude comparative', in *Rituels: Mélanges offerts au Père Gy*, ed. P. de Clerck and E. Palazzo (Paris, 1990), pp. 183–97.

[114] See B. de Gaiffier, 'La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en Occident', *AB* lxxii (1954), 134–66, and idem, 'La lecture des Passions des martyrs à Rome avant le IXe siècle', *AB* lxxxviii (1969), 63–78, as well as P. Salmon, *L'Office divin: Histoire de la formation du bréviaire*, Lex orandi, xxvii (Paris, 1959), pp. 154–60.

[115] On the growth of passionals and legendaries, see G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, xxiv–xxv (Turnhout, 1977, with *Mise à jour*, 1985); and, for English legendaries of the eleventh century and later, Love, *Three Lives*, pp. xiii–xxxiii.

dinoscerentur sermones omnium consona uoce populorum. Qui, diuino referti pneumate, foribus patefactis citissime, Christum predicabant publice quem dudum, septi firmo munimine, auribus uulgi non audebant uaticinari.[116]

It will be seen at once how unsuitable Lantfred's text was for supplying lections for the night Office: the diction is studded with unusual Greek words (*anastasis*, *proseuca*, *pneuma*) and glossary words (*fornifori* in lieu of the more usual *discipuli*), and could scarcely have been understood without detailed study, let alone at an oral recitation.[117] Nevertheless, Lantfred's text was apparently used for this purpose in the century between the writing of Royal 15. C. VII and the composition of the *Vita S. Swithuni*. Once the latter text was available, it was quickly pressed into service as a source of lections: indeed, the fact that it consists of eight chapters may suggest that it was composed with that purpose in mind. In any event, from the twelfth century onwards it was usually the *Vita S. Swithuni* rather than Lantfred's text which was laid under contribution by compilers of breviaries, although, as we shall see, these compilers had their own individual notions of what constituted an appropriate lection.[118]

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 7

There is, however, one case of adaptation of Lantfred's *Translatio* for the purposes of providing liturgical lections, namely a series of nine lections preserved in Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 7, a manuscript of unknown southern English origin dating from the second half of the twelfth century.[119] In spite of the date of the manuscript, the lections apparently date from some time in the eleventh century, before the *Vita S. Swithuni* was composed, since they are based solely on Lantfred and show no knowledge of the *Vita*. These lections are found on fos. 68r–69r, sandwiched between the *Vita S. Swithuni* (below, no. **5**) and the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (below, no. **6**), and are arguably the earliest surviving liturgical lections for St Swithun. The nine lections are specified for the feast of the deposition ('In natale sancti Swithuni confessoris').[120]

⟨*Lectio .i.*⟩ Suithunus igitur confessor et eximius Dei antistes, cuius amantissimam depositionis sollempnitatem celebramus, gloriosi regis Eadgari temporibus cuidam modesto fabro ferrario in nocturna uisione

[116] London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII, fo. 4r. The text is ed. and trans. below, p. 254–6. The lection-markings assigned to the text of Lantfred in this manuscript are as follows: fo. 3v17 (.ii., inc. 'Qui sacra incarnationis expleto'), fo. 4r8 (.iii., inc. 'Denique ymeris septies setpenis'), fo. 4r23 (.iiii., inc. 'Moxque conuersis ad fidem paucis'), fo. 4v23 (.v., inc. 'Gentes nimirum prefatae Anglorum'), fo. 5r23 (.vi., inc. Post cuius ergo ineffabilem'), fo. 6r12 (.vii., inc. 'Triennio igitur antequam'), and fo. 7r14 (.viii., inc. 'Cui faber, "Domine, nullo modo"').

[117] The need for suitable lections was clearly deeply felt, because other wholly unsuitable texts were apparently pressed into service. For example, in Royal 15. C. VII, a tract of Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* has been marked up for reading (fos. 81r–84r), with the following eight lections indicated: .i., inc. 'Interea felix' (= i. 789–99); .ii., inc. 'Haec secum uoluens' (= i. 800–12); .iii., inc. 'Deque Deo certus' (= i. 813–23); .iiii., inc. 'Quem mox ut petiit' (= i. 824–43); .v., inc. 'Talia precellens' (= i. 844–67); .vi., inc. 'Nunc rogo sincera' (= i. 868–96); .vii., inc. 'Venerat interea' (= i. 897–935); and .viii., inc. 'Iamque dies aderat' (= i. 936 sqq.: the end of the lection is not marked). One can hardly think that Wulfstan's hexameters would have been any easier to understand in oral delivery than Lantfred's prose. Even more bizarre is the fact that, in the same manuscript, two lines (16 and 34) of the paracteric hymn 'Aurea lux' have been marked with 'Tu autem' (fo. 49v). Do these markings indicate that this hymn too was used used for reading in the night Office?

[118] In printing the various breviary lections, I do not supply translations, since for the most part the lections in question are drawn from texts edited and translated later in this volume.

[119] See R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 6–9; see also below, p. 625.

[120] In fact the manuscript erroneously specifies the lections for '*.vi. Kal. Iulii*' (= 26 June). It is clear, however, that the scribe absent-mindedly wrote *Kal.* where he meant to write *Non.* (*.vi. Non. Iulii* = 2 July); a similar error was made by the scribe of the Missal of the New Minster (see above, p. 76).

apparuit atque blando sibi sermone precepit ut legationis sue sacramenta uenerabili episcopo Adewaldo deferret, ut eum quantocius summa cum reuerencia de tumulo transferret. Qui gauisus in Domino sagaci agnouit industria hanc uisionem a Deo destinatam, regem memoratum concitus adiit eique quod sibi imperatum fuerat sollerter innotuit. Mox ergo Deo inspirante rex ipse delectatus episcopi sermonibus et sancti patris reuelatione, ut hec translacio ageretur celerius, propterea mandauit deuotione [Lantfred, c. 1].

Lectio .ii. Venerabilis ergo pontifex Adewaldus ciuitatem in qua sanctus iacuit presul Suithunus ingressus, populo quid sibi a sancto seu a rege iussum fuerat intimauit. At illi letantes in Domino, triduano celebrato ieiunio cum suo episcopo, adeunt sancti tumulum eiusque membra sanctissima summa cum gloria in ecclesia transtulerunt et quinque egri medelam receperunt ad tumulum eius per interuallum trium dierum. Expleto autem triduo, per interstitium quinque mensium raro fuit aliqua dies quo in basilica (in qua sunt reposite sacri uiri reliquie) non sanarentur languidi: quando plures .xvi. uel .xviii., quando uero pauciores, quinque uel tres; creberrime etiam .vii., .viii., .x., .xii., .xv. Vidimus etiam plusquam ducentos in decem diebus per meritum sancti curatos et in anni circulo qui carent numero [Lantfred, c. 4].

Lectio .iii. Denique ex urbe Lundonia quidam pariter uenerunt Wintoniam homines ceci numero sexdecim utriusque sexus. E quibus quindecim in prima celitus illuminati sunt die; sextus autem decimus altero lucescente mane cum multis languentibus aliis per meritum sancti presulis curacionem recipere meruit. Et sic postmodum iustissimas persoluentes leti gratias, reuersi sunt uidentes Lundoniam qui ceci nuper uenerant [Lantfred, c. 12]. Veneruntque aliquando ad sanctum prefatum Dei famulum ex diuersis Anglorum prouinciis .xxv. infirmi uariis languoribus constricti, scilicet ceci, claudi et surdi et muti. Qui unius diei reuolutione—hoc est in beatissime Dei genitricis Marie semper uirginis assumptione—omnes per gloriosam egregii sacerdotis interuentionem a Domino meruerunt recipere curacionem [Lantfred, c. 14].

Lectio .iiii. Postquam ergo sanctissimi corpus pontificis Suithuni infra ecclesiam est repositum, uidimus circa prescriptum monasterium plateas adeo refertas utrobique turmis egrotantium ut quispiam uiator difficile repperiret iter gradiendi ad ipsum. Qui post aliquot dies ita sunt curati meritis sancti, ut etiam infra basilicam uix .v. inuenirentur languidi. Quapropter inuidi ac reprobi, qui gloriosa huius sancti uiri miracula aut negant aut quod negare nequeunt in sinistram partem uertunt. Increduli quique etiam ad sanctum Dei famulum ueniunt et beneficia conditoris agnoscant et creatorem laudent [Lantfred, c. 4].

Lectio .v. Eodem quoque tempore quidam uir Lundoniensis tam graui percussus egritudine, ut manus et pedes illius post tergum uersi cernerentur. Verum Deus omnipotens misericors per sancti meritum Suithuni sue misertus est creationi, tribuens infirmo pristino [*leg.* pristinum] uigorem corporis ad sui glorificacionem nominis, quatinus incolumis effectus magnificaret Dominum, qui facit mirabilia magna solus omnibus diebus uite sue [Lantfred, c. 11].

Lectio .vi. Prenotato denique tempore accidit ut quidam inculpabili uiro obiceretur crimen latrocinii; qui mox comprehensus a nefandis criminatoribus et condempnatus a legislatoribus, cecatis luminibus, truncatis manibus, auulsis auribus, incisis naribus; relicti sunt insompti [*leg.* insontis] pedes cum uita. Vnus autem oculus omnino erat obrutus, uerum alter pendebat super faciem eius; quem accipiens, quedam muliercula reduxit in orbem, et sic permansit ab Epiphania Domini usque ad Letaniam Maiorem. Qui uero ductus est ad sancti reliquias quatinus ualeret recipere ⟨auditum⟩ per beati pontificis meritum—nullo modo estimans se posse cecatorum recipere lumen oculorum. Aures nimirum eius, statim ut fuerunt cese, ita repleuerunt fenestras auditum [*leg.* audituum] sanguine ut officium audiendi excluderetur ab homine. Cumque uir ille cum ingentibus preces fudisset gemitibus, ilico meruit lumen oculorum recipere quod non sperabat, et audicionem aurium quam desiderabat [Lantfred, c. 26].

Lectio .vii. Non est autem silentio pretereundum quod ante inuentionem sacratissimi corporis Suithuni, uir quidam Anglorum regione cecatus est causa eueniente. Is itaque Romam perrexit atque ibi quinque annis permansit et medicinam proprie cecitatis minime impetrauit. Qui denique audiens ibi de innumerabilibus sancti Suithuni miraculis, mox patriam reuersus est. Cumque ad sancti presulis sepulchrum peruenisset,

eadem nocte lumen recipere meruit oculorum, et incolumis reuersus est domum, glorificans regem celorum [Lantfred, c. 16].

Lectio .viii. Prepositus etiam Abandunensis monasterii effectus cecus per interuallum quindecim annorum. Qui uero audiens quanta miracula Dominus per suum famulum dignatus est prebere languentibus, Wintoniam nudis ueniens uestigiis ad sancti corpus pontificis accessit cum precibus assiduis, et eadem nocte lucem oculis conspicere meruit atque sospes domum rediens, omnipotentem Dominum glorificare studuit [Lantfred, c. 28]. Eadem quippe tempestate quidam consul regis nimium dilectus in caducis prepotens rebus, cum ingenti comitatu sicut mos est Anglosaxonum equitabat ad quendam uicum in quo grandis apparatus ad necessarios conuiuandi usus erat constructus [Lantfred, c. 31].

Lectio .ix. Et accidit autem in ipso itinere quod quidam puer eximie indolis quem comes idem diligebat plus ceteris ruina properante caderet de sonipede. Qui mox ut cecidit eius crus brachiumque fregit, et ita omnibus membris est dissolutus, ut omnes qui aderant crederent illum ilico moriturum. Paterfamilias autem, cum uideret puerum sibi dilectum morientem, subnixis orationibus exorauit Dominum quatinus pueri illius moribundi misereretur per sancti Suithuni interuentionem. Cumque uir ille Deum exorauit sermonibus, repente puer sursum prosiluit sanus, qui paulo ante iacebat ruina mortis preoccupatus. Quem dum consul prospiceret, ultra quam effari posset letus effectus est; et cum omni mente et deuotione Deum glorificare cepit, qui cor contritum et humiliatum non spernit [Lantfred, c. 31 cont'd].

The fact that there are nine lections (rather than eight or twelve) implies that they were intended for secular (that is, non-monastic) rather than monastic use.

The monastic breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester

In 1110, the community of the New Minster, Winchester, moved from its cramped quarters adjacent to Winchester Cathedral to a new site in a northern suburb of Winchester, whence it was known as Hyde Abbey.[121] The liturgy of the mass as practised at the New Minster is known from the 'Missal of the New Minster, Winchester', as we have seen; for the post-Conquest period, the liturgy of the Office is known from a manuscript breviary compiled under Abbot Symon de Kanings (1292–1304) and written during his abbacy: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Liturg. e. 1*, and supplemented with a contemporary psalter from the same house (which in fact may have constituted part of the breviary), now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough liturg. 8.[122] Together the manuscripts provide the fullest witness to the Benedictine Office in late medieval England.[123] The breviary volume includes a set of eight lections for the feast of the deposition on fos. 281v–282r. The compiler of these lections used as his source the anonymous late eleventh-century *Vita S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. 5), and followed its wording with only minor departures.

Lectio .i. Gloriosus Dei amicus Swithunus annis puerilibus in bona simplicitate transactis, iugum dominice seruitutis arripere festinauit, susceptum humiliter uiriliter portauit, sciens secundum apostolum disciplinam in presenti quidem 'non esse gaudii sed meroris', postea uero pacatissimum fructum iusticie exercitatis per eam retribui, et recognoscens id 'quod in presenti momentaneum et leue est passionis, supra modum in sullimitate eternum glorie pondus operari' [*Vita*, c. 1].

[121] WS i. 266–7.

[122] Ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst, *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, 6 vols., HBS lxix, lxx, lxxi, lxxvi, lxxviii, and lxxx (London, 1932–42).

[123] The other surviving English Benedictine breviaries are from Coldingham, a cell of Durham (London, BL, Harley 4664, of s. xiii^2), Ely (Cambridge, UL, Ii. 4. 20, of s. xiii^2), and Muchelney Abbey (London, BL, Add. 43405–6, also of s. xiii^2). A fifteenth-century monastic breviary from St Swithun's, Winchester (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 489) is discussed below.

Lectio .ii. Suscepto denique clericatus officio, de gradu in gradum, de uirtute in uirtutem Deo dirigente conscendens est, ab Helmstano uenerabili Wentane ciuitatis episcopo ad honorem sacerdotii prouectus est. Ministerii autem huius perceptione sollicitus curabat seipsum ministrum probabilem Deo semper offerre, operarium inconfusibilem se non remisse exhibere, uerbum ueritatis catholice et recte tractare, omnia que de puteo heretice prauitatis oriuntur caute et sedulo declinare [*Vita*, c. 2].

Lectio .iii. Factum est igitur ut odor opinionis suauissime de prato sanctitatis ipsius emanans regi Egberto tunc regnanti innotuerit. Quem rex euocatum multimoda indagacione perlustrans probatum et cognitum in sinu recepit, receptum inter amicum et familiares precipuum sicut prudentiorem consilio et fideliorem obsequio habere iam cepit. Sanctus uero uir non illecebre secularis, non terreni honoris gracia regi assistens seruiebat, sed quia sublimioribus potestatibus obediendum esse secundum apostolum et legebat et sciebat; et quia, si sepius a latere regis esset, indigentibus opem subuentionis regi quod bonum est suggerendo citius et ualentius prestare potuisset [*Vita*, c. 3].

Lectio .iiii. Commendauit rex beato Swithuno filium suum nomine Athulphum et documentis liberalibus edocendum et sanctis moribus instruendum [*Vita*, c. 3]. Euoluto igitur aliquanto tempore episcopus Helmstanus morti debitum soluens uitam finiuit, et cathedram episcopalem ciuitatis Wentane superuenturo pontifici uacuam dereliquit. Disponente autem Dei misericordia omnis etas, omnis sexus, uniuersa condicio, clerus et populus Wentane ciuitatis eadem uoluntate, pari consilio pecierunt a rege Athulpho (qui patri suo successerat in regnum) beatum Swithunum sibi donari in patrem et pastorem, sciencia scilicet clarum ornatum sapiencia et omni morum referentes dignitate pollentem [*Vita*, c. 4].

Lectio .v. Rex igitur Athulfus omnium assentiens petitioni, beatum Swithunum doctorem suum ad se euocauit; petitionem omnium refert, quam canonice, quam ecclesiastice, quam desideranter ab omnibus petatur, ostendit. Cumque pluribus ei sermonibus persuaderet ut oblatum officium suscipere non recusaret [*Vita*, c. 4], annuit humilis et Deo deuotus sacerdos regi potenti, tantum si rex adiutor sui sicut pollicebatur uelit existere et populum cui preerat secundum consilium Dei et suum regem aggrediatur, et sustentare. Suscepta igitur benedictione, manum ei Dorobernensi archiepiscopo Ednodo secundum institutiones canonicas inponente honore pontificali sullimatus, et de miti mitior, humilior de humili, de deuoto deuotior semper curabat existere [*Vita*, c. 5].

Lectio .vi. Vir sanctus omnium ciuium prouidens utilitati, pontem ad orientem partem ciuitatis Wentane arcubus lapideis construxit. Huic operi cum sollicitus insisteret, contigit quadam die ipso presente pauperculam mulierem usque ad locum ipsum uenire, oua uenalia in uase deferre, ab operariis lasciuientibus miseram apprehendi, oua uniuersa non eripi sed confringi. Que cum flens et eiulans pro illato sibi dampno coram episcopo querimoniam suam deponeret, motus pietate et misericordia beatus antistes uas in quo erant oua reposita sumit, et dextram leuans signum crucis super oua componit, signando celeri redintegratione incorrupta restituit [*Vita*, c. 6].

Lectio .vii. Sanctus Dei confessor Swithunus multis in locis ecclesias deuote sumptibus datis fabricabat, destructas uero desiderantissime reparabat. Quando autem opportunitas sibi dedicandi aliquam ecclesiam imminebat, clericis ac familiaribus suis tantum comitantibus nudis pedibus ad ecclesiam quam dedicaturus erat humiliter properabat. Conuiuia sua non cum locupletibus sed cum egenis et pauperibus erant; os semper apertum habebat ut inuitaret peccatores ad penitenciam, stantes ne cadant, lapsos ut resurgere adiciant, diuersis sermonibus exhortans [*Vita*, c. 7].

Lectio .viii. Vixit igitur beatissimus Christi seruus Swithunus in obseruatione mandatorum Dei, omni custodia conseruans cor suum in omni mundicia et puritate spirituali catholice et apostolice doctrine custos integer, filiorum spiritualium eruditor peruigil ac magister. Et cum nulla fere uirtus esset cuius apicem ipse non attigisset, humilitati tamen et mansuetudini studiosius inherebat, pacem et sanctimoniam sequens, fontem uite perpetue sitiebat, ad brauium superne uocationis semper anelans uitam in pace finire cupiebat. Bene igitur et sancte domo et ecclesia Dei secundum ritus ecclesiasticos ordinata, uictor carnis mundi

profuga de corona securus, de incolatu seculi huius migrauit exultans et gaudens, quia a Domino audire promeruit, 'Euge, serue bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te constituam: intra in gaudium domini tui' [*Vita*, c. 8].[124]

These make a well ordered and well arranged series of lections, with each lection corresponding to one chapter of the *Vita S. Swithuni*. The result is that the events of Swithun's life are told in a balanced way (note, however, that no mention is made of the translation of Swithun's remains by Æthelwold; such information was presumably deemed irrelevant to commemoration of the saint's deposition).

The Legenda sanctorum *of John Grandisson*

John Grandisson, who was bishop of Exeter (1327–69), compiled his huge *Legenda sanctorum* (now Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3504–5) from various hagiographical sources. He included nine lections for the feast of the translation of St Swithun, rather than, as in other uses, simply using the Common of several confessors,[125] because, as he states by way of preface to the lections, Exeter had acquired the church of St Swithun at Woodbury (Devon) in 1205, and therefore felt a particular devotion to the saint. Grandisson's lections are drawn from the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* and from the first four chapters of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (below, no. 6).

Lectio .i. Beatus Swythunus annis puerilibus in bona simplicitate transactis [*Vita*, c. 1], suscepto clericatus officio, sub Helmestano Wentano episcopo ad honorem sacerdocii est prouectus. Ministerio autem sacro percepto, curabat se probabilem Deo semper offerre [*Vita*, c. 2]. Diuina uero ac seculari sciencia necnon morum composicione preclarus, odore opinionis sue regi Anglorum Egberto innotuit. Quem ad se euocatum, probatum et cognitum inter familiares precipuum retinebat. Cui tamen non terreni honoris gracia seruiebat, set ut indigentibus opem ferre ualentibus suaderet [*Vita*, c. 3].

Lectio .ii. Commendauit autem Swythuno rex Egbertus filium suum Athulphum litteris et moribus instruendum. Qui et illis temporibus in ecclesia Wyntonie clericatus officio militauit. Set patre defuncto, annuente beato papa Leone, licet subdiaconus, quia unicus heres patris, genti Anglorum proinde imperauit [*Vita*, c. 3]. Moritur interea Helmestanus Wyntoniensis, et Swythunus ab Athulpho rege pastor a clero et populo postulatur. Annuit rex assensum sancto Swythuno suadens [*Vita*, c. 4]. Promittente uero rege ecclesiam et populum eius consilio se recturum, Swythunus a Dorobernensium archiepiscopo Celinoto Wyntonie ecclesie consecratur [*Vita*, c. 5].

Lectio .iii. Sancti igitur antistitis exhortacione, rex Athulphus ecclesiis Dei uniuersam decimam terre regni sui regali munificencia largitus est. Ipse eciam uir Dei, contemplatiue pariter et actiue uite deuote insistens, cum ad orientalem partem ciuitatis pontem arcubus lapideis construeret, et presens adesset, paupercula mulier in cribro uenalia detulit oua. Que ab operariis lasciue ludentibus totaliter sunt confracta. Ad cuius fletum pietate motus antistes, oua cruce consignans, restituit incorrupta. Quando uero dedicandi ecclesiam aliquam oportunitas imminebat, ipse ad humilitatis exemplum non de die set in nocte nudis pedibus, familiaribus comitantibus, ad ipsam ecclesiam properabat [*Vita*, c. 6].

Lectio .iiii. Conuiuia sua non cum locupletibus set cum pauperibus sanctus pontifex faciebat. Cibum non ad implecionem set moderate sumebat. Sompnum post multas uigilias paululum admittebat, psalmis et

[124] *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, ed. Tolhurst, iv [Sanctorale: July–December], fos. 281r–282r.

[125] *Legenda Sanctorum: the Proper Lessons for Saints' Days according to the Use of Exeter*, ed. H. E. Reynolds (London, 1880), fo. 83v; ptd *Ordinale Exon. Appendix III. Legenda Exon.* (*Exeter Chapter MSS. 3504 and 3505*), ed. J. N. Dalton, HBS lxiii (London, 1926), p. 282: 'Licet alii faciant de communi plurimorum confessorum, Exonie tamen facimus de solo sancto Swythuno propter ecclesiam de Wodebyri uicariis appropriatam .ix. lecciones proprias.' On Woodbury, see above, p. 43.

canticis spiritualibus semper intentus [*Vita*, c. 7]. Ecclesia tamen Dei, cui preerat, secundum apostolicam institucionem in pace et sanctitate disposita, uirtutibus et miraculis clarus migrauit ad Dominum anno ab incarnatione eiusdem octingentesimo sexagesimo secundo, et tercio anno regis Anglorum Athelberti, Athulphi regis filii. Ad exemplum autem humilitatis, quam specialiter excoluerat, posteris relinquendum, non intra ecclesiam set in uiliori loco cimiterii se tumulari precepit [*Vita*, c. 8].

Lectio .v. Temporibus uero regis Anglorum Edwardi, qui nonus Athelberto successit, beatus Swythunus cuidam sibi deuoto, per omnia membra incurabili infirmitate percusso, nocte quiescenti, apparuit. Et ammonuit eum, ut Vetus Cenobium adeat, Athelwoldum episcopum, qui ei decimo loco successit, conueniat, referens, diuina miseracione prouisum se unde iacebat debere leuari et intra ecclesiam honorificencius tumulari. Si hesitet, signum pro testimonio habiturum, molestiam infirmitatis qua hactenus artabatur, cum [*leg.* quam?] continuo relicturam [*Miracula*, c. 1].

Lectio .vi. Aliud insuper signum infirmo sanctus adiecit, ut scilicet ad locum sepulture ueniens, unum de anulis ferreis qui lapidi infixi uidentur, si abstrahat, sine lapidis lesione, facillime exiturum, ac facilitate eadem, integritate seruata, in locum unde abstraheret rediturum. Surgit eger, iam non eger, set plenissime redditus sanitati. Et sicut predicta preostensa sunt, omnia repperit. Dehinc comperta prout iustum est domno pontifici intimare contendit [*Miracula*, c. 1].

Lectio .vii. Admonitus est eciam a duobus iuuenibus per uisum alius languidus, quem miseranda gibbi congeries adeo comprimens inclinabat, quia genarum genuumque una fere uideretur esse iunctura, ut apud sepulcrum predicti sancti pontificis requirat ualidissimam medicinam. Adducitur ergo eger ad locum. Adductus orat. Post oracionem, in soporem resoluitur et fugit omnis dolor egritudinis, quam habebat. Ruit omnis ciuitas uidere miraculum et Deum, 'qui in sanctis suis semper est mirabilis', multa laudum uociferacione attollunt [*Miracula*, c. 2].

Lectio .viii. Erat in ciuitate Wyntonia quidam nobilis, qui die quadam per prata meridiano tempore ambulabat. Hunc comprehendentes subito tres mulieres horrende, angustia multiplici afflixerunt ac pene suo flatu pestifero suffocantes, similem reddiderunt insano. Domi ergo reportatur. Dolent parentes et uniuersa ciuitas admiratur. Nocte sequente a sancto Swythuno admonitus, ad locum sepulture eius defertur. Et sopore correptus uidit sanctum adesse, cuius miseracione pristine redditur sanitati [*Miracula*, c. 3].

Lectio .ix. Hiis signis admonitus episcopus Athelwoldus cogitabat non decere, ut loci uilitas humiliaret quem adeo signorum sullimitas exaltaret. Annuente autem rege Edgaro, die statuto, indicto ieiunio, paratis omnibus ecclesiastico ritu, fodiunt ad sepulcrum. Aperto autem sepulcro, omnes qui aderant fragrancia perfudit odoris. Mulier quoque ceca uisum recepit. Ita ut ympnis et canticis, corpus deportatum, eminentissimo loco ecclesie honorificentissime collocatur. Facta est autem eius translacio anno incarnacionis dominice nonagentesimo septuagesimo primo, dormicionis uero eiusdem sancti centesimo decimo, ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum [*Miracula*, c. 4]. Amen.

The coverage in these lections is good, and the compiler has taken trouble to explain details like the royal succession of Anglo-Saxon kings (though he errs egregiously in placing the translation of St Swithun in the reign of Edward rather than Edgar). One might wonder, however, whether the canons of late medieval Exeter would have had much interest in such historical niceties, and whether breviary lections would be better focussed on the miraculous nature of the particular saint.

The monastic breviary of St Swithun's, Winchester

There survives in the Bodleian Library in Oxford a richly rubricated portable breviary which was written at St Swithun's, Winchester in 1424: now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 489 (S.C.

12337).[126] We learn from a note on fo. 25v that the manuscript was one of two volumes of a portable breviary written in 1424 by William Vincent,[127] a monk (and probably the sacrist) of St Swithun's, and was intended by him to be passed on after his death to his successor as sacrist.[128] Of the two original volumes, all that survives is Rawlinson C. 489, which consists solely of the sanctorale; the other volume (consisting of the temporale) has unfortunately been lost. Furthermore, Rawlinson C. 489 survives in a very lacunose and mutilated state: many quires and leaves have been lost, and a number of rubricated initials have been excised (116 leaves now remain). The book is in tiny format (143 × 105 mm.) and, given the compression of the script, immensely difficult to read. A number of quires have been lost at the beginning (the sanctorale begins abruptly with the feast of St George on 23 April). The first quire (fos. 1–8) covers the sanctorale from St George to St Dunstan (19 May), and breaks off in the middle of the third lesson for Dunstan, indicating that a quire has fallen out after fo. 8. The present second quire begins in the midst of the first lection for St Alban (22 June); the text is then apparently continuous through the feasts of St Æthelthryth on 23 June (fo. 9v), John the Baptist on 24 June (fo. 10r), SS John and Paul on 26 June (fo. 12r), SS Peter and Paul on 29 June (fo. 15v), Bishop Hæddi of Winchester on 7 July (fo. 19r), St Grimbald on 8 July (fo. 20r), and then the translation of St Swithun on 15 July. That is to say, the feast of St Swithun's deposition on 2 July is omitted (there is a cross-reference in the rubrics on fo. 20r to the feast of the translation). The lections for the feast of St Swithun's translation are on fos. 20v–21r. They are wholly drawn from the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. 6), and are therefore concerned with miracles which took place following the translation, not with the events of St Swithun's life (which would more appropriately have been included for the feast of the deposition on 2 July); the provision of eight lections implies monastic use, as would only be expected at St Swithun's, Winchester.

Lectio .i. Prediues uir quidam puerum habebat sibi unicum, nimio affectu dilectum. Hic itaque, repentino cecatus euentu, a parentibus delatus sanctoque Swithuno est oblatus. Vigilatur pro eo et oratur. Recedente nocte cecitas fugit, die illucescente clarus in eo reparatur intuitus [*Miracula*, c. 15].

Lectio .ii. Erat cuidam ciui in Wyntonia quedam ancilla, que pro culpa sua uinculis grauissime tenebatur constricta. Que audiens se miserrime esse torquendam, beatum Swithunum cum lacrimis orabat, ne in eam sententia tam crudeliter dictata perficeretur. Orauit; exaudita est; rumpuntur uincula. Fugit ad ecclesiam, Deo et liberatori suo gracias redditura [*Miracula*, c. 7].

Lectio .iii. Erat in prouincia matrona quedam nobilitate honorabilis que inopinato euentu cecitatem incurrit. Propter quod parentes eius fleuere, dolere cognati; familia ipsius tota contristabatur [*Miracula*, c. 9].

Lectio .iiii. Illa diuine misericordie se totam subiciens, cum multo comitatu Wyntoniam uenit. Ducitur ad ecclesiam; sistitur ante altare; Dominum et beatissimum Swithunum cum lacrimis deprecatur; oblatis muneribus depulso cecitatis obprobrio uisioni datur [*Miracula*, c. 9].

[126] See S. J. P. Van Dijk, 'Handlist of the Latin liturgical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford', 7 vols. in 8 (unpubl. typescript: Bodleian Library Eng. liturg. d. 8), ii. 267; see also O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* iii (Oxford, 1973), p. 76 (no. 872), and A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.435–1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1984), i. 111 (no. 673), ii, pl. 315. The manuscript is also listed briefly in W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica. A Descriptive Handlist of the Musical and Latin-Liturgical MSS. of the Middle Ages preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols. (London, 1901–32), i, no. 101.

[127] See J. Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury, c. 1066 to 1540* (Oxford, 1997), p. 743.

[128] The note is as follows: 'ad laudem et honorem gloriose uirginis et martiris Margarete, ego frater Willielmus Vincent monachus monasterii sancti Swithuni Wyntonie, hos duos libros, scilicet quoddam portiphorium cum suo diurnali sibi simili fieri feci et manibus meis propriis conscripsi anno Domini millesimo cccc° xx° quarto. Quos libros . . . uolo ut post obitum meum habeat sacrista monasterii supradicti . . . et quod prefati duo libri transeant de uno ad alterum' (fo. 25v).

Lectio .v. Tempore illo ceci, claudi, surdi et muti, paralisi et multiplici alio languore detenti, numero triginta et sex Wyntoniam conueniunt. Beati pontificis mausoleum piis orationum obsequiis frequentantes, intra spacium trium dierum uniuersi a sua infirmitate curati sunt [*Miracula*, c. 23].

Lectio .vi. Alio tempore centum uiginti quattuor de diuersis partibus, doloribus occupati diuersis, simul urbem predictum deueniunt. Deum et beatum Swithunum pro sua sanitate humiliter appellant, orantes et in oratione persistentes; intra numerum quattuordecim dierum a suis infirmitatibus omnes liberati sunt [*Miracula*, c. 24].

Lectio .vii. Duo ceci quos diutissime cecitas detinebat ad sepulchrum beati Swithuni adueniunt, associatis sibi duabus aniculis, que distorcionis morbo manuum et pedum carebunt officio. Datur eis locus; iacent ad sepulchrum; gloriosum pontificem oracione mouent. Surgentes de oracione, illi uidentes, iste de sua distorcione liberate inuente sunt [*Miracula*, c. 19].

Lectio .viii. Quidam adolescens qui pedes retrouersos et ad posteriora suspensos habebat; manus eius distorte membrorum carebant officio; reliqua membra paralisis miseranda torquebat. Deducitur itaque ad sancti Swithuni limina rogaturus. Pedes, crura, manus ceteraque eius membra ab omni infirmitate et distorcione soluuntur [*Miracula*, c. 11].

The compiler of these lections, perhaps William Vincent himself, has arranged them so as to focus solely on the miraculous power of St Swithun's relics; hence the discussion in the *Miracula* concerning the invention and translation of St Swithun's relics (cc. 1–5) is omitted, and replaced with chapters stressing the huge numbers of the infirm cured at the tomb (*Lectio .v.* = *Miracula*, c. 23). The miracles are not given in the sequence in which they occur in the *Miracula*, but are taken from cc. 15, 7, 9, 23, 24, 19, and 11. It is striking that one copy of the text, that preserved in Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, I. 81 (siglum G in the text printed below, pp. 648–96), presents a unique and apparently random selection of miracles drawn from the *Miracula*, copied as a sort of appendix to the *Vita S. Swithuni*, in the following order: cc. 15, 7, 9, 11, 19, 25, 31, 23, and 24. With the omission of two chapters (25, 31), and some minor rearrangement, it is precisely these chapters which were employed by the compiler of the lections in Rawlinson C. 489. The Gotha manuscript was written at an unknown centre in the second half of the fourteenth century; it could, in theory, have served as the exemplar for the lections in the Rawlinson manuscript. Furthermore, there is one variant reading in the second lection—*crudeliter*—where the remaining manuscripts of the *Miracula* have *grauiter*, and G alone has *crudeliter*. This much may suggest that Gotha I. 81 was at Winchester in 1424 where it was used by William Vincent in compiling his lections for the feast of St Swithun's translation. Nothing is otherwise known of the provenance of this manuscript.

The York breviary

The breviary for the use of York includes lections for the deposition of St Swithun (2 July).[129] However, because this feast fell during the octave of SS Peter and Paul (29 June), the lections for Swithun are combined with those for the apostles, so that Lections i–iii and viii–ix concern Swithun, and the remainder concern the apostles. I print only those lections concerned with Swithun, of which the first three dealing with Swithun's life are based evidently on the *Vita S. Swithuni*; those dealing with his translation (lections viii–ix), however, especially lections viii and the beginning of ix, appear to derive from the lections for St Swithun preserved in Lincoln Cathedral 7, discussed and

[129] *Breuiarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. S. W. Lawley, 2 vols., Surtees Society lxxi, lxxv (Durham, 1880–3); the lections for St Swithun are at ii. 367–70.

ptd above, pp. 105–7; the remainder of lection ix, however, departs from the wording of this presumed source.

Lectio .i. Glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto regnante, qui regi Kinegillo de idolatria per beatum Byrinum Occidentalium Anglorum apostolum ad fidem conuerso octauus successit in regnum, beatus Swithunus sumpsit exordium. Qui annis puerilibus in bona simplicitate transactis, iugum dominice seruitutis arripere festinauit [*Vita*, c. 1]. Suscepto denique clericatus officio de gradu in gradum sub Helmestano uenerabili Wentane ciuitatis episcopo ad honorem sacerdotii prouectus est [*Vita*, c. 2].

Lectio .ii. Disponente autem Dei misericordia, Helmestanus episcopus morti debitum soluens, clerus ac populus Wentane ciuitatis petierunt a rege Athulfo prefati regis filio beatum Swythunum sibi ordinari in patrem et pastorem [*Vita*, c. 4]. Nec mora assentiente rege et gaudente, beatus Swythunus honore pontificali honorifice sublimatus est, et de mite mitior et de deuoto deuotior curabat existere [*Vita*, c. 5]. Bene igitur et sancte domo et ecclesia Dei, cui pastor et pater piissimus preerat, secundum ritus ecclesiasticos ordinata et ordinatissime confirmata, regnante in tertio anno Anglorum rege Athelberto gloriosi regis Athulfi filio feliciter migrauit ad Dominum [*Vita*, c. 8].

Lectio .iii. Et neque prefatus pater et episcopus Swythunus intra ecclesie septa, neque in preeminentiori parte cimiterii, sed extra ecclesiam in indigniori que in plebe uilioribus patebat, equaliter se tumulari precepit. Exiuit autem de ergastulo seculi anno ab incarnatione dominica octogentesimo sexagesimo secundo, inditione decima, regnante eodem Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui est honor et gloria cum Deo patre et spiritu sancto per omnia secula seculorum. Amen [*Vita*, c. 8] . . .

Lectio .viii. Beatus Swythunus gloriosi regis Eadgari temporibus cuidam modesto fabro ferrario in nocturna uisione apparuit atque blando sibi sermone precepit, ut legationis sacramenta uenerabili episcopo Athelwoldo deferret, ut eum quamtotius summa cum reuerentia de tumulo transferret. Qui gauisus in Domino, sagaci agnouit industria hanc uisionem a Deo destinatam, regem predictum concitus adiit eique quod fuerat imperatum sollerter innotuit [Lincoln 7, *Lectio* .i.].

Lectio .ix. Mox ergo Deo inspirante rex ipse delectatus episcopi sermonibus et sancti patris reuelatione, ut hec translatio ageretur celerius prompta mandauit deuotione [Lincoln 7, *Lectio* .i.]. Venerandus ergo pontifex Athelwoldus, sincero gloriosi regis affectu mediante, deuoti cleri et populi desiderio interueniente, sanctum corpus solicitudine sancta inuentum, et ea qua debuit reuerentia ad ecclesiam transtulit. Ad cuius ingressum multa miracula operatus est Christus. Cecis enim prebuit uisum, claudis gressum, mutis loquelam, ita ut infra basilicam non aliqui inuenirentur languidi. Huius igitur sanctissimi Swithuni meritis et precibus celi iungamur ciuibus, prestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo cui sit cum patre et spiritu sancto honor et gloria in secula seculorum.

The 'Chertsey Breviary'

The 'Chertsey Breviary' is a sumptuously-written Office book which was produced at the Benedictine monastery of Chertsey (arguably one of Æthelwold's refoundations) sometime in the first two decades of the fourteenth century (after 1307 but before *c.*1320).[130] The original breviary contained some 550 folios, but it was subsequently broken up, and many illuminations removed. The part containing the Sanctorale was acquired by the Bodleian Library in Oxford in 1967,[131] where it now bears the shelfmark Lat. liturg. e. 39; other parts of the original breviary are in the

[130] See O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* iii (Oxford, 1973), p. 50 (no. 543), and L. F. Sadler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, v, 2 vols. (London, 1986), ii. 70–1 (no. 62a).

[131] J. J. G. Alexander, 'English early fourteenth-century illumination: recent acquisitions', *Bodleian Library Record*, ix (1974), 72–80 with pls. VII–VIII.

Bodleian Library (Lat. liturg. d. 42 + e. 6 [S.C. 32558] + e. 37) and in San Francisco.[132] The 'Chertsey Breviary' contains a series of eight lections (implying monastic use) specified for the feast of St Swithun's translation on fos. 75r–76r; the lections have simply been excerpted from the first four chapters, omitting c. 3, of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. **6**), with little or no change. All the lections pertain appropriately to the events leading up to the discovery of St Swithun's remains and to the translation itself.

Lectio .i. Temporibus regis Anglorum Eadgari apparuit beatissimus antistes Swythunus in sompnis cuidam uiro multiplici infirmitate per omnia membra percusso et admonuit eum ut ecclesiam que Vetus nominatur Cenobium celeriter adeat, dominum Athelwoldum episcopum (qui sibi decimo loco successit) conueniat, referens diuina prouisum miseratione se de ubi iacebat debere leuari, et intra ecclesiam loco digniori tumulandum [*Miracula*, c. 1].

Lectio .ii. Surgit itaque eger, non iam eger sed plenissime redditus sanitati; sicut predicta et ostensa sunt omnia reperit. Dicta et reperta (prout iussum est) domino pontifici intimare contendit [*Miracula*, c. 1].

Lectio .iii. Ammonitus est autem per uisum nocte et alius languidus nomine Ethelsinus a duobus iuuenibus (sicut ipse referebat), uultu pariter et ueste prefulgentibus, ut si sanitatem recuperare cupiat, sepulturam predicti pontificis sollicite requirat: inde sibi prouenturam citissimam et ualentissimam medicinam—pro egritudine sanitatem et pro dolore leticiam [*Miracula*, c. 2].

Lectio .iiii. Hunc quem diximus languidum miseranda gibbi congeries adeo comprimens inclinabat et inclinans incuruabat ut genarum genuumque una fere eademque uideret esse iunctura. Adducitur ergo ad locum de quo diximus; adductus orat. Post orationem in soporem resoluitur: fugit omnis dolor egritudinis quam habebat. Recuperatur in eo festina et firma sanitas quam petebat [*Miracula*, c. 2].

Lectio .v. Beatissimus pater et episcopus Ethelwoldus huiuscemodi signis et uirtutibus ammonitus et animatus, cogitabat et cogitans sepe in animo reuoluebat non decere ut uilitas et humilitas loci humiliaret quem tanta a Deo signorum ac uirtutum sullimitas exaltaret [*Miracula*, c. 4].

Lectio .vi. Letabatur magnopere et ex toto corde gaudebat pontifex sanctissimus et quia temporibus suis reuelacio tante iocunditatis futura est. Gratias Domino Deo suo quam altius poterat exhibebat. Nec defuit sibi bonum a Deo consilium: regi uidelicet Edgaro, maxime quia et summe religionis erat ac de tanto magnifice exultaret euentu, huius tante reuelacionis intimare prouentum [*Miracula*, c. 4].

Lectio .vii. Annuente ergo rege die statuto indicto ieiunio religiosis et sullimibus personis euocatis, congregata multitudine tocius cleri et populi, ipse dominus episcopus, beatus uidelicet Ethelwoldus, monachorum cateruis circumquaque uallatus, ad locum sepulchri crucibus paratis et cereis ritu ecclesiastico, uadit; fodit et subinde quibus est licencia tradita fodiendi [*Miracula*, c. 4].

Lectio .viii. Cumque apertum esset sepulchrum illud et ille thesaurus super aurum et topazion preciosus—corpus uidelicet beatissimi Swythuni—fuisset inuentum, omnes qui aderant odoris fragrancia ubique predicanda perfudit. Mulier ceca uisum recepit. Multi alii infirmi a sua sunt infirmitate curati. Ita cum hymnis et canticis spiritualibus deportatum, loco eminentissimo intra ecclesiam honorificencius apponitur collocatum [*Miracula*, c. 4].

The breviary of Evreux

As we have seen, the church of Evreux had acquired the head of St Swithun by unknown means by the end of the fourteenth century. The acquisition of so important a relic entailed liturgical commemoration on an appropriate scale, and it is clear that the community at Evreux responded by

[132] L. F. Sadler, 'A fragment of the Chertsey Breviary in San Francisco', *Bodleian Library Record*, xi (1983), 155–61.

compiling a set of lections for reading at the Night Office. The earliest form which these Evreux lections took may be seen in Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 388 (a breviary written at Evreux, s. xiv^{2}), where on fos. 284r–285r a complete text of the *Vita S. Swithuni* (below, no. 5) has been arranged so as to constitute nine lections; the text of these lections varies only in minor readings from the that of the *Vita*, so that there is little point in repeating them here. It seems subsequently to have been felt at Evreux that such full-scale commemoration was not entirely suitable for a foreign saint whose name they could scarcely spell, whereupon the nine lections were reduced in number to two, the text of which is preserved in printed breviaries from Evreux.[133]

Lectio .ii. Swithinus Wintoniae in Anglia, tempore Egberti regis natus, ab infantia Deo pia simplicitate servivit, castitatis in corpore, puritatis in mente, veritatis in sermone, sedulus custos. Seculi quoque odio, et solitudinis amore flagrans, ita se ab hominum consortio removit, ut vix cuiusquam colloquia, nisi cum proximi vel caritas vel necessitas urgebat, admitteret. Quo vivendi genere summam inter populos virtutis famam consecutus, dignus tandem ab Helinstano Wintoniensi episcopo judicatus est, qui ad sacerdotium promoveretur. Huius officiis omnibus sic deinceps incubuit, ut Dei se ministrum patientia, ieiuniis, scientia et caritate vera apostolica exhiberet. Erat in oratione assiduus, fervidus in verbi Dei praedicatione; sic severus in sui castigatione, ut in aliorum correptione moderatus. Qua in re cum optimi magistri specimen diu in ecclesia praebuisset, ab Egberto rege in aulam accersitus est, tantoque in pretio habitus, ut unicum ei filium Adulphum bonis moribus et litteris imbuendum traderet.

Lectio .iii. Post aliquot autem annos, mortuo Helinstano episcopo, communibus populorum votis annuens Egbertus, Swithinum reluctantem ad pontificalem suscipiendum honorem perseveranti instantia tandem adegit. Consecratus ergo Swithinus seipsum populo perfectum vitae evangelicae exemplar praebuit, pater pauperum, peregrinorum hospitium, viduarum et orphanorum perfugium factus. In sacrarum aedium aedificatione totus[a] erat, sive ut novas construeret, sive ut dirutas instauraret basilicas. Huius etiam precibus adductus rex Adulphus, universam decimam terrae regni sui ecclesiis liberaliter donavit. Tot igitur meritis cumulatus, dum cupit dissolvi et esse cum Christo, voti compos factus migravit e corpore sexto Nonas Iulii, anno octingentesimo sexagesimo secundo, et in medio plebis suae sepultus est. Caput eius Ebroicas ante seculi decimi-quarti fine advectum, et in ecclesia cathedrali depositum est; ubi prima vice, Guillelmo de Canteriis episcopo Ebroicensi involutum fuit in capsa lignea nono Calendas Augusti, anno millesimo quadringentesimo quarto. Anno vero millesimo sexcentesimo undecimo, die decima septima eiusdem mensis Iulii, in nova theca sancti pontificis imaginem praeferente conditum est, quae hactenus populorum venerationi proponitur.[134]

[a] *A word such as* intentus *has fallen out here*

The structure of these lections has been poorly thought out: much space is devoted to Swithun's early life, and his later career and miracles are omitted, so that *lectio .iii.* rushes quickly to his death in a single sentence. For students of the cult of St Swithun, however, the lections provide the crucial evidence that the head of Swithun was acquired before the end of the fourteenth century, that it was placed in a wooden reliquary on 24 July 1404, and was then rehoused in a new shrine which bore the image of the saint on 17 July 1611. On the cult of St Swithun at Evreux, see above, pp. 60–1.

[133] *Breviarium Ebroicense*, ed. P.-J. C. de Rochechouart, 2 vols. (Paris, 1737); and *Breviarium Ebroicense*, L. C. de Salmon du Chatellier, 2 vols. (Besançon [Vesontione], 1829).

[134] *Breviarium Ebroicense*, ed. de Rochechouart, ii. 411–12; ed. Salmon du Chatellier, ii. 456–7.

vii. LITURGICAL HOMILIES FOR THE OFFICE

Hagiographical lections or readings were specified for the secular and monastic Night Office of Matins (Nocturns), and such readings were normally included in breviaries, as we have seen. Another type of liturgical reading which formed part of the third Nocturn was drawn from Church Fathers.[135] Such patristic readings, the original intention of which was to comment on or to illustrate the gospel verse with which the third Nocturn began, had been specified already by St Benedict.[136] Although in origin the homiletic readings were probably chosen *ad hoc* (and perhaps somewhat at random) from books of the Fathers in a particular church's library, it soon became clear that a dedicated book containing homilies linked to the changing cycle of gospel verses was needed: and thus the homiliary came into existence.[137] By the seventh century, a homiliary had evolved at St Peter's in Rome, and the structure and content of this so-called 'Roman Homiliary' is known from several redactions of it made in the later eighth century, notably by Alan of Farfa, Egino of Vercelli and Paulus Diaconus.[138] The *Homiliarium* of Paulus Diaconus (d. *c.*792) was commissioned by Charlemagne, and consisted of 244 homilies divided into two parts, one for winter (Advent to Holy Saturday) consisting of 110 homilies, the other for summer (Easter Day to the feast of St Andrew, followed by homilies for the Common of Saints), consisting of 134 homilies.[139] These homilies were drawn from a variety of patristic sources, including principally Augustine, Fulgentius, Leo, Gregory, Caesarius and Bede.[140]

Among the homilies which Paulus Diaconus included among his readings for the Common of Saints is one which bears the rubric *Item de confessoribus* (inc. 'Ad sancti ac beatissimi istius patris') and is intended for the feast of an unspecified confessor; it is described by Paulus as a homily by 'Maximus the bishop' (*Omelia eiusdem beati Maximi episcopi*).[141] The identity of this 'Maximus the bishop' is uncertain, and the attribution is possibly spurious,[142] although some scholars have thought in terms of a fifth-century bishop of Turin, perhaps Maximus II (bishop 451–62).[143] What is interesting is that this homily, designed originally to commemorate an unspecified confessor—the specification would have been made by the hebdomadary who chose to use the homily to commemorate a local saint during the third Nocturn on that saint's feast day—was frequently adapted in medieval homiliaries for the cult of important local saints: a homiliary written in ninth-century Freising, for example, preserves a redaction of the homily adapted for commemoration of

[135] See Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 88 (secular use), 92 (monastic use).

[136] *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 9: 'codices autem legantur in Vigiliis . . . tam Veteris Testamenti quam Noui, sed et expositiones earum, quae a nominatis et orthodoxis catholicis patribus factae sunt.'

[137] See A.-G. Martimort, 'La lecture patristique dans la liturgie des Heures', in *Traditio et progressio: Studi liturgici in onore Prof. Adrien Nocent OSB*, Studia Anselmiana, xcv (Rome, 1988), pp. 311–31; idem, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, lxiv (Turnhout, 1992), pp. 77–80; and Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 152–3.

[138] The fundamental study is that of R. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (Spoleto, 1980), esp. pp. 127–221 (the 'Roman Homiliary'), 423–86 (Paulus Diaconus).

[139] The *Homiliarium* of Paulus Diaconus is printed—in a later, much expanded redaction consisting of 299 homilies—in *PL* xcv. 1159–1566, from an edition originally printed at Cologne in 1539. A detailed list of the contents of Paulus's original homiliary is given by Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 427–78. The original form of the work was first established by F. Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt untersucht* (Leipzig, 1897).

[140] For the complete list of sources, see Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 427–78; see also (briefly), C. L. Smetana, 'Paul the Deacon's patristic anthology', in *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds*, ed. P. E. Szarmach and B. F. Huppé (Albany, NY, 1978), pp. 75–97.

[141] *Homiliarium* part II, no. 106 (listed by Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, p. 473); ptd *PL* lvii. 417–22, *CCSL* ciA. 593–603.

[142] See J. Machielsen, *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi I: Opera Homiletica*, 2 vols., *CCSL* (Turnhout, 1990), ii. 695 (no. 4668), ii. 867 (no. 5810).

[143] Ibid. ii. 853.

St Corbinian (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. q. 15 (s. ix[1])), while another in a manuscript from Regensburg has the very same homily adapted for the commemoration of St Ratpert (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14418 (s. ix[med])).[144] A manuscript from Monte Cassino contains a redaction adapted to commemorate St Benedict (now Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, Compactiones X (s. xi[med])).[145] Clearly the homily was composed to facilitate such adaptation; our concern is with an adaptation made to commemorate St Swithun.

The homiliary of Paulus Diaconus enjoyed vast circulation during the Middle Ages, and served in effect as the principal Office lectionary up until the time of Vatican II.[146] In Anglo-Saxon England, for example, it served as the source and model for Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*.[147] A number of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts survives;[148] most of these have undergone redaction so as to adapt Paulus's original homiliary to the needs of the English church. One such manuscript, Durham, Cathedral Library, A. III. 29, was written by an English scribe in the late eleventh century, presumably at Durham, and was donated to Durham Cathedral by William of Saint-Carilef;[149] the copy of the pseudo-Maximus homily adapted to commemorate St Swithun is on fos. 208r–210r. But although the manuscript was apparently written (and certainly owned) at Durham, there are reasons to suspect that it was copied from a lost exemplar written at the Old Minster, Winchester. For example, it contains homilies and commemorations of SS Æthelthryth (fos. 181r–184v, adapted from Augustine, *Sermo* xciii = PL xxxviii. 573–80), Iustus (fo. 292v) and Birinus (fos. 332v–333v, adapted from Bede, *HE* iii. 7), but none for any other English saints. These commemorations, in combination with St Swithun, point unmistakably to the Old Minster in Winchester;[150] and the case is strengthened by the inclusion in Durham A. III. 29 of a homily for All Saints (inc. 'Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis')[151] on fos. 308v–312r. It is this homily which served as the basis for Wulfstan of Winchester's *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis* (see below, p. 339); what is striking, as François Dolbeau has noted,[152] is that the redaction of the homily in Durham A. III. 29 contains at least one unique variant which is reproduced by Wulfstan in his poem. This much may suggest that the exemplar of Durham A. III. 29 was written at the Old Minster in Winchester during the time of Wulfstan, that is to say, in the last decade or two of the tenth century. This suggestion carries the implication that the homily on St Swithun was also produced there in Wulfstan's time.

The homily on St Swithun, specified for the feast of the deposition (2 July), is on fos. 208r–210r of the Durham manuscript. As previously stated, it is an adaptation of a homily for the feast of an unspecified confessor attributed by Paulus Diaconus to 'Maximus the bishop' and included in his *Homiliarium*. The English redactor of the homily followed his source closely, only departing from it in order to insert Swithun's name on five occasions, or to make good his omission of several clauses. I have adopted the chapter-divisions of the text of the homily as printed in *CCSL* ciA. On a few

[144] G. Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins du sermonnaire carolingien récemment reconstitué', *Revue des études augustiniennes*, xxiii (1977), 155–98, at pp. 194–5.

[145] F. Newton, 'A third and older Cassinese lectionary for the feasts of Saints Benedict, Maur and Scholastica', in *Monastica III. Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480–1980)* (Monte Cassino, 1983), pp. 45–75, at 55–6.

[146] Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, p. 425.

[147] C. L. Smetana, 'Ælfric and the early medieval homiliary', *Traditio*, xv (1959), 163–204.

[148] Smetana, 'Paul the Deacon's patristic anthology', pp. 86–7.

[149] R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), p. 43.

[150] One might also note the commemoration of St Vedastus of Arras on fo. 335v. Vedastus was a saint from Flanders who was commemorated distinctively (and unusually) in the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold': see Prescott, 'The text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', p. 129, and Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. lxxxi, lxxxiv.

[151] J. E. Cross, '*Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis*. A sermon for All Saints and its use in Old English prose', *Traditio*, xxxiii (1977), 101–35.

[152] Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 44; see also Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xviii.

occasions corruptions in the text of the Durham manuscript may be repaired from the printed edition. There are also numerous cases where the Durham manuscript preserves a correct reading where the earlier manuscripts used for the printed edition (notably Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4534 (s. x/xi)) are in error, but I have not thought it important to record these.

.VI. NON. IVLII. NATALE SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS. SERMO BEATI MAXIMI EPISCOPI.

1. Ad sancti ac beatissimi istius patris nostri Suuithuni, cuius hodie festa celebramus, laudes addidisse aliquid, decerpsisse est; cum siquidem uirtutum eius gratia non sermonibus exponenda sit, sed operibus comprobanda. Cum enim dicat scriptura, 'Gloria patris est filius sapiens', quante huius patris sunt glorie, qui tantorum filiorum sapientia et deuotione letatur? 'In Christo enim Iesu per euangelium' ipse nos genuit Deo in unitate spiritus sancti.

2. Quicquid igitur in hac sancta plebe potest esse uirtutis et gratie, de hoc quasi quodam fonte lucidissimo omnium riuulorum puritatis emanauit. Etenim quia castitatis pollebat uigore, quia abstinentie gloriabatur angustiis, quia blandimentis erat preditus lenitatis, omnium ciuium in Deum prouocauit affectum. Quia pontificii administratione fulgebat, plures e discipulis reliquit sui sacerdotii successores.

3. Bene et congrue in hac die quam nobis beati huius patris nostri Suuithuni ad Paradisum transitus exultabilem reddit, presentis psalmi uersiculum decantauimus, dicentes, 'In memoria aeterna erit iustus.' Digne enim in memoriam uertitur hominum, qui[a] gaudium transiuit[b] angelorum, qui iam gratiam Christi clarificatus inuenit, quia mundi gloriam non quesiuit, cauens illud quod dicit sermo diuinus, 'Ne laudaueris hominem in uita sua, tamquam si diceret, "Lauda post uitam, magnifica post consummationem".' Duplici ex causa utilius est hominum magis memorie laudem dare quam uitae, ut illo potissimum tempore merita sanctitatis extollas, quando nec laudantem adulatio nocet, nec laudatum temptat elatio. Lauda ergo post periculum, predica securum; lauda nauigantis felicitatem, sed cum peruenit ad portum; lauda ducis uirtutem, sed cum perductus est ad triumphum.

4. Quis ante uiuens per totum possit sine trepidatione laudari qui et de preterito meminit se habere quod doleat, et de futuro uidet sibi superesse quod timeat? Quis uero 'in hoc corpusculo positus' debeat sibi quicquam uendicare de meritis? Quorum interim uitam occulta demonum infestatio uelut latronum obsidet multitudo, quibus per omnes uias supplantatores inuisi animarum 'laqueos tendunt', innumerabilium mortibus expauescendos, nauigantibus nobis per 'hoc mare magnum et spatiosum in quo sunt reptilia quorum non est numerus, animalia pusilla et magna'—id est diuersa genera inimicorum qui secundum nostrarum uirium quantitatem compensato nobiscum agone luctantur. In huius mundi itaque pelago ualde nobis pertimescendum[c] est, ne nauim nostram aut procella tempestatis abripiat aut fluctus absorbeat aut in eternam predam pyrata crudelis abducat. Aduersus hec ergo multiformis seculi mala castigatis et castis actibus resistamus.

5. Et beati patris nostri Suuithuni merita iam in tutum posita securi magnificemus, qui gubernaculum fidei uiriliter tenens anchoram certe spei tranquilla iam in statione composuit, et plenam iam celestibus diuitiis et eternis mercibus nauem[d] optato in litore collocauit, quia contra omnes aduersarios scutum timoris Domini tam diu infatigabiliter tenuit, donec ad uictoriam perueniret. Quid enim fuit totus uitae illius cursus, nisi unus cum uigili hoste conflictus?

6. Quantis hic cecis 'a uia ueritatis errantibus' et de summa iam in profundum rupe pendentibus amissum reddidit uisum, et illum quo Christus uidetur reparauit intuitum? Quantorum auribus surdis et infidelitatis obturatione dampnatis ad percipiendam uocem caelestium mandatorum pretiosum infudit auditum, ut uocanti Deo ad misericordiam responderent per obedientiam? Quantos intrinsecus uulneratos angelici oris arte et orationum firmitate curauit? Quantos per longam incuriam peccati labe resolutos et quadam lepre

contagione perfusos, castigationibus et exortationibus expiando Deo in se operante uirtutem mundauit? Quantorum animas uiuentes in corpore iam defunctas et delictorum mole obrutas ac sepultas, ad emendationem tamquam ad lucem uocando Deo resuscitauit, ut domini sui ammirandus imitator iam mortuas Deo econtrario mortificet uitali morte peccato?

7. Tunc in alia parte ea que aperuerat salubritate claudebat, ne eis res aliena concupiscibilis appareret, ne interiori homini maculam exterioris culpa transmitteret, ne ad cor tenebre per uias lucis intrarent, ne in unoquoque prophetica illa interminatio compleretur, 'Mors', inquid, 'intrauit per fenestras uestras.' Ministeria enim aurium et oculorum fenestre esse probantur animarum. Quando enim aperimus auditum mala et iniqua loquentibus et damnabiliter obtrectantibus et que Deo sunt contraria suadentibus, 'mors intrat per fenestras nostras': horror mortifere noctis irrumpit, per quas 'sol iustitie' intrare debuerat. Quando iste peccati fenestre aperte sunt, ianua salutis et uitae ac porte Paradysi clause sunt. Has iste uir beatus fenestras multis seris diuini timoris obstruxit.

8. De quantorum cordibus quos inhonesta iniquitas et impietas possidebat, fugauit luxuriam, deiecit iram et extincxit inuidiam, et uelut de antiqua domo barbaris hostibus proturbatis[e] reuocando illuc fidem, castitatem, iusticiam, misericordiam, habitatores pacificos intromisit, per quos in domicilium mentis caput horum bonorum Christus intraret, et appositis penitencie medicamentis uelut quatriduanum foetentem increpationum fremitu suscitabat, et emendatione suscepta, de mediis mortis faucibus erutos temporiua resurrectione uitae restituebat.

9. Haec itaque atque huiusmodi plura gerens, que proferre per nos atque expedire ut dignum est, non potest sermo pauperculus, melius uobis ea uester dictet affectus. Summe alacritatis instantia cultor fuit et custos animarum, cupiditates resecans, iras comprimens, malitias extirpans. His itaque magis uir iste temporibus necessarius fuit, quibus tanta iniquitas sumptis cotidie deficiente iustitia uiribus conualescit. Et quidem ille in hac peregrinatione solo corpore constitutus, cogitatione et auiditate in illa eterna patria conuersatus est, et quasi bonus ratiocinator uelut ad centuplum manum porrigens, semper de sinistra transmisit ad dexteram et in celo reposuit sudores suos. Nam et si hic opera eius uidentur, illuc operum merita transierunt. Illius ergo in quantum possumus uestigiis insistamus, quibus per illam nimis artam uiam ad celi ampla festinans, qua eum sequeremur ostendit.

10. Agamus, inquam, sollicite in quantum possumus, ut ad illius informemur exemplum et animarum nostrarum facies ad eum respicientes, tanquam ad speculum componamus, et quasi boni filii similitudinem patris extollamus in nobis. Sicut enim aliquis magnus paterfamilias, splendidissimam cupiens pingere domum suam, perquirit formas quasque et imagines quas ante studiosi pictoris proponat aspectum, ut[f] pictor ille, figuris diligenter inspectis, in artis suae meritum sollicitus rapiat opus alienum et docta iam manu cito transferat in parietis nitidi faciem, personarum uiuentium dignitatem, ita ille uerus pater huius familie, Deus noster, ad pingendam domum suam, id est ad exornandas animas nostras in ecclesiam suam curam maximam gerens, uidetur mihi huic loco quedam uiuendi tamquam pingendi exemplaria, istius sancti uiri gesta ac merita protulisse et demonstrasse ad imprimendam atque inserendam imaginem suam paulisper in cordibus nostris.

11. Iuxta haec exempla, fratres karissimi, animarum nostrarum uultibus cito beati huius patris nostri Suuithuni uirtutum unusquisque nostrum tam pretiosos superducamus colores quos ille de donis Dei sibi congregauit. Rapiat sibi de eo alter gratam speciem compunctionis, alter imaginem pietatis, alter gratiam humilitatis, et alius donum caritatis. Alter pigmentum candidissimum nitide castitatis et alter abstinentiae uirtutem. Iste uerecundiae custodiam, ille ardentem in Dei rebus fidem: atque hoc modo spiritalia dona per membra plebis suae requirentes,[g] sic transeamus hinc bonis operibus adornati ad celum. Et ad unam illius faciem sic omnem exornemus domum id est uniuersam pingamus ecclesiam Dei ut ille nos uidens uel de eterni tremore iudicii uel de eterna beatitudine cogitantes, euangelica Christi uoce ad se possit nos assumere, dicens, 'Rogo, pater, ut ubi sum ego, ibi sint et hi mecum.'

12. Obsecremus ergo, fratres carissimi, et cum omni deuotione postulemus, ut nos quandoque de hoc seculo transmigrantes, sanctus iste patronus noster Suuithunus pro meritis refulgens in celis, in sedem suam et sinum suum uelut Abraham peculiares secum accipiat et in illo die incolomes 'oues suas laetus pastor agnoscat'. Hec nobis per merita istius sancti prestare dignetur saluator mundi, qui uenit saluare nos, cui est honor et imperium et potestas una cum Deo coeterno patre et spiritu sancto nunc et semper per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.[153]

[a] quia *MS* [b] transit *MS* [c] permiscendum *MS* [d] naui *MS* [e] perturbatis *MS* [f] et *MS* [g] relinquentes *MS*

1. To have added something to the praises of this holy and blessed saint, our patron Swithun, whose feast we celebrate today, is to have snatched it away, since indeed the glory of his miracles is not to be expounded in words but proven by works. When scripture would say, 'a wise son maketh the father glad' [Prov. 10: 1, 15: 20], how great are the glories of this father who rejoices in the wisdom and devotion of so many sons? 'For in Jesus Christ by the gospel' He Himself 'begot us' [1 Cor. 4: 15] for God in the unity of the Holy Spirit.

2. Whatsoever there can be in the way of virtue and grace in this holy people, therefore, flowed forth from this, as if from a fountain of purity, the purest of all streams. And because he excelled in the strength of chastity, because he rejoiced in the constraints of abstinence, because he was endowed with the charms of gentleness, he called forth the love of all citizens for God. Because he was resplendent in the administration of his pontificate, he left several successors to his bishopric from among his disciples.

3. Well and appropriately did we sing the verse of the psalm on this day, which the passage to Paradise of our patron St Swithun renders joyful, saying, 'The just shall be in everlasting remembrance' [Ps. 111 (112): 7]. Rightly is he recollected in the memory of men, because he surpassed the joy of angels, he who, illumined, discovers the grace of Christ, because he did not seek the glory of the world, heeding what the holy scripture says: 'Do not praise a man in his lifetime, as if he were to say, "Praise a man after his life, glorify him at its conclusion"' [Hilary of Poitiers, *Sermo de uita S. Honorati*, c. 3 (*PL* l. 1250)]. For a twofold reason it is more useful to give praise to the memory of men rather than in their lifetime, namely that you may more suitably extol the achievements of someone's sanctity at that time when adulation does not harm the one praising, nor pride tempt the one praised. Praise a man, therefore, after danger is passed, announce him safe and sound, praise the success of the traveller, but when he arrives at the port; praise the heroism of a battle-leader, but when he is being led in triumph.

4. What living person can be praised without hesitation, who both remembers that he retains something from the past that he regrets, and sees something that he fears awaiting him in the future? Who living 'in this transient body' [2 Cor. 5: 6] dare make any claim for himself on the basis of his merits? Meanwhile the hidden plague of demons and the multitude of robbers besiege their life, those for whom unseen deceivers 'set traps' [Jer. 5: 26] for their souls on every road, traps to be feared because of the deaths of countless people, while we sail across 'this great and vast sea in which there are creeping things without number, creatures little and great' [Ps. 103 (104): 25]—that is to say, diverse kinds of enemies who struggle with us in a measured contest depending on the amount of strength we have. Accordingly, in the sea of this world we should fear greatly that the tempest's storm does not snatch our ship, nor a cruel pirate seize it as eternal plunder. Let us resist with chastened and chaste deeds the evils of this multifarious world.

5. And let us safely glorify the merits of our blessed patron Swithun now stationed in safety himself, who, courageously holding the rudder of faith, put down the anchor of certain hope once a tranquil position had been reached, and placed the ship full of heavenly riches and eternal cargo on the desired shore, because he tirelessly held up the shield of fear of God until at length he arrived at victory. For what was the entire course of his life, if not one long struggle with a watchful enemy?

[153] Durham A. III. 29, fos. 208r–210r.

6. In how many blind persons, 'straying from the way of truth' [Wisd. 5: 6] and dangling over the abyss on a high cliff, did he restore the sight they had lost and repair that vision by which Christ may be seen? Into how many peoples' deaf ears, impaired with the blockage of faithlessness, did he administer the precious gift of being able to hear the voice of heavenly commands, so that they could respond obediently to God calling them to His mercy? How many people wounded internally did he cure with the skill of angelic speech and the security of prayers? How many persons undone through lengthy neglect by the disease of sin, and covered with the contagion of leprosy, did he purify through chastisement and exhortation by restoring their virtue, with God operating within him? How many persons' souls did he resuscitate, subsisting already dead in the body, overwhelmed by a mass of sins and buried, through God's calling, to correction as if to light, so that this marvelous imitator of his Lord might on the contrary mortify those souls dead to God through sin by means of a living death?

7. Then on another front he closed through his health-bringing presence those things which he had opened, so that an object of desire which would be foreign to them would not arise, so that guilt would not transmit the stain of the exterior man to the interior, so that shadow would not reach the heart on the pathways of light, so that that prophetic malediction would not be fulfilled in anyone: 'Death', it says, 'entered through your windows' [Jer. 9: 21]. For the functions of the ears and eyes are proved to be windows of souls. When we open our hearing to those people speaking evil and wicked things and culpably causing offence, and urging those things which are contrary to God, then 'death enters through our windows' [Jer. 9: 21]: the terror of deadly night bursts in through the windows which the 'sun of justice' [Wisd. 5: 6] ought to have entered. When these windows of sin are open, the gateways of salvation and life and the doors of Paradise are closed. This blessed man [Swithun] closed off these windows with the many bolts of divine fear.

8. From how many peoples' hearts, whom dishonest wickedness and iniquity possessed, did he expel wantonness, cast out anger and extinguish envy, and, as if having expelled barbarous enemies from an ancient house by recalling there faith, chastity, justice, mercy, he introduced peaceful inhabitants, through which Christ, the head of all these good virtues [Eph. 4: 15, 5: 23], might enter the dwelling of the mind; and, having applied the medicine of penitence as if arousing someone stinking dead for four days [John 11: 39 (*scil.* Lazarus)] through the recitation of exhortations and, with suitable correction restored them to life having snatched them from the jaws of death with a timely resuscitation?

9. Accomplishing these and many things of the same kind, which my impoverished speech cannot expound and set forth as is fitting, your affection might better declare them to you. Through the constancy of his great joy he was a fosterer and custodian of souls, cutting back carnal desires, constraining anger, rooting out wickedness. This man was all the more essential in times in which great iniquity is on the rise, daily drawing strength as justice declines. And indeed this man, placed here in the pilgrimage in body alone, dwelled through thought and longing in that eternal fatherland and, just like a good accountant stretching out his hand towards the hundredfold return, he always transferred things from the left to the right, and placed all his labours in heaven. For even if his works are visible here on earth, the achievements of these works have passed over there to heaven. There let us follow, as best we can, in his footsteps, through which he, hastening along this exceedingly 'narrow way' [Matt. 7: 14] to the wide open spaces of heaven, shows us where we are to follow him.

10. Let us proceed, I say, as carefully as we can, so that we may model ourselves on his example, and, looking towards him let us put the faces of our souls as it were in a mirror, and like good sons let us exalt the likeness of the father in ourselves. For just as a great landholder, wishing to decorate his magnificent house, seeks out certain drawings and designs which he might place before the inspection of the eager painter, so that the painter himself, having carefully inspected the designs, might excitedly incorporate unfamiliar work into the excellence of his own art and with a skilled hand transfer to the surface of the gleaming wall the likeness of living persons, so did Our God, that true Father of this family, in painting His house, that is, in

adorning our souls in His Church, exercising great care, as it seems to me, bring forth and set out in this place models of living as of painting, namely the deeds and achievements of this holy man [Swithun], for the purpose of impressing and implanting His image little by little in our hearts.

11. In accordance with these examples, dear brothers, let each of us quickly add to the visages of our souls the precious hues of the virtues of our blessed father Swithun, which he assembled for himself from the gifts of God. Let one of us take for himself from Swithun the pleasing likeness of contrition, another the model of piety, another the favour of humility, and another the gift of charity, another the brilliant colour of gleaming chastity, and another the virtue of abstinence, this one the restraint of modesty, that one the burning faith in things divine: and in this way, seeking spiritual gifts through the members of this people, we may thus proceed from here to heaven, adorned with good works. And let us embellish the entire house in His likeness, that is, let us decorate the universal Church of God so that He, seeing us contemplating either the terror of eternal judgement or eternal bliss, can adopt us for Himself, saying in the evangelical words of Christ, 'Father, I will that where I am, they also may be with me' [John 17: 24].

12. Therefore, dear brothers, let us beseech and ask with all devotion that, when we depart from this world, our patron St Swithun, gleaming in the heavens through his merits, may receive us as his own in his seat and in his bosom like Abraham [Luke 16: 22], and on that day 'may as a joyful shepherd recognize his unharmed flock' [John 10: 14]. May the Saviour of the world deign to grant these things to us through the merits of this saint: He Who came to save us, to Whom is honour and authority and power together with God His coeternal Father and the Holy Spirit now and forever through infinite ages of time. Amen.

As will inevitably be the case in adaptations of this sort, where the source-homily contains many generalized statements meant to pertain to any confessor whatsoever, there are many statements which are pertinent to St Swithun, and many which are not. For example, the statement in c. 2, that he left many of his students as successors to his episcopal office ('plures e discipulis reliquit sui sacerdotii successores'), cannot be confirmed from what little we know of Swithun's life, and no mention whatsoever is made of students or successors in the late eleventh-century *Vita S. Swithuni*. The incongruity of such details in the homily may suggest that it was adapted at a time before the cult had become widely established, with the consequent increase in curiosity about the saint's life that is reflected in the *Vita S. Swithuni*. Once again, the incongruity would have seemed less striking in late tenth-century Winchester, when the cult of the saint was just beginning and details of the saint's life had yet to be established (or invented).

viii. *HISTORIAE* FOR THE OFFICE

The word *historia* had many meanings in Medieval Latin; in the context of the liturgy, however, it referred to the set of chants (mainly antiphons and responsories) for Offices from Second Vespers on the vigil until Second Vespers on the feast day itself.[154] In origin these chant texts were simply composed of biblical excerpts; but over time, and especially from the late ninth century onwards, it became customary to base responsories for the feast of a saint on the *vita* of the saint in question; accordingly, a set of chants would characteristically contain some element of narrative. Furthermore, because many saints' *vitae*, especially from the tenth century onwards, were composed

[154] See the important discussion by R. Jonsson, *Historia. Etudes sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, xv (Stockholm, 1968), esp. pp. 9–17, and, more recently, J. Knape, 'Zur Benennung der Offizien im Mittelalter', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, xxvi (1984), 305–20.

in rhyming prose, it was often the case that the chants were made up of clauses having end-rhyme or assonance of some sort. From here it was but a small step to compose *historiae* consisting entirely of verse: not only quantitative verse (hexameters and elegiac distichs) but, increasingly from the tenth century onwards, in rhyming rhythmical verse, in which the stress of syllables rather than their quantity, was the structuring principle. Such compositions are known as 'rhymed offices';[155] the earliest author of a 'rhymed office' known to us by name was Stephen, bishop of Liège (d. 920), who composed a *historia* for St Lambert.[156] By the time that the cult of St Swithun was established (from the late tenth century onwards), therefore, rhymed offices were common on the Continent. Interestingly, the earliest such office or *historia* for St Swithun, dating from *c.*1000, is composed in unrhymed prose; the surviving rhymed offices for St Swithun apparently date from some time in the twelfth century.

A prose historia *from Winchester*

One of the so-called 'Winchester Tropers', that preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Chrisi College 473, contains on fos. 186v–189r an extensive series of responsories entitled *Istoria de S. Swithuno* intended for a feast (unspecified) of St Swithun; the text of the responsories and verses of this *historia*, together with the settings of them in *organa* (that is, polyphonic voices intended to be sung with the plainchant to which the texts were sung), were copied by one of the original two scribes of the manuscript (Scribe II), hence sometime in the first quarter of the eleventh century.[157] Although liturgical *historiae* were by this time being composed in verse and rhyming prose on the Continent, the text of the Swithun *historia* is in unadorned and unrhymed Latin prose.[158]

ISTORIA DE SANCTO SWITHVNO

⟨I.⟩ [℟] O quam admirabilis uir iste Suuithunus, inter antistites non minimus, qui suis temporibus clara et futuris prebuit exempla. Vnde feliciter exultat Christi ecclesia. [℣] Laudibus gloriosus es, beate Suuiðune, quod laetaris cum sanctis. Vnde feliciter exultat.

⟨II.⟩ [℟] O quam beatus es, pie confessor! Hodie namque chorus angelorum reuertentem te ad patriam suscepit. Intercede pro nobis. [℣] Securus.

⟨III.⟩ [℟] Sint lumbi uestri precincti et lucerne ardentibus in manibus uestris et uos similes hominibus expectantibus dominum suum quando reuertatur a nuptiis.

⟨IIII.⟩ [℟] Pater insignis confessor Suuiðune meritisque clare, cum Christo regnans, preces nostras in aula regis eterni subleua; et protege utrumque ordinem cuius egregius extitisti pastor in urbe. [℣] Incessanter pro nobis supplica Deum.

⟨V.⟩ [℟] Agmina sacra angelorum letamini pro conciui uestro Suuiðhuno de quo gaudet Christi ecclesia feliciter et exultet gaudenter.

[155] This English term derives from the German 'Reimoffizium', used first by Guido Dreves to describe the collection of texts printed in *AH* ii (1889). On the composition of rhymed offices in medieval England, see A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 206–7 *et passim*.

[156] This office is ptd Jonsson, *Historia*, pp. 218–21; see also Berschin, *Biographie*, iii. 421–9. As Jonsson points out (*Historia*, p. 15), the term 'offices in verse' would be more appropriate than 'rhymed offices', since they are not always rhyming.

[157] See Holschneider, *Organa*, p. 16.

[158] There is helpful discussion of the Swithun *historia* by L. Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, Libri Liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi, iii (Oslo, 1979), p. 143. As Gjerløw points out, the *historia* in question is intended for the Common of a Confessor; and although the text is found frequently in post-Conquest English liturgical books (notably from Peterborough and Worcester), the earliest surviving version is that in CCCC 473. From the evidence of English and continental manuscripts, she deduces that 'the distribution of the respons[ori]es seems to reflect Fleury at the peak of its influence *c.*930–1030' (ibid. p. 144). For the musical setting, see the discussion by Susan Rankin below, pp. 206–9.

[℟] O sacerdotum nobilissime, qui totis uisceribus dilexisti Christum Dominum. O Suuiðhune, egregie confessor, ora pro nobis.
⟨VI.⟩ [℟] Laudemus Dominum in beati antistitis Suuiðhuni meritis gloriosis: ad sepulchrum eius aegri ueniunt. [℣] Et sanantur.
[℟] Ecce uir prudens Suuiðunus, qui aedificauit domum suam petram, in cuius ore non est inuentus dolus, quia Deus elegit eum in sacerdotem sibi.
VII. [℟] Ecce uere Israelita, in quo dolus non est inuentus, qui probatus repertus est sacerdos magnus iuxta ordinem Melchisedech.
VIII. [℟] Gloriosus uir sanctus Suuithunus, relinquens terrena mercatus est caelestia.
VIIII. [℟] Iste sanctus digne in memoriam uertitur hominum, quia ad gaudium transit angelorum, quoniam in hac peregrinatione solo corpore constitutus cogitatione et auiditate in illa eterna patria conuersatus est.
[℟] Magnificauit eum in conspectu regum et dedit illi coronam gloriae.
[℟] Iste est de sublimibus celorum prepotentibus unus, quem manus Domini consecrauit matris in uisceribus. Huius nos meritis adiuuari supplices deposcimus.[159]

[℟] O how admirable is this man Swithun, not least among bishops; he provided an outstanding example for his own and for future times. [℣] Whence the church of Christ happily rejoices. You are glorious in our praise, O blessed Swithun, because you rejoice with the saints. Whence the church of Christ happily rejoices.
II. [℟] O how blessed you are, merciful confessor. For on this day a chorus of angels takes you up as you return to your homeland. Intercede for us. [℣] Safe and sound.
III. [℟] Let your loins be bound and the lamps be burning [reading *ardentes* for *ardentibus*] in your hands, and may you be similar to the men awaiting their lord when he returns from the wedding-feast. [no verse given].
IIII. [℟] O Swithun our father, outstanding confessor distinguished by your merits, reigning with Christ: please raise up our prayers to the hall of the eternal king, and protect either order of those for whom you were an outstanding shepherd in this town. [℣] Petition God unceasingly on our behalf.
V. [℟] Rejoice, you holy throngs of angels, on behalf of your new citizen Swithun, concerning whom the church of Christ rejoices blessedly and exults joyously. O most noble of priests, who loved Christ the Lord with all your heart. O Swithun, excellent confessor: pray for us. [no verse given].
VI. [℟] Let us praise the Lord in the glorious achievements of the blessed bishop Swithun. The sick come to his tomb. [℣] And are cured.
[℟] Behold this wise man Swithun, who built his house on the rock, in whose mouth no deceit is found, because God chose him to be His priest. [no verse given.]
VII. [℟] Behold the true Israelite, in whom no deceit is found, who is discovered to be a great priest according to the order of Melchisedech. [no verse given.]
VIII. [℟] The glorious man, St Swithun, leaving earthly things behind has acquired heavenly ones. [no verse given.]
VIIII. [℟] This saint is worthily recorded in the memory of men, because he passes to the joy of angels, since during this pilgrimage on earth while living in the body he dwelled by contemplation and desire in that eternal fatherland. [no verse given.]
[℟] He glorified him in the presence of kings and granted him the crown of glory. [no verse given.]
[℟] This saint is one of the lofty magnates of the heavens, whom the hand of the Lord marked out already in his mother's womb. We ask humbly to be assisted by his merits. [no verse given.]

[159] *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Frere, p. 96. See also Holschneider, *Organa*, p. 57, who carefully lists the responsories and verses of this *historia* whose settings in *organa* (that is, two-part polyphonic settings of the chant) are transmitted by the manuscript; he also gives references to the printed editions (notably in *Paléographie musicale*, xii) for the chants on which they are based.

Because of the date at which this *historia* was copied into CCCC 473, it may be taken as an illustration of the earliest phases of the cult of St Swithun at Winchester. What is not clear is why the scribe numbered the final three responsories with the numbers VII, VIII and VIIII, but did not number the preceding ones. Was a total of nine responsories intended and, if so, does this number suggest secular use? Furthermore, it is not clear what is meant by the allusion to *utrumque ordinem* in the fourth responsory: in a Winchester context the allusion might be to the monastic clergy of the Old and New Minsters; or to religious and lay persons; or to monastic and secular clergy. It is also noteworthy that the composer of this *historia* was not following a *vita* of St Swithun (the earliest *vita* proper, ptd below as no. 5, dates from the 1090s, nearly a century after the present *historia* was composed); unsurprisingly, therefore, it has no narrative structure.

A partially rhymed office from Scandinavia

A subsequent stage of development towards the fully rhymed office may be seen in a fragmentary text of unknown Scandinavian provenance, in which some of the responsories and verses of the previous Winchester *historia* are combined with antiphons composed in rhyming verse. The manuscript in question, now Helsinki, University Library, F. m. IV no. 1,[160] is a fragmentary bifolium (230 × 125 mm.) of an antiphoner,[161] written *c.*1200 either in England for export to Scandinavia, or else in Scandinavia itself (see pl. VII). The bifolium served as the cover for a sixteenth-century Swedish taxbook,[162] but nothing further is known of its provenance, or of how it got from Sweden to Finland. Because Finland was part of Sweden from *c.*1157 to 1809, the likelihood is that the original antiphoner was used somewhere in Sweden; it is probably, therefore, a relict of the English mission to Sweden.[163] In any event, the antiphoner included a partially-rhymed office for a feast of St Swithun. The bifolium (now foliated as '3') begins acephalous with the fourth antiphon of First Vespers, and ends with the third antiphon for the Second Nocturn. The antiphons for First Vespers are in prose, but the Invitatory for Matins is a stanza of rhythmical verse (rhyming abab) with the structure 8p + 7pp.[164] The three antiphons for the First Nocturn are all in verse (8pp + 8pp), rhyming aabb. The responsories for the First Nocturn are all in prose, and a number of them correspond to those in the Winchester *historia* for St Swithun, printed and discussed just above. Finally, the two surviving antiphons for the Second Nocturn also have the structure 8pp + 8pp, with aabb rhyme. The antiphons for the First Nocturn narrate the appearance of St Swithun in a vision to the smith, instructing him to go to Swithun's tomb (corresponding to the narrative in Lantfred, *Translatio et miracula*, c. 1); those for the Second Nocturn describe the miracles which took place following the translation. This much may suggest that the office preserved in the dismembered

[160] The fragment is described Ilkka Taitto, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the Helsinki University Library. Fragmenta Membranea N* (Helsinki, forthcoming; this volume is a continuation of the three volumes published by T. Haapanen, 1922–32). I am extremely grateful to Dr Taitto for showing me his catalogue-entry for the present fragment in advance of publication, for providing me with excellent photographs, and for much helpful advice.

[161] The fragment was unknown to Gjerløw, and is not listed in her survey of surviving antiphonaries: *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, pp. 21–47, 228–61.

[162] See the note on fo. 3v: 'Lasse matzsons för Raseborgz Copie och quittencie register pro anno . . . 1574'.

[163] See C. J. A. Oppermann, *The English Missionaries in Sweden and Finland* (London, 1937), pp. 98–123, 199–215.

[164] I use here the widely accepted system of notation of D. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale* (Stockholm, 1958), where p = paroxytone or penultimate stressed syllable, and pp = proparoxytone or antepenultimate stressed syllable. In this case, a line of eight syllables having stress on the paroxytone (8p) is combined, through rhyme, with a line of seven syllables having stress on the proparoxytone (7pp).

Helsinki antiphoner was intended for the feast of the translation (15 July), rather than that for the deposition; but certainty is impossible, given the fragmentary nature of the text.

The scribe of the Helsinki fragment obviously had great difficulty in reading his exemplar, for on several occasions he has managed to reduce the text to nonsense; it is also clear that he lacked sufficient knowledge of Latin to correct his errors. Whether this fact might point to an origin for the antiphoner in Sweden rather than England, is unclear. Note that, in the text which follows, square brackets signal physical damage to the fragment (although where possible I have supplied words which may be presumed to have been lost); text within angle brackets has been supplied in order to clarify the sense of the office.

[fo. 31r]⟨Ad Vesperas I⟩

⟨Antiphona⟩ [. . .]aminare et demones effugare.[a]
P⟨salmus⟩ Lauda.
⟨Antiphona⟩ [Conlaud]abunt multi sapientiam eius et usque in seculum [non de]lebitur.
P⟨salmus⟩ In conuertendo.
R⟨esponsorium⟩ Sancte Swithune confessor.
Ym⟨nus⟩ Iste confessor.[165]
V⟨ersus⟩ Iustum deduxit.
A⟨ntiphona⟩ Sacerdos Dei inclite Swithune, ora pro nobis, ut tuis semper precibus piis protegi mereamur, ubique et quandoque digni apparere ante conspectum diuine[b] claritatis.
Magnificat.

⟨Ad Matutinas⟩

Inuitatorium. Regem regum ueneremur
omniumque Dominum
qui consortem angelorum
fecis esse Swithunum.[c]

P⟨salmus⟩ Venite.

⟨In I Nocturno⟩

⟨Antiphona 1⟩ Cum reuelaret Dominus
Swithunum[c] patrem celitus,
multa fecit miracula
per eius sancta merita.

⟨Psalmus⟩ B⟨eatus uir⟩.

⟨Antiphona 2⟩ Nam pater idem[d] cernitur
in sompnis dum alloquitur
fabrum quendam missatica
mandans[e] illi celestia.

⟨Psalmus⟩ Quare.

⟨Antiphona 3⟩ 'Perge', inquit, [f]ac dic illo[f]
hoc[g] placere altissimo:
menbra mea saxeo
transferantur [h]e tumulo.'[h]

[165] The hymn in question is listed *ICL* no. 8410, and ptd *AH* ii. 77 (no. 101), li. 134 (no. 118). The first stanza of the hymn was added to CCCC 473, fo. 191r; see Frere, *Winchester Troper*, p. 97.

P⟨salmus⟩ D⟨omine⟩ **quid.**
V⟨ersus⟩ Amauit.
Respons⟨oria⟩
⟨℟⟩ O quam ammirabilis uir iste Swithunus [inter confes]sores **non minimus, qui suis**[i] **temporibus clara [et** futuris] prebuit exempla. Vnde feliciter exultat Christi ecclesia.
⟨℣⟩ Laudibus gloriosus es, beate Swithune, quod letaris cum sanctis.
⟨℟⟩ Ecce uere Israhel[ita in] quo dolus non est inuentus, qui probatus **reper[tus] est sacerdos magnus iuxta** ordinem Melchisedech.
⟨℣⟩ Statuit ei Dominus testamentum sempiternum, qu[i] probatus **repertus**[j] **est sacer[dos].**
⟨℟⟩ Gloriosus uir sanctus Swithunus relinquens terrena mercatus est celestia.
⟨℣⟩ O uerum et magnum sacerdotem,[k] qui contempnens terrena merca[tus **est celestia].**

⟨In⟩ II Nocturno.
⟨Antiphona 1⟩ Post hec elapso tempore
translato sancti corpore
Anglorum[l] genti multa
sunt data beneficia.
P⟨salmus⟩ **Cum inuoca[rem].**
⟨Antiphona 2⟩ Ceci uisum recipiunt,
claudi sani incedunt,
catenati absoluuntur,
carcerati liberantur.
⟨Antiphona 3⟩ Mul[. . .][166]

[a] effugarare *MS* [b] diuinecacis claritatis *MS* (-cacis *cancelled*) [c] Swithunenum *MS* (*with* -e- *expuncted*) [d] idiem *MS* [e] mandons *MS* [f–f] acdigito *MS* [g] hic *MS* [h–h] etcimulo *MS* [i] sui *MS* [j] reperatus *MS* [k] sacerdotum *MS* [l] angelorum *MS*

[. . .] and put demons to **flight.**
⟨Psalm⟩ Praise [Ps. 145: 1].
⟨Antiphon⟩ Many shall praise **his wisdom, and it shall never be forgotten [Ecclus. 39: 12].**
⟨Psalm⟩ In converting [Ps. 9: 4].
⟨Responsory⟩ O St Swithun, **confessor.**
⟨Hymn⟩ This confessor.
⟨Verse⟩ He led the just [Wisd. 10: 10].
⟨Antiphon⟩ Priest of God, O worthy Swithun, pray for us, so that we may deign to be protected **always by** your holy prayers, and to appear wherever and whenever before the sight of the divine radiance.
Magnificat [Luke 1: 46–55].

⟨Matins⟩
⟨Invitatory⟩ **Let us venerate the King of kings and Lord of all things, Who make of Swithun a companion of** the angels.
⟨Psalm⟩ Come **[Ps. 94: 1].**

⟨First Nocturn⟩
⟨Antiphon 1⟩ When **the Lord revealed our father Swithun from on high, He performed many miracles** through his holy merits.
⟨Psalm⟩ Blessed is the man **[Ps. 1: 1].**

[166] See above, p. 125 and n. 160.

⟨Antiphon 2⟩ For this same man is revealed in a vision when he reports a message to a certain smith, giving him heavenly commands.
⟨Psalm⟩ Why [Ps. 2: 1].
⟨Antiphon 3⟩ 'Go', he said, 'and say to him that this would please God on high: that my remains be translated from the stone tomb.'
⟨Psalm⟩ Why, O Lord [Ps. 3: 2].
⟨Verse⟩ He loved.
⟨Responsories⟩
℟. O how admirable is this man Swithun, not least among confessors; he provided an outstanding example for his own and for future times. Whence the church of Christ happily rejoices.
℣. You are glorious in our praise, O blessed Swithun, because you rejoice with the saints.
℟. Behold the true Israelite, in whom no deceit is found, who is discovered to be a great priest according to the order of Melchisedech.
℣. God established an eternal testament for him, who is discovered to be a great priest.
℟. The glorious man, St Swithun, leaving earthly things behind, has acquired heavenly ones.
℣. O great and mighty priest who, scorning earthly things, acquired [heavenly ones].

⟨Second Nocturn⟩
⟨Antiphon 1⟩ Subsequently, when some time had passed after the saint's body had been translated, many benefits were bestowed on the English people.
⟨Psalm⟩ When I called out [Ps. 4: 2].
⟨Antiphon 2⟩ The blind receive sight, the lame walk, restored to health, those in chains are freed, those imprisoned are released.
⟨Antiphon 3⟩ Many [. . .].

A rhymed office from Stavanger

As we have seen, the church was established in Norway during the tenth and eleventh centuries through the efforts of English missionaries. During the reign of King Olaf Haraldsson (d. 1030), subsequently known as St Olaf, various English bishops and priests, some of whom—to judge from the evidence of liturgical manuscripts preserved (in fragmentary form) in Scandinavia—must have been either from Winchester itself or from churches within its sphere of influence, were active in Norway; and a century later a Bishop Rainald (d. 1135), who was arguably from Winchester, established a bishopric at Stavanger.[167] St Swithun became the patron saint of his newly founded cathedral at Stavanger,[168] and it is clear that he was culted there as well as at other churches in Norway, notably at Nidaros (modern Trondhjem), as witness surviving liturgical manuscripts[169] and early printed books. Among the latter is an important printed breviary from Trondhjem, the 'Nidaros Breviary' (1516).[170] This breviary contains an elaborate rhymed office for St Swithun, which does not form part of the breviary proper, but has been added at the end.[171] (No manuscript of the office

[167] See above, pp. 56–7.
[168] See above, p. 57, as well as C. Hohler, 'The cathedral of St Swithun at Stavanger in the twelfth century', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., xxvii (1964), 92–118.
[169] See discussion above, p. 56, as well as J. Toy, 'The commemorations of British saints in the medieval liturgical manuscripts of Scandinavia', *Kyrkhistorisk Arsskrift* (1983), pp. 91–103, at 100.
[170] *Breviarium Nidrosiense* (Paris, 1516); there is also an anastatically-reprinted facsimile edition (Oslo, 1964).
[171] *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, sign. ccc. iv–viii [= pp. 894–8 in the page numbering of L. Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi, iii (Oslo, 1979), passim]; repr. in *AH* xiii. 235–7.

appears to survive.)[172] As is clear from the opening of the antiphon for First Vespers, the text was composed for use at Stavanger: 'Laetare, plebs Wentoniae, / gaude, gens Stauangarie'.[173] Although it is preserved uniquely in the 'Nidaros Breviary', there are grounds for believing that the rhymed office for St Swithun was composed well before the sixteenth century: the cult of St Swithun in Norway was on the wane by the fifteenth century at latest,[174] and the elaborate rhythmical structures point to an earlier period as well. Whether it was composed in Norway is unclear; the reference to Winchester (alongside Stavanger) in the opening line of the first antiphon may indicate that it was composed at Winchester for use at Stavanger. In any case the text is an example of the elaborate rhymed offices which are preserved in large numbers from the twelfth century onwards. In the present text, the antiphons for Matins are composed in regular rhyming rhythmical couplets (8pp + 8pp), but those for other Offices are less regular in structure: those for Lauds are basically 5p + 7p, those for Second Vespers, 6p + 7p. The rhythmical form of the responsories is various, often consisting of six or seven syllables of proparoxytonic stress, combined with a second element of eight or nine syllables, often with paroxytonic stress. But the varying nature of the stress patterns probably matters little, given that the lines were composed to be chanted.

In I. Vesperis. Ad 'Magnificat'

A. Laetare, plebs Wentoniae,
gaude, gens Stauangarie,
dum refert solis orbita
nostri patris solemnia,
Suithunus dictus nomine,
fide fortis et opere;
per bonae uitae merita
ascendit ad caelestia.

Ad Matutinum. Inuitatorium

Exultare Deo
nos condecet et iubilare,
Suithunum cui complacuit
super astra uocare.

In I. Nocturno
Antiphonae

1. Orthodoxis parentibus
Suithunus puer editus,
legem seruans dominicam
uitam ducit durissimam;
2. seruit Deo in timore
et exsultat cum tremore,
in sanctis uiuens moribus
exemplum praebet omnibus.

[172] Hohler ('The cathedral of St Swithun') stated that the text of the office was also preserved in a Winchester manuscript: 'Winchester text (fragmentary from loss of leaf) in Oxford, Bodleian MS. Rawl. c. 489' (ibid. p. 94 n. 2). But the text, unfortunately, is not contained in the Rawlinson manuscript, and one wonders how carefully Hohler examined it; on Rawlinson C. 489, see above, pp. 110–12.

[173] Cf. Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium*, p. 184.

[174] Cf. Toy, 'The commemorations', p. 93.

3. Multis cum uirtutibus
mirificauit Dominus,
de clericatus ordine
sanctum parit iustitiae.

Responsoria

I. Sanctus Suithunus
pastor paterque futurus,
ex orthodoxis
clarisque parentibus ortus,
℣ a puero didicit
ferre iugum Domini.

II. Traditur ingenuis
studiis puer erudiendus
doctrinisque sacris
et moribus instituendus,
℣ ascendens gradibus
presbyter efficitur.

III. Praesul Ventoniae
uacuam moriendo reliquit
sedem, Suithunus
Domino donante recepit;
℣ Hoc rex, hoc clerus
annuit et populus.

In 2. Nocturno
Antiphonae

1. Deum amans fideliter
sacratur ille presbyter
sub Helmstano pontifice
ciuitatis Vintoniae.
2. Honoris illum gloria
coronat Dei gratia,
diuina spargens semina
uerbis et uita praedita.
3. Ales diuini operis
transmigrat in montem Dei;
sancta illius anima
templi fit sancti machina.

Responsoria

IIII. Ordine sublimis
merito sublimior esse,
coepit et intendit
de sancto sanctior esse;

℣ mundi huius tenebras
spreuit et illecebras.

V. Pauperibus miseris
semper solitus misereri;
quae fuerant fracta,
reparauit pauperis oua;
℣ mirantes factum
magnificant Dominum.

VI. Vivendi metas
adduxit labilis aetas,
exit ab hac uita,
datur illi uita beata,
obuiat angelica
caeli cum rege caterua,
℣ et cum laetitia
sede locat supera.

In 3. Nocturno
Antiphonae

1. Adesse cupit sedulo
caelesti tabernaculo;
ingressus sine macula
requiescit per saecula.
2. Aeterno regi paruit,
terreno et complacuit,
dum bonum dat consilium
et fidele obsequium.
3. Euoluto post tempore
et defuncto antistite
rege, plebe petentibus
fit pater et episcopus.

Responsoria

VII. Congeries gibbi
miseranda grauabat egenum;
iam fuerat iuncta
genibus iunctura genarum.
℣ Inuenit auxilium
dum uenit ad tumulum.

VIII. Dies homo monstris
furialibus exagitatus,
flatu pestifero,
uultus horrore grauatus.
℣ Dum tumulum uisit,
laetitiam repetit.

VIIII. Signorum uirtute potens
meritisque coruscans,
et super afflictos
omni pietate redundans,
festicolis miserere tuis,
Suithune, precamur,
℣ coetibus angelicis
per te iungi mereamur.

In Laudibus
Antiphonae

1. Praesul Suithunus,
uirtutum lampade clarus,
hanc linquens uitam
scandit ad aetheream.

2. Subreptum sibi terra patrem
languensque requirit,
quo conciue polus
gaudia festa facit.

3. Cum locus exiguum premeret,
cum uile sepulchrum,
gloria uirtutum
magnificabat eum.

4. Omnibus infirmis
factus medicina salubris,
omnes curat eos
pestibus a uariis.

5. Laus tibi, summe Deus,
tibi caeli concio profert
Suithunusque pater:
laus tibi, summe Deus.

Ad 'Benedictus'

A. Laetabunda dies
anno currente reuixit,
gaudia festa facit,
solemnia laeta reduxit,
dum Domini seruus
Suithunus ad alta uocatur,
ad superas sedes
mundi de ualle leuatur.

In 2. Vesperis
Ad 'Magnificat'

A. Magne sator mundi,
Suithunum magnificasti,

te quoque Suithunus
gloria magnificat.
Illum de terra
magna uirtute leuasti,
quemque leuas caelo,
gloria magna tibi.[175]

First Vespers

[Antiphon for the 'Magnificat' (Luke 1: 46–55)]: Rejoice, people of Winchester, be joyful, people of Stavanger, since the revolutions of the sun bring back the feast-day of our patron saint, called Swithun by name, mighty in faith and deed; through the merits of his good life he ascended to the heavenly realms.

Matins

[Invitatory]: It is fitting that we rejoice and shout out in joy to God, to Whom it was pleasing to summon Swithun beyond the stars.

FIRST NOCTURN

[Antiphons] 1. Swithun as a boy was born of parents who were believers in the true faith; keeping the law of the Lord he leads a life of great hardship; 2. he serves God in fear and rejoices in trembling; living in chaste morality he offers an example to all. 3. The Lord magnified him with many miracles; from the hierarchy of the clergy He procures him for justice.

[Responsories] I. St Swithun, [our] shepherd and future patron, born of distinguished and true-believing parents; [Verse] he learned to bear the Lord's yoke from childhood. II. The boy is handed over to be instructed in worthy pursuits and to be taught holy doctrine and behaviour; [Verse] ascending the ecclesiastical hierarchy, he is made a priest. III. When the bishop of Winchester died, leaving the see vacant, Swithun received the appointment through the Lord's gift; [Verse] the king, the clergy and the laity approved of this.

SECOND NOCTURN

[Antiphons] 1. Loving God faithfully the saint is consecrated a priest by Helmstan, bishop of Winchester. 2. The grace of God crowns him with the glory of distinction, scattering divine seeds enriched by his words and life. 3. The harbinger of divine agency passes over to God's mountain; his holy soul becomes [part of] the structure of the holy temple.

[Responsories] IV. Exalted in rank, he sets out and strives to be more exalted in merit, and to be holier than holy; [Verse] he scorned the darkness and allurements of this world. V. It was always his habit to have mercy on the wretched poor: he restored the poor woman's eggs which had been broken; [Verse] those marvelling at this deed glorify the Lord. VI. The transient age brought a terminus to his life; he departs from this life; the life of bliss is granted to him; an angelic host together with the King of heaven goes to meet him, [Verse] and joyfully places him in his heavenly throne.

THIRD NOCTURN

[Antiphons] 1. He eagerly desires to be present in the heavenly tabernacle; entering without blemish he is at peace forever. 2. He obeyed the Eternal King and pleased the earthly king, because he gives sound advice and faithful service. 3. After time has passed and the bishop has died, he becomes patron and bishop at the petition of king and people.

[Responsories] VII. The wretched swelling of a hump afflicted a poor man; his cheeks seemed to be joined to his knees. [Verse] He found assistance when he came to [the saint's] tomb. VIII. A rich man, possessed by monstrous Furies, is afflicted by their poisonous breath and the horrific appearance of their visages. [Verse] When he sees [the saint's] tomb, he recovers his joy. VIIII. O Swithun, mighty in the power of your miracles

[175] *AH* xiii. 235–7 (printed there from the Nidaros Breviary of 1516).

and gleaming in merits, and abounding in all mercy for those afflicted, have mercy, we beseech you, on those celebrating your feast-day, [Verse] that through you we may deserve to be joined to the angelic hosts.

Lauds

[Antiphons] 1. Bishop Swithun, bright with the lantern of miracles, leaving this life ascends to the heavenly life. 2. The earth, languishing, seeks the father that has been taken from it, where[as] the heavens make joyous celebrations over their new citizen. 3. Although the place, a humble tomb, covered the humble man, the glory of his miracles magnified him. 4. Becoming a salvific medicine for all infirmities, he cures them all from their various diseases. 5. Praise be to Thee, greatest God; the assembly of heaven and father Swithun offer [this]: praise be to Thee, greatest God.

[Antiphon for the 'Benedictus' (Luke 1: 68–79)] The joyous day comes to life as the year revolves: it provides a joyful feast, it brings back the happy celebrations, when the Lord's servant Swithun is called to the heavens, is raised up to heavenly dwellings from the valley of this world.

Second Vespers

[Antiphon for the 'Magnificat' (Luke 1: 46–55)] Almighty Creator of the world, You glorified Swithun and Swithun praises You in his glory. You raised him from the earth with mighty power, and he whom You lift up to heaven is a great glory for You.

Unlike the earlier prose *historia*, this rhymed office for St Swithun has certain narrative content, drawn obviously from the late eleventh-century *Vita S. Swithuni* (below, no. 5). Thus the three antiphons for the First Nocturn are based on c. 1 of the *Vita*, those for the Second Nocturn from c. 2, and those for the Third Nocturn from c. 4.[176] Meanwhile, the responsories for the first two Nocturns repeat, from the same source, the story of Swithun's childhood education, his promotion to the see of Winchester, and the miracle of the broken eggs (*Vita*, cc. 1–6).[177] The responsories for the Third Nocturn (nos. VII–VIIII), however, report two miracles—the hunchback, the man who was paralysed by the three supernatural women—which preceded the saint's translation, as recorded in the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (below, no. 6), cc. 2–3.[178] This much suggests that the composer of the rhymed office had before him a manuscript containing both the *Vita S. Swithuni* and the *Miracula*, which might confirm the earlier suggestion that the office was composed at Winchester (where copies of both texts were available), rather than at Stavanger, since no fragments of either text have (as yet) come to light in any Scandinavian country.

ix. OCCASIONAL PRAYERS

By the time of the Norman Conquest, the cult of St Swithun had established itself throughout England, to the point where he was commemorated in formal liturgical services (mass and Office) in most, if not all, ecclesiastical institutions. But as the cult grew, it is not surprising that individuals might wish to appeal to the saint on their own behalf. In reciting a litany, for example, one might petition Swithun specifically by repeating the invocation of his name. In a litany in a fragmentary

[176] Here the verbal debt is unambiguous: cf. 'Euoluto post tempore / et defuncto antistite' (third antiphon for the Third Nocturn) with 'Euoluto igitur aliquanto tempore . . . episcopus morti debitum soluens' (*Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 4).

[177] And since they pertain to the events of Swithun's life, not his translation (cf. the previous partially rhymed office from the Helsinki fragment, above, p. 125), the office may have been intended for the feast of the deposition; but certainty is unattainable.

[178] Again, the verbal debt is unambiguous: cf. 'iam fuerat iuncta / genibus iunctura genarum' (Responsory VII) with 'ut genarum genuumque una fere eademque uideretur esse iunctura' (*Miracula*, c. 2); and 'flatu pestifero' (Responsory VIII) with 'suo flatu suffocantes pestifero' (*Miracula*, c. 3).

massbook which is preserved at Worcester (Cathedral Library, F. 173) but which was evidently written at the Old Minster in the mid-eleventh century, the name of Swithun is sandwiched between those of Birinus and Æthelwold, but unlike them is given in capital letters inviting the repetition of his name.[179] There was also a need for private prayers to St Swithun which an individual might recite for the good of her/his soul on occasions which were not embraced by the formal liturgy. Two such prayers survive, both of them apparently composed at Winchester, and both intended for use within the Old Minster itself. The first of these, addressed to SS Birinus and Swithun,[180] appears to have been composed specifically for recitation by the bishop (or abbot)[181] of the monastic *familia* of the Old Minster; the second is a prayer which was intended to be recited at the altar dedicated to St Swithun (within the Old Minster).

The prayer addressed to SS Birinus and Swithun is preserved uniquely in the above-mentioned 'Portiforium of St Wulstan' (CCCC 391), written for the personal use of Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062–95), where it is found among a collection of 'orationes priuatae' (pp. 580–620); the prayer itself is on pp. 603–4. The substantial number of serious corruptions indicates that the prayer has been copied carelessly from an earlier exemplar; and the reference to patron saints *huius clare Wentane* indicates that it was originally composed at Winchester, whence presumably the exemplar came to Worcester.[182] The prayer asks protection for 'the *familia* of my brothers' ('deuotam . . . fratrum meorum . . . familiam'), which suggests that it may originally have been composed for use by the bishop of Winchester. In any event, Wulfstan II of Worcester apparently regarded it as suitable for recitation on behalf of the Worcester monks entrusted to him, and hence it was included in his 'Portiforium' (although it is slightly surprising that the reference to *clare Wentane* was not altered in favour of Worcester).

AD SANCTOS BIRINVM SWITHINVM. O presules semper in Christo summo honore colendi, Birine et Swithune [a]⟨et sancte Athelwolde⟩[a] cum omnibus sanctis, quorum alter fidem sanctissime trinitatis et dominice incarnationis uelut fundamentum quoddam nobis locauit, alter ad augumentandum[b] meritum eiusdem fidei igneos miraculorum lapides usque in hodiernum diem superponit, ceteri etiam huius clare Wentane patroni et protectores sub alis: queso diuine tutationis deuotam nobis fratrum meorum colligite familiam, a qua me per scelerum diuersitatem[c] iusto Dei iudicio timeo excludi. Sed uos uel ultimum membrorum in corpore Christi me locate, ut capiti[d] cum eisdem[e] dilectis fratribus meis in supernis merear adiungi mansionibus in aeternum. AMEN.[183]

[a–a] *added by a later hand MS* [b] argumentum *MS* [c] diuersitate *MS* [d] *after* capiti *MS erroneously adds* timeo *(from the previous line)* [e] eiusdem *MS*

[179] Lapidge, *ASx Litanies*, p. 301.

[180] Note also that SS Birinus and Swithun are commemorated together in a sequence (inc. 'Laude resonet') preserved in one of the Winchester tropers, CCCC 473, and discussed and printed above, pp. 94–6. In the litany preserved in a late twelfth-century choir psalter from St Swithun's (the former Old Minster), Winchester, now Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 2. 6, SS Birinus and Swithun are the only two confessors to be venerated with repeated petitions; see above, p. 34.

[181] On the question of whether there was an abbot at the Old Minster (in addition to the bishop), see my note to Lantfred, *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, c. 3 (below, p. 284 n. 158); see also *Heads*, pp. 79–80.

[182] There is a substantial body of evidence for liturgical links between Winchester and Worcester in the mid-eleventh century: in addition to the present prayer, one might note the above-mentioned sacramentary now in Worcester (Cathedral Library, F. 173), the pontifical in CCCC 146, and the fact that the text of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* which prefaces the legendary in London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i was demonstrably copied from London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII, a manuscript which very possibly lay on the altar of St Swithun's shrine in the Old Minster; see below, pp. 239–40.

[183] *Portiforium of St Wulstan*, ed. Hughes, ii. 15. The text as printed by Hughes is seriously corrupt; I have introduced a number of emendations, but more may be needed.

TO SS BIRINUS, SWITHUN. O Birinus and Swithun ⟨and Æthelwold⟩, bishops always to be worshipped along with all saints in Christ with the greatest devotion, of whom the one [Birinus] established for us belief in the holy trinity and in the Lord's incarnation as a sort of foundation, while the other [Swithun] adds on the fiery building-stones of his miracles towards increasing distinction of this same faith up to the present day; the others are patron saints and protectors under the wings of this distinguished church of Winchester: please embrace this *familia* of my brothers, entrusted to me in divine protection—from which I fear I may be excluded through the variety of my sins by God's just judgement. But may you [i.e. SS Birinus and Swithun] locate me in the body of Christ as the least of its members, so that I may deserve to be joined forever to His head with these same beloved brothers in the heavenly dwellings.

Given the invocation of SS Birinus and Swithun, the monastic *familia* in question is undoubtedly that of the Old Minster, Winchester. Æthelwold is not named (although after his translation in 996 he would certainly have been regarded as one of the patron saints of the Old Minster) in the original prayer—his name has been added by the Worcester scribe—and it is tantalizing to speculate that it was Æthelwold himself who composed the prayer.

The second prayer is preserved in London, BL, Cotton Nero C. iv, a famous manuscript which was written at Winchester cathedral for the use of Bishop Henry of Blois (1129–71), and is known as the 'Psalter of Henry of Blois';[184] the script suggests a date in the mid-twelfth century. However, a note on fo. 41v ('Dedicatio ecclesie monasterii Scheftonie celebrata a beato Anselmo Cantuariensis archiepiscopo in honore gloriose uirginis Marie') indicates that the manuscript subsequently passed to the nunnery of Shaftesbury.[185] The principal content of the manuscript is a psalter (with the monastic canticles), with an accompanying French translation; the manuscript also includes a litany, and various *orationes* to the Virgin, St Michael, and other saints. The prayer to St Swithun is found among these (fo. 136r). The wording of the prayer indicates that it was to be recited in the cathedral itself.

Sancte Swithune, beatissime domine, tu es pacificus et omni beatitudine repletus; tu desiderasti Christum, tu es cum Christo in societate sanctorum. Et ego, miser peccator et fragilis, peccaui in atriis tuis, in domo tua male uiuendo ac innumera scelera perpetrando. Adiuua me una cum ceteris sanctis quorum corpora in hac iuxta te requiescunt aula uel quorum reliquie in hac ecclesia uel in hac ciuitate continentur, ut habeam emendationem et remissionem omnium peccatorum, et ut possim misericordiam consequi et ueniam peccatis, ut non peream in eternum propter uitia et peccata mea que male commisi, ego miser peccator et fragilis.[186]

O St Swithun, blessed lord, you are a peace-maker and are filled with all blessedness: you sought Christ, you are now with Christ in the company of the saints. And I, a wretched and weak sinner, sinned in your precincts, by living in an evil manner and perpetrating countless sins in your house. Help me together with the other saints whose bodies lie near you in this nave, or whose relics are contained in this church or in this city, that I might have correction and remission of all my sins, and that I might obtain mercy and forgiveness for my sins, so that I do not perish in eternity because of my vices and sins which I committed wickedly, I a wretched and weak sinner.

[184] See F. Wormald, *The Winchester Psalter* (London, 1973).

[185] See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964), pp. 177, 200.

[186] *Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine from English MSS. of the Eleventh Century*, ed. E. S. Dewick, *HBS* xxi (London, 1902), col. 49. Dewick notes that the unusual phrase *in atriis tuis* has a parallel in a prayer to the Virgin in London, BL, Royal 2. B. V, fo. 11 ('in cuius atrio magestati tue famulamur'). The prayer is an addition of mid-eleventh-century date, made possibly at the Nunnaminster, Winchester.

This prayer was evidently composed to be pronounced by a member of the Winchester clergy, presumably Bishop Henry himself; it thus forms an interesting complement to the previous prayer, which was intended for the use of the ecclesiastic who had charge of this clergy.

x. BLESSING FOR A STATUE OF ST SWITHUN

The 'Romano-German Pontifical', a massive collection of earlier pontifical *ordines* compiled probably at the church of St Alban in Mainz in the mid-tenth century, is known to have reached England by no later than the mid-eleventh century, probably through the agency of Ealdred, bishop of Worcester (1047–62) and subsequently archbishop of York (1061–9), who spent some time at Cologne in 1054, and who is known to have been interested in liturgical practice.[187] In any event, several eleventh-century English manuscripts of the 'Romano-German Pontifical' survive, and we are concerned with two of these in which has been added a small booklet of prayers intended as a sort of supplement to the 'Romano-German Pontifical'. The two manuscripts in question are: London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xii, fos. 116–52, written in Germany sometime in the first half of the eleventh century, to which has been added a quire of eight leaves (fos. 153–60), written by an English scribe in Style IV Anglo-Caroline minuscule, some time in the second half of the eleventh century (after 1069); and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 163, written apparently at Worcester in the last quarter of the eleventh century.[188] It is very likely that CCCC 163 was copied from Vitellius E. xii; in any case, the materials which constitute the additional quire in Vitellius E. xii are included verbatim in CCCC, pp. 283–96. Among these materials is a blessing for a statue of St Swithun, which is preserved uniquely in these two manuscripts (Vitellius E. xii, fo. 154r–v, CCCC 163, pp. 285–6). The text of the blessing is as follows:

Oremus, fratres dilectissimi, rerum omnium conditorem ut oculos sue excellentissime maiestatis pie ac misericorditer super nos aperiat, et ad officium nostri seruiminis sui clarissimi luminis splendorem infundat, quatinus quicquid humiliter in honore et amore sancto suo exequi innitimur, etiam ipse nobiscum ad laudem sancti sui nominis perficiens operari dignetur. Igitur te quaesumus, Domine Deus omnipotens, misericordiarum auctor lumen sancti tui spiritus mentibus nostris inspira, et fidem, spem caritatemque tuam in nobis amplifica, sensus nostros sapientie tue sancte diuina uirtute illumina, ne preter quod tibi sit placitum ullus nostrum in his presentibus exequendis te rogare presumat. Proinde et nos tibi, Domino Deo nostro, humillime terque[a] terque flectimus genua, ut qui trinus es in personis et unus in substantia de fonte tue benignitatis sic larga tua nos benedicas dextera, ut quicquid in nomine sancto tuo benedixerimus benedictum permaneat, et quicquid te auctore consecrauerimus consecratum persistat. Ergo presentem dilectissimi serui tui et beati patris nostri Suuiðuni effigiem sic in nostro officio clarifica, et aspersione tue benedictionis rorifica, pariterque olei et crismatis unctione ita consigna, utpote[b] quicumque hic in eius sancta memoria tua postulauerint presidia, presentia corporum obtineant salutaria, animarumque perhennalia percipiant gaudia. Per Dominum.[189]

[a] terqua *MSS* [b] utpute *MSS*

[187] See M. Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E. XII', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, lv (1983), 11–25, repr. in *ALL* ii. 453–67.

[188] See M. Lapidge, 'The origin of CCCC 163', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, viii (1981–5), 18–28, and (for a more precise dating and localization), M. Gullick, 'The origin and date of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 163', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, xi (1996–9), 89–91.

[189] CCCC 163, pp. 285–6; London, Cotton Vitellius E. xii, fo. 154r–v.

Let us pray to the Creator of all things, dear brothers, that He may open the eyes of His excellent majesty mercifully and clemently upon us, and may pour the brilliance of His bright light upon the performance of our ministry, so that whatsoever we strive humbly to accomplish in His honour and holy love, He Himself may deign to fulfil completely to the praise of His holy name. Therefore we beseech You, Almighty Lord and God, source of all mercy: breathe into our minds the light of Your Holy Spirit, and increase in us Your faith, hope and charity; illuminate our senses with the divine power of Your holy wisdom, so that none of us may presume to ask for anything beyond what is pleasing to You in these present matters. Therefore, O Lord our God, we bend our knees humbly to You three times and three times again, so that You who are triune in person and one in substance may bless us with Your bountiful right hand from the fount of Your kindness, in such a way that whatsoever we shall have blessed in Your holy name may remain blessed, and whatsoever we shall have consecrated may remain consecrated through Your authority. Illuminate, therefore, the present likeness of Your beloved servant and our blessed father Swithun, and cause it to be moist with the dew of your blessing, and likewise consecrate it with the unction of oil and chrism, namely that whoever here shall have sought Your assistance in holy remembrance of him, may obtain the immediate health of their bodies, and receive the eternal joy of their souls. *Per Dominum.*

It is interesting to ask about the circumstances for which such a blessing was composed. We know from the eleventh-century *Miracula S. Swithuni* (below, no. 6) that Ealdred, subsequently archbishop of York, had originally been a monk of the Old Minster.[190] On one occasion (datable to 1054), when returning to England from an embassy to Emperor Henry III in Cologne, Ealdred was caught in a fierce storm while crossing the Channel, and was only saved by the intervention of St Swithun, to whom he prayed for deliverance. When he arrived safely back in Winchester, Ealdred donated funds for the adornment of a statue of St Swithun in the Old Minster:

Veniens itaque Wintoniam domnus archiepiscopus promissionis sue desiderantissimus executor solennem donationem ad ecclesiam facit; suscepta a fratribus pecunia, statue et imagini beati Swithuni ornande sicut hodie monstratur cernentibus destinata et apposita est.[191]

Coming duly to Winchester, the lord archbishop, eagerly keeping to his promise, makes a solemn donation to the church; the money was received by the monks and put to the purpose of adorning a statue in the likeness of St Swithun—as is still today to be seen by onlookers (below, p. 679).

As we have seen, the blessing for the statue of St Swithun is preserved among English additions to a German manuscript (Cotton Vitellius E. xii) which arguably was brought back from Germany by Ealdred himself; and some of the contents of these additions have demonstrable links with Ealdred, notably the copy of *Laudes regiae* which they contain.[192] In light of this evidence, it would seem likely that the present benediction was composed, perhaps by Ealdred himself, to consecrate the statue of St Swithun which he endowed at the Old Minster.

[190] See below, p. 678 nn. 31–2.

[191] *Miracula S. Swithuni*, c. 43.

[192] See Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', pp. 12–20 (repr. *ALL* ii. 454–62).

6

ST SWITHUN IN THE MEDIEVAL HISTORIANS

As we have seen, Bishop Swithun made very little impression on his contemporaries, and it was only with the translation of his relics, engineered by Bishop Æthelwold in 971, and with the subsequent propagandizing by Winchester hagiographers, that his name came to national prominence. Accordingly, there is no mention whatsoever of Swithun in historical works composed in England before the late tenth century: not in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,[1] nor in Asser's *Vita Ælfredi*, nor in Æthelweard's *Chronicon*. And although the late-tenth-century Winchester hagiographers brought Swithun's name and cult to national prominence, nothing was known of his activity in this world until the anonymous author of the *Vita S. Swithuni*, writing probably in the last decade of the eleventh century, provided an account of his earthly life which could be utilized by historians of early England. Only with the Anglo-Norman historians of the earlier twelfth century does Swithun assume a historical role in his country's ecclesiastical history.

i. WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY

William of Malmesbury (d. *c.*1143) was, after Bede, the foremost interpreter of early English history.[2] He had occasion to discuss St Swithun in his two major historical works, the *Gesta regum Anglorum* and *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*. The *Gesta regum* is the earlier of the two, having been completed in five books by late 1125 or early 1126, and then revised at various times in the 1130s;[3] as its title indicates, it treats Anglo-Saxon kings and kingdoms in chronological order. Accordingly, in the course of his discussion of Wessex and King Æthelwulf, William had occasion to mention that Æthelwulf had the assistance of two outstanding bishops, Swithun and Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne, and that these two bishops had roused the king to assume his royal duties:

> Habebat [*scil.* Æthelwulf] enim duos suo tempore precellentes presules, beatum Swithunum dico Wintoniae et Alhstanum Scireburniae; hi, uidentes regem crassioris et hebetis ingenii, sedulis ammonitionibus ad scientiam regnandi stimulabant. Swithunus, in terrenis nausians, dominum ad caelestia informabat . . .[4]

[1] There are entries in the F-Chronicle—in Latin and Old English—for the death of St Swithun s.a. 861: see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS F*, ed. P. S. Baker (Cambridge, 2000), p. 66; but these entries were compiled at Canterbury at the very end of the eleventh century, and are not a record contemporary with Swithun's death (*recte* 863).

[2] For a list of William's writings, see Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 2114, and discussion in Gransden, *Historical Writing* i. 166–85. There is no comprehensive monograph on William's life and writings which is wholly reliable, but the studies collected in R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1987), provide a valuable introduction to William's historical perspective and use of manuscript sources.

[3] *William of Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings* I, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (OMT, 1998); R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, *William of Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings. General Introduction and Commentary* (OMT, 1999).

[4] *GR* ii. 108 (ed. Mynors *et al.*, p. 156) [trans. Mynors].

For he had two prelates outstanding in their time, St Swithhun bishop of Winchester and Ealhstan bishop of Sherborne; and these two, seeing that the king was dull and slow by nature, roused him by their constant warnings to some knowledge of his royal duties. Swithhun, disgusted by dealing with worldly affairs, put his master on the road to heavenly things . . .

The mention of Swithun together with Ealhstan indicates that William's source of information in this case was one of Æthelwulf's 'Second Decimation' charters,[5] which specify that Swithun and Ealhstan, together with all those who serve God, are to chant fifty psalms every Saturday in return for the king's grant of one-tenth of his land to the church;[6] and in fact in a subsequent chapter (ii. 114) William quotes *in extenso* from one of these charters of Æthelwulf which specify the agency of Bishop Swithun.[7] But beyond Swithun's role as adviser to King Æthelwulf, William had no further occasion to mention him in the *Gesta regum*.

While William was at work on the *Gesta regum*, he conceived the notion of composing a complementary work which would treat the bishops and bishoprics of England in the same way that the earlier work had dealt with kings and kingdoms. The eventual *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*,[8] completed shortly after 1125, thus treats the bishopric of Winchester at some length (ii. 75), and hence discusses Swithun among its bishops. It will be seen that, whereas in *Gesta regum* William had based himself on a secular document (one of Æthelwulf's decimation charters), here in the *Gesta pontificum* his source is manifestly the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. 5). William's discussion of Swithun deserves to be quoted at length (in the accompanying notes I indicate which chapters of the anonymous *Vita* William is paraphrasing):

Quo [*scil.* Helmstan] uiam patrum ingresso, Swithunus successit, eiusdem presbyter ecclesiae ab Helmstano iamdudum ordinatus.[9] In quo, dum uitae religio cum simplici prudentia conquadraret, natura industriaque laudabilis, regis auditum non effugit; quocirca illum hactenus excoluit, ut et multa negotiorum eius consilio transigeret, et filium Adulfum eius magisterio locaret.[10] Quo facto, praelusit futurae felicitati adolescentis fortuna, ut sub sanctissimo pedagogo addisceret qualiter non rudis olim ad gubernandam rempublicam procederet. Est enim Platonis uetus et laudata sententia: 'Tunc fore beatam rempublicam, si uel philosophi regnarent uel reges philosopharentur.'[11] Veritas dicti prodiit in effectum per istum Adulfum, cum patre defuncto, quia alter legitimus heres non extaret, ex gradu subdiaconi Wintoniensis in regem translatus est, concedente Leone illius nominis papa quarto.[12] Tum uero palam erat quid eum spiritualis philosophia docuisset, dum, magis famulorum Dei quam suis utilitatibus prospitiens, omne regnum Deo decimaret. Nichil faceret nisi ratum, nichil iuberet nisi pium. Sed haec alias egimus;[13] nunc in manibus Swithuni gesta

[5] See S. Keynes, 'The West Saxon charters of King Æthelwulf and his sons', *EHR* cix (1994), 1109–49, at pp. 1119–22, and above, pp. 6–7.

[6] See S 304 = BCS 468, dated 854 (quoted above, p. 6).

[7] What William in fact quotes is a spurious charter of the 'First Decimation' series, dated to 844 (to a time, that is, before Swithun became bishop of Winchester). William's text closely resembles S 322 = BCS 447 (a charter preserved in a Malmesbury cartulary of *c.*1400, now London, BL, Lansdowne 417), with the exception that S 322 specifies Helmstan, not Swithun, as Ealhstan's collaborator. Possibly the change was made by William himself.

[8] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS (London, 1870).

[9] *Vita S. Swithuni*, cc. 4 ('supradictus episcopus Helmstanus, morti debitum soluens, uitam finiuit') and 2 ('sub Helmstano . . . ad honorem sacerdotii prouectus est'), respectively.

[10] Ibid. c. 3 ('Vnde factum est ut opinionis suauissime odor de prato sanctitatis ipsius emanans regi supradicto innotuerit . . . Commendauit autem ei rex filium suum nomine Athulfum').

[11] The *Vita S. Swithuni* simply mentions that Æthelwulf was consigned to Swithun 'documentis litteralibus edocendum et sanctis moribus instruendum' (c. 3); William adds the aphorism from Plato's *Republic* (quoted by way of Jerome, *Comm. in Ionam* iii. 6: see Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 62 n. 142).

[12] *Vita S. Swithuni* c. 3 ('succedente tempore in decessu patris de ordine et gradu subdiaconi acceptum—permittente et annuente summo pontifice beato papa Leone'). The *Vita* does not specify which Pope Leo was in question, but William correctly deduces that it must have been Leo IV.

[13] William refers here to his discussion of Æthelwulf's decimation charters in *GR* ii. 108–9 (cf. above, p. 139).

euoluimus. Quem ille, ut altorem doctoremque suum suspitiens,[14] sic enim eum uocabat, non prius abstitit quam episcopatu Wintoniensi honoraret, consentiente clero, ordinante archiepiscopo Cantuariensi Celnotho.[15] Laetis ergo incrementis fundamenta bonorum in regno iacta per regem pullulabant per pontificem, dum iste bonum urgeret, quod ille suis praesertim ammonitionibus inciperet. Et erat quidem uirtutum omnium promptuarium, sed aggaudebat duabus maxime, clementia et humilitate. Ambarum insignia stilus subitiet.[16] Operariis ad pontem in orientali parte urbis fatiendum forte assederat, ut instantia praesentiae suscitaret stimulos desidiorum incuriae. Et ecce per pontem commeabat in ciuitatem femina, commertii causa ferens oua. Prosiliunt undique, ut id generis mos est hominibus, et petulanti excussu oua omnia ad unum confringunt. Id non leue sanioris mentis hominibus uisum, sed statim in notitiam domini episcopi delatum. Is ante se adductae mulierculae, annis et pannis squalidae, querelam auscultat, dampnum suspirat. Misericordia mentis cunctantem in miraculum excitat, statimque porrecto crucis signo fracturam omnium ouorum consolidat. Exiguumne hoc est sanctitatis et clementiae documentum?[17] Quid de humilitate? Quandocunque nouam fabricam in Dei ecclesiam consecrare deberet, eo, quamlibet longum esset, non equo uel uehiculo sed pede impiger contendebat. Et, ne daretur ab imperitis ridiculo uel a superbis iactantiae notaretur elogio, uisibus hominum abditus, nocturnus uiator totum iter confitiebat. Solitariae sanctitatis amator nulla pompa bona sua prostituebat.[18] Hinc factum opinor ut, caelo tantum teste fruitus, omnium miraculorum suorum notitia posterorum fraudaret conscientiam. Iam uero uitae praesenti ualefacturus, pontificali auctoritate praecepit astantibus ut extra ecclesiam cadauer suum humarent, ubi et pedibus praetereuntium et stillicidiis ex alto rorantibus esset obnoxium.[19] Excessit anno ab incarnatione Domini .dccclxiii.,[20] post mortem Adulfi sexto.[21]

When Helmstan went the way of the fathers, Swithun, who had formerly been ordained by Helmstan as a priest of that same church [Winchester], succeeded him. Since Swithun's religious life squared well with his straightforward intelligence, his nature and praiseworthy application did not long escape the king's [*scil.* Ecgberht's] hearing; the king therefore cultivated him to such an extent that he conducted much business in accordance with his advice, and placed his son Æthelwulf under his tutelage. Once this was done, fortune proclaimed the future bliss of the young man, that under so saintly a teacher he should learn how, when grown, the affairs of state were to be managed. For it is an ancient and much-quoted saying of Plato: 'The state would indeed be blessed, if either philosophers reigned or kings studied philosophy.' The truth of the saying came into effect through this Æthelwulf, when on the death of his father, because there was no other legitimate heir, he was transferred from being a subdeacon of Winchester to being king, with the permission of Leo, the fourth pope of that name. Then it was clear what spiritual philosophy had taught him, when, looking more to the needs of God's servants than to his own, he gave a tenth part of his entire kingdom to God. He would do nothing unless it was well thought out, and would command nothing unless it were devout. But I have treated these things elsewhere; I now take in hand the deeds of Swithun.

[14] William comes close to quoting the *Vita S. Swithuni* verbatim: 'altorem et doctorem suum . . . ad se euocauit' (c. 4).

[15] *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 5 ('Dorobernensium archiepiscopo . . . Celnodo imponente').

[16] William summarizes the contents of the *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 5, but it is his own contribution to categorize St Swithun's works according to *clementia* and *humilitas*, so that he cites the miracle of the eggs as an example of the saint's mercy, and his travelling by night as an example of humility.

[17] William retells the story of the broken eggs (*Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 6) in his own words, only occasionally retaining the wording of the earlier text (cf. 'ab eis qui sanioris intelligentie erant').

[18] The story of Swithun's humble travel by night, on foot, is from the *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 7, though mostly recast in William's own words.

[19] Swithun's instructions to be buried outside the church are from *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 8, but William has embellished the account by adding that the humble saint's tomb would thus lie under the feet of passers-by and be exposed to rainfall.

[20] The *Vita S. Swithuni* states that Swithun died 'anno ab incarnatione dominica octingentisimo sexagesimo *secundo*' (c. 8). No manuscript has a variant reading *tertio* at this point, so the alteration must be due to William's own (correct) calculation of the date of the saint's death. William also adds the detail that the saint's death occurred in the sixth year after the death of Æthelwulf (who died 13 Jan. 858).

[21] *GP*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 160–2.

The king, honouring Swithun as his foster-father and teacher (for he used to refer to him thus), did not stop before he honoured him with the episcopacy of Winchester, with the clergy consenting and with Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, ordaining him. From these happy beginnings the foundations of good works in the kingdom, laid by the king, burgeoned through the bishop: when the bishop would press for a good work, the king would initiate it especially through his suggestion. And indeed Swithun was a repository of all virtues, but he rejoiced most of all in two: mercy and humility. My pen will provide examples of both. Once he had by chance sat down with the workers charged with constructing a bridge in the eastern part of the city, so that his presence there would provide a stimulus to the inattention of the lazy. And then a woman travelled across the bridge into the city, carrying eggs in order to sell them. The workers sprang up everywhere, as is the custom with men of that sort, and with their wanton jostling broke all the eggs, down to the last one. This was not seen as trivial by men of saner intelligence, but was brought at once to the attention of the Lord Bishop. He listened to the complaint of the woman when she was brought before him, wretched in her age and ragged clothing, and sighed for her loss. His merciful attitude prompts in the loitering woman a miracle, and immediately he restores the breakage in all the eggs by making the sign of the Cross over them. Is this a trivial example of his saintliness and mercy? What then of his humility? Whenever he had to consecrate a new building as a church of God, he undertook to go there quickly not by horse or carriage but on foot, no matter how far away it was. And so that he would not be held up to ridicule by fools, or be marked out as an example of pomposity by the proud, he completed the entire journey as a night-time traveller, hidden from the sight of men. The lover of solitary holiness did not sully his good works by ostentatious display. He did this, I think, so that, enjoying only heaven as his witness, he would cheat future generations of knowledge of all his miracles. As he was about to bid farewell to this present life, he ordered with pontifical authority all those attending him that they were to bury his body outside the church, where it would be exposed to the feet of passers-by and raindrops falling from on high. He departed in the year of the Lord's incarnation 863, the sixth year after the death of King Æthelwulf.

William's account of Swithun ends, as does the *Vita S. Swithuni*, with the saint's death. However, at a subsequent point in his treatment of Winchester bishops, William arrives at Æthelwold, and among the great accomplishments of Æthelwold, William includes an account of his translation of St Swithun, and some of the miracles which followed. There is much to suggest that William was drawing upon the late-eleventh-century *Miracula S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. 6), which were frequently transmitted in manuscript together with the *Vita S. Swithuni* (which William certainly did use, as we have seen) However, William adds several details drawn from his own experience, and includes at least one miracle which is not found in the *Miracula*.

Maximoque et laudabili operibus eius fuit emolumento beatissimus Swithunus eodem tempore reuelatus, qui, antiquae uitae humilitatem tenens, non alicui inflatiori personae sed homuntioni pauperculo, qui manuum artifitio uitam toleraret, per uisionem talia proferre uisus est:[22] 'Vade Wintoniam ad Vetus Monasterium, requisitoque loci edituo, praecipe ut dicatur episcopo Athelwoldo quatinus Swithuni olim episcopi mausoleum aperiens, efferat reliquias, inuenturus ibi omni thesauro pretiosiores margaritas. Respexit tempora eius clemens diuinitas, ut per me celestibus illustrentur prodigiis. Et ne cuncteris, hoc habe signum. Anulos ferreos uiolenter cum plumbo lapidi sepulcri affixos, leui annisu cum uoles extrahes, cum uoles

[22] This narrative is apparently confected from the first sentence of c. 1 of the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, with however some embellishment: remembering Swithun's great humility from his earlier treatment of the saint, William emphasizes that on this occasion Swithun's appearance to a person of low status (*homuntioni pauperculo*) was in keeping with his own humility; the *Miracula* say only that the man was 'bene timorato et bono timore deuoto sed multiplici et incredibili infirmitate per omnia membra percusso'. William's statement that the man supported himself by handiwork is not found in the *Miracula*, and may derive from knowledge of an earlier source such as Lantfred or Wulfstan, in which it was specified that the man was a smith (*faber*).

appones; ceteri si idem temptauerint, frustra erit.' Iuit ille, et promissionis coram edituo compos effectus, ad praesentiam pontificis admissus est. Ibi rem intrepide prosecutus, fidem dictorum habuit.[23] Die igitur dicta eleuantur ossa de tumulo, componuntur in scrinio.[24] Concurrit ingens uis uulgi uota offerre, uota cumulare. Nullus se fraudatum queritur: omnia fiunt, cuncta conceduntur. Denique tanta illic miraculorum copia in omni genere ualitudinum exhibita est, quantam nulla memoria hominum alibi factam attingere potest. Habet ergo cognomentum 'Pii' sanctus ille, omni se inuocanti, nisi fides defuerit, ad auxiliandum celer.[25] Cuius bonitas iamdudum inchoata, nec nostra aetate exsolescit. Vidi ego, quod mirum dictu sit, hominem, cui uiolentia raptorum effodisset lumina, oculis uel illis uel aliis (nam illi longiuscule proiecti fuerant) receptis, serenam lucem per Swithuni merita recepisse. Eratque praeteritae calamitatis inditium quod aculei punctionum palpebras deformabant.[26] Vult interea sanctus ut in omnibus glorificetur Deus, nec patitur ut aliquis per eum sanatus carnis uolutetur lubrico qui nolit praeterito implicari morbo. Quinetiam olim cum monachi miraculorum frequentia defessi essent, et mediis noctibus euentu alicuius prodigii sese inopes quippe sompni tricarent, non latuit torpor eorum sancti oculum de longe intuentem. Continuoque Adelwoldo apud curiam regis soporato astitit, uacationem minitans sanitatum si monachi ulterius a Dei laude putassent cessandum.[27] Cur enim in Dei dormitarent laude, cum ipse pro eorum uigilaret salute?[28]

St Swithun was revealed at that same time through a great and praiseworthy increase in his works: holding to the humility of his former life, he was seen to have said the following things in a vision not to some haughty person but to a poor little wretch of a man, who made his living by his own handiwork: 'Go to Winchester to the Old Minster, and, when you have summoned the sacristan of that place, ask that it be reported to Bishop Æthelwold that, in opening the tomb of Swithun, once a bishop there, he may translate his relics, and will find there pearls more precious than any treasure. The merciful Divinity has looked favourably on his times, that through me they may be marked with celestial miracles. And so that you don't delay, take this as a sign. When you wish you will be able to raise up with a modest effort the iron rings which are strongly fixed with lead to the stone-work of the tomb; if others should try the same thing, it will be in vain.' He went and, having fulfilled his promise before the sacristan, was admitted to the bishop's presence. Pursuing the matter fearlessly there, he kept faith and his word. On a specified day the bones are raised from the tomb and placed in a shrine. A great mass of people hastens to offer prayers and to heap up more. No-one complains of being cheated: all things come to pass, all things are granted. At length so great an abundance of miracles for every kind of illness is revealed there as the memory of men cannot recollect has happened anywhere else. That saint had the epithet 'The Merciful' for the reason that he was swift in coming to the assistance of everyone invoking him, unless the person's faith was lacking. His bounty, begun long ago, does not cease in our own age. I myself saw a man (marvellous to relate) whose eyes had been put out in a violent attack by thieves; having been given back either those eyes or others (for they had been thrown some distance away), he regained clear sight through the merits of Swithun. And it was a mark of his former misfortune that the points of the punctures deformed his eyelids. Meanwhile the saint wishes that God be praised in all things, nor does he allow that anyone cured by him should wallow in the slipperiness of the flesh who does not wish

[23] This narrative also derives from the *Miracula* c. 1, but William has added the detail of the sacristan (*aedituus*), so as to provide an intermediary between the humble pauper and the mighty bishop. By the same token William explains that the rings were fixed to the stone coffin by means of lead (a detail found in no other source).

[24] The account of the translation of St Swithun is narrated in *Miracula* c. 4, but also in Lantfred and Wulfstan.

[25] That St Swithun was known as 'The Merciful' is a detail not found elsewhere.

[26] William's eye-witness account of this miracle is eloquent testimony to St Swithun's miraculous efficacity in the early twelfth century. It should be noted that Swithun was particularly efficacious in dealing with persons whose eyes had been put out in one way or another (cf. *Miracula* cc. 27, 55).

[27] The miracle of St Swithun's appearance to Æthelwold to warn him that the monks were failing to rise from bed when miracles occurred at the Old Minster, is not found in the *Miracula*. William possibly derived it from either Lantfred (c. 10) or Wulfstan (*Narratio* i. 1305–1417); but note that in these two sources St Swithun appears to a noble lady in Winchester while Æthelwold is away at the king's court, not to Æthelwold himself.

[28] *GP*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 167–8.

to be cognisant of his former illness. Moreover, when once the monks were exhausted by the frequency of miracles, and at midnight in a sleepless state were paying insufficient attention (*tricarent*?) to the occurrence of some miracle, their laziness did not escape the eye of the saint watching them from afar. Straightway he appeared in a dream to Æthelwold, who was with the royal court, threatening to dispense with the miracles if the monks thought they could cease from God's praise any longer. For why should they be sleeping in respect of God's praise when He Himself was vigilant on behalf of their salvation?

William's account is an extremely valuable index to the vitality of St Swithun's cult in the early twelfth century: although William does not (unfortunately) say where precisely he witnessed the miraculous cure of the man who had been blinded by thieves, his personal endorsement is testimony of great importance for the efficacity of the cult; and his comment that St Swithun was known as 'The Merciful' (*Pius*) is a telling detail not apparently found elsewhere.

ii. JOHN OF WORCESTER

John, monk of Worcester (d. *c.*1140)[29] was the author of the very substantial *Chronicon ex chronicis*, a historical record focussed on England from its beginnings in the fifth century up to the 1130s, but couched within the framework of the universal chronicle of Marianus Scottus (d. 1082/3), and perhaps drawing on an earlier (but lost) compilation by the Worcester monk Florence.[30] In his treatment of ninth-century English history, John mentions Swithun on two occasions. The first of these occurs s.a. 827 during discussion of King Ecgberht, during whose reign, John records, Swithun is said to have been born:

> Cuius ut fertur regni tempore ortus est beatus Suuithunus nobili parentum stirpe. Qui transactis annis puerilibus a sancto Helmstano presule Wintoniensis ecclesie sacris est gradibus attitulatus. Cui etiam rex Ecgbrihtus filium suum commendauit Atheluulfum literis sacris erudiendum.[31]
>
> During his reign, it is said, the blessed Swithun was born of noble parents. When the years of his boyhood were over he was invested with holy orders by St Helmstan, bishop of Winchester. King Ecgberht entrusted to him his son Æthelwulf to be instructed in sacred letters [trans. McGurk].

The source of these comments is unmistakably the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni*, which notes the birth of St Swithun in the reign of King Ecgberht (c. 1: 'Glorioso rege Anglorum Ecgberto regnante . . . beatus Swithunus . . . accepit exordium'), the passage of his *annis puerilibus* in good earnest and earnest goodness (c. 1), his consecration as priest by Helmstan (c. 2: 'de gradu in gradum . . . conscendens, sub Helmstano . . . ad honorem sacerdotii prouectus est'), and his appointment by the king as tutor to the young Æthelwulf (c. 3: 'Commendauit autem ei rex filium suum nomine Athulfum et documentis litteralibus edocendum et sanctis moribus instruendum'). It will be seen

[29] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 984, and Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i. 144–8, as well as M. Brett, 'John of Worcester and his contemporaries', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to R. W. Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), pp. 101–26, and P. McGurk, 'The *Chronicon ex chronicis* of "Florence" of Worcester and its use of sources for English history before 1066', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, v (1982), 185–96, together with his introductions to JW ii, iii.

[30] Florence (see Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 299) is well attested as a monk of Worcester who died in 1118 and whose labours in compiling the *Chronicon ex chronicis* are praised by John of Worcester (JW iii. 142, s.a. 1118: 'Huius [*scil.* Florentii] subtili scientia et studiosi laboris industria preeminet cunctis hec chronicarum chronica'). The difficulty is that John's own work on the *Chronica* in the 1120s was witnessed and recorded by Orderic Vitalis, and that the *Chronicon* as it has been preserved shows a uniformity of style and purpose; so that, if John did take over the chronicle of his predecessor Florence, he reworked it in his own style in such a way that Florence's contribution is no longer identifiable.

[31] JW ii. 246.

from these quotations that John preserves precisely the factual detail of the *Vita S. Swithuni*, but tinkers with the wording so as to avoid verbatim copying, as for example, when he substitutes the word *erudiendum* for *edocendum* and *instruendum* of his source. But what is not found in the *Vita* is the attribution of Swithun's birth to a specific year (827). The year may represent a calculation made by John himself.

John returns to St Swithun some years later in his chronicle when, under the year 837, he notes that when Bishop Helmstan died, Swithun succeeded him:

Rege uero Athulfo regnante, sanctus Helmstanus episcopus uita decessit, cui iussu regis beatus Suithunus successit.[32]

In the reign of King Æthelwulf, the holy bishop Helmstan departed this life, and the blessed Swithun succeeded him at the king's command.

Once again this information is taken from the *Vita S. Swithuni* (c. 4: 'Helmstanus morti debitum soluens uitam finiuit . . . rex Athulfus omnium petitioni assentiens . . . beatum Swithunum . . . ad se euocauit; petitionem omnium refert . . . Voluntati et petitioni tam deuote . . . resistere non decere'), although John has commendably pared down his source's verbosity. The *Vita* does not, however, assign any date to either Helmstan's death or Swithun's accession, and the date 837, against which John records these events, may represent a (mistaken) calculation by John; in any event, if the implication is that Swithun was appointed to the bishopric in 837, then—on John's own reckoning—he will have been ten years old at the time.

John mentions Swithun a third time s.a. 862 when he records the bishop's death in a leonine hexameter which he apparently composed *ad hoc*:

Sanctus transiuit Suuithunus et astra petiuit.[33]

St Swithun passed away and sought the stars.

The date of the saint's death given here—862—was probably derived from the *Vita S. Swithuni*, which in this instance did for once supply a specific date.

Finally, at a subsequent point of his *Chronica*, John includes—under the year 970—a detailed notice of Æthelwold's translation of St Swithun's remains:

Sancte ac uenerabiles antistitis Suithuni reliquie, peractis a sepultura eius centum et decem annis, indictione .xiii., idus Iulii, feria .vi., sullate sunt de monumento a sancto Ætheluuoldo, uenerabili presule et ab Alfstano Glæstoniensis et Æthelgaro Noui Monasterii abbatibus, et in basilica apostolorum Petri et Pauli decentissime sunt recondite.[34]

The relics of the holy and venerable bishop Swithun, when 110 years had passed after their burial, were raised from the tomb by the venerable bishop, St Æthelwold, and the abbots, Ælfstan of Glastonbury and Æthelgar of the New Minster, on Friday, 15 July, in the thirteenth indiction, and were reburied with all due ceremony in the basilica of the apostles Peter and Paul.

This brief notice raises interesting problems. Its diction is derived unambiguously from Lantfred's *Translatio*, c. 3: 'Idus Iulii sanctae ac uenerabiles antistitis reliquiae sublatae sunt de monumento . . . a domno presule Aþeluuoldo uenerabili atque abbatibus Ælfstano necne Æþelgaro . . . et decentissime

[32] Ibid. ii. 254 [trans. McGurk]. [33] Ibid. ii. 276 [trans. McGurk]. [34] Ibid. ii. 420 [trans. McGurk].

in basilica sunt reconditae' (below, p. 284). Lantfred, however, does not restate at this point the year in which the translation of St Swithun took place, perhaps because he had given it earlier, in the *Praefatio*.[35] John overlooked, or had forgotten, Lantfred's earlier dating of the event, and, with only the passage from c. 3 in front of him, calculated (wrongly) that the translation must have taken place in 970; he then duly calculated the indiction (.xiii. is correct for 970) and the day of the week on which the translation took place (*feria .vi.* = Friday: in fact 15 July did fall on a Friday in 970). His miscalculation was to mislead many subsequent historians, directly and indirectly (see below).[36] In addition to (mis)calculating the date of Swithun's translation, John offered identifications of the two abbots named by Lantfred by giving their abbacies: Glastonbury for Ælfstan, the New Minster for Æthelgar. Æthelgar was certainly the abbot of the New Minster, but Ælfstan's abbacy of Glastonbury is problematic: no Ælfstan is found in lists of Glastonbury abbots, and there is good reason to think, on Lantfred's evidence, that Ælfstan was in fact abbot of the Old Minster in Winchester.[37] Once again, John's conjecture has misled subsequent historians.[38]

iii. SYMEON OF DURHAM

Towards the end of his life, the Durham precentor Symeon (d. *c.*1130?),[39] who is best known as the author of the *Libellus de exordio et processu Dunelmensis ecclesiae*,[40] was at work on a historical compilation known as the *Historia regum*.[41] The early sections of this compilation draw on an earlier work, which may also have been called *Historia regum*, by Byrhtferth of Ramsey; but Symeon's work also includes extracts from William of Malmesbury, a series of entries for the years 848–1118 drawn from the *Chronica ex chronicis* by John of Worcester, and a chronicle for the years 1119–29, which is not apparently derived from an earlier source and is presumably Symeon's own composition.[42] Among those materials deriving (principally) from John of Worcester are two brief entries relating to St Swithun. The first is a notice of Swithun's death, placed against the year 863: 'Anno .DCCCLXIII. sanctus Swithunus episcopus Wintoniensis hoc anno transivit ad Dominum'.[43] In this case, the fact that Swithun's death is assigned to 863 (rather than 862) suggests that Symeon's source

[35] *Praef.* (below, p. 258): 'post cuius [*scil.* Christi] ergo ineffabilem mirifice humanationis adunationem, transcurso nongentorum curriculo annorum cum bis septeni reuolutione lustri, quinetiam ferme annum Phoebo rotante medium, aetate sexta ... indictione quartadecima'. That is to say: nine hundred years, plus fourteen *lustra* of five years (14 × 5 = 70), plus half of another = midway into 971; the fourteenth indiction ([971–312] ÷ 15) is correct for 971.

[36] The attribution of Swithun's translation to 970 in a later historical source is a fairly clear indication that it is based on John of Worcester. For example, the unprinted 'Winchcombe Annals', which were first compiled in the twelfth century and are preserved in London, BL, Cotton Tiberius E. iv, fos. 11–27v, have the following entry against 970: 'dcccclxx. Translatio Sancti Suuithuni Wintoniensis episcopi hoc anno facta est' (fo. 17v). The compiler of these annals can be assumed to have derived this information from John of Worcester.

[37] See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 28 n. 1, as well as discussion below, p. 284 n. 158.

[38] Cf. *Heads*, p. 50.

[39] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1625, together with *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D. Rollason (Stamford, 1998). This book presents the results of recent exciting developments in knowledge of autograph manuscripts written by Symeon, which in turn throws new light on his origins and career.

[40] *Symeon of Durham: Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie*, ed. D. Rollason (OMT, 2000).

[41] *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., RS (London, 1882–5), ii. 3–283.

[42] The fullest analysis of the sources of Symeon's *Historia regum* is that by P. Hunter Blair, 'Some observations on the *Historia regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham', in *Celt and Saxon. Studies in the Early British Border*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 63–118; for the attribution of the earliest sections of the work to Byrhtferth, see M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham', *ASE* x (1981), 97–122 (repr. *ALL* ii. 317–42).

[43] *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, ed. Arnold, ii. 104.

was William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum* rather than John of Worcester. The second entry, however, pertaining to Æthelwold's translation of Swithun's remains, is drawn verbatim from John's *Chronica*, together with the tell-tale erroneous attribution of the event to the year 970.[44]

iv. OSBERT OF CLARE

Osbert of Clare (d. 1139) was a monk of Westminster who is perhaps best known for his activities as a forger of charters on Westminster's behalf,[45] but who was also active as a hagiographer, producing Lives of SS Edward the Confessor and Æthelbert of Hereford, as well as an account of the miracles of St Edmund, king and martyr. [46] Of relevance here is his *Vita S. Eadburgae* (*BHL* no. 2385),[47] an account of St Eadburg of Winchester (d. 960), who was the daughter of King Edward the Elder (899–924)—hence the sister of Kings Edmund and Eadred—and a nun (but never abbess) of the Nunnaminster. After its refoundation *c.*970, Pershore Abbey acquired relics of St Eadburg, and her (modest) cult spread from there.[48] According to Osbert's *Vita S. Eadburgae*, it was Bishop Æthelwold who established the cult of St Eadburg. Osbert reports that Æthelwold translated the relics of thirteen saints from unremarkable tombs,[49] and among these saints were Swithun and Eadburg:

In huius [*scil.* Æthelwoldi] itaque diebus se gloriosus confessor Suuithunus noua reuelatione glorificauit, quem et recens miraculorum gloria cotidie extollebat ad sidera, et uirtus indefessa magnificabat in uniuersa terra. Tanta uero meritorum prerogatiua gloriosum Dei pontificem donauerat Ætheluuoldum, ut tredecim sanctorum corpora de ignobilibus tumulis deuotus extraheret, et condigna reuerentia sepulturas eorum excellentius honoraret. De quorum cathologo beatus confessor Dei Suuithunus diuersis in urbe Wintonia fulgurabat usquequaque miraculis, et gloriosa uirgo et felix Eadburga preclaris et innumeris rutilabat signis. Confessor namque insignis tanquam sol celestis uariis radiabat usquequaque prodigiis, et regia proles Ædburga choruschabat uirtutibus, sacris circumdata uirginibus ut luna sideribus.[50]

Accordingly, in his [Æthelwold's] days, the glorious confessor distinguished himself through a new revelation, he whom both the recent distinction of miracles exalted daily to the skies, and the tireless [miraculous] power glorified throughout the whole country. So great a mark of merit had endowed Æthelwold, the glorious bishop of God, that he devoutly extracted the bodies of thirteen saints from insignificant tombs and honoured their burials more splendidly with fitting reverence. Among their number Swithun, the blessed confessor of God, shone through his various miracles like a lightning-flash everywhere in Winchester, and Eadburg, the glorious and blessed virgin, gleamed with brilliant and countless miracles. For the distinguished confessor gleamed everywhere with various miracles just like the heavenly sun, and the royal offspring Eadburg gleamed with miracles, surrounded by holy virgins as the moon with stars.

[44] Ibid. ii. 130 ('Sanctae ac venerabiles antistitis Suithuni reliquiae . . . decentissime sunt reconditae').

[45] See P. Chaplais, 'The original charters of Herbert and Gervase, abbots of Westminster (1121–1157)', in *A Medieval Miscellany for D. M. Stenton*, Pipe Roll Society, xxxvi (London, 1960), pp. 89–99, at 91–5.

[46] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1145.

[47] The *Vita S. Eadburgae* is edited (from the unique manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 114) as an appendix to S. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England. A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 253–308.

[48] See discussion by Ridyard, ibid. pp. 16–37, 96–139, as well as L. Braswell, 'St Edburga of Winchester: a study of her cult, A.D. 950–1500, with an edition of the fourteenth-century Middle English and Latin Lives', *MS* xxxiii (1971), 292–333. Oddly, St Eadburg is not named anywhere in the New Minster *Liber uitae*.

[49] That Æthelwold translated the remains of thirteen saints would be a statement of exceptional importance, if only it could be verified. Presumably the saints in question (or a majority of them) were former bishops of Winchester buried in the Old Minster, whose remains needed to be rehoused during the course of Æthelwold's rebuilding programme: for example (in addition to Swithun and Eadburg, named here), Birinus, Hæddi, Byrnstan, Ælfheah 'the Bald', Iustus of Beauvais, and others.

[50] Ed. Ridyard, ibid. pp. 290–1.

It is an interesting index to the importance of St Swithun's cult that, by the time Osbert was writing the *Vita S. Eadburgae* (probably sometime in the 1120s), the well-established reputation of Swithun could be used as a vehicle to glorify the sanctity of an otherwise obscure saint such as Eadburg.

v. HENRY OF HUNTINGDON

The *Historia Anglorum* by Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon (d. 1156 × 1164),[51] is a massive history of England from its beginnings up to 1154. Book ix of this work is devoted to English saints (it is entitled *De miraculis Anglorum*), and among these saints a brief paragraph is devoted to St Swithun:

Quis Wintoniensem uisens ecclesiam, et patris Adelwoldi lucidissima gesta reuoluens, non laudet patrem, qui solus per se et suos operatur miracula? O quot ecclesias presul ille Deo instituit, quot congregationes regularibus disciplinis insigniuit, quot impietatis incendia rore sancti spiritus extinxit? Illic quoque sancti patris Swithuni laudes uidebis. Qui fortissimi regis Ecgbricti assiduus et pius Adelwlfi filii eius educator fuit. Adelwulfus uero de clericatu translatus ad regnum, concessu Leonis pape, pontificauit eum feliciter. Tercio uero anno Adelberti regis, filii Adelwlfi, uir sanctus decessit cum gloria.[52]

Who, beholding the church of Winchester and looking at the brilliant deeds of father Æthelwold, will not praise the Father who alone works through him and his miracles? O how many churches this bishop established for God, how many congregations he designated for the practice of the regular life, how many fires of impiety he extinguished with the dew of the Holy Spirit? In that place you will also see the praises of the holy father Swithun, who was the careful and religious tutor of the mighty King Ecgberht and his son Æthelwulf. But, with the consent of Pope Leo, Æthelwulf was translated from the clerical state to kingship, and exercised his priestly office happily. In the third year of King Æthelberht, son of Æthelwulf, the saintly man departed with glory.

It will readily be seen that Henry's account of St Swithun is drawn directly from the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni*, cc. 3 (Swithun's tutelage of Æthelwulf, Æthelwulf's succession endorsed by Pope Leo) and 8 (Swithun's death in the third year of the reign of Æthelberht, the son of Æthelwulf).

vi. GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS

An index of a different kind to the geographical extent of St Swithun's cult by the late twelfth century is provided by the *Vita S. Dauidis* (*BHL* no. 2111) of Giraldus Cambrensis (1146–1223).[53] Giraldus's *Vita S. Dauidis* is a reworking, made in the early 1190s, of the earlier Life (*BHL* no. 2107) of St David by Rhigyfarch of Llanbadarn Fawr (d. 1099). In Rhigyfarch's Life, an angel had appeared in a vision to St Aidan (a disciple of St David) and instructed him to send his own disciple Scuthinus to Ireland.[54] When Giraldus recast this story a century later,[55] he replaced Scuthinus with the (similar sounding) Swithunus:[56]

[51] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 461 and Gransden, *Historical Writing* i. 193–201, and especially *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway (OMT, 1996), pp. xxiii–lvii.

[52] *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon*, ed. Greenway, p. 688 [trans. Greenway].

[53] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 350 and M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* (Dublin, 1985), nos. 52–75, as well as R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982).

[54] *Rhigyfarch's Life of St David*, ed. J. W. James (Cardiff, 1967), p. 16 ('Condiscipulus autem tuus, Scuthinus nomine, ad litus pergat maris', etc.).

[55] See M. Richter, 'The Life of St David by Giraldus Cambrensis', *Welsh History Review*, iv (1968–9), 381–6.

[56] The alteration is discussed by R. Bartlett, 'Rewriting saints' Lives: the case of Gerald of Wales', *Speculum*, lviii (1983), 598–613, at p. 606.

Et angelus: 'Discipulum tuum Swithunum ad mare quam citius mitte, et ego ei tam ventum quam vehiculum ministrabo.' Quo facto, cum Swithunus ad mare perveniens usque ad genua iam intrasset, assumptus a marina bellua et miraculose transvectus, patri [*scil.* St David] periculum indicavit. Cumque die paschali completis missarum solemnitatibus ad coenam consedissent, diacono ex more ministrante panemque veneno confectum patri apponente, surgens Swithunus—qui et Scolanus dictus est, et postmodum in Wintoniensi, ut perhibent, cathedra sublimatus—diacono cum confusione repulso, 'Ego', inquit, 'hodie ministrabo.'[57]

And the angel said: 'Send your disciple Swithun to the sea as quickly as possible, and I shall supply him both with wind as well as with a means of transportation.' After this, when Swithun arrived at the sea and had waded in up to his knees, and was taken up by a sea monster and miraculously transported, he reported all this to St David. And when on Easter Day after finishing mass they had sat down to dine, and the deacon serving as usual had placed the bread infected with poison before the father, Swithun—who is also called Scolanus, and was later appointed to the bishopric in Winchester, so they say—having driven away the deacon in confusion, said: 'I shall serve today'.

Giraldus implies that he derived his knowledge of St Swithun from oral report (*ut perhibent*) rather than from hagiography; in any case it is interesting to see that the fame of St Swithun had reached St Davids in westernmost Wales by the 1190s.

vii. ROGER OF HOWDEN

In the closing years of the twelfth century, Roger of Howden (d. *c.*1201),[58] compiled a massive set of *Chronica* covering the years 732–1201.[59] Although for the later part of the period (1192–1201) Roger's work is original, for the earlier part (up to 1148) he drew on an anonymous Durham compilation of the mid-twelfth century, the *Historia post obitum Bedae*. The (unprinted) *Historia* was based in its turn on Symeon of Durham's *Historia regum*. Accordingly, Roger's accounts of St Swithun's death[60] and of his translation by Bishop Æthelwold[61] are both derived verbatim (if indirectly) from those in Symeon of Durham, and hence assign the saint's death to 863 and his translation to 970.

viii. [RICHARD OF DEVIZES], *ANNALES DE WINTONIA*

Richard of Devizes was a monk of St Swithun's priory, Winchester, in the late twelfth century who is known principally as the author of an account of the early years of the reign of Richard I (1189–91), the *Chronicon de tempore regis Ricardi*, written apparently during the years 1192 × 1198.[62] Because the A-text of the *Annales de Wintonia* is transmitted in the autograph manuscript of Richard's *Chronicon* (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 339), it was thought by Bale, and has been argued more recently, that Richard was the author of the *Annales de Wintonia*.[63] The annals in

[57] *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* III, ed. J. S. Brewer, RS (London, 1863), p. 392.

[58] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1571, and Gransden, *Historical Writing* i. 225–30, as well as F. Barlow, 'Roger of Howden', *EHR* lxv (1950), 352–60.

[59] *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houdene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., RS (London, 1868–71).

[60] Ibid. i. 37 ('Anno .DCCCLXIII. sanctus Swithunus episcopus Wintoniensis hoc anno transivit ad Dominum').

[61] Ibid. i. 63 ('Anno .DCCCCLXX. sanctae ac venerabiles antistitis Swithuni reliquiae . . . decentissime sunt reconditae').

[62] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1308, and Gransden, *Historical Writing* i. 248–53; for the chronicle, see *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. J. T. Appleby (NMT, 1963).

[63] See *Chronicon*, ed. Appleby, pp. xxiv–xxvi, as well as J. T. Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxvi (1963), 70–7.

CCCC 339 extend only to 1139;[64] but there is a second manuscript of the work, the so-called B-text, in London, BL, Cotton Domitian A. xiii, in the same hand as CCCC 339 (hence presumptively the hand of Richard), in which the annals extend to 1210, and it has been noticed that there are striking discrepancies between these later annals and Richard's *Chronicon*.[65] In any event, because for the period down to 1066 the A- and B-texts are virtually identical, there is general agreement that Richard of Devizes was their compiler. It is these annals (down to 1066) which pertain to St Swithun. The annals for the central years of the ninth century contain no mention of Swithun, but the entry 'Sanctus Swithunus episcopus' is entered in the margin against the year 837 (pertaining to King Æthelwulf), and against the year 862 is the marginal entry 'Depositio Sancti Swithuni episcopi'.[66] Similarly, against the year 971 is the marginal entry 'Translatio Sancti Swithuni episcopi'.[67] However, the importance of St Swithun emerges later in the lengthy and moving account—first preserved in these *Annales de Wintonia*[68]—of the trial by ordeal of Queen Emma, quondam wife of Kings Æthelred and Cnut, and mother of Edward the Confessor.[69] Rumours were apparently circulating to the effect that Ælfwine, bishop of Winchester (1032–47), was Emma's lover;[70] Ælfwine was duly imprisoned and Emma committed to custody at the nearby nunnery of Wherwell. In order to clear her name, Emma wrote to the bishops of England, saying that she was willing to undergo trial by hot iron, by walking over red-hot plough-shares. The trial was appointed to take place in St Swithun's (that is, the cathedral), Winchester; the archbishop, Robert of Jumièges, enraged at Emma's effrontery, specified that she was to walk barefoot, placing her full weight on each of nine plough-shares (five for Bishop Ælfwine, four for herself). A huge crowd poured into Winchester, and into the cathedral, to witness this unusual event. The story, which involves the appearance and support of St Swithun, continues as follows:

> Regina de mandato regis reducta est Wintoniam de Warewella; et tota nocte proxime praecedente diem agonis sui peruigilauit ad sepulchrum Sancti Swithuni. Non est opus ut dicam, quod toto corde orauerit, quod parum nocte illa dormierit, quot uota fecerit, ut in tanto mereretur saluari discrimine. Et tamen dormire nolens dormitauit paululum, et uidit beatum Swithunum sibi assistentem, et haec audiuit dicentem sibi: 'Constans esto, filia; ego sum Swithunus quem inuocas; ego tecum sum, ne paueas. Confundentur qui te persequuntur; quia cum transieris per ignem, flamma non nocebit te. Tu autem remittes hanc noxam filio tuo.'
>
> Die facto conuenit ad ecclesiam clerus et populus, et rex ipse sedebat pro tribunali. Regina producitur ante filium, et an uelit prosequi quod promiserat, conuenitur. Quae
>
> Respondere parat; meruitque silentia uultus.
> Postquam foemineo rediit mens mota stupore
> Gratia uerborum tenero distillat ab ore.[71]

[64] The *Annales de Wintonia* are ptd H. R. Luard, *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols., RS (London, 1864–9), ii. 3–79 [= *Ann. Wint.*]. For the annals up to 1066, Luard's text is based on CCCC 339 (the A-text), but thereafter is based on Domitian A. xiii (the B-text). The A-text of annals 1066–1139 are ptd Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes', pp. 75–7.

[65] See Gransden, *Historical Writing* i. 252–3.

[66] *Ann. Wint.*, p. 9.

[67] Ibid. p. 13.

[68] The story is also told by Ranulf Higden; see below, p. 162.

[69] Ibid. pp. 20–5 (s.a. 1043). On Emma, see P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 209–54, and esp. S. Keynes, 'Introduction to the 1998 Reprint', in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell (Cambridge, 1998), pp. [xiii]-[lxxxvii].

[70] Richard (ibid. p. 20) uses the rare word *amasius*, an archaism exhumed apparently from Plautus (this occurrence is not recorded in *DMLBS*). Note that Emma, who was born in the mid or late 980s, will have been about 50 years old at the time of the alleged impropriety.

[71] It is possible that what Richard has quoted here is an excerpt from a longer poem (on Queen Emma's trial?): note that the last two lines have bisyllabic rhyme (a common twelfth-century verse-form), which may imply that there was at least one line before the three quoted here.

'Domine', inquit, 'et fili. Ego illa Emma quae te genui, pro te de tuis impetita de crimine in te et Eluredum filios meos, et de consensu turpitudinis et proditionis cum huius sedis episcopo, inuoco hodie Deum testem in corpus meum, ut peream, si quid horum quae mihi imposita sunt uel mente commiserim.'

In pauimento ecclesiae scopato nouem uomeres igne candentes ponuntur in ordine. Quibus breuiter benedictis, subtrahuntur reginae calcei et caligae; et posito peplo et reiecto chlamyde, succincta a duobus hinc inde episcopis ducebatur ad tormentum. Flebant qui eam ducebant episcopi, et qui multo plus timebant quam illa, animabant illam ut non timeret. Fit per ecclesiam fletus intolerabilis, et fuit omnium uox una dicentium, 'Sancte Swithune, Sancte Swithune, tu illam adiuua.'[72] Si interim reboassent tonitrua, non audirentur in populo; tantis uiribus, tantis uocibus, clamabatur in caelum, ut Sanctus Swithunus uel tunc uel nunquam festinanter accurreret. Deus uim patitur, et seruus suus Swithunus extrahitur uiolenter e caelo. Regina sine clamore hanc ineundo faciebat orationem: 'Deus qui liberasti Susannam de senibus iniquis, qui liberasti tres pueros de camino ignis, tu de incendio mihi parato per merita Sancti Swithuni me liberare digneris.'

Videte miraculum. Episcopis pedes illius dirigentibus, super nouem uomeres nouem passus faciens, et singulos eorum totius corporis pleno premens pondere, sic omnes supergressa uomeres, nec ferrum uidit nec sensit incendium. Vnde et dixit episcopis: 'Nunquid quod maxime petieram non obtinebo? Quare me ducitis extra ecclesiam, quae in ecclesia debueram examinari?' Erat enim procedens ulterius, et nondum sciebat quod consummasset examen. Ad quod episcopi, sicut singultiendo poterant, responderunt: 'Domina nostra, respice, iam fecisti; iam res facta est, quam faciendam existimas.' Respexit, et aperti sunt oculi eius; et tunc primo uidit ferrum, et intellexit miraculum. 'Ducite me', inquit, 'ad filium meum: ut uideat pedes meos, et sciat quia nihil mali passa sum.' Reuersi episcopi cum regina, inueniunt illum operto capite prostratum in terra; iamque ei prae miseratione uerba defecerant, quia erumpebant uberius lacrymae, et non poterat se continere. Qui cum eleuatus rem cognouisset ex integro; procidit ille sanctissimus ad pedes matris, dicens: 'Mater, peccaui in caelum et in te; iam non sum dignus uocari filius tuus.' Ad quem mater: 'Vocetur ad te Elwinus episcopus; et cum illi satisfeceris, de me citius ueniam consequeris.' Vocato ad regem episcopo, qui non sederat in ordine episcoporum, rex ueniam cum lacrymis postulat et meretur; et uirgis caesus a singulis episcoporum, etiam per manum flentis matris tres ictus accepit. Et sic datis osculis et receptis, rex illos in gratiam, et illi regem in uenerationem receperunt; et redditum est reginae et episcopo quicquid illis sublatum fuerat. Declamatus est iubente rege in ecclesia et in atrio exterius per plorantes populos modus et ordo miraculi; et conuersus est tam subito fletus illorum in risum, quod simul uideres illos ridentes et flentes.[73]

At the king's command the queen was brought back from Wherwell to Winchester; and she spent the entire night before the day of her ordeal in vigil at the tomb of St Swithun. There is no need for me to say that she prayed all night, that she slept little that night, or how many prayers she said so that she might deserve to be saved in so great a crisis. And yet, while not wishing to sleep, she dozed off a little, and saw St Swithun standing before her, and she heard him saying these words to her: 'Be steadfast, daughter; I am Swithun whom you are invoking; I am with you, fear not. Those who persecute you shall be confounded; because when you pass through the fire, the flame will not harm you. But you shall forgive this offence in your son.'

On the appointed day the clergy and people assembled at the church, and the king himself sat as judge. The queen is brought before her son, and is asked [*conuenitur*?] whether she wishes to go through with what she has promised. She

[72] The wording of this petition is taken from a litany of the saints which formed part of the office for the Visitation of the Sick and Dying; see, for example, Lapidge, *ASx Litanies*, pp. 244–5 (no. 34), 300–1 (no. 46). The latter manuscript (Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 173), was written at Winchester in the mid-eleventh century.

[73] *Ann. Wint.*, pp. 23–4.

Prepares to reply; and her face deserved silence.
After she comes to her senses, moved by feminine wonder,
The charm of her words drips from her gentle mouth.

'My Lord', she says, 'and son. I, the Emma who bore you, attacked on your behalf by your followers for a crime against you and Alfred, my sons, and for collusion in debauchery and treason with the bishop of this see: I today call on God as witness to my body, that I may die if I committed even in my mind any of those things which I am charged with.'

On the freshly-swept floor of the church nine red-hot plough-shares are placed in line. When the plough-shares had been briefly blessed [i.e. by sprinkling with holy water], the queen's boots and shoes are removed; and having taken off her robe of state and cast aside her shawl, surrounded by two bishops, one on each side, she was led to her torment. The bishops who were leading her were weeping and were far more afraid than she was; yet they encouraged her not to be frightened. An unbearable lamentation went through the church; with all their might, with all their voices they called out to heaven, that St Swithun should hurry quickly to help her, either then or never. God feels the impact, and His servant Swithun is fetched swiftly from heaven. Without any outcry the queen, as she started her ordeal, said this prayer: 'O God, Who freed Susanna from the wicked elders, Who freed the Three Boys from the fiery furnace, deign through the merits of St Swithun to free me from the fire prepared for me.'

Behold the miracle. With the bishops guiding her feet, she made her way over the nine plough-shares, and, pressing on each of them with the full weight of her entire body and passing thus over all the plough-shares, she does not look at the metal, nor does she feel the heat. Thereupon she said to the bishops: 'Am I not to obtain that which I sought most of all? Why are you leading me outside of the church—I who had to be tried inside the church?' For she was still advancing, and did not yet realize that she had completed the ordeal. To this the bishops replied (as best they could through their sobbing), 'Our Lady, look, you've done it; the ordeal is now over—which you think is still to do!' She looked, and her eyes were opened; and then she saw the metal for the first time, and understood the miracle. 'Lead me', she said, 'to my son: so that he may see my feet, and know that I suffered no harm.' The bishops returned with the queen; they find him prostrate on the ground with his head uncovered; and now words failed him because of his compassion, because tears were bursting forth in abundance, and he could not control himself. When he was raised up, he understood the matter in its entirety; that holy man fell at the feet of his mother, saying: 'Mother, I have sinned against heaven and against you. I am not worthy to be called your son.' The mother said to him: 'Let Bishop Ælfwine be summoned to you; and when you have made satisfaction to him, you will in turn receive forgiveness from me.' The bishop, who had not been sitting among the ranks of bishops, was summoned to the king; the king begs forgiveness with his tears, and deservedly receives it; and, when he was beaten with rods by each of the bishops, he even received three blows from the hand of his weeping mother. And thus, having exchanged kisses, the king received them into his favour, and they received him back into their respect; and everything which had been confiscated from the queen and the bishop was restored to them. At the king's request the manner and sequence of the miracle was announced to the weeping people in the church and outside in the forecourt; and their weeping was turned so quickly into laughter that you could see them laughing and weeping at the same time.

It is a moving story, and has no doubt been embellished (if not wholly invented) by Richard. The point of a trial by hot iron, as we know from other sources, was that the feet should be wrapped up and sealed; after three days the bandages were unsealed, and if there was no sign of the burn, the accused was deemed innocent, but if there was any residual sign of burning, capital punishment would follow.[74] That Richard makes no mention of the sealing may simply indicate that, writing

[74] See R. Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: the Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 13–33, esp. 17–18 for discussion of Queen Emma's trial. Bartlett notes (p. 17) that Emma's trial is 'certainly fictional'. It would in any event be highly unusual for

more than a century after the Norman Conquest, he had no idea of the procedures involved in such a trial. What is more pertinent to the present discussion, however, is the fact that St Swithun was conceived as the protector of the innocent. His protection was well rewarded: Emma gave nine estates to the church of St Swithun (one for each plough-share), and Bishop Ælfwine did likewise.[75]

ix. THE *CHRONICLE* ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN OF WALLINGFORD

The *Chronicle* attributed to John of Wallingford,[76] a monk of St Albans during the first half of the thirteenth century who died in 1258, is preserved in a single manuscript, now London, BL, Cotton Julius D. vii. The manuscript was evidently owned by John of Wallingford (as is clear from various annotations throughout); it contains, on fos. 10–33, what is obviously an autograph copy of a chronicle whose principal focus is on Anglo-Saxon saints. The handwriting of this chronicle has been dated, on palaeographical grounds, to *c.*1220; it subsequently came into the possession of John of Wallingford (but, given that the manuscript is autograph—to judge from the nature of the corrections and annotations which it carries—he cannot have been its author). The *Chronicle*[77] extends from 449 (the *aduentus Saxonum*) to 1035, the death of King Cnut, and through the course of its narrative gives extended treatment to the following Anglo-Saxon saints: Guthlac, Kenelm, Botuulf, Edmund, Fritheswith, Neot, Dunstan, Edward king and martyr, Ælfheah and Ivo. Among these Anglo-Saxon saints, Swithun is also given extended treatment. Various verbal debts indicate that the anonymous chronicler's source was the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* (in the excerpt which follows I have signalled these debts by printing them in italics, and have also noted corresponding paragraphs in the *Vita*); but the chronicler had his own sense of style and of history, and he includes much information not found in his source.

Omnibus autem his regibus fuit contemporaneus sanctus Swithunus, qui sub tempore *Egberti regis a Kenegilso* primo inter reges *Occidentalium Anglorum* baptizato *octaui*, uite sue *cursum* inchoauit feliciterque terminauit. Nam a pueritia cepit iugum Domini iuxta *Ieremie* prophetiam dicentis, *Beatus homo qui portauerit iugum Domini ab adolescentia* portare,[78] et sub litterarum studio fluctuationes puerilis animi confringere, et titillationes carnis per colluctationes spiritus, que ab elementis mundi incipiunt, edomare. [*Vita*, c. 1]

Habebat autem bonis initialibus bonum spiritum Domini coadiutorem, ex cuius doctrina interiori pueritiam et adolescentiam sic euasit ut absque uite neuo peruenire ad iuuentutem; quam sic adiuuit Dominus qui semel cepit, ut *de gradu clericatus ad gradum* Swithunus proficeret, et a ministeriorum gradu ad hoc ut custos uasorum fieret peruenire. Erat tunc temporis Wentoniane sedis antistes et episcopus uir uite uenerabilis Elmestanus, qui eum *ad honorem sacerdotii pro*mouit, et quia uirtutem in amplexibus uidit, inter familiares habuit et ut ministerium suum honorantem honorauit. Inter cuius clericos uita et sanctitate ita emicuit Swithunus ut iam non posset latere eius insigne uirtutum. Noluit enim Deus lucernam quam in secreto bonitatis sue accenderat sub modio latere, sed super candelabrum ponere ut omnibus qui in domo sunt luceret.[79] [*Vita*, c. 2]

someone as high born as Emma to undergo such an ordeal; as Bartlett notes (pp. 32–3), 'compurgation was the proof of the free, the ordeal of the unfree.'

[75] *Ann. Wint.*, p. 25. The text reads 'maneria, quorum haec sunt nomina', but although a space was left in the manuscript at this point, the names are not supplied. Thomas Rudborne (see below, p. 171), who copied this material from *Ann. Wint.* into his *Historia maior*, does supply the names (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 235).

[76] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 959.

[77] *The Chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford*, ed. R. Vaughan, Camdem Miscellany, xxi (London, 1958).

[78] Cf. Lam. 3: 27.

[79] Matt. 5: 15.

Vnde factum est ut fama prouide solicitudinis Swithuni, et morum honestas et modesta bonitas, in regia supradicti regis celebris habebatur. Qui spiritu Dei tactus Swithunum in communi uita euocatum inter suos collocauit, et probata sub multa experientia uite et morum eius elegantia et consiliorum uiuacitate, familiarem super alios consiliarios preelegit. Subuenit igitur dum regis consiliis assisteret pupillorum, orphanorum et uiduarum cause frequenter, et dum saltem in talibus se prodesse uideret, libentius assistebat. Adiuuit autem causam huius occulte dispositionis Deus, et ut plus posset euicit. Tradidit enim interea Swithuno *filium suum Athulfum nomine rex* predictus, et *litteris* imbuendum et *sanctis mo*ralitatis preceptis instituendum. Habebat autem eum solum solatium et patris et regni spem unicam et iuris paterni successorem. Inualuitque sub manu discipline sancti in discipulo tantum litterature affectio ut diu prehabitam et inter magnos uiros uersatam facto solueret questionem. Nam cum inter clericatum et militaturam soleat esse de prestantia altercatio, ipse quantum ad iudicium suum attinuit dissidium terminauit, et elegit sub tonsatura clericorum uiuere Christo quam sub regali potentia deseruire mundo, unde et Dei iudicio per omnia multum approbando, consecutus utriusque uite eminentiam et primatum. Nam et in Wenthoniana ecclesia gradum subdiaconatus assecutus, uices ipsius eleganter adimpleuit et ad ulteriorem profectum spem acceperat efficacem. Sed interim decedente patre Egberto, quia solus erat ei filius Athulfus, solus ut iustus heres ad succedendum petebatur a populo regni. Sed cum inauditum esset ut quis a subdiaconatu ad laicaturam trahi deberet, facta est inter clericos et laicos dissensio adeo ut super hoc capitulo sedes apostolica consuleretur. Misit ergo regio ad Leonem papam populi suggerens petitionem, qui super eodem capitulo habito concilio, populi et utilitati et uoluntati assensit, et a subdiaconatu ad regalem dignitatem uirum predictum redire permisit. [*Vita*, c. 3]

Sub cuius regno, *euoluto aliquanto tempore, Helmestanus episcopus* nature *debitum* per*soluens* sedem suam sequentibus *dereliquit. Disponente*que Deo *qui supplicum uota exaudit, omnis etas, omnis sexus, uniuersa* episcopii *conditio, clerus* et *populus eadem uoluntate pari consilio* Swithunum eligebat. Arrisitque proposito et dispositioni regis populi acclamatio, et, nacta occasione deferendi honoris magistro suo, uoluntate libentissima assensit, et quia uiri religiositatem nouerat, in secretis gratias Deo agens qui lucernam suam uoluit propalari, prius eum secrete conuenit et cleri et populi petitionem reuelauit et manu exhortationis laborauit ad hoc Swithunum retorquere. Pertractans autem uir sanctus quod mentem regis fidei et bone uoluntati assentaneam quasi in manu adhuc haberet et eam ad multam ecclesie utilitatem inflecteret, inhumanum iudicauit tam concordi unanimi et canonice electioni dissentire. [*Vita*, c. 4]

Annuit igitur in timore sancto, multum et sepe reiterans quod pro subsidii regalis sponsione et deuoti populi petitione manus ad tam fortia non timeret extendere. Accitur ad benedicendum uirum litteris et mandato regis uenerabilis uite *Dorobernensis* ecclesie *Celnothus archiepiscopus*, qui .xvii. post Augustinum sanctum successit, *imponensque ei manus cum omni cleri et populi* assensione et *gaudio secundum canonicam institutionem* intronizauit. Erupitque statim cum erumpente gratia eius uirtutum exteriorum emolumentum, et quia res exigebat, ad hoc etiam adiuuit qui cor scrutatur.[80] Nam ex *humili humilior*, ex *miti mitior*, ex *deuoto deuotior curabat* apparere. Sed et in *consili*o *petenti*bus *et auxilii* oppressorum, in pauperum larga erogatione et pia responsione, omnem euicit estimationem. Inscripsit nimirum ei in corde, ut credendum est, quid ageret digitus Noui Testamenti, qui a primordiis discipline lapidem amouerat uetustatis. O quam sepe se regis consiliis ingessit ne cause pauperum periclitarentur, et ut dissarcitas resarciret! Quam sepe inimicos equitatis et iustitie qui regum lateri adherere solent et eorum concinnationes rationabili consilio dissipauit! Pietati namque studens, regis animum ad pietatem que renuntiationem habet presentis uite et future inflexit; et interea *Deum* continue exorauit *ut regem et populum Anglorum in* serenitate[81] *pacis et prosperitate bona conseruaret.* [*Vita*, c. 5]

[80] Rom. 8: 27.

[81] Vaughan here prints *serenitate* where the manuscript has *sentite*; the chronicler apparently misread *seruitute* of his source.

Erat adhuc in tempore sancti Swithuni nouella ecclesia anglicana et tenella, et quasi uirgo non habens ubera; nam de decimis dandis, etsi parua prehabita esset ammonitio, non tamen efficax erat consecutio, uel fieri iusta potuit exactio. Non enim in consuetudinem uenerat, sed unusquisque quod libuit in persoluendis decimis faciebat. Quocirca uir sanctus uidens ecclesie statui competere, collatis multis tam Veteris quam Noui Testamenti auctoritatibus, regis Athulfi animum illexit, et, monstratis auctoribus, quod dande essent generaliter comprobauit, et huius rei regis animo uerbi seminarium inculcauit, quod nequaquam sine fructu excreuit. Non est enim uerbum Dei otiosum quod si operatur magna operatur. Operatum ergo in corde regis adeo ut comitum suorum et barronum animos ad idem inclinaret, et cooperante uerbo euinceret. Populo etiam uoluntati regis assentiente, de decimis dandis generale preceptum primus in regno suo dedit et generaliter exigi ab ecclesia permisit. Igitur et hoc commonitorium bone solicitudinis ecclesie Dei sanctus Swithunus dereliquit. Contemplatiue etiam eleganter miscuit uitam actiuam, ut in media ueritatis contemplatione non omitteret populi instructionem et utilitatem, nec in media exterioris solicitudinis turbulentia inquisitionem ueritatis. Adiuuit autem uirum sanctum utrimque diuina gratia, et in media actiua laboranti sepe eleganter de celo respondit. Nam cum *pontem ad orientalem* partem[82] Wentoniane ciuitatis construeret lapideum, et *arcubus lapideis* compleret, *contigit* ut quaedam *paupercula mulier oua uenalia* deportans per *operarios* transiret; qui, ut illud lasciuientium hominum genus solet, paupertati eius illudentes etiam inter multas irrisiones oua fregerunt. Auxit autem ut erat simplicis animi fletu dolorem suum; quod cum uir Dei tunc operantibus instans uideret adduci eam iussit, et molestie eius inueniens causam, uasculum in quo oua portabat in uenerabilibus manibus sumens, dedit super ea oua benedictionem et uasculum manui mulieris resignauit, inuenitque ea sana et integra que prius per medium uasculum in albugine defluxerunt. Patuit itaque uirtus Dei in benedictione sancti sui operantis, et omnis illa kachinnantium multitudo ob nouitatem et miraculum facti uersa est in stuporem. [*Vita*, c. 6]

Ex his paucis subiectis potest quis conicere in quanto uirtutis culmine uitam istam sanctus transcurrerit; nam penitus exsequi que ab eo bene gesta sunt sicut ad stilum nostrum non pertinet, sic etiam credo impossibile. Decedente interea rege Athulfo sancti Swithuni discipulo, successit ei filius eius Athelbertus; cuius *regni anno tertio* et eodem *anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi octingentesimo sexagesimo secundo*, meruit audire sanctus Swithunus a Domino, '*Euge, serue bone et fidelis, quia* in *pauca fuisti fidelis*, supra multa te constituam; *intra in gaudium Domini tui*.'[83] [*Vita*, c. 8]

Translatusque est post aliquot annorum curricula et in decenti theca reconditus in Wenthonia ecclesia, ubi usque ad presens cooperante Domino fiunt crebro miracula, qui uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.[84]

St Swithun was a contemporary of all these kings; in the time of King Ecgberht, the eighth in succession from Cynegils, the first among the kings of the Western Angles [*sic*] to be baptized, St Swithun began the course of his life, and he ended it blessedly. From his childhood he began—according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, saying, 'Blessed is the man who shall carry the Lord's yoke from his youth'—to carry the Lord's yoke, and to nullify the fluctuations of his childish spirit by the study of letters, and to conquer the twitchings of the flesh, which arise from the elements of the universe [i.e. are natural], through spiritual struggles.

He had for his good beginnings the spirit of the Lord as a good helper, through whose inner teaching he escaped childhood and adolescence in such a way that he arrived at manhood without any stain of sin [reading *uitii* for MS *uite*]; once he began, the Lord helped in such a way that Swithun advanced from clerical grade to grade, and from the grade of ministrants he attained to that where he became custodian of the liturgical vessels. At that time the prelate or bishop of the see of Winchester was Helmstan, a man of holy life, who promoted Swithun to the distinction of the priesthood, and because he sees 'virtue in his embraces', he had him as a member of his household and honoured him, just as he [Swithun] honoured his service. Because

[82] The chronicler has misread *portum* of his source. [83] Matt. 25: 21.
[84] *The Chronicle*, ed. Vaughan, pp. 18–21.

of his life and holiness Swithun shone out among Helmstan's clerics to such an extent that his remarkable nature could not be hidden. For God did not wish that the lantern which He had lit in the depths of Swithun's good self should lie hidden under a bushel, but should be placed on a candelabrum so it could illumine all those who are in the house.

Whence it happened that the report of Swithun's prudent responsibility, and the honesty of his behaviour, and his modest probity, were renowned at the court of the aforementioned king. Touched by the spirit of God, the king summoned Swithun and established him in the communal life shared by members of his household; and, as both the refinement of his behaviour and the vigour of his advice were proven through much experience of life, he chose him over other advisers as his intimate companion. While he was taking part in the king's council, therefore, he frequently assisted the situation of the poor, of orphans and widows, and, as he saw that he was being of some benefit at least in such cases, he took part all the more willingly. God assisted the course of this hidden undertaking, and prevailed so that he [Swithun] might achieve even more. Meanwhile the aforementioned king entrusted his son, Æthelwulf by name, to Swithun, both to be instructed in letters and to be taught the holy precepts of morality. Æthelwulf was the king's sole comfort, and the unique hope of both king and realm, and the successor of paternal heredity. So great a love of literature developed in the disciple at the hand of the master's teaching, that he was able to solve by his own doing a problem which had long been posed and mulled over by great men. For since there was customarily a debate between the clerisy and the military regarding their primacy, he terminated the disagreement insofar as it fell within his own judgement, and chose to live for Christ under a state of clerical tonsure, rather than to serve the world under royal authority, whence—with the approval of God's judgement in every respect—he achieved the eminence and primacy of either way of life. For, attaining to the grade of subdeacon in the church of Winchester, he gracefully fulfilled its duties and had every expectation of further advancement. But meanwhile his father Ecgberht died, and because Æthelwulf was his only son, he alone, being the rightful heir, was sought by the people of the realm for the succession. But since it was unheard of that someone could be drawn from the subdiaconate for a position of lay authority, an argument broke out between clerics and laymen to the extent that the apostolic see was to be consulted on this point. The country therefore appealed to Pope Leo, indicating the people's concern; having consulted the curia, the pope agreed both to the people's needs and wishes, and permitted the aforementioned man to return from the subdiaconate to his royal appointment.

During his reign, when some time had past, Bishop Helmstan, paying the debt of nature, left his see vacant for his successors. Through God's dispensation, Who hears the prayers of His supplicants, persons of every age, of either sex, the entire personnel of the episcopacy, the clergy and the laity—all with the one will and common consent elected Swithun. The acclamation of the people was pleasing to the planning and arrangements of the king, and, seizing the opportunity of conferring an honour on his former teacher, he agreed with the most willing assent; and, because he knew the piety of the man, giving thanks privately to God Who wished to make public His lantern, he first met Swithun secretly and revealed the request of the clergy and laity, and struggled with the forces of persuasion to bring Swithun around to this. The saintly man, reflecting that hitherto he had had as if in his hand the king's attention, in its sympathy with the faith and acts of good will, and had bent it to the great benefit of the church, judged it inhuman to decline so unanimous a consent and so canonical an election.

He acceded, therefore, in saintly apprehension, repeating much and often that he would not fear to extend his hands towards such mighty causes given the promise of royal support and the request of the devout populace. Ceolnoth, the archbishop of the church of Canterbury and a man of holy life, who was the seventeenth in succession from St Augustine, is summoned to consecrate the man [Swithun] with formulas and royal mandate; and, laying his hands on him with the entire assent and joy of the clergy and laity, he enthroned him according to canonical practice. And immediately the advantages of his virtues burst forth as

[divine] grace burst forth and, because the situation demanded it, He assisted in this Who 'investigates the heart'. For Swithun took care to appear more humble than his former humble self, more gentle than his former gentle self, more devout than his former devout self. But he exceeded all expectations, both in the counsel he gave to those seeking it and help for those oppressed, in his generous bounty and his merciful response to the poor. The finger of the New Testament, which from the beginnings of [Christian] teaching had removed the rock of antiquity, wrote on his heart what he was to do, so it is to be believed. O how often he involved himself in the king's councils so that the status of the poor would not be endangered, and that he might repair their impoverishment! How often did he rout the enemies of equality and justice, who customarily cling to the side of kings, and [rout] their carefully laid plots with sensible advice! Devoting himself to religion, he bent the king's mind to a religiosity which entails the renunciation of the present life and the future; and in the meantime he prayed to God continuously that He preserve the English king and people in the pursuit of peace and in decent prosperity.

The English church in the time of St Swithun was very new and delicate, and like a virgin girl who didn't yet have breasts; for in the matter of giving tithes, although a small amount of persuasion had been undertaken, the follow-up was not yet successful, nor could the collection be exacted. It had not yet become a habit, but rather everyone did as he wished in the paying of tithes. Accordingly, the holy man, seeing this happening to the state of the church, and having compared many authorities both in the Old Testament as well as the New, got the king's attention and, showing him the [biblical] authors, proved that tithes were universally to be paid, and trod into the king's mind the seed-plot of the Word, which in no way grew without fruitful issue. For the Word of God is not idle, because if it operates it produces great results. It operated, therefore, in the king's heart to such an extent that he bent the minds of his counts and barons to this same [proposition], and convinced them with the assistance of the Word. With the populace agreeing to the king's will, he was the first in his kingdom to issue a general edict about giving tithes, and allowed them to be collected by the church wherever possible. St Swithun bequeathed this remit of good intention to the church of God, therefore.

He gracefully combined the active life with the contemplative, so that in the very midst of contemplation of the truth he did not neglect the instruction and needs of the people, nor in the midst of the turbulence of exterior anxiety did he neglect his pursuit of the truth. For divine grace assisted the holy man in both [pursuits], and while he was engaged in the midst of active life it often supported him appropriately from heaven. For when he was constructing a stone bridge in the eastern part of Winchester, and was filling it in with stone arches, it happened that a certain poor woman who was carrying eggs to market was making her way through the workmen; as is usual with this kind of wanton men, they ridiculed her poverty and, in the midst of their mockeries, they broke the eggs. As she was somewhat simple-minded, she increased her anguish by weeping; when the man of God, who was at that point superintending the workmen, saw this, he ordered her to be brought to him; and, discovering the cause of her trouble, taking up into his venerable hands the small receptacle in which she had the eggs, he gave his blessing over them and made the sign of the Cross over the receptacle in the woman's hand, and she found the eggs to be sound and whole which previously had flowed into the middle of the receptacle as egg-white. The miraculous power of God was accordingly revealed in the blessing of His saint, and the entire multitude of laughing workmen were turned to astonishment as a result of the novelty and miraculous nature of what happened.

From these few examples one can estimate at what summit of virtue the saint passed through this life; for just as it is not suitable for my pen to record fully those things accomplished so well by him, so I even think it impossible. Meanwhile, when King Æthelwulf, St Swithun's student, died, his son Æthelberht succeeded him; in the third year of whose reign, and in the same year from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 862, St Swithun was found worthy to hear from the Lord, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; because in small respects you were faithful, I shall place you over many; enter into the joy of your Lord.'

He was translated after the passage of a number of years, and placed in a fitting shrine in the church of Winchester, where up to the present day miracles frequently take place through the assistance of the Lord, Who lives and reigns forever and ever. Amen.

It will be seen from this extensive quotation that the anonymous chronicler adhered closely to the *Vita S. Swithuni*, and that he omitted only the account of Swithun's humility in proceeding on foot to churches he was about to dedicate (*Vita*, c. 7). Although the chronicler only occasionally quotes verbatim, it is possible to make certain deductions about the text preserved in the manuscript from which he was copying and revising; in particular, it is interesting that he repeats several unique readings found in MS. A of the *Vita*, namely London, BL, Arundel 169 (northern England, s. xii^{med}).[85] But since there is uncertainty both about the medieval provenance of Arundel 169, and about where the *Chronicle* was compiled, no great weight should be placed on these variant readings.

x. ROGER OF WENDOVER

Roger of Wendover (d. 1236) was a monk of St Albans who compiled from many sources a massive universal history, the *Flores historiarum*, extending from creation to 1235.[86] Against the year 970 he provides a brief mention of the translation of St Swithun, as follows:

A.D. DCCCCLXX. Sancti Suithuni reliquiae venerandae, peractis a sepultura ⟨eius⟩ centum et decem annis, idus Iulii sublatae sunt de sepulchro a beato Ethelwoldo, eiusdem ecclesiae episcopo, sicut ei fuerat divinitus imperatum, et in basilicam apostolorum Petri et Pauli honorifice sunt translatae.[87]

A.D. 970. The venerable relics of St Swithun, after the passage of 110 years since his burial, were raised from the tomb on 15 July by St Æthelwold, bishop of that same church, just as it had been divinely commanded of him, and were honourably placed in the basilica of the apostles Peter and Paul.

The fact that the translation is assigned to 970, together with much of the wording ('peractis a sepultura eius centem et decem annis', 'idus Iulii', 'sublatae sunt', etc.), indicates that Roger's source for this entry was John of Worcester (as quoted above).

xi. MATTHEW PARIS

The most famous of the thirteenth-century St Albans chroniclers, Matthew Paris (d. 1259), based much of his massive *Chronica maiora* on the work of his predecessor, Roger of Wendover.[88] His account of St Swithun, however, which he enters against the year 862, is drawn directly, with minor

[85] See below, pp. 622–3. For the variants preserved in MS. A, see the apparatus criticus below, pp. 632, 638 (c. 4 n. *b*: the spelling *Helmestanus*; c. 8 nn. *f–f*, the sequence *fuisti fidelis*, and *g*, the addition of the phrase *supra multa te constituam*, which A alone of manuscripts of the *Vita* has preserved). But it might be argued that the chronicler was here remembering the Vulgate rather than following what was written in front of him, and one should also compare variant readings at c. 3 n. *j–j* and c. 5 n. *b–b*.

[86] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1596, and Gransden, *Historical Writing* i. 359–60, as well as V. H. Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris* (Glasgow, 1944). The work is ed. H. G. Hewlett, 3 vols., RS (London, 1886–9).

[87] *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett, i. 511.

[88] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1043, and Gransden, *Historical Writing* i. 356–79, as well as V. H. Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris* (Glasgow, 1944) and R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958). There is also helpful discussion in J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 59–77. The *Chronica maiora* are ed. H. R. Luard, *Matthaei Parisiensis monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora*, 7 vols., RS (London, 1872–84).

verbal alteration, from that of William of Malmesbury in the *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* (quoted above, pp. 140–2):

Anno Domini .DCCCLXII. Sanctus Swithunus, Wentanae civitatis episcopus, migravit ad Dominum. Hic vir sanctus, dum adhuc vivens multarum esset possessor virtutum, praecipue tamen clementia et humilitate pollebat. Contigit autem tempore quodam hunc Dei famulum ad pontem urbis Wentanae cum operariis forte sedere, ut suae instantia praesentiae desidiam laborantium provocaret; et ecce per pontem commeabat in urbem femina causa commercii ferens ova, ad quam prosilientes undique operantes, ut mos est hominibus illius generis, et accessu petulanti omnia ad unum ova confringunt; cumque factum vituperabile, muliere conquerente, ad aures pii pontificis pervolasset, et illius pauperculae feminae damnum suspirasset, motus clementia mentis, signum crucis super ova confracta faciens, omnium fracturam consolidavit ovorum. De humilitate quoque beati viri hoc memoria dignum est, quod quotienscumque novam ecclesiae fabricam dedicare debebat, eo, quamvis iter longum esset, non equo vel vehiculo, sed pede impiger contendebat; et ne id ab imperitis ridiculo haberetur, vel a superbis pro iactantiae vitio notaretur, visibus hominum abductus, nocturnus viator iter facere consuevit; solitariae sanctitatis amator, nulla pompa bona sua prostituenda putabat. Tandem vero vitae praesenti valefacturus, pontificali districtione praecepit domesticis, ut extra ecclesiam cadaver suum humarent, ubi et pedibus praetereuntium et stillicidiis ex alto rorantibus foret obnoxium.[89]

A.D. 862. St Swithun, the bishop of the city of Winchester, passed to the Lord. While still alive this holy man was in possession of many miraculous powers; yet he was esteemed in particular for his mercy and humility. It happened one time that the servant of God was sitting by chance with the workmen at the bridge in the city of Winchester, such that the impact of his presence would challenge the laziness of the workers, and behold, across the bridge there travelled a woman carrying eggs into the city in order to sell them. The workers, springing on her from all sides, as is the custom with men of that kind, break all the eggs, down to the last one, with their wanton assault. And when, through the woman's lamentation, this blameworthy deed had swiftly reached the ears of the holy bishop, and he had sighed for the poor little woman's loss, moved by his sense of mercy and making the sign of the Cross over the broken eggs, he repaired the breakage of all the eggs. As far as the humility of the saintly man is concerned, this is worthy of remembrance, that however often he had to dedicate a new church building, he undertook to go there—even if the journey was long—not by horse or carriage, but energetically on foot; and so that he would not be held up to ridicule by fools, or be marked out for the sin of arrogance by the proud, he customarily made his journey as a nocturnal traveller, removed from the sight of men; the lover of solitary holiness reckoned that his good works were not to be sullied by ostentatious display. At length, as he was about to bid farewell to this present life, he commanded his household with episcopal authority that they were to bury his corpse outside the church, where it would be exposed to the feet of passers-by and raindrops falling from on high.

At a subsequent point in his narrative, Matthew briefly recounts the translation of St Swithun against the year 970; on this occasion his account is taken verbatim from Roger of Wendover (quoted above, p. 158), which, as we have seen, was derived in its turn from John of Worcester:

Anno Domini .DCCCCLXX. Sancti Suithuni reliquiae venerandae, peractis a sepultura eius centum et decem annis, idus Iulii sublatae sunt de sepulchro a beato Ethlewoldo, eiusdem ecclesiae episcopo, sicut ei fuerat divinitus imperatum, et in basilicam apostolorum Petri et Pauli honorifice sunt translatae.[90]

[89] *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, i. 388–9.

[90] Ibid. i. 465; for translation, see above, p. 158.

Finally, the author of the *Flores historiarum*[91] included the above passages on St Swithun in a form identical to that found in Matthew's *Chronica maiora*.[92]

xii. ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER

In the latter part of the thirteenth century one Robert, probably a monk of St Peter's, Gloucester,[93] compiled a massive history of England, from Brutus to 1270,[94] in a kind of Middle English verse used elsewhere for composing ballads, consisting of rhyming couplets, each line of which was made up of a four-stress member followed by one of three stresses: precisely the verse-form used by the author of *The South English Legendary*.[95] Robert had occasion to mention St Swithun on two occasions. The first concerns King Æthelwulf; Robert, presumably following the *Gesta regum* of William of Malmesbury (quoted above, pp. 139–40), states that Æthelwulf had two counsellors, Bishop Swithun at Winchester and Bishop Ealhstan at Sherborne:

> Seint Swithin at Winchestre · bissop þo was
> & Alcston at Ssirebourne · þat amendede moche þis cas.
> (lines 5264–5)

At a subsequent point, Robert discusses the activities of Bishop Æthelwold, and mentions that he and King Edgar together translated St Swithun in 971:

> þis gode king Edgar & he · sein Swithin atte fine
> þat longe adde vnder erþe ybe · verst bro3te in to ssryne.
> Yssryned he was nyn hondred · & on & seuentiþe 3ere
> after þat vre louerd ali3te · in is moder here.
> King Edgar & seint Aþelwold · in Winchestre arerde also
> an oþer hous of monekes · þat 3ut stondeþ boþe tuo.
> (lines 5728–33)

What is striking is that the couplet concerning the date of Swithun's translation appears to have been lifted entire from the account of the translation in the 'Life of St Swithun' in *The South English Legendary* (below, no. 8).[96] Many lines in Robert's *Chronicle* have equivalents in *The South English Legendary*, and it is often difficult to disentangle the two texts. Most recent Middle English scholarship regards *The South English Legendary* as the earlier text (composed in its original form *c.*1270), and Robert of Gloucester as a subsequent borrower; it has recently been suggested that Robert was involved in redacting *The South English Legendary*, and that the interpolations by the so-called 'outspoken' poet are in fact by him. In any event, it is clear that Robert derived his account of St Swithun's translation from the earlier poem.[97]

[91] The *Flores historiarum* is a condensation and continuation of the *Chronica maiora* of Matthew Paris; see Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1045, and Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i. 357 n. 7, as well as A. Gransden, 'The continuations of the *Flores Historiarum* from 1265 to 1327', *MS* xxxvi (1974), 472–92.

[92] *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, 2 vols., RS (London, 1890), i. 428–9 (Swithun's life), i. 511 (the translation).

[93] See Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i. 432–8.

[94] *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. W. A. Wright, 2 vols., RS (London, 1887).

[95] See below, pp. 707–43 (no. 8).

[96] Cf. the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun', lines 157–8: 'Schrined he was nyne hondred 3er · and in þe on and seuenteþe 3ere / after þat our Lord ali3te · in his moder here' (below, p. 742).

[97] See O. S. Pickering, '*South English Legendary* style in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*', *Medium Ævum*, lxx (2001), 1–18, and below, p. 709.

xiii. JOHN OF OXNEAD

John of Oxnead (d. *c.*1293) was a Benedictine monk of St Benet, Hulme.[98] In his *Chronica*, which extends from 449 to 1292, he had occasion to discuss the early history of his own monastery; in this account there occurs the isolated statement that Swithun was consecrated bishop of Winchester in 847.[99] This date for Swithun's ordination is not apparently found in an earlier source.[100]

xiv. BARTHOLOMEW COTTON

Bartholomew Cotton was a monk of Norwich who died in *c.*1321/2,[101] who is best known for a *Historia Anglicana* which covers the period 449–1270, but also for a *Liber de archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliae*,[102] which, according to Bartholomew's colophon, was completed in 1292. Among the bishops of Winchester is found the following entry for Bishop Swithun:

> Swithunus ei [*scil.* Helmstano] successit. Hic fuit presbyter eiusdem ecclesiae, ab Helmstano iamdudum ordinatus. Hic instruxit filium regis in philosophia, Aidulfum nomine; qui postea, mortuo fratre, ex subdiacono Vintoniensis ecclesiae in regem translatus est, concedente Leone .III. papa; et ille discipulus cum regnum obtinuit, promovit magistrum in episcopum. Hic sanctus homo fuit, et multa miracula fecit; decessit autem anno gratiae .DCCCLXIII., post mortem Adulfi .VI.[103]

The information derives directly from William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum* ii. 75 (quoted above, pp. 140–1), with the exception that Bartholomew has inexplicably altered William's *Leone illius nominis papa quarto* to *Leone .III. papa.*

xv. RANULF HIGDEN

The vast *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden (d. 1363),[104] a Benedictine monk of St Werburgh's, Chester, extends from the Creation to 1352; it is a work which reveals extensive knowledge of earlier historical and literary sources, and, in spite of its length, achieved huge popularity (it survives in over 120 manuscripts).[105] The work is attractive for its observations and anecdotes: it is a highly personal work, verging on the idiosyncratic. Certainly Higden's entries relating to St Swithun are idiosyncratic, in that they have no source or parallel in other historians. Thus he assigns the date of Swithun's birth to the year 827, apparently basing himself on John of Worcester (see above, p. 144), but uniquely correlates this date with the papacy of Valentine who was elected pope in 827 and died the same year:

> cuius tempore [*scil.* Valentini papae] nascitur puer Swythinus in pago Wyntoniae, qui post defunctionem Helmstani miraculis ibi claruit.[106]

[98] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 832.

[99] *Chronica Iohannis de Oxenedes*, ed. H. Ellis, RS (London, 1859), p. 312: 'dcccxlvii: Swithunus in episcopum Wintoniensem consecratur'.

[100] It is possible that 847 is a simple mistake for 837, the date given by John of Worcester (above, p. 145).

[101] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 145.

[102] *Bartholomaei de Cotton monachi Norwicensis Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS (London, 1859), pp. 345–418.

[103] Ibid. p. 376.

[104] Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1264; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii. 43–57; see also J. Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden* (Oxford, 1966), esp. pp. 51–71, and more recently idem, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 95–103.

[105] *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, ed. C. Babington and J. R. Lumby, 9 vols., RS (London, 1865–86).

[106] Ibid. vi. 310.

In the time of Pope Valentine [827], the boy Swithun is born in the region of Winchester; after the death of Helmstan, he was distinguished there by his miracles.

A few pages later, he records the death of Bishop Helmstan against the year 835, and notes that Swithun succeeded him in that year.[107] Finally, he notes Swithun's death against the same year as the accession of Pope Benedict III, namely 855.[108] Neither of these two facts is correct, and neither is found elsewhere.

Higden's interest in lively anecdote is revealed in the fact that he records the story of Queen Emma and the ploughshares, which he evidently found in Richard of Devizes (quoted above):

Cuius [*scil.* Robert of Jumièges, archbishop of Canterbury] consiliis rex ipse simplex in tantum adquievit ut... matrem propriam, ob suspectam cum Wyntoniensis praesule familiaritatem, bonis omnibus privatam, in monasteriam de Werewelle detruderet, et Alwynum episcopum incarceraret. Sed Emma laxius custodita scripsit episcopis Angliae, in quibus confidebat, se plus de praesulis dedecore quam de sua verecundia torqueri, paratam se probare Dei iudicio ferrique candentis examine episcopum fore iniuste diffamatum. Convenientes tandem episcopi regem ad rogata inflexissent nisi Robertus Cantuariensis obstetisset. 'Quomodo', inquit, 'fratres episcopi, feram illam, non foeminam, audetis defendere, quae filium suum regem diffamavit, quae amasium suum lubricum christum Domini nominavit? Sed esto quod foemina vult purgare pontificem; sed quis purgabit eam, quae dicitur consensisse in necem filii Aluredi, et procurasse venenum Edwardo. Sed esto, quod auctoritatem habeat supra sexus conditionem: si autem pro seipsa quatuor passus et pro episcopo quinque passus continuos super novem ignitos vomeres nudis pedibus et plenis vestigiis illaesa transierit, ab impetitione ista evadat absoluta.' Praefigitur illico dies examinis, quo rex et caeteri proceres excepto solo Roberto convenerunt; sed nocte praecedente diem examinis mulier ad sepulchrum sancti Swythini Wyntoniensis perorans confortata est. Vnde et die sequenti velatis oculis ignitos vomeres nil laesa pertransiit. Tunc rex, ingemiscens et veniam petens, disciplinam ab utroque praesule et etiam a matre sua recepit, ablataque illis restituit. Tunc regina Emma dedit sancto Swythino novem maneria, et episcopus alia novem maneria, propter illos novem vomeres quos Emma pertransiit; Robertus vero Cantuariensis fugit in Normanniam.[109]

The king, being himself a simple man, acceded to the advice [of Robert of Jumièges] to the extent that he thrust his own mother, deprived of all her property, into the monastery at Wherwell, because of her suspected intimacy with [Ælfwine], the bishop of Winchester; and he imprisoned Bishop Ælfwine. But Emma, who was only loosely guarded, wrote to the bishops of England, in whom she confided that she was more troubled by the bishop's disgrace than her own shame, and was prepared to prove through God's judgement and the ordeal of hot iron that the bishop had been falsely accused. When they assembled, they would have bent the king to their requests, had not [Archbishop] Robert of Canterbury objected. 'How', he said, 'brother bishops, do you dare to defend that wild beast, not woman, who maligned her own son the king, who named the anointed [bishop] of God as her deceitful lover? But grant that the woman wishes to exculpate the bishop; but who is going to exculpate her, who is said to have colluded in the death of her son Alfred, and to have procured poison for Edward? But grant that she might have control over the condition of her sex: if she take, unharmed, four steps on her own behalf, and five consecutive steps for the bishop, over nine fiery plough-shares, with bare feet and fully-weighted steps, let her go free from this accusation.' Immediately a day is fixed for the ordeal, at which the king and other nobles, with the sole exception of Robert, assembled; but on the night preceding the day of the trial the woman, praying at the tomb of

[107] Ibid. vi. 314.

[108] Ibid. vi. 334: 'Benedictus tertius post Iohannem sedit papa annis quatuor. Sanctus Swithunus Wentanus praesul obiit, cui successit Dumbertus, de quo mira leguntur.' Swithun's immediate successor was Ealhferth, not Tunberht (see *HBC*, p. 223).

[109] Ibid. vii. 162–4.

St Swithun of Winchester, was consoled. Accordingly, on the following day, with her eyes covered she traversed without injury the nine red-hot plough-shares. The king then, groaning and seeking forgiveness, received punishment from both the bishop and even from his mother. He restored to them what he had confiscated. Then Queen Emma granted to St Swithun nine manors, and the bishop another nine manors, on account of the nine plough-shares which Emma had traversed; and Robert of Canterbury fled to Normandy.

Although the story is obviously the same as that told by Richard of Devizes, there is no similarity of diction that would enable one to say with absolute certainty that Higden was using the earlier source.

xvi. RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER

Richard of Cirencester (d. 1401) was a Benedictine monk of Westminster whose *Speculum historiale de gestis regum Angliae* covers the history of England from the *aduentus Saxonum* in 447 up to the Norman Conquest in 1066.[110] Because the focus of his discussion was on kings, not on bishops, he extracted from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum* ii. 108 (quoted above, p. 139) the statement that King Æthelwulf had two outstanding bishops as counsellors:

Habebat [*scil.* Æthelwulf] enim duos suo tempore praecellentes praesules, beatum Swithinum dico Wintoniae, et Alelstanum Schirebourniae. Hi videntes regem crassioris et hebetis ingenii, admonitionibus ad scientiam regnandi stimulabant. Swithinus nauseans dominum ad caelestia informabat.[111]

In transcribing the passage from William, Richard absent-mindedly omitted the word ***terrenis*** after ***nauseans***, thus reducing to nonsense William's statement about Swithun's virtue.

xvii. THE 'CROWLAND CHRONICLE'

The 'Crowland Chronicle'[112] is a history of Crowland Abbey of probably mid-fifteenth-century date, which its anonymous compiler attempted to pass off as the work of Ingulf (d. 1109), an early twelfth-century abbot of Crowland; hence the work is often described as the 'forged' *Chronicle* of pseudo-Ingulph.[113] The work covers the history of the abbey from 616 to 1089. Its earlier sections contain quotations from several (spurious) charters in favour of Crowland, intended to illustrate the early history of the abbey. Two of these are witnessed by Swithun: one, a charter of King Ecgberht dated 833, which Swithun witnesses as *presbyter*,[114] and another of 851 which he witnesses as bishop.[115] The compiler also states that Swithun's relics were translated in the time of King Edgar:

Tempore regis Edgari reliquiae sancti Swithuni, episcopi quondam Wyntoniae, de coemeterio in ecclesiam per sanctum Athelwoldum episcopum cum multo honore translatae sunt. In qua translatione per merita sancti Swithuni innumeri infirmi sanitatem sunt adepti.[116]

[110] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1302.

[111] *Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de gestis regum Angliae*, ed. J. E. B. Mayor, 2 vols., RS (London, 1869), i. 324. Swithun is also briefly mentioned during Richard's discussion of the 'decimation' charters (ibid. p. 329).

[112] *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum Tomus I*, ed. W. Fulman and T. Gale (Oxford, 1684), pp. 1–107.

[113] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 538, and esp. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii. 490–2.

[114] *Rerum Anglicarum . . . Tomus I*, ed. Fulman and Gale, p. 11.

[115] Ibid. p. 15.

[116] Ibid. p. 45.

In the time of King Edgar the relics of St Swithun, once bishop of Winchester, were honourably translated by St Æthelwold from the cemetery into the church. At the translation innumerable sick people were restored to health by the merits of the saint.

It is not possible to identify the source used by the Crowland compiler.

xviii. THE *LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA*

The *Liber monasterii de Hyda* is a chronicle-cartulary pertaining to Hyde Abbey (previously the New Minster), Winchester, and extending from the mythical foundation of Britain by Brutus down to 1023.[117] It is preserved in a single manuscript, now in the private possession of the Earl of Macclesfield in Shirburn Castle (Oxon.); it is principally written in a hand of (perhaps) mid-fifteenth-century date. Because the *Liber de Hyda* draws on many spurious historical sources (such as 'Vigilantius') who are also quoted by Thomas Rudborne (see below), it has been suggested that he might have been its compiler, or at least overseen its production.[118] In any event, the *Liber de Hyda* is of interest here for its brief account of St Swithun, which is included with the author's discussion of King Æthelwulf in c. 12. After noting that Æthelwulf had been able to draw on the advice of Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne, in secular matters, he goes on to state that, in ecclesiastical matters, the king's adviser was Swithun:

In rebus uero ecclesiasticis, sanctissimum patrem Swythunum, cui dedit praesulatum Wyntoniensis ecclesiae, cuius prouidentia et consilio decimam partem omnium terrarum in manibus suis existentium, ecclesiae dedit Anglicanae, perpetuis temporibus possidendam. Qui uero sanctissimus Christi confessor Swythunus usque impresentiarum miraculis gloriose coruscat.[119]

But in ecclesiastical matters [he consulted] the holy father Swithun, on whom he bestowed the bishopric of the church of Winchester, and through whose foresight and advice he gave to the English church, to be owned for all time, a tenth part of all the lands which were in his own hands. This most holy confessor of Christ, Swithun, shines gloriously through miracles up to the present time.

This information might have been drawn from any of a number of earlier sources, including William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, or the breviate account of the miracles of St Swithun preserved in London, BL, Lansdowne 436 (ptd below, no. 7(b)). In what follows, however, the compiler states unambiguously that his source was 'Lantfredus in libro primo *De miraculis gloriosi antistitis Swythuni*, prosa nona'; and he then quotes *in extenso* c. 10 of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (as ptd below, pp. 292–6), concerning the miraculous appearance of the saint to a certain noblewoman on an occasion when the monks of the Old Minster were refusing to get out of bed to say prayers at miracles which took place during the night. Given the Winchester origin of the *Liber de Hyda*, it is likely that the compiler was quoting directly from Lantfred's text as preserved in London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII, as I suggest below (p. 242).

[117] *Liber monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards, RS (London, 1866), pp. 3–279.

[118] See Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1822, and esp. Gransden, *Historical Writing* ii. 391–2, 395n.

[119] *Liber . . . de Hyda*, ed. Edwards, pp. 22–3.

xix. THOMAS RUDBORNE

by JOHN CROOK

The Winchester monk Thomas Rudborne was a key figure in the production of the fifteenth-century chronicles.[120] His monastic career is scantily recorded: in 1447 he was present at the election of Bishop Waynflete, and in December 1450 he is noted as Fourth Prior.[121] Rudborne was described by his contemporary and fellow-historian John Rous, who visited him in Winchester when gathering material for his own *Historia regum* (also known as *Historia de regibus Angliae*), as 'the most learned man of his times in the chronicles of the English'.[122] Rous's *Historia regum* was written 1480 × 1486,[123] but yields no clue as to the date of their meeting. His impressions of the Winchester scholar are confirmed by Rudborne's own writings, from which a lively, inquiring mind emerges. Rudborne's interests extended well beyond Winchester; for example, the breadth of his contacts and his interest in current affairs are shown in his description in the *Historia maior* of the proceedings at the Council of Florence, whither Pope Eugenius IV had transferred the proceedings of the Council of Basel.[124] Joan Greatrex has suggested that he obtained information about the Council from the four Carmelite *magistri* who, he notes, were present.[125]

Thomas Rudborne was certainly the author of the *Historia minor*, in whose preface he names himself; almost certainly of the *Historia maior*, and possibly also of a short history of Durham up to 1083, commissioned by Bishop Robert Nevill.[126] It has also been speculated that Rudborne 'may have written or at least supervised the writing of the historical narrative of the Book of Hyde',[127] and the *Liber monasterii de Hyda* certainly makes use of the same sources as Rudborne's better authenticated works, including those (allegedly) pre-Conquest chroniclers such as 'Vigilantius', discussed below, who may have been entirely fictitious.[128]

The works we have attributed to Thomas Rudborne, like the other fifteenth-century material, are of uneven evidential merit for the priory's history, particularly when dealing with the period before the Æthelwoldian reforms. A political agenda is apparent in the writers' constant emphasis on the 'British history' of the monastery, and its legendary monastic origins in the second century. The texts are also unreliable as source documents for early architectural history; for example, it was generally believed in the fifteenth century that Winchester Cathedral was the very church which had been rebuilt by Æthelwold in the tenth century; Walkelin was remembered merely for rebuilding the tower. This was a misconception that was finally dispelled by Robert Willis as late as 1845.[129] Yet the historical writings of Rudborne and his contemporaries provide some unique

[120] Henry Wharton, Rudborne's late-seventeenth-century editor, commented: 'Ecclesiae Wintoniensis historiam fuse prae aliis digessit Thomas Rudburn' (*Anglia Sacra* i, p. xxvi).

[121] See J. Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury, c.1066 to 1540* (Oxford, 1997), no. 316.

[122] *Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliæ*, ed. T. Hearne, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1745), p. 73: '. . . in cronicis anglorum suis temporibus peritissimus'.

[123] See Gransden, *Historical Writing* ii. 314; the autograph copy survives as London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A. xii.

[124] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* ii. 267–70; for the Council, see J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959).

[125] J. G. Greatrex, 'Thomas Rudborne, monk of Winchester, and the Council of Florence', in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History, ix (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 171–6.

[126] For Rudborne's works, see Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1822, and Gransden, *Historical Writing* ii. 394–8.

[127] See Gransden, *Historical Writing* ii. 395 n. 30, and above, p. 164.

[128] *Liber . . . de Hyda*, ed. Edwards, pp. 7, 21, 181 ('Vigilantius'), 123 ('Girardus Cornubiensis'), 21 ('Bona Gratia de Villa Dei').

[129] R. Willis, 'The architectural history of Winchester Cathedral', *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Winchester, September 1845* (1846), pp. 1–80. For more on the survival of the belief in a 'Saxon' origin of the tower and transepts, see J. Crook, 'A worthy antiquity: the movement of

indications regarding the architecture and layout of Winchester Cathedral in their own time, and an insight into how St Swithun was perceived in the mid-fifteenth century, just before the creation of the final shrine gave new impetus to the cult.

The Historia minor

As yet unpublished, apart from the Prologue,[130] the *Historia minor* exists complete in London, BL, Cotton Nero A. xvii.[131] An earlier manuscript, which unfortunately ends in 1177, having lost several final folios, is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. misc. c. 75, fos. 176r–205v; in its rubrication and initials this manuscript shows similarities to the damaged Cotton Galba A. xv (datable to the late 1450s), and is evidently a product of the same, Winchester, scriptorium, though not by the same scribe.[132] In the prologue to the *Historia minor* the author identifies himself as *Thomas Rudborne . . . commonachus et confrater eiusdem ecclesiae* [scil. *Wintoniensis*], and explains how he had been persuaded by his fellow-monks to compose a 'Summary of Chronicles' (*Breuiarium chronicorum*) for their use, listing in particular the founders and benefactors of Winchester Cathedral. It covers the period from the arrival of Brutus to 1234. Henry Wharton disdained Rudborne's title, preferring the term *Historia minor*, which derived from Rudborne's entry describing the death of Henry II in 1189, in which he referred to his forthcoming *Chronica maior*:

> Et ista sufficiant in presenti nostro libello minori. Plura dicenda sunt in cronica nostra maiori ut patebit intuentibus.[133]
>
> And let these [remarks] suffice in our present *libellus minor*. More is to be said in our major chronicle, as shall be clear to those who inspect it.

The *Historia minor* may be broadly characterized as an institutional history of England, dealing with various kings of the Heptarchy, then those of what the author calls the 'Monarchy',[134] the period following the accession of Ecgberht in 802,[135] and down to 1234.

There are few references to St Swithun. King Æthelwulf of Wessex is said to have been his *discipulus*, with the implication that it was through the bishop's influence that the future king proceeded to the rank of subdeacon:

> Hic Adulphus fuit discipulus sancti Swithuni Wintoniensis episcopi et ex gradu subdiaconatus in regem translatus est concedente papa Leone quinto et annis uiginti feliciter regnauit.[136]
>
> This Æthelwulf was the student of St Swithun, bishop of Winchester, and was transferred from the status of subdeacon to king with the permission of Pope Leo V, and he reigned happily for twenty years.

King Cnut's bones in Winchester Cathedral', in *The Reign of Cnut*, ed. A. Rumble (Leicester, 1994), pp. 165–92, at 172 n. 10.

[130] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 287.

[131] A short extract from the *Historia minor*, headed 'ex breviario chronicorum Thome Rudburni monachi Wintoniensis', concerning Matilda of Scotland, wife of Henry I, occurs in London, BL, Cotton Claudius B. vii, fo. 3.

[132] See below, p. 176.

[133] Cotton Nero A. xvii, fo. 161v. The title *Breuiarium chronicorum* is also favoured by Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 678.

[134] Cotton Nero A. xvii, fo. 72v onwards. Cf. the *Liber monasterii de Hyda*, c. 11, entitled *De monarchis* (ed. Edwards, pp. 19–21).

[135] The year 837 seems, however, to be implied. The usually accepted date for the reign of kings of all England is 927, when Æthelstan annexed Northumbria (see *HBC*, p. 25). The matter is discussed at length in Rudborne's *Historia maior* iii. 1 (ed. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 198).

[136] Cotton Nero A. xvii, fo. 73v. The bulk of this information is derived ultimately from the *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 3 (below, p. 632), but not the (erroneous) identification of Pope Leo as Leo V, who held office in 903 (William of Malmesbury more reasonably conjectured Leo IV, 847–55: see above, p. 140 n. 12), nor the statement that he reigned twenty years (his dates in fact are 839–58: *nearly* twenty years).

Through Swithun's influence, too, the king was encouraged to give a tenth part of his lands to the *ecclesie Anglicane* in perpetuity.[137] Swithun's death in 862 is noted without comment.[138] Finally, Swithun is mentioned in connection with the monastic reform in the time of King Edgar, who is credited both with ordering the translation and providing his shrine:

Is etiam fecit transferri sanctum huius ecclesie patronum Swythunum ac scrineo argenteo et aureo fabricato fecerat collocari.[139]

This king had Swithun, the holy patron of this church, translated and placed in a shrine made of silver and gold.

The Historia maior

This work is the best known of the fifteenth-century Winchester chronicles, and was partially published by Wharton in *Anglia Sacra*.[140] Wharton used as the basis of his text the unique early manuscript, London, Lambeth Palace Library, 183,[141] supplying the missing beginning and end of the text from the Galba manuscript of the *Liber historialis* (which he called the 'Epitome of Rudborne'), discussed below.[142]

The title *Historia maior* is Wharton's, deriving from the passage already cited, in which Rudborne referred readers of the so-called *Historia minor* to his *Chronica maior* for a fuller account. The *Chronica* was a 'forthcoming work' when the *Historia minor* was composed, for in his prologue to the latter work Rudborne states his intention of dealing, in the larger work, more fully with matters skimmed over in the *Historia minor*:

et insuper que hic leuiter pertranseo in maiori nostra cronica opitulante Dei clementia supplebo.[143]

and moreover I shall treat in my major chronicle those things which I here pass over lightly, with the help of God's mercy.

It may be felt that these are scarcely sufficient grounds for attributing the *Historia maior* to Rudborne.[144] Furthermore, Rudborne's statement that his *Chronica maior* contains the history of the 'other kings of England' scarcely seems fulfilled by the admittedly incomplete text which we possess. It ends in the reign of Stephen, which requires that we accept that a large proportion of the history was lost to the accident which deprived us of the opening and final folios of the unique manuscript.

That Rudborne did indeed write a history which he called the *Chronica maior* is clear from the

[137] Cotton Nero A. xvii, fo. 74r. This is a crude and inaccurate reference to the privilege or 'decimations' of King Æthelwulf: see above, p. 6, and below, p. 169.

[138] Cotton Nero A. xvii, fo. 75r.

[139] For the subsequent history of the shrine commissioned by Edgar, see Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 1–60 (below, p. 372–7), and discussion by J. Crook, 'King Edgar's reliquary of St Swithun', *ASE* xxi (1992), 177–202.

[140] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 179–286. Wharton merely indicates but does not print passages (predominantly concerning material post A.D. 1000) published elsewhere; thus his edition is unrepresentative of the impressive scale of the work.

[141] There is an imperfect, late-sixteenth-century copy of the work in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 350 (see M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1909–12), ii. 184).

[142] The body of Lambeth Palace 183 is dated to the late fifteenth century (s. xv^{ex}); it was apparently damaged by water before the early sixteenth century, when such parts of quire I as were legible were recopied. Two folios (= four pages) were apparently illegible; so that the text begins in the middle of i. 2.

[143] Cotton Nero A. xvii, fo. 2r–v.

[144] While accepting that Rudborne was the author of the *Historia*, Gransden comments that 'the attributions and identification of Wharton and later scholars stand in need of revision' (*Historical Writing* ii. 394 n. 28).

Historia regum of John Rous, an author of whom Wharton was apparently unaware. Rous claims to cite four passages from Rudborne, actually mentioning the *Chronica maior* twice.[145] A description of how the Conqueror summoned his barons to councils at 'London' (that is, the Whitsuntide councils at Westminster), for which Rous credits Rudborne, closely follows a passage in the *Historia maior*.[146] On the other hand, Rous specifically cites *Thomas Rodburn in majori cronica sua* in a passage describing how Alfred the Great summoned St Grimbald from Flanders and how the scholar rose to become chancellor of Oxford University. This passage does not occur in the *Historia maior*.[147] It is therefore possible that the *chronica maiora* mentioned by both Rous and Rudborne himself is not one and the same with the *Historia maior* as published by Wharton. There is, however, one other text which might lay claim to be Rudborne's *Chronica maiora*. It is represented only by an English translation of what was apparently an incomplete source, and occurs in London, BL, Harley 156, fos. 185r–279r. It is headed 'Cronicle of Thomas Rudburne, Monke of Winchester', and covers the period 1316–1418.[148] It is very much an institutional history of England, and Winchester receives no special emphasis. Despite these uncertainties, therefore, there seems no reason to doubt the traditional ascription of the *Historia maior* to Rudborne, and the echoes in Rous's text generally supports his authorship. The text is certainly the work of a Winchester monk, and if it was written by someone other than Thomas, it would be strange indeed that no memory of such a vigorous and accomplished writer has come down to us.

A reference to the agreement with the Greeks at the Council of Florence (in the form of a digression during his account of the First Crusade) indicates a date of composition for the *Historia maior* after July 1439. Other indications may be supplied by use of material shared with the *Historia* in the other Winchester historical texts of the period. Leaving aside for a moment the question of what was copied from what, Book i of the *Historia* is shared verbatim with the *Liber historialis* (probably composed in the late 1440s); and passages from the *Historia* occur in the *Chronicon Wintoniense*, composed after 1458 (see below). A date of *c.*1450 therefore seems acceptable for the *Historia maior*. It is not possible to date the work precisely to 1454 as some modern authors have suggested.[149]

The *Historia maior* is mainly a history of St Swithun's priory, within the historical framework of the reigns of Saxon and early Norman kings and the bishops of Winchester. Titles of two of its five books are embedded within the text, and the contents of the other three may be summarized:

Book i. *De fundatione Wentanae ecclesiae in tempore Britonum*;
Book ii. *de regibus et pontificibus Wintoniensibus in eorum temporibus ante monarchiam et de tertia fundatione Wintoniensis ecclesiae per Kynegilsum regem*;
Book iii. the history of the West Saxon kings and bishops from the accession of Ecgberht (i.e. the start of the *monarchia Anglorum*) to the end of the reign of Edmund Ironside;

[145] The *Chronica maior* is twice mentioned by name: *Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Anglie*, ed. Hearne, pp. 78, 96 (*in cronica sua*). On two other occasions Rous merely states that his source was Rudborne's writings (ibid. pp. 82, 98).

[146] *Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Anglie*, ed. Hearne, p. 82; *Historia maior* in Lambeth 183, fo. 115r, ed. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 259.

[147] Rous could, however, have obtained it from the *Liber monasterii de Hyda*, ed. Edwards, p. 41.

[148] The text is erroneously identified as a version of the *Liber historialis* (see below, pp. 173–6) by Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 667.

[149] A. F. Pollard, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xvii. 378; Gransden, *Historical Writing* ii. 395 and n. 29; Greatrex, 'Thomas Rudborne and the Council of Florence', p. 172. This error results from a misunderstanding of Wharton's comments (*Anglia Sacra* i, p. xxvi) on the chronology of the *Annales breues* which occur in the burnt manuscript Cotton Galba A. xv (see below, pp. 174, 176–7).

Book iv. the history of the English kings and bishops of Winchester from the accession of Cnut to the Norman Conquest;

Book v. the history of the English kings and bishops of Winchester from the Norman Conquest until the fifteenth century.

Occasionally the *Historia maior* includes events of wider significance, notably the description of the Holy Land and discussion of the Council of Florence, to which we have already alluded. The *Historia maior* also includes some useful indications about the layout and state of Winchester Cathedral in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and the cult of St Swithun at that time.

Swithun enters the scene in Rudborne's chapter on King Ecgberht and Bishop Helmstan.[150] According to Thomas's account, Helmstan was responsible for commending Swithun as *praepositus* of the church of Winchester;[151] he would now (in Thomas's day) be called 'prior' ('qui modo dicitur prior monachorum').[152] Through Swithun the future king Æthelwulf became a monk, and 'according to Vigilantius' proceeded to the rank of subdeacon. The following chapter, entitled 'De Ethulpho rege et sancto Swythuno Wyntoniensi episcopo',[153] develops this theme and includes further details of Swithun's career. As in the *Historia minor*, he is credited with encouraging Æthelwulf's donation of a tenth of his lands to 'the church in England'. This is a simplistic, even misleading, interpretation of the much-discussed 'Decimation Charters' of King Æthelwulf of 844 and 854 (see above, p. 6), in which the king granted 'to all his subjects, both churchmen and laymen, who held lands of inheritance in the kingdom of Wessex a notable alleviation of public burdens. The concession extended to one hide of land in every ten.'[154] Thomas makes extensive use of William of Malmesbury's transcription of the so-called 'First Decimation' of 5 November 844,[155] and repeats William's error in attributing the genesis of the concessions to Swithun: in 844 Helmstan was bishop of Winchester, and Swithun's name appears only in the 'Second Decimation' of 22 April 854. The author of the *Historia maior* comments that the granting of these concessions caused the church of Winchester, in which the privilege was first offered, to be held in esteem 'throughout the Anglican church'.[156]

Swithun is said to have accompanied the future King Alfred the Great to Rome *c.*858 to be anointed by Pope Leo.[157] This appears to derive from an annal for 853 in the C-text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which makes the unlikely claim, much discussed by historians, that in that year, two years before his own better authenticated visit, Æthelwulf sent his son to Rome where Pope Leo 'consecrated him king';[158] Asser likewise states that in 853 Alfred was sent to Rome with an

[150] *Historia maior* iii. 1 (Lambeth Palace Library 183, fos. 9r–10r).

[151] Cf. John of Worcester, *Chronica*, s.a. 827 (JW ii. 246), who states simply that Helmstan 'invested Swithun with holy orders' (quoted above, p. 144).

[152] Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fo. 10r; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 199. The term *praepositus* is used in this sense in the *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 65.

[153] *Historia maior* iii. 2 (Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fos. 10r–12v; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 200–4).

[154] H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester, 1964), p. 187. For discussion of the Decimation Charters, see ibid. pp. 187–213, and esp. Keynes, 'The West Saxon charters of King Æthelwulf', pp. 1119–22.

[155] WMalm, *GR* ii. 113–14 (ed. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, pp. 172–4), discussed above, pp. 139–40.

[156] Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fo. 10v; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 201.

[157] Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fo. 11r–v; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 201. The date given is 'the nineteenth year of Æthelwulf's reign', i.e. 858, the year of Æthelwulf's death. Asser states that Æthelwulf died two years after his return from the visit to Rome in 855.

[158] *ASC* trans. Whitelock, p. 43; see Whitelock's discussion ibid. p. xxiii for the true nature of the ceremony. Whitelock accepts and prints in *EHD* i. 879–80 (no. 219) a letter of Pope Leo IV to Æthelwulf stating that Alfred was decorated 'with the dignity of the belt and the vestments of the consulate'. For the latest discussion of the issue, see A. P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 13–17.

honourable escort both of nobles and commoners,[159] and that two years later Æthelwulf and Alfred went to Rome together.[160]

After these incidental references to Swithun, Rudborne provides a brief *vita*:[161] Swithun was appointed by Æthelwulf as Helmstan's replacement in 852, having formerly been prior or *praepositus*.[162] At this point Thomas cites the otherwise unknown, and presumably fictitious, 'Letter to the Black Monks of England' by 'Bonagratia de Villa Dei', in which it is claimed that Swithun was professor of philosophy at the University of Cambridge! This is followed by the profession which Swithun is claimed to have made to Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury at his consecration.[163]

In relating Swithun's death, Rudborne introduces one of the the topical comments that make his text so valuable: the bishop was buried outside the church,

> ubi postea constructa est modica capella, que adhuc cernitur ad boreale ostium nauis ecclesie.[164]
>
> where a modest chapel was subsequently constructed, which still stands at the north door of the nave of the church.

This was the final chapel marking Swithun's grave after the demolition of the Old Minster; excavation has revealed that it was indeed *modica*, smaller than its predecessor. This final chapel was contemporary with the remodelling of the nave in the fourteenth century.[165] Rudborne ends his chapter on Æthelwulf with a chronology. Swithun, *sanctissimus pater et patronus Wintoniensis ecclesie specialissimus*, was bishop for four years of Æthelwulf's reign, during the whole of Æthelbald's, and for two years of Æthelberht's: eleven years in all.

Swithun features prominently in Rudborne's following chapter, on the reign of Æthelbald.[166] It was as a result of the bishop's censure that the king repudiated his stepmother, whom he had married. In this regard Rudborne quotes the (fictitious) 'Girardus Cornubiensis' for a comment on Swithun's humility, which was such a powerful force that kings and princes bowed to his advice without demur. But the saint did not neglect more earthly matters; Old Minster was fortified against Danish attack at his instigation.[167]

In a lengthy chapter concerned mainly with the monastic reform under King Edgar, and a closely-argued justification of his view that the expulsion of the secular canons involved a return to a previous, monastic, state,[168] Rudborne relates how Æthelwold translated Swithun from his *uili sepulchro*, and placed him *in scrinio argento et auro a rege Edgaro cum summa diligencia fabricato*;[169] the

[159] *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904), p. 7 (c. 8); trans. Keynes and Lapidge, p. 69.

[160] Cf. also WMalm, *GR* ii. 109 (ed. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, p. 158).

[161] Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fos. 11v–12v; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 202–4.

[162] Cf. John of Worcester, *Chronica* s.a. 837 (JW ii. 254): 'rege uero Athulfo regnante, sanctus Helmstanus episcopus uita decessit, cui iussu regis beatus Suuithunus successit'; cf. also above, p. 145.

[163] See above, pp. 5–6, where the profession is printed in full. There are notably few textual variants, though the final sentence of the Waverly version is omitted. Swithun is described as *monachus* in Rudborne's version, and his chastity is described as *quam prius in professione monachali expressi*. Rudborne may have introduced these details in conformity with the (later) medieval tradition that Swithun was a monk.

[164] Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fo. 12r; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 203. One might add that it was this reference by Rudborne to the *modica capella* which first led Roger Quirk to identify the site of the Old Minster (Quirk, *OM*, pp. 65–8).

[165] See discussion in WS 4.i, Part VIII.

[166] Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fos. 12v–13r; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 204–5.

[167] The historical sources for this alleged attack are discussed in detail by the Biddles, WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter II.1.iii.

[168] *Historia maior* iii. 12 ('De Edgaro rege'): Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fos. 20v–28r; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 217–24.

[169] Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fo. 27v; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 223.

author adds that Swithun did not work a single miracle while the Old Minster was occupied by secular canons, but started to work as soon as they were ejected—a further justification of the monastic state.

St Swithun emerges as the chief protagonist in the legend of the trial by fire of Queen Emma, which Rudborne recycles from Richard of Devizes; before walking on the nine red-hot ploughshares in the choir of the Old Minster, the queen spent a night at the tomb of the saint, who appeared to her in a dream and assured her that she would not be harmed.[170]

XX. THE *CHRONICON WINTONIENSE*

by JOHN CROOK

The as yet unpublished *Chronicon Wintoniense* is preserved only in a mid sixteenth-century transcript, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 110, pp. 314–57 (item 23),[171] in the index of which it is described as a 'Chronicon in quo continetur historia Angliae presertim cenobii Winton' a Lucio usque ad initium regni Henrici VI'. Some authorities have erroneously supposed it to be a copy of Rudborne's *Historia minor*.[172] As Roger Quirk realized, however, this *Chronicon Wintoniense* 'is quite a different account from that of Rudbourne or John of Exeter—containing more general history'.[173]

The *Chronicon* is essentially a detailed general history of the kingdom of Wessex and the kings of England up to the 1430s, when it ends quite abruptly during a discussion of the Council of Basel (1431–49). A somewhat later date of composition is, however, provided by the author's (or scribe's?) comment that 'Aeneus Silvius', author of a work describing the proceedings of the Council,[174] was subsequently elected Pope Pius II (1458–64).[175] This places the *Chronicon Wintoniense* during the period of Thomas Rudborne, and it is not impossible that it is another of that accomplished author's productions. Certainly the *Chronicon* and the *Historia maior*, which we must assume was Rudborne's work, have in common their use of certain unusual classical and medieval source-material—Vegetius and Valerius Maximus, for example, and the *Aurora*, Peter of Riga's allegorical verses on the Old Testament[176]—although the sources peculiar to the *Chronicon* include a far greater proportion of pertinent classical and medieval Latin sources, including direct quotations of the Old Testament.[177] The *Chronicon* is the work of a well-read, scholarly historian. Furthermore, several portions of the *Chronicon* occur verbatim in Rudborne's *Historia maior*. Nevertheless, the *Chronicon* must be regarded as an independent work.

As in the *Historia minor*, references to St Swithun are mostly linked to the Old Minster's legendary monastic history. The author repeats the legend already observed in the *Historia minor* and *Historia maior* that Æthelwulf was a monk at the Old Minster, reaching the grade of subdeacon; and cites the

[170] Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fos. 44v–45v; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 233–5. The passage from Richard of Devizes, which was Rudborne's source, is quoted *in extenso* above, pp. 149–53.

[171] An early seventeenth-century copy exists in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jones 4, fos. 28r–56r.

[172] James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, i. 235 ('query a copy of Nero A. xvii'), and Gransden, *Historical Writing* ii. 395 n. 31.

[173] Quirk *OM*, p. 57 n. 1.

[174] Aeneus Silvius Piccolomini [later Pope Pius II], *De gestis concilii Basiliensis* [published 1440], ed. D. Hay and W. K. Smith, *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*, rev. ed. (OMT, 1992).

[175] CCCC 110, p. 357: 'qui postea admissus fuit ad papatum sub nomine Pii secundi'. Admittedly this biographical note could be a scribal addition.

[176] Ed. P. E. Beichner, *Aurora. Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN, 1965). The *Aurora* is quoted sparingly in the *Historia maior* but extensively in the *Chronicon*.

[177] Here I have used the copious and useful notes compiled by Professor Daniel Sheerin in the 1960s and deposited in the Winchester Research Unit.

same sources.[178] At that time, he says, Swithun was *praepositus*, a statement which he says was justified by both the *De basilica Petri* of 'Vigilantius' (c. 15; see below) and the 'Letter to the Black Monks in England' attributed to 'Bona Gratia de Villa Dei'.[179] Swithun, the author continues, was Æthelwulf's spiritual adviser, with Bishop Ealhstan (*Alstanus*) of Sherborne advising him on affairs of state.[180] In two out-of-sequence passages the author emphasizes Swithun's role in the bringing up of the future king Alfred the Great; as an infant his mother Osburg (*Ostburga*), entrusted him to Swithun, who was regarded as Æthelwulf's 'foster-father'.[181] In a year which, as in the *Historia maior*, the author improbably suggests was 858 (*anno 19 regni* [scil. *Æthelwulfi*]: see above, p. 169), Swithun accompanied the young prince to Rome, where the pope anointed him king of all England.

The author again cites 'Girardus Cornubiensis' and 'Vigilantius' when relating the sacking of the Old Minster by the Danes in 867, when 'not a single monk survived': [182] presumably a misplaced reference to the Danish attack which the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MSS 'A' and 'E', recount under the year 860, 'in [Æthelberht's] day',[183] modified to reflect the legendary monastic past of the Old Minster.[184] The attack is said to have taken place in the second year after Swithun's death, which for the author would therefore be in 865 (*recte* 863).[185] In 868 the Old Minster is said to have recovered, but secular canons were introduced.

One of the most interesting passages illustrating the cult of St Swithun in the fifteenth century occurs in a passage—also attributed to 'Vigilantius'—describing King Edgar's actions; the king is said to have translated the patron saint and placed there 'a great shrine, wonderfully and skilfully made of silver, gold, and precious stones; and that shrine is located at and joined to the high altar. He also had another, portable shrine, of gold, silver, and precious stones made in honour of the same saint, which is now kept in the sacristy.'[186]

King Edgar's great shrine may have survived until the mid-fifteenth century, when it was melted down in the vigorous programme of metalworking which followed the death of Cardinal Beaufort in 1447.[187] From around 1450 the relics were in temporary store; the author's statement that the reliquary was joined to the high altar best applies to the preceding period, and casts doubt on a date of composition as late as 1458.[188] The *Chronicon* may indeed have been written at precisely the time when the new shrine was being planned; and the interest which the author shows in St Swithun may reflect the new impetus given to the cult in the mid-fifteenth century.[189]

[178] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 110, p. 323.

[179] See Gransden, *Historical Writing* ii. 493–4, citing Professor Sheerin's work on this subject, but suggesting that 'Vigilantius' was probably written later than the time that the legendary history of the monastery was concocted in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

[180] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 110, pp. 323–4; the source is ultimately WMalm, *GR* ii. 108 (ed. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, p. 156).

[181] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 110, p. 326.

[182] Ibid. It is interesting to note that the *Chronicon Wintoniense* here contradicts Rudborne, who says nothing about no monks surviving the Danish attacks.

[183] *ASC* s.a. 860, ed. Plummer i. 68; trans. Whitelock, p. 45: 'And in his [Æthelberht's] time a great naval force came inland and stormed Winchester'.

[184] Cf. JW ii. 276, citing Asser, *Vita Ælfredi regis*, cc. 18–19.

[185] For the date of the historical Swithun's death, see above, p. 4.

[186] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 110, p. 335: 'Scrinio magno ex argento et auro lapidibusque preciosis mirabiliter ac artificiose fabricato fecerat collocari, locatum est illud scrinium ac coniunctum summo altari, aliud uero scrinium portabile fecit in honore eiusdem sancti, ex auro et argento, lapidibusque preciosis decoratum, quod modo in sacristaria reseruatur.'

[187] See detailed discussion in Crook, 'King Edgar's reliquary'.

[188] See above, p. 35.

[189] See further J. Crook, 'St Swithun of Winchester', in *Winchester Cathedral*, ed. Crook, pp. 57–68, and idem, in WS 4.i, Part IX.

xxi. THE *LIBER HISTORIALIS*

by JOHN CROOK

The *Liber historialis* is known variously (and confusingly) as 'The Epitome of Rudborne'[190] and 'John of Exeter' (the name which appears in the heading and colophon to a sixteenth-century copy of the text). The safest title is perhaps that which appears in Nasmith's catalogue (1777) of the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: *Liber historialis et antiquitatum domus S. Swithuni Wintoniae.*[191]

The earliest surviving manuscript, part of which was published by Wharton to supplement the missing opening of the *Historia maior*, is London, BL, Cotton Galba A. xv (fos. 52r–87v), rendered almost totally illegible by the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731, and further confused by out-of-sequence rebinding of the damaged pages. The first part of this manuscript (fos. 1r–51v) comprises a set of annals in the same hand as the *Liber historialis*, illegible but known from a pre-1731 copy now in London, BL, Harley 358.[192] Wharton tells us that they comprised what he called *Annales breues ecclesiae Wintoniensis a Bruto ad Henricum VI regem*,[193] and that they included numerous indications that the text was written in 1454, of which he quotes an example: 'dedicata est Ecclesia Wintoniensis anno .CLXIX., iv. Cal. Nouembre. A prima fundatione & dedicatione Winton. Ecclesiae fluxerunt anni .MCCLXXXV.' This date provides a *terminus post quem* of 1454 for the writing of the manuscript.

From later in the same century, London, BL, Add. 29436, fos. 4r–9v, which contains an incomplete text of the *Liber historialis*, is in the same hand as one of the annotators of the 'Codex Wintoniensis', and a date of *c.*1475 seems probable.[194]

An early sixteenth-century version, now London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D. ix, continues down to the death of Bishop Fox in 1528 the list of bishops which concludes the Galba text in the 1440s. This list is followed in the Vespasian manuscript by a summary history of the kings of Wessex, then of all England, from Cerdic to Henry VI, followed by brief notes first on the queens, then on the 'nobles' buried in 'this church' of Winchester.

The attribution to 'John of Exeter' results from the double occurrence of this monk's name in a sixteenth-century copy of the *Liber historialis* in Oxford, All Souls College 114, where he states that this manuscript was *descriptus* 'with his own hands' in 1531 ('propriis manibus descriptus anno dominice incarnationis millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo primo'); and the manuscript ends with the colophon *Hec Exceter propria scripsit manu. Finis.*[195] This date suits the period of a known Winchester monk who appears on the surrender list in 1539, and who appears to have entered St Swithun's Priory in or after 1528, though if this is the case, he would have been a precocious scribe

[190] Following Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i, p. xxvi. The description was soon challenged, for example by Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), p. 645 n. *a*: 'Est schema, non epitome, Historiae majoris'.

[191] J. Nasmith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi . . . in Academia Cantabrigiensi legavit Matthæus Parker, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis* (Cambridge, 1777), p. 117.

[192] See below, pp. 176–7.

[193] A. F. Pollard, in the *DNB* entry quoted earlier (above, p. 168 n. 149), wrongly supposed that these *Annales breues* were one and the same as the *Historia minor*.

[194] Gransden (*Historical Writing* ii. 494 n. 1) quotes a letter from Alex Rumble suggesting that the annotator might be Thomas Rudborne. This is improbable; Add. 29436 is certainly not the autograph manuscript of the *Liber historialis*, but an incomplete copy.

[195] The same heading and colophon occur—inappropriately, as the hand is not the same—in the direct copy of the All Souls manuscript, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 110, pp. 260–77 (item no. 9); cf. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, i. 234, and below, p. 174. The All Souls manuscript was copied in turn by William Woodson into Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jones 4, fos. 4r–14v.

indeed.[196] The double occurrence of John of Exeter's name in the manuscript has confused scholars who, supposing him to be the author, have resorted to ingenious explanations to explain the discrepancy between the apparent date of his text (which, as in the Galba manuscript, ends *c.*1477) and that of the heading and colophon.[197] In fact John of Exeter solves the riddle himself in his careful use of the word *descriptus*: the verb *describo* means 'to transcribe' or 'to copy', and 1531 was simply the year in which he copied the fifteenth-century text.[198] John of Exeter's transcription also includes the summary histories of kings, and of the queens and nobles buried at Winchester, down to the time of Henry VI. This suggests that both the Vespasian and All Souls manuscripts of the *Liber historialis* were independently copied from a text which included this additional material; and so the Galba manuscript is unlikely to have been the source.[199]

A direct copy of All Souls 114 is found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 110, pp. 260–84 (items 9, 10), part of an extensive collection of Winchester historical material transcribed by William Woddeson (Woodson). The Corpus manuscript was also recopied into Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jones 4, fos. 4r–41v.

Material from the *Liber historialis* was used in London, BL, Harley 358, fos. 61r–64r. A partial English translation of the latter survives in the same manuscript at fos. 16r–17r, with an indication that the texts (both Latin and English) were prepared for Thomas Cromwell, presumably in order to try to justify the monastery's survival, on the eve of the Dissolution. Furthermore, the entire English text was copied, before the loss of the first folio, by John Stow, into London, BL, Harley 539, fos. 114r–116r. A possible fifteenth-century copy of the version described as Rudborne's *Medulla chronicorum* appears to survive at Clongowes Wood College (Ireland).[200]

Wharton's dating of the *Annales breues*, copied at the same time as the *Liber historialis* in Galba A. xv, provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1454 for the latter. If the same pairing of the two texts occurred in the earlier recension of the *Annales breues* (see below) now represented by a copy in Harley 358, a date of composition before 1447 seems indicated. The earliest copy of the *Liber historialis*, namely Galba A. xv, ends with Cardinal Beaufort (d. 1447) in his prime. A date of composition in the mid 1440s thus seems probable.

The *Liber historialis* shares much material, often verbatim, with the *Historia maior*, which is why Wharton suggested that it was an epitome of that longer work. Wharton's analysis is, however, simply wrong: the *Liber historialis* is neither a sketch for, nor a summary of, material used more extensively in the *Historia maior*. Book i and ii. 2 of the *Historia maior* are virtually identical with cc. 1–9 of the *Liber historialis*, with negligible variants,[201] entirely justifying Wharton's use of the Galba manuscript to supply the wanting opening. Thereafter the *Liber historialis* and *Historia maior* follow a different course; some passages from the *Liber* occur verbatim in the *Historia*, but these represent only about 15 per cent. of the text, mostly comprising quotations: a passage discussing Winchester's claim to be the metropolitan church rather than Canterbury, the legendary profession of faith made

[196] Greatrex, *Biographical Register*, pp. 690–1.

[197] Greatrex (ibid.) postulates a 'I John de EXETER ?occ. 1431' (for whom the only evidence is the 1531 copy of the *Liber historialis*).

[198] Richard Sharpe concurs (*Handlist*, p. 242).

[199] Either the Galba manuscript omitted the extra material or, perhaps more probably, it was introduced into a subsequent version of the text slightly post-dating Galba. More work remains to be done on the relationship between the various manuscripts of the *Liber historialis*.

[200] See A. Gwynn, 'Some more notes about MSS. in the Clongowes Library', *The Clongownian*, xvii (1944), 11–15, at pp. 12–14. I am grateful to Nigel Ramsay for drawing my attention to this article.

[201] The longest omission is the passage concerning the supposed relics of St Alban at Ely (*Historia maior* i. 4).

by Bishop Swithun to Archbishop Ceolnoth at the time of his consecration, and sixteen lines from Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, which the author confusingly attributes to 'Doctor Lantfred'.[202]

From c. 10 onwards, therefore, the *Liber historialis* deserves to be considered in its own right. The next section relates the mission of St Birinus and the legendary 'third foundation' of the Old Minster as a monastery; the history of the kingdom of Wessex and the Old Minster from Birinus to Æthelwold is briefly sketched; and thereafter the text focuses exclusively on the bishops of Winchester, down to Cardinal Beaufort (1405–47).

The *Liber historialis* broadly agrees with the *Chronicon Wintoniense* in a passage not found in the *Historia maior*, when it cites 'Girardus Cornubiensis' and 'Vigilantius' for the (correct) information that Swithun died in the third year (= 863) of the reign of Æthelberht (860–5);[203] in the second year after his death the city of Winchester was devastated by the Danes and the monks who had inhabited the monastery since the second century were killed. When normal life resumed, secular canons took over the running of the Old Minster in 868.

For the author of the *Liber historialis*,[204] Bishop Helmstan, rather than Swithun, was responsible for ordaining Æthelwulf to the grade of subdeacon; thereafter, when he became a monk in the Old Minster, he submitted to the discipline of the *praepositus*, Swithun.[205] At Helmstan's death Swithun, prior of the Old Minster and Professor at the University of Cambridge, became bishop. His virtues were apparent to all, and he served the Lord in fear. Thereafter the author cites 'Lantfred' (in fact Wulfstan's *Narratio*) for Swithun's humble burial outside the Old Minster, and—out of sequence—the bishop's legendary profession to Archbishop Ceolnoth, before providing a brief biographical sketch: he was born in 826, said (wrongly) to be the twenty-sixth year of Ecgberht's reign (correctly 802–39); he lived for forty-six years, being bishop for eleven, and died in 862. The arithmetic of this chronology is faulty: if Swithun was born in 826 and lived for forty-six years, he would have died in 872. The confusion appears to have originated in the *Annales breues* (see below), which do indeed give Swithun's obit as 872. He was buried (according to the text in All Souls 114, fo. 4r),

extra portam borialem nauis ecclesie qui locus tunc indecens erat; modo uero ibidem pulchra capella in eius honore constructa est, ubi crebra Deo operante per eum ostensa sunt miracula.

... outside the north door of the nave of the church, a place which at that time was unsightly; but now in this same place a beautiful chapel has been constructed in his honour, where as a result of God's agency many miracles have been revealed through him.

The *pulchra capella* (or *modica capella* in Rudborne's *Historia maior*) was apparently still a focus of the saint's cult in the mid-fifteenth century.

The author provides more detail than the other fifteenth-century chroniclers about the translation of 971: the saint had begun to work miracles three years before his translation, but no miracles had occurred during the absence of monks from the Old Minster.

[202] Implying that his source, whether direct or indirect, was London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII; see below, p. 252 n. 1.

[203] In the *Liber historialis*, the source quoted is 'Girardus Cornubiensis in libro De Gestis Regum Westsaxonum, cap. .xiv., et idem Vigilantius in libro De Basilica Petri cap. .xij.'; in the *Chronicon Wintoniense*, it is 'Gyrardus Cornubiensis et idem scribit Vigilantius De Basilica Petri cap. 14'.

[204] Oxford, All Souls College 114, fo. 3v.

[205] The author cites 'Vigilantius in libro De Basilica Petri, capitulo .xj. et Bonagratia de Villa Dei in Epistola [*scil.* ad Nigros Monachos]'.

Further indications of the physical setting[206] of the cult of St Swithun in the present cathedral are found in the later, sixteenth-century, manuscript of the *Liber historialis*, namely London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D. ix. Cardinal Beaufort, through whose influence Swithun's shrine was transferred to the centre of the retrochoir, chose to be buried

inter duas columnas ex australi parte in capella propria iuxta feretrum sancti Swythuni;[207]

between two columns from the southern area in the chapel itself, near the shrine of St Swithun;

his successor, William Waynflete (1447–86), was buried

in capella propria in parte boriali iuxta feretrum sancti Swithuni.[208]

in the chapel itself in the northern area near the shrine of St Swithun.

xxii. THE *ANNALES BREVES*

by JOHN CROOK

As already noted, the earliest manuscript of the *Annales breues* is London, BL, Cotton Galba A. xv, which is now illegible. Fortunately another recension of these *Annales* seems to survive in BL, Harley 358, fos. 65r–69v, said to be *rescripta ex antiquo pergameno quod scriptum erat 1447*.[209] As Wharton indicates was the case with the annals in the Galba manuscript, the Harley version also contains numerous indications of the date of composition in the form of statements of the time elapsed since each annal, and the sentence from the Galba version quoted by Wharton—'a prima fundatione & dedicatione Winton. Ecclesiae fluxerunt anni MCCLXXXV'[210]—occurs in the Harley manuscript, with a slight change: 'a prima fundatione et dedicatione Wintoniensis ecclesiae flerent [*sic*] anni M.C.C.lxx.viij.'[211] The date given in both texts for the 'first foundation' is A.D. 169: 1,278 years added to this gives 1447. When the Galba version was copied in 1454, the text was appropriately updated by seven years.

The *Annales breues* are an abbreviated version of material covered in a fuller, more literary way in the *Liber historialis*. The material is fully dated, and consists essentially of the history of the four legendary monastic 'foundations' at the Old Minster, starting with the conversion of 'King Lucius' in A.D. 164. After the description of the Æthelwoldian reforms (described as 'the fourth and last introduction of monks into the church of Winchester'), the text turns to non-Winchester matters, including a lengthy description of the martyrdom of Thomas Becket.

References to Swithun in the *Annales breues* are restricted to dates. The years of Swithun's birth, episcopate, and death are carefully recorded (fo. 66v), together with calculations of the years elapsed between those events and 1447. There is a problem here, to which we have already alluded: Swithun is said to have been born in 826 and to have lived for 46 years. This places his obit in 872, and this incorrect date is given in the text, and twice confirmed: wrongly, as

[206] For the physical setting, see my discussion in WS 4.i, Part IX.

[207] BL, Cotton Vespasian D. ix, fo. 23v.

[208] Ibid. fos. 23v–24r.

[209] I believe this 'ancient parchment' may be the *uolumen siue rotula in pergameno scriptum* which Sir Robert Hare gave to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in 1568, as described in a memorandum in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 110, p. 255.

[210] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i, p. xxvii.

[211] BL, Harley 358, fo. 65r.

occurring in the third year of Æthelred's reign (*recte* 868), and 576 years before the date of composition. This erroneous chronology presumably lies behind the faulty arithmetic of the *Liber historialis*.[212]

xxiii. 'VIGILANTIUS'

by JOHN CROOK

As we have seen, Winchester's fifteenth-century historians quote from a number of authors whose identity and works are otherwise unknown, but who reportedly treated matters pertaining to Winchester: 'Girardus Cornubiensis', 'Bonagratia de Villa Dei', 'Moratius'. Among these historians was one 'Vigilantius', author of a work concerning the early history of Winchester cathedral entitled *De basilica Petri*—a work which, judging from its title alone, dealt with the cathedral at a time when it was thought to be dedicated solely to St Peter (presumably, that is, before the construction of the Norman cathedral in 1093).[213] Thomas Rudborne, the *Liber de Hyda* and the *Chronicon Wintoniense* all refer to the *De basilica Petri*, especially for information pertaining to the monastic nature of the Old Minster. According to 'Vigilantius', as he is quoted by these fifteenth-century historians, the Old Minster was established as a monastery on four occasions: (1) from the conversion of King Lucius in A.D. 164 until 266, when the monks were slaughtered under Diocletian; (2) from 293 until 495, when once again the monks were slaughtered, this time under the Anglo-Saxon king Cerdic; (3) from the time of the mission of Birinus in 635 until 866, when the monks were slaughtered by the Danes;[214] and (4) from the time of Bishop Æthelwold's reforms (964) onwards. (This chronological scheme carries the implication that Swithun, who was bishop of Winchester 852–63, was himself a monk.) Although certain scholars have been willing to believe that the *De basilica Petri* was a genuine pre-Conquest text,[215] the scheme of Winchester's monastic history, as set out above, must surely give the lie to any such belief. There were no monks anywhere, not at Winchester, not in Mediterranean lands, as early as the second century (and in any case, Diocletian was not in a position to persecute anyone as early as A.D. 266).[216] King Lucius is a figment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's fertile imagination:[217] hence 'Vigilantius' must have written at a date later than the publication of Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britannie* (1136/7).[218] The *terminus post quem* for the confection of the *De basilica Petri* must be much later still, and a date well after 1300 now seems most likely.[219] In any event, the *De basilica Petri* is a late medieval pseudo-history, not a text dating from the Anglo-Saxon period.

[212] There are several other internal inconsistencies in the chronology of the *Annales breues*.

[213] The dedication of the Old Minster to St Peter is recorded in *ASC* F, s.a. 648 (ed. Plummer, i. 28; trans. Whitelock, p. 20); see discussion above, pp. 42–3, and in WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter I.1.iii.

[214] In recording the slaughter of monks by the Danes, 'Vigilantius' here follows, or agrees with, accounts in the *Chronicon Wintoniense* and the *Liber historialis*—another indication of the late date of 'Vigilantius'. See also above, n. 203.

[215] See H. Vollrath, *Die Synoden Englands bis 1066* (Paderborn, 1985), pp. 252–8, 445–9. On the author's mishandling of the evidence for the existence of 'Vigilantius', see the review by M. Brett in *JTS* xxxix (1988), 623–8.

[216] Diocletian was emperor 284–305; the Great Persecution took place in 303.

[217] *Historia regum Britannie*, c. 72 (ed. N. Wright, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth I. Bern Burgerbibliothek MS. 568* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 46–7.

[218] D. N. Dumville, 'An early text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* and the circulation of some Latin histories in twelfth-century Normandy', *Arthurian Literature*, iv (1985), 1–36, at pp. 26–7.

[219] See Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii. 493–4, who acknowledges research on 'Vigilantius' by Professor D. J. Sheerin.

'Vigilantius' apparently devoted some discussion to St Swithun in the *De basilica Petri*.[220] In his *Historia maior*, Thomas Rudborne reports that 'Vigilantius' (*De basilica Petri*, c. 11) related that Bishop Helmstan had commended Æthelwulf, the future king of Wessex, to Swithun, who was at that time 'provost' (*praepositus*) of Winchester; Æthelwulf then received the monastic habit from Swithun and was promoted by Helmstan to the grade of subdeacon:

Commendauit Helinstanus Athulphum Sancto Swythuno tunc praeposito Wyntoniensis ecclesiae, qui modo dicitur 'prior monachorum', a quo Athulphus accepit habitum monachorum; ac demum ab Helinstano pontifice in gradum subdiaconatus promotus est: ut scribit Vigilancius in libro *De basilica Petri* capitulo .xi.[221]

Helmstan commended Æthelwulf to St Swithun, who was then the provost of the church of Winchester, a post which is now called 'prior of the monks', and Æthelwulf received from him the monastic habit; and thereafter he was promoted by Bishop Helmstan to the grade of the subdiaconate, as Vigilantius writes in c. 11 of his *De basilica Petri*.

In c. 12 of *De basilica Petri*, 'Vigilantius' apparently described Swithun's episcopal profession to Archbishop Ceolnoth.[222] Finally, in the same c. 12 of *De basilica Petri*, 'Vigilantius' described how, shortly after the death of St Swithun, the monks of Winchester were destroyed by the Danes:

Mortuo namque sanctissimo uiro ac monacho sanctissimo Swithuno tertio uidelicet anno Ethelberti regis Athulphi regis secundi filii secundo anno post mortem sanctissimi antistitis Swithuni, interfecti sunt monachi in ecclesia Wintonensi; urbs quoque Wentana a Danis uiris paganissimis depopulata ac uastata est a rege Gitro, ut tradit Gyrardus Cornubiensis in libro *De gestis regum Westsaxonum* cap. xiiij, et idem Vigilantius in libro *De basilica Petri* capitulo xii.[223]

When the holy man and monk St Swithun had died, in the third year of King Æthelberht (the second son of King Æthelwulf), in the second year after the death of the holy bishop Swithun the monks were killed in the church of Winchester; the town of Winchester was also destroyed and devastated by the pagan Danes under their leader Girvus, as Gerard of Cornwall says in his book *De gestis regum Westsaxonum*, c. 14, and likewise Vigilantius in his book *De basilica Petri*, c. 12.

Although it is possible to recognize here a core of 'historical' fact deriving ultimately from the *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 8, the statements that Swithun was a monk and that the monks of Winchester were destroyed by the Danes in 865 (the second year after Swithun's death) are nothing but late medieval fictions.

[220] The various allusions to, and quotations of, 'Vigilantius' are collected and arranged by Vollrath in the order in which they purportedly occurred in *De basilica Petri* (some fifty-six chapters and various adespota are apparently in question): *Die Synoden Englands*, pp. 471–80 (Appendix VI).

[221] Vollrath (*Die Synoden Englands*, p. 477), from Rudborne, *Historia maior* (ed. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 199) [Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fo. 10r]. Cf. the variant passage in the *Liber historialis*, which Vollrath wrongly calls the '*Chronicon Wintoniense*' (CCCC 110, p. 271; Oxford, All Souls College 114, fo. 3v).

[222] Vollrath (*Die Synoden Englands*, pp. 477–8), from Rudborne, *Historia maior* (ed. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 203) [Lambeth Palace Library, 183, fo. 12r]. Cf. the variant passage in the *Liber historialis*, which Vollrath wrongly calls the '*Chronicon Wintoniense*' (CCCC 110, p. 272; Oxford, All Souls College 114, fo. 4r); see above, p. 5 n. 22.

[223] Vollrath (*Die Synoden Englands*, p. 478), from the *Liber historialis*, which Vollrath wrongly calls the '*Chronicon Wintoniense*'. The version she provides, printed here, is from BL, Add. 29436, fo. 8v (= Oxford, All Souls College 114, fo. 3r), not, as she states, CCCC 110, p. 269.

7

ST SWITHUN IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ART

by †R. E. DESHMAN

WRITING at the end of the tenth century Ælfric[1] chided the contemporaries of St Swithun because they failed to write down anything about his life; no books about him were then known. This literary neglect was rectified by Ælfric and his contemporaries Lantfred[2] and Wulfstan,[3] all of whom wrote accounts of the saint's recent translation and the miracles that followed. Ælfric might well have been justified in levelling a similar charge of neglect at medieval artists, for so far as we know the saint was not represented in art[4] until Ælfric's own lifetime, over a hundred years after Swithun's death in 863. The first known image of the saint is the miniature that prefaces the liturgical blessing for the feast of the translation of Swithun in the 'Benedictional of Æthelwold' (see *Frontispiece*).[5] This splendid liturgical manuscript was commissioned by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (963–84) from his cathedral scriptorium. Of course there is always the possibility that earlier representations of the saint have not survived; today we possess but a tiny fraction of the works of art created during the early Middles Ages. Still, as matters stand, Swithun made his first appearance in both art and literature at about the same time, in the last third of the tenth century.

In the 'Benedictional' miniature the nimbed saint stands in his bishop's vestments blessing with his right hand and cradling a book in his left. This figural type is conventional, and only the placement of the image before the text for Swithun's feast-day allows us to identify the figure as this saint rather than as any of the countless others who were similarly represented in medieval hagiographic art. The type was so widespread that nothing can safely be said of the miniature's

[1] Ælfric, 'Life of St Swithun', c. 1 (below, p. 590).

[2] Lantfred, *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (ptd below, pp. 251–333).

[3] Wulfstan, *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* (ptd below, pp. 371–551).

[4] D. H. Farmer, 'Swithun (Swithin) von Winchester', *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, viii (Rome, 1976), col. 415; L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, iii. 3 (Paris, 1959), pp. 1241–2.

[5] London, BL, Add. 49598, fo. 97v, reproduced here as the frontispiece; see also G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Saint Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1910), p. xxviii; O. Homburger, *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester im X. Jahrhundert*, Studien über christliche Denkmäler, xiii (Leipzig, 1912), p. 24; F. Wormald, *The Benedictional of St Ethelwold* (London, 1959), p. 12; and Deshman, *Benedictional*, pl. 32. The 'Benedictional' almost certainly once had a second representation of St Swithun who must have been included in the lost miniature of the choir of the confessors which originally faced and matched the extant picture of confessors, now fo. 1. The only other saints honoured with non-narrative feast pictures in the manuscript, Benedict and Æthelthryth, are both singled out by name in the extant miniatures of the choirs of the saints (fos. 1 and 2 respectively). Moreover, the feast picture of Swithun and the remaining miniature of the choir of the confessors were deliberately related to each other by the unusual way in which a free-standing arch-like baldachine interlaces with the framework, a feature not found elsewhere in the picture cycle: see Warner and Wilson, *Benedictional*, pp. xv-xvi, xxvii, xxviii, and plates of fos. 11, 21, 90v, 97v.

model. There is not even any assurance that the illuminator copied an earlier image of Swithun, for the artist might simply have modelled his figure of Swithun upon that of another sainted bishop.

What merits closer examination, however, is the relationship between the figure and the architecture. Swithun stands beneath an arch-like baldachine supported by two slender, gold, free-standing columns. As a symbol of the dome of heaven, the baldachine marked the special eminence and importance of the person or place beneath it. The saint also stands upon the base of another column whose shaft and capital are completely hidden behind him. Swithun's golden tunic with its hard vertical contours seems almost to have assumed the geometric form of the obscured column shaft, and two small arches appear to spring from the saint's head rather than from the capital which presumably stands behind him. This assimilation of the human form to architecture created a pleasing decorative unity between the figure and the framework, but this was not simply an aesthetic feature. The Winchester liturgy for the mass celebrating Swithun's translation characterized the saint as an Olympic column of shining glory . . . flashing with miraculous splendour, who is revered as one of the apostles.[6] This architectural symbolism[7] stems ultimately from the Bible. Galatians 2: 9 had metaphorically described three of the apostles as columns and, on the basis of this and other biblical texts, medieval commentators frequently likened the apostles and their successors, the doctors and preachers of the Church, to columns which spiritually supported the Church through firm faith, upright deeds, and sound teachings. Like the liturgy, the picture of Swithun characterized him as an apostolic column of the living edifice of the Church. The miniature's liberal use of polished gold for the saint's nimbus and vestments (with the exception of his blue chasuble) also illustrated the liturgy which emphasized Swithun's supernatural radiance.[8]

In devising this iconography the Anglo-Saxon artist might well have known earlier images which equated a holy figure with a column. For example, in a late eighth-century gospelbook from Flavigny there is a canon table in which figures of the evangelists and John the Baptist are assimilated to column bases and figures of the evangelists' symbols and Christ to column capitals.[9] In the 'Benedictional', however, the human figure is visually related to the column in a very different way, one which strikingly anticipates the form of the symbolic column statues on the façades of Gothic cathedrals almost two centuries later.[10]

The application of column symbolism to Swithun in Winchester art and liturgy is related to the circumstances of the saint's translation.[11] In 971 Æthelwold removed the Swithun's relics from their original resting place in a small tomb outside the west door of the Old Minster and brought them

[6] *The Missal of the New Minster*, ed. D. H. Turner, HBS xciii (London, 1962), p. 125: 'Tu [*scil.* Deus] idem quoque columnam rutile claritatis olimpicam sanctum pontificem suuithunum . . . contulisti; O felicem anglorum gentem cui dominus rerum talem [concessit patronum: ut merito ab predictarum populis gentium colatur quasi unus apostolorum]' (cf. also ibid. p. xxiv n. 6; the praefatio is also ptd above, pp. 78–9). Swithun is also termed 'columna praeclua Christi' in a sequence (inc. 'Gaudens Christi') possibly composed by Wulfstan: printed *AH* xl. 289 (no. 337), and above, pp. 97–8. See also below, n. 33.

[7] B. Reudenbach, 'Säule und Apostel. Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Architektur und architekturexegetischer Literatur im Mittelalter', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, xiv (1980), 310–51.

[8] The narrative accounts of St Swithun's miracles also frequently mention that the saint appeared 'in shining garments' or with supernatural light; e.g., Lantfred, *Translatio*, cc. 1, 3, 20 (below, pp. 260, 280, 302).

[9] Autun, BM 4, fo. 8; see *Karl der Grosse. Werk und Wirkung* (Aachen, 1965), p. 268, no. 439, fig. 67; F. Carlsson, *The Iconology of Tectonics in Romanesque Art* (Hässleholm, 1976), pp. 62–4 with pl. 25; for the iconographic tradition in general, see Reudenbach, 'Säule und Apostel', pp. 337–51.

[10] E.g., the transept sculpture of Chartres cathedral: see W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140–1270* (London, 1972), pl. 120.

[11] For analysis of the sources concerning the translation, see Quirk, *OM*, and now WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter VII.1.ii; VIII.1.iv.

inside the cathedral whereupon there ensued, in the words of the text of Æthelwold's 'Benedictional', 'a manifold and almost unspeakable abundance of miracles'.[12] Sometime later Swithun's relics were deposited in at least one splendid and expensive reliquary commissioned by King Edgar,[13] and Æthelwold also began to rebuild and extend the western part of the church to provide a fitting and permanent architectural setting for the original tomb.[14] Hence the equation of Swithun with an architectural member of Ecclesia appropriately emphasized the saint's literal incorporation inside the cathedral itself.

Only particularly important feasts in the 'Benedictional' were honoured with a prefatory miniature. The singling out of Swithun's feast with a picture and the actual translation of Swithun's relics were closely related indications of Æthelwold's special devotion to this saint who had become the most celebrated of Æthelwold's predecessors in the see of Winchester. Curiously, however, it seems that Swithun's celebrity as a cult figure was not so much the cause as the consequence of Æthelwold's veneration. Before Æthelwold's episcopacy there was little or no cult of St Swithun. One sign of this is the lack of writings about the saint before the end of the tenth-century. Ælfric,[15] Lantfred,[16] and Wulfstan[17] all attest to this, and consequently in their texts they treated only the translation and the miracles that had occurred recently during Æthelwold's reign. In still other ways these tenth-century narratives of the events leading up to the translation corroborate the impression that Swithun had been a relatively obscure and neglected saint. We are told that it was only by dint of repeated miraculous manifestations to intermediaries that Swithun finally managed to make known his blessedness with God to Æthelwold and the cathedral brethren.[18] One of these incidents before the translation gives an especially vivid insight into the saint's previous lacklustre reputation. When a man reported to the monks of Old Minster that his hunched back had been cured by Swithun, he met with considerable scepticism from many of the monks. It was not that they doubted the miracle, but they were inclined to attribute it to St Martin rather than to the little known St Swithun.[19] The celebrity of Swithun as a miraculous cult figure stemmed from Æthelwold's translation of the saint's relics, and viewed from this perspective both the translation and the image of Swithun in the 'Benedictional' can be understood as part of the concerted effort by Bishop Æthelwold to propagate the veneration of this hitherto obscure saint.

Why did Æthelwold seek to stimulate the cult of Swithun?[20] The tenth-century accounts of the translation would have it that Æthelwold translated Swithun's relics because the saint himself requested it in several miraculous appearances. This explanation can be set aside as a pious fiction. Nonetheless, these and other near-contemporary sources are useful for discovering another, more credible historical explanation.

[12] Warner and Wilson, *Benedictional*, p. 39: 'multiplici ac pene ineffabili miraculorum copia'; and see above, p. 87. But note that the words in the 'Benedictional' pertain to the feast of the deposition.

[13] This reliquary (which does not survive) is described by Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 1–49 (below, pp. 492–5). For what is possibly a twelfth-century representation of this lost reliquary, see J. Crook, 'King Edgar's reliquary of St Swithun', *ASE* xxi (1992), 177–202.

[14] Biddle, *'Felix Urbs Winthonia'*, pp. 136–8, with further bibliography, and now WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter VII.1.ii 5; Chapter VIII.1.ii, 7.

[15] 'Life of St Swithun', c. 1 (below, p. 590).

[16] *Translatio*, Epistola (below, p. 252).

[17] *Narratio*, Praef. 181–4.

[18] Lantfred, *Translatio*, cc. 1–3 (below, pp. 260–86); Wulfstan, *Narratio*, i. 1–788 (below, pp. 412–48); Ælfric, 'Life of St Swithun', cc. 1–9 (below, pp. 590–4).

[19] Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 2 (below, pp. 272–4); Wulfstan, *Narratio*, i. 427–46 (below, p. 432); Ælfric, 'Life of St Swithun', c. 7 (below, p. 594).

[20] Much of what follows was researched in 1979, before I had read the article of D. Sheerin, 'The dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester, in 980', *RB* lxxxviii (1978), 260–73. In part my treatment of Swithun's cult independently parallels that of Sheerin.

Wulfstan's late-tenth-century *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* includes a most revealing passage concerning the relationship between Æthelwold and Swithun:

> Æthelwold . . . was . . . splendidly strong in word and deed, dedicating churches in many places and everywhere preaching the gospel of Christ. . . . His preaching was greatly aided by the holy bishop Swithun's being at this time marked out by signs from heaven and gloriously translated to receive proper burial within the church. So it was that at one and the same time two lamps blazed in the house of God . . .: for what Æthelwold preached by the saving encouragement of his words, Swithun wonderfully ornamented by display of miracles . . . And so it came about . . . that monasteries were established everywhere in England . . .[21]

In this text Æthelwold's preaching of the gospel must be understood as synonymous with his advocacy of the monastic reform. Benedict had recommended the gospels to monks as an alternative to his own Rule,[22] and monasticism was considered to be the evangelical way of life *par excellence*.[23] Thus, as Sheerin has suggested,[24] Æthelwold began to promote Swithun's previously obscure cult so that the saint's unexpected rise to prominence and his subsequent flurry of miracles would appear as signs of heavenly approval for the bishop's policy of monastic reform. That heaven should have sent such timely divine support and sanction in the form of St Swithun must have been of great importance for Æthelwold and the monastic reformers, for the bishop's reforms had not been universally greeted on earth with comparable approval. Æthelwold faced opposition most of all from the secular canons whom he, with the support of King Edgar, had forcibly expelled from the Old Minster in 964 and later from the New Minster as well.[25]

It is no accident that one of the expelled canons, a certain Eadsige, figured prominently in the accounts of Swithun's translation.[26] Swithun's very first miraculous appearance was to a smith whom the saint asked to deliver a message to Eadsige, explicitly identified as one of the secular clerks banished from the cathedral. The message was that Eadsige should go to his former bishop, Æthelwold, to inform him that the saint wished to be brought from his resting place outside the western entrance of the cathedral into the church. When the saint's message was eventually relayed to Eadsige, the canon at first refused to heed it because of his grudge against Æthelwold and the monks of Old Minster who had expelled him. Within two years, however, Eadsige relented. Not only did he deliver the message to Æthelwold, but, as Lantfred wrote at the end of his first chapter, 'this same cleric who recently had been secular . . . became a devout monk much beloved of God . . . Blessed be the omnipotent God who pardons sinners, who redeems those who trust him, who casts down the mighty and who raises up the meek!'[27]

In this tale the saint's relationship to Æthelwold's monastic reforms is very apparent. Swithun

[21] Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, cc. 25–7 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 42): 'Erat . . . Ætheluuoldus . . . sermone et opere magnifice pollens, in plerisque locis ecclesias dedicans et ubique euangelium Christi praedicans . . . Cuius praedicationem maxime iuuit sanctus antistes Suuithunus eodem tempore caelestibus signis declaratus et infra templi regiam gloriosissime translatus ac decentissime collocatus. Ideoque gemina simul in domo Dei fulsere luminaria: quia quod Ætheluuoldus salubri uerborum exhortatione praedicauit, hoc Suuithunus miraculorum exhibitione mirifice decorauit . . . Sicque factum est . . . ut monasteria ubique in gente Anglorum . . . constituerentur . . .'. See also the similar passage in Ælfric's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 18, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, ibid. pp. 76–7.

[22] *Benedicti Regula*, c. 73, ed. R. Hanslik, 2nd edn., CSEL lxxv (Vienna, 1977), p. 164.

[23] J. Leclercq, *La Vie parfaite*, Tradition monastique, i (Paris and Turnhout, 1948), pp. 109–12.

[24] Sheerin, 'Dedication of the Old Minster,' pp. 266–70.

[25] Concerning the expulsions and their important social and economic implications, see E. John, 'The king and the monks in the tenth-century reformation', in his *Orbis Britanniae* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 154–80.

[26] Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 1 (below, pp. 260–2); Wulfstan, *Narratio*, i. 1–198 (below, pp. 412–20); Ælfric, 'Life of St Swithun', cc. 2–6 (below, pp. 590–4).

[27] Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 1, trans. Lapidge (below, p. 265).

intends Æthelwold to hear his request for translation not directly from the smith but from one of the expelled canons. There is no mistaking the lesson contained in the saint's command that one of the alienated canons must go back to his former bishop to deliver a celestial message. Swithun was clearly placing himself on the side of Æthelwold against the enemies of monasticism.[28] Eadsige's sinful refusal to obey the saint's divine command stemmed from and paralleled the canon's earlier refusal to obey the bishop's commands for monastic reform. There is a heavy irony in the fact that the blessed saint asked to be brought inside the Old Minster through the agency of one of the sinners who had earlier been expelled from the very same church. Two years later when Eadsige took the monastic habit and became a monk of Old Minster, he too, like the relics of Swithun a year later, literally came from outside into the church. This parallelism was not without meaning. At the end of his second chapter Lantfred wrote that Swithun's humility had initially caused him to choose to be 'buried outside the church like a vile scorned and unworthy sinner . . . [but] revealed through many miracles and signs, [he] was brought back into this same church exalted, venerated, and renowned. We see in this . . . the word of our Lord . . .: because every one that exalteth himself shall be humble; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.'[29] This passage, which virtually cast the saint in the curious role of a converted sinner, ended Lantfred's second chapter and deliberately echoed the previously quoted conclusion of the author's first chapter which had described how another meek sinner, Eadsige, was similarly brought into the church and was also 'raised up' by the Lord. Lantfred thus drew a symbolic parallel between Eadsige and Swithun who were both brought into the church physically and spiritually. Later Lantfred[30] re-enforced the parallelism when he related that the new monk Eadsige became the custodian of Swithun's new shrine in the cathedral.

Lantfred carefully counterbalanced the exaltations of the humble saint and the lowly sinner with the humbling of the exalted and the casting down of the mighty, clearly references to the wicked, impure canons who had been expelled from the cathedral. The unmistakable implication is that Swithun had asked to come into the church precisely because the canons had been expelled from it.[31] Cleansed of these defiling canons and now housing pure monks, the church had become a fitting dwelling for God and his holy saint. Swithun's translation and miracles within the cathedral demonstrated that monasticism had literally sanctified Ecclesia once more, and the rebuilding of the cathedral to house the relics was an external sign of the internal moral renewal of the Church by monasticism. Thus Swithun's new physical and spiritual presence in the cathedral legitimatized the monastic reformers' controversial seizure of the physical and spiritual control of Ecclesia.[32]

[28] This is made even more explicit in a subsequent incident narrated by Lantfred. During an absence of Æthelwold the monks of the cathedral disobeyed his orders and neglected their monastic devotions. Swithun, dressed significantly in monastic costume, appeared to the monks to admonish their disobedience and negligence, and said that 'God [through Swithun] is showing to the world so many and such unheard-of marvels in these recent times precisely in order that the stony hearts of evil men may become gentle and recover their senses, and so hasten towards heavenly joys with their good works—since miracles are granted to unbelieving peoples but are in no way essential to the faithful' (Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 10, trans. Lapidge, below, p. 295). The 'unbelieving peoples' are not only the monks who have strayed from their monastic duties and from Æthelwold's orders, but also others such as Eadsige who resist monasticism (and Æthelwold).

[29] Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 2 (trans. Lapidge, below, p. 275).

[30] *Translatio*, c. 20 (below, p. 304); also Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 131–50 (below, p. 498).

[31] The causal relationship between the expulsion and Swithun's activity is made clear by Thomas Rudborne, the late-medieval monk and chronicler of Winchester, who wrote that as long as the secular clerics inhabited the Old Minster there were no miracles, but once the canons had been ejected the wonders soon began: Thomas Rudborne, *Historia Major Wintoniensis*, ed. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 223. On Rudborne, see the discussion by John Crook, above, pp. 165–71.

[32] The relatioship between the cult of relics and monastic reform in general is a subject much in need of study. The emphasis upon relics in the Anglo-Saxon reform has recently been interpreted as an especially English phenomenon by J. Leclercq. 'La réforme bénédictine anglaise du Xe siècle vue

This has implications for the interpretation of the architectural symbolism of Swithun. The equation of the saint with the column, a physical part of the Church, can now be understood as another strategy to propagandize the view that the monks and their saintly ally were the only rightful possessors, indeed the very embodiment, of Ecclesia. It is certainly significant that Lantfred's account of one of the miracles which preceded and caused Swithun's translation into the church included the appearance of 'a shining column . . . which reached up to the sky'.[33] This surely symbolized Swithun who had himself appeared a moment before as 'a man of marvellous height shining like the sun's splendor'.[34] Lantfred, moreover, on the evidence of prose style, probably also wrote the Winchester liturgy which identified Swithun with a column.[35] It is true that neither this liturgy nor the narrative explicitly linked the column to monasticism, but the late tenth- and eleventh-century *vitae* of the leaders of the monastic reform leave no doubt, as we shall see, that the column was understood in this period as a specifically monastic as well as an ecclesiastical symbol.

Byrhtferth, the author of the *Vita S. Oswaldi*, described Oswald's monastic devotions at Fleury in these words: 'He was, as is fitting for friends of God, supported by two columns, that is, by the love of God and of fellow men, to which five [columns] were wisely added, which [columns] firmly supported his house so that it was unshaken by the wind.'[36] In this passage the columns are the monastic virtues which literally edify Oswald, making him a sound spiritual house of wisdom. The imagery here is derived both from Proverbs 9: 1, which describes wisdom's house of seven columns, and from Matthew 7: 24–5: 'Whoseover hears these words of mine and does them is like a wise man who built his house upon rock, and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat against the house, but it did not fall: it was founded on rock.' Benedict himself had given this gospel text a monastic interpretation when he quoted it in the prologue of his *Rule*.[37]

The symbol of the column was also applied to Dunstan, the founder of the monastic reform. His early eleventh-century biographer Adelard termed him a 'column of light' and a 'column of God.'[38] Especially revealing is Adelard's account of Dunstan's foundation of the first reformed monastery at Glastonbury: 'first eliminating whatever offended the eyes of the heavenly Inspector, he having been made monk and abbot, the first one, began firstly to establish there a school of monks. By his zeal in that place holy religion so increased in such a short time that, just as I said that the lamps of others throughout the entire church were kindled from a lamp . . ., so through him the pillar of monastic religion spread from this place throughout the whole land of the English.'[39] This account of the reform at Glastonbury has analogies with Lantfred's treatment of events at Winchester. After being cleansed of impurity displeasing to God, presumably non-monks, the house of God, the church, is

du continent', *Studia Monastica*, xxiv (1982), 107–25. But there was also a close relationship between translations and monastic reform on the Continent: see B. Töpfer, 'Reliquienkult und Pilgerbewegung zur Zeit der Klosterreform im burgundisch-aquitanischen Gebiet', *Vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Zum 65. Geburtstag von Heinrich Sproemberg*, ed. H. Kretzschmar (Berlin, 1956), pp. 420–39.

[33] Lantfred, *Translatio* c. 3 (trans. Lapidge, below, p. 283).

[34] See above, n. 33.

[35] Personal communication from Michael Lapidge; see also discussion by Lapidge, above, pp. 77–8.

[36] *Vita S. Oswald*, ed. J. Raine, *HCY* i. 416: 'Erat enim, ut sanctis et ueris amicis Dei usuale est, binis fulcitus columnis, id est dilectione Dei et proximi, cui erant quinque sagaciter adiunctae, quae firmiter domum suam sustentabant ne a uento quassaretur . . .'.

[37] *Regula Benedicti*, ed. Hanslik, p. 6.

[38] *Epistola Adelardi ad Elfegum archiepiscopum de uita sancti Dunstani*, cc. 6, 11, ed. Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 59, 66: 'columnam lucis', 'columna Dei'. See also below, n. 40.

[39] *Epistola*, c. 3, ed. Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. 56: 'Vnde primum eliminato quicquid oculis superni Inspectoris offendebat, monachus et abbas effectus, monachorum ibi scholam primo primus instituere coepit. Cuius ibi studio sic in breui sancta excreuit religio, ut sicut dixi de lampade . . . caeterorum per omnem ecclesiam lampades accensas, ita per eum ex hoc loco columen religionis monasticae toto Anglorum orbe diffusum sit.'

fittingly occupied by pure monks and also, in the case of Winchester, by a saintly supporter of the monks. The holy, monastic, way of life of these new occupants allows them, like Dunstan and Swithun, to become the 'pillar of monastic religion', that is, to build themselves into the living spiritual edifice of the monastic Ecclesia.

These literary sources make it manifest that the columnar symbolism of St Swithun was part of a widely diffused campaign to identify monasticism spiritually and materially with Ecclesia itself. Probably, however, it was Æthelwold who originally conceived this monastic propaganda, for it first appeared in his personal 'Benedictional', not to mention other Winchester sources, some two decades before the lives of the leaders of the reform were written.[40] Indeed, although it cannot be pursued in this study, the miniature of Swithun is only one of many pictures in Æthelwold's 'Benedictional' which belong to a highly unified and sophisticated iconographic programme supporting the bishop's monastic policies.[41]

It may well be that Æthelwold promoted Swithun's veneration with other images of the saint. One would expect, for instance, that the saint would have been portrayed on the elaborate reliquary provided for the relics by King Edgar. But all we know is what Wulfstan tells us, namely that on the shrine were represented images of Christ's Passion, Resurrection and Ascension as well as 'many more things . . . too long to relate.'[42] In fact, for the entire period before the Conquest we have evidence of only one other image of Swithun in addition to the one in the 'Benedictional'. William of Malmesbury[43] recorded that Bishop Ælfwold of Sherborne (1045–62) acquired an image or statue (*imaginem*) of St Swithun from the brothers of Winchester and that miracles followed.[44] Possibly this statue was a reliquary depicting the saint. In any case, this text is a rare and valuable indication that with the spread of St Swithun's cult from its centre at Winchester went images of the saint. By this time the propagandistic motives which had given birth to this cult would have been long forgotten and the saint venerated simply on the basis of the miracles he worked after his translation.

The next known image of St Swithun is found among the remnants of the wall paintings, probably of twelfth-century date, in the sanctuary of the church of Corhampton, Hampshire.[45] Originally a continuous frieze of narrative scenes ran along the upper portions of all four walls of the chancel. The lower portions were filled with ornamental images of textiles and medallions. Only the wall paintings in the southwest and northwest corners have survived. When these were drawn and published by Tristram in the first half of this century, their condition was extremely poor and many details obscure. His drawings must be used with caution. In 1968 the wall paintings were carefully restored,[46] but any iconographic interpretation of them in their present state (pls. X *a*, *b*) must take into consideration both Tristram's drawings (pls. VIII *a*, *b*) and old photographs of the unrestored paintings (pls. IX *a*, *b*).

Tristram believed that the wall paintings illustrated the legend of St Swithun and the eggs.

[40] It should be mentioned too that Winchester sources, the two related lives of Æthelwold written by Wulfstan (c. 14) and Ælfric (c. 9), also described Dunstan as 'an immovable column' during his long reign as archbishop of Canterbury (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 26, 74).

[41] For some additional observations, see R. Deshman, 'The imagery of the Living Ecclesia and the English monastic reform', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), pp. 261–82. [The subject is treated fully in Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 170–91.]

[42] Wulfstan, *Narratio*, ii. 12–15 (below, p. 492).

[43] WmMalm, *GP* ii. 82 (ed. Hamilton, p. 179), quoted in Lehmann-Brockhaus, ii. 529 (no. 4215).

[44] [William's source for this information was very possibly the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, c. 44 (below, p. 680); cf. also above, p. 138.]

[45] E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1950), pp. 188–9, 533–4, with pls. 60, 61.

[46] I should like to thank the Council for Places of Worship [now the Council for the Care of Churches] for making its conservation records and photographs available to me.

According to this tale, which is first recorded in the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* and elsewhere in the late eleventh or early twelfth century,[47] an indigent woman with a basket of eggs was crossing a bridge which Swithun had built outside the East Gate of Winchester. She was accosted by several workmen who negligently broke her eggs. Taking pity on her, Swithun miraculously made the eggs whole again. Tristram convincingly suggested that the incident of the restoration of the eggs was represented on the south wall to the left (pl. VIII *a*). At the far left the bishop is clearly recognizable because of his episcopal costume and nimbus. In the drawing he seems to be standing, but from the old photographs and from the paintings themselves it can be seen that he is actually sitting in an upright, three-quarter pose on his cathedra. He extends his right arm towards the basket which is held by the woman standing before him. Below, suspended in mid-air between them, are seven perfectly whole eggs.

Less certain is the accuracy of Tristram's interpretation of the adjacent scene to the right. He described it as a portrayal of the 'woman . . . apparently showing her basket of broken eggs to two men, themselves carrying a horizontal pole with a kind of basket.'[48] No such episode occurs in the narratives of the legend, and the painting more likely represents the incident of the workmen breaking the eggs. The two male figures are characterized as workmen by their short tunics and by the burden they carry. The female figure they encounter as they move to the right is certainly the woman with the eggs, since she carries a basket identical to the one in the adjacent scene of the restoration of the eggs. The right end of the workmen's pole touches and tips the woman's basket. One can also see in the photographs of the unrestored paintings and in the paintings themselves today the fragmented eggs that are suspended in mid-air beneath the basket. Hence the scenes of the breaking and the restoration of the eggs were juxtaposed on the same wall. The compositional device of representing the broken and the whole eggs in analogous positions in the two adjacent scenes created a telling visual contrast which re-enforces the point of the narrative.

The painted surface to the left of these two scenes is now completely lost, and we shall never know for certain what was represented there. However, the narrative sequence of the scenes progresses from right to left, and very likely the narrative of Swithun's life continued in the lost, eastern portion of the wall paintings. The western end of the south wall, immediately to the right of the scene of the breaking of the eggs, is shown as almost completely blank in Tristram's drawing (pl. VIII *a*). This is deceptive, however, for photographs of the unrestored chancel show that much of the original painted surface was still extant (pl. IX *a*), and the restoration of the paintings in 1968 disclosed a hitherto indecipherable representation of a rider about to be thrown from a rearing horse (pl. X *a*).

This group does not seem to be a part of the adjacent scene of the breaking of the eggs, for there is no mention of a rider in this legend. Nor is there any other passage in the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* to account for this image. Its explanation is to be found instead in the three tenth-century accounts of the translation and subsequent miracles of St Swithun.[49] One of these posthumous miracles concerns a servant boy who was seriously injured when he fell from his horse. His master's prayers to St Swithun were answered and the boy suddenly sprang up miraculously cured of his grave injuries. It seems relatively certain that the fresco represents the

[47] *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 6 (below, pp. 634–6); cf. Tristram, *Wall Painting*, pp. 188–9.

[48] Tristram, ibid.

[49] Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 31 (below, pp. 318–20); Wulfstan, *Narratio*, ii. 783–812 (below, p. 530–2); Ælfric, 'Life of St Swithun', c. 22 (below, p. 602).

first phase of this story, the youth's fall, since other miracles of St Swithun were depicted in the adjacent scenes to the left on the same wall. To the other side of the rider, around the corner on the southernmost portion of the west wall, are some additional remnants of the fresco cycle. Little of the subject matter can be ascertained from the drawing or from the early photographs of this wall, but in the restored paintings there seem to be traces of two standing figures. Possibly these might be the healed rider and his master, although the condition of the wall paintings make this little more than a guess.

The badly damaged paintings on the walls of the opposite, northwest corner of the chancel are also very difficult to decipher. Enough remains to rule out Tristram's hypothesis that they illustrate a phase in the story of Swithun and the eggs,[50] but not enough to identify the iconography positively as other miracles of either Swithun or another saint. It is not likely, however, that the scenes of Swithun's life and posthumous miracles were confined to the south wall of the chancel.

Why was the subject of Swithun's miracles chosen to adorn the chancel walls of the parish church at Corhampton? This village is located only ten miles from Winchester (see fig. 1), and in the thirteenth century the bishop and the cathedral owned portions of land around Corhampton.[51] Winchester remained throughout the Middle Ages the centre of St Swithun's cult, the goal for crowds of pilgrims coming to worship at the saint's shrine. Corhampton's close association with Winchester is obviously at the root of the honoured place given to this Winchester saint on the walls of the chancel. To which saint the Corhampton church was dedicated is unknown, but the paintings there raise the possibility that it might have been St Swithun. An alternative explanation is that Corhampton had obtained a relic of Swithun from neighbouring Winchester.

It can be safely assumed that the painters of this tiny, relatively obscure church at Corhampton did not invent the iconography of Swithun's miracles but worked from older models, as was usually the practice in medieval art. Because of its proximity and its prominence as the centre of devotion to St Swithun, Winchester is far the most likely source of the iconography, especially since the cathedral, which housed Swithun's shrine, was an active centre for both mural and book painting during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[52] The immediate models of the Corhampton wall

[50] Tristram, *Wall Painting*, p. 188. A number of factors weigh against his hypothesis. In the narrative the incident of the restoration of the eggs follows immediately after their breaking; but if Tristram is correct, the two scenes in the paintings would be on opposite walls and inexplicably separated by several scenes on the intervening west wall. Tristram believed that the second figure from the right on the north wall was a woman holding a basket from which tumbled the eggs. He noted, however, that the eggs were very difficult to see, and in his drawing they are rather vaguely sketched. Indeed, no eggs can be detected either in the photographs of the unrestored paintings or in their present restored condition. What the woman holds is not a basket, for in both size and form this object is quite different from the umistakable baskets in the two scenes on the opposite, south wall. Careful examination of the old photographs and the restored paintings indicates that the woman is actually grabbing a mantle slung over the arm of the figure before her. Tristram seems to have mistaken the broad, light-coloured border of the garment for the mouth of a basket, and this misconception seems to have subtly coloured his drawing of this detail. Evidently the woman in the painting has seized the garment of the figure before her in order to check his or her movement to the right. Tristram's drawing depicts two more figures to the right which he interpreted, like the figures on the opposite wall, as men carrying some sort of object slung from a pole. Even in Tristram's drawing, however, it is unclear whether the man on the far right actually holds the end of the pole, and in the restored frescoes this figure's arms are raised above the pole. We also cannot be sure that anything was slung from the pole because this area of the painting is largely lost. An alternative interpretation is that the 'pole' is actually the staff of a miracle worker, the figure to the left, who could be waving it at the figure to the right. The poor preservation of the wall paintings forbids any certainty, however.

[51] Tristram, *Wall Painting*, p. 189. He also suggested that the technique used at Corhampton is very like that of the wall paintings in Winchester, but his comparison lacks specificity.

[52] Tristram, *Wall Painting*, pp. 160–87; W. Oakeshott, *Sigena: Romanesque Paintings in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists* (London, 1972) [but see now D. Park, 'The wall paintings of the Holy Sepulchre chapel', *The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, vi [*Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral*] (1983), 38–62, at pp. 46–9].

paintings were quite possibly wall paintings in Winchester itself, but the ultimate model was very likely an illuminated manuscript. Narrative cycles in monumental art often depended upon illustrated books for their iconography. This was because narrative iconography was usually invented in the medium of illuminated manuscripts where the text was most closely associated with its illustration.[53] The use of manuscript miniatures as models for wall paintings was also facilitated by the fact that the same artists worked in both media. This is known to be the case with Winchester artists during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[54] Thus the Corhampton wall paintings raise the possibility of the former existence of illuminated manuscripts of the life and miracles of St Swithun.

The subject of illustrated lives of the saints has been little explored by historians of art,[55] but there is no doubt that at least a century before the Corhampton wall paintings this genre of illustrated text was no rarity in England. Among the extant manuscripts produced by English scriptoria during the twelfth century are illustrated lives of Cuthbert and Edmund,[56] and there were surely many other illuminated *vitae* which have not survived. The illustrated *Life and Miracles of St Edmund* in New York[57] is instructive about the factors which stimulated the illustration of a saint's life. This manuscript was produced at Bury St Edmunds where it was used for devotions at the shrine of the saint. The book contains a variety of different texts about the saint, and two of these were illustrated by the manuscript's extensive cycle of pictures. This lavish illustration was a mark of the special veneration and popularity of St Edmund at Bury, and usually when a book of a saint's life was illustrated in the early Middle Ages, it was made by a church which had a major shrine of a special cult of that particular saint.[58] At Winchester, too, books must have been produced in conjunction with Swithun's shrine, and an unillustrated example of one of these seems to have survived. British Library, Royal 15. C. VII is a Winchester manuscript of about the year 1000 which contains the texts by Lantfred and Wulfstan about the translation and posthumous miracles of St Swithun.[59] In such books different texts relating to a saint were gathered together, and it stands to reason that after the composition of additional miracles about Swithun in the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* and elsewhere, these texts would have been added to those of Lantfred and Wulfstan in the books associated with St Swithun's shrine. Certainly the anonymous *vita* was used for liturgical readings in honour of St Swithun, for in some of the manuscripts which preserve it, it is divided into eight *lectiones*.[60] This process of accretion can be seen in the Royal manuscript. On the final folios (fos. 124–6) of the manuscript, following the original texts of Lantfred and Wulfstan (written *c.*1000), scribes of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century date have added some miscellaneous material about St Swithun. Included in this additional matter is a metrical account of the miracle of

[53] K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, 2nd edn., Studies in Manuscript Illumination, ii (Princeton, NJ, 1970), pp. 37–46 *et passim*; also E. Kitzinger, 'The role of miniature painting in mural decoration', in his *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, NJ, 1975), pp. 99–142.

[54] O. Pächt, 'A cycle of English frescoes in Spain', *Burlington Magazine*, ciii (1961), 166–75; Oakeshott, *Sigena*, *passim*; L. M. Ayres, 'The work of the Morgan Master at Winchester and English painting of the early Gothic period', *Art Bulletin*, lvi (1974), 201–23, at pp. 212–13.

[55] F. Wormald, 'Some illustrated manuscripts of the lives of the saints', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv (1952–3), 248–66.

[56] Ibid. pp. 259–61; see also M. Baker, 'Medieval illustrations of Bede's *Life of St Cuthbert*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xli (1978), 16–49. [See now B. Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 33–60, 137–46.]

[57] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 736; see Wormald, 'Some illustrated manuscripts', p. 261; C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, iii (London, 1975), pp. 72–4 (no. 34).

[58] Wormald, 'Some illustrated manuscripts', pp. 261–2.

[59] For a description of the manuscript, see below, pp. 239–40.

[60] See above, pp. 104–5.

the eggs,[61] the very event depicted in the frescoes. The Bury St Edmunds manuscript in New York demonstrates that such composite hagiographical texts were sometimes illustrated. If this was true of one of the Swithun books from Winchester, it would readily explain the combination in the mural paintings at Corhampton of scenes illustrating two different texts: the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni*, or another similar account of his life, and one of the three narratives of the saint's posthumous miracles by Lantfred, Wulfstan, or Ælfric. Of course we must always bear in mind that all this is speculative; no illuminated copies of any text about Swithun are extant. Nonetheless, the scenes at Corhampton are unmistakable evidence that there once existed other sources with narrative cycles picturing the saint's deeds.

The remaining medieval representations of St Swithun, however, are all non-narrative. Among the saints portrayed in the late fourteenth-century stained glass windows of the chapel of Winchester College, founded in 1382 by William of Wykeham, was a standing figure of St Swithun.[62] Unfortunately, this window is now known only through the lifeless but accurate copy which replaced the original between 1827 and 1829. The saint is found in the lower left corner of the westernmost window on the north side of the chapel, and today this window is largely obscured by the organ gallery. The saint is shown in his episcopal garments holding his crozier and blessing—a standard iconographic type whose identity is only made clear by the inscription beneath the figure. The college chapel also possessed at least one other image of St Swithun which is now lost. A fifteenth-century inventory of the plate given to Winchester College by Wykeham and subsequent benefactors catalogues one item of gilded silver with an image of St Swithun.[63]

The last medieval representation of Swithun, like the first, was made for Winchester Cathedral. In the lower left-hand light of the great eastern window built by Bishop Fox (1501–28) there is a standing figure of an episcopal saint who is identified as St Swithun by the inscription below (pl. XI).[64] This glass cannot originally have been made for its present location, for the architecture cuts awkwardly into the design, but its original location is unknown. The glass has been dated stylistically to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Only six medieval images of St Swithun, ranging in date from the early to the late Middle Ages, are certainly known to have existed. Of these, only three are extant, although others might eventually be found.[65] The portrayal of the saint seems to have originated at Winchester in the later

[61] Ptd below, pp. 795–6. In my view this text does not seem to have been based on the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni*, but cf. discussion by M. Lapidge, below, pp. 793–4.

[62] J. D. Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass in Winchester* (Winchester, 1920), pp. 97–8; N. H. J. Westlake, *A History of Design in Painted Glass*, 4 vols. (London, 1881–94), iii. 16–20; and see also J. H. Harvey and D. G. King, 'Winchester College stained glass', *Archaeologia*, ciii (1971), 149–77.

[63] W. H. Gunner, 'Inventories of plate, given to the College of Winchester and to the College Chapel, by William of Wykeham, the founder, and subsequent benefactors', *ArchJ* x (1853), 235–40, at p. 237.

[64] Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass*, p. 35 and pl. 12; Westlake, *Painted Glass*, iv, pl. 19a. The window was restored in the mid-nineteenth century, but a reproduction of its original state was published by O. B. Carter, 'Painted or stained glass selected from Winchester Cathedral', *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, ii (1844), pt iii [pp. 1–4, with 15 pls.].

[65] There are other medieval images that have sometimes been identified as representations of Swithun, but these are unsubstantiated. A. Gardner (*English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 228, fig. 446) suggested that a colossal statue of a bishop now in the crypt of Winchester cathedral, said to come from the gable of the west front, might be St Swithun, but the figure could just as well depict some other saintly bishop. Another dubious figure of the saint is located in the westernmost clerestory window on the north side of the nave of the church of the Hospital of St Cross in Winchester. Dating from the late fifteenth century, this image of a bishop has an inscription identifying it as St Swithun. The figure has been much restored, however, and its inscription as well as its face are modern (see Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass*, p. 124). The same is true of the identifying inscription of the fifteenth-century image of St Swithun in one of the windows of the Old Library of Trinity College, Oxford: see M. Maclagan, *Trinity College 1555–1955* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 10–11; P. A. Newton, 'Stained glass at Oxford', in

tenth century as part of Bishop Æthelwold's promotion of the saint's cult which was designed to give Swithun the role of a heavenly supporter of the monastic reforms then being undertaken by the bishop and the king. In time, however, these propagandistic overtones of the images and cult of Swithun must have faded. Like the first depiction of the saint, all subsequent ones are associated directly or indirectly with Winchester, the centre of his cult. Winchester exported at least one image of the saint, possibly adorning a reliquary, to at least one other Anglo-Saxon centre (Sherborne), and later Winchester probably also provided the models for the frescoes at the parish church of Corhampton. The earliest representation of St Swithun utilized the conventional iconographic type of a standing pontifical saint, unusual only by virtue of its architectural symbolism. By the twelfth century the popularity of the saint had stimulated the development of narrative iconography. The texts both of his life and of his posthumous miracles were illustrated, perhaps first in the medium of illuminated manuscripts, but certainly in that of monumental wall painting. The existence of such a complex and developed iconography is proof enough that images of St Swithun must have been relatively plentiful in the Winchester region during the Middle Ages and that only a fraction of these have survived.

N. Pevsner and J. Sherwood, *Oxfordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 88. Finally, P. Nelson (*Ancient Glass in England 1170–1500* (London, 1913), p. 155) claimed that Swithun was represented in the third window from the west in the north aisle of St Mary Magdalene in Wiggenhall, Norfolk, but this ascription is founded upon the insufficient evidence of a fragmentary inscription reading either *-hun'* or *-bun'*: see C. Woodforde, *The Norwich School of Glass-Painting in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1950), p. 165 (no. 5).

8

ST SWITHUN IN MEDIEVAL LITURGICAL MUSIC

by SUSAN RANKIN

Two liturgical books copied for the use of the Old Minster, Winchester in the eleventh century attest to an impressive effort to compose liturgical music in honour of St Swithun, an enterprise which continued throughout the century. It is not only the main contents of each of the two 'Winchester tropers' (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473, henceforth C, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, henceforth O) which attest to a considerable interest in making an enhanced liturgy for the celebration of Swithun's feasts, but also the later history of both books. The earlier, C (pls. XII–XIV), was copied in the early decades of the century (perhaps in the 1020s, rather than at the beginning), while O (pl. XV), certainly dates from mid-century; but a substantial number of additions and alterations made by hands from as early as the first period of making of the books, through the mid to late eleventh century, and, in the case of O, well into the twelfth century, indicate that both stayed in active use for a good hundred years after each was made.[1] With the exception of a twenty-page missal fragment,[2] no other major source of chant copied for the Old Minster in this period survives; nevertheless the two tropers provide a wealth of information which seems to present a coherent picture of how the cult of St Swithun was given a broad and elaborate liturgical foundation.

In this period those ways in which the liturgy for the celebration of a saint's feast could be made specific to a local cult lay in additions to a common stock of material, rather than in changes to it. In the case of proper chants for the mass, it would have been highly unusual for a new set to have been composed, the Gregorian repertory associated with Rome being by this time regarded as appropriate

[1] On the content of the two tropers, see W. H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, HBS viii (London, 1894); for a full codicological description of the two, see also Holschneider, *Organa*. The trope repertory is studied and catalogued in Planchart, *Repertory*. On the dating of C, however, see now M. Lapidge, 'Autographs of Insular Latin authors of the early middle ages', in *Gli autografi medievali*, ed. P. Chiesa and L. Pinelli (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 103–36 [with 8 pls.], esp. 134–5. In addition, the theory proposed by Holschneider and Planchart, that O represents a mid-eleventh-century copy of a book first copied before the end of the tenth century, can now be refuted; see my forthcoming facsimile and study of C. O combines those parts of the liturgy normally copied in a Gradual with a repertory of tropes; while the Gradual used as an exemplar probably did date from the late tenth century (exactly when the Winchester liturgy would have been needing new, properly organised books in the wake of the Benedictine reform)—and all the arguments adduced by Holschneider and Planchart can be explained on the basis of the arrangement of a Gradual—there is no reason to suppose that the trope repertory copied in O also dates from that time. The later hands in O include several of the twelfth century. David Hiley dates the changes made to the sequence notations as late as the late twelfth century: 'Changes in English chant repertories in the eleventh century', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xvi (1994), 137–54.

[2] Now Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 173. On the origin of this fragment, see now R. M. Thomson and M. Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 116.

and sufficient for most purposes. Thus, the five proper chants for mass on Swithun's main feast (the deposition on 2 July) listed by C and O were standard choices for confessor saints:[3]

Introit	*Statuit ei* Ps. *Misericordias Domini*
Gradual	*Iurauit Dominus* ℣. *Dixit Dominus*
Alleluia	℣. *Beatus uir*
Offertory	*Inueni Dauid* ℣. *Potens es* ℣. *Veritas mea*[4]
Communion	*Fidelis seruus.*[5]

For the translation feast (15 July) the same Introit, Offertory and Communion were used, with the Gradual *Domine preuenisti* ℣. *Vitam petiit*[6] and *Alleluia* ℣. *Iustus germinabit.* All of these chants have biblical texts[7] and all five belong to the repertory of Gregorian chant codified in writing in books extant from the late eighth century onwards.

In order to render liturgy for the Swithun feasts more specific to the saint, and celebratory of his standing and ability to intercede on behalf of those who petitioned him, what the Winchester cantors could do was to add new composition around these older chants: tropes for the Introit, Offertory and Communion chants and sequences to follow the Alleluia. In this adoption of standard material and elaboration around it Winchester cantors were absolutely in line with practice north of the Alps since the late ninth century (from which time the earliest written examples of these new kinds of composition can be dated).

In addition, there is evidence of new composition for the Offices on Swithun's feasts also, again in a form by then standard, a cycle of responsories. And here the evidence of creativity is striking: none of the thirteen responsories appears to have itself been composed for Swithun (all, like the mass propers, being drawn from material in wide circulation), but what actually survives in C is polyphonic settings of these chants, from a time when no comparable cycle was notated anywhere else in Europe. One other category of composition in Swithun's honour may have had a use in the Office. It is hard to tell, however, whether such forms as abecedarian hymns had a direct liturgical use.

i. TROPES

The earliest trope collections now extant date from the late ninth century, becoming more numerous and larger in the tenth century; for the eleventh century a substantial number of collections from all regions of western Europe survive.[8] While the idea of elaborating Gregorian

[3] For the several feasts of St Swithun, see discussion by Michael Lapidge, above, p. 74.

[4] Neither C nor O has an incipit for the second offertory verse here, but, in that part of O where offertories and their verses are notated in full, both verses are included (fo. 117v).

[5] The votive mass for St Swithun included in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 (the 'Red Book of Darley'), a manuscript associated with the New Minster, has the same propers except for the Alleluia, where *Alleluia* ℣. *Amavit eum dominus* is used; the votive mass is discussed and ptd by Michael Lapidge, above, pp. 80–2.

[6] In O (fo. 47v) a rubric following the incipit *Domine preuenisti* refers the user to the liturgy for the feast of St Benedict (21 March), where this gradual has its usual verse *Vitam petiit.*

[7] *Statuit ei*: Ecclus. 45: 30; *Misericordias Domini* Ps. 88: 2; *Iurauit Dominus* Ps. 109: 4; *Dixit Dominus* Ps. 109: 1; *Beatus uir* Jas. 1: 12; *Inueni Dauid* Ps. 88: 21, 22; *Potens es* Ps. 88: 9, 20; *Veritas mea* Ps. 88: 25, 30; *Fidelis seruus* Luke 12: 42; *Domine preuenisti* + *Vitam petiit* Ps. 20: 3, 4; *Iustus germinabit* Hos. 14: 6.

[8] For editions of trope elements, lists of how they were used and of their sources, see the volumes of *Corpus Troporum* in the series *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* (*Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis*), especially vols. xxi and xxv; also A. Haug, *Troparia Tardiva*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia, i (Kassel, 1995).

chants with added music and text was certainly Carolingian in genesis, the large repertories of the tenth and eleventh centuries show to what extent the procedure was favoured by later cantors. As one institution shared with another its own ways of troping, so each institution could absorb some of the material it received from the other and then set about composing more in imitation, or in order to integrate the received material into a home repertory. In this way some tropes became widely diffused, while others never moved beyond the confines of the locale for which they were first composed. At the point at which trope repertories appear in Winchester books, it seems likely that the practice had developed at the Old Minster in the wake of the Benedictine reform of the late tenth century, although it may well have been known and recognised earlier in the tenth century. The extent to which the Winchester repertory is dominated by verse composition, above all, hexameters, can be linked to an approach to literary art prominent in the work of the poet-cantor Wulfstan, and presumably adopted by his students.[9] Comparison of the content and extent of the trope repertories copied in C and O indicates that, by the time C was copied, a fully functioning and well organized trope repertory was in use in the Old Minster liturgy. Additions to this which appear in the later book O demonstrate a continuing interest in expansion of the repertory and thus in using the medium of tropes for creative expression.

Since the Roman chant associated with the name of Gregory and inherited by churches throughout Europe was sung in an unchanging form, tropes—usually set between the individual phrases of the Roman chant—represented a way of elaborating standard chants and thereby raising the level of celebration on special days. And in the situation of an individual feast, temporal or sanctoral, tropes could be used to elucidate the meaning of a biblical text in a particular way, to highlight specific aspects of the feast, to set out and celebrate the qualities of a local saint. A trope set included in the first layer of both C (see pl. XII) and O will show how this worked. In the text below, the trope elements appear in lower case letters, and the chant text, to which the tropes have been added, in capitals. A transcription of the Winchester version is given as fig. 4; its text reads as follows:[10]

Os ky hereos kata tin taxin Melchisedech
STATVIT [EI DOMINVS TESTAMENTVM PACIS]
Vt uigeat summus stola uernante sacerdos
ET PRINCIPEM [FECIT EVM]
Inter primates regni caelestis heriles
VT SIT [ILLI SACERDOTII DIGNITAS]
Grex tuus Swithune petit memorare tuorum
IN ETERNVM.

The chant text, from Ecclus. 45: 30, describes the relation between God and a man who had become a political and religious leader; for this God had conferred the office of priesthood on the man. The introductory trope element, in transliterated Greek, quotes directly from Ps. 109: 4 (itself quoted by

[9] It is not that hexameters are absent from other trope repertories; in fact they could be described as one of the standard types of early tropes. But only one other repertory is more dominated by hexameter compositions than that of Winchester, namely that from the abbey of Reichenau, copied in a manuscript dated to just before 1001, now Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 5.

[10] For a translation, see above, p. 92. In the transcription of this set of trope elements I have been greatly aided by the discussions and tabulated transcriptions in W. Arlt, 'Musikalische Texte: Introitustropen für einen Bischofs-Heiligen' (unpublished paper). Most of the Winchester melodies concord closely with those transmitted in Provins BM 12; for the second trope element (*Vt uigeat*), the melody in Paris, BNF, lat. 909 seemed closer in detail to the Winchester neumes.

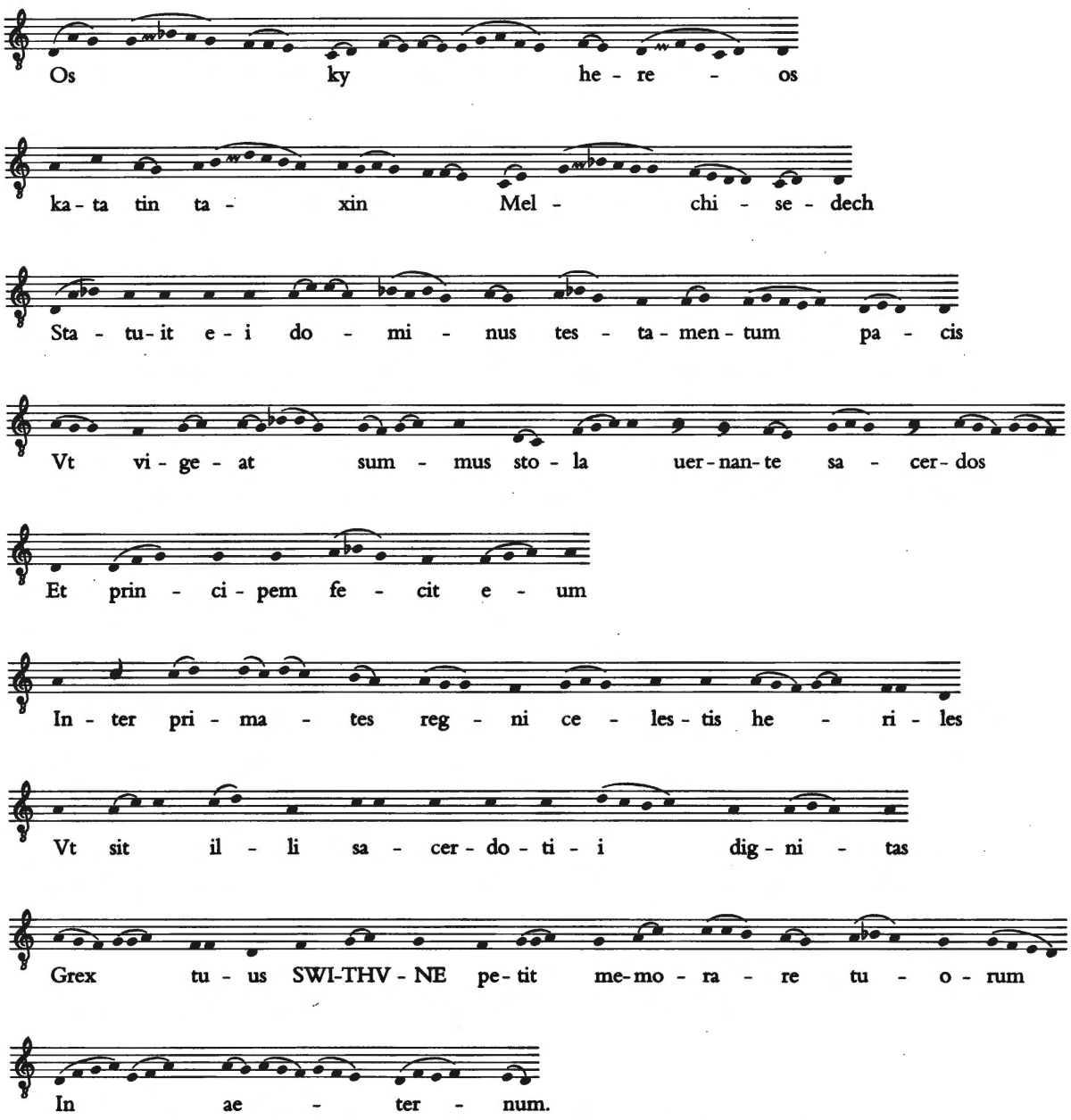


FIG. 4. The trope set 'Os ky hereos' for the Introit *Statuit ei Dominus* (cf. pl. XII)

Paul in Hebr. 5: 6):[11] 'You are a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech.' In this way the concept of priesthood and the enduring nature of this quality are introduced, well ahead of the chant text's arrival with these issues (in the third and fourth phrases). The next trope element again emphasizes God's elevation of the saint to the priesthood, signalled by his 'radiant stole'. The third trope element takes its cue more directly from the chant, but brings to it the sense of the saint

[11] For the Greek original of this phrase, see above, p. 92.

addressed as one of the company of heavenly saints. With the third phrase of the chant, this placing of the saint as a Christian priest, chosen by God, with a place in heaven comes to an end; the fourth trope element again addresses the saint (now named as Swithun) directly, asking that he remembers his own, that is, the community at Winchester where he became a priest. The last two words of the chant, 'in eternum', are now dissociated from 'the dignity of the priesthood' and attached to the idea that Swithun should remember his own flock. As a whole, the added trope elements have brought colour to the chant text, giving it a clear local resonance, setting a context for the standing of the saint addressed, and evoking images of heavenly radiance. The directness of contact with the saint, whose shrine stands within the church where the tropes are sung, is accentuated by the use of the first person in the first and last trope elements.

Musically the trope lines are integrated into the chant as easily as the text; they use the same mode (Dorian authentic), usually begin and/or end on the same pitches as the chant phrases end and/or begin, and adopt many of the same modal patterns as the chant. In this way the music allows the new trope elements to be added to the old chant phrases without movement between the two being conspicuous. Nevertheless, the music continues, as was normal in chant, to articulate sense units of the text, enhancing clarity of expression. It is worth noting that all four trope elements in this set were widely diffused; indeed the set was known in virtually all regions for which tropers have survived, from Aquitaine to St Gallen, from northern France to northern Italy. Given the appropriateness of the set to celebration of a local saint, this is no surprise: any confessor saint could be celebrated in the terms proposed. The liturgical composers of the Old Minster merely showed themselves as able as any others to exploit this new liturgical form.

The two Winchester books preserve a total of seven sets of tropes for the feasts of Swithun's deposition (2 July) and translation (15 July). These are listed in Table 3 and include five sets for the Introit, one set for the Offertory and one individual trope element for the Communion. Everything which might have been troped was provided for. The series of tropes in the two sources are not presented identically; while both books have the same Offertory and Communion tropes, C has in its first layer just three Introit sets, all for the deposition. These same sets appear in O also, but in a different constellation, now with two new sets—which were themselves added to C around the same time as O was copied (or even before). While the original layer of C dealt only with the deposition, and the tropes added later received no rubric, the five sets in O encompassed both the deposition and translation feasts (see Table 4).

Knowing that C was copied up to thirty years before O, the time of one generation, it is possible to see in the differences between the two repertories signs of continuing development of the liturgy for Swithun's feasts. And once we add to this the knowledge that the three original sets in C were based on continental models, whereas the two new sets added to C and present in the first layer of O represent new Winchester composition, it can be argued that, after the initial work to set up a trope repertory, including tropes for Swithun's deposition (which could have been sung on the translation feast also), Winchester cantors of the second quarter of the eleventh century set themselves to making new compositions in honour of Swithun. Once available, these took pride of place on the deposition feast, relegating two based on continental models to the translation feast.

In the expanded trope repertory copied in the mid-eleventh-century book O, only one other saint has more tropes than Swithun; as we might expect, the BVM has tropes for four feasts (Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, Nativity). In another respect, however, the Swithun tropes

TABLE 3

Tropes for St Swithun's feasts in C and O

Type	*Incipit*	*ms*	*date of copying*
Introit set	Ecce dies magni	C fo. 39r (Dep)	1st layer
	Rex regum	O fo. 47r (Trans)	1st layer
	Digne Christe		
	Qui bene certauit		
Introit set	Diuini fuerat	C fo. 39r–v (Dep)	1st layer
	Et pactum uitae	O fo. 47r–v (Trans)	1st layer
	Incensumque		
Introit set	Os ky hereos	C fo. 39v (Dep)	1st layer
	Vt uigeat summus	O fo. 46v (Dep)	1st layer
	Inter primates		
	Grex tuus Swithune		
Introit set	Ecce patronus	C fo. 78v (Dep)	s. xi^{med}
	Quod maneat solido	O fo. 46r (Dep)	1st layer
	Ordine Melchisedech		
	O Swithune		
Introit set	Aurea lux	C fo. 78v (Dep)	s. xi^{med}
	Gentibus Anglorum	O fo. 46r–v (Dep)	1st layer
	Pontificale decus		
	Cuius nos meritis		
Offertory set	Hos inter mea	C fos. 39v–40r	1st layer
	Egregium virtute	O fo. 46v (Dep)	1st layer
	Vinceret inuictus	O fo. 47v (Trans)	1st layer
Offertory ℣	O Dee uirtutum	C fos. 39v–40r	1st layer
		O fo. 46v (Dep)	1st layer
Communion	**Quam bene letatur**	C fo. 40r	1st layer
		O fo. 47r (Dep)	1st layer
		O fo. 47v (Trans)	1st layer

TABLE 4

Organization of Introit tropes for St Swithun's feasts in C and O

C: Deposition	O: Deposition	O: Translation
Ecce dies magni		Ecce dies magni
Diuini fuerat		Diuini fuerat
Os ky hereos		
Ecce patronus	Ecce patronus	
Aurea lux	Aurea lux	
	Os ky hereos	
(added after copying of 1st layer)		

TABLE 5
Use of 'Swithun' tropes on other feast days

Introit	Ecce dies magni	Birinus
	Diuini fuerat	Birinus
	Os ky hereos	Martin
Offertory	Hos inter mea	Martin, Birinus
Communion	Quam bene letatur	Benedict, Martin, Birinus, Common conf.

follow a standard Winchester pattern, since three sets of Introit tropes, followed by one Offertory and one Communion set respectively, evidently formed the normal complement for a high saint's day.[12] It is also worth noting that only two of the trope sets sung on Swithun's feasts were reserved exclusively for these, the others all shared out for other occasions (see Table 5). That sharing was a natural consequence of the fact that for several saints of the rank confessor the same Introit, Offertory and/or Communion chants were sung: the Introit *Statuit ei* for the two Swithun feasts and for the feasts of Æthelwold, Martin, Birinus, and the Common of a confessor; the Offertory *Inveni David* for Swithun, Martin and Birinus; and the Communion *Fidelis seruus* for Swithun, Benedict, Martin, Birinus, and the Common of a Confessor. In addition, the parallel between tropes for Swithun and for Birinus reflects real parallels in the way they were venerated by the Winchester monks. St Birinus (d. 650) had been buried in Winchester since *c.*690, and his relics were moved to a new shrine in the Old Minster on 4 September 980. As in the case of Swithun, it was Bishop Æthelwold who had instigated these proceedings and who organized the building of the new shrine.

ii. MODELS FOR THE TROPE SETS

All three Introit trope sets included in C have extensive concordances, above all in French sources. The set beginning *Ecce dies magni* appears in nine Aquitainian and southern French sources of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and in two northern French sources of the same period.[13] In all except one of these it is used to celebrate St Martin, and that is probably the guise under which it came to Winchester. As transmitted in the Winchester books, there are two prominent differences between on the one hand, the Insular and northern French versions, and on the other, the southern French versions. Each group has a different version of the third trope element. In the Aquitainian and southern French books this reads (in prose):

Constituens digna ministrantem dona
superna patris in excelso pontificem solio
VT SIT ILLI SACERDOTII DIGNITAS

In the Insular and northern French sources this reads (as an elegiac couplet):

Digne, Christe, tibi famulantem constituisti
patris in excelso pontificem solio
VT SIT ILLI SACERDOTII DIGNITAS

[12] See the table in Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 80–2.

[13] See ibid. ii. 168–9.

The second difference between the two groups of sources is that they do not share the same melodies; unfortunately, this means that it is impossible to transcribe the Winchester melodies, since no concordances with notation in precise pitches survives.[14] It is likely then that the set came to Winchester through northern French hands, and was adopted not only for the feast of St Martin but for other confessors also.

Likewise, the three elements of the *Diuini fuerat* set were in wide use on the Continent, for a whole series of saints including Martin, Remaclus, Marcellus, Silvester, Nicolas, Columbanus, and Martial.[15] And the three were not always kept together, each ending up in other constellations of trope sets. But in the form used at Winchester, linked to three parts of the base chant *Statuit ei*, the set appears in books from St Gallen, southern France, and a long list of Italian centres. The case that the trope set came to Winchester from elsewhere is thus irrefutable.

Of the offertory and communion tropes it is hard to say much: *Quam bene letatur* has one French concordance (in the late eleventh-century manuscript now Paris, BNF, lat. 13252, from Saint-Magloire in Paris), and is also included in the third Insular troper, now London, BL, Cotton Caligula A. xiv. The offertory set remains distinctly within the realms of the two Winchester books (with a multiplicity of uses there). These may represent Winchester compositions, but may equally well have come from elsewhere.

iii. NEW TROPE COMPOSITIONS

The two new Winchester sets, *Ecce patronus* and *Aurea lux hodie,* form a pair, intended to be sung as part of one singing of the Introit; this could incorporate the third set *Os ky hereos* or not, as the occasion demanded, following this scheme (O, fo. 46r–v; see pl. XV):

Ecce patronus adest meritis signisque refulgens
de quo dulcisonum pertonat officium
STATVIT [EI DOMINVS TESTAMENTVM PACIS]
Quod maneat solido firmum per secula pacto
ET PRINCIPEM [FECIT EVM]
Ordine Melchisedech libamina sacra ferentem
VT SIT ILLI [SACERDOTII DIGNITAS]
O Suuithune tuos defende benignus alumpnos
IN ETERNVM.

Ps. MISERICORDIAS DOMINI [IN ETERNVM CANTABO:
IN GENERATIONE ET GENERATIONE ANNVNTIABO
VERITATEM TVAM IN ORE MEO.]

STATVIT EI [DOMINVS TESTAMENTVM PACIS
ET PRINCIPEM FECIT EVM
VT SIT ILLI SACERDOTII DIGNITAS
IN ETERNVM.

GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO ET SPIRITVI SANCTO
SICVT ERAT IN PRINCIPIO ET NVNC ET SEMPER ET
IN SECVLA SECVLORVM. AMEN

[14] Planchart (*Repertory*, i. 350–89) provides a comparative transcription of the two sets of melodies.
[15] For the concordances, see Planchart, *Repertory*, ii. 167–8.

Ad repetendum

Aurea lux hodie rutilat Suuithunus in orbe
qui quia pacificus fuerat mitissimus atque
STATVIT EI DOMINVS TESTAMENTVM PACIS
Gentibus Anglorum pacem mittendo per illum
ET PRINCIPEM FECIT EVM
Pontificale decus concessit eique benignitas
VT SIT ILLI SACERDOTII DIGNITAS
Huius nos meritis Christus conscribat in astris
IN ETERNVM.

(continues *Os ky hereos kata tin taxin Melchisedech*).

As local compositions not found in other books, and therefore never appearing in a pitched notation, neither of the two Winchester sets can be transcribed. But their texts demonstrate an excellent grasp of the potential of tropes for local expression. Formally the two sets match closely, each consisting of a pair of verse lines (hexameter and pentameter, or two hexameters) placed before the first chant phrase, and three other hexameters enclosed between subsequent phrases of the chant. And in their context there are many echoes: each begins with evocations of the tomb and of light shining from it. Each then takes up the theme of peace, achieved through the saint's closeness to the Father, and priesthood, both introduced by the Introit antiphon itself (based on Ecclus. 45: 30). And finally, in the last verse of each trope set the keepers of Swithun's shrine are remembered. Here the first set has the stronger formulation 'O gentle Swithun protect your followers FOR EVER', but the earthly implications of this are nicely complemented by the last verse of the *Aurea lux* set: 'May Christ enrol us in the heavens through his merits FOR EVER'.

It is a central characteristic of trope texts and their melodies to relate to the chant to which they are bound by developing and interpreting its sense. These two Winchester trope sets have achieved this in an interesting and highly focussed manner. In each it is the central lines which connect most directly with the themes of the Introit antiphon. But the framework provided for this by the beginning and end of each trope set deals with matters of current local concern: Swithun's shrine, the miracles worked there, the needs of the monks who tend it, and the mass of celebration which is now beginning ('in his honour a sweet service resounds'). That is, it is not finally the chant which provides a context for the tropes, but the reverse, with the shrine of Swithun as an anchor, just as that shrine provided an immediate source of intercession with God.

iv. SEQUENCES

C and O together include five sequences which name the saint in rubrics, and/or within the text (see Table 6).[16]

[16] Much of the sequence repertory in both manuscripts lacks rubrics. On the Winchester sequence repertory, see Frere, *Winchester Troper*, and D. Hiley, 'Editing the Winchester sequence repertory of ca. 1000', *Cantus Planus [International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus]. Papers read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, ed. L. Dobszay, P. Halász, J. Mezei and G. Prószéky (Budapest, 1990), pp. 99–113; idem, 'Changes in English chant repertories'; and idem, 'The repertory of sequences at Winchester', in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. G. M. Boone, Isham Library Papers, iv (Harvard, 1995), 153–93. The sequences for St Swithun discussed here are printed and translated above, pp. 94–101.

TABLE 6
Sequences for feasts of St Swithun in C and O

Incipit	*ms*	*date of copying*	*dedication*
Via lux ueritas	C fo. 87v	1st layer	Swithun
(Mel: *Via lux ueritas*)	O fo. 126v	1st layer	Æthelwold
as prose *Laude celebret*	O fos. 165r–166r	1st layer	Æthelwold
Laude resonet (Mel: *Ecce quam bonum*)	C fo. 130r–v	1st layer	Birinus & Swithun
Alma cohors (without notation)	O fo. 182r–v	s. xi^{2}	Swithun
Psallat ecclesia	C fo. 192v–193r	s. xi/xii	Swithun
(Mel: Quoniam Deus [minor])	O fo. 189r–v	s. xi^{ex}	
Gaudens Christi (Mel: Quoniam Deus [minor])	O fo. 134v–135r	s. xi^{med}	Swithun

Via lux ueritas

At the time of copying of C (see pl. XIII), this was already a well-known sequence, and, as a 'partially-texted' piece, of a kind with parallels in the oldest extant sequence collections.[17] It consisted of a long melody, with text only for short passages of that melody; the whole combined purely musical expression with texted passages. The oldest extant sources of *Via lux ueritas* date from the late tenth century and were copied in Aquitaine and southern France. There the sequence was associated with Stephen, both in its partially texted form, as well as in the fully texted prose (with one syllable for every tone in the melody) *Celsa polorum*. Whether the sequence reached Winchester in only one or in both these forms, it was soon used in both ways, first in the partially texted version which names Swithun (C) and then in a prose *Laude celebret* in honour of Æthelwold (O). The version in C is transcribed in fig. 5;[18] its text reads as follows:

Alleluia

1a Via lux ueritas
paxque tuorum
omnia per tempora.

1b Preces et munera
hac domo sacra
suscipe per secula

2a Et piis precibus almi
omnibus SVVITHVNI
relaxa peccamina.

2b Regna concede beata
sanctorum in gloria
et sancta tabernacula.

[17] On nine early examples of such sequences, see B. Stäblein, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, xviii (1961), 1–33, esp. pp. 8–10.

[18] In order to make a transcription from notation which only gives partial (and relative) information about pitches, it is necessary to use continental sources which provide precisely pitched notations; here, the most clearly concordant versions of the melody were found in BNF, lat. 1121, fos. 59v–60r and BNF, n.a. lat. 1871, fos. 77v–78r. The letters d and x are reproduced in the transcription exactly in the positions they appear in the original: they indicate whether that part of the melody which they follow is to be repeated (d: duplex) or sung once only (x: semel).

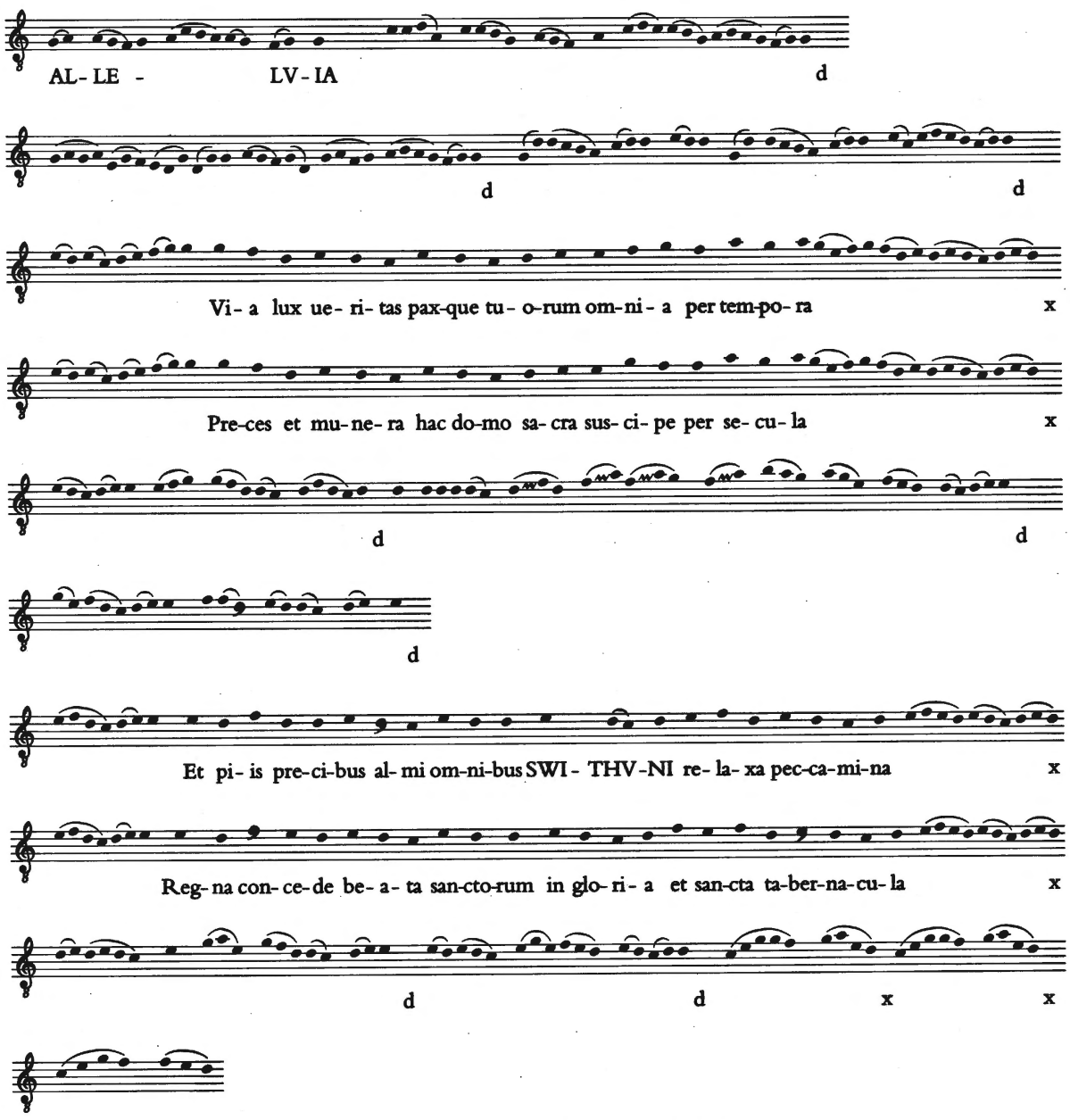


FIG. 5. The sequence *Via lux ueritas* (cf. pl. XIII)

Laude resonet

The other Swithun sequence copied in the first layer of C shares its melody with a sequence for St Benedict, *Laudum carmina*,[19] and with a sequence for confessor's feasts copied in the first layer of O (fo. 164r–v), *Cantent te Christe*. Here the melody is named *Prota*. At the end of this sequence another (contemporary) hand has added a phrase in praise of Benedict.

Alma choors

This was added to O at some time not long after the mid-eleventh century, but never received notation. In fact, it often appears in Norman liturgies for confessors, sung to the melody *Alle boans*.[20]

Psallat ecclesia and *Gaudens christi*

These two sequences appear as later additions, the first in both manuscripts (and copied by fairly similar hands) and the second only in O. Both use the melody *Quoniam Deus minor* which is also shared by *Caelum mare tellus* in honour of St Birinus, and copied in the first layers of both C (fo. 125r–v) and O (fo. 159r–v).[21] On the Continent this melody was more usually associated with the text (for Stephen) *Magnus Deus*.[22]

Among these five sequences none appears to have had a new melody composed at Winchester. But it would have been unusual to find that. Following the common practice, the Winchester sequence composers created new texts for existing melodic models or, in the case of *Via lux ueritas* and *Alma choors*, took over the text as well as the melody from French models and simply substituted Swithun's name.

v. AN OFFICE FOR ST SWITHUN

Within that part of C which contains second voices to be sung with chants—creating two-part polyphony with the base chants which are not notated here—there appears on fos. 186v–189r under the heading 'ISTORIA DE SANCTO SVVITHVNO' (see pl. XIV) a series of responsories in honour of St Swithun. This set of polyphonic voices for thirteen responsories, some with their verses but most without, is clearly intended to form part of a proper Office in honour of St Swithun. (In setting parts of an Office in polyphony, the responsories—certain portions of which were usually sung by soloists—

[19] The Benedict sequence appears in London, BL, Cotton Caligula A. xiv; see *Anglo-French Sequelae*, ed. H. M. Bannister and A. Hughes (London, 1934), who give a version of the melody at pp. 37–8.

[20] See Hiley, 'Changes in English chant repertories', p. 148.

[21] In C this was extensively rewritten in the late eleventh/early twelfth century, while in O there are also extensive alterations, made at some time in the second half of the eleventh century.

[22] For a version of the melody, see Bannister and Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelae*, p. 69.

[23] In the cycle of 169 organa copied in C, the Office pieces include Office responsories, often the eighth and twelfth of Matins (the last of the second and third nocturns) and responsories sung in processions. On these polyphonic voices, see Holschneider, *Organa*, and S. Rankin, 'Winchester polyphony: the early theory and practice of organum', in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy. Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. S. Rankin and D. Hiley (Oxford, 1992), pp. 59–99. The Winchester responsories do not display consistency in those portions of responsories which are set in polyphony; often the whole responsory, without the verse, will appear in C; at other times part of the verse will be set, and at still other times, not all of the responsory will be set. In this sense the practice of singing liturgical chant polyphonically appears less regulated than in later medieval periods.

were usually chosen for such treatment.[23]) Likewise the title 'istoria' set at the head of the series implies at least the intention to create such an Office, if not its actual existence.[24] New compositions of this kind had appeared from the late ninth century onwards: usually they included antiphons, responsories and hymns for all the Office hours. Often the texts were in verse (leading to the now common term 'rhymed Office') and the chants were often set to melodies following a modal order, Dorian authentic (I) for the first antiphon of First Vespers, Dorian plagal (II) for the second antiphon of First Vespers, and so on. Some doubt about the stage reached at the time of copying of the polyphonic voices for the Swithun responsories is raised by the numbers VII, VIII and VIIII included on fo. 188v for the ninth, tenth and eleventh responsories in the series, as well as by the disorder of the series when set against similar material in other sources. And one of the texts used raises issues of suitability: the fourth responsory, *Pater insignis*, used elsewhere exclusively for St Benedict, makes reference to 'utrumque ordinem'.[25] For St Benedict this makes easier sense than for St Swithun.

The lack of extant medieval books of Office liturgy from Winchester renders it impossible to set these Swithun responsories into the implied context of a full proper Office; nevertheless, that such an Office was incorporated into the liturgy of the Old Minster in the eleventh century is virtually indisputable.[26] The only way to explore what lay behind these thirteen Swithun responsories, then, is through comparison of the order and content of the thirteen responsories with material in books from elsewhere; this can reveal common patterns of association, degrees of diffusion or rarity, standard and non-standard types of use. Looking outside the Old Minster, C remains the earliest source of information about chants for Insular Office liturgies, but a small number of Insular monastic antiphoners and breviaries allows the juxtaposition of similar materials of a kind which often did not change markedly across centuries of use. The number of continental Office antiphoners dating from before the early eleventh century—and thus able to give some sense of what might have been received at Winchester in the wake of the Benedictine reform—is likewise small. At this stage, it is worth considering the context of the Swithun series in C: for the collection of polyphonic voices has generally only one or two responsories for each feast, with the exception of three substantial series, of which that for Swithun was copied last. All three were copied within one gathering and form the main content of that gathering, as follows:

fos. 181r–182v	Trinity: 10 responsories
fos. 183r–185r	evangelist's feast: 12 responsories
fos. 185v–186r	Sunday before Palm Sunday: 1 responsory
	Pentecost: 1 responsory
	All Saints: 1 responsory
	St Iustus: 1 responsory
fos. 186v–189r	Swithun: 13 responsories
fos. 189v–190r	St John Baptist: 1 responsory
	St Peter: 2 responsories
fo. 190v	later additions (s. xi^{med}): 2 Alleluias

[24] On the term 'historia', see R. Jonsson, *Historia. Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, xv (Stockholm, 1968), and discussion by Lapidge, above, pp. 122–3.

[25] See discussion by Lapidge, above, p. 125.

[26] A fragment of a twelfth-century antiphoner now in Finland, Helsinki, University Library, F. m. I no. 1 (see discussion by Lapidge, above, pp. 125–8, together with pl. VII), but possibly copied in England, has the beginning of Matins for Swithun's feast, with the responsories *O quam admirabilis*, *Ecce uere Israhelita*, and *Gloriosus uir*. This represents the only direct confirmation that the polyphonic pieces in C really did represent an Office in honour of St Swithun in the process of composition or already in use.

TABLE 7
Matins reponsories for an evangelist's feast

	D/S/F	Insular: C	W	H	Du	P	E
In uisione Dei	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Quattuor facies	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Similitudo uultus	3	4	3	4	4	4	4
Facies et pennas	4	3	4	3	3	3	3
Similitudo aspectus	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Quattuor animalia	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Cum aspicerem	7	12	7	7	7	7	7
Statura erat	8	7	8	8	8	8	10
Cum ambularent	9	8	9	9	9	9	9
Euntibus animalibus	10	9	10	10	10	10	11
Audiebam sonum	11	11	11	11	11	11	8
Species firmamenti	12	10	12	12	12	12	12

Besides comparison of the Swithun responsories with those in other sources, therefore, the manner of handling the Trinity and evangelist's series can also be assessed against other material, broadening our knowledge of what the Winchester liturgists had available to them and what they were attempting to accomplish in each the three series of polyphonic settings.[27]

The series of twelve responsories for the celebration of an evangelist's feast has the simplest relation to other sources of the same pieces of all three sets. C has twelve full responsories, with verse incipits (mostly with notation of the chant melody of the latter, rather than of a second voice). Unlike the preceding Trinity series, there are no rubricated numbers here. In fact, this series was widely copied, until the later Middle Ages exclusively in monastic liturgies. Most striking is a total absence of variation: this set of responsories always consists of the same twelve (see Table 7).[28] Happily, the series in C conforms to this pattern. This consistency implies composition well before the set reached Winchester, certainly not at the Old Minster. Where the C set differs from others is precisely where divergence appears elsewhere, that is, in the ordering. But even here the variations from one source to another are relatively minimal. Leaving the Winchester series aside for a moment, Table 7 shows fairly high levels of consistency on the one hand between the French and Spanish sources, and, on the other, between five post-Conquest Insular monastic books. Those from Hyde, Coldingham and Peterborough have identical orders, with only one rearrangement of the Worcester order (*Similitudo uultus* followed by *Facies et pennas* rather than vice versa); Ely presents the group *Statura erat, Cum ambularent, Euntibus animalibus, Species firmamenti* in a jumbled fashion. To the order presented in the later Insular sources the C series has a close relation. Above all, it has *Similitudo uultus* followed by *Facies et pennas,* in

[27] On these responsory series, see also M. Huglo, 'The Winchester Alleluia and Responsory series', in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, ed. Rankin and Hiley, pp. 47–58.

[28] The French and northern Spanish monastic sources used in this table (D = Saint-Denis, s. xi; S = Silos, s. xi; F = Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, s. xi) are edited in R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–79) [henceforth cited as *CAO*]. The Insular sources are: W = Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160 (the 'Antiphoner of Worcester Cathedral', s. xiii); H = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson liturg. e. 1* (the 'Breviary of Hyde Abbey', s. xiii^{ex}); Du = London, BL, Harley 4664 (from Coldingham Priory, a cell of Durham, s. xiii^{ex}); P = Cambridge, Magdalene College F. 4. 10 (the 'Antiphoner of Peterborough Cathedral', s. xiv^{in}); E = Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 20 (a breviary of Ely Cathedral, s. xv).

contrast to the French and Spanish books and the Worcester Antiphoner. After that, its only divergence from the pattern represented in Worcester, Hyde, Coldingham and Peterborough is the placing of *Cum aspicerem* between *Quattuor animalia* and *Statura erat.* This looks so out of line with all the other sources that it might represent something other than a performance order; for example, an omission in error or because of a lack of polyphonic notation, could have been later rectified by the inclusion of this responsory at the end of the series.

In summary, comparison with early French, Spanish and Insular sources indicates that (a) Winchester received a set of twelve responsories, which it retained without textual alteration; (b) the order of pieces in C—with the exception of *Cum aspicerem*—probably represents a performance order (whether imposed at Winchester, or merely in imitation of what was received, we cannot tell); (c) in making polyphonic voices a policy of setting the responsories and not the verses (in contrast to the Trinity series) was adopted.

The Trinity series in C consists of ten responsories, with the added numbers I to VIIII for the first to ninth pieces respectively, and then XII for the tenth piece; that is, the series presents polyphonic settings of the first nine and then the twelfth (and last) responsory of Matins. In every case, not only the responsory, but also its verse is set in full. A Trinity Office, including antiphons and responsories for all the canonical hours, had been composed *c.*900, probably by Bishop Stephen of Liège;[29] as a secular Office, this had only nine responsories for Matins rather than the twelve needed for a monastic Office. Clearly different institutions found different ways to make the necessary extensions: at Hyde Abbey, three more responsories were added after the first nine, while at Fleury, one more was inserted between the second and third responsory of each of three nocturns. As Table 8 reveals, there is considerable variety among the choices for extra responsories, with clear patterns of agreement between French sources and between Insular sources.[30] All of the latter include *Benedictio et claritas*,[31] and all except C include *Vnus est Dominus*; since C has only ten responsories, this could well have been included in a Winchester series but omitted from this source. A conspicuous omission from C is *Gloria patri et genitique proli*, usually sung in the second nocturn, following the fifth or sixth reading. And a consequence of that omission was the disturbance of the modal order of melodies: in the original set of nine this order went modes I-VIII, and then IV for the ninth, originally last responsory of Matins. The omission of *Gloria patri et genitique proli* is repeated in three later Insular monastic sources, from Worcester, Peterborough and Ely. But the chant is restored in the Worcester antiphoner (copied two centuries after the other Worcester book listed here, CCCC 391), in the Hyde Abbey Breviary and in the Coldingham Breviary. All of this suggests that the omission of *Gloria patri et genitique proli* from the series in C does not represent an error or omission, but the way in which the Office was being handled at Winchester.[32] As with the responsories for an evangelist's feast, the order of pieces in C is very close to practice elsewhere; indeed, it is identical with those of Peterborough and Ely, as far as the tenth and last piece notated in C. It is thus possible to argue, even on the basis of a relatively small

[29] See Jonsson, *Historia*, pp. 164–6 and Appendix II.

[30] In addition to the sources listed listed above, n. 27, this table includes (from *CAO*): G = a North French antiphoner, s. xi: Ha = the Hartker antiphoner, from St Gallen, s. x^{ex} (*sic*: this monastic source has not yet converted the secular Office received). The order in these two books is identical to that in B = Bamberg, s. xii; V = Verona, s. xi. Note also R = Rheinau, s. xiii; and Fl = Fleury, from the thirteenth-century consuetudinary in Orléans, BM, 129, ed. A. Davril, *Consuetudines Floriacenses Saeculi Tertii Decimi*, CCM ix (Siegburg, 1976).

[31] The text is taken from the fifth antiphon of Lauds in the secular Office.

[32] This was the only chant in the secular Trinity Office in verse.

number of sources, that the Winchester Office is copied in performance order (as the numbers imply), and that the last piece, *Benedictio et claritas,* may represent an Insular composition.[33]

The Swithun responsories are thirteen in number, with rubricated numbers which do not, on the face of it, make sense. Unlike the Trinity and evangelist's series, this group of responsories does not appear widely elsewhere: only sources from Insular institutions and from Fleury show concordances of more than four of these chants used within one Office.[34] Before considering the series as a whole, the textual and musical content of C and the concordance patterns for each responsory will be reviewed.[35]

1 O quam admirabilis uir iste Suuithunus, inter antistites non minimus qui suis temporibus clara & futuris prebuit exempla. Vnde feliciter exultat Christi ecclesia.
℣ Laudibus gloriosus es beate Suuiðune: quod laetaris cum sanctis. [*Rep*] Vnde feliciter exultat.

W (Oswald) MR1; H (Trans. Iudoc) MR1; Du (Conf. pont.) MR1; Pet (Conf. pont.) MR1[36]
I (Conf.), last of a series of 13 MR. Finnish fragment (Swithun) MR1

Textual variants: suuithunus] oswaldus *W*, iudocus *H*, uir iste *P*, ill. maximus *NE*; antistites] confessores *HPEFin*; Christi] dei *E*; Laudibus] Meritis *H*; gloriosus es beate Suuiðune] quam uenerandus es, christi confessor *E*; sanctis] domino *E*

Mode II; verse not standard responsory formula.

C contains the full responsory, verse and *repetendum* indication. The melody is in places highly melismatic, a quality typical of responsories, but here present to a pronounced degree. Given the lack of easily traceable continental concordances, this may well represent an English composition, later transmitted to northern Italy.

2 O quam beatus es pie confessor: hodie namque chorus angelorum reuertentem te ad patriam suscepit. Intercede pro nobis.
℣ Securus [habitationem istam reliquisti et usque ad solium uisionis eterne penetrasti. *Rep* Intercede]

W (Oswald) MR10; P (Cuthbert) MR9; Ely (Conf. pont.) MR11; Ely (Conf. pont.) MR11; Battle (Conf. non pont.) MR 10[37]

Mode VI; verse incipit indicates standard sixth mode responsory formula.

This begins with an extended melisma on 'O' (even longer than that for *O quam admirabilis*). C has only the first word of the verse, with notation identical to that of the chant (and most probably representing the chant melody itself, rather than entirely parallel movement). The chant has not been identified in any non-Insular source.

[33] An accumulation of facts—the use in the Hyde Breviary of a different verse (*Ex quo omnia* rather than *Benedictus es Domine*), the lack of this responsory in the Winchcombe Breviary (the Hyde and Winchcombe books being in general those Insular sources which show most Norman influence), and the absence of the responsory from the Fécamp Ordinal—together suggest that *Benedictio et claritas* is genuinely an Insular composition. I thank David Chadd for this observation. For Fécamp, see *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, Fécamp*, ed. D. Chadd, HBS cxi (London, 1999), 299–300.

[34] But see above, n. 26.

[35] See also C. Hohler, 'The Durham services in honour of St Cuthbert', in *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956), pp. 155–91; and L. Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, Libri Liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi, iii (Oslo, 1979), esp. 143–5.

[36] The sources are as noted above, nn. 28, 30, with the addition, from *CAO*, of: I = Ivrea, s. xi, and L = Benevento, s. xii. MR denotes Matins responsory.

[37] Cambridge, Trinity College O. 7. 31 (a breviary of Battle Abbey, s. xv/xvi).

3 Sint lumbi uestri precincti & lucerne ardentes in manibus uestris & uos similes hominibus expectantibus Dominum suum quando reuertatur a nuptiis.
[℣ Vigilate ergo quia nescitis qua hora Dominus uester uenturus sit. *Rep* Et uos]

Text: from Luke 12: 35–6 + 'in manibus uestris'; verse from Matt. 24:42.

Mode II; verse elsewhere not standard responsory formula.

This is so common in Insular and continental sources, often used in the Common for a confessor, that concordances have not been listed. C lacks any part of the verse.

4 Pater insignis confessor spiðune meritisque clare cum Christo regnans preces nostras in aula regis eterni subleua: et protege utrumque ordinem cuius egregius extitisti pastor in urbe.
[℣] Incessanter pro nobis supplica Deum: [ut feliciter mereamur perfrui gloria paradisi. *Rep* Et protege]

No Insular concordances
D (Benedict) R 1stV; Fl (Benedict) R 1stV + MR1, (Benedict octave), MR12.

Textual variants: spiðune] Benedicte *D*; pastor] doctor *D*. Fl has incipits only.

Mode I; verse not the standard responsory formula. The notation for the first part of the verse is that of the chant itself, rather than a second voice.

5 Agmina sacra angelorum letamini pro conciui uestro spiðhuno de quo gaudet Christi ecclesia feliciter et exultat gaudenter.
[℣ Omnes uirtutes et omnis militia celorum intercedite pro nobis. *Rep* De quo]

Common in Insular and continental sources, often in the Common for a confessor.
W (Oswald) MR6, (Cuthbert) MR11; H (Iudoc) MR11; Du (Conf. pont.) MR9; P (Cuthbert) MR10; E (Conf. pont.) MR4; many later Insular books.
Rouen, BM, U. 135 (Taurinus); Fl, many instances (see Table 10 below); also I, D, F, S.

Mode I: verse in Worc uses standard formula.

C lacks any part of the verse.

6 O sacerdotum nobilissime qui totis uisceribus dilexisti Christum Dominum O spiðune egregie confessor ora pro nobis.
[℣ O spiðune sydus aureum Domini gratia
seruorum gemitus solita suscipe clementia. *Rep* O spiðune]

W (Oswald) MR9; H (Iudoc) MR6
Tours, BM, 149 (Martin)[38]

Mode IV: verse in Worc uses standard formula.

C lacks any part of the verse; that shown here (taken from the only identified concordances) was also the verse of a widely-known confessor's responsory *Sancte N confessor domini. O sacerdotum* has not been identified in any non-Insular source.

[38] Breviary of the thirteenth or fourteenth century from St Martin of Tours.

7 Laudemus Dominum in beati antistitis spiðhuni meritis gloriosis ad sepulchrum eius aegri ueniunt. Et sanantur
[℣ Vere mirabilis Deus qui assidue beatum spiðunum confessorem miraculis choruscare facit. *Rep* Et sanantur]

In common use in Insular, Norman and French sources, often for patron saints (for obvious reasons).
W (Oswald) MR5; H (Iudoc) MR7; Du (Conf. pont.) MR 5; P (Conf. pont.) MR9
Fl, many instances (see Table 10 below)
I (Nicolas); V (Prosper); R (Nicolas); D (Eugenius); F (Germanus)

Textual variants: antistitis] confessoris *WHP*; sanantur] sanatur *W*. Verse variants are not listed.

Mode I: verse in Worc uses standard formula.

C has a long neuma (an added melisma) for 'et sanantur'; this has not been identified elsewhere (although the practice of adding such neumas is well recognized, and mentioned already by Amalarius). It was a clear musical means of emphasis and elaboration, here bringing to prominence the healing powers of Swithun's tomb.

8 Ecce uir prudens spiðunus qui aedificauit domum suam supra petram in cuius ore non est inuentus dolus quia Deus elegit eum in sacerdotem sibi.
[℣ Ecce uere Israelita in quo dolus non est. *Rep* Quia]

In common use in Insular and French sources.
W (Oswald) MR4; H (Iudoc) MR5; Du (Conf.pont.) MR 4; P (Conf.pont.) MR 7
Fl, many instances (see Table 10 below)
I, V, F (Conf. pont.); D (Hilarius)

Mode I: verse in Worc uses standard formula.

C lacks any part of the verse.

9 Ecce uere Israhelita in quo dolus non est inuentus qui probatus repertus est sacerdos magnus iuxta ordinem Melchisedech.
[℣ Statuit ei Dominus testamentum sempiternum qui probatus repertus est. *Rep* Sacerdos]

In common use in Insular and French sources
W (Oswald) MR 3; H (Iudoc) MR 2; Du (Conf.pont.) MR 3; P (Conf.pont.) MR 6
Fl, many instances (see below, Table 10)
I (Conf. pont.); D (Hilarius), S (Nicolas), F (Conf. pont.).

Mode II: verse in W uses standard formula.

Rubricated in red 'VII'.

10 Gloriosus uir sanctus Suuithunus relinquens terrena mercatus est caelestia.
[℣ O uerum et magnum sacerdotem qui contempnens terrena. *Rep* Mercatus]

W (Oswald) MR2, (Cuthbert) MR9; H (Iudoc), MR9; Du (Conf. pont.) MR2; Pet (Conf. pont.) MR3; Ely (Conf. pont.) MR9.
Fl, many instances (see below, Table 10). No mention in *CAO*.

Mode VII: verse in Worc uses standard formula.

Rubricated in red 'VIII'. C lacks any part of the verse. Commonly in use in Insular books, but equally rare in continental books, and therefore highly likely to have come to Winchester from Fleury.

11 Iste sanctus digne in memoriam uertitur hominum quia ad gaudium transit angelorum quoniam in hac peregrinatione solo corpore constitutus cogitatione et auiditate in illa eterna patria conuersatus est.
[℣ Vinculis carnis absolutus talentum sibi creditum Domino suo duplicatum reportauit. *Rep* Quoniam]

W (Oswald) MR8; H (Iudoc) MR3; P (Conf.pont.) MR10
Fl, many instances (see Table 10 below)
H, R (Gallus); D (Hilarius); S (Benedict, Nicolas); F (Conf.)

Textual variants: quia] qui *WH*

Mode I: verse in W uses standard formula.

Rubricated in red 'VIIII'. C lacks any part of the verse.

12 Magnificauit eum in conspectu regum et dedit illi coronam gloriae.
[℣ Iustum deduxit Dominus per uias rectas et ostendit illi regnum Dei. *Rep* Et dedit]

In common use in Insular and continental sources.
W (Cuthbert) MR10; Pet (Mart.) MR; E (Conf. pont.) MR12.
Fl, many instances (see below, Table 10)
I, D, F, S, L (all Conf.)

Mode I: verse in W uses standard formula.

C lacks any part of the verse.

13 Iste est de sublimibus celorum prepotentibus unus quem manus Domini consecrauit matris in uisceribus. Huius nos meritis adiuuari supplices deposcimus.

No Insular concordances
Fleury (Remigius nat., Remigius trans.) MR1
R (Remigius) MR?, (Joh. Bapt.), MR11; L (Joh. Bapt.), MR12; many later continental concordances

Melody as yet untraced.

C lacks any part of the verse, and the continental concordances provide various possibilities. As in *Laudemus Dominum*, this responsory ends with a neuma (as yet untraced elsewhere) on 'deposcimus'.

Unlike the responsory series for Trinity and for an evangelist's feast which precede that for Swithun, the Swithun series does not have concordances which show more or less the same group of pieces in use both in Insular and in continental books. The concordance patterns are much more broken than that, revealing the use of many of these responsories in Offices for specific or unnamed confessors, but only consistently together in a very small number of sources. Moreover, two responsories (*O quam beatus es*, *O sacerdotum nobilissime*) have only Insular concordances; a further one (*O quam admirabilis*) has just one, thirteenth-century, concordance outside England; and two responsories appear elsewhere only in continental sources, without Insular concordances. All of this leads to the supposition that the Winchester Office was not mainly based on a well-established confessor's Office, but rather represents the composition of an Office using some received material, but with new parts added. The concordance patterns in books from Worcester, Hyde, Coldingham and Peterborough are especially interesting, since they show a high number of these responsories in use

TABLE 8

Matins responsories for the Trinity Office

	sec: G/Ha	mon: R	D	S	F	Fl	Ins: C	W^1	W^2	H	Du	P	E
Benedicat nos	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Benedictus	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Quis Deus	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Magnus Dominus	4	5	4	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Gloria patri	5	6	5	5	6	6			5	5	5		
Honor uirtus	6	7	6	6	4	8	5	5	7	6	6	5	5
Summe trinitatis	7	12	8	9	8	9	6	6	12	8	7	6	6
Benedicamus	8	10	9	7	10	10	8	7	8	7	8	8	8
Te Deum	9	11	10	10	11	12	9	11	11	9	11	9	9
Deum time		8	7	12		3							
Tibi laus		9	11	8	7	11	7	8	9		9	7	7
O beata			12	11	12					12		12	12
Magnus Dominus					9								
Spiritus sanctus						7							
Benedictio							10	9	6	11	12	10	10
Vnus est								10	10	10	10	11	11
Gloria tibi laus								12					

together (including some of the probable Insular compositions), although arranged quite differently from those in C (see Table 9).

From this comparison it becomes clear that there was no standard order for these responsories, excepting that *O quam admirabilis* would always sit at the head. None of these Insular sources dates from before the thirteenth century, and it is therefore impossible to tell whether it was the Winchester Swithun Office, or another in use elsewhere—on which the latter was modelled—which lies behind the later concordances. But it does look very likely that either the Winchester Swithun Office, or its hypothetical model, drew on widely diffused material often used for confessor's feasts, and supplemented it with a small number of new compositions.

There is one continental source, however, which has a very high level of concordance with the Winchester series: this is the Consuetudinary of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire at Fleury, copied in the thirteenth century (now Orléans, BM, 129).[39] Alone among continental sources this has a high number of concordances with the Swithun series, *within one Office*. In fact, a number of the responsories are used consistently for confessor's feasts, and generally in the same position at Matins, to the extent that it is possible to see a highly ordered practice in their use (see Table 10).

There are elements in this Fleury practice which cannot be assumed to have historical roots: for example, the rigid ordering, so that *Iste sanctus digne* will always appear as the ninth responsory when used, and *Sint lumbi* as the twelfth, and so on, might be the result of work by a particularly ordered mind at some point long after the period of strong contact between Fleury and

[39] See above, n. 30.

TABLE 9

The Matins responsories series O quam admirabilis *in four Insular sources*

Matins responsories	C	W (Oswald)	H (Iudoc)	P (Conf.pont.)
O quam admirabilis	1	1	1	1
O quam beatus es	2	10		x
Sint lumbi	3	x		x
Pater insignis	4			
Agmina sacra	5	6	11	8
O sacerdotum	6	9	6	
Laudemus Dominum	7	5	7	9
Ecce uir prudens	8	4	5	7
Ecce uere Israhelita	9	3	2	6
Gloriosus uir	10	2	9	3
Iste sanctus digne	11	8	3	10
Magnificauit eum	12	x		x
Iste est	13			

x = present in the book, but in another Office

TABLE 10

Use of specific responsories in the Fleury consuetudinary

Matins responsories	Feasts: A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
First Nocturn												
Iste est						1					5	
Second Nocturn												
Agmina sacra	3			3	3		3	4	3		12	4
Ecce uere Israhelita	5	12		5			5	5		12		5
Ecce uir prudens	6			6			6	10		12		6
Magnificauit eum	7	8			7	8				8		7
Third Nocturn												
Iste sanctus digne				9	9		9	9				9
Gloriosus uir			11	10	10		10		10		11	10
Laudemus Dominum			12	11	11		11	7			12	11
Sint lumbi				12	12	12	12	12				12

A Gregory & Paul (255); B Ambrose (265); C Mammoli & Ciriaci (348); D Augustine (367); E Egidius (370); F Remigius, Germanus, Vedastus (397); G Paul (403); H Anianus (444); I Maurus (447); J Conf. pont. (476); K Conf. non pont. (478); L Conf. (480).

Winchester in the second half of the tenth century. But the fact of the common association of these pieces with one another to an extent far more pronounced than in any other continental sources encourages the hypothesis that Fleury influence lies behind the Swithun responsories. If a confessor's Office received at Winchester from Fleury had been adapted for Swithun's feast, with new compositions, it might then have become the model for the Worcester Oswald Office and the

Hyde Iudoc Office.[40] But neither of these later sources includes the 'unsuitable' *Pater insignis*. And neither has an ordering remotely similar to that in C. The evidence of the inappropriate numbering, combined with the lack of similarity to these later sources, and finally, the contrast between the order of concordance pattern and those of the responsories for Trinity and for an evangelist's feasts all suggest that what is presented in C does not necessarily represent the finished Office.

As a compilation drawing largely on already extant material, the Swithun responsory series does not relate in any specific way to Swithun; where saint's Offices often depended on a *uita*, and could be arranged as a biographical narrative (covering deeds on earth and in heaven), these responsories are composed of generalities applicable to all confessors, albeit with an emphasis in *Laudemus Dominum* on the healing powers of the saint's tomb. Likewise, on the musical side, there could never have been any intention to arrange the responsories in modal order. The melodies are predominantly in the Dorian mode and only use five of the eight modes in all.

Bringing all the various threads of this examination of the Swithun responsory series together, it is apparent that the Winchester liturgist(s) who created the Swithun Office which underlay the polyphonic voices in C had a concept of a saint's Office as something composed as a cycle (and models for such Offices in the Trinity and evangelist's responsory series), but that it was the concept rather than specificity of content which attracted them. Nonetheless, despite the contrast between the compiled quality of this Office and the more organised Trinity responsories which sit at the beginning of the same gathering, the fact of setting the Swithun pieces in polyphony underlines the interest in liturgical innovation and elaboration to celebrate the saint's feasts in early eleventh-century Winchester.

vi. CONCLUSIONS

These various *contrafacta* and new compositions brought into service for the two feasts of St Swithun show to what extent the Winchester liturgists were interested in enhancing their celebrations. To begin with, the tropes and sequences were on the whole taken over from received material, rather than newly composed; since this represented an entirely standard procedure of the time, it does not argue for a lack of interest. Indeed, the Office responsories copied at the same time indicate quite the opposite: most of the thirteen were taken from commonly circulating material, but what was done with them, both in shaping a series of responsories for a proper Office *and* setting those responsories polyphonically, demonstrates a marked engagement with liturgy for St Swithun's feasts already in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Later layers in the first Winchester Troper and in the first and later layers of the second Troper show a continuing concern with liturgy for St Swithun, now with new compositions. Right up until the turn of the century new pieces for Swithun were being copied into one or other of the two books. No other saint for whom liturgy was provided in the Winchester books received as much sustained attention, or was celebrated with such a broad spectrum of types of liturgical chant. The choice of tropes, and ways in which they were integrated into Winchester use, show how the presence of Swithun's tomb sat at the centre of the

[40] On Scandinavian concordances, see also Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium*, esp. pp. 142–3; evidently the Insular office became the model for some of this later material.

monks' sense of their own community, while the polyphonic responsories concentrate less on the tomb than on Swithun's qualities as a priest and intercessor. Their heightened expression—texts sung and heard in two simultaneous melodic lines—would have given an especially intense flavour to the Matins Office on a feast day of St Swithun.

PART II

THE HAGIOGRAPHY OF ST SWITHUN

1. LANTFRED OF WINCHESTER
TRANSLATIO ET MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI

INTRODUCTION

THE cult of St Swithun, an obscure ninth-century bishop of Winchester, began on 15 July 971 when Æthelwold, then bishop of Winchester, translated Swithun's remains from a conspicuous tomb outside the west door of the Old Minster into the chancel of the church itself.[1] For a period of some three years before the translation, the saint's divine power had been heralded by a number of miracles, and his translation was immediately accompanied by many more. The monks of the Old Minster soon felt the need to have these abundant miracles recorded, and the task fell to Lantfred, a Frankish monk then resident at the Old Minster. Lantfred's record of the translation and miracles of St Swithun, called by editors the *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*,[2] was written within a few years of the translation and dedicated to the monks of the Old Minster. It is thus the earliest record of St Swithun's miraculous efficacity, and in many ways it is the most important, since it was in no small measure a result of Lantfred's eloquent advocacy of St Swithun that he quickly became established in the vanguard of Anglo-Saxon saints. Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* has never been printed in its entirety,[3] but it is a text of cardinal importance for understanding the spiritual and religious life of late Anglo-Saxon England and of Winchester in particular.

[1] See above, pp. 8–24. The translation is described by Lantfred himself (below, c. 3), and by Wulfstan of Winchester, both in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 26 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 42) and in his *Narratio* i. 789–896 (below, pp. 448–54); see also my discussion above, pp. 16–18.

[2] The initial rubric in R describes the work as *De miraculis sancti Swiðhuni*, but it is impossible to determine whether this title is Lantfred's. I have accordingly followed the practice of earlier editors (especially Sauvage) and the Bollandists (see *BHL*, no. 7944) in adopting the present clumsy title for the work; and one might add that, since the early chapters are concerned with the discovery of St Swithun's remains, an even more accurate title for the work would be: *Inuentio, translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*.

[3] Lantfred's work is misleadingly listed under three separate headings in *BHL*, nos. 7944–6. Lantfred's *Epistola*, *Praefatio* and cc. 1–3 correspond to *BHL*, no. 7944; cc. 4–40 correspond to no. 7945; and cc. 36, 37 and 26 (in that order: see below, pp. 243–4) correspond to no. 7946. The Bollandists' tripartite division of the single work is based on the incomplete editions of Pien and Sauvage. The work is also listed by Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, i/2. 514–15.

i. LANTFRED OF WINCHESTER

Very little is known of Lantfred. Earlier accounts of his life and works by various antiquaries—notably Leland,[4] Bale,[5] and Pits[6]—were based entirely on inferences from his writings, and in many cases the inferences were false. Nothing has been added to our knowledge of Lantfred during the four centuries separating us from the antiquaries.[7]

We may begin, as the antiquaries did, by examining the *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*. The opening rubric in MS. R (on which see below) specifies the authorship of the work as follows: 'incipit epistola doctoris eximii Lantfredi uenerande sanctitatis, presbiteri et monachi, de miraculis sancti Suuiðhuni episcopi'. Lantfred—his name spelled as such[8]—was a priest and monk with a high reputation for learning and holiness. His work is addressed to the monks of the Old Minster, and there is abundant evidence in the text that he himself was present at Winchester[9] while many of the miracles he describes were taking place: he states that he learned of the smith's vision from the smith himself (c. 1; below, p. 264: 'quo narrante ipsoque opifice didicimus'), that the vision of the man from the Isle of Wight was recounted to him by a *uenerabilis antistes* (c. 35; below, p. 328) who is almost certainly to be identified as Æthelwold,[10] and that he himself witnessed various miracles at the Old Minster (c. 4: *uidimus . . . circa prescriptum . . . monasterium*). However, although Lantfred was at the Old Minster and was conversant there with Æthelwold, he was not himself English. On two occasions he gives the form of an Old English place-name as being 'in their language' (cc. 7, 8: *lingua eorum*); on another occasion he describes an English custom from the point of view of a foreign observer: *sicut mos est Anglo-Saxonum* (c. 31; below, pp. 318–20). These indications that Lantfred was a foreigner are explicitly confirmed by Ælfric, who in retelling the vision of the man from the Isle of Wight adds that, 'Landferð se ofersæwisca [= 'the foreigner'] hit gesette on Leden'.[11]

From whence did Lantfred the foreigner come to Winchester? A passing remark in the *Translatio et miracula* may give some indication of his origin. In c. 32 he has occasion to describe a miracle which took place in Francia (specified by him as both *Gallia* and *prouincia Francorum*) and he indicates that he himself was witness to it. When Wulfstan of Winchester subsequently rendered this passage into hexameters (in his *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*), he added an important detail:

> interea quidam nostra de gente sacerdos
> more cupit solito Gallorum uisere gentem.[12]

[4] J. Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. A. Hall, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1709), i. 173.

[5] J. Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie . . . Catalogus*, 2 vols. in 1 (Basel, 1557–9), p. 139.

[6] J. Pits, *Relationes historicae de rebus Anglicis* (Paris, 1619), p. 178.

[7] Cf. T. Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), i. 469–70.

[8] For obscure reasons the early antiquaries followed Leland in spelling the name as *Lamfridus*. But where the name occurs in the text—in the opening rubric and in c. 32—it is spelled *Lantfredus*.

[9] Because Lantfred in the *Epistola* does not explicitly state that he was a monk of the Old Minster, Sauvage expressed doubts on that account: 'in illa epistola non solum nequaquam nomen suum profert scriptor, sed nec aliud quidpiam unde diserte significatur illius coenobii fuisse monachus: iis enim verbis concepta est quae usurpare licuisset etiam monacho alieno' (*AB* iv (1885), 368–9). Sauvage's doubts were reiterated by G. I. Needham, *Ælfric: Lives of Three English Saints* (London, 1966), p. 20 n. 1. But Lantfred's appearance among the monks of the Old Minster in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster (see below, p. 219) is enough in itself to quell these doubts.

[10] When translating this passage in his Old English 'Life of St Swithun' (ptd below, no. 4), Ælfric specified that the bishop in question was Æthelwold (c. 23; below, p. 604).

[11] See below, p. 604: 'Lantfred the foreigner set it down in Latin.'

[12] *Narratio* ii. 829–30 (below, p. 534): 'meanwhile a certain priest of our community sought in his habitual way to visit the people of Gaul.'

In this passage the words *nostra de gente* cannot mean that Lantfred was of the same nationality as Wulfstan (who from his name was certainly English), for we have the evidence of Lantfred's writings and of Ælfric that he was a foreigner; rather, the phrase must mean that Lantfred was from the same monastic *familia* as Wulfstan, namely the Old Minster.[13] In fact Lantfred's name is found in the list of Old Minster monks which is preserved in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster; it occurs there in its Anglicized form as *Landferð sacerdos*.[14] More important is the fact that Lantfred was said by his colleague Wulfstan to be in the habit of visiting 'the people of Gaul'. This will suggest, if it cannot prove, that Francia was Lantfred's homeland.

Some light is thrown on Lantfred's origin from a different source, namely the form of his name. The name *Lantfred* is Germanic; it occurs very frequently in texts deriving from those areas of Europe which were intensively settled by German-speaking peoples.[15] As one might expect, there is wide variation in the way the name is spelled over these broad areas. Certain variations, however, have a recognizable geographical distribution. In particular, it would appear that in areas east of the Rhine, the vowel in the second (unstressed) syllable of the name was consistently spelled *-i-*, whereas in areas west of the Rhine, particularly from the ninth century onwards, it was usually spelled *-e-*, indicating a weakening of the high front tense vowel in unstressed positions. This broad classification can be illustrated by some examples. In Germany and Switzerland the spelling *Lantfrid* occurs almost invariably. The first abbot of Benediktbeuern was named Landfrid, and similar spellings are frequently attested in Bavaria.[16] One of the characters in a well-known poem composed in the lower Rhineland is called Lantfrid.[17] The form *Lantfrit* occurs frequently in a confraternity book from St Peter's, Salzburg,[18] and the forms *Landefrit*, *Landifrit*, *Lanfrid* and *Landfrith* are attested for Switzerland.[19] Forms such as this, with *-frid* as the second element, are rarely encountered west of the Rhine; there the name is almost invariably spelled *Lantfred*.[20] Spellings with *-e-* in the second, unstressed, syllable are attested from Lyon,[21] Moissac,[22] Vienne,[23] Cluny,[24]

[13] For the use of *gens* to mean 'monastic *familia*', see the passage describing Abbot Womar's residence at the Old Minster in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster: 'Domnus abba Womarus ... hanc deuotus adiit gentem, huiusque se familie precibus humillime commendauit' (ed. Birch, p. 24; ed. Keynes, fo. 18r; quoted below, n. 48). This meaning of *gens* is not recorded in *DMLBS*.

[14] *Liber uitae*, ed. Birch, p. 25 (no. lxi); ed. Keynes, fo. 19r. The Old English form *Landferð* is attested—but rarely—in other English sources, notably in the *Liber uitae* of Durham (ed. H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, EETS o.s. lxxxiii (Oxford, 1885), pp. 156, line 101, 160, line 255); cf. T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in Old and Middle English Times* (Uppsala, 1916), p. 173. Presumably Lantfred's continental name was rendered in its familiar English form by the compiler of the Old Minster list, as it was by Ælfric.

[15] Some part of the vast mass of evidence pertaining to Germanic personal names is collected in E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch I: Personennamen* (Bonn, 1900), and M.-T. Morlet, *Les noms de personnne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VIe au XIIe siècle I: les noms issus du germanique continental* (Paris, 1968).

[16] For Benediktbeuern and Bavaria in general, see the index in F. L. Baumann, MGH, Necrologia Germaniae I (Berlin, 1888); for Landfrid the founder of Benediktbeuern (d. *c.*772), see *ibid.* pp. 6, 101, 177, 243.

[17] The poem 'Lantfrid and Cobbo' in the 'Cambridge Songs', ed. K. Strecker, *Carmina Cantabrigiensia*, MGH, SS rer. Germ. (Berlin, 1966), pp. 13–16.

[18] MGH, Necrologia Germaniae II, ed. S. Herzberg-Fränkel (Berlin, 1904), pp. 13, 15, 23 (*bis*), 25, 27, etc., and the index, p. 653.

[19] See, for example, the confraternity books of St Gallen and Reichenau, ed. P. Piper, MGH, Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis (Berlin, 1884). In Piper's index (p. 470), the form *Lantfrid* occurs seventy times, whereas *Lantfred* occurs only five times, in each case associated with a monk from a Frankish rather than a German or Swiss monastery.

[20] See A. Longnon, 'Les noms propres de personne au temps de Charlemagne', in his *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1895), i. 254–382, at pp. 308–9.

[21] *Libri confraternitatum*, ed. Piper, p. 257 (col. 366.18).

[22] MGH, SS i. 310.

[23] *Cartulaire de Saint-André-le-Bas de Vienne*, ed. U. Chevalier (Vienne, 1869), no. 61.

[24] *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, 2 vols. (Paris, 1876–1903), no. 784.

Paris,[25] Saint-Germain-des-Prés,[26] and Saint-Omer.[27] The classification is broad, and would need to be tested in detail, but for the time being there are sufficient grounds to allow us to conclude that an author who carefully and consistently spelled his name *Lantfred* would be more likely to originate west of the Rhine in what was then Francia, than east of the Rhine in Germany[28] or Switzerland. This general hypothesis can now be tested with evidence from different quarters.

Lantfred's occasional use of what may be called vulgarisms provide another indication of his place of origin. For example, he twice uses the word *senior* (cc. 25, 38) to mean 'master' or 'owner' (rather than simply 'old man', its meaning in Classical Latin), where it apparently corresponds to Old French *seignor*. He likewise uses the word *repausare* (c. 29)—a word not attested in Classical Latin—in the sense of 'to lay at rest', where its meaning corresponds to Old French *reposer*.[29] These vulgarisms would not come naturally to a native speaker of German. But they came naturally to Lantfred, who (as we have seen) was in the habit of travelling to Francia, because he was a native speaker of (Old) French.

A final piece of evidence confirms this hypothesis. Among a collection of Anglo-Latin correspondence which was apparently compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury, during the decade 990 × 1000 and which is preserved in London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. xv (s. xi[1]), fo. 168r–v,[30] is found a brief letter addressed to Archbishop Dunstan from someone who gives his name simply as .L. The letter is written from Fleury, and in it .L. asks Dunstan to arrange to have a number of books formerly in .L.'s possession returned to Fleury; among the books is one said to be presently in the possession of Osgar. Because of its importance for reconstructing the career of Lantfred, the letter needs to be quoted in full.[31]

Pontificali infula dignitatis apostolic[e] sublimato d[igni]ssimo cunctarumque uirt[utum] claritudine [gloriosissi]mo, preclui .D. archipresuli .L. ue[strorum infim]us dulorum,[32] iuge et indefessum utriusque uite tripudium in Christo redemtore omnium. [G]rates uobis ineffabilis,[33] munificentissime pater, pura de mente refert de bonis que ei contulistis paterno more quamplurimis ualde egenti in finibus uestris. Quapropter quamdiu uixerit non solum uobis, uerum etiam seruulis uestre dicione subditis—ut decet—erit fidelis,[34] et siquod poterit uspiam agere quod acceptum sit benignita[ti] uestre, libenter studebit adimplere. Idcirco tamen ad uos minime repedauit ceu promisit, quoniam putat [id nequaquam] necessarium cuipiam ex uestris fore; quod si rescierit, [te iu]re iubente ocius aderit uita comite: nullo tamen alio uocante ad Anglorum fines poterit accedere.

Dein uestrum flagitat beniuolentiam ut commentum Flori[35] quod habet domnus abbas Oscarus,[36] et alios

[25] L. Delisle, 'Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, xxxii (Paris, 1886), 57–423, at p. 381.

[26] *Obituaire de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, ed. A. Molinier (Paris, 1902), p. 259; MGH, SS v. 167.

[27] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, ed. P. Guérard (Paris, 1840), p. 100.

[28] G. I. Needham argued that our author was German (*Ælfric: Lives of Three English Saints*, p. 20 n. 1), but he erroneously reported the spelling of the name as *Landfrid*.

[29] As was first pointed out by Jean Pien (*Pinius*), in *Acta SS*, Iulii, i. 337.

[30] On the date of the manuscript, see below, pp. 241–2.

[31] In the edition which follows, I mark passages destroyed or illegible in the manuscript by square brackets [ ]; letters or words within square brackets have been restored by conjecture. There is also an edition of the letter in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 376–7.

[32] A grecism (δοῦλος) meaning a 'slave' or 'servant'; cf. discussion of Lantfred's use of grecisms below, pp. 225–6.

[33] One would expect *ineffabiles* (acc. pl., agreeing with *grates*); but the author evidently had his eye on the sequence of rhymes *bonis–quamplurimis–uestris*, and so allowed himself this solecism (unless it is an intentional archaism, drawn, say, from Vergilian usage); for a similar grammatical liberty taken in order to achieve rhyme at the end of a clause, cf. Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 18: 'talibus effundens precibus' (below, p. 300, with n. 202).

[34] The MS. here reads *fidelis erit*; but it is likely that the author wrote *erit fidelis* in order to achieve the rhyming sequence of cadences *uobis–seruulis–subditis–fidelis*.

[35] The work in question was possibly the commentary on the Pauline Epistles by Florus of Lyon (d. *c.*860), a compilation of passages from Augustine (see C. Charlier, 'La compilation

[*See opposite page for n. 35 cont. and n. 36*]

libellos qui habentur Wintonie quique conda[m][37] sui fuerunt, [nunc] pro Christi nomine illi reddere faciatis, quoniam qui[dem] hoc coenobium Floriacense quo nunc degit—utpote igne [consumptum][38]—his caret codicellis.

Sit uobis salus, karissime, perennis! Periodos.[39]

To the distinguished archbishop D⟨unstan⟩, most worthily exalted by the episcopal insignia of apostolic authority and most renowned through the excellence of all your virtues, L⟨antfred⟩, most humble of your servants, wishes the perpetual and inexhaustible joy of either life in Christ the saviour of all men. From his pure heart he extends inexpressible thanks to you, most generous father, for the many bounties which you bestowed on him in your fatherly manner when he was very much in need while in your country. Therefore, for as long as he shall live he will be loyal not only to you but also to all those servants who are subject to your authority—as is only fitting. And if he can anywhere perform any duty which might be acceptable to your Kindness, he will willingly strive to accomplish it. However, he has not returned to you as he promised, since he believes it to be in no wise necessary for one of your servants; if he learns anything to the contrary, he shall quickly be present at your command, as long as he lives: at no one else's command will he be able to travel to England.

Furthermore, he entreats your good will in asking that you arrange to have returned to him the commentary of Florus which Abbot Osgar now has, as well as other books which are at Winchester and which formerly belonged to him, since in fact the monastery of Fleury where he now lives, having been destroyed by fire, lacks these manuscripts.

May you enjoy perpetual health, dear friend! The end.

The letter can be dated to the decade 974 × 984, since it refers to a fire at Fleury which is probably to be identified as that which took place there on 10 Aug. 974, and since it speaks of Osgar (who died 24 May 984) as living. Besides the coincidence of the first letter of the name,[40] there are several compelling reasons for identifying L. with Lantfred. Like Lantfred, L. was apparently in the habit of travelling between England and Francia; both were contemporaries of Abbot Osgar, who had been sent to Fleury by Bishop Æthelwold in order to learn monastic observance there. There are some

augustinienne de Florus sur l'apôtre', *RB* lvii (1947), 132–67). There was a manuscript of this work in the library of Fleury, now Orleans, BM, 83 (80)(Fleury, s. ix^2): see M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury* (Hilversum, 1989), no. BF 515.

[36] The abbot in question is Osgar of Abingdon (963–84; see *Heads*, p. 23), who had been a student of Æthelwold and was Æthelwold's chosen successor at Abingdon. From Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 14, we learn that when Æthelwold was (for obscure reasons) himself prevented from going to Fleury, he had sent Osgar in his stead: 'Ætheluuoldus autem misit Osgarum monachum trans mare ad monasterium sancti patris Benedicti Floriacense, ut regularis obseruantiae mores illic disceret ac domi fratribus docendo ostenderet' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 26). It is thus conceivable that Osgar had met L. at Fleury.

[37] A spelling for *quondam* which, interestingly, is also found in MS J (Rouen, BM, U. 107) of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula*, fo. 34r (see below, p. 260, n. *m* (c. 1) [line 13]).

[38] There was a fire at Fleury on 10 Aug. 974; see J. Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1703–39), iii. 632.

[39] The words *Oscarus*, *Wintonie*, and *Periodos* are written in cyphers (::scbr::s, wknt::nke, p:rkod::s). This form of cyphers was first deciphered by Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 293. It is interesting that the practice of using cyphers is found in other contemporary manuscripts from Winchester: for example, London, BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, fo. 13v (see *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, ed. B. Günzel, HBS cviii (London, 1993), p. 109; see also *Liber uitae*, ed. Keynes, pp. 117–18), and Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, fo. 16v (see M. Förster, 'Ein altenglisches Prosa-Rätsel', *ASNSL* cxv (1905), 392). (With respect to Anglo-Saxon England, however, the practice is not limited to Winchester: there is an example in an early eleventh-century manuscript from Canterbury, now Cambridge, Trinity College B. 3. 25, fo. 99v: see S. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Trinity College* (Binghamton, NY, 1992), p. 33; cf. p. 13 for yet another Anglo-Saxon example of tenth-century date but unknown origin.) Interestingly, the practice is also found in manuscripts from Fleury: note Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. 2. 28 (S.C. 20629), where on fo. 43r a Fleury *ex-libris* inscription is given in cyphers (s. x/xi) (see Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, no. BF 912).

[40] The occurrence of the initial L. could not by itself identify as Lantfred a monk at Fleury who had formerly been in England. Jean Vezin has identified an English scribe named Leofnoth who was active at Fleury at approximately this time: 'Leofnoth: un scribe anglais à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire', *Codices Manuscripti*, iv (1977), 109–20.

striking verbal similarities between L.'s letter and Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula*: the phrase *utriusque uite tripudium* used by L. recalls a phrase used by Lantfred: *utriusque sanitatis tripudium*.[41] But the most striking link between L. and Lantfred is a stylistic one: the letter of L. to Dunstan is written throughout in rhyming prose.[42] Consider the following example:

Grates uobis ineffabilis | munificentissime pater, pura de mente refert de bonis | que ei contulistis | paterno more quamplurimis | ualde egenti in finibus uestris.

In this sentence L. has rearranged the normal order of words in order to achieve his rhyme, and has even taken the liberty of misspelling *ineffabilis* (acc. pl.: properly *-es*) in order to maintain the sequence of rhymes in *-is*. Every sentence of his letter exhibits rhyme of this sort. Although rhyming prose became extremely common in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was less often practised in England at this time. Lantfred is the only author known to have practised this style in tenth-century England.[43] In other words, this stylistic peculiarity strongly suggests that L. and Lantfred are one.

The suggestion that Lantfred was a monk originally from Fleury squares well with evidence concerning the spelling of his name and his habitual trips to Francia. It also squares well with what we know of contacts between Winchester and Fleury at this period.[44] We know, for example, that at an early stage of his career Bishop Æthelwold had expressed the desire to study at Fleury, only to have his desire thwarted by royal intervention; in his stead Æthelwold sent his disciple Osgar, who spent some years there before returning to England to become abbot of Abingdon on Æthelwold's elevation to Winchester.[45] When, following the council of Winchester in 973, Æthelwold came to draft the *Regularis concordia*,[46] he drew on the advice of monks of Fleury and Ghent concerning monastic observance: 'accitis Flor⟨iac⟩ensis beati Benedicti necnon praecipui coenobii quod celebri Gent nuncupatur uocabulo monachis'.[47] It is possible to infer the source of the information from Ghent, because we know that Womar, sometime abbot of St Peter's in Ghent, spent time at Winchester as a member of the *familia* of the Old Minster, probably during the 970s when the *Regularis concordia* was being drafted.[48] It is also certain that the customs of Fleury were influential in the compilation of the *Regularis concordia*,[49] since a recently discovered customary from Fleury

[41] *Translatio*, c. 2 (below, p. 268). Note also the use of the word *repedauit* and the reading reported in J in *Translatio*, c. 9, n. *j–j*.

[42] See the discussion of Lantfred's rhyming prose, below, pp. 228–9.

[43] But cf. my comments on the New Minster foundation charter (S 745 = BCS 1190), below, p. 229.

[44] The links between Winchester and Fleury need to be understood within the wider spectrum of contact between Fleury and England in the later tenth century; see D. Gremont and L. Donnat, 'Fleury, Le Mont Saint-Michel et l'Angleterre à la fin du Xe siècle', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, ed. J. Laporte *et al.*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1966–7), i. 751–93, at pp. 769–79, as well as M. Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. M. Korhammer (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 99–129, repr. *ALL* ii. 387–417.

[45] See above, n. 36, and discussion in Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 26–7 with nn. 3–4.

[46] On Æthelwold's authorship of the *Regularis concordia*, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as scholar and teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 89–117, at 98–100 (repr. *ALL* ii. 192–4).

[47] *Regularis concordia*, c. 5 (ed. Symons, p. 3; ed. Symons and Spath, p. 72; ed. Kornexl, pp. 5–6).

[48] Womar is listed among the monks who 'specialiter se deuouerunt' in the list of Old Minster monks in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster (ed. Birch, p. 24 (no. xiii); ed. Keynes, fo. 18r: 'Domnus abba Womarus qui olim coenobio Gent prelatus hanc deuotus adiit gentem, huiusque se familie precibus humillime commendauit'); cf. also *ASC* (ed. Plummer, i. 124), s.a. 981C: 'on þam ylcan geare forðferde Womær, abbod on Gent'. In fact Womar did not die in 981, but on 27 Aug. 980 (see P. Grierson, *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand* (Brussels, 1937), pp. 19, 21, where the information is derived from Folcuin's *Gesta S. Bertini*, c. 107, ptd MGH, SS xiii. 628–9; nor did he die in Winchester, as Plummer supposed: see J. M. Toll, *Englands Beziehungen zu den Niederlanden bis 1154* (Berlin, 1921), pp. 23–5.

[49] The influence of Fleury was underestimated by T. Symons, '*Regularis concordia*: history and derivation', in *Tenth-Century*

datable to the late tenth century has a number of striking parallels with the English document.[50] Given Lantfred's Fleury origins and his presence in Winchester in the early 970s, it is reasonable to suppose that it was he who advised Æthelwold on the monastic observances of Fleury.

One other possible witness to Lantfred's intellectual activity at Winchester may be mentioned. In a Winchester manuscript of the late tenth century, now Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5. 34, are found three poems which have the single rubric *uersus .L. de quodam superbo* (fo. 71r). I have argued elsewhere on independent grounds that these three poems were composed at Winchester during Æthelwold's episcopacy.[51] It is worth at least posing the question of whether .L. of the rubric might, like .L. of the letter to Dunstan, be identical with Lantfred.[52] The first two poems are a high-spirited debate between a master (with the Welsh name Ioruert) and a student; the third poem is a more serious reflection on the problems of providence and free will (the *Carmen de libero arbitrio*). It is not clear whether all three poems are the work of the one author .L., but there are some striking similarities between the *Carmen de libero arbitrio* and Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*. The poem is addressed to an English bishop (whom I should identify as Æthelwold); its author is a foreigner who closes the poem by expressing gratitude to the bishop for the warm hospitality which he has received:

> Gentes Anglorum felices presule tanto
> ritus qui prauos corrigit ut genitor,
> Extorresque superuenientes uosque beati:
> cunctis his tribuit quicquid opus fuerit.
> Quis numerare queat bona nobis quae bonus ille
> contulit hanc postquam uenimus ad patriam?[53]

Like Lantfred, the poet has an intimate familiarity with *De consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius:[54] indeed the central image of the *Carmen de libero arbitrio*, God observing humankind from the high watchtower of Providence, is derived from Boethius (iv, pr. 6).[55] Like Lantfred the poet uses an impressive number of grecisms, and also like him uses the form *necne* in favour of *necnon*.[56] More significant is the poet's use of the phrases *toto mentis conamine* (171)[57] and *caelica Tempe* (53; cf. *Altercatio* 45).[58] There is thus a balance of probability in favour of identifying .L. the foreign poet at Winchester with Lantfred; but probability is not proof.

Our knowledge of Lantfred's career, accordingly, may be summarized as follows. He was a native

Studies, pp. 37–59, at 59: understandably, since the importance of Anselme Davril's discovery of the customary of Theoderic (see following note) had not at that point been realized: A. Davril, 'Un coutumier de Fleury du début du XIe siècle', *RB* lxxvi (1966), 351–4.

[50] The customary of Theoderic, sometime monk of Fleury, ed. A. Davril and L. Donnat, 'Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores', CCM vii/3. 1–60. See also L. Donnat, 'Recherches sur l'influence de Fleury au Xe siècle', in *Etudes ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales*, ed. R. Louis (Auxerre, 1975), pp. 165–74.

[51] Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', pp. 105–7 (repr. *ALL* ii. 245–7).

[52] The suggestion that .L. in the rubric stood for Lantfred was made a century ago by the learned Cambridge librarian Henry Bradshaw (Bradshaw's suggestion is reported by H. A. J. Munro, in his edition of the Latin poem *Aetna* (Cambridge, 1867), p. 29), but he does not seem to have pursued the matter.

[53] *Carmen de libero arbitrio* 179–84 (ed. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', p. 136, repr. *ALL* ii. 276): 'Happy the English with such a bishop, who corrects the depraved practices of the church like a father; and you foreigners lately arriving are blessed as well: to all these he has granted whatsoever was necessary. Who could count all the bounties which that good man has conferred on us since we came to this land?'

[54] See below, comm. to the text, nn. 17, 140, 180, 203, 268.

[55] See discussion in 'Three Latin poems', pp. 103–4 (repr. *ALL* ii. 243–4).

[56] Cf. my remarks in 'Three Latin poems', pp. 88–9 (repr. *ALL* ii. 228–9).

[57] See *Translatio et miracula*, cc. 2, 25 (*toto mentis conamine*).

[58] See ibid. c. 40 (*caelica Tempe*), below, p. 332 n.

of Francia and a speaker of (Old) French. As a monk of Fleury he was probably invited to Winchester by Æthelwold. While at Winchester he advised Æthelwold on the monastic customs of Fleury (advice which Æthelwold incorporated in the *Regularis concordia*), composed his *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, and composed a small corpus of Latin poetry as well. He was on intimate terms with Archbishop Dunstan as well as with Osgar, whom he had perhaps met on an earlier occasion while Osgar was studying at Fleury. He was in the habit of making periodic trips to the Continent, and on one of these trips he decided to remain at Fleury. Whether he ever returned to England, or when or where he died, is unknown.

ii. THE STYLE OF THE *TRANSLATIO ET MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI*

Lantfred was an extremely accomplished writer of Latin prose.[59] It would be fair to say, in fact, that he was the most accomplished prose stylist active in England since the days of Aldhelm and Bede, nearly three centuries earlier. He brought to England the effects of his continental education, perhaps at Fleury, and it is reasonable to suppose that his dazzling prose style created a deep impression, not only on his contemporaries at Winchester, but also farther afield. It will be convenient to analyze his Latin prose under five headings: vocabulary, poeticism, rhyme, rhetorical tropes, and cursus.

Vocabulary

In late tenth-century England there was a well-attested vogue for learned and recherché vocabulary—particularly grecisms and archaisms, but also including neologisms when the occasion arose.[60] Because this vocabulary may often have been drawn from glossaries of the type called 'hermeneumata', the style which affected the use of such vocabulary is conventionally called 'hermeneutic'.[61] The impetus for this vogue in tenth-century England came from the Continent. Its earliest practitioner was apparently John the Old Saxon, who had been invited to England by King Alfred during the 880s; in a brief poem addressed to the young prince (later king) Æthelstan, John had employed a number of rare Greek words within the compass of a short poem.[62] A generation later, during the reign of Æthelstan (924–39), the hermeneutic style is found in a variety of texts, including a series of charters;[63] and at Canterbury, during the decade 948 × 958, the Frankish scholar Fredegaud (whose name was anglicized as Frithegod) composed his *Breuiloquium uitae Wilfridi*, a poem which could fairly be described as the supreme monument of the hermeneutic style.[64] Given that the hermeneutic style was in such vogue in tenth-century England, it is not

[59] On medieval Latin prose style in general, see E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 5th edn., 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1958), esp. vol. ii, as well as LHS ii. 685–838, and Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*, iv. 419–510.

[60] For the classical background to this tenth-century vogue, see (briefly) LHS ii. 759–65 (grecism), 766–8 (neologism), 768–71 (archaism), as well as J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique latine*, 5th edn. (Paris, 1970), pp. 156–76.

[61] See M. Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature', *ASE* iv (1975), 67–111, repr. *ALL* ii. 105–49.

[62] M. Lapidge, 'Some Latin poems as evidence for the reign of Athelstan', *ASE* ix (1981), 61–98, at pp. 72–83, repr. *ALL* ii. 49–86, at pp. 60–71.

[63] M. Lapidge, 'Schools, learning and literature in tenth-century England', *Settimane* xxxviii (1991), 951–98, at pp. 966–74, repr. *ALL* ii. 1–48, at pp. 16–24.

[64] See M. Lapidge, 'A Frankish scholar in tenth-century England: Frithegod of Canterbury / Fredegaud of Brioude', *ASE* xvii (1988), 45–65, repr. *ALL* ii. 157–81. The *Breuiloquium uitae Wilfridi* (*ICL*, no. 8137) is ed. A. Campbell, *Frithegodi Monachi* [sic] *Breuiloquium Vitae Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (Zurich, 1950), pp. 4–62.

surprising that it should have been assiduously cultivated by Lantfred, who (as we have seen) probably came to Winchester from Fleury, where in the later tenth century the style was also cultivated.[65]

As in the case of Aldhelm some three centuries earlier, Lantfred's search for unusual and recherché vocabulary was driven partly by the stylistic need for variation which, in terms of vocabulary, expresses itself in the search for synonyms.[66] For example, when referring to something 'aforementioned', he uses the common adjectives *predictum* (c. 33) and *prefatum* (c. 3), but also the following variants: *pretitulatum* (c. 2), *sepeprescriptum* (c. 2), *prelibatum* (c. 2), *superius commemoratum* (c. 3), *presignatum* (cc. 20, 25, 27), *pretaxatum* (cc. 25, 32), and *prenotatum* (cc. 21, 26, 36). Or when describing a dagger which belonged to a rich moneyer in c. 2 of his *Translatio et miracula*, Lantfred within a few lines refers to the weapon variously as a *cultellus*, *machaera*, *mucro*, *pugio*, and *suspadium*.[67] When referring to the office of the king's reeve (OE *gerefa*), he uses the words *praeses, praefectus*, *prepositus*, and *gastoldus* within the space of a single chapter (c. 25). There are many examples of such variation in Lantfred. It seems clear that a writer who took such pains to vary his vocabulary would take equal pains in the search for unusual synonyms.

Lantfred drew his recherché vocabulary from several quarters. As we have seen, he used two vulgarisms taken from Old French—*reposare* and *senior*—perhaps for stylistic effect.[68] He also used a number of rare archaisms: the verbs *floccipendo* (cc. 3, 10, 36) and *paruipendo* (c. 10), the exclamation *malum* (c. 10), the adjective *foruum* (c. 35), and the adverbs *opipare* (c. 31) and *quorsum* (c. 37). However, his favourite source of unusual vocabulary was Greek. The grecisms which occur in his *Translatio et miracula* may be listed as follows:

adelphus (ἀδελφός: *Ep.*), *anastasis* (ἀνάστασις: *Praef.*), *basileus* (βασιλεύς: *Praef.*, 27), *biotticus* (βιωτικός: 1), *carisma* (χάρισμα: *Praef.*), *cleptes* (κλέπτης: 26, 34), *clima* (κλίμα: 2, 3, 20), *cosmus* (κόσμος: *Praef.*, 11, 25, 26), *dema* (δέμας: *Praef.*, 2), *didasculus* (διδάσκαλος: *Praef.*), *doxa* (δόξα: 10), *echonomus* (οἰκονόμος: 27 *bis*), *elegus* (ἔλεγος: 20), *empyrius* (ἐμπύριος: *Praef.*), *eucharis* (εὐχάρις: 1), *eulogitus* (εὐλογητός: 1), *forniforus* (φερνόφορος: *Praef.*), *glaucoma* (γλαύκωμα: 15, 29), *idalma* (ἴνδαλμα: *Praef.*), *idea* (ἰδέα: *Praef.*), *ierarchus* (ἱεράρχης: 35), *macarius* (μακάριος: 1), *machaera* (μάχαιρα: 2), *mathites* (μαθητής: *Praef.*), *melote* (μηλωτή: 10), *omousios* (ὁμοιούσιος: *Praef.*), *onoma*

[65] For books in the Fleury library which could sustain the cultivation of such a style, see M. Lapidge, 'L'influence stylistique de la poésie de Jean Scot', in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie* (Paris, 1977), pp. 441–52. Evidence of such cultivation is found in several poems from Fleury dating from the late tenth century: for example, in an anonymous poem which served as the preface to a mortuary roll from Fleury (inc. 'Tristia corda solent mestum quia promere carmen': *ICL*, no. 16486; ptd L. Delisle, *Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1866), pp. 21–4), and also in a poem addressed to Constantine, sometime monk of Fleury and a friend of Oswald the Younger of Ramsey (inc. 'Constantine meis opus est non promere uerbis': *ICL*, no. 2661; ed. E. Dümmler, 'Gedichte aus Frankreich', *Neues Archiv*, ii (1877), 222–8, at pp. 224–7, and H. Hagen, *Carmina medii aevi maximam partem inedita* (Bern, 1877), pp. 130–4). On Constantine, see Leland, *Commentarii*, ed. Hall, i. 172, and *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, iii. 169–70. The links between these poems and the Winchester poems preserved in CUL Kk. 5. 34 (ed. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems') deserve exploration; there are, for example, striking similarities in tone between the Winchester *Altercatio* and the prefatory poem in the Fleury mortuary roll, and the poem 'Constantine meis opus est' abounds in grecisms such as *spermata*, *phillara*, *syntagma*, *chelys*, *mysteriarchus*, as well as other coinages (*psalmatio*, *compluscula*, etc.).

[66] On the piling up of synonyms as a stylistic affectation, see LHS ii. 785–90 (*Synonymenhäufung*); and cf. the discussion of M. Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's prose style and its origins', *ASE* vi (1977), 39–76, who draws attention to the possible influence of Isidore's *Synonyma* in this connection (ibid. pp. 59–60). Aldhelm's use of Isidore as a source of synonyms is analyzed by J. Marenbon, 'Les sources du vocabulaire d'Aldhelm', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, xli (1979), 75–90.

[67] For the particular problems posed by *suspadium*, see below, p. 271 n. 93.

[68] On the use of vulgarisms as stylistic affectation, see M. Hélin, 'Vulgarismes et néologismes dans la latinité médiévale', *Le moyen âge*, lxix (1963), 247–58.

(*ὄνομα*: 1), *pneuma* (*πνεῦμα*: *Praef.*, 20, 40), *proseuca* (*προσευχή*: *Praef.*), *protoplastus* (*πρωτόπλαστος*: *Praef.*), *rema* (*ῥῆμα*: *Praef.*), *sicofanta* (*συκοφάντης*: 1), *simposium* (*συμπόσιον*: 3), *soma* (*σῶμα*: 1, 3 *ter*, 5, 20, 30, 31, 37), *sother* (*σωτήρ*: *Praef.*), *sperma* (*σπέρμα*: *Praef.*), *staurus* (*σταυρός*: *Praef.*, 2, 3 *bis*, 29), *stoma* (*στόμα*: 1, 33), *trapezeta* (*τραπεζίτης*: 2 *ter*), *ymera* (*ἡμέρα*: *Praef.*, 25), *zoe* (*ζωή*: 1).

It will be seen that most of these grecisms occur in the *Praefatio* and in the first three chapters: in other words, at the very beginning of the work where Lantfred was most concerned to capture the admiration of his readers.[69]

It is worth asking where Lantfred found all these Greek words, and, in particular, whether he had some (rudimentary) knowledge of Greek.[70] He knew, for example, how to decline *dema* and *idalma* in oblique cases (as *demate* and *idalmate*). On the other hand, he made one revealing mistake in declining the word *mathites*, giving its genitive as *mathites* (rather than *mathitou*: *μαθητοῦ*).[71] Similarly, he consistently represented *staurus* (*σταυρός*, 'cross') as a feminine noun, whereas the noun in Greek is masculine.[72] This would suggest that his knowledge of Greek was derived from a glossary,[73] perhaps a glossary based on the Greek New Testament,[74] rather than from first-hand experience of the language. Whatever the source of his Greek vocabulary, Lantfred was clearly proud of it: by way of drawing attention to it he supplied interlinear glosses to most of his grecisms, and these glosses were copied into J (see below, p. 238).

Poeticism

Another way in which Lantfred adorned his *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* was by the use of what might be called 'poetic' vocabulary, that is, vocabulary used characteristically by Latin poets, the use of which in Latin prose imparts to that prose a heightened and precious effect.[75] For example, the

[69] It is also worth noting that these chapters are by far the longest in the work, which may suggest that Lantfred began with an exceedingly ambitious conception of the scale of the work, but was subsequently forced (or chose) to curtail this ambition.

[70] On the difficulties of learning Greek from the meagre resources available in the Latin West in the early Middle Ages, see A. C. Dionisotti, 'Greek grammars and dictionaries in Carolingian Europe', in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. W. Herren (London, 1988), pp. 1–56, esp. 1–6. For the possibility of contact with a Greek-speaking bishop named Nikephoros at King Edgar's court, hence at Winchester, in the decade 959–70, see M. Lapidge, 'Byzantium, Rome and England in the early Middle Ages', *Settimane*, xlix (2002), 363–400, at pp. 386–99.

[71] Interestingly, Fredegaud (who may have had some genuine knowledge of Greek), was able to decline this word correctly in the accusative: *Breuiloquium uitae Wilfridi*, 1017.

[72] Cf. c. 2, 'inter quod et lapideam staurum quae ibi est posita'; c. 3 'ad lapideam staurum quae est . . .', 'staurus lapidea'; c. 29, 'staurus hic est saxea fulgens grandis altissima'.

[73] On the question of what (sort of) glossaries might have been available, see Dionisotti, 'Greek grammars and dictionaries', pp. 6–15, 26–31 (*hermeneumata*).

[74] Note that the following words used by Lantfred occur in the Greek NT: *adelphus, anastasis, basileus, biotticus, carisma, cleptes, clima, cosmus, didasculus, doxa, echonomus, eucharis, eulogitus, idea, macarius, machera, mathites, melote, onoma, pneuma, proseuca, rema, sicofanta, simposium, soma, sother, sperma, staurus, stoma, trapezeta, ymera*, and *zoe*; that is to say, thirty-two out of forty-one words, a remarkable proportion. One might therefore think, in the first instance, of a bilingual of the NT (on bilinguals, see briefly W. Berschin, 'Greek elements in medieval Latin manuscripts', in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks*, ed. Herren, pp. 85–104, at 91–4), but as far as I am aware, no such bilingual survives from Anglo-Saxon England. The alternative would be a Greek-Latin biblical (or NT) glossary. No such glossary appears to survive from Anglo-Saxon England, but note the item in the list of books donated by Æthelwold to his refoundation at Peterborough, *c.*970: 'De litteris Grecorum', ed. M. Lapidge, 'Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33–89, at 52–5 (no. 20)). The availability of such a glossary at Winchester might be confirmed by the fact that Godeman, in his poem on the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' (written *c.*973) uses the following NT grecisms: *biblos, boanerges, heresis, iconomos, sother*; see Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style', pp. 105–6 (repr. *ALL* ii. 143–4). But one must also reckon with the possible influence of the Greek bishop Nikephoros on Winchester circles (see above, n. 70).

[75] See briefly Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*, iv. 505–9, as well as Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique latine*, esp. pp. 176–82; these should be read in conjunction with B. Axelson, *Unpoetische*

normal prosaic word for 'horse' is *equus*; Lantfred, however, uses the Vergilian words *cornipes* (9), 'horn-footed', and *sonipes* (7, 31), 'noisy-footed'.[76] Vergilian diction permeates the *Translatio et miracula*, and underlies expressions such as *lucem Titane ad plagam rotante occiduam* (3) or *Tysiphoneis uultibus* (3) or *lucescente aurora* (27)[77] or *albescente aurora* (28)[78] or *fama uolante* (24).[79] But Lantfred frequently adopts the diction of other Latin poets, as in the phrases *auribus intentis* (3),[80] *toto mentis conamine* (2, 25),[81] and *sagaci mente* (1, 7).[82] A characteristic feature of Latin poetic diction was the use of compound nouns and adjectives,[83] and such words permeate Lantfred's *Translatio*, including adjectives in *-dicum*, such as *ymnidicum* (29), *-gerum*, such as *astrigerum* (3) and *sceptrigerum* (*Praef.*), and adjectives formed from the elements *cuncti-* or *omni-* in combination with terminations such as *-creans*, *-potens* and *-tonans*: *cuncticreans* (*Praef.*, 2, 3, 20, 32, 36, 39),[84] *cunctipotens* (35), *cunctitonans* (2, 10), and *omnicreans* (9, 10, 16, 20). Another category of nouns which impart a poetic flavour to prose were those ending in *-men*.[85] It was a feature of Latin poetic diction from Ovid onwards to use nouns in *-men* (especially those formed from first conjugation verbs, hence declined in *-amine*) in the ablative singular in the fifth feet of hexameters; this device is frequently found in tenth-century Anglo-Latin verse,[86] and it is significant that Lantfred should have used numerous such nouns in his prose: *affamen* (cc. 2, 3, 20 *bis*), *curuamen* (c. 37), *decoramen* (c. 35), *foramen* (c. 3), *ligamen* (cc. 20, 27, 38, 39), *medicamen* (cc. 28, 32, 36), *oramen* (c. 27), *peccamen* (c. 1), *precamen* (c. 1), *spiramen* (cc. 3, 32), *sustentamen* (c. 35), and *uocamen* (c. 1). Of course they were not used by Lantfred for metrical purposes, but words such as *oramen*, *peccamen* and *uocamen* (to mention only three) nonetheless impart a poetic tone to his prose, in lieu of the more prosaic terms *oratio*, *peccatum* and *nomen*. Lantfred similarly used other expressions which are more characteristic of poetry than prose, such as the word *necne* (cc. 2, 3 and *passim*) in lieu of *necnon*, used by poets for metrical reasons,[87] or the use of distributive numerals in lieu of cardinal numerals, such as *ter bina* (c. 2) for *sex*, *ter terna* (cc. 3, 35)

Wörter. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Dichtersprache (Lund, 1945), and A. Ernout, 'Le vocabulaire poétique', *Revue de philologie*, xxi (1947), 55–70, repr. in his *Philologica*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1957), ii. 66–86. Most important for the study of Latin poetic diction are the three essays (by Wilhelm Kroll, Hendrik Janssen and Manu Leumann), ed. and trans. by A. Lunelli, *La lingua poetica latina*, 2nd edn. (Bologna, 1980). There is excellent treatment of poeticism in Gildas by F. Kerlouégan, *Le 'De excidio Britanniae' de Gildas. Les destinées de la culture latine dans l'Ile de Bretagne au VIe siècle* (Paris, 1987), pp. 239–51.

[76] For *cornipes*, see Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 591 ('aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum'); for *sonipes*, see *Aen.* xi. 600 ('fremit aequore toto / insultans sonipes et pressis pugnat habenis').

[77] Cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* vi. 37 ('stupeant lucescere solem'); cf. Lantfred's variation on this phrase: *lucescente mane* (12, 20).

[78] Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 585 ('Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras / Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile'); cf. Lantfred's variation, *aurora diem ducente* (c. 15).

[79] Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* xi. 139 ('et iam Fama volans . . . domos et moenia replet').

[80] Cf. Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, 746 ('auribus intentis expectant contio'); cf. *Hexlexikon* i. 177.

[81] From Aldhelm, *CdV* 89 ('et praecepta Dei toto conamine mentis'). The phrase also occurs, as *toto mentis conamine*, in Æthelwold's *Regularis concordia*, c. 5 (ed. Symons, p. 3; ed. Symons and Spath, p. 71; ed. Kornexl, p. 5), and in the *Carmen de libero arbitrio* 171 (ed. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', p. 136, repr. *ALL* ii. 276). Lantfred performs several variations on this phrase: *toto uirtutis conamine* (c. 3), *tota mentis intentione* (c. 20), *toto mentis ardore* (c. 29), *omni mentis intentione* (c. 37), etc.

[82] Arator, *HA* i. 404 ('donatus mente sagaci'), Aldhelm, *CdV* 1129, 1480, and *HexLexikon* iii. 339. Lantfred uses the phrase again in c. 7; note also his variant *sagaci cogitatione* (c. 35).

[83] This is an aspect of medieval Latin which deserves study. For Classical Latin, se J. Perrot, 'La forme des composés poétiques du latin', *Revue des études latines*, xxx (1952), 157–67, as well as F. Bader, *La formation des composés nominaux du latin* (Paris, 1962), and R. Oniga, *I composti nominali latini. Una morfologia generativa* (Bologna, 1988). In the field of medieval Latin, a good beginning has been made by J. Meyers, *Le classicisme lexical dans la poésie de Sedulius Scottus* (Liege, 1994).

[84] It may be significant that this unusual compound—used frequently (perhaps excessively) by Lantfred—is also used in the *Regularis concordia*, c. 14 (ed. Symons, p. 11; ed. Symons and Spath, p. 80; ed. Kornexl, p. 22).

[85] See, in general, J. Perrot, *Les dérivés latins en -men et -mentum* (Paris, 1961). Such nouns entered the poetic vocabulary largely as a result of Ovid's creative neologism, as was pointed out long ago by E. Linse, *De Ovidio vocabulorum inventore* (Leipzig, 1891).

[86] See Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', pp. 87–8 (repr. *ALL* ii. 227–8).

[87] See Lapidge, ibid. pp. 88–9 (repr. *ALL* ii. 228–9).

for *nouem*, and so on.[88] By the use of poetic expressions such as these, Lantfred's prose often approaches to verse, so that a phrase of Lantfred such as 'cum uibranti luce conscendit Olimpum' (c. 10), could easily be rendered by Wulfstan[89] into a hexameter as 'lumine uibranti rutilum conscendit Olympum' (i. 1386); or again, Lantfred's 'aurora diem ducente glaucoma ex oculis eius recessit' (c. 15), rendered by Wulfstan as 'aurora ducente diem glaucoma recessit / uisibus a pueri' (i. 1489); or finally, Lantfred's phrase 'huius in obscure noctis reminiscens tenebris' (34), rendered by Wulfstan as 'huius in obscurae reminiscens tempore noctis' (ii. 897). Lantfred's prose is permeated by many near-poetic phrases such as these.

Rhyme

Another feature of Lantfred's Latin prose which sets it apart from that of his English contemporaries is his extensive use of rhyme.[90] Consider, for example, the long sentence which brings his *Praefatio* to a close, with its sequences of rhymes in **-i**, **-ere**, and **-e**:

> Post cuius etenim sacri translationem corpusculi, tot languentes pristine sanitati Deo prestante sunt restituti in sacello quo quiescebant ossa pontificis almi, quot nemo uiuens corporea luce quiuit conspic**ere**, neque elementorum sacras recitando scedulas edisc**ere**, nec rumore mordaces pulsante aures percip**ere**, ad monumentum unius sancti curatos **fore**; neque post sanctos predicatores apostolorum . . . quisquam sanct**us**, mortalis septus dematis uelamin**e**, uspiam utriusque sospitatis uite dinoscitur reddidisse.[91]

Rhyme occurs occasionally in classical Latin prose, particularly when authors employ the rhetorical device of homoeoteleuton (that is, the use of similar word-endings); but such rhyme invariably occurs between similar parts of the verb, or participles. What is striking about Lantfred's rhyme is that it occurs indiscriminately between nouns, adjectives, and verbs. It is used by him to link together phrases of between eight and twenty syllables. On occasion, as in c. 34, the use of sequences of rhyming phrases gives way smoothly into rhyming octosyllables:

> Huius in obscure noctis reminiscens tenebr**is**, Dei incomprehensibile exorauit numen omnipotent**is**, quatinus ei subuenirent magni preces pontific**is**, effundens uocem lacrimis mixtam et suspiri**is**:
>
> 'Auctor o rerum prepot**ens**
> alme Deus atque clem**ens** . . .'

Rhyming prose was practised by a number of ninth- and tenth-century continental authors,[92] notably by Milo of Saint-Amand,[93] Hrotswitha,[94] Atto of Vercelli,[95] Odilo of Cluny,[96] and Stephen of Liège;[97] it was, in particular, a frequent adornment of Latin hagiography.[98] Lantfred could in

[88] See Lapidge, ibid. p. 86 (repr. *ALL* ii. 226); see also B. Löfstedt, 'Zum Gebrauch der lateinischen distributiven Zahlwörter', *Eranos*, lvi (1958), 71–117, 188–223, as well as the earlier study by A. J. Bell, *The Latin Dual and Poetic Diction. Studies in Numbers and Figures* (London and Toronto, 1923), esp. pp. 137–60.

[89] Wulfstan's hexameter rendering of Lantfred's text, the *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, is printed below as no. 2 (pp. 371–551).

[90] See (briefly) LHS ii. 704–6, and Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*, iv. 487–95.

[91] See below, p. 258.

[92] See the magisterial survey of medieval Latin rhyming prose by Karl Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (Berlin, 1925), who does not, however, treat Lantfred.

[93] *Additio ad libellum Vitae S. Amandi* (*BHL*, no. 339): PL cxxi. 967–70.

[94] *Vita Mathildis reginae* (*BHL*, no. 5684): PL cxxxv. 889–920. See Polheim's detailed treatment of Hrotswitha, *Die lateinische Reimprosa*, pp. 1–40.

[95] *Sermones* nos. x–xvi: PL cxxiv. 845–55.

[96] *Vita S. Maioli* (*BHL*, no. 5182): PL clxii. 943–62.

[97] Stephen of Liège, *Vita S. Lamberti* (*BHL*, no. 4683): PL cxxxii. 643–60.

[98] Cf. Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa*, p. 346. See also F. Dolbeau, 'Hagiographie latine et prose rimée: deux exemples

principle have known the works of any of these authors, although there is no evidence that he did. In any event, there is no precedent for the use of rhyming prose among Anglo-Latin authors, and, after Lantfred, it was next practised in England by the author of the *Vita Ædwardi*, a life of Edward the Confessor written *c.*1065 by a monk of Saint-Bertin.[99] In view of the rarity of rhyming prose in tenth-century England, it may be worth noting in passing that the famous 'New Minster Foundation Charter', composed at Winchester in 966, very possibly by Æthelwold himself, is partly written in pairs of rhyming clauses, as the following passage from c. 2 of that document illustrates:[100]

Fruebatur letabundus creatoris tripudio et angelorum alacriter utebatur consortio; non eum corporalis debilitabat inbecillitas, nec animi affligebat anxietas; non typo leuis raptabatur superbie, sed suo se coniungens auctori humilis pollebat mirifice; non eum inanis tumidum uexabat gloria, sed deuotum creatoris magnificabat memoria.

Rhyming prose was being used in contemporary charters on the Continent, especially in those issued in Germany by Otto I and Otto II (hence during the years 937 × 983);[101] but, with the exception of the 'New Minster Foundation Charter', was not used in tenth-century English diplomatic. One might suspect, on the evidence of the rhyme alone, that Lantfred was at Winchester already by 966, and that he had some hand in drafting this unusual charter; but there is no way of confirming this suspicion in the present state of our knowledge.

Rhetorical tropes

Lantfred was evidently well skilled in the employment of rhetorical tropes, but two in particular deserve mention: anacoluthon and hyperbaton.

The term anacoluthon describes a lack of grammatical coherence between parts of a sentence, as (for example) when a principal clause which has been begun is not brought to completion by means of a finite verb.[102] In certain classical authors, notably Cicero in his speeches, anacoluthon was used to suggest the excitement and racy quality of everyday speech. In the case of a medieval Latin author, the question must always arise of whether a sentence was left incomplete through design or incompetence. Consider the following sentence from c. 3 of Lantfred's *Translatio*:

Qui dum illic pernoctaret triduo, permanens in oratione et ieiunio, nocte tertia transcurrente media, recedente uigilum custodia ob soporis grauitatem nimiam, antistes summus, clemens ac piissimus, eodem uultu quo etiam superius eisdem necne decoratus splendide ornatibus, languentis rursus comparens obtutibus.

de Vies épiscopales rédigées au XII siècle', *Sacris Erudiri*, xxxii (1991), 223–68.

[99] Ed. F. Barlow, *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*, 2nd edn. (OMT, 1992); see esp. p. xxviii. Note also that the earlier *Encomium Emmae* (written in Flanders in 1041–2 in praise of Queen Emma, widow of King Cnut), also the work of a monk of Saint-Bertin, is composed in rhyming prose: *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell, rev. S. Keynes (Cambridge, 1998), pp. [cxxi–cxxii].

[100] S 745 = BCS 1190, and see now *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. S. Miller, Anglo-Saxon Charters, ix (London, 2001), pp. 95–111 (no. 23), with pls. I–VIII; the quotation is found on p. 96 of this edition. The charter is also ptd and discussed by A. R. Rumble in WS 4.iii, pp. 65–97 (no. IV). For Æthelwold's role in its production, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as scholar and teacher', pp. 95–6, repr. *ALL* ii. 189–90.

[101] See H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1912–31), ii. 371–7, and Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa*, pp. 88–132.

[102] On anacoluthon, see LHS ii. 729–32.

The subject of the principal clause here is *antistes summus*, and one would expect the clause to be completed with the finite verb *comparuit*, rather than the present participle *comparens*. But it is possible that the incoherence is intentional, with *comparens* picking up *permanens* in the previous (subordinate) clause, in the way that the entire sentence is constructed of linked rhymes (*triduo / ieiunio . . . ornatibus / obtutibus*). The fact that there are several similar examples of grammatical incoherence in Lantfred (e.g. cc. 2, 9),[103] suggests that we have here intentional anacoluthon rather than unintentional incompetence.

There is no doubt, however, about Lantfred's use of hyperbaton. The term hyperbaton is used to describe syntax in which the order of words has been rearranged in order to achieve a startling effect. In order to achieve rhyme at the end of clauses, Lantfred was frequently obliged to rearrange the natural order of words. Consider the following sentence from c. 2:

Qui confestim ut surrexit a dormitione quiet**is**, ita curatus est diuinit**us** ut nusquam compareret gibbi loc**us**, erectoque uultu cael**um** coepit contemplari fulgid**um**, qui paulo ante pronus terr**as** ceu brutum animal tantum quibat prospicere stolid**as**.

In the final clause here, the adjective *stolidas* has been drastically separated from the noun which it qualifies (*terras*) in order to achieve rhyme; the 'natural' order of the words would be, 'qui paulo ante, pronus ceu brutum animal, tantum terras stolidas quibat prospicere'. Similarly, in c. 6, the 'natural' syntax of the first sentence—'pro paruo commisso, quedam ancillula Wintonie erat religata a proprio domino'—is rearranged by Lantfred so as to create two rhyming clauses in **-o**: 'quedam ancillula pro paruo erat commiss**o** | religata a proprio Wintonie domin**o**'. However, it is clear that Lantfred enjoyed the striking effect of hyperbaton, and took care to reorder the syntax of sentences even when the rhyme was not at issue. A clear example is seen in c. 20, where Lantfred is describing a slave-girl who was found speaking with a man (her former owner) from another part of England:

Cum hoc **ergo resciret domina | (cui seruiebat haec famula) | quod fabularetur de alia | cum homine prouincia** . . .

Here Lantfred obviously rearranged the words of the final phrase in order to place *prouincia* at the end, where it could sustain the rhymes in **-a**; but in that case he might simply have written, 'quod fabularetur cum homine de alia prouincia', in lieu of the unnatural order which he obviously preferred, 'de alia cum homine prouincia'. A similarly startling effect is achieved by the phrase, '(respiciens) . . . necne gemitus prenotati ac preces gibberosi' (c. 2), where the natural word-order would be 'necne gemitus ac preces prenotati gibberosi'. Sometimes Lantfred's hyperbaton is devised so as to produce what is called 'interlace', where a noun and its corresponding adjective are interwoven with another noun and its adjective, as in the phrases, 'repperit quendam commemorati inquilinum canonici' (c. 1, where *quendam* and *inquilinum* belong together, as do *commemorati* and *canonici*), or 'tandem transacto anni curriculo medii' (c. 2, where *transacto* and *curriculo* belong together, but have been interwoven with *anni* and *medii*). The point is simply that Lantfred took delight in rearranging the syntax of his sentences for stylistic effect.

[103] See below, nn. 91, 185.

Cursus

By *cursus* is meant the rhythm (that is, the sequence of accented and unaccented syllables) of the words which close a clause or sentence. In antiquity, the best prose authors practised certain types of what are called *clausulae*, namely cadences composed of certain patterns of long and short syllables. At some point in late antiquity, distinctions of length were lost, but throughout the Middle Ages Latin authors used various kinds of rhythmical cadence or *cursus*,[104] which may broadly be described as the rhythmical equivalents of quantitative *clausulae*. The three principal types of *cursus* are *planus* (óoóo, p 3p: e.g. *íllum dedúxit*), *velox* (óooóoo, pp 4p: e.g. *hóminem recepístis*) and *tardus* (óoóoo, p 4pp: e.g. *íre tentáverit*),[105] but there are various sub-types related to these. However, because all Latin words have an innate rhythm (the stress falling on the penultimate syllable if it is long, and on the antepenultimate if short), any two words thrown together randomly at the end of a sentence will exhibit some type of rhythm; for this reason, detailed statistical tests have been devised to distinguish between those *cursus*-rhythms which could occur randomly, and those which were 'sought' by a particular author. The tests are based on the difference between the 'observed' frequency of the commonest types of *cursus*, and the 'expected' frequency, which can be calculated using a statistical method called the 'chi-squared' (χ^2) test. By applying this test to large samples of cadences from various medieval Latin authors, Tore Janson was able to demonstrate the extent to which *cursus* was cultivated.[106] On the basis of his results it is clear that, during the early Middle Ages, teachers taught their students the use of *cursus* orally (there is no surviving handbook which explains the system), and that there are various 'schools' of *cursus*-use. Most relevant to Lantfred is that which Janson calls the 'northern tradition', as witnessed by a number of French and German authors between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

There is no reason to doubt that Lantfred will have been aware of the use of *cursus*; it was certainly used by a near-contemporary of his at Winchester, Wulfstan, in the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*.[107] However, various considerations bear on the use of *cursus* in Lantfred, in particular his concern with rhyme. It may be assumed that his principal consideration in arranging words within a sentence was to achieve rhyme rather than patterns of *cursus*. Accordingly, although Wulfstan's use of *cursus* falls clearly within the 'northern tradition', Lantfred's use is eccentric in the extreme: if indeed he was conscientiously attempting its use. Out of a total sample of 471 sentence-endings in his *Translatio et miracula*, Lantfred's eight most frequent *cursus*-rhythms are shown in table 11.

[104] The principal study of *cursus* is T. Janson, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century* (Stockholm, 1975); for the tradition of *cursus* used in France and Germany in the tenth and eleventh centuries (the 'northern tradition'), see esp. pp. 35–59. See also (briefly) LHS ii. 714–21, and Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*, iv. 482–7.

[105] The system of notation used here is that of Janson. The notation intends to describe the stress-patterns of the two final words of any clause; 'p' refers to paroxytonic stress (that is, stress falling on the penultimate syllable), and 'pp' to proparoxytonic stress (that is, stress falling on the antepenultimate syllable). The numeral indicates how many syllables there are in the final word of the clause. Hence p 3p indicates an example of *cursus* having stress on the penultimate syllable of the second-last word, and concluding with a word of three syllables, in which the stress falls on the penultimate (i.e. second-from-last) syllable. And so on.

[106] *Prose Rhythm*, pp. 19–28.

[107] See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. cx–cxi.

TABLE 11
Cursus-*rhythms in Lantfred's prose*

Cursus-type	o.f.	e.f.	percentage
1. p 4pp (*tardus*)	61	41	12.9%
2. p 3p (*planus*)	59	49	12.5%
3. p 3pp	59	45	12.5%
4. p 2	58	48	12.3%
5. p 4p	39	[42]	8.3%
6. pp 4p (*velox*)	34	30	7.4%
7. pp 2	27	[35]	5.7%
8. pp 3p	23	[36]	4.9%

It is worth considering why these figures should differ so substantially from those of Wulfstan, the profile of whose three most favoured *cursus* (*planus*, *velox*, and *tardus*, in that order) sits comfortably within the 'northern tradition'. Consider two consecutive sentence-endings from c. 2:

duobus sustentus fustibus in quantum quiuit ocius Wintoniam uenit pedibus.
quam mox ut fuerat ingressus benigne est susceptus humanitus apud quem **mansit ter binis mensibus.**

These two *cursus*—*uénit pédibus* and *bínis ménsibus*—are both of the pattern p 3pp, an unusual pattern within the 'northern tradition'; but both appear to have been used by Lantfred because he wanted bisyllabic rhyme at the sentence-endings.

iii. SOURCES OF THE *TRANSLATIO ET MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI*

As we have seen, Lantfred was a self-conscious prose stylist, and such self-consciousness no doubt implies a thorough training in Latin and wide reading in Latin sources, classical, patristic, and hagiographical. But a predictable reflex of his stylistic self-consciousness is that he was seldom happy to retain *in extenso* the wording of earlier authors; characteristically he recast their wording into his own. The result is that we have in Lantfred to deal with short phrases and allusions, not direct and extensive quotations. Only rarely does Lantfred signal a direct quotation, as when in his prefatory *Epistola* he says, 'ut inquit Priscianus' (followed by a verbatim quotation), or in c. 35, where he quotes Christ's words from the gospel of Matthew with the words, 'idem Dominus . . . precepit', and then, a sentence later, a quotation from Paul's epistle to Romans, prefaced by the words, 'et apostolus'. But direct quotations like this are exceptional in Lantfred. In other words, although Lantfred was undoubtedly widely read, the list of literary sources on which he drew might appear to be a meagre one.

Certainly Lantfred was familiar with hagiographical sources pertaining to the discovery and translation of saints' remains. His account of the *inventio* or discovery of St Swithun's remains is closely modelled on the classic account of such an *inventio*, namely the 'Letter of Lucian to the entire Church concerning the revelation of the body of St Stephen, the first martyr' (*Epistola Luciani ad omnem ecclesiam de reuelatione corporis Stephani martyris primi*).[108] Lucian's *Epistola* was composed in

[108] Listed F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd edn. (Brussels, 1957), no. 1648; for the Greek text, see E. Vanderlinden, 'Revelatio Sancti Stephani (BHL 7850–6)', *Revue des études byzantines*, iv (1946), 178–217.

Greek in A.D. 415, but it was quickly translated into Latin by one Avitus, a priest from Braga in Spain, and it was this translation which circulated widely in the Latin West.[109] As Lucian reports the *inventio*, he was lying in bed in a waking sleep when he saw in a vision an aged man approaching him, tall in height, attractive in appearance, in shining apparel, dressed in a robe on which were embroidered golden crosses, holding a golden staff in his hand and wearing golden sandals.[110] The saintly man in the vision told Lucian to go to Bishop John of Jerusalem and to report the vision. When he awoke, Lucian realized that, if the vision was true, the saint would appear to him three times. The saint duly appeared a second and a third time, chastizing him each time for not having obeyed his instructions. After the saint's third appearance, Lucian went to Bishop John and reported the vision; together they went to the place indicated in the vision. And as they recover St Stephen's relics, many of the bystanders who were suffering from various illnesses were cured (Lucian gives a long list of the illnesses in question).[111] In c. 1 of his *Translatio*, which treats the *inventio* of the relics of St Swithun, Lantfred followed Lucian's model closely: a saint appears in a vision (*in quiete somnii*) to a reliable smith. Lantfred describes the saint (who is not yet named, but who will turn out to be St Swithun) as being of distinguished appearance with white hair (*decora preditus canitie*), clothed in a linen robe and wearing golden sandals. As in Lucian, the saint appears two further times to the smith, chastizing him each time for not having obeyed his earlier injunctions, and giving him instructions as to the location of Swithun's tomb. When in due course the tomb is opened, countless miracles occur. But although Lucian's *Epistola* was obviously Lantfred's model, as the structure of the narrative makes clear, there are no verbal links between the two accounts.

By the same token, Lantfred will have been familiar with the numerous continental *translationes* and *miracula*-collections which burgeoned in the late ninth and early tenth centuries.[112] The parent of these collections was the *Historia translationis S. Benedicti* by Adrevald of Fleury (d. *c.*879), together with the accompanying collection of miracles which took place after the relics of St Benedict had been housed in Fleury.[113] As a monk of Fleury, Lantfred will almost certainly have known Adrevald's writings, although (once again) there are no verbal links between Adrevald and Lantfred. The same is true of other tenth-century *translationes* which may have been known to Lantfred, such as the anonymous account, written 935 × 937, of the translation of the relics of St Eugenius of Toledo to Brogne in 914,[114] or the *miracula* accomplished by the translation at Trier of St

[109] *BHL*, no. 7851; ptd PL xli. 805–16 (the edition ptd in PL is based on a manuscript from Fleury).

[110] PL xli. 810: '... dum adhuc prope vigilarem, tanquam in excessu mentis effectus, vidi virum aetate senem, statura procerum, vultu decorum, promissa barba, in vestitu candido, amictum pallio, in cuius summitate erant tanquam aureae cruces intextae (et manu tenebat virgam auream), calceatum caligis in superficie deauratis, deambulantem coram me.'

[111] Ibid. col. 816: 'multitudo namque populi aderat nobiscum, inter quos plurimi erant infirmi variis languoribus: in ipsa hora mox de odore suavitatis eius septuaginta et tres animae curatae sunt. Ab aliis fugati daemones, aliorum fons restinctus est sanguinis, alii a strumis et furunculis liberati, alii a secretiore infirmitate sanati, alii a tertianis et quartanis; alios febris reliquit, alios morbus regius; alii a cephalargia curati et hemicranio, et multas alias curationes senserunt homines, quas enumerare longum est.'

[112] On the literary genre of *translatio*, see M. Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, xxxiii (Turnhout, 1979).

[113] *BHL*, nos. 1117 (*Historia translationis*), 1123 (*miracula*); ptd PL cxxiv. 901–10 (*Historia translationis*), 909–44 (*miracula*).

[114] *BHL*, nos. 2689–90; [ed. Bollandists], 'Translatio S. Eugenii Toletani ad monasterium Broniense', *AB* iii (1884), 29–57, with further miracles at pp. 58–64. The text has some unusual vocabulary in common with Lantfred—*didasculus*, *floccipendo*, *opipare* – and occasionally breaks out into rhyming prose; furthermore, there are similarities in a number of the miracles recounted: a cripple who was cured left the church so quickly that he abandoned his crutches (p. 53; cf. Lantfred, c. 30); a blind woman, who promised to make a donation, was cured, but then forgot her promise, was struck blind again, and subsequently cured (pp. 60–1; cf. Lantfred, c. 9); a *miles* was injured fallling from a horse but subsequently cured (p. 62; cf. Lantfred, c. 31).

Maximinus, composed by Sigehard of Trier 962 × 963.[115] At approximately this time, John of Saint-Arnoul in Metz composed his account of the translation and miracles of St Glodesindis, a seventh-century abbess of Metz;[116] shortly after 964 Abbot Berner of Homblières (Picardy) compiled his *Translatio et miracula S. Hunegundis*, an account of the miracles effected by the translation in 946 of St Hunegund, the seventh-century foundress of Homblières;[117] and in 965 an anonymous monk of Gorze compiled an account of the translation of St Gorgonius, Gorze's patron saint, from Italy, together with the miracles which accompanied the translation.[118] More examples could be cited.[119] The structure of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* indicates that he was thoroughly familiar with this genre of hagiography, and possibly knew some (if not all) of the aforementioned hagiographical texts. But it is the nature of his style that he never reveals such debts.

We are on more secure ground with respect to Lantfred's use of the Bible. There need be no doubt that he knew the Bible: he alludes in the *Praefatio* to biblical events, such as Christ's reappearance to the disciples after the crucifixion (John 20: 19) and the appearance of the Holy Ghost to the disciples at Pentecost (Acts 2: 1–2), though he manages to conflate the two separate events. Or he appropriates biblical language, for example in describing the trumpet-like voice in which Swithun addressed the smith (c. 1) in terms reminiscent of Revelation (1: 10: 'vocem magnam tamquam tubae dicentis'). In all there are some thirty-five quotations from the Bible. Of these, approximately two-thirds are verbatim quotations, or very nearly so;[120] the remainder are paraphrased in Lantfred's characteristic way. For example, in describing in his *Praefatio* Christ's injunction to His disciples to go forth in the world to spread the gospel (Mark 16: 15), Lantfred gives the injunction as 'euntes in omnem dogmatizantes orbem euangelium humanae omni creaturae', where he has written *in omnem . . . orbem* in lieu of biblical *in mundum universum*, has added the present (grecizing) participle *dogmatizantes* in lieu of the plain biblical word *praedicate*, and has added *humanae* to *omni creaturae*. The resulting 'quotation' is recognizably biblical, but only just. Apparently even the Bible needed to be brought into line with Lantfred's sense of style. The majority of Lantfred's biblical quotations and allusions are from the psalter and the New Testament; only rarely does he quote from, or allude to, the Old Testament.

By the same token Lantfred does not quote *in extenso* from any patristic author. However, he had evidently read widely in patristic literature, and this reading is reflected in the large number of phrases and verbal reminiscences which permeate his prose. On the basis of these reminiscences, it is certain that he had read the following works: Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* in the Latin translation of Rufinus; Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos* and *De ciuitate Dei*; Cassian's *Conlationes*; Jerome's *Epistulae*; Cassiodorus's *Expositio psalmorum*; Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, *Homiliae .xl. in euangelia*, and *Registrum epistularum*; Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *De differentiis rerum*; and Bede's *Homiliae*, *Historia ecclesiastica*, and *De temporum ratione*. For each of these works there are such substantial numbers of reminiscences in the *Translatio* that his knowledge of them cannot be doubted. There are also occasional reminiscences of other works where Lantfred's phrasing so closely resembles that of his source that his knowledge of the text seems probable: Ambrose's

[115] *BHL*, no. 5826; ptd PL cxxxiii. 967–78.

[116] *BHL*, no. 3563; ptd PL cxxxvii. 211–18.

[117] *BHL*, nos. 4046–8; ptd PL cxxxvii. 49–60 [*vita*], 61–8 [*translatio*], 67–72 [*miracula*].

[118] *BHL*, no. 3621; ed. MGH, SS iv. 238–47.

[119] See L. Zoepf, *Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 240–5, and H. Fros, 'Liste des translations et inventions de l'époque carolingienne', *AB* civ (1986), 427–9. See also above, pp. 11–12.

[120] See comm. to the text, nn. 25, 27, 45, 77, 80, 95, 107, 115, 153, 154, 169, 190, 195, 196, 206, 207, 238, 251, 252, 266, 273, 287, 288, 289, 294, 306.

treatises *De uiduis* and *De Isaac uel anima*; Jerome's commentaries *In Isaiam*, *In Hieremiam* and *In Hiezechielem*, and his *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*; Augustine's *Epistulae*, *Sermones*, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* and *De trinitate*; Cassian's *Instituta coenobiorum*; the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus; and the *Regula S. Benedicti*. All this represents a substantial corpus of patristic literature; and it could possibly be extended to include authors otherwise rare at this period, such as Arnobius and Petrus Chrysologus. In such cases, however, the nature of the verbal debt would have to be weighed against the likelihood of the text being available in manuscript at the centre where Lantfred was trained, or at Winchester where he was composing the *Translatio*.

We have seen that Lantfred's prose style is marked by poeticism throughout, and it is not surprising that it contains reminiscences of earlier poets, notably Vergil, but also Juvencus, Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, perhaps Paulinus of Périgueux, Caelius Sedulius, Arator and Aldhelm (*Enigmata*; *Carmen de uirginitate*). Knowledge of these poets simply betrays his Latin training, since they were read as school texts in the early (that is, before *c.*1100) medieval curriculum. He was also clearly familiar with prose works which were widely studied in tenth-century schools, such as Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae*, and Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. In sum, although Lantfred does not make an ostentatious display of his reading, there is no doubt that he was a widely read product of tenth-century schooling. Although we cannot be sure where he was trained (see above), the record of his reading would be consonant with training at Fleury, which in the late tenth century housed one of the largest libraries in Europe.[121]

iv. THE DATE OF THE *TRANSLATIO ET MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI*

The date at which Lantfred wrote his *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* has often been estimated,[122] but never exactly determined. In fact there is enough incidental information in the work to allow its date of composition to be determined with some precision.

The translation of St Swithun's remains into the Old Minster took place on 15 July 971. The date is given in such detail in Lantfred's *Praefatio* that there can be no doubt about its correctness, and it establishes a preliminary *terminus post quem* for the work's composition. The *terminus ante quem* is fixed by the reading in MS J (Rouen, BM, U. 107) in c. 3, n. *j* [line 149], where to a description of the miracles which have taken place at St Swithun's shrine the words *iam sole decimum replicante annum* are added. It is conceivable that *decimum* in J or its exemplar replaced a lower number in Lantfred's autograph,[123] but quite inconceivable that a later scribe would deliberately have substituted *decimum*

[121] See Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*.

[122] Leland, the first antiquary to attempt to date Lantfred, assigned him roughly to the late Anglo-Saxon period (*Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*, i. 173: 'colligo floruisse eum extremis temporibus Saxonum in Britannia regnantium'). Bale (*Scriptorum illustrium . . . Catalogus*, p. 139), followed by Pits (*Relationes historicae de rebus Anglicis*, p. 178), assigned a date of *c.*980. Wright (*Biographia Britannica Literaria*, i. 469) made an accurate estimate of Lantfred's date on the basis of the Royal manuscript, BL, Royal 15. C. VII (on which see below): 'Lantfred . . . composed apparently a few years after the discovery of the saint's relics'. But Wright's accurate judgement has been overlooked by subsequent writers. Sauvage (*AB* iv (1885), 369) assigned the date 981 on the basis of the Rouen manuscript (our J), the only manuscript known to him. More recently, Quirk (*OM*, p. 33) proposed a *terminus ante quem* of *c.*998, arguing that Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun', which was based on Lantfred's account, must have been composed before that date (cf. my discussion below, pp. 576–7); and Quirk was followed by Biddle, WS i. 289 and 'Felix Urbs Wintonia', p. 235 n. 47 (but see now WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter VIII. 1. ii).

[123] See discussion below, p. 238. The scribe of J, writing at Winchester where St Swithun's miracles continued to happen, apparently altered the date which he found in his exemplar in order to make the statement an accurate one for the year in which he was writing—exactly as the scribe of R was subsequently to do (see below, p. 240).

for a higher number. Consequently J or its exemplar must have been written in the course of the year 980/1. The outer *termini* for the composition of Lantfred's work, therefore, are 971 × 981.

The date may be fixed more narrowly within this decade by consideration of the period of time over which the various miracles reportedly took place. The impression which Lantfred tries to create is that, once Swithun had been translated, miracles occurred relentlessly at his shrine. At no point do we get the impression that a long period of time had elapsed between any two reported miracles; rather, all miracles crowd in upon each other. Early in the work Lantfred states that, following the translation, there was scarcely a single day during a period of five months that sick people were not cured: 'ferme per interstitium quinque mensium raro fuit aliqua dies' (c. 4). Five months from 15 July 971 takes us virtually to the beginning of 972. At this point Lantfred remarks that, in the course of a year, the number of healings were innumerable—'in anni circulo qui carent numero' (c. 4)—and this presumably takes us to July 972. The only other indication of date occurs near the very end of the work. A paralytic nobleman from the Isle of Wight is transported in a dream to a meeting with St Swithun; when he asks Swithun to name himself he is told, 'Ego sum qui *nuper* ueni', to which Lantfred adds, '. . . quasi planius aliis indicaret uerbis, "Ego sum idem sanctus per quem Olimpi Dominus *anno presenti* aegrorum cepit mederi doloribus"' (c. 35). This dream-vision must also have taken place before (approximately) July 972. Now there is no way of knowing whether the miracles recounted by Lantfred are in a chronological sequence, but nothing prevents us from assuming that they are; and, as I have mentioned, there appear to be no significant time-intervals between any of the miracles. In other words, all the miracles recorded by Lantfred arguably took place during the year 971/2. Since Lantfred at no point gives any hint that an interval of time has elapsed between an event and his recording of it, the most appropriate assumption is that he is writing very soon after the sequence of events he describes: say, late 972 or 973.

There is nothing in the work to contradict so early a date. Lantfred twice has occasion to refer to King Edgar, who died on 8 July 975. On the first occasion Lantfred simply states that St Swithun's remains were translated *imperante glorioso rege Eadgaro ac beatissimo* (c. 3). In was conventional to refer to Edgar while living in such terms: Æthelwold in the *Regularis concordia* – probably written in 973—speaks of him as *gloriosus etenim Eadgar . . . rex egregius*.[124] At another point Lantfred states that during Edgar's reign – *quo regnante* – many monasteries 'were' or 'have been' restored (c. 36: *sunt reparata*). These words need not indicate that Lantfred is referring to a time past when Edgar was alive: most of the important monastic foundations and refoundations took place in the early part of his reign, before about 970, and Lantfred may simply be looking back to the decade of the 960s. Furthermore, although Edgar is described as *gloriosissimus* and *piissimus* (c. 36),[125] there is in his wording none of the extravant eulogy which is customarily found in English monastic authors writing after the king's death in 975.[126] These references to Edgar, therefore, create the impression that Lantfred was writing before 975.

These impressions are confirmed by arguments *ex silentio*. We know from other sources, and from Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* in particular, that the growth of St Swithun's cult at the Old Minster was accompanied by many lavish building works. In the first instance (15 July 971)

[124] *Regularis concordia*, c. 1 (ed. Symons, p. 1; ed. Symons and Spath, p. 69; ed. Kornexl, p. 5); cf. Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 1, 440 (below, pp. 492, 514).

[125] Cf. the term *praecellentissimus* in the *Regularis concordia*, c. 4 (ed. Symons, p. 3; ed. Symons and Spath, p. 71; ed. Kornexl, p. 5).

[126] Cf. Ælfric, 'Life of St Swithun', c. 28 (below, p. 606), as well as the *ASC*, s.a. 975, and Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, iii. 10 (ed. Raine, *HCY* i. 425–6).

Swithun's remains were simply translated into the chancel of the Old Minster, where they were placed on an altar in a nondescript reliquary.[127] Shortly thereafter, King Edgar commissioned an elaborately jewelled reliquary to be made to house the saint's remains, and this reliquary was completed, and St Swithun's remains retranslated into it, on 8 October in either 972, 973 or 974.[128] As the shrine grew in popularity, Æthelwold planned a reconstruction of the Old Minster on a vast scale. The vastness of the scale can be appreciated from the archaeological record,[129] although it is not precisely clear how much of the reconstruction had been completed during Æthelwold's lifetime, that is, before 984. Wulfstan mentions *porticus* or side-chapels built by Æthelwold on the north and south sides of the Old Minster, and states (in a somewhat ambiguous phrase) that, once the foundations had been laid, Æthelwold built a *nouum templum.*[130] At all events, the reconstructed Old Minster (or what of it was then finished) was dedicated on 20 October 980 in the presence of King Æthelred and all the foremost bishops of the realm.[131] The programme of reconstruction was continued by Æthelwold's successor, Ælfheah, who added eastern crypts and a lofty tower, and the completed building appears to have been re-dedicated in either 993 or 994;[132] the focal point of the reconstructed Old Minster was now the shrine of St Swithun on the site of his original tomb. Of all these subsequent building works—King Edgar's jewelled reliquary, the massive alterations to the Old Minster itself—Lantfred knows nothing. On the one occasion (c. 20) when he describes the Old Minster in any detail, the church which he describes would seem to be the original two-cell structure which survived from the seventh century, and was only replaced by Æthelwold's (and Ælfheah's) extensive rebuilding programme. Had Lantfred known of the jewelled reliquary, or of the rebuilding programme, he must surely have mentioned it. In fact he at one point makes it quite clear that, at the time he was writing, no such works were yet in existence. He states in the *Praefatio* to his work that St Swithun had been revealed through indescribable miracles, and, 'until such time as a shrine should be constructed for him', his remains 'were appropriately housed within the walls of the church of SS Peter and Paul' ('*donec illi templum fabricaretur*, infra moenia basilice apostolorum Petri et Pauli decenter collocatae'). The unmistakable implication of these lines is that Lantfred was writing at a time when a more elaborate shrine had been planned, but had not yet been constructed.

These various arguments point in the one direction: that Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* was written very soon after the event it describes, probably during the years 972 × 974, and in any case not later than *c.*975.

[127] See below, c. 20 with nn. 212 and 215, as well as my discussion above, pp. 18–19.

[128] See Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 1–77 (below, pp. 492–6), with accompanying commentary. Note also that Wulfstan inserts his discussion of the new reliquary between what corresponds to cc. 19 and 20 of Lantfred's work: the implication being that Wulfstan knew the retranslation to the new reliquary to belong at that point in the chronological sequence.

[129] See WS 4.i, Part II, Chapters VII, VIII ad X, Figs. 96*a*, 96*b*, 97*a*, 97*b*.

[130] Wulfstan, *Narratio*, Ep. spec. 119–20 (below, p. 380), and accompanying notes.

[131] Wulfstan, *Narratio*, Ep. spec. 61–114, and accompanying notes; see also D. J. Sheerin, 'The dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester, in 980', *RB* lxxxviii (1978), 261–73.

[132] On the date, see below, note to Ep. spec. 213–40.

v. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *TRANSLATIO ET MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI*

Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* is preserved in four manuscripts, three complete (JNR) and one fragmentary (V); in addition, Lantfred's prefatory *epistola* to the monks of the Old Minster is preserved as a separate item in two manuscripts (TY). There are also several indirect witnesses to the text: Wulfstan of Winchester rendered it into hexameters some twenty years after its composition, and excerpts from the *Translatio* are preserved in the *Historia maior* of Thomas Rudborne, in the fifteenth-century *Liber . . . de Hyda*, and in the *Collectanea* of the sixteenth-century antiquary, John Leland. I begin with the manuscripts.

J = Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, U. 107 (1385), fos. 29r–80v (Winchester, s. x/xi).

As presently constituted, Rouen U. 107 is a composite codex,[133] some parts of which were written on the Continent, and some in England (our concern here is with that part which constitutes fos. 28–85).[134] That part containing Lantfred's *Translatio* is written in Style I Anglo-Caroline minuscule,[135] hence almost certainly of Winchester origin, and datable on palaeographical grounds to *c.*1000 (pl. I).[136] The likelihood of a Winchester origin for fos. 28–85 is confirmed by the content of the manuscript, which contains, in addition to Lantfred, epanaleptic hymns (very probably by Wulfstan of Winchester) on SS Swithun (two hymns), Birinus and Æthelwold.[137] The *terminus post quem* for the writing of the manuscript is fixed by the reference to the current date in Lantfred's *Translatio*, c. 3 (at n. *j* [line 149]), *iam sole decimum replicante annum*, where the tenth year (after the first translation of St Swithun in July 971) implies that J or its exemplar could not have been written before 980/1; furthermore, the fact that among the epanaleptic hymns is one to St Æthelwold, whose cult officially began with his translation into the Old Minster on 10 Sept. 996, implies that J was probably written after that date. The manuscript is the work of at least three scribes (of whom the first was clearly the most competent); to judge from the unevenness of their script, they were possibly apprentices.[138] As a result, the manuscript contains a substantial amount of scribal correction; in addition, the text of Lantfred is provided with numerous Latin glosses, which have some claim to be considered as authorial.[139] In the margin of fo. 80v an English reader has added

[133] See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements, I. Rouen*, ed. H. Omont (Paris, 1886), pp. 360–2. The hagiographical contents of the manuscript have been described by A. Poncelet, *AB* xxiii (1904), 207–8.

[134] In addition to fos. 28–85, fos. 20–6 (containing the *Memoriale qualiter* and the *acta praeliminaria* of the Council Aachen of 816: see Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. lvii) were written in England, almost certainly at Winchester, *c.*1000: see T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), p. 18.

[135] On the features and dating of this distinctive form of Anglo-Caroline script, see Bishop, ibid. pp. xxi–xxiv, and Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 2–5, 52–4, 56–9 *et passim*.

[136] See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 448, as well as L. Delisle, 'Vers et écriture d'Orderic Vital', *Journal des savants*, i (1903), 428–40, esp. p. 430: 'le manuscrit a dû être copié à Winchester, à la fin du Xe siècle ou au commencement du XIe'; cf. also pp. 433–4.

[137] See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xxviii–xxix, as well as below, p. 340. The two epanaleptic hymns to St Swithun are printed below, nos. **12 (iii), (iv)** (pp. 787–92).

[138] Scribe I wrote fos. 29r–55v5, though his stint is interrupted by numerous corrections and additions (33v, 37r, etc.); Scribe II took over at fo. 55v6 and continued, with interruptions by others, to fo. 67v; and Scribe III continued from 67v9 to the end of the text.

[139] In particular, many of the glosses in J provide etymological explanations of Lantfred's frequent grecisms: *homousios* glossed *.i. unius substantie*, *protoplaustus* glossed *primus formatus*, *idalmate* glossed *.i. forma uel specimine, idem est et agalma* (all from the Praefatio). The glossator's appetite for grecisms suggests that he was identical with the author, and that the glosses derive ultimately from Lantfred's own copy of the text.

three words in Old English; the script of these words is datable to the early eleventh century,[140] which establishes that the manuscript remained in England for at least some time after being written. Subsequently, however, the manuscript was taken to the Continent: first, arguably, to Fleury (where it served as the exemplar of V), then subsequently to Jumièges, where it was combined with the other manuscripts to form the present composite codex;[141] After the French Revolution it passed with many other manuscripts from Jumièges to the Bibliothèque municipale in Rouen.

N = London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i, pt 1 (Worcester, s. xi^2), fos. 351–52v

Cotton Nero E. i, pts 1 and 2, in combination with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, pp. 61–458, form a massive legendary known as the 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary', and containing some 165 *passiones* and *vitae* of saints. The 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary' was written at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century, and was originally arranged in two volumes: the first, January to September, consisting of Nero E. i, pt 1, fos. 55–208 + Nero E. i, pt 2, fos. 1–151; and the second, October to December, consisting of CCCC 9, pp. 61–458 + Nero E. i, pt 2, fos. 166–80.[142] At an early point in its history, perhaps by the end of the eleventh century, the separate volumes of the 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary' began to attract accretions; in particular, fifty-four folios were added to the beginning of Nero E. i, pt 1, and it is these additional folios with which we are concerned. The contents of the folios are as follows: Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* (fos. 31–23v), the same author's *Vita S. Ecgwini* (fos. 24r–34v), Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (fos. 351–52v),[143] and the epanaleptic hymn to St Swithun, beginning 'Aurea lux patrie' (fos. 52v–531).[144] As a result of (minimal) damage in the Cotton fire, the leaves are now mounted, so it is impossible to work out the quire-structure of these additional folios.[145] They are in large quarto format (310 × 270 mm.), and written in two columns by a scribe whose script (Anglo-Caroline Style IV) has been identified in a Worcester charter dated 1058.[146] Accordingly, the folios containing Lantfred's *Translatio* may be dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century.

R = London, British Library, Royal 15. C. VII (Winchester, s. x/xi), fos. 2r–49v (pls. II, III)

R is one of the most important manuscripts for the cult of St Swithun, and is in effect a Swithun *libellus*, inasmuch as all its contents, original and additional, pertain to that saint: of the original contents, the text of Lantfred is followed by an epanaleptic hymn to St Swithun (fos. 49v–50v), and then by Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* (fos. 511–124v); the additional contents, added by

[140] Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 448.

[141] There is a Jumièges *ex-libris* inscription on fo. 11.

[142] For a detailed description of the structure and content of this legendary, see P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, 'The contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', in *Holy Men and Holy Women. Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contents*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1996), pp. 131–46. The structure of the legendary was first worked out by N. R. Ker, 'Membra disiecta, second series', *British Museum Quarterly*, xiv (1939–40), 82–3.

[143] On Byrhtferth's authorship of these two *vitae*, see M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*', *Mediaeval Studies*, xli (1979), 331–53, repr. *ALL* ii. 293–315; an edition, entitled *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: the Lives of Oswald and Ecgwine*, ed. M. Lapidge, is forthcoming (OMT).

[144] Ptd below, no. 12 (ii) (pp. 783–7).

[145] The fifty-four folios in question may once have constituted seven quires of eight (at least one leaf has been lost from the end of the *Vita S. Ecgwini*); in any case these additional fifty-four folios were at some stage of their career (part of?) a legendary of English saints, separate in origin therefore from the larger legendary which makes up Cotton Nero E. i + CCCC 9.

[146] Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 41.

various scribes in the late eleventh century, include a dedicatory poem commemorating Swithun's construction of a bridge at the East Gate of Winchester (fo. 124v), a rhythmical poem treating the miracle of St Swithun and the broken eggs (fo. 125r–v), and a brief account in prose of various miracles performed by St Swithun (fos. 125v–126v). The original contents were written by one, highly accomplished, scribe,[147] whose script is an elegant example of Anglo-Caroline Style I (see pls. II, III; cf. pl. IV).[148] The *terminus post quem* is fixed by the reference to the current date in Lantfred's *Translatio*, c. 3 (at n. *j* [line 149]), *iam sole uicesimum quintum replicante annum*, where the twenty-fifth year (after the first translation of St Swithun in July 971) implies that R or its exemplar could not have been written before 995/6. There are grounds for thinking that in fact R was written in 996: that year witnessed the translation of the remains of St Æthelwold—who had first translated St Swithun and initiated his cult—into the Old Minster, the completion of Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, as well as the revision and final publication of his *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, the copy of which in R is so close to the author's original as to be arguably autograph or idiograph.[149] In any event a palaeographical dating of *c.*1000 (s. x/xi) will not be wide of the mark.[150] Its ownership during the later Middle Ages is unknown, though it presumably remained the property of the cathedral priory of St Swithun's, Winchester, and was presumably there when the compiler of the *Liber . . . de Hyda* copied one of its chapters into his own work.[151] In 1566 it belonged to Thomas Dackomb, a well-known collector of Winchester manuscripts,[152] and subsequently came into the possession of Lord Lumley (pl. II),[153] whence it was acquired by the British Museum.

V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 566 (Fleury, s. xi^{1}), fos. 39r–42v.

Vat. Reg. lat. 566 is a composite codex made up of various fragments dating from the ninth century to the thirteenth. The leaves containing Lantfred's *Translatio* (fos. 39–42) are two conjugate bifolia which are apparently the inner leaves of a quire from a manuscript no longer extant. On the evidence of the script, the two bifolia can be assigned to the Loire region; other contents the codex

[147] Quirk (*OM* p. 33 n. 4) claimed to detect a change of hand at fo. 50 (between the Lantfred and Wulfstan texts), but in my view there are no grounds for his claim. The quiring, however, may suggest that the scribe was working separately—but at the same time—on the texts of Lantfred and Wulfstan. He originally began Wulfstan on the second folio of the quire (Quire 7/g, fo. 51r), as he had done with Lantfred (Quire 1/a, fo. 2r), but at that time he had not finished copying the text of Lantfred. When he got near to the end of Lantfred, he realized that he needed another folio, but no more, to finish the job, and so he added fo. 49 (and finished the text of Lantfred on fo. 49v5). Then or later—the ink is slightly lighter than the dark black ink of the Lantfred and Wulfstan texts—he decided to add the hymn 'Aurea lux patriae' as well; so he filled up the remainder of fo. 49 and then continued copying the hymn on the first, originally blank, folio of the quire containing Wulfstan (fo. 50).

[148] See also the description in Warner and Gilson, *Royal Catalogue*, ii. 166–7. The work of the principal scribe may also be seen in a fragmentary gospel lectionary, now London, College of Arms 22, fos. 84–5 (see F. Wormald, 'A fragment of a tenth-century English gospel lectionary', in *Francis Wormald: Collected Writings, I. Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, T. J. Brown and J. Gibbs (London, 1984), pp. 101–4, and pl. 95), and also, probably, in Besançon, BM, 14: see T. A. Heslop, 'The production of *de luxe* manuscripts and the patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *ASE* xix (1990), 151–95, at pp. 188–90 with pl. Ia (Scribe I).

[149] See discussion below, pp. 366–7, as well as M. Lapidge, 'Autographs of Insular Latin authors of the early Middle Ages', in *Gli autografi medievali: Problemi paleografici e filologici*, ed. P. Chiesa and L. Pinelli (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 103–36, at 132–4.

[150] See Warner and Gilson, *Royal Catalogue*, ii. 167 ('early XI cent. (before 1005?)'), and Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 335 (s. xi^{in})'.

[151] See below, p. 242.

[152] See A. G. Watson, 'A sixteenth-century collector: Thomas Dackomb, 1496-*c.*1572', *The Library*, xviii (1963), 204–17. Dackomb's ownership is indicated by the occurrence of his name on fos. 1r and 2r.

[153] On fo. 2r is found the name 'Lumley': that is, John, Baron Lumley, who died in 1609 (see S. Jayne and F. R. Johnson, *The Lumley Library: the Catalogue of 1609* (London, 1956), p. 91). While it was in Lord Lumley's collection the manuscript was seen by John Pits, and formed the basis of his account of 'Lamfridus' in his *Relationes historicae* (see above, n. 6).

(the *Vita Roberti regis* by Helgaud of Fleury, poems of Gerald of Fleury and a fragment of a thirteenth-century Fleury cartulary)[154] imply a Fleury provenance for the collection, and a Fleury origin may reasonably be inferred. The script is datable approximately to the first half of the eleventh century. V preserves only a portion—approximately one half—of Lantfred's *Translatio*: from the latter part of c. 3 (*uidelicet sancti Swithuni corpusculum* [line 153]) to c. 34 (*numen omnipotentis quatinus* [line 6]). There are no rubrics in V, and it appears that the continental scribe had considerable difficulty with Anglo-Saxon names and letter-forms, for he has reduced many of these to nonsense.

It may be appropriate to mention here another manuscript, now largely destroyed, which may once have contained a copy of Lantfred's *Translatio*: London, British Library, Cotton Otho A. xiii. According to Thomas Smith's catalogue of the Cottonian manuscripts, published thirty-five years before the Cotton fire of 1731, this manuscript once contained as article 3 of its second part a 'Vita siue potius miracula S. Swithuni episcopi'.[155] Since this title, 'uita siue potius miracula', more accurately describes the work of Lantfred than any of the post-Conquest compilations (edited below, nos. 5–7), it is tempting to think that another copy of Lantfred's work is in question. Unfortunately, the second part of the manuscript was entirely destroyed in the Cotton fire.[156]

In addition to these four manuscripts, there are two which contain the prefatory *Epistola Lantfredi*:

T = London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xv, fos. 1–173 (? Canterbury, s. xi[1]), fos. 144v–145r

The first 173 folios of Tiberius A. xv preserve an Anglo-Latin epistolary collection, the bulk of which consists in correspondence of Alcuin (some of it preserved uniquely in this manuscript).[157] In addition to the letters of Alcuin, however, Tiberius A. xv contains a number of letters written to and by high-ranking English ecclesiastics of the late tenth century.[158] Among these English ecclesiastics, three archbishops of Canterbury—Dunstan (959–88), Æthelgar (988–90) and Sigeric (990–4)—figure prominently, which has led scholars to surmise that the letter-collection was compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury,[159] during the decade 990–1000.[160] The manuscript is somewhat later, and may

[154] See A. Vidier, *L'historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les miracles de Saint Benoît* (Paris, 1965), pp. 63–4, and *Helgaud de Fleury: Vie de Robert le Pieux*, ed. R.-H. Bautier and G. Labory (Paris, 1965), pp. 28–32. The hagiographical contents of the manuscript have been described by A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Brussels, 1910), pp. 374–5.

[155] T. Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, 1696 (Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae)*, ed. C. G. C. Tite (Cambridge, 1984), p. 67.

[156] A copy of Lantfred's text was recorded by John Joscelyn (secretary to Matthew Parker) in his list of 'Libri Saxonici' preserved in London, BL, Cotton Nero C. iii, fo. 208r: 'Vita Sj [*deleted*] depositio Swithuni per Lantfredum'; see C. E. Wright, 'The dispersal of the monastic libraries and the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon studies. Matthew Parker and his circle: a preliminary study', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, i (1949–53), 208–37, at p. 218. It is not clear whether the manuscript recorded by Joscelyn is identical with any of those which have survived.

[157] See E. Dümmler in *Monumenta Alcuiniana* (Berlin, 1873), p. 134; idem, in MGH, Epist. iv. 9–11; Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 297; and R. M. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury and the letters of Alcuin', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, viii (1977), 147–61.

[158] The collection is edited (with much additional and extraneous material) by Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 359–404; see also Stubbs's discussion at pp. liii–liv.

[159] See D. Whitelock, 'William of Malmesbury on the works of King Alfred', in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London, 1969), pp. 78–93, at 80 ('probably a Canterbury collection'); C. Hohler, 'Some service books of the later Saxon church', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, pp. 60–83, at 74, who assigned the collection to Canterbury and went on to describe Tiberius A. xv as the 'one major monument of scholarship from the period'. Thomson argues that William of Malmesbury was using Tiberius A. xv, and probably its exemplar as well, at Canterbury in the early twelfth century ('William of Malmesbury and the letters of Alcuin', p. 150).

[160] The latest correspondent in the collection is Archbishop Sigeric, who held the see of Canterbury from 990 until his death

be dated on palaeographical grounds approximately to the first half of the eleventh century; it was arguably written at Canterbury.[161] The later medieval history of the manuscript is unknown, but it belonged in the sixteenth century to Laurence Nowell (d. 1576). It was badly burned in the Cotton fire of 1731 and is now illegible at many points; the folios containing the *Epistola Lantfredi* may be read with difficulty.

Y = London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, fos. 114–79 (York, s. xi[1] [*post* 1016]), fo. 158r–v

Vespasian A. xiv is a miscellaneous collection of several discrete parts, of which fos. 114–79 are a manuscript written for Wulfstan the Homilist, archbishop of York (1002–23), principally containing a collection of the letters of Alcuin.[162] Like T, however, Y also contains a number of letters by and to English ecclesiastics of the late tenth century, and among these is found the *Epistola Lantfredi*. At several points Vespasian A. xiv contains annotations in Wulfstan's own handwriting.[163] It is probable that it was written after Wulfstan became archbishop of York in 1016, and that it was written at York itself;[164] it possibly remained at York during the later Middle Ages.[165]

Finally, mention may be made of various late medieval and early modern transcripts of (parts of) Lantfred's work. The compiler of the fifteenth-century *Liber . . . de Hyda* had occasion to discuss St Swithun, and copied c. 10 of the *Translatio* in full. Various evidence suggests that the compiler's exemplar was R itself. A century or so later, John Leland (d. 1552) included among his *Collectanea* a number of transcriptions of the letters of Alcuin, and alongside these he included a single sentence of the *Epistola Lantfredi*, copied without any indication of author or source.[166] The combination of Alcuin's letters with the *Epistola Lantfredi* might suggest that Leland's exemplar was either T or Y; but full collation of the Alcuin letters (the Lantfred excerpt is too short to contain any significant variant)[167] suggests instead that Leland's exemplar, which he describes as a *codex vetus*, has not survived.[168] Finally, a transcript of the *Epistola Lantfredi* once existed as no. 89 among the manuscripts of the Duke of Clarendon;[169] it was said to be based on three Cottonian manuscripts,[170] but its whereabouts are no longer known.

on 28 Oct. 994. His successor Ælfric (995–1005) is not represented. The latest exactly datable letter of Pope John XV in the collection is from 991 (ed. Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 397–8).

[161] On the manuscript, see C. Brett, 'A Breton pilgrim in England in the reign of King Æthelstan', in *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. G. Jondorf and D. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1991), p. 43–70, at 50–7, 65–70, and Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 107–8 ('written after A.D. 990').

[162] Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 267–8. The collection of Alcuin's letters has been edited from this manuscript by C. Chase, *Two Alcuin Letter-Books* (Toronto, 1975).

[163] N. R. Ker, 'The handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England before the Conquest: Studies presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31; repr. in his *Books, Collectors and Libraries. Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1985), pp. 9–26.

[164] See D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', in *Franciplegius. Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun*, ed. J. B. Bessinger (New York, 1965), pp. 217–31, at 218–19, repr. in her *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th Century England* (London, 1981), no. XV.

[165] See Ker's comments on the rubric *Alquinus* in a hand of s. xiii on fo. 114r, a means of indicating a manuscript's contents possibly characteristic of York ('The handwriting', p. 316 n. 2).

[166] See Leland, *Collectanea*, ii. 403: 'Vestris obtemperans jussionibus, vestris confisus orationibus, tremens ad tantam pelagi magnitudinem accessi, et quasi stillam ex undis oceani ita ex pluribus sancti miraculis perpauca decerpsi.'

[167] Note, however, that Leland has twice written *ex* (cf. above, n. 166, and below, p. 252) where Lantfred's text has *de*.

[168] Thomson ('William of Malmesbury and the letters of Alcuin', p. 150) has demonstrated that the *vetus codex* cannot have been Tiberius A. xv; rather, Thomson inclines to identify the *vetus codex* with a manuscript containing 'Epistolae Albini' which was listed by Leland among the books of the library of Malmesbury (*Collectanea*, iv. 157).

[169] E. Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 2 vols. in 1 (Oxford, 1697), i/2. 14: 'Epistola Doctoris

[*See opposite page for n. 169 cont. and n. 170*]

vi. RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

As stated above, there are three surviving manuscripts of Lantfred's *Translatio* (JNR), as well as one which preserves only a partial text (V). A cursory examination of the contents of these four manuscripts indicates that they record two distinct recensions of the text. The difference between these two recensions is most clearly marked in the sequence of chapters. All four manuscripts preserve the same sequence for cc. 1–25. For cc. 26–40, however, the order in RN is manifestly distinct from that in JV:[171]

RN	JV
26. de homine quem legislatores cecauerunt	(28) de Abbandonensis monasterii preposito
27. de homine qui ingentem cippum modico precidit cultello	(29) de caeco in itinere illuminato
28. de preposito Byrhferðo	(30) de debili et claudo
29. de ceco in itinere illuminato	(31) de puero qui de equo cecidit
30. de debili et claudo	(34) de ultramarino latrone
31. de puero qui de equo cecidit	(32) de matrona in Gallia sanata
32. de muliere quae in Gallia sanata est	(33) de muliere in Gallia a daemonio obsessa
33. de altera muliere gentis Francorum	(35) de uisione cuiusdam nobilis in Vecta insula
34. de ultramarino latrone	(38) de muliere manicis alligata
35. de uisione cuiusdam nobilis in Vecta insula	(39) de seruo compedibus uincto
36. de iuuene caeco	(40) *conclusion*
37. de quodam adolescente incuruo	(36) de iuuene caeco
38. de muliere manicis alligata	(37) de adolescente incuruo
39. de seruo compedibus uincto	(26) de homine caecato
40. *conclusion*	

It will be readily apparent that the arrangement preserved in RN must be closer to Lantfred's original than the idiosyncratic arrangement of JV: the JV recension omits one entire chapter (c. 27) and places the conclusion in a context where it is wholly inappropriate. The rearrangement of chapters in JV cannot be fortuitous (caused, say, by the misplacement of a quire in an ancestor of JV), since JV preserve carefully worked-out transitional sentences at those points where they depart most radically from the order of RN (for example, in cc. 32, 34).[172] I shall suggest some reasons for the differences between the two recensions below; our present task is to investigate the relationship between the manuscripts of each recension.

Lantfredi de Miraculis S. Swithuni Episcopi, ex tribus MSS. Cotton.'

[170] The manuscripts in question were presumably N, T and Y (or possibly Otho A. xiii).

[171] Note also that the rubrics in RN differ from those in J (V has no rubrics). The numbering of chapters is my own (the chapters are unnumbered in the manuscripts).

[172] Sauvage (*AB* iv (1885), 370) recognized that the doxology in c. 40 marked it as a concluding chapter. Accordingly, he conjectured that cc. 36, 37, and 26 (which in J follow c. 40) must be an addition made later either by Lantfred or by another Winchester monk. In *BHL* the Bollandists record cc. 36, 37, and 26 as an 'additamentum' and list it as a separate item (*BHL*, no. 7946). Although Sauvage knew of the existence of R and N he had not consulted them; had he done so, he would have seen that J's idiosyncratic arrangement of chapters is peculiar to it.

First, that between R and N. It will be recalled that R was written at Winchester *c.*1000, whereas N was written at Worcester at least half a century later; hence R cannot be a copy of N. But can N be a copy of R? At no point does N preserve a correct reading where R is in error. On the contrary: N is so frequently in error where the text of R is sound that it would be a tiresome and unnecessary task to list all of N's errors. A few examples will suffice:

Praef. n. *u* [line 48]: possessurus *R*; posses securus *N*
c. 2 n. *m* [line 24]: respondens ait *R*; respondit ait *N*
c. 3 n. *b* [line 2]: animula *R*; animalia *N*
c. 6 n. *g* [line 6]: graui tortura *R*; grauiter tura *N*
c. 10 n. *f* [line 28]: floccipendunt *R*; floccidunt *N*
c. 31 n. *i* [line 14]: beneficium *R*; bene *N*
c. 35 n. *q* [line 45]: pratum *R*; paratum *N*

Most of N's errors are mindless and reveal that his Latin training was far from sound (see, for example, the mess he makes of *pessulus* in c. 27 nn. *f*, *h* [lines 24, 28], a word he clearly did not understand). His numerous omissions, often of a line or more, indicate that he was an inattentive scribe (see cc. 1 n. *q–q* [line 57]; 2 nn. *u–u* [61], *z–z* [69]; 3 n. *i–i* [30]; 4 n. *g–g* [17[; 18 n. *h–h* [19–20]; 25 n. *e–e* [6], etc.). Since N at no point preserves a correct reading not found in R, there is some reason to suspect *a priori* that N is a careless copy of R. A piece of evidence which helps to confirm this suspicion is found in c. 1 n. *m*(2) [line 54]). R had there elucidated the grecism *zoen* in the text by means of a marginal gloss *.i. uitam* which by chance happened to be placed immediately adjacent to it; N copied the gloss directly into the text (*zoen id est uitam*). Textual evidence therefore indicates that N was copied from R; and given the intellectual contacts between Winchester and Worcester during the second half of the eleventh century,[173] the simplest explanation is probably that R was borrowed by the monks of Worcester for the length of time it took to copy the text of Lantfred into N.[174]

A relationship parallel to that of RN exists between JV. Here it will be recalled that J, although written at Winchester *c.*1000, had a medieval provenance from Jumièges, and that V was apparently written at Fleury sometime during the first half of the eleventh century. In general V is a careful copy of the text, although there are occasional errors (at cc. 4 nn. *d* [line 10], *i* [19]; 16 n. *b* [3]; 20 nn. *l*

[173] Several liturgical manuscripts written at Winchester in the early eleventh century had found their way to Worcester later in the century. Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 173 (a sacramentary) was probably written at the Old Minster (see F. E. Warren, 'An Anglo-Saxon missal at Worcester', *The Academy*, xxviii (1885), 394–5, and Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 465–6). Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146 (a pontifical) was written at the Old Minster but was at Worcester by the end of the eleventh century, where *inter alia* a benediction for St Æthelwold (p. 264) was emended to include St Ecgwine, a Worcester saint, and where the ownership of Bishop Samson (1096–1112) is noted on p. 52. (Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 72–3, attributes the manuscript to Canterbury; but in my view the benedictions to SS Swithun, Æthelwold, Æthelthryth, Iustus and Birinus point unambiguously to the Old Minster, Winchester.) Similarly, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 (the *portiforium* of St Wulstan), although written at Worcester in the second half of the eleventh century, contains numerous prayers for Winchester saints: see *The Portiforium of St Wulstan*, ed. A. Hughes, 2 vols., HBS lxxxix–xc (London, 1958–60), nos. 1815–17, 1821–6, 1830–1, 1832–4, 1840–3, 1882–3, 1913–14, 1920–2, 1954, 1956–9, 1970–2, 1982–4, 1987, 1989–90. (On these three manuscripts, see also Hohler, 'Some service books', p. 73.) It is significant that each of these manuscripts contains prayers to St Swithun (see above, p. 135); if so, the veneration of St Swithun at Worcester could provide a context for the copying there of Lantfred's *Translatio* into N.

[174] If this argument is correct, N is (technically speaking) a *codex descriptus* whose readings have no bearing on the construction of the text. However, I have reported N's readings in the apparatus criticus because they provide a valuable index to the accuracy of an Anglo-Saxon scribe: see M. Lapidge, 'The edition, emendation and reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon texts', in *The Politics of Editing Medieval Texts*, ed. R. Frank (New York, 1993), pp. 131–57, at 140–4.

[33], *q* [40]; 29 n. *i* [23]) and numerous mangled spellings of Old English names. On a few occasions V omits words or phrases preserved in J (at cc. 20 n. *r–r* [line 44], 23 n. *c* [4]; 29 n. *f–f* [24]; 34 n. *f* [4]) and sometimes copies a word twice (c. 5 n. *d* [5]). V also occasionally reverses the order of two or more words (at cc. 7 n. *g–g* [line 6]; 18 n. *d–d* [11]; 21 nn. *c–c* [3], *d–d* [5]; 25 nn. *g–g* [11], *k–k* [23]), which may suggest that the scribe was following the sense rather than the letter of his exemplar. This possibility needs to be borne in mind when considering those passages where V offers a reading not found in any other manuscript. Twice V inserts a word not found in the other manuscripts: cc. 8 n. *c* (*sancto* [line 4]), 18 n. *g* (*tuis* [15]); but these words are not enough in themselves to justify the hypothesis that V was copied from a lost exemplar more closely related to Lantfred's original than any other surviving manuscript; similarly, when on one occasion V offers an acceptable reading not found elsewhere (c. 10 n. *g–g* [line30]: *magnalia Dei* V, *Dei summi uirtutes* cett.), V's reading can most economically be interpreted as the scribe's free handling of the text. Since the order of chapters in V agrees precisely with that of J, and since there is no evidence that Lantfred's *Translatio* ever circulated widely on the Continent, the simplest hypothesis may be that V is a somewhat free copy of J, the one surviving manuscript which we know to have travelled early to the Continent. There is only one reading in V which appears to contradict such a hypothesis: namely c. 25 n. *m* [line 38], where V preserves *eorum* (as do RN), whereas J omits it. But a thinking scribe could easily have supplied one word to his text (which by chance agreed with the text transmitted in other manuscripts), and there is no further impediment to supposing that V is a copy of J.

If the argument that N and V are copies, respectively, of R and J, can be accepted, then we may henceforth confine our attention to R and J. It will be recalled that J has an idiosyncratic chapter-arrangement and omits one entire chapter (c. 27). There are also many points where J and R offer substantially different readings. At several places J preserves a correct reading omitted by R: cc. 3 n. *i*(2) (the monosyllable *a*), 10 n. *i* (*matronae*), 20 n. *c* (*uenit*), 39 n. *a* (*quempiam*). Likewise, R omits the three hexameters which serve as the preface to c. 1 in J.[175] On the other hand, an even larger number of readings preserved in R is omitted in J (cc. 2 nn. *t*, *x*, *a*(2); 20 n. *n*; 25 n. *m*; 26 n. *b*; 35 n. *n*; 36 n. *s*; 37 n. *f*; 39 nn. *b*, *c*). In particular several sentences and eight consecutive octosyllables are omitted from c. 26 in J (c. 26 is the final chapter in J's arrangement), which may suggest that the scribes of J were tiring as they reached the end of their task. Most significant, however, is the fact that J very frequently omitted the personal names found in R:

c. 1 n. *f* [line 7]: Aðeluuoldo ***R***; ***om. J***
c. 2 n. *b–b* [line 4]: Æþelsinus nomine ***R***; ***om. J***
c. 20 n. *h–h* [line 24]: nomine Eadzinus cuius superius mentionem fecimus ***R***; ***om. J***
c. 20 n. *i–i* [lines 24–5]: iussu uenerandi pontificis Aðeluuoldi ***R***; ***om. J***
c. 20 n. *k–k* [line 32]: uocabulo Eaduuoldum *R*; *om. J*
c. 25 n. *c–c* [line 4]: qui solito uocabatur Eadric æt Calne ***R***; ***om. J***
c. 25 n. *h* [line 12]: Eadrico *R*; *om. J*
c. 28 n. *d–d* [lines 1–2]: nomine Byrhferðus *R*; ***om. J***
c. 32 n. *e–e* [line 5]: nomine Lantfredus ***R***; ***om. J***

[175] It is possible to argue that the three lines are an interpolation in J. However, the fact that both R and J preserve very similar hexameters at the beginning of Lantfred's *Epistola* suggests that the composition of introductory hexameters at the beginning of a work was Lantfred's personal practice: with the implication that those hexameters prefacing c. 1 were omitted, perhaps accidentally, by the scribe of R.

A possible reason for these omissions will be suggested below. It will be clear in any case that R and J could not have been copied one from the other, but must derive independently from an earlier exemplar (or exemplars). The supposition is confirmed by variant readings in the two manuscripts. Sometimes R offers the correct reading where J is in error (at *Praef.* n. *x* [line 56]; 25 n. *l* [28]; 34 n. *c* [2]; 35 nn. *j* [22], *k* [26]; 40 n. *a* [2]); but occasionally J offers the correct reading where R is in error (at *Praef.* n. *c*(2) [63]; 32 n. *h* [11]; 35 n. *m* [32], where the correctness of J's reading is confirmed by the Vulgate, which Lantfred is quoting verbatim at this point). On a number of occasions, however, it is impossible to adjudicate between the variant readings of the two manuscripts:

Praef. n. *b–b*(2) [line 60]: Petri et Pauli *R*; Petri Paulique *J*
c. 9 n. *j–j* [lines 23–4]: reuersa est *R*; repedauit *J*
c. 32 n. *f* [line 7]: predicto *R*; prescripto *J*
c. 37 n. *b–b* [line 2]: prouincia quadam *R*; uico quodam *J*

Perhaps the most interesting variant reading is that which occurs near the end of c. 3, where Lantfred states that miracles have not ceased at the tomb of St Swithun since the translation of his relics on 15 July 971. At this point J continues *iam sole decimum replicante annum* [line 149], which points to a date of 980/1 for the writing of J (or its exemplar). In R, in lieu of *decimum* is the reading *uicesimum quintum*, pointing thus to a date of 995/6 for the writing of R (or its exemplar). It is only possible here to state that the reading of R cannot be the original reading of Lantfred's text; the reading in J *may* be original, or like that in R may be a substitution for some other ordinal number.

In light of this evidence it is clear that R and J derive independently from an exemplar which may have been common to them.[176] Furthermore, the fact that these two manuscripts share a small amount of error suggests that their exemplar(s) cannot have been Lantfred's autograph. For example, R and J share the following errors: *Praef.* n. *z* [line 57] (*ne*); cc. 1 n. *i* [8] (*angelicoque*, for *angelicaque*); 2 n. *p* [41] (*studioso*, for *studiosa*); 10 n. *k* [38] (*ineffabilem*); 24 n. *i* [9] (*quem*); 29 n. *e* [7] (*famim*, for *famem*); 34 n. *j* [20] (*antrum*, for *antro*); 35 n. *d* [10] (*bacilli*, for *baculi*). None of these errors is particularly significant, and it is not impossible that they were all in Lantfred's autograph. But there is one distinctive error, shared by R and J, which is most unlikely to be Lantfred's: at c. 26 n. *f–f* [line 28], both R and J record the octosyllabic line *caelestem mihi deprecor*; but Lantfred's octosyllables were written as rhyming couplets, and it is clear that the line in question must have ended in *-um* or *-em*, not in *-or*. The sequence of words in the line has apparently been altered by scribal interference, and must originally have read:

necne uitam post obit*um*
mihi deprecor caelestem.

This much will suggest that the common ancestor of R and J shared some (small) amount of error.

A further index to the amount of error shared by the ancestor of R and J is provided by an indirect witness, namely Wulfstan of Winchester's hexametrical version of Lantfred's text, which was completed in 996 and which is called by editors the *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* (edited below as no. 2). Since Wulfstan's poem adheres very closely to Lantfred's prose, its text can often throw light on the nature of the exemplar of Lantfred's *Translatio* which lay before Wulfstan as he composed. In the first place, Wulfstan's narrative follows the sequence of chapters of R rather than

[176] If R and J do derive from a single, common exemplar, then we are obliged to assume that the idiosyncratic chapter arrangement in J is the work of J's scribes.

that of J; but he cannot have been using R itself, since it was written after his poem had been composed (and indeed it contains a copy of the poem alongside Lantfred's prose). Two readings in the *Narratio* suggest that Wulfstan was using a manuscript closer to Lantfred's autograph than any we now possess. First, in the prefatory *Epistola* at n. *e* [line 11], all manuscripts of Lantfred have the reading *effectus iubentum*: Lantfred asks the Lord to look not upon his own faults but upon the 'accomplishments' of the Old Minster monks who have requested the work. Although *effectus* is acceptable and defensible here, one might rather expect Lantfred to have asked the Lord to look upon the 'good-will' or 'well-meaning intentions' of the Old Minster monks—hence *affectus* rather than *effectus*. Wulfstan's *Narratio* at this point reads as follows:

> quatinus ad meritum miseri non tendat iniqui
> sed magis *affectum* uelit ut pensare *iubentum*
> (Ep. gen. 33–4).

This may suggest that the manuscript used by Wulfstan did indeed read *affectus iubentum* at this point. The second reading in question occurs in c. 24, where Lantfred is describing the parricide in Francia who came to the shrine of St Swithun to expiate his guilt. Lantfred writes that, after hearing of St Swithun's miraculous efficacity, *Wintoniam uenit celitus de transmarinis partibus*. However, it is more reasonable to suppose that the man crossed the English Channel by boat rather than by divine agency (*celitus*), and for that reason one may suspect that *celitus* in the transmitted text is a corruption for a word meaning 'quickly'. At the equivalent point in Wulfstan's narrative, the man does indeed come to England quickly:

> ille *morae impatiens* spatiosum transmeat aequor
> (ii. 280).

Since there is nothing in Lantfred's prose corresponding to Wulfstan's words *morae impatiens*, the likelihood is that the text he was using read (say) *citius* or *celeriter* or *concitus* at this point.

The manuscript tradition of Lantfred's *Translatio* may now be summarized as follows. At some time between 972 and 974 Lantfred wrote out his account of the miracles of St Swithun in his own hand; this autograph manuscript is the (hypothetical) archetype of the tradition. Approximately twenty years later his colleague Wulfstan transformed Lantfred's prose account into hexameters; for this purpose Wulfstan appears to have used a now-lost manuscript which was a more accurate copy of the text than any which now survives and which conceivably may have been Lantfred's autograph. During the same twenty-year period at least one other copy was made of Lantfred's autograph. This hypothetical apograph served in turn as the exemplar for two surviving manuscripts, R and J, both of which appear to have been copied at the Old Minster. R was written in 996 or shortly thereafter; it appears to have been intended for use in the Old Minster, and remained there during the Middle Ages. J was written at approximately the same time as R, but was clearly intended for a different purpose. The scribes of J rearranged the sequence of miracle stories and systematically deleted many details relating to local Winchester persons and places. Because J was on the Continent at an early date, one may surmise that it was in fact written for export to a continental house which had close connections with Winchester and an interest in its patron saint. This house may have been

Jumièges,[177] J's later home. On the other hand, V appears to have been copied from J, probably at Fleury, at some point in the earlier eleventh century. This may well suggest that Fleury was the original destination of J: certainly Fleury and Winchester were in close intellectual contact during the last part of the tenth century.[178] Finally, at approximately the time of the Norman Conquest, a copy of R was made at Worcester; this copy, N, was combined with two saints' *vitae* by Byrhtferth and subsequently bound together with a large, two-volume legendary.

Before leaving the manuscripts, it is necessary briefly to situate the two manuscript copies of Lantfred's *Epistola*, namely T and Y, in the transmission. The brief compass of the *Epistola* does not provide enough textual variants to allow any certain conclusions to be drawn; but one particular variant may suggest that T and Y do not derive from any surviving manuscript of the entire text, but from an intermediate copy now lost. At *Epistola* n. *i–i* [line 16], TY read *eius obitum*, whereas RJ have *obitum eius*,[179] and it is a reasonable assumption that this transposition was in the exemplar(s) of TY. On the other hand, neither T nor Y can have been copied from each other: at n. *j–j* [lines 18–19], T omits the words *ea nescientibus predicare sic impiissimum*, which are correctly preserved in Y, whereas at n. *l* [line 20], Y omits *quinetiam*, which is correctly preserved in T. This tentative conclusion squares well with the apparent independence of the epistolary collections in T and Y. Both manuscripts contain a collection of Alcuin's letters alongside a collection of tenth-century Anglo-Latin letters (including Lantfred's *Epistola*). However, T and Y each preserve a number of letters not found in the other,[180] which indicates that they are each selective anthologies based on a lost manuscript of epistolary collections compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury, during the decade 990–1000.

vii. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

Lantfred's *Translatio* has not previously been printed in its entirety. There have been two partial editions.

[177] Although Jumièges was the first monastic foundation in Normandy (it was restored *c.*940), nothing is known of its early history until it was refounded by Fécamp in the early eleventh century (*c.*1005): see L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topobibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vols. (Mâcon, 1935–7), i. 1496–9. I have been unable to discover evidence for contact between Jumièges and England in the later tenth century (cf. the discussion of J. Loth, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, 3 vols. (Rouen, 1882–5), i. 119–38). No English names appear among the witnesses to the early charters of Jumièges (see J. J. Vernier, *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges* (Paris and Rouen, 1916)). On the general question of contact between England and Normandy at this period, see J. Campbell, 'England, France, Flanders and Germany: some comparisons and connections', in *Ethelred the Unready*, ed. D. Hill, BAR lxix (Oxford, 1978), 255–70, repr. in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 191–207, and L. Musset, 'Rouen et l'Angleterre vers l'an mille', *Annales de Normandie*, xxiv (1974), 287–90. Only at a later time is there sound evidence for contact between Winchester and Jumièges. The famous 'Missal of Robert of Jumièges' (now Rouen, BM, Y. 6 (274): ed. H. A. Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, HBS xi (London, 1896)) was probably written at the New Minster between 1006 and 1023, and taken to Jumièges by Robert himself before his death in 1052. A benedictional written at the New Minster in the late tenth century (Rouen, BM, Y. 7 (369) also found its way to Jumièges during the course of the eleventh century. (Cf., however, the discussion of Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 87–8, who on the evidence of script—Style IV Anglo-Caroline—would date Rouen Y. 7 to the second quarter of the eleventh century.) The movement of these liturgical manuscripts may provide a context for the movement of J to the Continent; if the arguments advanced above are correct, J will have been at Fleury in time for it to serve as the exemplar of V—which cannot, however, be dated, on palaeographical grounds, more precisely than to the earlier eleventh century.

[178] See above, pp. 220–3 (on Lantfred's origins); also Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 27 n. 4.

[179] This statement is complicated by the fact that the scribe of J originally wrote *eius obitum*, and subsequently corrected the error by inserting transposition marks. It would be possible to argue that the ancestor of TY was copied from J before correction (a statement which might be confirmed by the spelling *karitas* rather than *caritas* at n. *c* [line 3] which TY share with J); but the evidence is slender.

[180] See the remarks of Ernst Dümmler (MGH, Epist. iv. 9), who argued—on the basis of the Alcuinian correspondence alone—that T and Y must derive from a common archetype; cf. the remarks of Chase, *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, pp. 8–10, 12.

The first of these was prepared by the Bollandist Jean Pien or *Pinius* (1678–1749), and printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Iulii (Antwerp, 1719), i. 331–7. The Bollandists, being Jesuits, were not at this time permitted entry into England,[181] and Pien was accordingly denied access to either R or N. He was obliged to base his edition solely on V (the existence of J in Rouen was unfortunately unknown to him). His edition, therefore, consists solely of cc. 4–25, 28–31, and 34 (incomplete); it lacks the *Epistola Lantfredi*,[182] cc. 1–3, and a number of chapters from the end of the work. Pien's (partial) edition was reprinted in the mid-nineteenth century by J.-P. Migne as part of the Patrologia Latina, clv. 65–80.

Another partial edition was printed by E. P. Sauvage in *Analecta Bollandiana*, iv (1885), 367–410.[183] Sauvage was a priest at Rouen, and hence had ready access to J. He based his edition solely on J, although he was aware of the existence of R and N.[184] Furthermore, Sauvage considered it unnecessary to reprint any part of the text which had previously been printed by Pien in the *Acta Sanctorum*, and accordingly his edition consists solely of the *Epistola*, the *Praefatio*, and cc. 1–3, 34, 32–3, 35, 38–40, 36–7, and 26, in that order (which is J's). For those chapters which Pien had already printed from V, Sauvage supplied variant readings. Although Sauvage performed a useful service in making (nearly all of) Lantfred's *Translatio* available in print, his edition is unsatisfactory in many ways. His transcription of J is inaccurate in many places: he often misreports its readings and misunderstands its few suspensions.[185] Sauvage's inaccurate edition has had the unfortunate effect of creating the impression that Lantfred was an incompetent Latinist, whereas the shortcomings are often his own. For this reason his edition is best ignored.

The *Epistola Lantfredi* has been printed separately on three occasions. The first edition was that of Henry Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, 2 vols. (London, 1691), i. 322. Wharton's text is a transcription of Y.[186] Wharton took the liberty of emending the text of Y at several places, and his transcription is not wholly accurate.[187] Wharton's text was reprinted by Jean Pien in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Iulii, i. 324–5. John Earle printed the *Epistola* as part of his collection of Swithun materials in *Gloucester Fragments*, p. 60; Earle's text is an accurate transcription of the *Epistola* as it is preserved in R. Finally, the *Epistola* was printed as part of a collection of Anglo-Latin letters by William Stubbs, in his *Memorials of St Dunstan* (RS, London, 1874), pp. 369–70; Stubbs's text is based on T and Y.

[181] See H. Delehaye, *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes à travers trois siècles, 1615–1915*, 2nd edn. (Brussels, 1959), p. 63.

[182] Pien realized that the text in V was acephalous, and accordingly he reprinted the *Epistola Lantfredi* from Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (1696); see below, n. 186.

[183] Some excerpts from Sauvage's edition were reprinted in turn in Lehmann-Brockhaus ii. 645–8 (nos. 4680–3).

[184] See *AB* iv (1885), 371 n. 5.

[185] There is little point in recording all of Sauvage's inaccuracies, but a few examples may serve to characterize his edition. In the *Praefatio* he prints *longe lateque* (p. 374.5) where J reads *longeque*; a few lines later he reports J's reading as *claritatis* (p. 374.11), where J clearly has *claritati*. In c. 1 he omits two entire lines of J's text; in the same chapter he expands J's suspension for *sancti* (sci) as *suam* (p. 380.3), and a few lines later prints J's *uoluptatibus* as *uanitatibus* (p. 381.14). Sometimes he claims to supply by conjecture a reading which is unambiguously present in J, as in c. 1, where he prints *poenam* (p. 379.10) and notes in his apparatus that it is 'uox suppleta ex conjectura', whereas J clearly reads *poenas* at this point; later in the chapter he prints *quos* as his emendation, and reports J's reading as *quod* (p. 381.11), where *quos* may be read in J with no difficulty. And so on.

[186] See *Anglia Sacra*, i, pp. xxix–xxx. Wharton also drew attention to the fact that a complete text of Lantfred's work was extant in Cotton Nero E. i (our N).

[187] Interestingly, at *Epistola* n. *e*, Wharton emended the transmitted *effectus iubentum* to *affectus jubentium* (cf. my remarks above, p. 247).

viii. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

The text of Lantfred rests principally on two manuscripts (JR), both of which were written at Winchester *c.*1000, within a generation, that is, of the composition of the work. Both manuscripts contain a small amount of error, and in a very few cases it has been necessary to emend the transmitted text. In cases where the two manuscripts offer variant but equally plausible readings, I have usually (but not invariably) followed R; I have, however, followed the sequence of chapters as it is given in R, because that sequence is demonstrably authorial, whereas that in J is clearly the work of later and incompetent redaction. By the same token I follow the orthography of R (except that I consistently reproduce R's tagged *e*'s simply as *e*). The numbering of chapters is editorial. The punctuation is modern (note that, in particular, I have not reproduced R's elaborate system of stresses and medial and final pauses: these markings were designed to facilitate reading aloud, and students of medieval reading would be best advised to consult the manuscript itself).

SIGLA

J = Rouen, BM, U. 107 (1385) (Winchester, s. x/xi), fos. 29r–80v
N = London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i, pt 1 (Worcester, s. xi^2), fos. 35r–52v
R = London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII (Winchester, s. x/xi), fos. 2r–49v
T = London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. xv, fos. 1–173 (? Canterbury, s. xii), fos. 144v–145r [*Epistola* only]
V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 566 (Fleury, s. xi^1), fos. 39r–42v
Y = London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, fos. 114–79 (York, s. xi^1), fo. 158r–v [*Epistola* only]

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

⟨EPISTOLA LANTFREDI⟩[a 1]

Dilectissimis fratribus Wintonie commorantibus in sancti Petri coenobio[2] quod nuncupatur Vetustissimum:[b 3] iugis concordia, salus ac perhennis gloria, gaudium inenarrabile,[4] splendor sine fine, pax sempiterna,[5] caritas[c] continua hic et in celo multiplicetur a Domino! Licet, karissimi atque affabiles adelphi, per uniuersam ferme Europam[6] sint diuulgata penitus miracula quae prepotens auctor miraculorum dignatus est largiri gentibus Anglorum per sanctissimi[d] Suuithuni meritum, tamen, ne tanta Dei beneficia queant posteritatem latere succedentem, nequissimus cunctorum prauis actibus hominum—utpote nulla diuinae prerogatiua scientiae, nulla fultus bonitatis auctoritate, uerum uestris obtemperans iussionibus,[7] uestris confisus orationibus—tremens ad tantam pelagi magnitudinem accessi; et, quasi stillam de undis oceani, ita de plurimis sancti miraculis perpauca decerpsi. Quapropter efflagito conditorem rerum, quatinus non meum respiciat meritum, sed affectus[e 8] iubentum; uos etiam[f] pro meis precor orare deliquiis, ne me seducat spiritus falsitatis. Nimirum animus terrenis[g] inretitus[h] curis nihil ueritatis excogitare poterit, nisi prius fallacis caligines erroris[9] spiritus scientie et pietatis expulerit. Et quoniam perparum scimus de signis mirabilibus, prodigiis ac uirtutibus quae sanctus iste in sua gessit orationibus uita—nimirum, ut inquit Priscianus,[10] auctor grammatice artis peritissimus, studiis litterarum transeuntibus in neglegentiam propter scriptorum inopiam—ueniamus ad ea quae post [i]obitum eius[i] indubitanter sunt peracta ad uiri Dei tumulum. Idcircoque accessimus maxime ad euoluenda huius sancti

[Epistola Lantfredi] RNJTY] [a] *title suppl. ed.*; INCIPIT EPISTOLA DOCTORIS EXIMII LANTFREDI VENERANDE SANCTITATIS PRESBITERI ET MONACHI DE MIRACVLIS SANCTI SWIÐVNI EPISCOPI *rubric in RN* [b] uetussimum *corr. to* uetustissimum *J* [c] karitas *JTY* [d] sancti *JNTY* [e] effectus *MSS* [f] aetiam *N* [g] *add. above line J* [h] *erasure of one word after* inretitus *J* [i–i] obitum eius *with transposition marks J*; eius obitum *TY*

[1] It seems unlikely that the rubric in RN, in which Lantfred is described as a *doctor eximius*, was written by Lantfred himself, and it has accordingly been relegated to the *apparatus criticus* (see also above, p. 175). On the contrary, literary convention required deployment of the topos of modesty in a prefatory epistle: see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (New York, 1963), pp. 83–5, and T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces* (Stockholm, 1964), pp. 130–3 *et passim*.

[2] The monastery (or better, perhaps, minster) of St Peter is the Old Minster; on its foundation and early history, see B. A. E. Yorke, 'The foundation of the Old Minster and the status of Winchester in the seventh and eighth centuries', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, xxxviii (1982), 75–83. We know from Bede that this church was originally dedicated to SS Peter and Paul (*HE* iii. 7), a common dedication in the early Anglo-Saxon period (see Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 259–60), and Lantfred subsequently refers specifically to the dedication of the 'basilica apostolorum Petri et Pauli' (*Praef.*). Its dedication to both apostles is confirmed by a number of charters dating from the early eighth century: S 254 = BCS 158; S 258 = BCS 179; S 284 = BCS 398, S 354 = BCS 565; S 444 = BCS 731; etc. However, it was common for churches dedicated to both apostles to be specified under the name of Peter alone (thus Bede, speaking of the minster which was later to become St Augustine's, at *HE* ii. 7, iv. 1, v. 8), and the single entry in the F-version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*—which alone preserves the information that the Old Minster was built and consecrated by the West Saxon king Cenwalh in 648—speaks of the minster 'þæt Cynwalh cing let macian on sancte Petres naman' (*ASC*, ed. Plummer, i. 28; also ed. P. S. Baker, *MS. F*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition, viii (Cambridge, 2000), p. 34). At the time of the translation in 971, the Old Minster would have been a small two-cell structure with additional *porticus*, as recovered and identified by excavation: see WS i. 306–7; Biddle, 'Felix urbs Wintonia', pp. 136–7; *VIII Interim*, pp. 317–18; and especially WS 4.i, Part II, Chapters I–VI.

[3] The superlative is grammatically unnecessary, but is attested elsewhere in contemporary records: e.g. a charter of King Edgar in favour of the Old Minster dated 961 speaks of the 'monasterium quod dicitur uetustissimum' (S 699 = BCS 1068); but note that Wulfstan in the corresponding passage of his *Narratio* speaks simply of the *Coenobium Vetus* (Ep. gen. 9; below, p. 398). This minster, which dated from the seventh century, would have been known as the 'old' minster after the completion and dedication of the adjacent 'new' minster in 903; see WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter IV; Part III. It is almost invariably described as the *Eald Mynster* in Old English texts: see *ASC* 964A, 1036E, 1053E, as well as Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun', c. 2 (below, p. 590).

[4] For the expression *gaudium inenarrabile*, see Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* [ps. xxvi], enarr. ii. 12: 'abundantissimum et inenarrabile gaudium' (CCSL xxxviii. 161).

[5] Again, see Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* [ps. lxxxiii], c. 8:

LANTFRED'S PREFATORY LETTER TO THE MONKS OF THE OLD MINSTER, WINCHESTER[1]

To the beloved monks of Winchester dwelling in the monastery of St Peter[2] which is called the Old Minster:[3] may your enduring confraternity, salvation, perennial glory, indescribable joy,[4] unceasing excellence, eternal peace[5] and uninterrupted charity be multiplied by the Lord here and in heaven! Although, beloved and kindly brothers, the miracles, which the omnipotent author of miracles has deigned to bestow on the peoples of England through the merit of most holy Swithun, are fully known through nearly all of Europe,[6] nevertheless, so that such great favours may not lie hidden from succeeding generations, I, the most worthless of all men because of my wrong-doings—inasmuch as I am sustained by no prerogative of divine learning nor by any authority accruing from my good conduct, but obeying your commands,[7] trusting in your prayers—have come trembling to the mighty vastness of this sea; and, as if it were a drop from the ocean's waters, thus have I collected together a very few from the many miracles of our saint. Wherefore I beseech the creator of all things that He not look upon my deserts, but upon the good will of you who are requesting the work;[8] and I beseech you, likewise, to pray for my defects so that the evil spirit of error does not lead me astray. For, truly, the intellect, ensnared in earthly cares, will not be able to contemplate anything pertaining to the truth, unless first a spirit of knowledge and holiness shall have expelled the darkness of deceptive error.[9] And since we know very little concerning the marvellous signs, portents and miracles which this saint performed by means of his prayers during his lifetime—not surprisingly, as that most learned exponent of the grammatical art, Priscian,[10] said, 'with the study of letters passing into neglect because of the shortage of writers'—let us come to those things which without any doubt took place posthumously at the man of God's tomb. I therefore have proceeded in particular to the narration of this saint's miracles since, just as it is

'quem uisitas aegrotum, ubi perpetua sanitate gaudent? quem concordas litigiosum, ubi pax sempiterna est?' (CCSL xxxix. 1153).

[6] At the time Lantfred was writing (*ante* 974: see above, pp. 235–7), this statement would have been a crude exaggeration (even though, largely through Lantfred's personal efforts as recounted in cc. 32–4, St Swithun may have been known in certain areas of Francia). Within a century of the translation, however, St Swithun was indeed venerated in many areas of northern Europe; see above, pp. 50–61.

[7] The expression *iussionibus . . . obtemperans* derives from Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* xxxi. 47. 94: 'dum iussionibus diuinis obtemperans' (CCSL cxliiiB. 1616).

[8] All manuscripts concur in the reading *effectus*, though sense requires *affectus*, the 'good will' (rather than 'the accomplishments') of those requesting the work. In the corresponding passage of his *Narratio*, Wulfstan wrote, 'sed magis affectum uelit [*scil.* Dominus] ut pensare iubentum' (Ep. gen. 34; see below, p. 398), which suggests that Wulfstan was working from a manuscript closer to Lantfred's original than any we now possess (see above, p. 247). In any case it is worth stressing that it was the monks of the Old Minster, rather than Æthelwold their bishop, who were commanding (*iubentes*) the work from Lantfred, and that he in turn was *obtemperans uestris iussionibus*, since it is often assumed that the work was commissioned by Æthelwold. If it had been, Lantfred must surely have acknowledged the fact and addressed his *Epistola* specifically to the bishop. But we need not rule out the possibility that Æthelwold was a motive force in the creation of the work: he provided Lantfred with accounts of various miracles (cf. c. 35).

[9] Cf. Augusine, *De ciuitate Dei* i. 22: 'quod plerumque caligine erroris inuoluitur' (CCSL xlvii. 23); Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* vi. 37. 58: 'et superborum oculos per caliginem erroris obscurat' (CCSL cxliii. 329).

[10] The quotation is from the *Epistola ad Iulianum* with which Priscian prefaced his *Institutiones grammaticae*: 'quippe in neglegentiam cadentibus studiis literarum propter inopiam scriptorum' (*Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1848–80), ii. 1–2). Ælfric subsequently quoted this same sentence of Priscian (*Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 1; ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 70; and cf. Winterbottom, 'Three lives', p. 200 n. 17), though he need not have derived it from Lantfred: Ælfric drew independently on Priscian for his *Grammar*, and very probably compiled the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* on which the *Grammar* is based: see D. W. Porter, *The 'Excerptiones de Prisciano'*, AST iv (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 23–33; but see also the discussion of V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the early Middle Ages* (London, 1997), pp. 203–13.

miracula quoniam, ut beneficia Dei dignissimum est laudare et iustissimum [j]ea nescientibus predicare, sic impiissimum[j] est illa [k]silendo negare[k] et nequissimum eadem ignorantibus non enarrare. Humanus quinetiam[l] animus istius est naturae, ut, quotiescumque legendo didicerit uel audiendo sacros actus antiquorum uel mores patrum, relinquat cordis duritiam[11] deseratque mentis contumaciam,[12] sectatricem uitiorum, et inclinetur ad misericordiam secteturque humilitatem, magistram uirtutum.[m13]

Pandit hic ex multis miracula pauca libellus
per meritum sancti quae fecit rector Olimpi,[14]
pontificis nacto Suuiðhuni corpore sacro.

⟨PRAEFATIO⟩[a]

Notum est, fratres, fidelibus ubique gentium degentibus quanta piae dilectionis beneficia quantamque iustae remunerationis[15] gloriam Dominus noster Iesus Christus suis concessit clientibus, ac spopondit omnibus fide opereque colentibus uerum et summum Deum—in unitate trinum, in[b] trinitate unum. Qui, licet angelorum foret creator et hominum, ineffabili natiuitate[16] omousios[c] genitus a coeterno patre ante materialem Olimpi, telluris et oceani formationem, longeque ante cuncta temporum primordia pulcherrimus rerum gerens pulchrum[d] profunda mente[17] empyrium—tamen clementi benignitate[18] non dedignatus est homo fieri, ferme in extrema caducorum margine nostram suscipiendo fragilitatem suamque haud minuendo diuinitatem, quatinus humanam reducem naturam proprii effusione cruoris[19] a perpetue liberaret dampnatione necis ac restitueret claritati sempiternae[20] atque inmortalitati celestis patrie, unde eam protoplastus[e] expulit per uitium inobedientiae. Qui, sacrae incarnationis expleto ac prefulgidae natiuitatis mysterio uniuersaque baptismatis peccamina purificantis, bis ternis diuinitas lustris[f] ab assumpto humanitatis idalmate[g21] terminatis tribusque annis iure additis, stauro[h] fixa—luce tertia morte uicta resurrectura—emori siuit; quod[i] accepit, ut inde[j] conferret uitam nobis unde demon mortem[k22] intulit, inde tropheum unde supplicium, inde eternitatis laetitiam unde dampnationis poenam, inde lauream[l] unde ruinam. Post cuius corporalem uiuificae[m] crucis passionem solibus quaterdenis commoratus in aruis, celos petiit demate quibus numquam defuit deitate. Denique ymeris septies

[j–j] *om. T* [k–k] negare silendo *with transposition marks J* [l] *om. Y* [m] *TY end here*
[Praefatio] **RNJ** [a] *title suppl. ed.* [b] *before* in *a corrector in R added* et [c] homousios *N*; *gloss in J*: .i. unius substantie [d] pulhrum *N* [e] *gloss in J*: .i. primus formatus [f] *gloss in J*: .i. quinquennis [g] *gloss in J*: .i. forma uel specimine, idem est et agalma [h] *gloss in J*: .i. cruce [i] *marginal gloss in J*: .i. corpus humanum [j] *marginal gloss in J*: .i. per lignum sancte crucis [k] *marginal gloss in J*: .i. per lignum uetitum [l] *marginal gloss in J*: .i. coronam perennis beatitudinis [m] uiuicae *corr. to* uiuificae *J*

[11] A biblical phrase: Matt. 19: 8, Mark 10. 5, 16: 14.

[12] Cf. Isidore, *De differentiis rerum* § 168: 'tertium genus [*scil.* superbiae] est eorum qui per contumaciam mentis subdi dedignantur seniorum imperiis' (PL lxxxiii. 97).

[13] Cassian, *Conlat.* xv. 7: 'humilitas ergo est omnium magistra uirtutum' (CSEL xiii. 433).

[14] The cadence *rector Olimpi* is used by Arator, *HA* i. 37, ii. 1117, and Aldhelm, *CdV* 429; see *HexLexikon* iv. 468–9.

[15] Cf. Petrus Chrysologus, *Collectio sermonum*, cix. 3: 'praemium iustae remunerations adquirit' (CCSL xxivA. 674).

[16] Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* [ps. xliv], c. 4: 'commendantis nobis natiuitatem quamdam ineffabilem' (CCSL xxxviii. 496); Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* xxiii. 19. 36: 'et quis digne fari queat illam ineffabilem natiuitatem' (CCSL cxliiiB. 1171).

[17] Cf. Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae*, iii, carm. xi. 1: 'quisquis profunda mente uestigat uerum'.

[18] For the phrase, see Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 35. 20: 'tam diuina felicitate confectum, tam clementi benignitate' (CSEL v. 531).

[19] Cf. Augustine, *Serm.* cccix. 3: 'intelligamus ergo praeter

most worthwhile to praise God's favours and most appropriate to proclaim them to those who are unaware of them, so it is most wicked to deny them by keeping silence, and most shameful not to expound them to people in ignorance of them. In fact the human mind is of such a nature, that, the more often it has learned, through reading or hearing, of the holy deeds or the conduct of the early Church Fathers, the more often it ought to abandon the inflexibility of its conviction[11] and relinquish its mental obstinacy[12]—which is the attendant of the vices—and be inclined towards mercy and pursue humility, the instructress of the virtues.[13]

This little book relates a few miracles from many
Which the ruler of heaven[14] accomplished through the merit of the saint,
When the holy body of bishop Swithun had been recovered.

PREFACE

It is well known, brothers, to the Christian faithful living everywhere in the world, what great favours of holy love and what a great honour of true recompense[15] our Lord Jesus Christ granted to His followers and promised to everyone worshipping in faith and deed the true and highest God—Who is three in unity, one in trinity. Although He was the creator of angels and men, He was born of the same substance through an indescribable nativity[16] from His coeternal Father, before the material creation of heaven, earth and ocean, and, long before the very beginnings of time, He, the most glorious of all things, contained the glorious firmament with His boundless mind[17]—yet through His kind benevolence[18] He did not disdain to become a man, by assuming—at virtually the extreme limit of transient things—our fragility, and yet not decreasing His own divinity, so that He could free our redeemed human nature from the sentence of perpetual death by the shedding of His own blood,[19] and could restore it to the eternal splendour[20] and immortality of the heavenly kingdom, from whence the first-born man had expelled it through the sin of disobedience. When the mystery of holy incarnation and resplendent nativity, and of baptism that purifies all sins, had been brought to fulfilment, and twice-three *lustra* with three years duly added [i.e. thirty-three years] had been completed since the time it had assumed the likeness of humanity,[21] His divine nature was suspended from the cross—ready to rise again on the third day when death had been vanquished—and was eager to depart; He submitted to this, so that He could there bestow life on us where the devil had brought death,[22] so that there would be victory where the devil had brought suffering, there the joy of eternity where the devil had brought the pain of damnation, there the laurel-wreath where the devil had brought disaster. After His bodily suffering on the life-giving cross, He dwelled for forty days on earth; He then sought the heavens in body—from which He had never been absent in deity. And thereupon, after the completion of seven times seven days (figurally

effusionem cruoris . . . quomodo Christum debeat sequi Christianus' (PL xxxviii. 1396).

[20] Cf. Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium* civ. 3: 'filius, cuius claritas sempiterna nec ex forma humana potuit uideri minor, nec in diuina posset esse amplior' (CCSL xxxvi. 603).

[21] The word *idalma* (from Greek ἴνδαλμα) is exceptionally rare: there is no entry in *TLL*, and *DMLBS* cites only this occurrence in Lantfred. The Greek etymon occurs in the Septuagint (Wisdom 17: 3), and Lantfred possibly derived it from a Greek-Latin glossary drawn from the Bible, though no such glossary (containing an entry *idalma*) is printed in *CGL*. On the possibility of contact at Winchester between Lantfred and a Greek bishop named Nikephoros, see above, p. 226 n. 70.

[22] Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [ps. xviii], c. 14: 'quae ex angelo diabolum fecit, quae homini mortem intulit' (CCSL xcvii. 176).

septenis typice completis post gloriosam eius anastasim, consolator spiritus[23]—a genito promissus, a genitore missus, ab utroque progressus, compar ambobus et coaeternus—repentino fragore ignis instar et linguae proseucam irruit quo latebant fornifori,[24] metu tribulum territi;[25] quorum corda compleuit sancti tanta infusione carismatis, ut in una etiam apostolorum uaticinatione pariter eadem tempestate dinoscerentur sermones omnium consona uoce[26] populorum. Qui, diuino referti pneumate, foribus patefactis citissime, Christum predicabant publice quem dudum, septi firmo munimine, auribus uulgi non audebant uaticinari. Moxque[n] conuersis ad fidem paucis ex eorum consanguineis (respuentibus sanam ceteris doctrinam), didascali, adimplentes ueriloqui mathites quae infit iussionem, 'euntes in omnem dogmatizantes orbem euangelium humanae omni creaturae',[27] Iudaici relicta erroris perfidia optione, bis senas sortiti prouincias totiusque gentilitatis fines adgressi, pene uniuersum Deo fauente cosmum[o] quaterno climate quadrifidum ad Christianae fidei religionem et ad sancte trinitatis agnitionem[28]—signis uirtutibusque miraculorum credulitatem prebentibus—conuerterunt.

Quorum equiperatores nouissime ad gentes peruenerunt felices in Britannie limitibus commorantes que nuncupantur Anglisaxones, etiamnunc compeditas nexibus zabuleis turificantesque demonum simulacris necne uarias antique malignitatis illusiones pro Deo rerum auctore uenerantes;[29] quas ideo 'felices' predico, quoniam mox[p] audito ueritatis lumine, relicta demoniace prauitatis caligine, susceperunt Christianitatem absque doctorum strage, quam gentes ceterae noscuntur suscepisse cum cruoris testium respersione multorum. Gentes nimirum prefate Anglorum cum tante sitibundo ardore deuotionis sperma diuini percepere rematis, ut etiam in fide religionis catholice non solum pontifices, coenobitae et abbates, uerum reges, reginae ac satrapes[q]—quamquam haud omnes, tamen perplures—extiterint religiosiores monachis complurimis.[r] Quapropter idem Dominus Messias Iesus contulit tantam prefate nationi gratiam, quatinus sanctos fere innumerabiles ex priuis contribulibus possideret, per uirtutem Domini curantes totius insulae egros diuersis languoribus oppressos. Sit benedictus noster Dominus Sother Christus qui, assumpta nostre infirmitatis idea, nos liberauit ab eterne dampnationis poena, quam ille priscus cerestes olim primogenito intulit, fraudis inuenta uersute[s] nequitia! Qui, dum concupiuit creatori maiestate similis[t] fieri—cum foret cunctarum excellentissimus creaturarum—effectus est omnibus deterior rebus, detrususque tetri in ima tartari[30] etiamnunc impia iugis

[n] mox *with* -que *added above line J* [o] *added above line J* [p] *om. N* [q] satrapes *JN*; satrape *with final* -s *erased R* [r] *space for one word before and after* complurimis *in J* [s] uersumte *N* [t] *added above line in J*

[23] Gregory, *Hom. xl. in euang.* ii. 30. 3: 'consolator autem idem spiritus uocatur' (PL lxxvi. 1221). The point is that the word *paraclete* (παράκλητος) meant 'comforter', 'consoler', so that Latin *consolator* is a calque on Greek παράκλητος, as Gregory explains (ibid.): 'Graeca locutione paraclitus Latina advocatus dicitur, vel consolator.'

[24] The word *forniforus*, 'disciple', from Greek φερνόφορος (lit. 'dowry-bearing'), was used by Jerome, *Comm. in Danielem* (CCSL lxxvA. 903), whence Lantfred probably derived it; it was subsequently used by Ælfric's student, Ælfric Bata, in one of his *colloquia* (ed. W. H. Stevenson, *Early Scholastic Colloquies* (Oxford, 1929), p. 69; also ed. S. Gwara and D. W. Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: the Colloquies of Ælfric Bata* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 184), where *fornifori* is glossed *didascali*. These are the only two citations given for the word in *DMLBS*; but another occurrence in an Insular text of approximately this date is recorded by D. N. Dumville, '"Nennius" and the *Historia Brittonum*', *Studia Celtica*, x–xi (1975–6), 78–95, at p. 85.

[25] Lantfred here conflates two distinct biblical passages: that of the fiery advent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost (Acts 2: 1–2), and that of Jesus's reappearance to the disciples after the crucifixion as related by John the evangelist: 'fores essent clausae, ubi erant discipuli congregati propter metum Iudaeorum' (John 20: 19).

[26] Cf. Augustine, *Ep.* clxxxv. 4: 'ecclesiam uero toto terrarum orbe diffusam . . . uniuersarum scripturarum testimonia consona uoce proclamant' (CSEL lvii. 4).

[27] Mark 16: 15 ('euntes in mundum universum praedicate evangelium omni creaturae').

[28] Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [ps. cxlvii], c. 15: 'huius

speaking) after His glorious resurrection, the comforting Holy Ghost[23]—foretold by the Son, sent by the Father, proceeding from either, equal to and coeternal with both—in the likeness of fire and tongue burst with a sudden roar upon the oratory where the disciples[24] were hiding, terrified with fear of the townspeople;[25] it filled their hearts with so great an infusion of holy grace, that in the one prophetic vision of these apostles the languages of all peoples could be discerned in harmonious speech[26] at the same time. They, filled with the Holy Ghost, having opened the doors immediately, preached Christ in public—whom formerly, shut up in their safe strong-hold, they did not dare to proclaim to the ears of the populace. And straightway, when a few of their relatives had been converted to the faith (others persisted in rejecting the health-bringing doctrine), the disciples, fulfilling the commandment of their prophetic teacher which says 'Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to every creature',[27] and abandoning by choice the treachery of Jewish error, they selected twelve provinces and, going to the very ends of heathendom, they converted through God's protection the entire four-part world with its four-fold regions to the religion of Christian faith and to recognition of the Holy Trinity[28]—with many signs and miracles adding credulity to their preaching.

Their successors eventually came to the blessed folk living in the outposts of Britain who are called Anglo-Saxons—who even at this time were bound by devilish fetters and were offering incense to images of demons and were venerating various deceitful forms of the age-old enemy instead of God the creator of all things.[29] I call them 'blessed' for the reason that, as soon as they heard the light of truth, they abandoned the darkness of devilish depravity, and, without there being any slaughter of missionaries, they embraced Christianity, which other peoples are known to have adopted only with the spilling of blood of many martyrs. In fact the aforementioned peoples of England took up the seed of the Divine Word with the thirsting ardour of such great devotion, that not only bishops, monks and abbots, but even kings, queens and nobles—if not all, nevertheless many—were more devout in the faith of the catholic religion than a good many present-day monks. Therefore the same Lord Jesus the Messiah bestowed an immense bounty on the aforesaid nation, such that it would have from its own peoples a nearly incalculable number of saints who, through the Lord's power, would be able to heal the sick people, afflicted with various illnesses, of the whole island. Blessed be our Lord Saviour Christ Who, having taken on the appearance of our own frailty, freed us from the penalty of eternal damnation, which that ancient serpent once inflicted on the first-born man, after having devised the wickedness of a cunning deceit! This serpent, when he desired to be equal to the creator in majesty—although he was then the most distinguished of all creatures—was made the lowest of all things, and was thrust into the depths of foul hell,[30] where

enim omnipotentis uerbi sic cucurrit sermo uelociter, ut sanctae trinitatis agnitio celerrima mirabili mundum uelocitate compleuerit, idolorum culturas ueritatis ipsius manifestatione conuertens' (CCSL xcviii. 1312).

[29] It is an interesting question what pagan practices survived in tenth-century England; but that such practices still occurred is clear from various legislation, notably a stipulation in II Cnut 5 (dated 1020 × 1023), perhaps promulgated in respect of Viking behaviour: 'And we earnestly forbid every heathen practice. It is heathen practice if one worships idols, namely if one worships heathen gods and the sun or the moon, fire or flood, wells or stones or any kind of forest trees, or if one practises witchcraft or encompasses death by any means, either by sacrifice or divination, or takes any part in such delusions' (ed. Liebermann, *Gesetze* i. 312; trans. Whitelock, *EHD* i. 455). Ælfric inveighs against similar practices in his sermon *De falsis deis* (*Hom. Supp.* ii. 676–712). For discussion, see W. Bonser, *The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1963), pp. 117–57; A. Meaney, 'Ælfric and idolatry', *Journal of Religious History*, xiii (1984), 119–35; and J. D. Niles, 'Pagan survivals and popular belief', *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Godden and M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 126–41.

[30] Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* [ps. lxvii], c. 30: 'cum a superbia deiciuntur, siue humilitate correcti siue in ima tartari abrepti' (CCSL xxxix. 891).

luens tormenta liuoris, quod homo, inferior natura (utpote ex terrena corporatus massa—de qua nefanda pulsus est contumacia!), perpetualiter celestem possessurus[u] est amoenitatem.[31]

Post cuius ergo ineffabilem mirifice humanationis adunationem, transcurso nongentorum curriculo annorum cum bis septeni reuolutione lustri, quinetiam ferme annum Phoebo rotante medium, aetate sexta (quae est caducorum nouissima), indictione quartadecima,[32] Eadgaro regnante,[33] basileo insigni atque inuictissimo, prepotente ac clementissimo necnon gloriosissimo[v] sceptrigera ditione et feliciter gentibus imperante compluribus habitu distantibus, uoce atque moribus, diffuse in insula commorantibus quae 'Albio'[34] nuncupata legitur ab Anglorum fore ueteribus: ipse Dei cuncticreantis unicus lucis assidue splendor sempiternus dignatus est suis largiri[w] Anglis-Saxonibus celeste munusculum, per gloriosi precipuum antistitis[x] Suuithuni meritum aegrotis aethereum[y] conferens beneficium, quia[z] presignata tempestate pontificis huius almi reliquie conuocationi catholice caelitus Deo largiente mirabiliterque sunt reuelatae—quinetiam multiplicibus prodigiis ac uirtutibus comprobate miraculisque inenarrabilibus luculenter adornate [a]atque, donec illi templum fabricaretur,[35] infra moenia basilice apostolorum [b]Petri et Pauli[b] decenter collocatae.[a] Post cuius etenim sacri translationem corpusculi, tot languentes pristine sanitati[36] Deo prestante sunt restituti in sacello quo quiescebant ossa pontificis almi, quot nemo uiuens corporea luce[37] quiuit conspicere, neque elementorum sacras recitando scedulas ediscere,[c] nec rumore mordaces pulsante aures percipere, ad monumentum unius sancti curatos fore;[d] neque post sanctos predicatores apostolorum—quorum umbra quotquot tangebat aegros redire cogebat illesos—quisquam sanctus,[e] mortalis septus dematis uelamine, uspiam utriusque sospitatis uite[38] dinoscitur reddidisse.[f g] EXPLICIT PREFATIO.[g]

[u] posses securus *N* [v] gloriosissime *J* [w] largire *J (and cf. below, c. 40, n. a)* [x] antistis *J* [y] etherium *J* [z] *after* quia *all MSS add* ne [a–a] *added in margin J* [b–b] Petri Paulique *J* [c] ediscere *JN*; edicere *with* -s- *erased R* [d] *add. above line J* [e] *add. above line J* [f] tu autem *is written immediately adjacent to* reddidisse *in the margin of R*; tu autem *is incorporated (incongruously) in the text of N* [g–g] *om. J*

[31] Cf. Gregory, *In librum primum Regum* iii. 121: 'cum caelestis iam amoenitate uisionis fruitur' (CCSL cxliv. 266).

[32] Nine hundred years plus fourteen *lustra* of five years each ($14 \times 5 = 70$) + 1 = 971; the fourteenth indiction ([971 − 312] ÷ 15) is correct for 971. The sixth age of the world is defined by Bede in c. 16 of his *De temporibus*: 'sexta, quae nunc agitur, nulla generationum uel temporum serie certa sed, ut aetas decrepita ipsa, totius saeculi morte finienda' (ed. C. W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* (Cambridge, MA, 1943), p. 303; also ed. CCSL cxxiiiC. 601). On the doctrine of the 'six ages' (which can be traced in patristic literature from Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* xxii. 30 (CCSL xlviii. 865–6) onwards), and its manifestation in Anglo-Saxon texts, see M. Förster, 'Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen', *Neusprachliche Studien: Festgabe Karl Luick* (Marburg, 1925), pp. 183–203; H. Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi: Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren. Untersuchungen* (Heidelberg, 1985); and F. Wallis, *Bede: the Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 1999), pp. 353–66.

[33] Edgar was king of Mercia from 957, and king of all England from October 959 until his death on 8 July 975 (*HBC*, p. 27). For his rule over other nations, see *ASC*, s.a. 973DE (ed. Plummer, i. 119; trans. Whitelock, p. 77).

[34] 'Albion' was the name given to Britain by Greek writers (e.g. pseudo-Aristotle, *De mundo*, c. 3), and was transmitted in Latin *inter alia* by Pliny, *HN* iv. 30. 102 ('Albion ipsi nomen fuit cum Britanniae vocarentur omnes'), who was evidently Bede's source for the comment, 'Brittania . . . cui quondam Albion nomen fuit' (*HE* i. 1). Lantfred's source is more likely to have been Bede than Pliny, given that the *Historia ecclesiastica* was also used as a source by Æthelwold in the tract entitled 'King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' (*Councils & Synods*, i. 142–54, at p. 143 n. 1), which was intended as the preface to his translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti*; the same passage of Bede (concerning the national security which would enable a woman with children to traverse England) is also used by Wulfstan, *Narratio*, ii. 462–5, a passage which has no correlate in Lantfred (see below, p. 516). For a use of *Albio* roughly contemporary with Lantfred, see S 841 = KCD 632 (a charter of King Æthelred, dated 982): 'totius Albionis basileus egregius'. See also L. Gougaud, 'Les noms anciens des Iles Britanniques',

even now he is suffering unholy torments for his perpetual envy, whereas man, who was inferior by nature (inasmuch as he was created from earthly material—by which he is impelled in wicked obstinacy!), is to possess the heavenly blessedness eternally.[31]

Therefore, after the inexpressible union of Christ's wondrous incarnation, with the passing of the cycle of nine hundred years together with the revolution of twice-seven *lustra*, in fact with the sun nearly revolving half the next year, in the sixth age (which is the ultimate for transient creatures), in the fourteenth indiction,[32] with Edgar reigning,[33] that renowned and unconquerable king, powerful and most merciful and fully glorious in his sceptre-bearing sovereignty, blessedly commanding several peoples distinct in appearance, speech and custom, dwelling widely scattered in the island which was reportedly called 'Albion'[34] by the early English: Jesus himself, the only Son of all-creating God, the eternal splendour of perpetual light, deigned to grant to His Anglo-Saxons a heavenly gift, bestowing an ethereal bounty on the sick through the outstanding merit of the glorious bishop Swithun, since in the aforementioned time the relics of this holy bishop were divinely and miraculously revealed to the catholic congregation through God's agency—moreover, they were confirmed through manifold prophecies and portents and were splendidly adorned by indescribable miracles and, until such time as a shrine should be constructed for him,[35] they were appropriately housed within the walls of the church of SS. Peter and Paul. And indeed, after the translation of his holy body, there were so many diseased folk restored at God's insistence to pristine health[36] in the shrine where the bones of the holy saint lay, that no one person could see with his own eyes,[37] nor learn by reading aloud the holy parchment letter by letter, nor comprehend as rumour struck his stinging ears, that so many had been cured at the tomb of one saint; nor, after the time of the holy apostles—whose protection affected so many sick persons and compelled them to return unharmed from death's door—was any mortal saint, enclosed by the veil of a human body, ever known to have restored so many to a life of either heavenly or earthly welfare.[38] END OF PREFACE.

Revue des questions historiques, lxxxii (1907), 537–47, at pp. 541–2, and esp. A. F. L. Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979), pp. 247–8.

[35] For the interpretation of these words, see above, p. 237; they imply that a new shrine to house St Swithun's relics had not yet been built at the time Lantfred was writing. Quirk (*OM*, p. 56) attempted to date the first retranslation to 974; but his interpretation was based on a misunderstanding of a passage in Thomas Rudborne's *Historia maior*, which reads as follows: 'cum jacuussit [*sic for* iacuisset] uenerabile corpus sancti Swithuni centum et 10 annis humatum, triennio ante sacri antistitis corporis eleuatione [*sic for* eleuationem] continue per eum miraculis diuinitus coruscantibus Ventane'. Quirk took the *triennium* in question to be the three years which separated the translation on 15 July 971 from a supposed retranslation in 974; but in fact Rudborne's words are closely based on Lantfred's c. 1 (*Triennio igitur antequam* etc.: see below, n. 39), and refer to the miracles which took place three years before Swithun's body was exhumed in 971. There is accordingly no evidence for a retranslation in 974. Cf. discussion in WS Part II, Chapter VIII. 1. ii, iv, v.

[36] Cassian, *Conlat.* xv. 5: 'si seruus es Dei . . . restitue hunc pristinae sanitati' (CSEL xiii. 431); cf. also Jerome, *Ep.* cxxii. 4: 'paralyticus . . . restituitur pristinae sanitati' (CSEL lvi. 70).

[37] A surprisingly rare expression, to judge from the databases, attested only in Augustine, *De trinitate* xii. 15: 'oculus carnis uidet quae in hac corporea luce circumadiacent' (CCSL l. 378).

[38] The phrase *utriusque uitae* is used in poetry by Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini* v. 478 ('sic utriusque pie transegit tempora uitae'), and also several times by Gregory the Great: *Hom. .xl. in euang.* i. 10. 4 ('non una utriusque uitae qualitas fuit': PL lxxvi. 1112), and *Moralia in Iob* xxviii. 13. 33 ('quia coniunctae utriusque uitae, actiuae uidelicet et contemplatiuae' (CCSL cxliiiB. 1420). This last quotation from Gregory indicates that the two lives in question were the active and the contemplative; but other sources suggest that the phrase might also refer to the present and the future life, as for example in Calcidius, *In Platonis Timaeum* § 188: 'latorem legis utriusque uitae, tam aeternae quam temporariae' (ed. Waszink, p. 212). Lantfred seems to use the phrase in the latter sense (cf. p. 262); and cf. his use of the phrase *utriusque sanitatis* (below, p. 268).

1. 'INCIPIT NARRATIO DE VISIONE[b] FABRI.[a]

'Annis ante tribus quam de tumulo traheretur
in somnis presul homini comparuit almus,
per quem canonico mittit sua iussa potenti.[c]

Triennio[39] igitur antequam sanctae egregii ac uenerabilis presulis exuuiae de mausoleo quo olim fuerant humate, irradiante diuini[d] iubare splendoris[40] manifestate,[e] a reuerentissimo eiusdem loci antistite Aðeluuoldo[f] fratribusque ibidem commanentibus[g] essent sublatae, apparuit idem in quiete somnii[h] cuipiam ueridico opifici, decora preditus canitie angelicaque[i] preclarus effigie,[41] necne bissino amictus peplo pedesque aurato comptus sandalio. Aurea rude ter paululum eius tangens capitulum, conspicua uoce postmodum sic fatur ad eum: 'Dormisne, frater, an uigilas?' Qui respondit, 'Nuper, domine mi, dormiebam; uerum postquam nostram introgressus es domiculam, sopor grauis confestim a priuis[j] recessit ocellis.' Cui sanctus[k] inquit presul: 'Numquidnam[l] talem agnoscis canonicum qui quondam[m] a Vetusto—cum ceteris infauste uiuentibus—expulsus est Coenobio?[42] Vt eum recognoscas dilucide, Eadzinus[43] nuncupatur uocamine.' Faber eulogito respondit episcopo: 'Quondam illum noui, pater; modo tamen nescio ubi est.' Cui presul ait, 'Nunc Wincelcumbe[44] degit.' Faber inquit: 'Domine mi pater, cur illum [n]a me[n] requiris, quem melius me cognoscis? Nonne mihi eius uocabulum innotuisti atque locellum? Indica mihi, pastor eximie, quo nominaris onomate. Per tuum stoma[o] nempe diuina reboat tuba,[p][45] quae celicolam uere te pandit fore. Quapropter te flagito, mei miserere!' Ad quem sacer infit antistes: 'Nomen meum, si queris, ocius habebis. In nomine trinitatis almae unitatisque indiuiduae tibi precipio, fili, teque rogo[q] in dilectione Christi, si quando ad istam praedictus urbem uenerit canonicus, quatinus ad illum propere pergas meaque illi iussa dicas. Sin[r] autem huc numquam destinauerit[s] accedere neque [t]tu ad eum[t] ulla ratione poteris peruenire, quandocumque aliquem ex illius conspexeris clientibus, uigilanti cura[46] (parte ex mea) illi impera, ut proprio dicat seniori omne quod narrabo tibi: "Hoc tibi, [u]Eadzine, presul[u] mandat Suuithunus, quatinus ad Wintoniensem festinanter pergas ciuitatem dicasque antistiti (qui[v] modo eandem regit diocesim, cui olim prefuit[47]) quo corpus suum

[c. 1] RNJ] [a–a] *om. J* [b] VISISIONE *R* [c–c] *om. RN* [d] *add. above line J* [e] manifestante *N* [f] *om. J* [g] commorantibus *corr. to* commanentibus *J* [h] somni *N* [i] angelicoque *MSS, wrongly for* angelicaque [j] prauis *N* [k] *add. above line J* [l] -nam *add. above line J* [m] condam *corr. to* quondam *J* [n–n] *added above line in J* [o] *gloss in J*: os [p] *gloss in J*: .i. uox angelica [q] *added above line in J* [r] si *N* [s] destinauit *JN; a later hand in R has corr. to* destinauerit [t–t] tua deum *N* [u–u] presul Eadzine *J* [v] quo *N*

[39] Given that St Swithun's remains were translated on 15 July 971, this first miraculous appearance of the saint must have taken place in 968.

[40] Cf. Ambrose, *De Isaac uel anima*, iv. 14: 'inradiante sibi uerbi splendore' (CSEL xxxii/1. 652).

[41] A poetic expression; cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxv. 208 ('angelici referens agminis effigiem').

[42] Æthelwold's expulsion of the secular clerics from the Old Minster, and their replacement by his own monks from Abingdon, was seen by contemporaries as a crucial event in the establishment of reformed Benedictine monasticism in tenth-century England: *ASC* 963E, 964A; Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, cc. 16–18 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 28–32); Ælfric, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, cc. 12–14 (ibid. p. 75). The date of the expulsion is given by Wulfstan as the first Saturday in Lent [= 19 Febr.], 964; see discussion by Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xlv–xlviii.

[43] Eadsige is well attested in contemporary sources. According to Wulfstan (*Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 18), Eadsige was one of the secular canons expelled from the Old Minster by Æthelwold (see previous note), and who with two others had subsequently returned to Winchester and become monks: 'sed tamen postmodum tres ex illis ad conuersionem uenerunt, scilicet Eadzinus, Wulfsinus et Wilstanus presbiter: qui cenobium quod expulsi reliquerant humili corde repetentes Christi iugo colla subdiderunt' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 32). In his 'Life of St Swithun', c. 5, Ælfric adds the interesting detail that Eadsige was a kinsman of Æthelwold (see below, p. 592). Eadsige's role in the discovery and translation of St Swithun was thus in some sense a pretext for reconciliation between him and his kinsman Æthelwold. Eadsige subsequently became the sacrist at the Old Minster responsible for Swithun's shrine (see below, c. 20); and

1. HERE BEGINS THE STORY OF THE SMITH'S VISION.

Three years before he was translated from his tomb
The holy bishop appeared in dreams to a man,
Through whom he sends his messages to an important secular canon.

Three years,[39] therefore, before the blessed and venerable remains of the excellent bishop were exhumed from the tomb (where they had long ago been buried) by the most reverend bishop of the same see, Æthelwold, and by the monks living there, after these remains had been revealed through the radiant brilliance of divine splendour,[40] this same Bishop Swithun, comely with attractive white hair and resplendent in the likeness of an angel,[41] being clothed in a linen robe and wearing golden sandals on his feet, appeared in the quiet of a dream to a certain trustworthy smith. Lightly touching the smith's head three times with a golden staff, he afterwards speaks to him in a clear voice as follows: 'Are you sleeping, brother, or are you awake?' He replied, 'I was asleep, my lord, until a short time ago; but after you entered my little abode, the heavy sleep immediately departed from my eyes.' The holy bishop said to him: 'Do you know that certain canon who was formerly expelled from the Old Minster[42] together with others who were living in evil ways? So that you may recognise him clearly, his name is Eadsige.'[43] The smith replied to the blessed bishop: 'I knew him at that time, father; now, however, I don't know where he is.' The bishop said to him: 'He is now living at Winchcombe.'[44] The smith said: 'Milord Father, why do you ask me about him, when you know him better than I? Didn't you reveal to me his name and place of residence? Tell me, excellent pastor, what *your* name is. For a divine trumpet resounds through your mouth,[45] which marks you out as a heavenly citizen. Therefore, I beseech you, have mercy on me!' The holy bishop replies to him: 'You shall soon have my name, since you ask. In the name of the Holy Trinity and of the individual Unity I command you, my son, and I ask you in Christ's love, that when this aforementioned canon comes to this city, that you go quickly to him and tell my orders to him. If, however, he never chooses to come here, nor can you manage to get to him by any means, then whenever you see one of his retinue, command that person with attentive concern[46] on my behalf, that he relate to his superior [i.e. Eadsige] everything which I shall now tell you: "Bishop Swithun commands this of you, Eadsige, that you go quickly to the city of Winchester and say to the bishop (who now rules that same diocese which he once ruled)[47] that he exhume his body from the tomb

note that, in the corresponding passage of his *Narratio*, Wulfstan includes a long eulogy on Eadsige (ii. 131–50; see below, p. 498). In the list of Old Minster monks who *specialiter se deuouerunt*, he is listed as *Eadsige monachus* (*Liber uitae*, ed. Birch, p. 25; ed. Keynes, fo. 19r), shortly after *Wilstan sacerdos* and *Wulfsige monachus*, the two other secular clerics expelled from the Old Minster who subsequently returned and became monks.

[44] Winchcombe was the site of a monastery founded probably in the early ninth century to house the remains of the martyred King Cynehelm, known as St Kenelm (see Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 249–59, and Love, *Three Lives*, pp. lxxxix–cxx); it was refounded by Oswald, bishop of Worcester, *c.*970 (for the approximate date, see *Heads*, p. 78). It is not clear what Eadsige was doing at Winchcombe between 964 and 970, the date of his reconcilation with Æthelwold; Lantfred does not state that he was at the monastery. On the other hand, the prospect of Winchcombe becoming a Benedictine house may well have driven Eadsige and his two colleagues to patch up their differences with Æthelwold and Winchester.

[45] The detail of the angelic voice resounding like a trumpet is ultimately from Rev. 1: 10 ('vocem magnam tamquam tubae dicentis'), but Lantfred took the phrasing from Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 386 ('quidquid in aere cauo reboans tuba curua remugit').

[46] The phrase *uigilanti cura* is unmistakably Gregorian, to judge from the databases: *Moralia in Iob* ii. 3. 3: 'uigilanti cura quaerendum est unde ueniunt' (CCSL cxliii. 61); ibid. xxviii. 11. 30, xxix. 12. 24 (CCSL cxliiiB. 1419, 1450); it also occurs in the *Regula pastoralis* (3×), and in the *Registrum epistularum* (3×), but not in other authors.

[47] The manuscripts are unanimous in reading *prefuit* here, but within St Swithun's direct speech, one would expect *prefui*. Note that Ælfric, in c. 2 of his Latin *Epitome* of St Swithun (below, no. 3), preserves the reading *prefui*, which might derive from Lantfred's original text (see below, p. 564 n. 3).

de monumento eleuet et digne in ecclesia collocet[w]—quoniam quidem celitus illi est concessum[w] quod tempore suo manifestandus sum.'[48] Cui faber: 'Domine, nullo modo uoluerit meis credere dictis.' Vir sanctus inquit, 'Vt tuis credat sermonibus atque meis annuat iussionibus, dic ei ad meum quo pergat tumulum et trahat unum manu anulum ex bis ternis qui sunt fixi in mei coperculo sarcofagi.[49] Si confestim subsecutus fuerit illum, hoc sit ei uere manifestum quoniam te misi ad illum. Sin autem illum minime hinc poterit euellere, tunc nulla ratione tibi debet credere.[50] Potes deinde illi indubitanter referre quod, si utriusque uitae desiderat perfrui sospitate (relictis preteritorum neuis peccaminum), restat ei mores et actus commutare in melius[51] et ad caelestis patriae beatitudinem[52] incessanter festinare inmarcescibilem, quam probrosis uoluptatibus deseruire[53] mortetenus, quae post metam huius lucis ingerunt poenas perpetuae dampnationis. Quinetiam nec hoc silendo transeas, uerum omnibus uaticinando prodas quod mox ut meam aperuerint[x] sepulturam, repperient thesauros tam inestimabiles tamque pretiosos, ut quicquid usquam est auri et gemmarum uilescet in comparatione horum.'[54] Postquam talia fabro edicta sanctus uates tradidit, tugurium[y] obsoleti[z] deserens tegetis,[a] caelos petiit—quibus Christo omnium capiti sanctorum[55] coniunctus, eternaliter inhabitare meruit pro bonis operibus.

Verum faber ille modestus sobrietate, primo metuens uideri sicofanta[b] falsidicus[c] ac deinde diuulgari insana mente[56] furiosus, hanc uisionem prorsus nemini ausus est prima uice indicare uiuenti. Qui commonitus secundo ab eodem sancto, nec minus tertia commonitione acriter increpatus ab[d] euchari[e] pontifice—uidelicet[f] cur eius nollet sacris obedire preceptis[57]—crudelique insuper comminatus nece si non allubesceret[g] edictis[h] sacratissimi uatis. [i]Quod sponte noluit, coactus prodidit.[i] Ergo opifex ille ignorans quid posset agere—nimirum ciuitatulam nesciebat quo clericus idem manebat, et, licet eam sciret, illi tamen nihil proficeret, qui pre nimie infirmitatis dolore nec incedens pedibus nec equo uectus ad illam quibat peruenire. Qui antelucanus[j] matutina pulsante campana,[k] sicuti ualuit ad tumbam almi pontificis accessit Deumque supplici prece exorauit, quatinus illi[l] talem ostenderet hominem qui uellet deferre sancti legationem usque ad illam in qua canonicus degebat presignatus urbem. Qui, consurgens ab oratione, sentiens remedium aegritudinis suae, ilico intellexit supplicationem suam celitus a Domino esse exauditam qui zoen[m] eternam[n] prestat omnibus ad se confugientibus.[58] Moxque ex senis unum

[w] *gloss in J*: .i. datum [x] aperuerunt *N* [y] *gloss in J*: .i. casulam [z] obsolemti *N* [a] *gloss in J*: teges est medietas ci[
[b] *marginal gloss in J*: uilis calumniator [c] falsicus *corr. to* falsidicus *J* [d] *om. N* [e] *gloss in J*: repleto gratia spiritus sancti
[f] *added above line in J* [g] *gloss in J*: faueret. consentiret [h] *gloss in J*: iussionibus et preceptis [i–i] *added above line in J*
[j] *gloss in J*: .i. ante lucem surgens [k] *gloss in J*: .i. maior clocca [l] ille *corr. to* illi *J* [m] *gloss in J*: .i. uitam; *marginal gloss in R written adjacent to* zoen: .i. uitam; .i. uitam *is incorporated into the text of N* [n] *added above line in J*

[48] It is a conventional feature of *translationes* that the saint about to be translated appears in a vision to a person of humble station, who is then instructed to report the vision to an ecclesiastical superior; see above, pp. 13–15, 233, and cf. St Æthelwold's miraculous appearance in a vision to a blind citizen of Wallingford named Ælfhelm, twelve years after his death in 996, as reported by Wulfstan in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 42 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 64–6). Various verbal details suggest that Wulfstan modelled his account of St Æthelwold's appearance of Lantfred's narrative of the smith. It is worth remarking that the smith here is instructed to go to Eadsige rather than directly to Æthelwold: presumably this instruction allowed a prominent role in the eventual translation, and facilitated his reconciliation with Æthelwold (see above, n. 43).

[49] The function of these six rings (three on each side of the sarcophagus, presumably) is unclear. Quirk (*OM*, p. 41) suggested that they were intended to fix the lid to the tomb. Whatever their original purpose, on the occasion of the translation they were used to remove the lid, with a poles being slid through the rings on opposite sides of the lid. On the structure of the tomb itself, see below, n. 78, and discussion in WS Part II, Chapter II, 1. iv, v; Chapter VIII. 1, ii, iii; and chapter IX.

[50] Lantfred seems to have in mind here the description in Vergil's *Aeneid* of the test of the Golden Bough which anyone who wishes to enter Hades must attempt to lift; if the Fates are willing to grant access, it will lift up easily, but if they are not willing, no exercise of strength will be able to overcome it:

ergo alte vestigia oculis et rite repertum
carpe manu; namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur,

and place it suitably within the church"—since, after all, it has been divinely granted to him that I am to be revealed in his time.'[48] The smith said to him: 'My lord, in no way will he wish to believe what I say.' The holy man said, 'In order that he may believe your words and may comply with my commands, tell him to go to my tomb and pull up with his hand one ring from the six which are fixed in the lid of my tomb.[49] If it gives way to him at once, let it be truly clear to him that I have sent you to him. If, however, he cannot pull it up at all, then he ought not to believe you on any account.[50] You can thereafter unhesitatingly tell him that, if he wishes to enjoy the welfare of either heavenly or earthly life (once he has abandoned the blemishes of his by-gone sins), it remains for him to change his ways and deeds for the better[51] and to hasten unfalteringly to the unfading blessedness of the heavenly kingdom,[52] rather than to pursue until death the shameful pleasures[53] which after the termination of this light bring on the penalties of perpetual damnation. Moreover, you ought not to go about keeping this silent, but rather you should proclaim to everyone in prophecy that, once they have opened my tomb, they will discover treasures so priceless and so precious, that anything anywhere made of gold or jewels will grow vile in comparison with them.'[54] After the holy saint had passed on these requests to the smith, leaving his cottage of dingy thatch, he sought the heavens—wherein, joined together with Christ the head of all saints,[55] he deserved to dwell eternally because of his good works.

But this smith, unassuming in his reticence, fearing at first to appear a lying deceiver and thereafter to be known as a madman of insane disposition,[56] did not dare in the first instance to report this vision directly to any living person. He was warned a second time by the same saint, and by a third warning no less he was sharply reproved by the kindly bishop—as to why, that is, he did not wish to obey his commands[57]—and what is more, he was threatened with a cruel death if he would not pay heed to the requests of the most holy saint. What he would not do of his own accord, he accomplished under constraint. Accordingly, this smith was unaware of what to do—in fact, he was unfamiliar with the town where the cleric in question lived, and, even if he did know it, it would be of no use to him, who because of the pain of his extreme illness could not get to the town either walking on his feet or riding on a horse. Getting up before dawn when the morning bell was sounding, he went as best he could to the tomb of the holy bishop and prevailed upon God in humble prayer that God might reveal to him such a man as could deliver the saint's message to the town in which the aforementioned canon was living. As he was getting up from his prayers, sensing some relief to his illness, he realised then and there that his prayer had been heard in heaven by the Lord Who grants eternal life to all those who take refuge in Him.[58] And straightway seizing one of

> si te fata vocant; aliter non viribus ullis
> vincere nec duro poteris convellere ferro.
> (*Aen.* vi. 145–8)

[51] Cf. Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* xxx. 26. 78: 'ab iniquitate sua in melius commutare' (CCSL cxliiiB. 1545). Variants of the phrase are frequent in patristic literature, however.

[52] Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [ps. cxviii], c. 54: 'quia patriae illus beatitudinem non habemus' (CCSL xcviii. 1082), and Petrus Chrysologus, *Collectio sermonum* lxxxix. 6: 'ut praesentia parentis Dei patriae caelestis beatitudine perfruatur' (CCSL xxivA. 551).

[53] Cf. Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum* iv. 30. 3: 'quo tempore iam ne deseruire quidem suis uoluptatibus' (CSEL xvii. 69).

[54] Gregory, *Hom. xl. in euang.* i. 11. 2: 'in comparatione eius uilescunt omnia' (PL lxxvi. 1115); cf. also Aldhelm, *prDV*, c. 15 (ed. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 244): 'En, ipsius auri obriza lammina, quod cetera argenti et electri stagnique metalla praecellit, sine topazio et carbunculo et rubicunda gemmarum gloria vel sucini dracontia quodammodo vilescere videbitur'.

[55] Cf. a phrase in the *Comm. in epistulas Pauli* [*CPL*, no. 902b], ad Colossenses c. 2: 'Christo non credens capiti omnium sanctorum' (PL lxviii. 656).

[56] Cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* ii. 625 ('tantum ne spiritus unquam / uocibus insana laceretur mente profusis').

[57] Cf. Jerome, *Comm. in .iv. epist. Pauli* [ad Titum]: 'si Dei uelit obedire praeceptis' (PL xxvi. 617).

[58] Cf. Arnobius Iunior, *Comm. in psalmos* [ps. cxvii]: 'largitori

supradictis arripiens anulum,[59] tali uoce inquit ad Dominum creatorem rerum: 'Domine Deus, uniuersae conditor creaturae,[60] concede mihi nequissimo peccatori[61]—si sanctus iste (qui hic quiescit somate[o]) ter comparuit meis obtutibus[p] in noctis sopore—ut hinc istam [q]possim ferream euellere sperulam,[q,r] sicut nuper in somnii uisione idem uir Dei meis auribus studuit resignare.' Qui statim ut traxit orbem[s] calibis,[t] ita subsecutus est illum ex "lapidea mole" quasi foret fixus "in marino sabulone."[v] Quem in propria reponens rimula, ita fixus permansit (paululum pressus calce), ut posthac inde nequaquam possit auelli a nemine. Tandem eodem die, dum peragraret forum, repperit quendam commemorati[w] inquilinum[62] canonici, qui causa necessariae coemptionis Wintoniam uenerat. Quem suppliciter flagitans, exorauit ut seniori suo cuncta narraret quae de eo per somnia uiderat; nec illum a sese uspiam ante siuit redire, donec impetrauit precibus quod[x] poposcit pluribus. Qui, postquam ad proprium peruenit herum, per longinqui [y]interuallum temporis[y] (siue inmemor commissae legationis, seu metu herili territus) siluit dominoque intimare distulit quod supplicanti amico spopondit. Quadam tamen die, sagaci pertractans mente,[63] cognouit sese nefandum scelus committere occultando macarii[z] missatica Suuithuni ac neglegendo fidi precamina amici. Compunctus nimium, accessit ad dominum, cui per ordinem exposuit quicquid a fabro audiuit. Qui ea tempestate non solum antistitem Wintoniensis basilicae, uerum etiam cunctos fratres inibi commorantes, pertesos habens propter expulsionem canonicorum nefandis moribus ac spurcissimis utentium—pro quibus uenerabilis presul Aðeluuoldus, non sine Dei nutu, glorioso rege Eadgaro fauente, eos a praedicto expulerat coenobio locoque eorum sacros constituerat[a] coenobitas—potius quam sancti iussa patris implere studeret, audire rennuit. Postea uero ferme duorum curriculo annorum expleto, largiente superni prouidentia conditoris[64]—qui omnibus suam gratis prestat gratiam quos prescit in uineam laboraturos dominicam,[65] quatinus finita luce repperiat quibus denarium pro munere reddat—idem clericus qui nuper erat biotticus,[b] [c]huius uitae relictis uanitatibus, pompis[66] ac uoluptatibus,[c] factus est coenobita religiosus [d]multumque Deo dilectus.[d] Quo narrante ipsoque opifice, didicimus ita gestum esse penitus quemadmodum presens demonstrat codicellus. Benedictus omnipotens Deus qui peccatores iustificat,[67] qui in sese sperantes saluat, qui superbos humiliat, qui humiles exaltat!'[68]

[o] *gloss in J*: i. corpore [p] *gloss in J*: i. uisibus [q–q] *om. N* [r] speram *corr. to* sperulam *J* [s] *gloss in J*: anulum [t] calibus *N* [u–u] *written over an erasure in J* [v–v] *written over an erasure in J* [w] commemorari *N* [x] quo *corr. to* quod *J* [y–y] *written over an erasure in J* [z] macarii *with* -h- *added above line J*; macharii *R*; machari *N* [a] constituerat *corr. from* constituit *J* [b] *gloss in J*: i. secularis [c–c] *added above line in J* [d–d] *added above line in J*

qui bona omnia ad se confugientibus praestat' (CCSL xxv. 185); Bede, *Hom.* i. 16: 'Christus . . . inexpugnabile ad se confugientibus praesidium tribuit' (CCSL cxxii. 116).

[59] There is an odd inconsistency in Lantfred's account. When St Swithun appears to the smith and requests him to approach Eadsige, the smith expresses misgivings about whether Eadsige will believe him; St Swithun thereupon urges the smith to tell Eadsige that if he requires proof, he (Eadsige) is to go to Swithun's tomb, pull on one of the six rings, etc. However, it is the smith and not Eadsige who goes to the tomb and pulls on the ring. Yet the smith had no need to verify Swithun's request, since he had seen the saint in visions on three occasions.

[60] Cf. Augustine, *De agone christiano* viii. 9: 'uniuersae creaturae conditor Deus gubernet eam' (CSEL xli. 112).

[61] For the phrase, cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [ps. li], c. 5: 'nam peccator iste nequissimus' (CCSL xcvii. 474).

[62] Lantfred's term *inquilinum* here corresponds to OE *tungebur* (note that in both the 'Abingdon Glossary' and the 'First Cleopatra Glossary' the word *inquilinus* is glossed *tungebur*: WW, cols. 111.16, 429.39). A *gebur* was a farmer, the *tun* the estate on which the farmer worked; hence *tungebur* means something like 'tenant-farmer', and the man in question here apparently worked on an estate belonging to Eadsige. On the status of a *gebur* in general, see the late Old English tract

the aforementioned six rings,[59] he addressed the Lord, creator of all things, in words such as these: 'My Lord God, maker of every living creature, grant to me the most wicked of sinners[61]—if the same saint (who lies here in body) three times appeared before my eyes in a night-time vision—that I may be able to pull up this iron ring, just as the same man of God recently took care to disclose to my listening ears in a dream-vision.' As soon as he pulled on the ring of steel it came towards him out of the block of stone as if it were fixed in sea-shore sand. After he put it back in its proper groove (and when it was pressed a little by his foot), it remained so anchored that afterwards it could not be pulled out of there by anyone. Afterwards, on the very same day, while he was passing through the market-place, he came across a certain tenant[62] of the canon in question, who had come to Winchester for the sake of some necessary shopping. Beseeching him earnestly, he requested that he relate to his lord all those things concerning him [*scil.* Swithun] which he had seen in his visions; nor did he let this man get away from him at all until he had obtained what he sought in his many entreaties. The man, after he returned to his lord, kept quiet for a long period of time—either because he had forgotten the message entrusted to him, or because he was terrified by fear of his lord—and put off telling his lord that which he had promised to his imploring friend. On a certain day, however, mulling these things over in his keen mind,[63] he realised that he had committed a serious crime by concealing the messages of the blessed Swithun and by neglecting the entreaties of his faithful friend. Much goaded by his conscience, he went to his lord and explained to him from the beginning everything he had heard from the smith. His lord, being disgusted at that time not only with the bishop of Winchester cathedral but also with all the monks dwelling there, because of the expulsion of the canons who had been practising evil and impure customs—on account of which the venerable bishop Æthelwold, not without God's assent and with the support of glorious King Edgar, expelled them from the aforementioned monastery and introduced holy monks in their stead—rather than wishing to fulfil the requests of the holy father, refused to listen to them. Later, however, when the course of nearly two years had run and the providence of the heavenly creator had allowed it[64]—He who freely bestows His grace on all those whom He knows beforehand are to work in their Lord's vineyard,[65] so that, when the day is over, He may learn to whom He may pay the penny for their labour—this same cleric who recently had been secular, abandoned the vanities,[66] prides and pleasures of this earthly life and became a devout monk much beloved of God. I learned from the smith himself that these things had happened exactly as the present little book describes. Blessed be the omnipotent God who pardons sinners,[67] who redeems those who trust in him, who casts down the mighty and who raises up the meek![68]

Rectitudines singularum personarum: ed. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 444–53; trans. Douglas, *EHD* ii. 813–16.

[63] The phrase *mente sagaci* occurs frequently in hexametrical poetry, from Arator (*HA* i. 404) onwards, including Aldhelm, *CdV* 1129, 1480 (see *HexLexikon* iii. 339); it is used again by Lantfred in c. 7 (below, n. 179). Lantfred's younger contemporary, Byrhtferth, also used the phrase *sagaci mente* frequently in his prose works (see Lapidge, *ALL* ii. 296–7). On poetic expressions in Lantfred's prose, see above, pp. 226–8.

[64] Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* xii. 4: 'rectissime credenda praecipitur prouidentia conditoris' (CCSL xlviii. 358).

[65] One would normally expect the ablative here (*in uinea laboraturos dominica*). The reference is to the parable of the vineyard, Matt. 20: 1–16.

[66] Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* [ps. xxx] enarr. ii, serm. iii. 11: 'qui adhuc diligit pompas saeculi et uanitates omnes et insanias mendaces' (CCSL xxxviii. 221).

[67] Cf. 1 Tim. 1: 15.

[68] Cf. Matt. 23: 12, Luke 14: 11, 18: 14.

2. [a]DE CLERICO GIBBEROSO NOMINE ÆÐELSINO QVI AD SEPVLCHRVM SANCTI PONTIFICIS SWIÐHVNI CVRATVS EST PRIMVM DOMINICA DIE .IIII. NONAS IVLII.[a][69] Denique, ante sacri inuentionem corporis beatissimi Suuithuni antistitis, gibber quidam ab exordio natiuitatis [b]Æþelsinus[70] nomine[b] commorabatur in quodam uiculo regis qui [c]ab ipsius[c] Aþeluuara-byrig[71] nuncupatur incolis. Is, dum propter ingentem gibbum caput gestaret demersum ferme usque ad genuculum,[d] Wintoniam ut adiret audiuit per somnium, ad quam dum ueniret, medicum reperiret peritissimum per cuius ualeret medicamentum recipere sanitatis beneficium. Qui mane consurgens protinus ac ualedicens fratribus (apud quos commoratus fuerat et altus ab infantiae temporibus, a quibus etiam gradum acceperat clericatus, inter illos quatinus degeret decentius[e]),[72] aegritudinem duobus sustentans fustibus, in quantum quiuit ocius Wintoniam uenit pedibus. Quam mox ut fuerat ingressus, benignissime est susceptus a quodam trapezeta[73] humanitus, apud quem mansit[f] ter binis mensibus.[74] Qui adeo prefatum dilexit egrum pro dilectione conditoris rerum ut, si quando iret ad conuiuium, fecisset eum[g] deferri secum: si prope, suorum manibus seruulorum; sin autem longe, suauium aminiculis[h] equorum,[i] non posse asserens semet percipere cibum absque languido iocundum. Tandem transacto anni curriculo medii, cunctitonans saluator mundi miserens suae creationi respiciensque[j] nummularii[k] labores fidelissimi necne gemitus prenotati ac preces gibberosi, medelam prebuit languenti iuxta mausoleum recubanti pontificis gloriosi, quemadmodum textus subsequentis ilico demonstrabit lectionis.[75]

Igitur, ante sancti translationem corpusculi biennio (uidelicet tempore prenotato quo idem alebatur in huius trapezetae domo) contemplatus est geminos adulescentes per somnium ad se uenientes, miro candore fulgentes dulcibusque eius aures affaminibus complentes, ac[l] tali sermone egrum alloquentes: 'Dormisne an uigilas?' Respondit gibberosus,[76] 'Dormiui hactenus; uerum postquam huius introistis penetral domus, ab oculis procul recessit somnus.'[77] Hinc languidum

[c. 2] RNJ] [a–a] DE PRIMO MIRACVLO AD TVMBAM IPSIVS SANCTI CELITVS PATRATO *rubric in J* [b–b] *om. J* [c–c] absius *N* [d] genuculum *MSS, for* geniculum [e] dicentius *N* [f] manxit *N* [g] *added above line in J* [h] aminiculis *MSS, for* adminiculis (*see also below, n. b, and 7, n. k*) [i] **aequorum** *N* [j] **respiciens** *corr. to* respiciensque *J* [k] nummulari *N* [l] *add. above line in J*

[69] The date of the first miracle performed at St Swithun's tomb can be ascertained from the information provided by Lantfred: he reports subsequently (line 19) that the events took place *biennio ante* the translation itself (15 July 971), hence in 969, and on Sunday on the fourth Nones of July (*.iiii. nonas Iulii*) = 4 July. In fact 4 July did fall on a Sunday in 969 (see C. R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates* (London, 1945), p. 125).

[70] This Æthelsige does not appear to be attested elsewhere, although the name is common enough in contemporary sources: it was borne by an ealdorman of Wessex who died in 958, by a son of Æthelstan 'Half-King' who died in 987, and by a number of royal thegns who appear in witness-lists to charters of Eadred, Eadwig, and Edgar (see Keynes, *Atlas*, tables XLVI (one thegn named Æthelsige), LI (two thegns), LVII (four thegns)); but none of these appears to be identical with our hunchbacked cleric from Alderbury.

[71] This is modern Alderbury, Wilts. (see fig. 1), a few miles SE of Salisbury (see Ekwall, *DEPN*, s.v., and J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 374). Lantfred mentions that Alderbury was a royal estate (*uiculo regis*), and it is interesting to note that in a charter dated 972 (S 789 = BCS 1286) King Edgar made a grant of land, which included Alderbury, to Wynstan, his *burthegn*. The name of the village means '*burh* belonging to the lady Æthelwaru', but Æthelwaru's identity is unknown. Note that in late Anglo-Saxon times there was an important street (now St Peter Street) in Winchester called *Alarnestret* (WS i. 233 *et passim*), also presumably named after a lady called Æthelwaru.

[72] Who are these 'brothers' living on the royal estate at Alderbury? They were apparently religious 'brothers', and not merely 'companions', since Æthelsige received his religious orders (*gradum . . . clericatus*) from them. As far as I have been able to determine, there is no independent evidence for the existence of a monastery or minster at Alderbury; and we would need some explanation, in any case, of the function of such an establishment on a royal estate.

[73] The Greek word from which this is taken, τραπεζίτης, means 'money-changer' or 'banker'. The man described by Lantfred, however, is a moneyer, responsible for minting coins, as is clear from the other terms which Lantfred uses to describe him (*argentarius, nummularius, opifex*), as well as from Wulfstan's description in the corresponding passage, that he

2. CONCERNING THE HUMP-BACKED CLERIC NAMED ÆTHELSIGE WHO WAS THE FIRST TO BE CURED AT THE TOMB OF ST SWITHUN THE BISHOP, ON SUNDAY, 4TH JULY, [969].[69] Accordingly, before the re-discovery of the holy body of the blessed bishop Swithun, a certain man, hump-backed from the day of his birth, named Æthelsige,[70] lived on a certain royal estate which is called Alderbury[71] (Wilts.) by its inhabitants. During the time when this man used to keep his head bent downwards nearly to his knee because of his great hump, he heard in a dream that he should go to Winchester, and that when he arrived there he would discover a highly-skilled physician through whose medication he could receive the benefit of sound health. Getting up immediately in the morning and saying good-bye to the monks (with whom he had lived and had been raised from the time of his infancy and from whom he had even received the rank of clerical office so that he might live fittingly among them),[72] and sustaining his infirmity on two crutches, he came to Winchester on foot as quickly as he was able. As soon as he had entered the city, he was generously taken in by a certain moneyer[73] in a most kindly way, with whom he remained for six months.[74] The moneyer, as a result of his love for the creator of all things, loved the sick man in question to such an extent that, if on some occasion he were going to a banquet, he arranged to have him brought with him: if it was nearby, at the hands of his servants; if, however, far away, with the help of gentle horses, asserting that he could not consider food as delightful in the absence of the sick man. Finally, after the six months had passed, the Almighty Saviour of the world, having mercy on His creation and being mindful of the efforts of the loyal moneyer as well as the laments and prayers of the aforementioned hunch-back, granted a remedy to the sick man as he was lying next to the tomb of the glorious bishop, as the text of the following section will straightway explain.[75]

Therefore, two years before the translation of the holy body (that is, at the previously-mentioned time when the man was being cared for in the house of the moneyer), the sick man in a dream saw two youths coming towards him, shining with a marvellous brightness and filling his ears with sweet speech, and speaking to him in these words: 'Are you asleep or are you awake?' The hunch-back[76] replied, 'I was sleeping up till now; but after you entered the interior of the house, sleep departed far from my eyes.'[77] Whereupon the shining youths

was *solitus formare numismatis aera* (*Narratio*, i. 218; below, p. 422); note also that the word is glossed as *mynetere*, 'minter', by Ælfric in his *Glossary* (ed. Zupitza, p. 302), where presumably it derives from the present chapter of Lantfred. We know very little about the personalities of Anglo-Saxon moneyers (see I. Stewart, 'Ministri and monetarii', *Revue numismatique*, xxx (1988), 166–75), and Lantfred regrettably does not give us the moneyer's name. However, we do know the names of several moneyers active at Winchester during the reign of Edgar from the coins which they minted: Æthelstan, Deal, Ealstan, and Wynsige (see J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage* (London, 1963), p. 101). Æthelsige's kindly host may have been one of these four men.

[74] This is an interesting example of private charity to a pilgrim in Anglo-Saxon times. For similar instances in post-Conquest England, see Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 47.

[75] It is worth asking whether Lantfred is using the word *lectio* here in the sense of 'liturgical lesson', that is, whether he intended his *Translatio et miracula* to supply liturgical lessons for Nocturns on the vigil of St Swithun's translation. In fact eight liturgical lessons (the number eight clearly implying monastic use, with each lesson beginning with a roman numeral, each ending with the words *Tu autem*) are marked in the Royal manuscript of the *Translatio* (see above, pp. 104–5). But Lantfred's text, with its ostentatious and difficult Latin, would have been most unsuitable for liturgical use (see M. Lapidge, 'Editing hagiography', *La critica del testo mediolatino*, ed. C. Leonardi (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 239–58, at 246–7), and in any case the lection-markings in R, which are found wholly in the *Praefatio* and c. 1, do not correspond to the division implied by the present passage, which suggests in turn that they are not part of Lantfred's original design.

[76] The word *gibberosus* is included by Ælfric in his *Glossary* (ed. Zupitza, pp. 321–2: 'gibberosus uel strumosus. hoferede'), as is the word *gibbus* (ibid.); presumably Ælfric took these words from Lantfred, as he did the word *trapezeta* (see above, n. 73). These debts to Lantfred provide independent evidence that Ælfric had read *Translatio et miracula*; cf. my discussion of the authorship of the *Epitome*, below, pp. 558–61.

[77] 1 Macc. 6: 10 ('recessit somnus ab oculis meis').

iuuenes interrogant fulgentes: 'Quomodo te habes?' Qui respondens[m] ait, 'Multis crucior malis.' Sancti ad inualidum adulescentes inquiunt: 'Visne sanus fieri, qui non meruisti nasci?' Strumosus suscipiens[n] infit, 'Volo, si mihi Deus sospitatem annuit.' Vates almi dixerunt languenti: 'Surge de lectulo in quo nunc iaces diluculo, ac perge ad monasterium quod dicitur Vetustissimum et unius antistitis tumulum diligenter require sanctissimum; supra quod repperies tugurium[78] ad quantitatem sarcofagi compositum. Inter quod et lapideam staurum quae ibi est posita ob sanctitatis indicium, mox quiesce paululum et sic utriusque sanitatis tripudium percipies sempiternum, si incessanter postmodum die noctuque laudaueris cuncticreantem Deum.' Qui postquam incuruum taliter affati sunt clericum, cum prefulgida luce unde diuinitus aduenerunt ad caelestis gaudii amoenitatem regressi sunt. Aeger uero ille, euigilans a soporis grauedine, laetabundus ex tali uisione, nimium desiderans admittere corporis medicamentum et animae, festinanter proprium deserens fulcrum, perrexit ad opificem pretitulatum; cui narrauit per omnia quicquid in somnis uiderat. Qui admirans ultramodum cur ea tempestate excitaret illum; sed ut rei[o] cognouit euentum, toto mentis conamine[79] glorificauit Dominum qui saluificat cunctos sperantes in seipsum.[80]

Nec fore estimo pretereundum silentio,[81] quod paulo ante monetarius idem perdiderat cultellum[82] ingentem (siue potius mucronem; a pungendo quem possumus dicere pugionem[83]) cuius uagina aureo erat metallo predita moleque sculpta argenti nimia.[84] Quem dum cum magna requirens diligentia non inueniret, cepit mente premeditari studiosa[p][85] quid inde factum haberet. Qui sepeprescriptum disponens interrogare egrum, si in aliquo pugionem locello conspiceret illum, obliuiscebatur illius, quotienscumque ante presentiam gibber aduentaret consuetus. Cuius (ut reor) haud absque instinctu superni iudicis eadem hora recordatus fuit, quo languidus intimabat illi legationem angelorum Domini. A quo dum stipularetur si eius macheram[86] uidisset uspiam, uir idem 'Nequaquam' inquiens, deinde subiungens, 'Dic mihi, pater, utrumne tuam amisisti pretiosam cum pugione uaginam?'[87] Qui respondit, 'Amisi. Quidni?' Clericus inquit, 'Quando aut quo in

[m] respondit *N* [n] suscipiens *altered to* suspiciens *J* [o] *om. N* [p] studioso *MSS, wrongly for* studiosa

[78] In Classical Latin *tugurium* means a 'small hut'; here, however, it must refer to a rectangular structure built to the same size and placed over the tomb (*ad quantitatem sarcofagi compositum*). Regrettably, Lantfred gives no further information, save the mention that a stone cross (*lapidea staurus*) was placed near it. Wulfstan, who was a young boy at the time of the translation (*Narratio* i. 899) and who may conceivably have seen the structure, describes it as a mortuary shrine (*tumulare sacellum*) and adds that it had walls and a gabled roof (i. 255: 'parietibus structum necnon et culmine tectum'). Quirk speculates briefly on the meaning of Wulfstan's words (*OM*, pp. 38, 41); and see the full discussion in WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter VIII. 1. ii, iii. In any case, the structure may have resembled the type of ridge-roofed coffin-reliquaries which are attested at an earlier period in Northumbria (see C. A. R. Radford, 'Two Scottish shrines: Jedburgh and St Andrews', *ArchJ* cxii (1955), 43–60, and A. C. Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 149–59); but as yet no comparable examples have been found in Southumbria, and none as late as the mid-ninth century date (*c.* 863) which may be assumed for the structure described by Lantfred.

[79] The poeticism *toto mentis conamine* appears to originate in Aldhelm (*CdV* 89: *toto conamine mentis*), but is current in Anglo-Saxon charters from the reign of Æthelstan onwards (particularly in the series of charters with the invocation 'Flebilia fortiter detestanda': S 412 = BCS 674; S 413 = BCS 675; S 416 = BCS 677; S 418 = BCS 692; S 419 = BCS 691; S 421 = BCS 694; S 422 = BCS 695; etc.), and is also used by Æthelwold in the *Regularis concordia*, c. 5 (ed. Symons, p. 3; ed. Symons and Spath, p. 71; ed. Kornexl, p. 5), as well as by the poet—arguably Lantfred himself—of the *Carmen de libero arbitrio* 171 ('quapropter toto mentis conamine poscens'); it is repeated by Lantfred below, c. 25.

[80] Ps. 16 (17): 7 ('qui salvos facis sperantes in te').

[81] Lantfred frequently uses the formula *non praeterire silentio* (see also below, cc. 16, 24, 27, 33); he possibly derived it from Jerome, *Vita S. Hilarionis*, c. 11: 'quis uero possit silentio praeterire' (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 96), or from Eusebius/Rufinus, *HE* iv. 9. 1: 'non placet mihi relationem silentio praeterire' (ed. Mommsen, p. 319), v. 1. 29: 'fas non est silentio praeterire' (ibid. p. 413).

[82] The weapon here referred to by Lantfred as a 'very large knife' was referred to by the Anglo-Saxons as a *seax;* for examples, see D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700–1100* (London, 1964), nos. 80–1, as well as the examples excavated from Winchester described in WS 7.ii, pp. 835–60. The knife in question was very valuable (see below), and may

question the sick man: 'How are you keeping?' He says in reply: 'I am tormented by many pains.' The holy youths say to the invalid: 'Do you wish to be healthy—you who did not deserve to be born?' The hunch-back, answering, says: 'I so wish it, if God grants me well-being.' The holy saints then said to the sick man: 'Arise at dawn from the bed in which you now lie, and go to the monastery which is called the Old Minster, and seek attentively the most holy tomb of one particular bishop; over it you will discover a small hut[78] built to the size of the tomb. Then lie down a little while between the hut and the stone cross which was placed there as a token of his holiness, and you shall thereby receive the eternal joy of well-being in either life, if afterwards you go on praising the all-creating God incessantly by day and night.' After they had spoken in this manner to the bent-over cleric, they departed with a radiant light to the blessedness of celestial bliss whence they had come through divine providence. The sick man, however, waking from the depths of slumber, was overjoyed at such a vision; desiring greatly to receive the remedy for his body and soul, he quickly left his bed and went to the moneyer mentioned above; he related to him in every detail what he had seen in his dreams. The moneyer was at first greatly surprised as to why the sick man had awakened him at that hour; but as soon as he learned the outcome of the story, he praised with every effort of his mind[79] the Lord Who redeems all those who place their hope in Him.[80]

Nor do I think it should be passed over in silence[81] that a short time previously the same moneyer had lost a very large knife[82] (or rather a sword; we can also call it a 'stabber' from its use in stabbing[83]), the sheath of which was decorated with golden metalwork and inlaid with a large amount of silver.[84] When, after searching with a great deal of care, he could not find it, he began to wonder in his curious mind[85] what had become of it. Although he intended to ask the frequently-mentioned sick man if he had seen the sword anywhere, he continually forgot it on each occasion when the hunch-back came as usual into his presence. It was not, I think, without some impulse from the heavenly judge that he remembered it at the very hour when the sick man was relating to him the visitation of the angels of the Lord. When asked by the moneyer if he had seen his sword[86] anywhere, the man at first said 'nowhere', then added, 'Tell me, father, whether you have lost your precious sheath with the sword?'[87] He replied, 'I have lost it. How not?' The cleric said, 'When, or in

have had an inlaid blade. On Anglo-Saxon knives in general, see T. D. Kendrick, 'Some types of ornamentation on late Saxon and Viking period weapons in England', *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, ix (1934), 392–8, and H. R. Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 40–4.

[83] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xviii. 6. 6: 'pugio a pungendo et transfigendo uocatus. Est enim gladius paruus et bis acutus lateri adhaerens'; cf. the entry in the 'Abingdon Glossary': 'pugio uel clunabulum. lytel sweord uel hypeseax' (WW, col. 143.1).

[84] Because they were usually made of leather, Anglo-Saxon scabbards rarely survive entire (two late-tenth-century examples excavated at Winchester are described by J. H. Thornton in WS 7.ii, p. 863); surviving scabbard fittings, however, are frequently very lavishly decorated, as is for example the early sixth-century scabbard from Chessell Down on the Isle of Wight (S.C. Hawkes and R. I. Page, 'Swords and runes in south-east England', *AntJ* xlvii (1967), 1–26).

[85] The phrase *mente studiosa* is uncommon, according to the databases; but cf. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* i. 26. 1: 'si paginas singulas studiosa mente curratis' (ed. Mynors, p. 67).

[86] The word *machera* (a grecism from μάχαιρα: see above, p. 225) is glossed in the 'Abingdon Glossary' as *anecge sweord*, a 'one-edged sword' (WW, col. 142.37), that is, the sort of one-edged long sword which archaeologists describe as a *scramasax* (see illustrations in Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England*, pl. III). But it may be doubted whether Lantfred, who was simply piling up synonyms for *gladius*, attached so specific a meaning to the word.

[87] The value of the moneyer's knife/sword is clear from the fact that he kept it locked in his strong box (see below). Some notion of the contemporary value of these objects may be gained from surviving wills, for example those of Ælfheah, ealdorman of Hampshire (dated 968 × 971) and of Brihtric and his wife Ælfswith (dated 973 × 987), where in each case a *handseax* is valued at the astonishingly high price of 80 mancuses: see D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 22, 26.

loco?' At ille subdens ait, 'Fere per interuallum quindecim dierum[q] non habui pugionem meum. Denique in ista super scamnum domicula[88] reliqui illum, quem credo a me subtractum fore per latrocinium. Sed te quid uerbis detineo plurimis? Perge ad tuum citius lectum, quatinus ante lucem pauseris aliquantulum; qua[r] surgente, ad sacrum te perducam cimiterium quod iussus es adire per somnium.' Qui dum libenter eius obtemperaret edictis, rursus apparuerunt illi in quiete soporis iuuenes quos ante uiderat decori rutilantes fulgore inexhausti luminis;[89] qui eum ad nummularii scrinium[90] ducentes hospitis, quo reserato clauicula, ostenderunt ei pecuniam quam uir ille perdiderat illesam. Qui deinde arcam munientes serula necnon sub puluinar ponentes prelibatam trapezetae dormientis clauiculam, atque imperantes egro ut resignaret domino quod eius uagina non esset furto penitus subtracta sed celitus inter gazas heri deportata, ideo [s] quatinus intellegat se mercedem proprii recepturum laboris a conditore Deo[s] qui remunerat omnibus propter nomen suum bona facientibus.[91] Aeger uero[t] ille excitatus iterum, iam aurora reducente Phosphorum,[92] sermone ueridico dixit argentario: 'Noli, mi pater, esse sollicitus de illo quem nuper perdidisti suspadio,[93] [u]quoniam eum in isto repperies scrinio[u] optime custoditum, annuente Domino.' Qui subridens ait, 'Clauim illius per bis trium non uidi spatium ferme epdomadarum, et tu dicis meum ibi fore suspadium? Non est ita!' Ad haec gibberosus respondit clericus: 'Credere mihi potes indubitanter, sodes, quia ibi[v] compereris[w] quod te[x] perdidisse credis.' At ille, 'Vnde hoc nosti? Aut quis tibi talia persuasit dicere figmenta? Credere[y] omnino quod dicis nequeo!' Rursum ait languidus, 'Non debes esse incredulus. Sancti iuuenes, qui in prima noctis apparentes uigilia mihi sanitatem hodie uenturam fore praedixerunt, idem ad me in isto uenientes gallicinio hac cista nec minus reserata ornamentum quod queris ostenderunt; quam denique munientes obice, clauim sub puluillo posuerunt tuo quam [z]dicis te[z] perdidisse dudum. Ergo festinanter surge; atque si uerum est contemplare quod mihi demonstratum credo fuisse in nocturna uisione.'[94] Vir autem ille hec audiens multumque de talibus relatis stupens, haud cum exigua stupidine et[a] ammiratione animi ilico ad priuum accessit torum clauimque remoto nactus est puluillo; necne reserata citius arca, contemplans suam celitus gazam fore seruatam penitus illesam, omnipotentem rerum auctorem glorificauit ac benedixit qui pius semper custodit omnes in se sperantes.[95]

Deinde aegro dixit clerico: 'Visne ut binos conuocem gerulos qui te ad sanctam baiulent tumbam, quatinus tibi illic quiescenti adsit promissa sanitasque uera?' Qui respondit, 'Precede me tantum ad quem dicis locum; ego te cum binis subsequar cambuttis. Nempe portitore indigeo nemine, quia iam Deo fauente curatus sum ex parte.' Moxque unum pariter arripientes iter, incuruus sanum geminis precedebat cum baculis—qui absque alterius aminiculo[b] nuper uix quibat surgere de fulcro. Qui dum ad sancti tumulum accessisset cum preduce, supplici Deum exorauit[c] prece quatinus illius

[q] *om. N* [r] quia *N* [s–s] *om. N* [t] *om. J* [u–u] *om. N* [v] tibi *N* [w] comperis *corr. to* compereris *J*
[x] *om. J* [y] credo *N* [z–z] *om. N* [a] *om. J* [b] aminiculo *MSS, for* adminiculo [c] exorans *J*

[88] The word *domicula* is extremely rare and is possibly an neologism (cf. *DMLBS*, s.v., which cites only this occurrence in Lantfred; the word is not listed in *TLL* or BTL); although it is a diminutive of *domus*, Lantfred apparently uses it in the sense of a 'room' within a house, since at no time do Æthelsige and the moneyer leave the house in their search for the dagger. Wulfstan (*Narratio* i. 302) gives no further information.

[89] Cf. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 8: 'quasi inexhausta sapientiae luce radiari putabatur' (ed. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, p. 196; CCSL cxxiiiB. 301).

[90] The word *scrinium* means a 'shrine' or 'reliquary' in ecclesiastical Latin (hence the gloss in the 'Abingdon Glossary': *arca uel scrinium. scrin*: WW, col. 126.22); here it must have the sense of 'treasure-chest' or 'strong-box', and Wulfstan similarly describes it as a *cista* (*Narratio* i. 312).

[91] There is no finite verb in this sentence, which is therefore probably to be regarded as an example of Lantfred's taste for anacoluthon (see above, p. 230). The biblical allusion is to Matt. 19: 29.

what place?' And the man replies, adding, 'For the space of nearly fifteen days I have not had my sword. In short, I left it in that other room[88] on a bench; I think it has been stolen from me by theft. But why do I detain you with much conversation? Go quickly to your bed, so that you will have rested a little before day-break; when daylight comes I shall take you to the holy cemetery to which you have been ordered to go in your dream.' While the sick man was willingly complying with his request, the splendid youths whom he had previously seen appeared again to him in the quiet of his sleep, shining with the radiance of inexhaustible light;[89] leading him to the chest[90] of his host the moneyer, they opened it with a key and showed him the treasure—intact—which the man had lost. Thereafter, securing the chest with a lock and placing the key in question under the pillow of the sleeping moneyer, they ordered the sick man to reveal to his lord that his sheath had not in any sense been taken from him by theft, but had been placed by divine agency among the lord's treasures, precisely in order that he would understand that he was to receive a reward for his effort from God the creator, Who repays all those who perform good deeds on behalf of His name.[91] And the sick man, awakened once again when dawn was leading in the morning star,[92] said to the moneyer in truthful speech: 'Do not, my father, be anxious about that dagger[93] which you recently lost, since you will find it very well preserved in that treasure-chest, as the Lord grants.' The moneyer says with a smile: 'I have not seen its key for the space of nearly six weeks, and yet you say that my sword is there? It's not so!' To these remarks the hump-backed cleric replied, 'You can believe me without hesitation, my friend, since there you will discover what you believe you have lost.' But he replied: 'From what source have you learned this? Or who persuaded you to report such fictions? I cannot in any way believe what you say.' The sick man speaks again: 'You ought not to be incredulous. The holy youths, who, appearing at the first vigil of the night, predicted that my health would return to me today, likewise came to me at cockcrow and showed me that the treasure which you are seeking was in this chest—which was opened no less; thereupon, securing the chest with a bolt, they put under your pillow the key which you say you had lost some time ago. Therefore get up quickly; and find out whether what I believe to have been shown to me in a night-time vision[94] is true.' The man, hearing these things and being greatly astonished at such a report, went at once, with no little amazement and wonder in his mind, to his own bed, and having removed the pillow found the key; and when he had quickly unlocked the chest and seen that his treasure was preserved completely unharmed through heavenly agency, he praised and blessed the omnipotent creator of things Who always kindly protects all those who place their hope in Him.[95]

Thereafter he said to the diseased cleric: 'Do you wish me to call two porters who will take you to the holy tomb, so that the true and promised health may be granted to you as you lie there?' The sick man replied, 'Go before me only as far as the place which you mention; I shall follow you on two crutches. For I have need of no porter, since with God's favour I am already cured in part.' And then taking to the road together, the cripple even went ahead of the healthy man on his two crutches—he who recently could scarcely get up from his bed without another's assistance. When he arrived at the saint's tomb with his guide, he prayed to God in earnest supplication that he be cured

[92] Cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xix. 22–3 ('in matutino laetum iubar exserit ortu / Phosphorus occiduisque nouus praefulget in astris').

[93] The word *suspadio* is apparently hapax legomenon. It may derive from the Byzantine Greek word *σπαθίον* (meaning 'knife', a diminutive of the commoner Greek form *σπάθη*); and one might further conjecture that the diminutive was combined with the prefix *συν-*, to create the hypothetical form **συσπαθίον*. But since neither *suspadium* nor its hypothetical Greek cognate are attested outside the pages of Lantfred, its origin and precise meaning remain unclear.

[94] The phrase *nocturna uisio* is biblical: Job 20: 8, 33: 15.

[95] Cf. Ps. 144 (145): 20 ('custodiat Dominus omnes diligentes se').

mederetur languoribus, sicut acceperat a piis celitibus in nocturnis uisionibus. Qui postquam surrexit ab oratione, tanti pressus est soporis grauedine[96] quo uix ad cernendam lucem oculos ualuisset aperire. Is tandem, sicuti potuit, nummulario ductori dixit: 'Perge interim quocumque desideras, quoniam hic aliquantulum quiescam, quia sopor nimius me adgrauat.' Quo recedente, obdormiuit paululum; ac mox percepit corporis remedium per sancti confessoris Suuithuni interuentum. Qui confestim ut surrexit a dormitione quietis, ita curatus est diuinitus ut nusquam compareret gibbi locus, erectoque uultu[97] caelum coepit contemplari fulgidum, qui paulo ante pronus terras ceu brutum animal tantum quibat prospicere stolidas. Hospes uero, peragratis reliquiis sanctorum, reuertens ad languidum eumque reperiens sanum, laetus benedixit Dominum. Quem ducens infra basilicam, narrauit omnibus qualiter clericus ille fuerat curatus. Actum est autem hoc miraculum .iiii. nonas Iulii primum ad sancti uiri mausoleum.

Verum quoniam eodem die celebrabatur a monachis eiusdem loci ordinatio sancti Martini et translatio eiusdem sacratissimi corporis,[98] coeperunt fratres inibi commorantes hesitare per cuius meritum aegrotus ille curationem meruisset recipere. Complures etenim erant qui eum fore sanatum asserebant per gloriosa sanctorum merita, quorum corpora quorumque reliquiae uenerantur intra moenia illius illustris basilicae.[99] Aeger uero (qui curatus fuerat ipse) cum paucis constanter affirmabat quod per meritum sancti presulis curatus esset, sicut in somniis[d] audierat.[100] Nonnulli denique dicebant per beati intercessionem Martini, cuius sollempnis[e] dies agebatur, languidum desideratam percepisse medelam—maxime hoc conicientes, quoniam quedam turris[101] erat ante predicti ianuam coenobii dicata Deo in honore eiusdem uenerabilis uiri. Inter quam et templi regiam[102] sanctus Dei famulus corpore humatus fuerat; nimirum uir Domini beatissimus, ut perhibent, tante fuit humilitatis ut etiam illius sacratissimum corpus post obitum nulla ratione sineret humari in basilica, sed neque in cimiterio fratrum[103] pretioso (quod erat optimum necne sanctissimum) in orientali parte atque australi climate prepollentis ecclesiae; uerum in uiliore rusticorum[104] se precepit ponere, quod est situm ante fores herilis aulae sufficienter commemoratae, lacrimando contestans dema suum haud fore dignum sepeliri infra basilicam neque inter preclaras patrum sepulturas priscorum. Verum etenim Dei iustissima actum

[d] somnis *N* [e] sollempniis *N*

[96] Cf. Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* ii. 6. 7: 'malitiae suae pressus grauedine' (CCSL cxliii. 64).

[97] Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 213 ('et erecto spectet caelestia uultu').

[98] This feast of St Martin was universally celebrated by the late Anglo-Saxon church: it is entered (against 4 July) in every one of the calendars printed in Wormald, *Kalendars*.

[99] The saints whose relics were at that time housed in the Old Minster include two earlier bishops of Winchester, namely Ælfheah I and Beornstan; see Wulfstan, *Narratio*, Ep. spec. 269–70, with note. But other saints were certainly in question, including the boy-martyr Iustus of Beauvais (whose relics were apparently acquired by Winchester in Æthelwold's time). Osbert of Clare (d. 1139) reports that Æthelwold translated the remains of thirteen saints (see above, p. 147), which must have included early bishops of Wessex such as Birinus and Hæddi, as well as those mentioned by Wulfstan.

[100] It is interesting that Æthelsige should have been in so strong a position to argue on St Swithun's behalf, for the two angelic youths who appeared to him in dreams at no time stated that they were his agents. This may possibly imply that the prominent tomb which Æthelsige had been instructed to seek had the name of Swithun inscribed on it: otherwise, how could he have known that it was St Swithun who had cured him? In fact, as I have suggested (above, pp. 14–16), it was the prominent site of the tomb, with its gabled coffin-reliquary (perhaps containing an inscription naming Swithun), which inspired Æthelwold to undertake the translation; but cf. also WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter II. iv, v; Chapter VIII, ii, iii.

[101] Lantfred's statement is important confirmation of the existence of a detached tower dedicated to St Martin and erected to the west of the original Old Minster. The foundations of such a structure were recovered by excavation in 1966–8 (*VIII Interim*, pp. 316, 318). The date of the tower is unknown (cf. *VIII Interim*, p. 316: 'it is unlikely to be of the same date as the cruciform church, since it is quite different in construction, and its erection can therefore be dated only in the most general terms to after *c.*648 and before 971'). However, it may be worth noting that other Anglo-Saxon dedications to St Martin are early (see Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 259), and there is thus

from his afflictions, just as he had heard from the holy citizens of heaven in his nocturnal visions. After he arose from his prayers, he was oppressed by the heaviness of such sleepiness[96] that he could scarcely open his eyes to look at the light. At length, he said to the moneyer his guide as best he could: 'Go for the time being wherever you wish, so that I may sleep here a little while, since an extreme drowsiness is weighing on me.' As the moneyer departed, the sick man fell asleep for a while; and immediately he received the cure of his body through the intervention of St Swithun the Confessor. As soon as he got up from his peaceful sleep, he was so divinely cured that the place of the hump was nowhere to be seen, and with his face held upright[97] he began to gaze on the shining heaven—he who, shortly before, was bent over so badly that, like a dumb animal, he could only look upon the immovable ground. His host, however, having made a tour of the relics of saints, returned to the cripple and, finding him cured, joyously praised the Lord. He led him inside the church and explained to everyone how the cleric had been cured. This miracle was performed on the 4th of July [969], the first at the tomb of the holy man.

However, since on this same day the ordination of St Martin and the translation of his most sacred body was celebrated by the monks of the Old Minster,[98] the monks living there were in some perplexity about which saint it was through whose merit the sick man had deserved to receive his cure. For there were several monks present who claimed that he had been cured through the glorious merits of those saints whose bodies and whose relics are venerated within the walls of that renowned church.[99] However, the sick man (who had himself been cured) repeatedly insisted in very few words that he had been cured through the merit of the holy bishop, just as he had heard in his dreams.[100] In the end, several monks decided that the sick man had received his desired remedy through the intercession of St Martin, whose feast day it was—most of all, they suspected this because, facing the door of the minster in question, there was a detached tower[101] dedicated to God in honour of the same venerable St Martin. Now between this tower and the nave[102] of the minster, the holy servant of God [i.e. Swithun] had been buried in the flesh; indeed this blessed man of the Lord, so they say, was of such great humility that he would not even allow his most holy body to be buried on any account in the church after his death, nor even in the splendid cemetery of the monks[103]—which was most worthy and holy—situated in the eastern part and the southern area of that remarkable church; but he ordered that he be placed in the more lowly cemetery of common people,[104] which is located in front of the entrance to the Lord's church (which has been sufficiently discussed above), arguing with many tears that his corpse was not worthy to be buried within the church nor among the distinguished interments of ancient fathers. But in fact it came about

some presumption that the detached tower was erected earlier rather than later in the period 648 × 971. See full discussion in WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter II, 1. iv, v; and 2. ii; Figs. 12, 93*a*, 93*b*.

[102] Quirk (*OM*, p. 39) took *regia* to mean 'the great doorway of the church', but in fact the word is synonymous with *basilica* and means simply the 'hall' or even 'nave' of the two-cell church (as it then was). Cf. Wulfstan, *Narratio* i. 450, who renders Lantfred's words as *templique sacram pernobilis aulam*, as well as his description of the translation of St Swithun in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 26, where he writes that the saint was *infra templi regiam gloriosissime translatus*, 'gloriously translated to receive proper burial within the church' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 42–3).

[103] Lantfred's statement is the essential witness to the existence of the monks' cemetery to the south and east of the original Old Minster (Wulfstan's words at *Narratio* i. 462–4 are less specific). This cemetery was not identified by excavation, since it lies under the present cathedral; see *VIII Interim*, p. 317, WS i. 310, and 4.i, Part II, Chapter II. 1. iv–vi; Chapter III. iii; Chapter IV. 1. ii.

[104] The cemetery of the common people (for *rustici* we may understand *laici*) was located to the north-west and facing the doors of the original minster. In fact 'hundreds of graves outside the church, clustering close up to its walls' (*VIII Interim*, p. 318) were located during excavation, and these no doubt are the remnants of the common peoples' cemetery mentioned by Lantfred. See detailed discussion by B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'A cathedral cemetery: problems in excavation and interpretation', *World Archaeology*, vii (1975), 87–108, and WS 4.i, Part II, *passim*; Part VII.

est prouidentia,[105] quo presul idem sanctissimus, qui humilitatis[106] uirtute tactus extra templum est sepultus quasi uilis et contemptus preuaricator atque indignus, uirtutibus ac signis declaratus plurimis ad eandem reduceretur sublimis, uenerandus ac precluis. In quo sermonem Dominicum indubitanter cernimus esse completum, qui dicit ad populum Christiana religione catholicum: 'Omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat exaltabitur.'[107]

3. [a]DE QVODAM CIVE WINTONIENSI ET DE TRANSLATIONE SANCTI ANTISTITIS SWITHVNI.[a] Appropinquante uero sacratissimae sollempnitatis die[108] quo uenerabilis Dei animula[b] antistitis Suuithuni sanctissima, corporeae[c] molis[109] nexibus resoluta, deserens terrenam habitationem[110] ad celestem commigrauit felicitatem[111] in qua eternaliter Christo regnante perfruitur iugis gaudii luce:[112] eodem scilicet anno uel mense quo postea sanctum soma sublatum est de sepulchri munimine, uir quidam ciues[d] Wintoniensis natiuitate, cupiens proprios reuisere mannos solito more qui degebant in pascuis iuxta alueum fluminis[113] quod alluit muros prescripte ciuitatis, tum medium sole diem uoluente in australi climate.[114] Quo cum peruenisset homo ille, fatigatus ex itinere[115] necne grauatus sopore, cepit paululum dormire in solis cecaumine.[e116] Qui dum euigilaretur[117] a somni grauedine, prospectis burdonibus, desiderans domum redire nil mali sperans posse ei contingere in tam uicino itinere, is, dum propter amnem praefatum caperet itineris incessum, haud procul prospiciens geminas ante se conspexit mulierculas,[118] haud ullo cultu preditas nullisque uestibus septas, uerum teterrimo corpore nudas ac furuis crinibus horrendas, Tysiphoneisque uultibus infectas atque infernali nequitia ac ueneno armatas super ripam fluuii

[c. 3] RNJ] [a–a] QVALITER VRBANVS QVIDAM PENE MORTVO SIMILIS EFFECTVS SIT ET AD HVIVS SANCTI TVMVLVM SANITATI RESTITVTVS *J* [b] animalia *N* [c] corpore *N* [d] ciues *MSS, for* ciuis [e] caumine *N*

[105] Cf. Augustine, *Quaestiones in heptateuchum* [Exodus], quaest. xviii: 'ueniunt ex occulta prouidentia iustissima plane et sapientissima uniuersum quod creauit disponentis et administrantis Dei' (CCSL xxxiii. 76).

[106] That humility was Swithun's reason for being buried in the common peoples' cemetery is merely Lantfred's inference, and it is an improbable one. Swithun was accorded (or had chosen for himself) a very commanding position for burial between St Martin's tower and the western door of the Old Minster, and this *per se* would have indicated that he was a prelate of considerable standing and that his choice of burial place was not made for reasons of humility. However, the motif of Swithun's great humility commended itself to later hagiographers; see above, pp. 72–3.

[107] Luke 14: 11, 18: 14.

[108] The feast day is that of the *depositio*, or burial, of St Swithun, celebrated on 2 July, and presumably the only feast in question before the *translatio* described in this present chapter. How widely the *depositio* was celebrated before the translation of 971 is not easy to establish, but it appears to have been of merely local observance. Of the Anglo-Saxon calendars which may have been compiled before 971, the *depositio* is not found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63 (867 × 892), but has been added there by a later hand; in the 'Bosworth Psalter' (London, BL, Add. 37517), the words *et S. Swiðhuni* have been added against 2 July; and in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 150 (West Country, 969 × 978), the erroneous entry *Translatio* [sic] *Swiðhuni* is found against 2 July (for details, see Wormald, *Kalendars*, pp. 8, 22, 64; and see also above, pp. 25–8). In other words, all Anglo-Saxon calendars which note the *depositio* of St Swithun for 2 July are later than 971, and may be interpreted as reflexes of the impetus given to the cult by the translation. For the phrase *appropinquante . . . die*, cf. Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* xxxv. 14. 34: 'appropinquante enim die iudicii' (CCSL cxliiiB. 1796).

[109] Cf. Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* x. 29: 'de anima mundi huius uisibilis et tam ingentis corporeae molis' (CCSL xlvii. 306).

[110] Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* [ps. cxlv], c. 6: 'tolle mihi terrenam habitationem deprimentem sensum multa cogitantem' (CCSL xl. 2109).

[111] Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* [ps. lxxii], c. 31: 'et coepit cogitare felicitatem ipsam caelestem' (CCSL xxxix. 1001); [ps. lxxxi], c. 6: 'omnibus uobis promisi caelestem felicitatem' (ibid. p. 1139); and Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* xxxiii. 14. 29: 'iustos caelesti felicitate pollentes' (CCSL cxliiiB. 1698).

[112] Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* [ps. xli], c. 7: 'et si in tenebris sunt oculi isti, animus illius luce perfruitur' (CCSL xxxviii. 465).

[113] The river in question is presumably the Itchen (see fig. 2); there is, however, some doubt about the location of the grazing-land (*pascua*). Lantfred says merely that the land was next to the bank of the river 'which flows by the walls' of Winchester. Wulfstan is more specific: he states that it was next to a watercourse (*aquae ductus*) which flowed by the town walls

through the most equitable providence of God,[105] that this same holy bishop—who, affected by the virtue of humility,[106] was buried outside the church like a vile, scorned and unworthy sinner—having been revealed through many miracles and signs, was brought back into this same church exalted, venerated and renowned. We see in this that the word of our Lord was undoubtedly fulfilled, who says to the entire congregation of the Christian faith: 'Because every one that exalteth himself, shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.'[107]

3. CONCERNING A CERTAIN CITIZEN OF WINCHESTER AND THE TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY BISHOP SWITHUN. As the day of most blessed solemnity[108] was approaching on which the holy soul of the venerable bishop of God, freed from the bonds of its bodily frame,[109] departed from its earthly abode[110] and passed on to heavenly bliss,[111] where it forever enjoys the light of perpetual happiness[112] with Christ the king: in the same year and month in which the holy body was later exhumed from the enclosure of its tomb, a certain man who was a native of Winchester desired as was his custom to look in on his mules which pastured in the grazing-land near the bank of the river[113] which flows by the walls of the aforementioned town, at the time when the sun had reached a noon-day position in the southern sky.[114] When the man arrived there, he was exhausted by his journey[115] and overcome by sleepiness, and so he began to sleep for a while in the heat[116] of the sun. When he had awakened[117] from the depths of his sleep and had looked over his mules, he wished to go home in the hope that nothing unfortunate could happen to him on so familiar a route; this man, while selecting the route of his journey along the previously-mentioned river-bank, saw not far in front of him two female creatures[118]—not decked out in any finery nor covered up with any clothing, but rather naked to their foul skin and terrifying with their swarthy hair, blackened with faces like Tisiphone and armed with hellish wickedness and poison—who were

(*Narratio* i. 497). On the strength of Wulfstan's remark, Quirk (*OM*, p. 39) suggested a location for the pastures 'perhaps just south of St Swithun's bridge, along the present Weirs'. It is true that the Itchen flowed along beside the eastern walls of the town, no doubt in a *ductus aquae*—and this is what Wulfstan was referring to—but the location of the pasture should probably not be sought in the immediate vicinity of the town and the present-day Weirs (fig. 2): the man was *fatigatus ex itinere* when he arrived there. A location some miles south of the town would be consonant with what Lantfred describes.

[114] Another sentence lacking a finite verb, presumably an example of anacoluthon.

[115] John 4: 6 ('Iesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere sedebat').

[116] The word used here by Lantfred—*cecaumene*, from Greek κεκαυμένη—is extremely rare (one might have expected *caumate*, from Greek καῦμα), and the likelihood is that Lantfred derived it from Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, i. 17: 'nam flamma flagrantior et ab ipsius cecaumenes exanclata fomitibus'. John Scotus Eriugena, in his glosses to bk i of the *De nuptiis*, provided the following gloss: 'cecaumenis . ardoris. Cecaumen . ardor' (ed. E. Jeauneau, *Quatre thèmes érigéniens* (Paris, 1978), p. 133); this is the sense in which Lantfred uses the word, and he conceivably had access to John Scotus's commentary on Martianus. Among the books which Bishop Æthelwold donated to his refoundation at Peterborough *c.*970 was a 'commentum Martiani' (*BCS* 1128; the booklist recording Æthelwold's donation is edited and discussed by M. Lapidge, 'Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33–89, at 54), and it is interesting to note in this connection that Æthelwold also used the word *cecaumene* in his *Regularis concordia*, though editors have failed to recognize it as such (ed. Symons, p. 26; ed. Symons and Spath, p. 95; ed. Kornexl, p. 54, with commentary at pp. 248–9).

[117] It is not clear why Lantfred should have used the passive form *euigilaretur* (see also below, c. 35: 'qui cum euigilaretur . . .', but cf. c. 26: 'si euigilarent'); cf. Wulfstan, *Narratio* i. 266: 'qui post euigilans abeunte grauedine somni'. There is no classical or biblical precedent for the passive use: cf. Judith 14: 9 ('sed a sonantibus Holofernes euigilaret').

[118] Although Lantfred refers to this triad of supernatural women as 'Furies' (*Furiarum sorores*), it is clear that the women in question are those referred to in Old English sources as *hægtessan*; cf. the 'First Cleopatra Glossary', where the word *hægtessan* is used to gloss *erenis* (= Erinyes), *Eumenides* and *Furia* (WW, cols. 392.18–19, 404.33–4). What these hateful *hægtessan* (usually rendered 'hags' or 'witches') did, or what they looked like, is not clear, and Lantfred here gives us what is the fullest description of their appearance and behaviour (though it may of course be influenced by his reading in classical sources). Lantfred describes the hags' *Tysiphoneisque uultibus*, and it is worth noting that in the 'Abingdon Glossary' the word *Tisiphona* is glossed *wælcyrre*, 'valkyrie' (WW, col. 189.11); for the possibility that the hags in question are valkyries, see below, n. 125.

considentes, quasi bine ex tribus Furiarum sorores.[119] Quae ilico ut uirum coram sese uenientem conspexerunt,[f] surgentes contra eum pariter concordi uoce dixerunt, 'Frater, huc ueni, quoniam indubitanter uolumus tibi perpauca colloqui.' Qui perterritus ac nimium stupefactus, contemplans Ethiopissas fuligineis[g] coloribus inopertas, nudis corporibus, nullum eis uerbum penitus quiuit respondere; sed primum ab ipsis pedetemptim cepit secedere et postmodum prepete cursu fugere. Quem illae contemplantes fugientem et earum iussionibus obtemperare[120] nolentem, ueloci eum gradu[121] insequentes dicebant ad hominem, 'Cur, insane, fugis? Quo, moriture, abis? Non, ut[h] estimas, nos effugies indempnis, nostris confabulationibus spretis. Nequaquam euades periculum nostrae feritatis. Licet nostra floccipendas imperia, non te liberabit pernix fuga. Haud hinc abibis ulla ratione incolomis, neglectis astute sententiis nostre sermocinationis.' Vir autem ille haec audiens, magno terrore concussus[122] inquiens, 'Miserere mei, Domine Deus omnipotens'; qui interim in quantum quibat fugiens, uicinam properabat ad urbem. Verum cum a coruinis (quas humana cohibebat statura) mulierculis uir ille non posset comprehendi nec aliqua offensione retardari, accessit tertia mirae proceritatis quae instar turris eminebat ceteris, candido tamen prioribus colore dissimilis ac decenter niueis ornata induuiis. Haec etenim fraude nacta retro collem latitabat [i]iuxta uiam per quam homo transire disponebat,[i] quatinus eum comprehenderet si a furuis[j] intactus existeret. Quae consurgens de latibulo, ad se furuas[k] conuocauit ilico quibus dixit sermone infesto: 'Huc ad meum conmigrate ocius contubernium et ulterius desinite persequi homuncionem istum. Non hic a meis periculum effugiet manibus, quod se[l] euasisse estimauit funditus, uobis more anserum perstrepentibus.' Quae protinus ad uiatorem conuersa fugacem, haud illum concito prosequitur uestigio ut furue, uerum fixa in[m] predicti perseuerans collis cacumine, ingentem manicam ter plicauit in rugam; quam cum ingenti collisione sursum eleuans eumque toto uirtutis conamine desiderans percutere,[n] Deo largiente (quem inuocabat mente, quamuis non posset ore[o]) non preualuit ipsum contingere. Sed uentus ex stridore ipsius manice procreatus super eum uenit, quem paulisper dextro in latere tetigit. Et mox cum nigro comitatu ab eodem discedens, in amnis gurgite[123] saltu eximio se dedit precipitem.

Vir autem ille, percussus dirae uestis spiramine, confestim pronus corruit in faciem[124] ceu cadauer exanime, immobilis iacens pene per interuallum unius horae: sinistro latere permanens illesus, dextroque tam graui peste cesus ut neque pedem posset ad ambulandum extendere, neque manum ad crucis signum fronti eius infigendum erigere.[125] Qui, ut quiuit, post surrexit; leua manu

[f] consperunt *corr. to* conspexerunt *J* [g] fuligenei *corr. to* fuligineis *J*; fuligines *corr. to* fuligineis *N* [h] -t *added above line in J*
[i–i] *om. N* [j] furuis *corr. to* furiis *N* [k] furuas *corr. to* furias *N* [l] se *added as corr. in R; om. J* [m] -n *added above line in J*
[n] percutem *N* [o] hore *J*

[119] Lantfred is proudly displaying some classical learning. He will have known that there were three Furies from a handbook of classical mythology such as Hyginus, *Fabulae*, praef. 3 ('Furiae tres, id est Alecto, Megaera, Tisiphone'), and the prominence which he gives to Tisiphone probably derives from his reading of Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 570–2:

> continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello
> Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra
> intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum.

There is also a striking parallel in a passage of the *Annales* of Tacitus, where in A.D. 61, during the Roman campaign in Britain, the governor of the province, Gaius Suetonius Paulinus, confronted an army of Britons on the shore of an unspecified river; the British soldiers were accompanied by women dressed in black with dishevelled hair, brandishing torches, whom Tacitus refers to as Furies. The appearance of these Furies terrified the Roman troops into (temporary) paralysis: 'stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursantibus feminis; in modum Furiarum veste ferali, crinibus deiectis faces praeferebant . . . novitate aspectus perculere militem ut quasi haerentibus membris immobile corpus vulneribus praeberent' (*Ann.* xiv. 30). There is no evidence that Tacitus was ever read in Anglo-Saxon England, but the similarities between his account and Lantfred's are striking.

[120] For this phrase, see above, n. 7.

[121] For the phrase *ueloci gradu*, cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Isaiam* ix.

sitting on the bank of the river, as if they were two of the three Furies.[119] As soon as they saw the man coming towards them, they got up to meet him and spoke together in one voice: 'Brother, come here, since without question we would like to exchange a few words with you.' The man, terrified and greatly astonished, gazing at these undressed Ethiopians with their sooty colouring and their naked bodies, was unable to say a single word to them in reply; but he began at first to draw away from them a step at a time and afterwards to flee at a rapid pace. Observing the man fleeing and not wishing to obey their requests,[120] they followed him at a swift rate[121] and said to the man: 'Why, fool, do you flee? Where, doomed man, are you going? You shall not, as you imagine, escape from us unscathed after having scorned our conversation. In no way shall you evade the danger of our savagery. Although you dismiss our commands, swift flight shall not liberate you. You shall on no account get away from here unharmed, given that you have intentionally disregarded the purport of our disquisition.' The man, hearing these things and struck with mighty fear,[122] said, 'Have mercy on me, omnipotent Lord God!'—and, fleeing in the meanwhile as quickly as he could, hastened towards the nearby city. But when the man could not be overtaken nor slowed by any interference from these two raven-like females who appeared in human form, a third one of immense height approached who stood like a tower over the others, and who moreover was different from the others in being of a shining white colour and being decently clad in snowy-white garments. She however, relying on deception, was hiding behind a hill next to the road along which the man was intending to go, so that she might capture him if he escaped unharmed from the dark ones. Getting up from her hiding-place, she called the dark ones over to her and spoke to them in violent words: 'Come over here quickly to my look-out, and give up following this little man any further. He shall not escape from destruction at my hands—which he thinks he can completely avoid with you two honking after him like geese.' Turning at once to the fleeing way-farer, she does not pursue him with rapid steps as the dark ones had done, but rather, remaining stationary on the crest of the aforesaid hill, she folded over the sleeve of her tunic three times into a plait; lifting it up with a mighty commotion and striving to strike him with the total effort of her strength, she was unable to touch him, since God was granting his protection—whom the man was invoking in his heart, even though he couldn't do so aloud. But the wind created by the rustle of her sleeve fell on him, and touched him slightly on his right side. And thereupon, departing from him with her black retinue, she cast herself with a mighty leap headlong into the stream of the river.[123]

The man, however, struck down by the blast from the foul garment, fell immediately on his face[124] like a lifeless corpse, lying thus immobilised for the space of nearly an hour: he was unhurt on his left side, but was so maimed by this heavy affliction on the right side that he could not stretch out his leg for walking, nor could he lift up his hand in order to make the sign of the cross on his forehead.[125] After a while, he got up as best he could; carrying his spear in his left

30 [15–17]: 'et concito ad eos atque ueloci pergemus gradu' (CCSL lxxiii. 389).

[122] Cf. Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* xxxiv. 7. 15: 'immenso terrore concussi' (CCSL cxliiiB. 1743).

[123] One would expect *in amnis gurgitem*, both on grammatical grounds and with respect to the rhyme with *precipitem*; but note that Wulfstan also used the ablative *gurgite* (*Narratio* i. 563–4: 'abscessit in amnis / gurgite').

[124] The phrase *corruit . . . in faciem* is surprisingly rare, according to the databases; cf. Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini*, ii. 710–12 ('pronus / conruit et crebram gradibus renouando ruinam / conliso terram conlapsus corpore pressit').

[125] There is some discussion of temporary paralysis and psychogenic illness in Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 79–82; the man's paralysis is what we should now describe as a 'stitch'. It is interesting to note that an Old English charm, preserved in a manuscript of *c.*1000 (London, BL, Harley 585, ed. *in extenso* by J. H. G. Grattan and C. Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (Oxford, 1952); for the charm, see pp. 172–5), which prescribes a remedy against the 'shot' of a *hægtesse—ðis ðe to bote hægtessan*

gerens hastam, claudicando uix peruenit usque ciuitatis portam.[126] Ad quam cum accessisset, rursus in terram cecidit et acri dolore cruciari coepit, nec se de loco penitus remouere potuit. Tum quidam uiatores eo superuenientes, ut uiderunt eum tali cruciatu torqueri, intrantes moenia praescriptae urbis nuntiauerunt hoc parentibus aegri. Tunc amici et affines circa eum uenientes, dolentes et gementes, necne uehementer admirantes unde tam repentinus necis interitus agnato eorum potuisset accidere, quesierunt flebili percunctatione. Et quoniam nec equis eum ferre nec manibus quibant ducere pre nimio dolore, imponentes baccaulo egrum, quem baiolantes deduxerunt ad propriam domum. In qua eum ter ternis custodientes solibus, non inuenerunt quempiam medicum qui posset ullum conferre remedium, amici doloribus cotidie crescentibus. Quid plura? Illius cognati et amicabiles uiri nimium mesti, uigilanti pertractantes studio[127] quod solacium possent prebere miserabili amico, accedentes ad egrum dixerunt, 'Visne, frater amande, quo te ad monasterium deportemus Sancte Trinitatis quod nuncupatur Nouum,[128] in quo requiescit corpus sancti uenerandum Iudoci[129] confessoris et eximii sacerdotis, per cuius merita—sicut quondam innumerabiles—Deo fauente pristinam sanitatem[130] recipere ualeas?' Qui respondit, 'Libenter hoc uolo; sed hac nocte nequeo. In subsequenti uero nocte me illo deducite, quatinus ibi possim uigilare atque salutis optatae medelam percipere. Quapropter nunc ad uestras domus conmigrantes, capite dulcissimam soporis quietem; postera die[p] ad uesperum reuersuri mecumque estis ad sanctum uigilaturi.' Quibus mox deserentibus egrum, nox astrigerum contexit polum[131]—labore fessis[132] acceptabilem prestans corporibus requiem, uerum languentibus intolerabilem deferens doloris anxietatem.[133] Qua[q] mediante, prepotens auctor rerum ostendit infirmo celestem medicum,[134] per quem post suscepit salubre medicamentum[r][135] (sicut ilicet[s] sequentia demonstrabunt). Nimirum

[p] postrdie *corr. to* postera die *J* [q] quia *N* [r] medicatum *corr. to* medica mentum *J* [s] inlicet *N*

scotes—by which some sort of sudden stitch is meant. Like the creatures described by Lantfred, the *hægtessan* or *mihtigan wif* of the charm 'ride over the hill' in a sudden onslaught:

> Hlude wæran hy, la, hlude, ða hy ofer þone hlæw ridan,
> wæran anmode, ða hy ofer land ridan . . .
> stod under linde, under leohtum scylde,
> þær ða mihtigan wif hyra mægen beræddon
> and hy gyllende garas sændan . . .

ASPR vi. 122: 'Loud they were, truly loud, when they rode over the hill [or: burial mound?] / they were of one mind when they rode over the land . . . / I stood under my linden-shield, under my light shield / when the giant women pooled their strength / and cast their whistling spears.' N. K. Chadwick has associated the *hægtessan* of this charm with the valkyries of Norse tradition ('The monsters and *Beowulf*', in *The Anglo-Saxons. Studies . . . presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 171–203, at 176), though there is little evidence in support of such an association.

[126] Lantfred does not state which gate the man was approaching, but Wulfstan offers more specific information: 'peruenit Eoam / Wintoniae ad portam Michahelis honore dicatam' (*Narratio* i. 573–4). In other words, he arrived at the East Gate, presumably after crossing St Swithun's bridge (see below, p. 439 n.); for the topography, see fig. 2 together with WS i. 271–6. This in turn would imply that his pastures were on the east bank of the Itchen.

[127] Cf. Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* xxxi. 44. 86: 'uigilanti studio contemplatur' (CCSL cxliiiB. 1609). The phrase *uigilanti studio* also occurs 3× in Gregory's *Registrum epistularum*, but is not attested outside of Gregory's writings.

[128] The New Minster, possibly begun (or planned) by King Alfred, was completed by Edward the Elder in 901, and dedicated jointly to the Holy Trinity, St Mary and St Peter. Narrative sources include the (early-eleventh-century?) text 'Prefatio constructionis Wintoniensis monasterii quod Nouum nuncupatur' contained in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster (ed. Birch, pp. 3–11; ed. Keynes, fos. 8r-12v, with detailed discussion at pp. 81–2), as well as the account in the fifteenth-century *Liber . . . de Hyda* (ed. Edwards, pp. 82–3); see also discussion in R. N. Quirk, 'Winchester New Minster and its tenth-century tower', *JBAA*, 3rd ser., xxii (1959), 16–60, as well as WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter IV. 1. ii and 2; Part III.

[129] St Iudoc (in French: Saint Josse) was a seventh-century Breton saint who was the son of the Breton king Juthael and who in his later life lived as a hermit at Saint-Josse-sur-Mer; he died *c.*654. His uncorrupt body was the source of many miracles. Almost nothing is known of the saint's life; the earliest *vita*, the *Vita prima S. Iudoci* (*BHL*, no. 4504) dates, arguably, from *c.*920; it is ed. by H. Le Bourdellès, 'Vie de St Josse avec commentaire historique et spirituel', *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., xxxiv (1993), 861–958. At approximately the time the New Minster was founded, some clerics who were fleeing the Viking depredations in the area of Ponthieu brought some relics of St Iudoc to the New Minster (see *ASC* s.a. 903, as well as *Liber . . . de Hyda*, ed.

hand, he barely reached the gate[126] of the town by limping. When he arrived there, he again fell to the ground and was afflicted with intense pain, and could not move himself from that place at all. At that point some travellers, coming upon him and seeing that he was afflicted with such intense suffering, entered the town walls and reported this to the kinsmen of the stricken man. Then his friends and neighbours, gathering around him, lamenting and bewailing and also wondering greatly how so sudden a form of death could have befallen their kinsman, sought an explanation with tearful questioning. And since they could not carry him on horseback nor lead him by the hand because of his immense pain, they put the sick man on a litter and, carrying him in this way, they brought him to his own house. They watched over him there for nine days and could not locate a single physician who could provide any remedy, even though their friend's pains were increasing daily. Why say more? With his kinsmen and friends in an extreme state of depression considering with attentive care[127] what sort of relief they could offer to their miserable friend, they approached the sick man and said to him: 'Do you wish, dear brother, that we carry you to the monastery of the Holy Trinity which is called the New Minster,[128] wherein lies the venerable body of St Iudoc the confessor and distinguished priest,[129] through whose merits you may be able to regain your former health[130]—just as countless others have done through God's favour?' He replied: 'Of course I wish this; but tonight I cannot. However, take me there tomorrow night so that I may be able to keep vigil and obtain the remedy of health which I long for. Therefore, go home now to your houses, enjoy the sweet peace of sleep; tomorrow you will return in the evening and will keep vigil with me at St Iudoc's shrine.' They departed at once from the sick man, and night covered over the starry sky[131]—offering welcome rest to bodies exhausted from labour,[132] but bringing the insufferable anguish of pain to those who are ill.[133] At midnight, the mighty creator of things revealed a heavenly physician[134] to the sick man, through whom he afterwards obtained health-bringing medication[135] (as the following discussion will very

Edwards, p. 82), and from that time onwards the cult of St Iudoc became fairly widespread in Anglo-Saxon England. The date of his deposition, 13 Dec., is recorded in some fifteen liturgical kalendars (ed. Wormald, *Kalendars*, nos. 2, 3, 8–20), and a smaller number of calendars, mostly from Winchester, also record the date of his translation, 9 Jan. (Wormald. *Kalendars*, nos. 8–12, 14, 17–19). St Iudoc is also commemorated frequently in litanies (ed. Lapidge, *ASx Litanies*, nos. I, VIII.i, VIII.ii, IX.i, XII, XVI.ii, XXI, XXII.i, XXIII, XXIV, XXXII, XXXVI, XLI.iii, XLII.i, XLII.ii, XLIV, XLV, XLVI), as well as in a late-tenth-century metrical calendar from Ramsey (ed. M. Lapidge, 'A tenth-century metrical calendar from Ramsey', *RB* xciv (1984), 326–69, at p. 363, repr. *ALL* ii. 343- 86, at p. 380, where he is commemorated on 9 Jan.). That the cult of St Iudoc was active at Winchester in Lantfred's day is reflected in a metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* (*BHL*, no. 4512), which is a verse *contrafactum* of the prose *Vita I S. Iudoci*, and which was evidently composed at Winchester in the late tenth century: it is ed. M. Lapidge, 'A metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* from tenth-century Winchester', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, x (2000), 255–306. The poem shares many features of diction with the Winchester poems (ed. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems') which are arguably by Lantfred.

[130] For this phrase, see above, n. 36.

[131] A poetic phrase (the word *astrigerum* is in effect restricted to verse; cf. uses in Carolingian poetry, such as Smaragdus, *Carm.* ii. 2, 44 (MGH, PLAC i. 616–17), as well as discussion by J. Meyers, *Le classicisme lexical dans la poésie de Sedulius Scottus* (Liege, 1994), pp. 29–30, who there notes that *astriger* is 'un type de formation poétique qui est caractéristique de la littérature archaïque et de la haute poésie'. The word is also used by Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 557 (below, p. 520). On Lantfred's poeticism in general, see above, pp. 226–8.

[132] Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [ps. cvi]: 'solet post pericula labore fessos emergere' (CCSL xcviii. 982).

[133] Lantfred probably has in mind here Vergil's description of nightfall at Carthage which brought rest to the weary but deep anxiety and turmoil to Dido (*Aen.* iv. 522–32):

> nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
> corpora per terras . . .
> at non infelix animi Phoenissa neque umquam
> solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem
> accipit: ingeminant curae rursusque resurgens
> saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.

[134] Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [ps. cxlv], c. 3: 'caelestis medicus humana pectora prius mundat pestiferis curis' (CCSL xcviii. 1299); [ps. cxlvi], c. 3: 'sic caelestis medicus paenitentium corda graui afflictione contrita . . . constringit' (ibid. p. 1305).

[135] Cf. Gregory, *Registrum epistularum* v. 62: 'grex dominicus consolationem et salubre medicamentum inueniat' (CCSL cxl. 364).

inualido non ualente soporem percipere pre aegritudinis nimietate, uir quidam ualde splendidus, pontificalibus ornamentis decenter preditus, niuea canitie uenerandus sandaliisque aureis calciatus, necne prefulgido diademate coronatus, domicilium est ingressus in quo eger quiescebat miserandus; quod tam inmenso fulgore compleuit, quasi totum foret plenum radiis rutilantibus solis. Qui ad fulcrum accedens languidi, aureae incumbens rudi ac trina repetitione dixit illi sermone blando[136] multumque delectabili, 'Dormisne, fili, an uigilas?' Languidus hoc audiens contremuit, et uice prima sancto patri respondere timuit. Cui sacerdos summus[137] inquit rursus, 'Vigilasne an dormis? Numquid mihi non uis loqui?' Ille secundo uocatus[t] siluit, nec quicquam sacro antistiti respondit. Qui denique tertio ait aegroto, 'Dormisne an uigilas? Cur taces? Quid times? Si corporis desideras percipere curationem, audi nostram intentis auribus[138] sermocinationem!' Tum languidus hoc audiens, de sospitate gaudens quam se recepturam credens, audaciam sumens primum sancto respondit inquiens, 'Domine mi pater, uigilo. Verum tibi fari metuo, quia me indignum iudico et peccatorem cognosco; coram te totus contremisco,[u] nec oculis te contemplari audeo. Mei tamen miserere, te flagito.' Ait almus ad illum presul, 'Si percipere desideras uelocissimum tue aegritudinis suffragium, non debes ad Nouum baiolari Cenobium, sed potius ad lapideam staurum quae est ante Vetustissimum, post unius pontificis mausoleum. Ibique pernoctans cum insomnis nocturnas duxeris excubias,[139] Christo auctore sanitatem quam nuper amisisti percipies; et magnalia cuncticreantis Dei agnosces puroque intuitu mentis[140] perspicies, qui uerus est medicus,[141] splendor sempiternus, fons uiuus, absque siti potus, sine fame cibus, uia absque errore, lux sine caligine, indeficiens uita, pax sempiterna,[142] gaudium inenarrabile,[143] munus caelestis patriae, qui trinus et unus uiuit et regnat Deus.' Haec et his similia sancto narrante, reliquit tugurium et cum uibranti lumine penetrauit caelum.

Posteram uero lucem Titane ad plagam rotante occiduam, amici et parentes ad egrum uenientes eumque ad Sanctae Trinitatis edem ferre gestientes, quemadmodum in transacto promiserunt uespero, eodem suadente multumque eos exorante, crepusculo imminente delatus est ad tumbam in qua sanctus Dei famulus somate quiescebat. Qui dum illic pernoctaret triduo, permanens in oratione et ieiunio, nocte tertia transcurrente media, recedente uigilum custodia ob soporis grauitatem nimiam, antistes summus, clemens ac piissimus, eodem uultu quo etiam superius eisdem necne decoratus splendide ornatibus, languentis rursus comparens obtutibus.[144] Cui precepit sacris affaminibus, ut mulierculam caecutientem uisibus (quae dormiebat propter eius tumulum, sperans optatum percipere uisum per sancti meritum) compulisset adire domum. Qui uicinum quempiam iuxta sese dormientem conuocans, huncque iussit ut hanc extra claustrum duceret eamque domum conmigrare sineret, ac postea, si uellet, paululum quiesceret.

[t] uacatus *N* [u] contremesco *J*

[136] Jerome, *Ep.* xxxviii. 4: 'et sermone blando de indebita rursum arbore comedere persuadet' (CSEL liv. 292); cf. Cassian, *Conlat.* xxii. 1: 'alacer senex hilari uultu ac blando nos prior sermone conpellans' (CSEL xiii. 615).

[137] The phrase *sacerdos summus* (used by Lantfred again in c. 31) means simply 'bishop'; cf. Tertullian, *De baptismo* c. 17: 'summus sacerdos, si qui est, episcopus' (CCSL i. 291); cf. Ambrose, *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, § 101: 'quid est enim episcopus, nisi primus presbyter, hoc est summus sacerdos' (CSEL l. 195); and Isidore, *Etym.* vii. 12. 13: 'pontifex princeps sacerdotum est . . . ipse et summus sacerdos, ipse pontifex maximus nuncupatur.'

[138] A poeticism; cf. Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 746 (*auribus intentis*).

[139] Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [ps. lxxxix], c. 4: 'pulchre autem humanam uitam nocturnis comparauit excubiis' (CCSL xcviii. 823).

[140] Cassian, *Conlat.* i. 13: 'si sublimi mentis intuitu consideremus statum illum' (CSEL xiii. 19); cf. xix. (ibid. p. 550), xxiv. 18 (ibid. p. 694); cf. also Boethius, *De consolatione Philoso-*

shortly explain). In fact, with the sick man being unable to get to sleep because of the intensity of his suffering, a man of radiant appearance, appropriately dressed in episcopal raiment, venerable because of his snowy-white hair, and wearing golden sandals on his feet as well as a radiant diadem on his head, entered the abode in which the wretched sick man was lying; he filled the room with a radiance as great as if it were full of the shining rays of the sun. Drawing near to the sick man's bed and leaning on a golden staff, he said to him in gentle[136] and very pleasing speech, repeating three times, 'Are you sleeping, my son, or are you awake?' Hearing this the sick man was terrified, and on the first occasion was afraid to reply to the holy father. The bishop[137] said to him again, 'Are you awake or are you sleeping? Do you not wish to speak with me?' The sick man, called upon this second time, was silent, and said nothing to the holy bishop. The bishop finally said a third time to the sick man, 'Are you sleeping or are you awake? Why are you silent? What are you afraid of? If you wish to receive the cure for your body, listen to my words with attentive ears.'[138] Then the sick man, hearing this and rejoicing over the health which he believed he was about to receive, took courage and replied for the first time to the saint, saying, 'My lord father, I am awake. But I am afraid to speak to you, since I consider myself to be unworthy and realise that I am a sinner; in your presence I tremble all over, and do not dare to look on you with my eyes. Have mercy on me, I beg of you.' The holy bishop said to him: 'If you wish to receive very fast aid for your suffering, you ought not to be taken to the New Minster, but rather to the stone cross which is in front of the Old Minster, behind the tomb of one certain bishop. When you have spent the night there keeping awake in vigils,[139] you shall obtain—through Christ's agency—the health which you have recently lost; and you shall recognise the mighty works of the all-creating God and shall look upon them with a pure heart[140]—God Who is the true physician,[141] the eternal glory, the living fountainhead, drink without thirst, food without hunger, the way without deviation, light without darkness, unfailing life, perpetual peace,[142] inexpressible joy,[143] the gift of the heavenly homeland, He Who lives and reigns the Three and One God.' With the saint saying these words and others like them, he left the cottage and entered heaven in a glimmering light.

When the sun had drawn along the following day to the westernmost region, the friends and relatives came to the sick man with the intention of taking him to the church of the Holy Trinity, just as they had promised the previous evening; but with him urging and entreating them a good deal he was taken just at sunset to the tomb in which the holy servant of God lay in body. He spent three days and nights there, remaining in prayer and fasting, and when midnight on the third night had passed and the vigilance of those keeping the watch had given way to the excessive burden of sleepiness, the exalted bishop, merciful and most holy, appeared in the vision of the sick man once again with the very same mien as before, resplendently adorned in the same garments.[144] He ordered the sick man in holy speech to urge a little blind woman (who was sleeping close to Swithun's tomb hoping to obtain her much-desired sight through the saint's merit) to go home. The sick man called over a neighbour who was sleeping next to him and ordered him to take her outside the churchyard and to allow her to go home; and afterwards, if he wished, to sleep for a while. The

phiae, v, pr. 6 ('suae mentis intuitu . . . uentura dinoscit').

[141] Jerome, *In Esaia paruula adbreuiatio*: 'per Christum, qui uerus est medicus, sanatus' (CCSL lxxiiiA. 803); *In Hieremiam prophetam* iii. 77: 'a nullo curari potuit nisi ab eo, qui uerus est medicus' (CCSL lxxiv. 169). According to CLCLT4, the phrase occurs only in Jerome.

[142] See above, n. 5.

[143] See above, n. 4.

[144] Another sentence lacking a finite verb, presumably an example of anacoluthon?

Hic, citissime amici obtemperans iussionibus,[145] confestim surrexit, citius mulierculam expulit et[v] ad[w] egrum non rediit, uerum ante templi ianuam obdormiuit. Qui a nocturnis desertus excubiis,[146] mox diuinis adiutus est suffragiis. Namque uersus contra turrim[147] occidentalis climatis, conspexit uirum mirae celsitudinis quasi iubar fulgentem solis[148] in cacumine stantem prescripte pyramidis,[149] in manibus funem aureum[150] tenens per quem pedetemptim prefulgidam [x]minutatimque complicatam[x] deorsum misit tunicam—que mox ut terram attigit, tam diu ambulauit donec ad sancti tugurium[151] peruenit. Quo dum peruenisset, sarcofagum sancti intrauit et postea non comparuit. Verum staurus saxea tota contremuit et, quasi in terram prona cadere uellet, se deorsum inclinauit; supra quam rutilans columna comparuit[y] quae ignea caelum usque conscendit. Aeger uero ille, stupefactus nimium, obdormiuit paululum. Qui dum quieuisset paululum, stupefactus nimium,[152] contremuit totum sepulchri tugurium (in quo presulis sanctissimum quiescebat corpusculum) totusque locus—in tantum ut putaret fieri terre motum. Tum quoque infirmo uisum est ut quidam ad eum accederet, et crusculum eius extendendo[z] traheret, ipsius lateris uidelicet quo torquebatur grauiter; statimque qui paraliticus ad sanctum uenerat, uir ille sanus effectus est. Ac subtalaris (miruml) pedis ipsius celitus est abstractus, et postea a multis quesitus nusquam est repertus.

Quod idcirco actum fore credimus, quatinus sciret uniuersus indubitanter populus quod per meritum sancti pontificis Suuithuni languidus ab omnipotente Domino fuisset curatus. Infirmus uero ipse ideo meruit sanitatem recipere quia non dubitauit in fide, sed permansit in prece. Qui, si prima nocte transacta recederet a gloriosi antistitis tumba et non uigilaret[a] in secunda necne in tertia,[b] non potiretur sanitate desiderata. Sed quoniam perseuerauit in spe sincera, quod desiderauit mente tota impetrauit fide pura ac percoepit[c] caritate larga.[d] In quo dinoscimus parabolam euangelicae lectionis impletam, quae dicit ad plebem sanctam, 'Qui autem usque in finem perseuerauerit incunctanter, hic saluus erit.'[153] Tria namque miracula in hoc egro[e] cernimus esse peracta: mulierum uisionem, ac sancti patris piam commonitionem, necne languoris medicationem. Percutitur dolore corporis ut suscipiat uigorem mentis, quia 'Deus castigat ac corrigit omnem filium quem diligit.'[154] Commonetur ut medicinam requirat, quatinus se infirmum prius peccatis confiteatur et intelligat; et sic demum sanitatem animae percipiat, quoniam omnipotens angelorum creator et hominum non desiderat mortem delinquentium sed expectat nefandarum in melius conuersionem mentium, ne cogatur districtum exercere iudicium[155] quod impiis supplicium

[v] *om. N* [w] *added above line as corr. J* [x–x] *added above line as corr. J* [y] paruit *N* [z] extendo *corr. to* extendendo *J*
[a] inuigilaret *N* [b] *marginal gloss in J:* uigilia in prima, in secunda gloria, in tertia uictoria [c] percoepit *MSS, for* percepit
[d] laga *corr. to* larga *J* [e] ergo *N*

[145] See above, n. 7.

[146] See above, n. 139.

[147] The aforementioned detached tower dedicated to St Martin; see above, n. 101.

[148] A poeticism; cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* iv. 3 ('alta poli solisque iubar lunaeque meatus').

[149] The word *pyramidis* suggests unmistakeably that the roof of St Martin's tower culminated in a spire or four-sided pyramid; cf. the definition of Isidore, which would have influenced medieval Latin usage: 'tali autem aedificio surgunt ut a lato incipiant et in angusto finiantur sicut ignis' (*Etym.* xv. 11. 4). In the corresponding passage of his *Narratio*, Wulfstan describes the tower as *rostrata tolis*, 'beaked with roofs' (i. 447; see also note to Ep. spec. 183). These descriptions suggest something like a pyramidal spire rising from four gables—the so-called 'Rhenish helm' structure—such as that which survives on the west tower of the church at Sompting (Sussex): see Taylor and Taylor, *ASArch.*, ii. 558–62, together with C. A. Hewitt, 'Anglo-Saxon carpentry', *ASE* vii (1978), 205–29, at pp. 214–26; but note that dendrochronology has established that the Sompting structure is thirteenth-century in date, not Anglo-Saxon.

[150] This 'golden rope' is inevitably reminiscent of the golden chain which, in the *Iliad* (viii. 19–20) Zeus let down to all the gods and goddesses; the problem is whether Lantfred could have had knowledge of the Homeric passage and, if he did, by means of what intermediate texts (there is no mention of the 'golden

neighbour, quickly obeying the orders of his friend,[145] got up immediately, swiftly expelled the woman and did not return to the sick man, but rather went to sleep before the door of the church. The sick man, deserted by those keeping nocturnal vigil,[146] was soon assisted by divine aid. For, looking towards the tower[147] in the west part of the churchyard, he saw a man of marvellous height shining like the sun's splendour[148] and standing at the very top of the aforementioned spire,[149] who held in his hands a golden rope,[150] by means of which he gradually and little by little lowered his shining and folded tunic—which, as soon as it touched the ground, spread out far enough so that it reached the shrine structure built over[151] the saint's tomb. When it arrived there, it went inside the saint's tomb and did not appear afterwards. But the stone cross trembled all over and bent itself downwards as if it wished to fall flat on the ground; above it a shining column appeared which was fiery all over and which reached up to the sky. The sick man, however, being greatly astounded, fell asleep for a while. When he dozed off a little, he was greatly astounded,[152] for the entire covering of the tomb in which lay the holy body of the saint, and the entire area around it, trembled so violently that he thought an earthquake was taking place. At that point it seemed to the sick man that someone came up to him and tugged on his leg by pulling it—on the same side, that is, where he was seriously impaired; and immediately, he who had come to the saint paralysed was made a healthy man. But the shoe of his foot—miraculously!—was pulled off by heavenly agency, and afterwards, though looked for by many, was nowhere to be found.

I think that it happened in this way so that the entire populace would know without any doubt that the sick man had been cured by the omnipotent Lord through the merit of the holy bishop Swithun. Accordingly, the sick man himself had deserved to obtain his health because he did not waver in his faith but persevered in his prayers. If, when the first night had passed, he had left the tomb of the glorious bishop and had not kept vigil during the second or third nights, he would not have obtained the health he longed for. But because he persevered in his faithful hope, he achieved through pure faith and received through bounteous love that which he wished for with all his heart. In this we may discern that the parable of the gospel-reading was fulfilled, which states to the holy people: 'He that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved.'[153] For we may distinguish three miracles performed through this sick man: the vision of the women, the kindly admonition of the holy father, and the curing of the disease. He is struck down with bodily anguish so that he might acquire strength of mind, since 'God chastizeth and He scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.'[154] He is warned that he would require medicine, so that he might first admit and realise that he was diseased through sin; and thus at length he could obtain the health of his soul, since the omnipotent creator of angels and men does not desire the death of sinners but anticipates the conversion of wicked hearts for the better, so that He will not be compelled to exercise that severe judgement[155]

rope' in the *Ilias Latina*). A possible intermediary is Lucretius:

> haud, ut opinor, enim mortalia saecla superne
> aurea de caelo demisit funis in arva . . .
> (ii. 1153–4).

But knowledge of Lucretius in Anglo-Saxon England is doubtful.

[151] On this structure, see above, n. 78.

[152] It is possible that the words *stupefactus nimium* here are a scribal error (by dittography) from the preceding sentence, and should be deleted from the text.

[153] Matt. 10: 22 ('qui autem perseveraverit in finem hic salvus erit'). Lantfred may have added *usque* because that reading was found in the Vulgate MS which he used (or had learned from), since it is found in MSS sPGC; but he might also have conflated the quotation with Matt. 24: 13 ('qui autem permanserit usque in finem hic salvus erit').

[154] Cf. Hebr. 12: 6 ('quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit'); cf. Prov. 3: 12 ('quem enim diligit Dominus corripit').

[155] The formulation *districtum . . . iudicium* is distinctively Gregorian: *Moralia in Iob* v. 32. 56, v. 37. 67 (CCSL cxliii. 259, 267), xii. 33. 38 (CCSL cxliiiA. 651), xxiv. 11. 32 (CCSL cxliiiB. 1212), etc.

confert sempiternum.[156] Qui si ita studuerit animam a uitiis purgare, quemadmodum ipse curatus est somate absque dubio merebitur hereditare felicitatem caelestis patriae.

Vir autem ille, mox ut sensit se curatum, ad sese conuocans amicum recubantem ante templi hostium[f] dixit ad eum: 'Recedamus domum, quoniam per sanctum Dei famulum—antistitem uidelicet Suuithunum—Deo iuuante curatus sum; et amplius hic manere non audeo perculsus stupore[g] nimio,[157] quia hunc locum uere sacrum ac Deo dignum esse cognosco.' Qui ait, 'Estne ita ut refers?' Tunc idem fronti eius crucem Christi imponens, amico respondit dicens, 'Videsne quoniam modo me possum signare, qui paulo ante manum ad os non quibam conuertere?' Qui rursus infit amicus: 'Quod facis diligenter cerno; uerum si supra pedes stare potes, titubo ac penitus ignoro.' Qui respondit, 'Non solum stare, sed etiam firmiter ambulare—si haberem meum[h] subtalarem!' Qui consurgens sospes abiit domum, glorificans omnipotentem Deum. Mane uero largiturus simposium pauperibus ad locum ipsum ueniens, indicauit fratribus qualiter curatus est diuinitus.

Post istius autem aegri curationem, antequam Dei famulus de sepulchro leuaretur, admodum octo debiles uel aliqui plures in reuolutione quindecim dierum ad sancti uiri tumulum (ni fallor) curati sunt. Quibus transactis, Idus Iulii sanctae ac uenerabiles antistitis reliquiae sublatae sunt de monumento—imperante glorioso rege Eadgaro atque beatissimo—a[i] domno presule Aþeluuoldo uenerabili atque abbatibus Ælfstano[158] necne Æþelgaro[159] precluibus et a fratribus Olimpicam in utroque coenobio ducentibus uitam; et decentissime in basilica sunt reconditae superius commemorata.[160] Ex quo die usque ad presens tempus, non cessauit Dominus beneficia prestare

[f] hostium *MSS, for* ostium [g] sopore *corr. to* stupore *J* [h] meam *corr. to* meum *J* [i] *erased from R*

[156] Cf. Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* xxi. 23: 'fides qua creditur sempiternum daemonum futurum esse supplicium' (CCSL xlviii. 788); Isidore, *De differentiis rerum* § 109: 'ista sibi consentientes mittit ad regnum, illa ad supplicium sempiternum' (PL lxxxiii. 86). But there are other patristic examples listed in CLCLT4.

[157] Cf. Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis* iii. 22: 'magno uisionum stupore perculsus' (CCSL cxxiA. 569); cf. Bede, *Expositio actuum apostolorum*, praef.: 'uehementissimo stupore perculsus' (CCSL cxxi. 4).

[158] The mention of an Ælfstan *abbas* among a Winchester congregation on 15 July 971 is problematical. The Ælfstan in question is presumably the former monk of Abingdon who is praised for his exemplary obedience to Æthelwold in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 14 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 26–8; see also the discussion at p. 28 n. 1), though the matter is somewhat complicated by the fact that there were two other high-ranking ecclesiastics (one a bishop of London, the other a bishop of Rochester) named Ælfstan at this time (see Hart, *ECNENM*, pp. 269–72, which account is in need of some correction). Wulfstan (ibid.) states that he saw the monk of Abingdon subsequently ordained as abbot (*illum . . . fratrem postmodum abbatem uidimus ordinatum*), and indeed an Ælfstan *abbas* witnesses a number of charters during the period 964 × 970: S 725 = BCS 1143, S 731 = BCS 1135, S 732 = BCS 1171, S 733 = BCS 1172, S 734 = BCS 1169, S 738 = BCS 1176, S 739 = BCS 1175; S 745 = BCS 1190, S 746 = BCS 1191, S 748 = BCS 1199, S 754 = BCS 1200, S 763 = BCS 1217, S 766, S 767 = BCS 1216, S 771 = BCS 1230, S 772 = BCS 1229, S 773 = BCS 1234; S 777 = BCS 1257, S 778 = BCS 1260; S 779 = BCS 1266, S 780 = BCS 1268, S 781 = BCS 1269, S 806 = BCS 1219 (see Keynes, *Atlas*, table LV, nos. 1–4). Some of these charters are spurious or dubious, but three of them survive in contemporary or original diplomas (S 738, 745 and 772). There is no doubt, therefore, that an abbot Ælfstan was active during the period 964 × 970, and was still abbot on 15 July 971.

The problem is: where was Ælfstan abbot? The earliest source to specify his abbacy is the twelfth-century *Chronica ex chronicis* of John of Worcester, who identifies Ælfstan as abbot of Glastonbury s.a. 970 (JW ii. 420). He is also specified as abbot of Glastonbury in two patently spurious charters (S 741 = BCS 1178, S 1294 = BCS 1179), but these possibly depend upon John of Worcester; they are in any case neither reliable nor contemporary witnesses. Significantly, Ælfstan is not found in either of the surviving lists of abbots of Glastonbury (see *Heads*, p. 50), and these date from the tenth and eleventh centuries and are much more trustworthy than John of Worcester and the spurious charters (on the lists, see J. A. Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays* (London, 1921), pp. 40–3, together with S. Foot, 'Glastonbury's early abbots', in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. L. Abrams and J. P. Carley (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 163–89). The evidence for Ælfstan's association with Glastonbury is so unreliable that I am inclined to draw a different inference from Lantfred's remarks. The translation of St Swithun in 971 appears to have been a local affair, attended by

which confers eternal punishment on the wicked.[156] If someone shall thus desire to purify his soul from sin, just as that sick man was cured in his body, he will without doubt deserve to inherit the blessedness of the heavenly kingdom.

The sick man, as soon as he felt himself cured, called over to him his friend lying in front of the church door and said to him: 'Let us go home, since through the holy servant of God—I mean Bishop Swithun—I have been cured by God's will; and, having been shaken with extreme astonishment,[157] I do not dare to remain here any longer, since I realise that this place is truly sacred and worthy of God.' The friend says, 'Is it indeed as you say?' Then the man, making the sign of the cross on his forehead, replied to his friend, saying: 'Do you see how I can now make the sign of the cross, who a short time before could not put my hand up to my face?' His friend says again: 'I see with affection what you do; but as to whether you can stand on your feet, I am in suspense and complete ignorance.' He replied, 'Not only can I stand up, but I could even walk steadily—if I had my shoe!' Getting up, he went home healthy, glorifying omnipotent God. In the morning, however, coming to the same place in order to bestow alms on the poor, he explained to the monks how he had been cured through divine agency.

After the curing of this sick man, however, and before the servant of God was exhumed from his tomb, fully eight diseased persons (if I'm not mistaken), or more besides, were cured at the holy man's tomb in the space of a fortnight. After these events had taken place, the holy and venerable remains of the bishop were exhumed from his sepulchre on the 15th of July [971]—at the command of the glorious and blessed King Edgar—by the venerable lord bishop Æthelwold and by the distinguished abbots Ælfstan[158] and Æthelgar,[159] and by the monks leading the heavenly life in both monasteries; and the remains were placed with honour in the above-mentioned minster.[160] From that day up to the present time, the Lord has not stopped granting well-being to diseased persons

the king, Æthelwold, the two abbots Ælfstan and Æthelgar, as well as the monks *in utroque coenobio ducentibus uitam* (Lantfred's words). The monks of both the Old and New Minsters were present, and since Æthelgar was unquestionably the abbot of the New Minster (see below, n. 159), the context of Lantfred's discussion implies that Ælfstan was abbot of the Old Minster. Certainly Ælfstan was a monk of the Old Minster, since his name is found in a very prominent position immediately after that of Æthelwold and Ælfheah in the list of Old Minster monks preserved in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster (ed. Birch, p. 23; ed. Keynes, fo. 18r, together with discussion on pp. 25–6). Yet, if the traditional ascription to Glastonbury is correct, he cannot have been a monk at the Old Minster between 964 and 970, since he was allegedly at Glastonbury during those years. The only other person who has been suspected of being abbot at the Old Minster during those years is the Brihtnoth who subsequently became abbot of Ely in 970 (see *Heads*, p. 80), but this suspicion is based on insecure evidence. The evidence of Lantfred and the list of Old Minster monks, therefore, suggests that Ælfstan, the most loyal of Æthelwold's monks from Abingdon, was made abbot of the Old Minster after the expulsion of the secular canons in 964.

Ælfstan subsequently became bishop of Ramsbury. His predecessor in that see, one Oswulf, died in 970, and it is usually assumed that Ælfstan succeeded him in that year. This assumption cannot be correct, for Ælfstan was present *as abbot* at the translation of St Swithun on 15 July 971 (the statement by Hart, *ECNENM*, p. 271, that Ælfstan was present as bishop, is therefore wrong). The earliest charter in which this Ælfstan witnesses as bishop (alongside the two other bishops Ælfstan) is dated 973 (S 790 = BCS 1292; cf. the original charter dated 974, S 795 = BCS 1303, and Keynes, *Atlas*, tables LIV (no. 5), LV (no. 4)). It would appear that the see of Ramsbury was vacant for a year or two, and that Ælfstan was elevated to the see between July 971 and 973. He held the see of Ramsbury until his death on 12 Feb. 981 (*ASC*, s.a.).

[159] Æthelgar is well attested as the abbot of the New Minster from 964 until 2 May 980, when he was elevated to the bishopric of Selsey (*Heads*, p. 80; *HBC*, p. 221). The date of his appointment to the abbacy is known from *ASC* s.a. 964, and he witnesses the New Minster foundation charter (S 745 = BCS 1190) as *primus huic loco abbas*. In September 988 he became archbishop of Canterbury, but died shortly thereafter on 13 Feb. 990.

[160] It is interesting to note that this event, which is described so cursorily by Lantfred here, is described at greater length by Wulfstan (*Narratio* i. 789–1078), who adds accounts of several miracles which took place on the ocasion. Clearly the event assumed far greater importance in retrospect to Wulfstan, writing some twenty-five years later. Lantfred's brevity here, and his silence about any subsequent retranslation of St Swithun (see below, n. 212), may suggest that he was not present at Winchester when these great events took place.

languentibus per presulis almi meritum, iam sole decimum[j] replicante annum.[161] [k]Qui confestim ut[k] apertum est sepulchrum, illum nacti sunt thesaurum quem sanctus antistes reperturum fabro dixerat per somnium (ceu pandit huius libelli exordium) tam inestimabilem[l] tamque pretiosum, ut in eius comparatione obrizum uilescat omne aurum[162] et quicquid extrahitur gazarum de cauernosis foraminibus terrarum—uidelicet sancti Suuithuni corpusculum, per cuius interuentum Christus saluator hominum dignatus est mederi corporibus egrorum, transmittens genti Anglorum Raphahelem[163] archangelum. Benedictus omnipotens Deus, qui nostra tempestate dignatus est sanctum suum mirificare, cui est honor et gloria in sempiterna saecula!

4. [a]DE INNVMERIS MIRACVLORVM PRODIGIIS.[a] Postquam sanctissimi corpus pontificis infra ecclesiam (sicut predictum est) est[b] positum, quattuor aegri siue quinque medelam recoeperunt[c] ad eius tumulum per interuallum trium dierum. Expleto autem triduo, ferme per interstitium quinque mensium raro fuit aliqua dies quo in basilica (in qua sunt repositae sancti uiri reliquiae) non sanarentur languidi: quando[164] plures sedecim uel ogdecim, quando uero pauciores, quinque uel tres; creberrime etiam septem, octo, decem, duodecim, quindecim. Vidimus plusquam ducentos in decem diebus aegrotos per meritum sancti curatos—et in anni circulo qui carent numero! Vidimus etiam circa prescriptum plateas[165] monasterium adeo refertas utrobique turmis aegrotantium, ut quispiam uiator difficile repperiret iter gradiendi[166] ad ipsum; qui post aliquot dies ita sunt curati—Deo fauente—meritis sancti, ut etiam infra basilicam uix quinque inuenirentur[d] languidi. Quapropter inuidi sileant ac reprobi, qui gloriosa huius sancti uiri miracula aut negant aut quod negare nequeunt in sinistram partem uertunt! Increduli quique etiam ad sanctum Dei famulum ueniant ut beneficia conditoris agnoscant et creatorem laudent! Cognoscant denique fideles, quia Dominus noster Christus Dei[e] unigenitus—qui in exordio huius etatis[167] uelatus amictu[168] carnis per semet caecos illuminauit, claudis officium ambulandi prebuit, surdis auditum reddidit, paraliticos curauit, mortuos suscitauit, supra mare siccis uestigiis ambulauit—idem nostris temporibus,[f] ad clarificandam [g]suae maiestatis omnipotentiam et ad manifestandum[g,h] egregii sacerdotis meritum, confert sanitatis beneficium egrorum corporibus pre multitudine innumerabilibus,[i] ut maris harenae quibus non est numerus.[169]

[j] uicesimum quintum *RN* [k–k] *add. above line in J* [l] inestimabile *J*
[c. 4] RNJV] [a–a] QVOD AD EIVS TVMVLVM MVLTI AC PAENE INNVMERABILES SANATI SVNT LANGVIDI *J*; *om. V*
[b] *om. N* [c] recoeperunt *MSS, for* receperunt [d] inueniretur *V* [e] *add. above line in J* [f] temporalibus *N*
[g–g] *om. N* [h] manifestandam *corr. to* manifestandum *J* [i] numerabilibus *V*

[161] The reading of J here (*iam sole decimum replicante annum*) fixes the absolute terminus ante quem for the composition of Lantfred's work, since J or its immediate exemplar must have been written in the course of the tenth year since the translation in July 971—hence either in late 980 or early 981. It is apparent that such a chronological statement in Lantfred's text could be adjusted to agree with the year in which a particular scribe was copying the text (as the scribe of R substitutes *uicesimum quintum* for whatever he found in his exemplar). If my arguments about the date of Lantfred's *Translatio* are correct (see above, pp. 235–7), then we may conjecture that his autograph here read either *secundum* or *tertium* or *quartum*.

[162] The phrase *obrizum aurum* is from Job 28: 15; for the construction *in comparatione . . . uilescat*, see above, n. 54.

[163] The reference is to the healing powers of the archangel Raphael, who in the Old Testament book of Tobit (cc. 5–12) was responsible for healing the blindness of the elder Tobias, and thereby beame a prototype of many healing saints of the Christian era. The name in Hebrew in fact means 'God's medicine' (see M. Thiel, *Hebräischkenntnisse*, p. 391), which Lantfred may have known from Isidore, *Etym.* vii. 5. 13: 'Raphael interpretatur curatio uel medicina Dei. Vbicumque enim curandi et medendi opus necessarium est, hic archangelus a Deo mittitur.'

through the merit of the holy bishop, though the sun is now unrolling the tenth year.[161] As soon as the tomb had been opened, these sick persons obtained that treasure which the holy bishop had said to the smith in a dream would be revealed—as the earlier part of this little book explains—a treasure so invaluable and so precious, that in comparison with it all burnished gold[162] and whatever in the way of wealth is extracted from the hollow caverns of the earth, becomes worthless: I mean the body of St Swithun, through whose intercession Christ the Saviour of men deigned to heal the bodies of the sick, sending thus to the English people their own archangel Raphael.[163] Blessed be the omnipotent God, Who in our days has deigned to magnify His saint, to Whom is honour and glory forever and ever!

4. CONCERNING COUNTLESS MIRACLES. After the body of the most holy bishop had been placed within the church, as stated above, four or five sick people received their cure at his tomb in the space of three days. And when these three days had passed, for the space of nearly five months there rarely was a day on which no sick people were cured in the church in which the remains of the holy man had been relocated: sometimes[164] as many as sixteen or eighteen, sometimes as few as five or three—but most often seven, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen. I myself saw more than two hundred sick people cured through the saint's merit in ten days—and in the course of a year, the healings were countless! I also saw the precincts[165] around the minster in question so packed on either side with crowds of sick persons, that any traveller would find difficulty in gaining access to it;[166] yet after a few days they were all cured in such a way—through the merits of the saint and with God's favour—that even within the church itself scarcely five sick people could be found. And therefore let envious and disapproving persons be silent, who either deny the miracles of this holy man, or else turn what they cannot deny to nefarious purposes! Let any disbelievers come as well to the holy servant of God, so that they may recognise the bounty of the creator and so praise Him! Finally, let the faithful acknowledge that Christ our Lord the only-begotten son of God—Who at the beginning of this age,[167] while clothed in the garment of the flesh,[168] bestowed sight on the blind of His own accord, granted the capability of walking to the lame, restored hearing to the deaf, cured paralytics, raised the dead, walked on water with dry foot-steps—in our days likewise, in order to reveal the omnipotence of His majesty and to make known the merit of our distinguished bishop, confers the benefit of health on the bodies of the sick, innumerable because of their multitude, like the sands of the sea which have no number.[169]

[164] On the eccentric (and rare) use of *quando* for *aliquando*, see LHS ii. 607; note that the author of the *Epitome* (below, no. 3), presumptively Ælfric, consistently replaced *quando* in Lantfred with *aliquando*.

[165] These 'spaces' around the Old Minster were presumably within the walls of the monastic precinct which were built by Æthelwold so that his monks could dwell in peace *a ciuium tumultu remoti*, as they are described in a charter of King Edgar in favour of Æthelwold and the three Winchester minsters datable to 963 × 970 (S 807 = BCS 1302; cf. discussion in WS i. 308). The influx of pilgrims to St Swithun's shrine must soon have shattered the monks' peace; cf. the words of Ælfric written some twenty years later: 'se lictun læg afylled mid alefedum mannum, swa þæt man eaðe ne mihte þæt mynster gesecan' ('Life of St Swithun', c. 10; below, p. 596 with n. 29 on Ælfric's use of *lictun*).

[166] Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos* [38: 14]: 'diligentius debet uiator aspicere, quod iter gradiendi capiat' (CCSL lxxii. 46).

[167] This age, which is the sixth age of the world, stretched from Christ's advent through the present day and lasted until the end of the world; cf. above, n. 32.

[168] Cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xviii. 21 ('niueo tellus uelatur amictu').

5. [a]DE TRIBVS CECIS MVLIERIBVS ET DE IVVENE MVTO.[a] In illis diebus tres mulieres in Vectam[b] caecae degebant insulam;[170] una lucem corporeis numquam conspexerat oculis, duae uero per spatium erant cecate nouem annorum. Quae dum audirent[c] ad tumbam sancti presulis cecos illuminare et per uirtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi infirmos quosque curare,[171] rogauerunt cognatos earum et affines quatinus extra predictam eas ducerent insulam (quae undique[d] undis oceani est circumsepta), unde facilius quiuissent peruenire ad locum in quo quiescebat somate Christi presul. Cumque extra insulam essent expositae et fluitarent absque ductore, et penitus ignorarent quid agere possent, clemens conditor creaturarum, misertus inopiae earum, contulit eis quendam uirum ductorem mutum aetate circiter uiginti annorum. Qui dum ad eundem deuenisset locum, coeperunt eum uiragines[172] flagitare unanimi uoce ut eas ad Wintoniensem duceret urbem, ubi sanctus pollebat episcopus signis mirabilibus. Qui mirabili dispositione Dei precibus earum allubescens, in reflexo calle caecas prefatum perduxit ad locum. Ipsa autem nocte qua intrauerunt basilicam in qua ossa Dei famuli quiescebant, predicte tres cecae per sancti meritum presulis a uero lumine Deo meruerunt recipere lumen oculorum. Iuuenis uero uiraginum ductor, clarescente aurora lucis, recte quiuit fare quicquid uoluit. Et mox signum fecit custodi ut extra ecclesiam exiret, quatinus illi loqui potuisset. Qui admirans quid dicere uellet, ad eum uenit, interrogans cur eum uocaret. Iuuenis ille ait: 'Scias uerissime quia modo loqui possum recte?' Custos inquit, 'Numquid antea loqui poteras?' Qui respondit, 'Numquam[e] antehac locutus sum; et nunc prima audisti uerba quae de ore meo sunt progressa. Ast ego hesterna luce mutus tres mulieres huc deduxi caecas—Deo iuuante modo sunt uidentes. Quapropter perge, uoca fratres, ut solito more Deo reddant grates!'

6. [a]DE ANCILLA[173] TEOÐICI[174] CAMPANARII.[a] Eodem denique tempore, quedam ancillula pro paruo erat commisso[b] religata[c] a proprio Wintonie domino compedibus ferreis[d][175] et execrabilibus manicis; hec protrahebatur in crastinum crucianda diris uerberibus ac nonnullis uibicibus.[176] Haec tota non cessauit nocte profusis Deum lacrimis exorare, ut eam liberaret a pessimo tortore per sancti presulis interuentionem. Rutilante[e] autem diei aurora quo debebatur[f] affligi [g]graui tortura,[g] inter preces et gemitus ceciderunt compedes de eius pedibus. Quae ilico

[c. 5] RNJV] [a–a] *om. V* [b] uuehtan *J, perhaps rightly;* uectan *V* [c] aud- *add. above line as corr. N* [d] undique *written twice V* [e] numqui *corr. to* numquam *N*

[c. 6] RNJV] [a–a] DE ANCILLVLA COMPEDITA *J; om. V* [b] comisso *JV* [c] religita *corr. to* religata *J* [d] fereis *J* [e] rutilant *N* [f] debatur *corr. to* debebatur *J* [g–g] grauiter tura *N*

[169] Cf. Rev. 20: 7 ('quorum numerus est sicut arena maris').

[170] It is not clear why Lantfred should have construed *dego* here with accusatives (*in Vectam . . . insulam*); cf. also c. 35 (*in Vectam . . . degebat insulam*); but cf. also the more normal usage of the ablative in c. 16 (*in eadem degebat . . . regione*).

[171] One would normally expect passive infinitives (*illuminari, curari*) dependent upon *audirent*; but confusion of the use of active and passive infinitives was not uncommon in early medieval Latin (see Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*, iv. 344–5), and is found elsewhere in late tenth-century Anglo-Latin (cf. my remarks on the Latinity of Byrhtferth in *ALL* ii. 323).

[172] The word *uiragines* here means nothing more than *uirgines*; the form *uirago* was often used by poets for metrical reasons (cf. e.g. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1895, 1908, 2183, 2534), and may be a further example of Lantfred's stylistic poeticism.

[173] The word *ancilla* here means simply 'slave' (not 'handmaiden' or the like, its normal CL meaning); for the development of this meaning, see C. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, 2 vols. (Bruges and Ghent, 1955–77), i. 171, 182, 720–2. Verlinden provides an excellent account of slavery in Europe from the Visigothic period to the fifteenth century (for France in the Carolingian period, see i. 702–28), but unfortunately does not treat England, for which see D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (Harmondsworth, 1952), pp. 108–14, and R. M. Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia* (New Haven, CT, 1988), pp. 29–36, as well as D. A. E. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England, from the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 1995), who discusses Lantfred at pp. 57–60.

[174] *Teoðic* is a very rare Anglo-Saxon name, and is not found in Searle, *Onomasticon*. It is, however, attested twice on coinage of King Edgar (Chester II *SCBI Edinburgh*, 638; and cf. Teoðuc, *ibid.* 637). Von Feilitzen suggested that the name was a derivative of names in *þeod-* and identical with the reconstructed form **Teodic* underlying certain English place-names (O. von Feilitzen and

5. CONCERNING THREE BLIND WOMEN AND A YOUNG MUTE. In those days three blind women were living on the Isle of Wight;[170] one had never seen the day-light with her own eyes, and the other two had been blind for a period of nine years. When they heard that blind people could have their sight restored and sick people of all sorts could be cured[171] at the tomb of the holy bishop through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, they asked their kinsmen and neighbours to take them off the aforementioned island—which is surrounded by the waters of the ocean on all sides—whence they could more easily get to the place in which the bishop of Christ lay in the body. And when they had been set ashore on the mainland, and were wandering about without a guide, and had no idea of what to do, the merciful creator of all creatures, taking pity on their helplessness, provided them with a certain mute for a guide, a man of about twenty years of age. When he arrived at the same place as they were, the women[172] began to implore him in one voice to lead them to the city of Winchester, where the holy bishop was prevailing with his marvellous miracles. Through the wondrous management of God, he gave in to their prayers and led the blind women by a winding road to the place in question. And on the very night that they entered the church in which the bones of God's servant were lying in peace, the aforementioned three blind women by a winding road to the place in question. And on the very night that they entered the church in which the bones of God's servant were lying in peace, the aforementioned three blind women were found worthy to receive their eyesight from God the true light, through the merit of the holy bishop. The ladies' young guide, however, when the light of dawn began to grow bright, was able to say properly whatsoever he wished. And straightway he signalled to the sacrist to go outside the church so that he could talk to him. The sacrist, wondering what he wished to say, approached him and asked why he had called him. The young man said: 'Do you realise that I can now speak properly?' The sacrist said, 'Couldn't you speak beforehand?' He replied: 'Never before this have I spoken; and now you have heard the first words which have come from my mouth. And yesterday while still mute I led here three blind women: through God's will they are now able to see. Therefore go, call the monks, so that they may give thanks to God in their usual manner.'

6. CONCERNING THE SLAVE-GIRL[173] OF TEOÐIC[174] THE BELL-FOUNDER. At precisely that same time, a certain slave-girl had been bound up in iron shackles[175] and detestable manacles, because of a small transgression, by her master at Winchester; she was being detained in order to be punished on the morrow with a cruel flogging and some lashes.[176] She did not cease, during the whole night, from beseeching God with profuse tears that He free her from her wicked torturer through the intercession of the holy bishop. Moreover, when the dawn of the day was brightening on which she ought to have been afflicted with the severe punishment, her shackles fell from her feet amid her

C. Blunt, 'Personal names on the coinage of Edgar', in *England before the Conquest. Studies . . . presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 183–214, at 204, 207). The present bell-founder is the first Anglo-Saxon of that name to be recorded in a literary text. It is worth mentioning that a bell-foundry was discovered by excavation within the Old Minster itself (*III Interim*, pp. 254–5, and esp. WS 7.ii, pp. 100–24, esp. 102–8 on the late tenth-century bell-casting pit), where the bells for the rebuilt Old Minster would have been cast at approximately this time. It is tempting to think that our Teoðic was one of the bell-founders who worked at the Old Minster.

[175] Various shackles dating from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries were excavated from the vicinity of the Old Minster; see WS 7.ii, pp. 1011–12 with figs. 314–15 and pl. LXIII.

[176] On the punishment of slaves, cf. the comments of Whitelock, *The Beginnings*, pp. 108–9: 'As a slave had no property of his own in the eyes of the law, it followed that he could not be punished by fines when convicted of crime, and he was therefore liable to flogging for minor offences, and to mutilation and death for serious crimes . . . If the owner himself ill-treated or even killed his slave, he incurred ecclesiastical penalties, but it was not the concern of the law.' The slave-girl in the present story has no legal recourse except to St Swithun.

periculum euadens, dormientibus dominis confugit ad tumbam sacri pontificis, adhuc ligata manicis. Tum a quibusdam intimatum est eius domino quod ad sanctum Dei famulum prefata confugisset seruula, et per eius beneficia esset de compedibus absoluta. Quod cum audisset, nimia permotus iracundia,[177] summa cum festinatione[h] illo perrexit; et non sua sponte sed Deo cogente manicas reserauit et compeditam abire illesam siuit; et de illo facinore nihil mali intulit ei.

7. [a]DE PARALITICO IN LECTO EGRITVDINIS SVAE CVRATO.[a] Vir autem quidam multos paraliticus per annos in prouincia Anglorum commorabatur,[b] quae eorum lingua Hamne[c] dicitur[178]—adeo omnibus membris debilitatus, ut de fulcro quo recubabat nulla ratione surgere preualeret. Is audiens miracula quae Dominus Wintoniam[d] faciebat per sancti uatis merita, coepit[e] sagaci[f] mente[179] praemeditari quod suauius esset illi, si ante salutiferas uiri Dei exuuias saltim unam peruigil [g]noctem duceret.[g] Qui[h] conuocans cognatos et amicabiles uicinos, quibus precepit flagitando nimium, quatinus falerarent sonipedes eorum ac semet baccaulo imponerent, atque ad sacri presulis corpusculum deferrent. Qui dictis amici obtemperantes aegri, otius[i] peregerunt quod eis precepit. Verum antequam eger sermonem finiret, per pietatem gloriosi curatus pontificis de lectulo consurgens iter arripuit[180] pedibus, et uniuersos comites cursu precessit equites (qui cum ipso iterabant complures); et uolucri gressu ad uenerandas[j] almi reliquias episcopi peruenit incolumis, adhuc sodalibus longe remanentibus canterinis licet aminiculis[k] suffragantibus.

8. [a]DE CECA MVLIERE AD SANCTI ALTARIVM[181] ILLVMINATA.[a] Quaedam etiam praepotens matrona commanebat[b] in alia Anglorum prouincia quae eorum lingua nuncupatur Bedefordscire. Haec erat spatio trium adeo cecata annorum, ut nec splendorem luciferi posset solis[182] contemplari. Que dum ingentibus cruciaretur doloribus, promisit[c] se daturam multa sancto presuli Suuithuno donaria, si per eius meritum lumen reciperet oculorum. Cumque haec a clientulis foret deducta ad uiri beatissimi ossa, dedit Deo sanctoque Suuithuno uestem quandam; quam dum altari superponeret, ilico lumen recipere meruit quod dudum amiserat.[d] Quae mente deuota laudes Deo referens, atque post perceptam salutem cibum capiens, domum rediit laetissima, quae ad sancti monumentum pontificis accessit mestissima, per uirtutem omnicreantis Dei et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi.

9. [a]DE MATRONA QVAE MERITIS SANCTI VIRI BIS SANITATI RESTITVTA EST.[a] Alia quoque materfamilias ualida aegritudine[183] coepit infirmari eadem tempestate. Omnes itaque uicini, affines et famuli ad eam accedentes, hortabantur eam gementes, ut proprias disponeret

[h] festione *corr. to* festinatiore *J*

[c. 7] RNJV] [a–a] DE PARALITICO IN ITINERE CVRATO *J*; *om. V* [b] comorabatur *JV* [c] hamme *V* [d] Wintoniam *MSS, for* Wintoniae? [e] -pit *add. above line J* [f] saga *corr. to* sagaci *J* [g–g] duceret noctem *V* [h] quo *N* [i] otius *MSS, for* ocius [j] uenerandum *corr. to* uenerandas *J*; uenerandum *V* [k] aminiculis *MSS, for* adminiculis

[c. 8] RNJV] [a–a] *om. V* [b] comanebat *N* [c] *after* promisit *V adds* sancto [d] amisserat *JV*

[c. 9] RNJV] [a–a] DE AEGRA MVLIERE BIS SANITATI RESTITVTA *J*; *om. V*

[177] Cf. Eusebius/Rufinus, *HE* x. 8. 7: 'imperator . . . stulta iracundia permotus' (ed. Mommsen, p. 895).

[178] Lantfred consistently uses the word *prouincia* to denote an extensive area: England is *prouincia Anglorum* (cc. 24, 26), and Francia is *prouincia Francorum* (c. 32). He likewise uses it frequently to describe a shire, such as Bedfordshire (c. 8) or Somerset (c. 37); cf. below, n. 302. There is thus little doubt that the *prouincia* of *Hamne* here is Hampshire. It is interesting that the normal form of Hampshire in Old English is *Hamtunscir* (see Ekwall, *DEPN*, p. 215), and that the form **Hamnescir* is apparently unrecorded.

[179] See above, n. 63.

[180] Cf. Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* v, pr. 6: 'quoniam uero manere non potuit infinitum temporis iter arripuit'.

prayers and laments. She thus escaped immediate danger, and with her masters still sleeping she fled to the tomb of the holy bishop, her hands still in manacles. Then it was revealed to her master by certain people that the aforementioned slave-girl had fled to the holy servant of God, and that she had been freed from her shackles through his welfare. When he heard this, he was moved by extreme anger,[177] and with great haste he went to the place; yet not by his will but through God's constraint he released the manacles and allowed the girl who had been shackled to go home unharmed; and he did her no harm because of that misdeed.

7. CONCERNING THE PARALYTIC CURED ON HIS SICK-BED. A certain man who had been paralytic for many years was living in a province of the English which is called Ham in their language[178]—and he was so weak in all his limbs that in no wise was he able to get up from the bed in which he was lying. Hearing of the miracles which the Lord was performing at Winchester through the merits of the holy saint, he began to consider in his still sound mind[179] that it would be very agreeable to him if he could spend at least one night in vigil before the restorative remains of the man of God. Calling together his kinsmen and friendly neighbours, he urged them with much insistence to deck out their horses and put him on a litter, and take him to the body of the holy bishop. The friends, consenting to the requests of the sick man, quickly did what he had asked. But before the sick man finished his sentence, he was cured through the holiness of the glorious bishop; and, rising from his bed, he took to the road[180] on foot and by his swift pace went in front of all his companions on horseback, a good number of whom were travelling with him; and with this rapid pace he arrived safely at the remains of the holy bishop, whereas his companions were still a long way behind, even though they were benefiting from equine conveyance.

8. CONCERNING THE BLIND WOMAN WHOSE SIGHT WAS RESTORED AT THE SAINT'S ALTAR.[181] Likewise a certain powerful lady was living in another region of England which in their language is called Bedfordshire. She had been so completely blind for the space of three years that she could not even make out the light of the bright sun.[182] While she was being tormented by immense pain, she promised that she would present many gifts to the holy bishop Swithun, if only she were to receive her eyesight through his merit. And when she was taken by her retainers to the bones of that most blessed man, she gave to God and to St Swithun a certain piece of cloth; when she placed it on the altar, she was straightway found worthy to receive the eyesight which previously she had lost. Giving thanks to God in her devout heart, and taking some food after her health had been restored, she went home in high spirits—she who had come to the saint's tomb in a state of depression—through the power of all-creating God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

9. CONCERNING A LADY WHO TWICE WAS RESTORED TO HEALTH BY THE MERITS OF THE HOLY MAN. Similarly another land-owning lady began to be afflicted with a serious illness[183] at this same time. All her neighbours, relatives and servants, accordingly, approached her

[181] Since there has been no mention of any rebuilding or rededication (such as that described at length by Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 177), the simplest inference may be that the altar in question stood within the chancel of the original Old Minster; cf. below, n. 212. Cf., however, WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter VIII. 1. iv–vi.

[182] For the (rarely attested) combination of *sol* with the adjective *luciferus*, see Eusebius, *Enigm.* xx. 3: 'tempore luciferi solis mouebo calorem' (CCSL cxxxiii. 230).

[183] Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* xiv. 56. 74: 'a quo ut egressi sumus, me aegritudo ualida . . . est secuta' (CCSL cxliiiA. 745). This is the only occurrence of the phrase listed in CLCLT4.

possessiones antequam necis interitus aduentaret, quoniam arbitrabantur eam cito obituram. Cum autem languor intolerabilis augeretur diebus singulis, posita in desperatione istius uitae, proximae mortis uicinitate promisit Deo sanctoque presuli Suuithuno quo, si aliquod per eius interuentum percipere mereretur aegritudinis remedium, cum multis donariis quantotius[b] ualeret ad eius mausoleum ueniret, et unam uigiliis noctem duceret ante sacratissimum Dei famuli corpusculum. Quod dum promitteret, potita est sanitate corporis; sed amisit uigorem mentis, quoniam quidem Dei beneficiorum inmemor, promissiones [c]quibus sese obligauerat[c] non obseruauit et gratias Deo debitas (sicut condignum[d] erat) non rependit. Haec dum post aliquod tempus cum proprio[e] coniuge premeditaretur ad quasdam nuptias equitare, ministris optimos precepit cornipedes preparare. Qui postquam decentissime sunt ornati[f] faleris, uir eius cum paucioribus antecessit clientibus; quem ipsa cum pluribus subsecuta est citius. Quae dum faleratum scanderet equum et dum equitaret post maritum, dolorem non sensit ullum nec penitus aliquam aegritudinis molestiam. Denique cum ad praefatas[g] peruenisset nuptias—in quibus plures aderant consules et multi praepollentes[h] regis satellites[184]—subito arripuit eam ipse languor a quo nuper medicata fuerat per sanctum Dei famulum. Tum illa, demum intelligens quod iniuste egisset quoniam curata a Deo per meritum sancti haud retulisset gloriam conditori, mox in quantum ualuit penitudinem agens, clientulos ad se conuocans, quos secundum quod fari quiuit suppliciter exorans, ut eam quam ocius possent ad locum in quo uir sanctus quiescebat deferrent, quo per Dei misericordiam rursus reciperet sanitatem.[185] Quae dum illo delata foret clientum[i] iuuamine, in sequenti nocte denuo recepit curationem. Postera uero die incolumis ad supradictas [j]reuersa est[j] nuptias, omnipotenti Domino gratias referens iustissimas.

10. [a]QVOMODO VIR SANCTVS CVIDAM MATRONAE PER NOCTVRNAM VISIONEM IN SOMNIIS EVIDENTER APPARVIT.[a] Dum[b] mundi Dominus ac saluator inclitus mirificaret sanctum suum prodigiis ac uirtutibus, presul uenerabilis Aðeluuoldus (qui Wintoniensi praeerat dyocesi) in illis diebus imperauit fratribus ibidem commorantibus, quod quandocumque quispiam aeger per uirtutem Domini et meritum sancti antistitis medelam corporis optatam perciperet, protinus omnes illius loci fratres necessaria relinquerent queque in manibus tenerent, ecclesiam adirent, et condigne Deum glorificarent. Accidit autem ut quidam illecti demonum fraudibus grauiter ferrent, quod tam sepe excitarentur de nocturnis quietibus (scilicet aliquando tribus, aliquando quattuor in una nocte uicibus); ac suaderent ceteros[186] praue relinquere quod illis pie

[b] quam totius (*for* quantocius) *corr. to* quan totius *R*; quantotius *N*; quamtotius *JV* [c–c] *add. above line in J* [d] non dignum *N* [e] propri *corr. to* proprio *J* [f] ornata *corr. to* ornati *N* [g] praefatus *N* [h] pre- *add. above line J* [i] clientium *N* [j–j] repedauit *JV*

[c. 10] RNJV] [a–a] QVOMODO VIR SANCTVS CVIDAM MATRONAE PER VISVM IN SOMNIS APPARVIT *J*; *om. V* [b] cum *N*

[184] There are no modern equivalents for the terms *consules et . . . satellites*, but it is clear that Lantfred is referring to the Old English terms for ealdormen and thegns (cf. also below, n. 197). On these terms in the late Anglo-Saxon period, see H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1962), pp. 211–17, esp. 211: 'Whenever reference was made to the nobility corporately in relation to the king, *ealdormen and thegns* was the phrase that came naturally to the writer's pen.' Lantfred presumably had such a phrase in mind. The ealdorman was a royal officer in charge of a particular province, often one or more shires, who acted as the royal deputy in that area. Although the normal Latin term for ealdorman in charter subscriptions was *dux*, it is interesting that the ealdorman of Wessex, Æthelweard, writing his *Chronicle* a few years later than Lantfred (978 × 988), refers to himself as *consul* (*The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962), p. 1). Similarly, the early-eleventh-century 'Abingdon Glossary' contains the entry *iudex uel consul*: *ealdorman* (WW, col. 170.10). At the time to which Lantfred is referring (971) there were only four ealdormen, and their names are known from their subscriptions

and exhorted her in lamentation to put her estates in order before death came upon her, since they thought that she was soon to die. And when her illness became more intolerable day by day and she was put in a state of despair about this life, because of the nearness of her imminent death she promised to God and St Swithun the bishop that, if she deserved to receive any remedy for her illness through his intercession, she would come to his tomb as quickly as she could with many gifts, and would spend one night in vigils before the body of this most blessed servant of God. While she was making this promise, she obtained the health of her body; but she apparently lost her mental faculties since, being forgetful of God's bounties to her, she did not observe the promises to which she had committed herself, and did not repay to God the thanks which were due—as would have been appropriate. When after some time she planned to ride with her husband to a wedding, she ordered her attendants to make ready the very best horses. After these horses had been pleasingly decked out with trappings, her husband went on ahead with a very few retainers; she herself followed quickly with many more. While she mounted the caparisoned horse and rode after her husband, she felt no pain and no trouble at all from her illness. At length, when she had arrived at the wedding in question—at which there were several ealdormen and many important king's thegns[184]—she was suddenly seized by the very same illness from which she had only recently been cured through the holy servant of God. At that point, realising at last that she had behaved inappropriately when, having been cured by God through the merit of the saint, she had not returned praise to the creator, she straightway acted in penitence as best she could, and, calling her attendants to her, she begged them humbly (according to what she could manage to say) to transport her as quickly as they could to the place in which the holy man was lying in peace, so that through God's mercy she might again recover her health.[185] When she had been taken there with the assistance of her attendants, she once again received the cure on the following night. And on the following day she returned in sound health to the aforementioned wedding, giving the most well-deserved thanks to the omnipotent Lord.

10. HOW THE SAINT APPEARED CLEARLY TO A CERTAIN LADY THROUGH A NOCTURNAL VISION IN HER SLEEP. While the Lord of the world and the renowned Saviour was glorifying his saint through portents and miracles, the venerable bishop Æthelwold (who was in charge of the diocese of Winchester) sent at that time a directive to the monks who were living there that, whenever any sick person received the desired cure for his body through the power of the Lord and the merit of the holy bishop, all the monks of that place were immediately to drop whatever of importance they had in their hands, to go to the church, and to magnify God appropriately. Now it happened that certain monks, seduced by the tricks of devils, bore it ill that they were so frequently awakened from their night-time sleep—that is, sometimes three, sometimes four times in one night; and they perversely persuaded others[186] to abandon that which had been

to a charter in favour of Æthelwold's foundation at Peterborough (S 782 = BCS 1270): Ælfhere of Mercia, Æthelwine of East Anglia, Byrhtnoth of Essex and Oslac of Northumbria. Any of these four men may have been the *consules* at the wedding in question (see also below, note to Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 787). Thegns, however, were much more common (a thegn was simply a nobleman in the king's service), and there is no point in speculating on the identities of the thegns at the wedding; for the terminology, however, see H. R. Loyn, 'Gesiths and thegns in Anglo-Saxon England from the seventh to the tenth century', *EHR* lxx (1955), 529–49, and A. Thacker, 'Some terms for nobleman in Anglo-Saxon England *c.*650–900', *ASSAH* ii (1981), 201–36.

[185] Another sentence lacking a finite verb, and presumably a further instance of anacoluthon.

[186] One might expect *suadeo* to be construed with the dative rather than the accusative, in which case the text should perhaps be emended to read *ceteris*. But the construction with the

imperatum fuerat ab eorum pontifice. Quod dum incaute foret pretermissum ferme per interuallum quindecim dierum, condolens sanctus Dei famulus quod fratres praefati bonum paruipenderent opus et presulis illorum iussionibus non obtemperarent,[187] nec debitas Deo laudes persoluerent, sed in perniciosas Satanae decipulas[188] inciderent, in somnis apparuit quadam nocte cuidam uenerabili matronae, niuea indutus melote[189] ac talari ueste, gerens coronam in capite auream gemmis decenter pretiosis ornatam, et Indicis pulchre margaretis comptam, necnon sandalibus pulcherrimis calciatus. Dixitque illi blandissimis sermonibus, 'Mox ut uideris Wintoniensem, dilecta Dei, antistitem, dic ei ut imperet monachis degentibus ibidem ne cessent glorificare Deum omnipotentem, quotiescumque quispiam egrotus ad Suuiðhuni tumbam presulis receperit curationem. Valde etenim displicet omnipotenti Deo auctori miraculorum, quod cotidie miracula facit innumerabilia coram oculis eorum—et ipsi[c] tam iniuste agunt, quod Deo laudes non referunt, sed caduca (malum!) studia—quod nefas est dictu!—diuinis operibus praeponunt. Ne sit illis, obsecro, graue per singulas omnicreantis regis uirtutes glorificare omnium auctorem uirtutum,[d] ne sentiant iratum 'iudicem uiuorum atque mortuorum'.[190] Quid plura? Deinceps si quispiam cessauerit a laude, repletus neuo inuidiae,[191] torporis ac superbiae, nisi commissum hoc deluerit penitudine, carebit minime uitiorum fraude. Nimirum idcirco Deus tot et tam inaudita nouissimis temporibus mundo prebet mirabilia, ut mollescant hominum saxea[e] ac resipiscant prauorum corda et festinent ad celestia bonis operibus gaudia; quoniam signa infidelibus populis sunt tribuenda, fidelibus autem nequaquam necessaria. Numquid Deo rerum conditori obediunt, qui eius beneficia floccipendunt?[f] Nonne Deum ad iracundiam prouocant,[192] qui silendo eius magnificentiam negant? Adde etiam ad haec, quod si a laudibus cessauerint fratres, protinus cessabunt [g]Dei summi uirtutes.[g] Si uero non desiuerint caelestem magnificare regem, tot et tanta Dominus omnium patrabit ibidem[h] miracula, quot et quanta a nemine recordantur uiuente super terram peracta hactenus uspiam, postquam diuinitas—quae in unam Christi personam iunxit geminam potenter naturam, Deum et hominem, seruum et seniorem, creaturam et creatorem—uexit ad celos nostram humanitatem.'

Sanctus Dei famulus, mox ut talia illi gloriose precepta retulit matronae[i] in soporis uisione, angelicum inde remouens uultum, cum uibranti[j] luce conscendit Olimpum. Materfamilias autem post sancti recessionem euigilans a dormitionis grauedine, coepit multum dolere quod carebat claritudine quam per somnium conspexerat ineffabile.[k] Quae tamen ocius quam ualuit de fulcro quo iacebat surrexit, et accersito uenerabili episcopo intimare studuit quicquid in somnis ab angelo Christi accepit. Qui commotus paululum—ut decet sapientem uirum[193]—cur fratres non egissent

[c] *add. above line J* [d] uirtutem *N* [e] sexea *N* [f] floccidunt *N* [g–g] magnalia Dei *V* [h] *add. above line J*
[i] *om. RN* [j] uibrante *V* [k] ineffabilem *MSS*

accusative is attested (albeit rarely): see LHS ii. 33; Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*, iv. 244; and cf. Wulfstan, *Narratio* i. 1326 ('suaseruntque alios').

[187] For the phrase *iussionibus . . . obtemperare*, see above, n. 7.

[188] For the metaphor of the 'devil's snares' or 'mouse-trap', which is well attested in patristic literature, see P. G. Remley, '*Muscipula diaboli* and medieval English antifeminism', *English Studies*, lxx (1989), 1–14, who points out that the metaphor refers usually to temptation or forbidden sexuality (i.e. adultery), and that, among Anglo-Latin authors, it is attested in Aldhelm, *prDV* c. 53 (ed. Ehwald, pp. 310–11) and Fredegaud, *Breuiloquium* 1344–9; he does not refer to the present passage in Lantfred, however.

[189] The Greek word μελωτή meant a 'sheepskin', but in medieval Latin it was used as a (somewhat ostentatious) term for the monk's cowl. It is probably significant that St Swithun should appear on this occasion dressed in a monk's habit in order to deliver his admonition to the monks of the Old Minster. There is no evidence, however, that the historical Swithun was a monk (see above, p. 5).

[190] Act. 10: 40.

[191] A surprisingly rare phrase; cf. Ambrose, *De uiduis* iii. 20: 'quodam inuidiae naeuo in Dei filium credere noluerunt' (PL xvi. 241).

dutifully commanded of them by their bishop. When the directive had been heedlessly ignored for the space of nearly a fortnight, the holy servant of God—feeling distressed that the monks in question were esteeming too lightly this good work and were not obeying the commands[187] of their bishop nor rendering due praise to God, but were falling into the ruinous snares of Satan[188]—appeared one night in a dream to a certain respectable lady, clothed in a snow-white cowl[189] and an ankle-length robe, wearing on his head a golden crown beautifully adorned with precious stones and decorated splendidly with Indian pearls, and also wearing exquisite sandals on his feet. And he spoke to her with these gentle words, 'Lady beloved of God: as soon as you see the bishop of Winchester, tell him to command the monks living there not to stop praising the omnipotent God on every occasion when some sick person receives his cure at the tomb of Bishop Swithun. For it greatly displeases God, the omnipotent author of miracles, that every day He performs countless miracles before their very eyes—and they behave so ungratefully that they do not repay God with praise, but place their transitory (alas!) activities—which it is a disgrace to mention!—before divine works. Let it not be burdensome, I pray, for them to glorify the author of all miracles through the various single miracles of this all-creating king, lest they should experience a 'wrathful Judge of the quick and the dead'.[190] Why say more? In a word, if any of them, filled with the error of grudging,[191] laziness and pride, shall cease from His praise, unless he shall cleanse this crime by his repentance, he shall not be without liability to punishment for his sins. In fact God is showing to the world so many and such unheard-of marvels in these recent times precisely in order that the stony hearts of evil men may become gentle and recover their senses, and so hasten towards heavenly joys with their good works—since miracles are granted to unbelieving peoples but are in no way essential to the faithful. May those people be said to obey God the creator of all things, who disregard his bounties? Do they not provoke God to anger,[192] who by keeping silence deny His grandeur? Add also to these things, that if the monks desist from praise, the miracles of Almighty God will cease. If on the other hand they do not stop praising the heavenly king, He the Lord of all things shall perform so many and such great miracles in that place, that no-one alive will recall such miracles ever having been performed hitherto, since the time when the god-head—which mightily combined in the one person of Christ a two-fold nature, God and man, servant and master, creature and creator—bore our humanity to the heavens.'

The holy servant of God, as soon as he had conveyed these orders to that renowned lady in a dream-vision, withdrew from there his angelic countenance and ascended to heaven in a glimmering light. But the lady of the household, waking from the depths of sleep after the saint's departure, became very sad that she was devoid of the brightness which she had seen in her indescribable vision. As quickly as she could she got up from the bed in which she was lying, and took care to explain to the venerable bishop—who had been sent for—whatever she had heard in her dream from the angel of Christ. He was slightly disturbed—as befits a learned man[193]—as to why the monks were not acting in

[192] A biblical phrase: Deut. 4: 25, 9: 7; 3 Kgs. 14: 9, 21: 22; 2 Chron. 28: 25, 34: 25, etc.

[193] Cf. perhaps Prov. 10: 30 ('iustus in aeternum non commouebitur'). Lantfred's aside here is a curious one, not perhaps without irony. We know from Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* c. 28, that Æthelwold was 'terrible as a lion to malefactors' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 44) and that, when his zeal for correct observance compelled him to impose the laws of discipline on his monks, his fury stemmed not from cruelty but from love (ibid.). It is therefore rather surprising that on this occasion, after a flagrant breach of monastic discipline within his own community, the normally irascible Æthelwold should have been only mildly disturbed. See also my discussion in 'Æthelwold as scholar and teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. Yorke, p. 104 (repr. *ALL* ii. 198), and below, p. 571 n. 23.

secundum illius preceptum, rursus prescriptis[l] mandauit monachis de palatio regis[194] (in quo pro communi utilitate regni Deo cunctitonanti militabat in diebus illis), quod si quispiam adesset qui Deo laudes non redderet et ad ecclesiam festinus[m] non pergeret ilico ut quilibet aeger per uirtutem sanctae trinitatis sanitatem reciperet, penitentiam septem dierum ageret, nil manducans neque bibens preter aquam atque panem. Ex quo tempore nequaquam est pretermissum, quotienscumque ad beati uiri corpusculum—siue in die seu in media nocte—actum est quoddam miraculum, edili paululum pulsante tintinnabulum, quatinus fratres non adirent coenobium ad glorificandum omnipotentem Dominum: cui honor, uirtus atque imperium, doxa, maiestas, paxque tripudium per inmortalia secula seculorum!

11. [a]DE PARALITICO LVNDONIENSE.[a] Quidam denique uir Lundoniensis ita erat eodem tempore debilitatus omnibus membris, quo prorsus nullam iam posset sperare medelam. Idem autem audiens miraculorum opinionem quae per cosmi saluatoris pietatem patrabantur ad uatis mausoleum, ab agnatis delatus est Wintoniam secundum eius desiderium, cupiens accedere[b] ad sanctum Christi famuli corpusculum et inibi uigilans una nocte degere (sed minime quibat prae nimio dolore). Quo cum post aliquot deportaretur dies, eadem nocte caelitus curatus est. Vir namque ipse tam graui percussus erat egritudine, ut manus [c]et pedes[c] illius post tergum uersi cernerentur. Verum Deus omnipotens, misericors ac clemens, qui non derelinquit omnes in se sperantes,[195] per sancti meritum Suuiðhuni suae[d] misertus est creationi,[e] tribuens infirmo pristinum uigorem corporis—ad sui glorificationem nominis, quatinus incolumis effectus, magnificaret[f] Dominum 'qui facit mirabilia magna solus'[196] omnibus uite sue diebus.

12. [a]DE .XVI. LVNDONIENSIBVS CECIS.[a] Denique ex prefata urbe quondam pariter uenerunt Wintoniam homines caeci, numero sedecim utriusque sexus.[b] E[c] quibus quindecim in prima caelitus illuminati sunt die; sextus[d] autem decimus altero lucescente mane cum multis languentibus aliis per meritum sancti presulis curationem recipere meruit. Et sic postmodum Deo iustissimas persoluentes laeti gratias, reuersi sunt uidentes Lundoniam qui caeci nuper uenerant.

13. [a]DE ALIO CLAVDO LVNDONIENSE.[a] Quidam claudus etiam utroque pede commorabatur[b] in eadem ciuitate Lundoniae, qui sanitatem per diuersas inquirendo prouincias, pene suam omnem consumpserat facultatem. Is tandem ad sanctum equo uectus Augustinum archipresulem Cantuariorum, per cuius intercessionem unius pedis meruit recipere ualitudinem. Qui post aliquantulum temporis interuallum, audiens opinionem miraculorum, Wintoniam ueniens accessit

[l] prescripta *N* [m] *add. above line J*
[c. 11] RNJV] [a–a] DE QVODAM LVNDONIENSE AEGROTO *J*; *om. V* [b] accederi *N* [c–c] *add. above line N* [d] sua *N* [e] creatione *N* [f] magnificare *N*
[c. 12] RNJV] [a–a] *om. V* [b] sextus *N* [c] et *N* [d] sexus *N*
[c. 13] RNJV] [a–a] DE ALIO LVNDONIENSE CLAVDO *J*; *om. V* [b] commorabantur *corr. to* commorabatur *N*

[194] The location of this royal residence (*palatio regis*) is unidentifiable. It has been assumed that the residence referred to here lay adjacent to the Old Minster, at a distance of only 40 m. from the original chancel, and that this passage of Lantfred contains the earliest reference to a king's residence in Winchester (see Biddle, 'Felix urbs Winthonia', p. 132 and n. 47, and WS i. 289–92). However, the context makes it clear that the residence in question was *not* in Winchester. It is inconceivable (1) that for a fortnight Æthelwold should have been totally unaware of the laziness of his monks if he was living at only 40 m. distance, and (2) that he should have employed a messenger to travel the 40 m. in order to communicate a message of such great concern to him. Lantfred in fact takes care to explain that Æthelwold was staying at the royal residence *pro communi utilitate regni*, and only

accordance with his command; and again he sent a directive to these aforesaid monks from the king's residence[194] (in which, for the common good of the realm, he lived serving the omnipotent God at that time) to the effect that, if there was anyone who did not give thanks to God and did not go quickly to the church as soon as some sick person had received his cure through the power of the Holy Trinity, he would do penance for seven days, eating and drinking nothing besides water and bread. From that time on the order was not neglected: no matter how often a miracle was performed at the body of the blessed saint, whether during the day or in the middle of the night, and the sacrist rang the bell even lightly, the monks went to the monastery in order to praise the omnipotent Lord—to Him be honour, strength and authority, glory, majesty, peace and joy in all eternity!

11. CONCERNING THE PARALYTIC FROM LONDON. And then there was a certain man of London who at that same time was so infirm in all his limbs that he couldn't even hope for a remedy. This man, however, hearing of the reputation of the miracles which, through the love of the Saviour of the world, were being performed at the saint's tomb, was taken—in accordance with his wishes—by his kinsmen to Winchester, where he longed to approach the holy body of Christ's servant and to spend time there, keeping vigil for one night (which, because of his intense pain, he hadn't been able to do). When he was taken there after several days, he was cured on the night of his arrival by heavenly agency. For, truly, the man had been so afflicted by this serious disease, that his hands and feet seemed to be twisted behind his back. But the omnipotent God, merciful and kind, Who does not desert those who believe in Him,[195] took pity on His creature through the merit of St Swithun, and granted to the sick man the former health of his body—all for the glorification of His name, so that, when the man had been restored to health, he would praise the Lord, 'Who alone performs great miracles',[196] all the days of his life.

12. CONCERNING THE SIXTEEN BLIND PEOPLE FROM LONDON. And then some blind people from the same city of London once came in a group to Winchester, sixteen in number, of either sex. Fifteen of them regained their eyesight through heavenly agency on the very first day. At day-break on the following day, however, the sixteenth was found worthy to receive his cure (together with many other sick persons) through the merit of the holy bishop. And thus, shortly afterwards, happily rendering well-deserved thanks to God, they who only recently had come to Winchester blind, returned home to London with their eyesight restored.

13. ABOUT ANOTHER LAME MAN FROM LONDON. Similarly, a certain man who was lame in both feet lived in the same city of London. In seeking some cure for his lameness in various regions, he had used up nearly his entire fortune. At length he was taken on horseback to the shrine of St Augustine (the erstwhile archbishop of Canterbury), through whose intercession he was found worthy to be healed in one foot. After an interval of some time, he came to Winchester to the body of the saint, having heard a report of Swithun's miracles. On the very

his absence will explain why he was unaware of developments back home (cf. Wulfstan, *Narratio* i. 1319, 1392). There were various royal residences in the vicinity of Winchester at this period: King's Worthy, King's Somborne, Kingsclere, Andover, and others (see fig. 1 and WS i. 465–6).

[195] Cf. Judith 13: 17 ('Deum nostrum qui non deseruit sperantes in se'); Dan. 13: 60 ('salvat sperantes in se').

[196] Ps. 135 (136): 4; also quoted below, c. 18.

ad sancti uiri corpusculum. In ipso die curatus est altero pede; et confestim laetus rediit domum pedibus, magnificans Deum sermonibus.

14. [a]DE .XXV. INFIRMIS QVI IN VNA DIE CVRATI SVNT.[a] Venerunt aliquando ad sanctum Dei famulum ex diuersis Anglorum prouinciis uiginti quinque infirmi, uariis languoribus constricti—scilicet caeci, claudi, surdi et muti. Qui in unius diei reuolutione—[b]hoc est[c] in beatissimae Dei genitricis[d] Mariae semper uirginis assumptione[b]—omnes per gloriosam egregii sacerdotis interuentionem a Domino meruerunt recipere curationem.

15. [a]DE PVERO PER QVINQVENNIVM CECATO.[a] Quidam etiam comes[197] multum diues habebat filium qui a natiuitate quinquennio[b] usus est uisu corporeo. Quo expleto, lumen amisit et alio lustro caecus extitit. Qui dum una nocte uigilaretur a genitrice cum plurima clientum multitudine, in templo quo quiescebant uenerabilis uiri reliquiae, aurora diem ducente glaucoma ex oculis eius recessit et Deo uolente clarum[198] uidere potuit.

16. [a]DE HOMINE QVI CECATVS ROMAM PERREXIT.[a] Non est autem silentio pretereundum quod ante inuentionem sacratissimi corporis Suuiðhuni antistitis, uir quidam nobili ortus prosapie, habundans opibus perplurimis,[b] in eadem degebat Anglorum regione, qui caecatus est casu eueniente. Is itaque Romam perrexit cum omni mentis deuotione, quatinus ibi sanaretur per benedicta sanctorum corpora quae ibi requiescunt innumerabilia. Qui ferme per interuallum quinque annorum Rome in orationbus permansit et medicinam propriae caecitatis minime impetrauit. Qui denique dum ibidem degeret, audiuit a peregrinis de Anglorum finibus ad limina apostolorum[199] Romam uenientibus,[200] quod Dominus egrorum languoribus mederet innumerabilibus per sancti Suuiðhuni meritum. Ocius prefatam urbem deserens et ad regionem unde ortus fuerat regrediens, ante sepulchrum sancti presulis requisiuit quam partem regni de qua natus fuit. Quo cum perueniret, eadem nocte lumen meruit recipere pristinum, et a Domino mundi creatore illuminatus, incolumis reuersus est domum, glorificans regem caelorum et laudans omnicreantem Deum.

17. [a]DE HROFENSI PARALITICO.[a] In illis diebus homo quidam manebat in ciuitate quae Hrofeceaster[b] nuncupatur proprio nomine, caecus et paraliticus in utrisque lateribus. Is autem ab agnatis deductus est Wintoniam, ubi sanitatem recepit per sanctae trinitatis omnipotentiam. Nimirum postquam accessit ad ecclesiam in qua sancti membra uiri quiescebant, tribus diebus

[c. 14] RNJV] [a–a] DE . XXV. INFIRMIS QVI IN VNA DIE SVNT CVRATI *J*; *om. V* [b–b] *om. JV* [c] *add. above line R*
[d] genitris *corr. to* genitricis *R*
[c. 15] RNJV] [a–a] DE PVERO QVINQVE ANNIS CECATO *J*; *om. V* [b] *after* quinquennio *an erasure of five letters J*
[c. 16] RNJV] [a–a] DE NOBILI VIRO QVI CECATVS ROMAM PERREXIT *J*; *om. V* [b] plurimis *V*
[c. 17] RNJV] [a–a] DE HROFENSIS CIVITATIS VRBANO *J*; *om. V* [b] Hrofecester *RN*

[197] The word *comes* (together with *dux*) is the normal equivalent in Latin for OE *ealdormann*. In the 'Abingdon Glossary', for example, there is the entry *princeps uel comes . ealdorman* (WW, col. 155.18), and in his Glossary Ælfric glosses *comes* as *ealdormann oððe gerefa* (ed. Zupitza, p. 300). In charters of the late Anglo-Saxon period, *comes* refers unambiguously to an 'ealdorman' or 'earl'; see H. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 164–5. For the four ealdormen who were in office at this time, see above, n. 184.

[198] A word has probably fallen out here, perhaps *diem* or *lumen* (unless Lantfred is here using *clarum* adverbially); cf. below, c. 18: 'lumen clarum restitue'.

[199] The phrase *ad limina apostolorum* apparently originates in Gregory: *Registrum epistularum* ix. 151: 'ut propitiante Domino

same day he was cured in his other foot; and without delay he returned home on foot, praising God in everything he said.

14. CONCERNING THE TWENTY-FIVE SICK PEOPLE WHO WERE CURED IN ONE DAY. On one occasion twenty-five sick people came to the holy servant of God from various regions of England, who were afflicted by various diseases—that is, they were blind, lame, deaf and dumb. In the space of a single day—that is, on the Feast of the Assumption of the most blessed mother of God, Mary the perpetual virgin [15 Aug.]—all of them were found worthy to receive the cure from the Lord through the glorious intercession of the eminent bishop.

15. CONCERNING THE BOY WHO WAS BLIND FOR FIVE YEARS. A certain very rich ealdorman[197] had a son who, for the first five years of his life, was able to make use of his eyesight. After five years, he lost this sight, and was blind for another five years. One night he was looked after by his mother and a large crowd of her retainers in the church in which lay the relics of the venerable man; and when dawn brought in the next day, the glaucoma receded from his eyes and through God's will he was able to see clearly.[198]

16. ABOUT THE MAN WHO, BECOMING BLIND, WENT TO ROME. And one should not pass over in silence the fact that, before the recovery of the most holy body of bishop Swithun, a certain man born of noble kin, abounding in excessive wealth, was living in the same part of England; and he went blind through an unfortunate circumstance. Accordingly, he set off for Rome with complete mental dedication, thinking that he would there be healed through the blessed bodies of saints which lie there in countless numbers. He remained in prayer at Rome for the space of nearly five years, and did not obtain the remedy for his blindness. In the end, while he was still living there, he heard from pilgrims,[200] coming from the remote areas of England to Rome to the shrines of the apostles,[199] that the Lord was healing countless illnesses of sick persons through the merit of St Swithun. Quickly leaving the aforementioned city and returning to the land of his birth, he sought the tomb of the holy bishop even before he went home to the part of the realm where he had been born. When he arrived there, he was found worthy to receive his former eyesight on the very same night, and, when his eyesight had been restored by the Lord, creator of the world, he went home in sound health, glorifying the king of heaven and praising the all-creating God.

17. CONCERNING A PARALYTIC FROM ROCHESTER. In those days a certain man who was blind and paralysed on both sides was dwelling in the town which is called Rochester by its proper name. But he was taken by his kinsmen to Winchester, where he received his health through the omnipotence of the Holy Trinity. In fact, he subsequently went to the church in which the limbs of the holy saint lie in repose, spending three days and nights in vigil and prayer.

ad apostolorum limina properare festinet' (CCSL cxlA. 706).

[200] An interesting reference to the continuing practice of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage to Rome; see W. J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum* (Freiburg, 1937); B. Colgrave, 'Pilgrimage to Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries', in *Studies in the Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. E. B. Wood and A. A. Hill (Austin, TX, 1969), pp. 156–72; R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, NJ, 1980), pp. 82, 118, 264–6; and, most recently, D. J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1998).

atque noctibus perseuerans in uigiliis et orationibus. Quibus expletis, aperti sunt oculi eius et uigor priscus rediit in lacertis ac manibus. Moxque benedicens Deo inde recessit sanus.

18. [a]DE HOMINE CAECO QVEM IRATVS DVCTOR LONGE AB HOSPITIO RELIQVIT.[a] Vir etiam degebat quidam in prouincia Anglorum que uocatur Hunum,[201] caecus spatio septem annorum. Is dum haberet preuium ductorem (sicut oculis priuati habere solent) qui eum uel ad ecclesiam duceret uel ubicumque illi necesse foret, et deinde domum reduceret quandocumque uellet; tempore quodam iratus ductor nimium longe ab[b] hospitio reliquit caecum. Qui cum prorsus ignoraret qualiter domum remearet, orauit ad Deum[c] rectorem rerum subnixis clamoribus, ut illum respiceret clementius, talibus effundens precibus:[202] 'O Domine, angelorum dominator et hominum: scio quia nihil tuam potest latere prouidentiam.[203] Vides me captum lumine longe remotum a propria mansione et a contumaci desertum ductore. Humilitatem meam respice; actus proprios in tua uoluntate[204] dispone. Gressus meos ad te dirige et mihi nequissimo in celesti sede lucem sempiternam cum sanctis et electis concede. Miserere mei, Domine, secundum [d]tuam uoluntatem[d] sanctam,[e] et fac mecum iuxta tuae pietatis clementiam. Ne derelinquas me, Domine, amplius in malignorum manibus; sed uel animam de hoc corpusculo meam suscipe, uel per sancti meritum Suuiðhuni caecitati meae lumen clarum restitue.[f] Te etiam rogo, clementissime presul, per quem auctor rerum magnificus prebet medelam diuersis egrorum languoribus, quatinus mihi succurras[g] sacratissimis precibus. Credo nempe quoniam impetrabis ilico quicquid petieris a Domino. Quapropter posce diuini luminis principem, quo mihi oculorum restituat lumen.' Cumque tales caecus ille preces cum ingenti gemitu[205] profudisset, protinus in eodem loco 'aperti sunt oculi eius',[206] et conspicere ualuit claritatem aeris quam nequiuit septem annis [h]cernere retroactis; atque sine preduce rediit domum incolumis,[h] uicinis et parentibus ultra quam credi possit ammirantibus quomodo cognatus illorum—qui inde paulo ante discesserat lumine priuatus—euidenter a Domino sit illuminatus. Qui dum cognouissent qualiter per uenerabilem Dei pontificem amicus eorum recuperasset sanitatem, unanimi uoce Deum glorificauerunt, 'qui facit magna solus mirabilia',[207] cui nomen et imperium sine fine permanet'[i][208] in secla seculorum!

19. [a]DE QVATTVOR EGRIS VTRIVSQVE SEXVS.[a] In illis etiam diebus quattuor homines utriusque sexus degebant in parte regionis[b] Britannice que nuncupatur Eastsexan, qui per multarum reuolutiones estatum cruciabantur doloribus ac diuersis languoribus: duo scilicet uiri manebant caeci, et binae mulieres utrisque manibus debiles ac pedibus claudicantes. Qui, audientes Dei beneficia quae per suum omnipotens Deus famulum dignatus est largiri dissolutis artubus languentium, uenerunt ad sacri pontificis mausoleum, supplici prece exorantes trinum et unum

[c. 18] RNJV] [a–a] DE CAECO QVEM DVCTOR IRATVS LONGE AB HOSPITIO RELIQVIT *J*; *om. V* [b] ad *N* [c] dominum *N* [d–d] uoluntatem tuam *V* [e] *om. V* [f] restituae *N* [g] *after* succurras *V adds* tuis [h–h] *om. N* [i] manet *corr. to* permanet *J*

[c. 19] RNJV] [a–a] DE QVATTVOR HOMINIBVS VTRIVSQVE SEXVS *J*; *om. V* [b] religionis *N*

[201] I have been unable to identify this place. The place-name in question cannot be that of a town or village, since Lantfred describes *Hunum* as a *prouincia*, and elsewhere he uses *prouincia* to describe either a country or a shire: see above, n. 178. It is perhaps possible that *Hunum* here refers to modern Huntingdonshire, and that Lantfred (who was a foreigner) misunderstood the name as it was reported to him.

[202] One would expect the accusative *preces* here with *effundo* (cf. cc. 22, *preces . . . effudissent*; 26, *effudit preces*), but Lantfred had his eye on the rhymes at the end of the previous clauses—*clamoribus* and *clementius*—and so allowed himself this grammatical licence.

[203] Cf. Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* v, pr. 3: 'diuinam prouidentiam latere non posse'.

At the end of this time, his eyes were opened and his former health returned to his arms and hands. And, giving thanks to God immediately, he then departed in sound health.

18. CONCERNING A BLIND MAN WHOM AN ANGRY GUIDE ABANDONED A LONG WAY FROM THE INN. A certain man also lived in that region of England which is called *Hunum*,[201] who had been blind for the space of seven years. This man had a guide to lead him about (as people who are deprived of eyesight are accustomed to have) who would take him either to church or to wherever he needed to go, and then would take him back home whenever he wished; but on a certain occasion the guide became exceedingly angry and abandoned the blind man far from his lodging. The blind man, since he was utterly ignorant of how to get home, prayed with humble outcries to God the ruler of all things to look on him mercifully, and he poured out his feelings in prayers such as these:[202] 'O Lord, ruler of angels and men: I know that nothing can lie hidden from Your providence.[203] You see me here, a captive of my own blindness, far away from my own residence, and deserted by my insolent guide. Look upon my humble station; place my actions in Your will.[204] Direct my steps to You and grant to me, the wickedest of men, Your eternal light in the heavenly abode in the company of the saints and the elect. Have mercy on me, O Lord, in accordance with your holy will, and deal with me in accord with the clemency of Your love. Do not abandon me further, O Lord, to the hands of evil-doers, but either take my soul from this miserable body or else restore the light of day to my blind eyes through the merit of St Swithun. I beseech you as well, most merciful bishop, through whom the glorious creator of things offers a remedy to the various diseases of sick persons, that you assist me with holy prayers. For I believe that you will obtain straightway whatever you seek from the Lord. Therefore ask the author of the divine light, that he restore the light to my eyes.' And when the blind man had poured forth prayers such as these with a mighty lamentation,[205] his 'eyes were immediately opened'[206] in that same place, and he was able to see the brightness of the daylight which he had been unable to see for the past seven years, and he returned home in safety without his guide; and his neighbours and kinsmen marvelled more than could be believed how their relative—who had set out from there a short while before deprived of his eyesight—had unmistakably had his eyesight restored by the Lord. When they learned how their friend had recovered his health through God's venerable bishop, in one voice they glorified God, 'Who alone performs great miracles',[207] Whose name and dominion shall remain without end[208] forever and ever.

19. CONCERNING FOUR SICK PERSONS OF EITHER SEX. In those same days there were four people of either sex living in that part of Britain which is called Essex, who through the passage of many summers had been inflicted with pain and various diseases: the two men, that is, remained blind, and the two women had no strength in their hands and were lame in their feet. These people, hearing of God's bounties that the omnipotent deity deigned to bestow on the crippled limbs of sick persons through his servant Swithun, came to the tomb of the holy bishop, imploring the Three and

[204] Cf. Cassian, *Conlat.* xii. 6: 'Domine, non in mea sed in tua uoluntate praestitisti . . . uirtutem' (CSEL xiii. 344).

[205] Cf. Eusebius/Rufinus, *HE* iii. 6. 15: 'cum ingenti gemitu elevatis ad caelum manibus Deum invocat' (ed. Mommsen, p. 205).

[206] Matt. 9: 30; Luke 24: 31.

[207] Ps. 135 (135): 4; also quoted above, c. 11.

[208] A poetic phrase: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 279 ('imperium sine fine dedi'), and Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 66 ('imperium sine fine manet'), which is what Lantfred is paraphrasing here. For further examples, see *HexLexikon* iii. 37.

caeli terraeque Deum. Quo cum peruenissent in unum, ilico aperti sunt oculi cecorum sanitasque sincera protinus feminarum manibus restituta est ac pedibus; et ambulare coram omnibus circumstantibus, signumque crucis sanctae manibus earum inprimere frontibus, et perficere omnia quae eis erant necessaria. Sicque redeuntes domum, benedixerunt Dominum auctorem sanitatum.[c]

20. [a]DE MVLIERE QVE INVISIBILITER AD SANCTVM PORTATA EST.[a] Eadem nempe tempestate, uiri cuiusdam seruula[b] olim furata fuerat in aquilonalibus Anglorum climatibus, atque deducta ab auidis mangonibus ad urbem in qua quiescebat sanctus corpore Christi presul, et distracta cuipiam uiro praefatae ciuitatis urbano. Haec dum per longi spatium temporis inibi sub alio mansitaret domino, contigit ut uir idem (a quo prius furto subtracta fuerat) Wintoniam ueniret, quatinus sibi necessaria emeret. Quod cum ancillula audiret iam presignata, audacter ad priscum loqui uenit[c] dominum—sine illius eri licentia, cuius imperio tum erat subdita. Cum hoc ergo resciret domina (cui seruiebat haec famula) quod fabularetur de alia cum homine prouincia, iussit eam uinciri compedibus—infesta nimium—ne posset ad antiquum ullo modo remeare patronum. Accidit autem in sequenti die, ut mulier eadem lucescente egrederetur mane ad quoddam negotium sibimet profuturum, et domi compeditam relinqueret famulam. Que mox (sicut potuit) foras exiuit et iuxta ipsius limen domus miserabilis consedit. Tum tota mentis intentione cuncticreantem Deum coepit exorare, ut eam liberaret a diris pessime ligaminibus dominae. Conuersa autem ad templum illud[d] in quo corpus sancti presulis uenerabatur dignis honoribus, diligenter per eius interuentum Dei exorauit beneficium; et confestim desideratum adepta est suffragium. Interea quidam sacerdos canitie uenerabilis, uestibus ornatus candidissimis, properanter ad catenatam accessit mulierculam, [e]dulcibus[f] affaminibus interrogans quid haberet elegam;[e][209] cuius brachium dextera arripiens manu, eam uexit ad sancti tumulum in pungentis ictu[210] atque inter innumerabilem populi multitudinem[211] quae munitionis similitudine uallabat monasterii limen. Infra aditum[212] adhuc illigatam compede exposuit, iuxta sacrum altare super quod uir sanctus requiescebat somate. Mirum etenim[g] et mirabile fuit, quod nemo circumstantium eam uidit, nec sacerdotem qui eam illo detulit, donec exposita in sacello extitit, quod obseratum claue a custodibus praesens tum cernebat popellus. Domina uero eius, in quantum ualebat, concita seruulae subsequebatur uestigia. Cum autem hanc

[c] sanitum *corr. to* sanitatum *J*

[c. 20] RNJV] [a–a] DE MVLIERE QVAE AD SANCTI VIRI TVMVLVM ALLATA EST *J*; *om. V* [b] seruulam *N* [c] *om. RN* [d] *add. above line J* [e–e] *add. above line J* [f] dulcis *MSS (cf. c. 2:* dulcibusque . . . affaminibus*)* [g] enim *V*

[209] A most unusual construction; one would expect *se habeo* with an adverb, not a direct object without pronoun (see LHS ii. 295). Elsewhere Lantfred uses the construction without direct object (c. 37: *interrogauit eum si melius haberet ex parte*). It is possible that Lantfred was here affecting an archaic construction (cf. W. T. MacCary and M. M. Willcock, *Plautus: Casina* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 139). Note also that the adjective *elegus* (from Greek ἔλεγος) is exceptionally rare: see *DMLBS* s.v., which cites in addition to the present instance in Lantfred only Fredegaud, *Breuiloquium* 1133 and Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 115 (whose usage here derives from Lantfred). The word does not occur in any of the Greek-Latin glossaries ptd in *CGL*.

[210] The phrase *in pungentis ictu* is taken from Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 3: 'illud temporis spatium quo palpebra oculi nostri moueri potest, quod in ictu pungentis transcurrit' (ed. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, p. 184; also CCSL cxxiiiB. 278).

[211] The phrase *innumerabilis multitudo* is frequent in patristic literature (see CLCLT4, PLD); but note esp. Augustine, *Ep.* clxxxv. 8: 'innumerabili multitudine populorum' (CSEL lvii. 31); Jerome, *Ep.* cxxxiii. 9: 'priusquam innumerabilis periret hominum multitudo' (CSEL lvi. 255); Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* vi. 36. 55: 'multitudo sequentium innumerabilis exsurgit' (CCSL cxliii. 325); and Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* cxx. 4 line 33: 'innumerabiles sibi populorum multitudines' (CCSL ciii. 504).

[212] The word *aditum* is from Greek ἄδυτον, meaning 'not to be entered', hence 'innermost shrine' or 'sanctuary' (see

One God of heaven and earth in humble prayers. As soon as they arrived there together, the eyes of the blind men were immediately opened, and sound health was straightway restored to the hands and feet of the women; and they began to walk around in front of everybody standing there, and to make the sign of the holy cross on their foreheads with their hands, and to do everything which they needed to do. And returning home in this state, they gave thanks to God the author of all health.

20. CONCERNING THE WOMAN WHO WAS INVISIBLY TRANSPORTED TO THE SAINT. Now at that same time there was a slave-girl belonging to a certain man, who had formerly been carried off in the northern regions of England and taken by greedy slave-traders to the town in which the holy bishop reposed in body, and sold off to a certain citizen of the city in question. While she was living there for a long period of time under this other master, it happened that the very man (from whom she had previously been stolen) came to Winchester so that he could buy some necessary provisions. When the servant-girl in question heard this, she boldly came forward to speak to her former master—without the permission of that lord whose control she was then subject to. Accordingly, when the lady (whom the girl was serving) learned that she had spoken with a man from another region, in an extreme state of agitation she ordered the girl to be bound up in shackles, so that there was no way she could return to her former owner. But it happened on the following day that this same lady went out at dawn in order to do some business that would be profitable to her, and left the slave-girl shackled at home. The slave-girl immediately went outside, as well as she could manage, and sat near the door of the house in a wretched condition. Then she began, with every effort of her heart, to implore the all-creating God to free her from the horrible shackles of her nasty mistress. Turning herself in the direction of that church in which the body of the holy bishop was venerated with due reverence, she assiduously prayed for God's help through Swithun's intercession; and straightway she obtained the assistance which she desired. Just then a certain prelate, venerable on account of his white hair and dressed in shining garments, quickly approached the shackled woman, asking her in kindly terms why she was miserable;[209] grasping her arm in his right hand, he took her in a split second[210] to the saint's tomb and into the midst of a countless throng of people[211] which was surrounding the entrance of the minster in the likeness of a rampart. He deposited her, still bound in shackles, within the innermost shrine,[212] next to the holy altar upon which the saint lay in body. And indeed it was a wonder and marvel that no-one of those standing there saw her. Nor did the crowd which was then present see the priest who brought her there at the time when she was deposited in the sanctuary (which was kept under lock and key by the sacrists). Meanwhile the mistress was following the runaway footsteps of her servant as best she

DMLBS, s.v. 'adytum', which cites this passage in Lantfred and the corresponding passage in Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 156). At the time of the miracle, St Swithun's remains appear to have been located on an altar in a reliquary of some sort (see Wulfstan, *Narratio* i. 978–9, below, p. 458; this temporary reliquary was subsequently replaced by the more lavish one commissioned by King Edgar) within this *aditum*, which is also described as a *sacellum* or *camera* by Lantfred. The passage is probably best understood as referring to the high altar within the chancel of the original two-cell Old Minster (but see WS 4.i, Part II, Chapter VIII. 1. ii, iv, vi; Chapter IX); the chancel was separated from the nave by means of some sort of barrier (see below, n. 215). In other words, Lantfred is here describing the Old Minster (1) before the elaborate reliquary commissioned by King Edgar had been completed; (2) before St Swithun had been translated a second time into this lavish reliquary (972 × 974; see above, p. 237); (3) before the extensive reconstruction of the Old Minster planned by Æthelwold had been undertaken; and (4) before a second, more accessible shrine had been established at the site of his original tomb. And if any of these works had been undertaken or completed by the time he was writing, we might reasonably expect him to make some mention of the fact.

uidisset monachus [h]nomine Eadzinus (cuius superius mentionem fecimus)[h][213] qui [i]iussu uenerandi pontificis Aðeluuoldi[i] custodiebat sanctum et de sacello habebat clauiculam quo quiescebat preclue corpusculum, admiratus nimium dixit ad seipsum: 'Quis infra sancti cameram quam cerno istam clausit feminam? Putasne ianuam repperit apertam, quam paulo ante opposita clausi ipse serula?' Qui accedens ad sacelli ualuulam, audiente populo inquit ad eam: 'Quis te, fare, mulier, intra uenerandum—quo nunc stare uideris—introduxit locellum? Qua confisa temeritate[214] claustrum presumpsisti penetrare, quo Christi presul requiescit corpore? Qua ratione potuisti latere, quia te nequaquam uidi quando hostium[j] clausi?' Tum illa conspiciens quendam clericum iuuenem retro se stantem extra balconem[215] [k]uocabulo Eaduuoldum,[k][216] edili quidem respondit inquiens: 'Memet renitente clericus iste me super scapulas eleuauit suas, atque ad istum[l] deportauit locum, modoque me exposuit ante sanctum.' Qui econtrario respondit cum iuramento: 'Nusquam te oculis antehac conspexi meis!' Mulier dixit, 'Tu etenim ipse huc detulisti me.' Clericus respondit, 'Mallem ut nocturnicanes[217] te haberent corrosam diris morsibus,[218] quam dorso imponerem meo tam inhonestum pondus!' Quae ad se reuersa retulit talia: 'Presbiter quidam canus ac ualde uenerabilis, amictus induuiis splendide fulgidissimis, me flentem in limine[m] comperit dominae, [n]dulcissimo necne est consolatus affamine.[n] Qui arripiens dexteram meae uestis manicam, mox ad istam me[o] euexit basilicam cum tanta celeritate [p]corporisque suauitate[p] quantam[q] sermone non possum enarrare. Et quoniam postquam in isto me deposuit adito, non uidi alium circumadstantem clericum preter iuuenem istum, ideo cogitaui quod ipse esset, qui me huc detulisset.' Cumque haec audirent turbae populorum quae presentes aderant ex diuersis partibus Anglorum, admiratae nimium, glorificauerunt [r]Christum omnipotentem[r] Dominum, [s]regem omnium[s] ac saluatorem hominum, qui tam inaudita dignatus est facere miracula per sancti gloriosa sacerdotis sui merita: ipsi gloria, laus et imperium, qui cum genitore sanctoque pneumate uiuit unus et regnat Deus per infinita tempora saeculorum!

21. [a]DE DVABVS MVLIERIBVS QVARVM VNA CECA, ALTERA FVIT MVTA.[a] Tempore autem illo, ex longinquis occidentalium finibus binae mulieres accesserunt ad uiri Dei mausoleum precibus; e[b] quibus una [c]lumen propriis[c] non quibat conspicere oculis, altera erat muta a natiuitate usque ad senectutem ferme. Muta etenim regebat toto itinere caecam, quae pro ductrice a transeuntibus requirebat ambulandi semitam. Cumque pariter [d]deuenissent ad locum[d] in quo sanctus quiescebat pontifex, caeca recepit lumen et muta loquendi facultatem. Quae caelitus medicate per uiri gloriosi meritum, mox redierunt domum, glorificantes omnipotentem Dominum.

[h–h] *om. JV* [i–i] *om. JV* [j] hostium *MSS, for* ostium [k–k] *om. JV* [l] suum *V* [m] lumine *N* [n–n] *om. N* [o] *om. JV* [p–p] *add. above line J* [q] quanta *V* [r–r] *om. V* [s–s] *add. above line J*
[c. 21] RNJV] [a–a] *om. V* [b] et *N* [c–c] propriis lumen *V* [d–d] ad locum deuenissent *V*

[213] On Eadsige, see above, n. 43.

[214] Cf. Bede, *Hom.* ii. 9: 'qua temeritate confiditis' (CCSL cxxii. 242).

[215] The word *balco* here apparently refers to a partition of some sort; but because the word is not attested before Lantfred (cf. *DMLBS* s.v. 'balco'), its precise meaning is unclear. It derives from a Germanic root-morpheme *balk*, meaning 'beam' (whence Old Saxon *balko*, Old Norse *bjalki*, etc.), but shifted in High German to mean a board serving to close an opening, and eventually to the opening itself (whence *balk* = 'window'), and thence was borrowed into French: see U. Korth, 'Die Wortfamilie von *balcon* im Französischen und im Romanischen', in *Untersuchungen zu Wortfamilien der Romania Germanica*, ed. U. Joppich-Hagemann and U. Korth, Romanistische Versuche und Vorarbeiten, xlvi (Bonn, 1973), pp. 146–280, esp. 197–201 on the etymology of *balko*; and H. and R. Kahane, 'Balcone, the window', *Romance Philology*, xxx (1976–7), 565–73, who discuss this occurrence of the word *balco* in Lantfred, and suggest that 'the partition or screen separating the saint's tomb chamber from the church may have involved just one single archway' (p. 570).

[216] An *Eaduuold sacerdos* occurs among the list of Old Minster

could. But when a monk by the name of Eadsige[213] (whom I mentioned earlier—and who, by the orders of the venerable bishop Æthelwold watched over the saint and had the key to the sanctuary in which the renowned body lay) noticed the girl, he said to himself in great astonishment: 'Who locked in this woman whom I see within the saint's precinct? Do you think that she found the door open—which I myself shut with lock and key a short while ago?' He approached the small door of the sanctuary and said to her so the people could hear: 'Tell me, woman, who put you inside this holy sanctuary, where now you are seen to stand? On the strength of what audacity[214] have you presumed to enter this enclosure, where Christ's bishop lies in the body? How on earth were you able to hide, since I didn't see you at all when I shut the door?' At that moment the girl noticed a certain young cleric named Eadwold[216] standing behind her outside the barrier,[215] and she actually replied to the sacrist [Eadsige], saying, 'This cleric lifted me up on his shoulders—although I was struggling—and carried me to this place, and now has deposited me in front of the saint.' Eadwold replied to the contrary, swearing an oath: 'I have never set eyes on you before!' The woman said: 'It was indeed you who brought me here.' The cleric replied: 'I would rather that the hounds of the night[217] had torn you apart with their dreadful teeth,[218] than that I would put so deceitful a burden on my back!' She turned back to face Eadsige, and said the following: 'A certain white-haired and extremely venerable priest, dressed gloriously in shining garments, found me weeping on my mistress's doorstep, and consoled me with kindly words. He grasped the right-hand sleeve of my cloak and brought me at once to this church with such great speed and such effortlessness of body that I cannot explain it in words. And since he subsequently deposited me in this shrine, I saw no-one in holy orders standing nearby except this young man. I therefore assumed that it was he who had brought me here.' And when the crowds of people who were there from various parts of England heard these things, they marvelled greatly and praised Christ the Lord omnipotent, king of all things and saviour of men, Who deigned to perform such unheard of miracles through the glorious merits of His holy priest: to Him be glory, praise and dominion, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns one God through the infinite eons of time.

21. ABOUT TWO WOMEN, OF WHOM ONE WAS BLIND, THE OTHER MUTE. And at that time two women came to pray at the tomb of the man of God from the faraway areas to the west; of the two, one could not see the light of day with her own eyes, the other had been mute from birth until the threshold of old age. The mute woman guided the blind one for the whole journey; the blind one asked directions of passers-by for her guide. When they arrived together at the place where the holy bishop lay in repose, the blind woman received her eyesight and the mute her faculty of speech. Thus healed by divine intervention through the merit of the glorious saint, they went home at once, praising the Lord omnipotent.

monks in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster (ed. Birch, p. 25; ed. Keynes, fo. 19r). At the time of the miracle (late 971? early 972?) Eadwold was still a young man in minor orders (*clericus*).

[217] Lantfred clearly intended this as one word, not two, for elsewhere he declines it in the ablative as *nocturnicanibus* (c. 26). It does not appear to be attested elsewhere in classical or medieval Latin, according to the databases. Presumably it refers to the sort of supernatural, nocturnal creature referred to in Old English as a *hellehund* (there is an interesting and near-contemporary occurrence of the OE word in a charter of King Æthelred dated 1006 for 1001 (S 914 = KCD 715), where the curse of the Latin text—'dentibus Cerberi infernalis sine termino cum daemonibus omnibus Stigia palude corrodetur'—is rendered in Old English as 'sy he toren of hellehundes toðum on ðam egeslicum hellewitum, mid eallum deoflum butan ælcum ende'); cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed. rev. E. H. Meyer, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1875–8), ii. 832–3, on OHG *hellehunt*). It could also conceivably mean 'wolves', who often figure in the Anglo-Saxon imagination as creatures of the night.

[218] Eusebius/Rufinus, *HE* iii. 23. 10: 'sicut equus infrenis et validus, diris morsibus obfirmatis recti itineris lineam derelinquens . . .' (ed. Mommsen, p. 241).

22. [a]DE .XXXVI. EGRIS QVI IN SPATIO TRIVM DIERVM CVRATI SVNT.[a] Venerunt deinde Wintoniam in una die triginta sex aegri causa recuperandae salutis;[219] ex quibus quidam erant ceci, quidam surdi, quidam muti, quidam etiam paralitici. Qui dum accessissent[b] ad sancti presulis monumentum[c] et preces coram Deo effudissent,[220] per ipsius interuentionem omnes curati sunt in spatio trium dierum. Sicque laeti domum cum ingenti gaudio redierunt, magnificantes et laudantes Deum.

23. [a]DE .CXXIIII. INFIRMIS[b] QVI IN SPATIO .XIIII. DIERVM CVRATI SVNT.[a] Nec multo post accesserunt ad eundem sanctum ex diuersis Anglosaxonum finibus centum uiginti quattuor infirmi, multiplicibus constricti languoribus. Hi omnes per sancti presulis meritum a uariis egritudinibus—Deo uolente—curati sunt in duarum reuolutione epdomadarum;[c] et benedicentes Domino reuersi sunt incolumes ad propria, qui debiles et aegroti conuenerunt.[d]

24. [a]DE HOMINE QVI PARRICIDIVM COMMISIT.[a] Indignum quidem estimo preterire silentio quod uir quidam, pro parricidio quod commisit[b] inlicito, illigatus calibe[221] fuerat dirissime; qui nouem orbes ferreae[c] molis gerebat corpore, totidem annos peregre se cruciando pro scelere.[d] Fama uolante,[e222] inclita audiens Dei mirabilia quae per sui sancti meritum patrabantur in prouincia Anglorum, Wintoniam uenit celitus[f223] de transmarinis partibus.[224] Qui dum submissis precibus Deum deprecaretur diutius, quo per sancti medicabilem[g] pontificis interuentionem refrigeraret intolerabilem sui cruciatus[h] dolorem,[225] Deo fauente ferreus qui uentrem secabat circulus—in tantum ut uitalia iam penetraret intima—disruptus prosiliuit extra hominis uiscera, quem[i] cruciabatur[226] inmensae magnitudinis poena. Alius denique orbiculus, qui graui tortura affligebat brachium hominis illius—quoniam turgescente carnis uulnere totus iam[j] sanie tegebatur ac sanguine—confestim ante pedes eius cecidit; et acre doloris tormentum continuo ab eodem recessit. Ille nempe anulus in tantum erat strictus, ut uix esse[k] trium capax uideretur digitorum: et ideo fuit mirum, quoniam integer prosiliuit de hominis brachio. Et in testimonium huius miraculi, in eodem suspensus est coenobio.

[c. 22] RNJV] [a–a] DE . XXXVI. AEGRIS QVI IN TRIBVS DIEBVS SANATI SVNT *J*; *om. V* [b] accessisent *J* [c] monimentum *corr. to* monumentum *J*
[c. 23] RNJV] [a–a] *om. V* [b] AEGRIS *J* [c] *om. V* [d] conuenerant *V*
[c. 24] RNJV] [a–a] *om. V* [b] comisit *JV* [c] ferre *N* [d] scere *corr. to* scelere *J* [e] uolente *N* [f] celitus *MSS, perhaps for* citius (*or* celerius *or* concitus) [g] *add. above line J* [h] cruciatis *corr. to* cruciatus *J* [i] quem *MSS, perhaps for* qui (*or read* cruciabat *for* cruciabatur) [j] *add. above line J* [k] *add. above line J*

[219] Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio psalmi .cxviii.* ix. 5: 'ut recuperandae spem salutis inueniat' (CSEL lxii. 192).

[220] The phrase *preces effudere* is biblical; cf. Judith 6: 14 ('unianimes preces suas Deo effuderunt').

[221] The wearing of chains in order to atone for a serious crime was a widespread practice in early medieval Europe. In the case of parricide, the murderer was obliged to do penance by wearing metal bands on his arms (in some cases the bands would be forged from the murder weapon) and doing pilgrimage to the shrines of various saints. The penance was assigned for a specified period (9 years in this case) and was deemed to be complete when the bands either rusted off or, as here, burst through some miraculous agency. In the corresponding passage Wulfstan adds that this particular penance had been prescribed by 'the bishop of the town' (*Narratio* ii. 268; below, p. 506). On this practice at an earlier period, see U. Berlière, 'Les pèlerinages judiciaires au moyen âge', *RB* vii (1890), 520–6; E. Van Cauwenbergh, *Les pèlerinages expiatoires et judiciaires dans le droit communal de Belgique au moyen âge* (Louvain, 1922); C. Vogel, 'Le pèlerinage pénitentiel', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, xxxviii (1964), 113–53, at pp. 130–2; and R. A. Aronstam, 'Penitential pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, xiii (1975), 65–83. There is a near-contemporary stipulation regarding penitential pilgrimage in

22. CONCERNING THIRTY-SIX SICK PEOPLE WHO WERE CURED IN THE SPACE OF THREE DAYS. Afterwards, thirty-six sick people came to Winchester in one day for the sake of regaining their health;[219] some of them were blind, some deaf, some dumb, some even paralysed. As they went up to the tomb of the holy bishop and poured out their prayers[220] in the presence of God, all were cured, through Swithun's intercession, in the space of three days. Thus made happy they returned home with immense joy, magnifying and praising God.

23. CONCERNING 124 SICK PEOPLE WHO WERE CURED IN THE SPACE OF A FORTNIGHT. Not long afterwards 124 sick people afflicted with manifold illnesses came to this same saint from various regions of England. They were all cured of their various illnesses—God willing—through the holy bishop's merit in the space of two weeks; and praising the Lord, they who came in weakness and infirmity went home in sound health.

24. ABOUT THE MAN WHO MURDERED A KINSMAN. I think it is truly inappropriate to pass over in silence the fact that a certain man, because of the unlawful murder he had committed, was horribly bound up in chains;[221] he bore nine heavy metal rings on his body, punishing himself severely for the same number of years because of his crime. As the rumour spread,[222] he heard of the outstanding wonders of God which were being performed in England through the merit of His saint, and so he came to Winchester from across the sea[224] through the foresight of divine providence.[223] While he was imploring God at length in humble prayers to relieve the intolerable pain of his suffering,[225] through the sanative intercession of the holy bishop and with God's endorsement an iron ring which cut across his stomach—so much so that it was already penetrating into his vital inwards—broke and sprang out of the inwards of the man, who was being tortured[226] with pain of immense intensity. In due course another smaller ring (which was afflicting that man's arm with severe pain, such that the ring was entirely covered over by the pus and blood from the swelling wound in the flesh) suddenly fell before his feet; and his intense torment of constant pain abated. That ring, in fact, was so tight that it scarcely seemed large enough for three fingers: and accordingly it was a wonder that it had come off a man's arm in one piece. And as witness to this miracle, it is still hanging up in the same minster.

the laws of Cnut (II Cnut 39: 1020 × 1022): 'If anyone slays a minster of the altar, he is to be an outlaw before God and before men, unless he atone for it very deeply, by pilgrimage . . .' (*Councils & Synods* i. 491); cf. discussion by E. M. Treharne, 'A unique Old English formula for excommunication from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303', *ASE* xxiv (1995), 185–211, at pp. 193–4, 197.

[222] A poetic expression, of Vergilian origin: *Aen.* iii. 121 ('fama volat'), vii. 392 ('fama volat'), viii. 554 ('fama volat'), xi. 139 ('fama volans'), but used by later Latin poets such as Venantius Fortunatus, Arator and others; see *HexLexikon* ii. 221–2. Cf. also Possidius, *Vita S. Augustini*, c. 5: 'currente et volante huiusmodi fama' (PL xxxii. 37).

[223] It slightly stretches the meaning of *celitus* to say that the man came 'through the foresight of divine providence'. Since at this same point Wulfstan states that the man was *morae impatiens* (*Narratio* ii. 280), it is possible that *celitus* is a scribal error for *citius* or, as Michael Winterbottom suggests (pers. comm.), for *celerius* used as a positive as in c. 30 [line 6].

[224] Cf. Augustine, *Serm.* xxviii. 2: 'nec de transmarinis partibus ueluti poma peregrina a negotiatoribus apportatur' (CCSL xli. 368).

[225] Cf. Cassian, *Conlat.* xvii. 5: 'intolerabili e contrario dolore conficimur' (CSEL xiii. 467), and Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* ii, pr. 1 ('dum intolerabili dolore confundat'), iii, pr. 7 ('quam intolerabiles dolores . . . solent referre corporibus').

[226] Lantfred's grammar is astray here: either *quem* is a scribal error for *qui*, in which case *poena* is ablative (thus my translation), or, less likely, Lantfred thought that *crucio* was deponent, in which case *poena* would be nominative. Perhaps the simplest solution, as Michael Winterbottom suggests (pers. comm.), would be to emend *cruciabatur* to *cruciabat*.

25. [a]DE HOMINE QVI NVDA MANV IGNITVM CALIBEM PORTAVIT.[a] Presignatis denique temporibus, quidam negotiator nomine Flodoaldus[b][227]—uir in rebus prudens secularibus, plurimis habundans opibus—habebat quendam famulum quem diligebat nimium. Is pro quodam facinore comprehensus a regis preside[228]—[c]qui solito uocabatur Eadric[229] æt Calne[c][230]—iussus est a regalibus custodiri clientibus donec eius ueniret dominus, et ignitum carbonibus ferrum nudis manibus idem[d] portaret protinus.[231] Et si foret inculpabilis, [e]relinqueretur incolomis; sin culpabilis[e] inueniretur, capite plecteretur.[232] Audiens igitur senior illius quod ipse seruus in uinculis teneretur sub[f] diris custodibus, festinantius quam potuit illo perrexit, exposcens regis praefectum ut dimitteret iudicium et seruili prescriptum condicione famulum possideret illesum.[233] Qui minime fauens eius sponsionibus—ultramodum superbiens pro mundanis fascibus[234]—seruo ferri calidam precepit gerere massam. Dominus autem eius hoc audiens, de seruo [g]perituro nimium[g]

[c. 25] RNJV] [a–a] DE HOMINE QVI IGNITVM PORTAVIT CALIBEM *J*; *om. V* [b] Frodoaldus *corr. to* Flodoaldus *J* [c–c] *om. JV* [d] *om. RN* [e–e] *om. N* [f] -b *add. above line J* [g–g] nimium perituro *V*

[227] The name *Flodoald* indicates that this man was not English; possibly he was a Norman or Picard, as von Feilitzen suggested (WS i. 557). Wulfstan adds that he was well-known in Winchester (*Narratio* ii. 300: *gnarus in urbe Wentana*). As such, Flodoald provides good evidence for commercial contact between Winchester and Normandy at this period (see WS i. 462, as well as J. Campbell, 'England, France, Flanders and Germany: some comparisons and connections', *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary* [sic] *Conference*, ed. D. Hill, BAR lix (Oxford, 1978), pp. 255–70, repr. in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 191–207).

[228] Lantfred uses several words to describe this royal officer: *gastoldus*, *preses*, *prefectus* and *prepositus*. Each of these words is found glossed as *gerefa* or 'reeve' in Old English glossaries; cf. the aforementioned 'Abingdon Glossary', where *praeses* is glossed *scirgerefa*, 'shire-reeve' or 'sheriff' (WW, col. 110.13), and Ælfric's Glossary, where *praepositus* is glossed as *gerefa oððe prauost* (ed. Zupitza, p. 300).

[229] At least four persons named Eadric may be distinguished in tenth-century charters. The first is an Eadric (I) who attests charters of King Eadmund and who witnesses last as *princeps* or ealdorman in 949 (S 544 = BCS 883; see Keynes, *Atlas*, table XLIII). Another thegn named Eadric (II) is found in charters of Eadwig and Edgar (see Keynes, *Atlas*, tables LI, LVII); he attests as *minister* or thegn during the years 956–64. In his early appearances in witness-lists he signs at and near the bottom, but he evidently gained in power and prestige so that by 960 he was witnessing near the top. He was also the beneficiary of a number of charters granting estates in Hampshire and Berkshire (S 619–22, 654, 665), and clearly was an important landowner. On the career of this Eadric, see Hart, *ECNENM*, p. 318 (but correct the date of his death to *c.*964 in light of Keynes, *Atlas*, table LVII). Yet another Eadric (III) witnesses for the first time in 966 in two charters (S 737 = BCS 1189, S 738 = BCS 1176), of which the latter exists in a contemporary copy and is presumably reliable; in these he appears in sixteenth place among the list of *ministri*. He appears again in 970 in an Ely charter which is witnessed by a large number of thegns (S 779 = BCS 1266). His name also appears among the witnesses to four spurious Abingdon charters all dated 968 (S 757–60), but no confidence can be placed in these since their witness-lists appear to be based on those of the two genuine charters for 966 mentioned above. (An Eadric (IV) appears first as witness in 997 (S 890), and then in a series of charters dated from 1001 to 1007, after which he appears as *dux* (= ealdorman): this is the notorious Eadric Streona (on whom see E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1870–6), i. 640–4, 720–2), who is too late to be identical with our reeve at Calne.) Lantfred's reeve at Calne, therefore, can be identified tentatively with the Eadric (III), who witnesses royal diplomas between 966 and 970. Although he does not appear in witness-lists after 970, he must have continued for some time to act as a royal officer, since the events described by Lantfred took place probably late in 971 or early in 972. The form in which Lantfred gives the reeve's name is noteworthy: Eadric *æt* Calne. We know that Calne was a royal estate (see following note), and the word *æt* possibly implies 'jurisdiction over the royal estate at . . .'. There is a parallel to this form in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 18, where a notorious thegn is described as *Wulfstan æt Delham* (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 32).

[230] The place in question is Calne, Wilts. (see fig. 1, as well as Ekwall, *DEPN*, s.v., and *EPNS Wilts*, p. 256). Wulfstan adds that Calne was a royal estate (*Narratio* ii. 307: *uilla regia*), and this information is corroborated by several near-contemporary sources. Calne is mentioned in 955 in King Eadred's will (Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 34–5 = BCS 912) as one of three estates bequeathed to the Old Minster. It was apparently back in royal ownership by 978, for a memorable meeting of the *witan* took place there, during which an upper storey collapsed, killing some of those present but leaving St Dunstan miraculously unscathed (*ASC*, s.a. 978DE). Another meeting of the *witan* took place at Calne in 997 during the reign of Æthelred (S 891 = KCD 698).

[231] Lantfred gives here a unique description of the procedure at an ordeal, seen from the point of view of the accused. According to the law-code of King Æthelstan known as the 'Grately Code' (II Æthelstan 23), when anyone pledges to undergo the ordeal, 'he is then to come three days before to the mass-priest whose duty it is to consecrate it, and live off bread and water and salt and vegetables until he shall go to it, and be present at mass on each of those three days, and make his

25. ABOUT THE MAN WHO CARRIED SOME RED-HOT METAL IN HIS BARE HAND. Thereafter, during these times under discussion, a certain merchant by the name of Flodoald[227]—a man who was wise in worldly affairs and very rich—had a slave whom he loved a good deal. This slave was apprehended by the king's reeve[228] (who was called Eadric[229] of Calne[230]) because of a certain misdeed, and was ordered to be detained by royal thegns until his lord could come and until the slave would carry in his hands, without hesitation, an iron bar made red-hot by coals.[231] And if he were innocent, he would be released without punishment; if he were found to be guilty, he would undergo capital punishment.[232] When his master heard, therefore, that the servant was being detained in chains under cruel custody, he went there as quickly as he could, and implored the king's reeve to waive the ordeal and to keep the aforementioned servant himself under the conditions pertaining to a slave.[233] The king's reeve—not countenancing these promises but exulting overmuch in his secular authority[234]—ordered the slave to carry a hot mass of iron. As he heard this the owner became extremely anxious about his slave (who was certain to die), and again promised to

offering and go to communion on the day on which he shall go to the ordeal, and swear then the oath that he is guiltless of that charge according to the common law, before he goes to the ordeal' (ed. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 162–4; trans. Whitelock, *EHD* i. 421). The procedure to be followed at the ordeal itself is specified in the late-tenth-century treatise *Ordal* (ed. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 386–7): a special mass is performed by a priest in the presence of the accused and a specified number of witnesses (a text of such a mass is preserved in the early eleventh-century 'Lanalet Pontifical', written perhaps at Wells: *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. G. H. Doble, HBS lxxiv (London, 1937), pp. 116–23); the size of iron to be carried is determined by the number of crimes under trial: if the accused has committed one crime, the weight is *simplex* (20 solidi), if two, *duplex*, and so on; the iron is to lie on coals until the last collect (no one is to stoke the fire after the mass has begun), at which time the iron is placed on two posts; the accused is to drink holy water, and the hand which is to carry the iron is sprinkled with holy water; nine feet are measured off from the two posts in three-foot sections (the accused was to place one foot in each of the three sections before tossing away the iron); afterwards the hand is sealed, and on the third day it is inspected to see if it is free of suppuration or discoloration; if not, the accused is deemed guilty. On the ordeal in general, see the earlier studies by M. Pappenheim, 'Über die Anfänge des germanischen Gottesurteils', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, xlviii (1928), 136–75 and H. Nottarp, *Gottesurteilstudien* (Munich, 1956), as well as the more recent work of C. Morris, *'Iudicium Dei*: the social and political significance of the ordeal in the eleventh century', *Studies in Church History*, xii (1975), 95–112; and R. Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: the Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986), esp. pp. 4–12 on the early history of the ordeal, and pp. 13–33 on its procedures. Bartlett demonstrates that the earliest reliable reference to the ordeal of hot iron is by Agobard of Lyon *c.*820 (p. 11), but does not mention the present passage in Lantfred, which, however, is discussed by P. Hyams, 'Trial by ordeal: the key to proof in the early common law', in *On the Laws and Customs of England: Essays in Honor of Samuel E. Thorne*, ed. M. S. Arnold (Chapel Hill, NC, 1981), pp. 90–126, at 93–5.

[232] The phrase *capite aliquem plectere* is technical, legal language (cf. *Codex Iustinianus* ix. 20. 7, etc.); Lantfred may have learned it from Eusebius/Rufinus, *HE* v. 1. 47: 'hos plecti capite decernit' (ed. Mommsen, p. 421), viii. 9. 4: 'Christianos capite plecti iubebat' (p. 757), viii. 9. 8: 'iudex utrumque plecti capite iubebat' (p. 759), or Isidore, *Etym.* ii. 10. 4: 'qui caedem fecerit, capite plectatur'; ibid. v. 19. 1.

[233] This episode provides an interesting account of Anglo-Saxon law in action. The episode is listed by P. Wormald, 'A handlist of Anglo-Saxon lawsuits', *ASE* xvii (1988), 247–81, at p. 269 (no. 154), and the legal implications are analysed in detail by D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan *cantor* and Anglo-Saxon law', in *Nordica et Anglica: Studies in Honor of Stefán Einarsson*, ed. A. H. Orrick (The Hague, 1968), pp. 83–92, repr. in *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th Century England* (London, 1981), no. V (her discussion however pertains to Wulfstan's account of the proceedings at *Narratio* ii. 299–434, rather than Lantfred's—she was apparently unaware that Lantfred's was the earlier version—but her observations are as pertinent to Lantfred as to Wulfstan). Flodoald's offer to pay compensation for the crime to Eadric is probably not a simple case of bribery: for if the slave's crime were not of such seriousness as to demand the death penalty, it was acceptable for the owner to pay the compensation and fines which would redeem the slave from punishment if he were subsequently found guilty (and Flodoald clearly believed that his slave was guilty). Also, as Whitelock points out, the compensation technically would be payable to the king; but the reeve probably made fixed payments to the king on behalf of the estate, and consequently was free to recoup what fees he could from his jurisdiction. Eadric's severity (against which Flodoald was appealing) must have lain in the fact that he prescribed the ordeal for a crime which did not necessarily demand the death penalty if the accused were found guilty; and Eadric could not thereafter accept compensation from Flodoald, since to do so would imply that his first judgement (that the slave's crime was punishable by death and merited the ordeal) was wrong; and wrong judgements could be appealed against, with harsh consequences for the judge if the appeal was upheld.

[234] The phrase *mundani fasces* is not attested in classical Latin (see *TLL* and BTL); the notion of exulting in the *fasces* may, however, owe something to Statius, *Silvae* v. 2. 166–7: 'idem omnes perferre gradus cingique superbis / fascibus et patrias dabit insedisse curules'.

condolens, rursus Eadrico[h] preposito spopondit regio dare puri libram argenti et similiter concessit seruum illi possidere prefatum, exorans ut iniquum dimitteret iudicium, quoniam dispendium tanti dedecoris minime quibat perpeti, ut mancipium illius pro uili scelere iugularetur et crimine. Amici quinetiam[j] et parentes culpati hominis tristes gastoldo regis ingentia promiserunt donaria, gestientes cognatum magnopere eorum liberare de contumeliosa morte. Prefectus uerumtamen precibus eorum abnuens, praedictum compulit hominem nuda ferre manu calibem eximiae molis feruentem multoque carbone rubentem. Quem dum uir ille coactus a preside manu gestaret timide, protinus ingens arsura repleuit eius uolam turgore adustam. Sigillata est autem manus eius solito more usque in tertium diem. Flodoaldus autem in sequenti die conuocauit hominem et repperit eum dampnatum ac culpabilem.[235] Qui nimio commotus dolore pro perituro homine, fratrem conuocans et socios qui aderant, domum redire disponebat, quoniam—uti prediximus—patienter ferre non poterat quatinus uerna illius se coram capitalem subiret sententiam.[236] Quid multa? [k]Dominus ipse[k] cum omni comitatus multitudine exorauit rerum auctorem supplici prece, ut liberaret illum hominem a contumeliosa nece per sancti Suuithuni intercessionem, preces conuertens ad cosmi saluatorem, toto mentis conamine[237] inquiens: 'Libera, Domine Deus omnipotens, hoc mancipium per gloriosi presulis interuentum; et ego ipsi sancto tradam illum, per cuius sanas meritum languores diros[l] aegrotantium, si celitus eripueris eum de nefandis manibus mortificantium.' Transacta denique secunda die postquam portauit calibem, Phoeboque tertiam replicante hymeram, deductus est ad presidem, quo si mundus ab illato crimine foret clientuli conspicerent circumstantes. Quid plura multimodis prosequor dictis? Cumque peruenissent ante legislatores, uirum inculpabilem ipsi iudicant hostes et inimici illesum fore asserunt—quem dominus ipse cernebat suppliciis dignum, et amici credebant ilico morte crudeli dampnandum. Sicque meror amicorum conuersus est in gaudium.[238] Enimuero mirum fuit ultramodum, quod fautores arsuram et inflationem conspiciebant, criminatores ita sanam etenim uidebant palmam quasi penitus foruum[239] non tetigisset ferrum. Quod cum uidissent comites uniuersi, referentes omnipotenti Domino laudes saluatoremque Iesum glorificantes, reuersi sunt gaudentes unde uenerant tristes, agnatum esse eorum[m] indubitanter diuinitus liberatum credentes unaque omnes uoce confitentes, per sancti presulis preces Suuithuni exaudibiles. Vir autem, cuius ille pretaxatus fuerat seruulus, contulit ipsum beato pontifici prefato qui eum subtraxit a diro pestiferae necis periculo.[n]

26. [a]DE HOMINE QVEM LEGISLATORES CECAVERVNT ET POSTEA PER SANCTVM AC VENERABILEM CHRISTI SACERDOTEM ILLVMINATVS EST.[a] Prenotato denique tempore, glorioso[b] [c]rege Eadgaro[c] precipiente, ad deterrendos quosque malos horribili poena talis lex[240] est

[h] *om. JV* [i] pueri *N* [j] qui etiam *N* [k–k] ipse dominus *V* [l] diras *JV* [m] *om. J* [n] *after* periculo *the word* prenotato *is add. by a correcting hand in J*
[c. 26] RNJ] [a–a] DE HOMINE CECATO *J* [b] *om. J* [c–c] Eadgaro rege *J*

[235] It is not clear how Flodoald could have known that the man was guilty, inasmuch as his hand was still sealed at this point.

[236] The use of *capitalis* to mean 'punishable by death' is widely attested in classical Latin, but not, apparently, the phrase *capitalis sententia* (BTL); cf., however, Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [ps. lxv], c. 12: 'ut dares eis potestatem capitalem in nos ferre sententiam' (CCSL cxvii. 577).

[237] For Lantfred's use of this poetic phrase, see above, n. 79.

[238] A biblical phrase; cf. Ps. 29 (30): 12 ('convertisti planctum meum in gaudium'); Jer. 31: 13 ('convertam luctum eorum in gaudium').

[239] This word is an archaism which has been exhumed by Lantfred from some grammarian. The word never occurs on its own, but was cited by ancient grammarians when they had occasion to explain the etymology of *forceps*—which allegedly derived from *formum* ('hot') and *capio*, whence *forcipes* were used to grasp something hot. Thus Servius on *Aen.* xii. 404: 'forcipes,

Eadric the king's reeve that he would give him a pound of pure silver and likewise hand over the slave in question into the reeve's possession, begging only that he drop the unjust charges, since he could not suffer the embarrassment of so great a disgrace, namely, that his slave should be executed for a trivial crime and offence. What is more, the saddened friends and kinsmen of the convicted man promised immense gifts to the king's reeve, desiring greatly thereby to free their kinsman from an ignominious death. The reeve, however, refused their requests and compelled the man in question to carry in his hand a searing piece of iron of considerable size, glowing red-hot from much coal. When the man, compelled by the reeve, took it hesitantly in hand, immediately an immense burn filled the entire palm of his scorched hand with its swelling. His hand was sealed up in the usual manner until the third day. On the second day, however, Flodoald summoned the man and found him condemned and guilty.[235] Moved with extreme anguish for the condemned man, Flodoald called his brother and his companions who were there and got ready to go home, since—as I stated earlier—he could not patiently bear to see his servant undergo capital punishment[236] in his presence. Why more words? The owner himself, in company with his entire retinue, implored the creator of all things in a humble prayer to liberate that man from an ignominious death through the intercession of St Swithun, addressing his prayers to the Saviour of the world and saying with all his heart:[237] 'Lord God Almighty, free this slave through the intercession of the glorious bishop; and I shall donate him to the saint himself, through whose merit You heal the cruel diseases of sick persons, if You will snatch him from the evil hands of the executioners.' When in due course the second day (after he had carried the iron) had passed, and the sun was unfolding the third day, the man was taken before the king's reeve, so that all the thegns who were present might see if he were innocent of the alleged crime. Why do I draw this out with many words? When they had arrived in the presence of the judges, his very enemies judged the man to be guiltless and his opponents declared him to be unimpaired—the very man whom the owner himself considered to be liable for punishment and whom his friends believed was to be condemned on the spot to a cruel death. And so the sorrow of the friends was turned to joy.[238] For it was marvellous beyond belief that the man's supporters saw the blister and swelling—whereas the prosecutors saw the hand to be as well healed as if it had never touched the heated[239] metal. When all his companions saw this, they rendered thanks to the omnipotent Lord and glorified Jesus our Saviour, and so went home rejoicing whence they had come in sadness, believing without hesitation that their kinsman had been freed by divine intervention; and they all confessed unanimously that their prayers had been heard through St Swithun's intercession. And the man, to whom the aforesaid slave had belonged, donated him to the same blessed bishop who had snatched him from the dreadful danger of an odious death.

26. CONCERNING THE MAN WHOM THE JUDGES HAD BLINDED AND WHO AFTERWARDS HAD HIS SIGHT RESTORED THROUGH THE HOLY AND VENERABLE BISHOP OF CHRIST. At the aforesaid time and at the command of the glorious King Edgar, a law[240] of great severity was promulgated throughout England to serve as a deterrent against all

quod formum, id est calidum, capiant' (ed. G. Thilo, *Servii Grammatici . . . in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1881–7), ii. 612); cf. Servius's remarks on *Georg.* iv. 175, and the anonymous 'Scholia Veronensia': 'formum enim dicebant antiqui calidum' (ed. Thilo, ibid. iii. 431), a scholion which is repeated by Alcuin in his *De orthographia* (ed. S. Bruni, *Alcuino: De orthographia* (Florence, 1997), p. 15). The word is usually spelled *formum*. One grammarian, however, spelled the word *foruum*: Isidore, *Etym.* xix. 7. 3 ('siue quod ab his aliquid foruum capimus et tenemus . . . Nam foruum est calidum, unde et feruidum'). It is thus probable that Lantfred derived the word from Isidore.

[240] No such law is attested among the surviving legislation of

constituta in Anglorum prouincia: ut si quispiam cleptes in tota uel predo inueniretur patria, caecatis luminibus, truncatis manibus, auulsis auribus, incisis naribus, et subtractis pedibus excruciaretur diutius; et sic[d] demum decoriata pelle capitis cum crinibus, per omnia pene membra mortuus relinqueretur in agris, deuorandus a feris et auibus atque nocturnicanibus.[241] Accidit autem ut cuidam uiro inculpabili obiceretur crimen latrocinii; qui mox comprehensus a nefandis criminatoribus et condempnatus a legislatoribus, caesus per supradicta penitus membra: relicti sunt insonti pedes cum uita, et cutis illi capitis miseranda minime est subtracta. Ad quem amici et parentes nimium mesti accedentes, ad propriam domum tristes deduxerunt hominem caesum. Vnus autem oculus omnino erat obrutus, uerum alter pendebat super eius faciem; quem accipiens, quaedam muliercula reduxit in orbem et sic permansit a Theophania Domini usque ad Letaniam Maiorem. Qui annuens plurimis amicorum suasionibus, deductus est ad sancti reliquias in illis diebus, quatinus ualeret recipere auditum per beati pontificis meritum—nullomodo estimans se posse cecatorum recipere lumen oculorum. Aures nimirum eius, statim ut fuerunt caesae, ita repleuerunt fenestras audituum sanguine, ut officium audiendi[242] excluderetur ab homine. Quo dum peruenisset, ad Deum omnicreantem tales[e] puro corde effudit preces:[243]

'Alme Deus munificens
cosmi sator omnipotens:
insontem caesum miserum
me respice, rex omnium;
caesis auditum auribus
redde meis diuinitus
uel mortem citam tribue,
Christe saluator optime,
necne uitam post obitum
[f]mihi deprecor caelestem.[f]
[g]O Suuithune mitissime
te rogo clementissime:
succurre mihi misero
in angustiis posito,
meque tuis sanctissimis
adtolle nunc suffragiis,
quia—ut nosti prescius—
dampnatus sum innoxius![g]

[d] *add. above line J* [e] talis *N* [f-f] caelestem mihi deprecor *MSS* [g-g] *om. J*

Edgar's reign (ed. Liebermann, *Gesetze* i. 192–215). However, as Whitelock has suggested ('Wulfstan *cantor* and Anglo-Saxon law', pp. 85–6), the nearest parallel to the edict described by Lantfred is found in the laws of Cnut, which were drafted by Wulfstan, archbishop of York (II Cnut 30. 3–5; ed. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 333–5). Since Wulfstan of York elsewhere made considerable use of King Edgar's legislation, Whitelock suggested that the passage in Cnut's laws was in fact based on a (now) lost edict of Edgar to which Lantfred here is referring; more recently, Patrick Wormald (*The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 125–8, 370, 414–15) has shown that Wulfstan was in fact adapting a law of King Æthelred, and that the question of a 'lost code' of King Edgar must be left open. Odd as it may seem, the appalling mutilations described here were regarded as a mitigation of the death penalty (the criminal's life was spared in order to allow him to repent and save his soul), and as such are probably an example of ecclesiastical influence on royal legislation; see the interesting discussion of this point (with reference to this passage in Lantfred) by K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Body and law in late Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* xxvii (1998), 209–32, at pp. 225–8.

[241] See above, n. 217.

[242] A surprisingly rare expression, according to CLCLT4; but cf. Lactantius, *De opificio Dei* viii. 9: 'in his audiendi tantum

sorts of crime by means of a dreadful punishment: that, if any thief or robber were found anywhere in the country, he would be tortured at length by having his eyes put out, his hands cut off, his ears torn off, his nostrils carved open and his feet removed; and finally, with the skin and hair of his head flayed off, he would be abandoned in the open fields, dead in respect of nearly all his limbs, to be devoured by wild beasts and birds and hounds of the night.[241] Now it happened that a conviction for robbery was passed on a certain innocent man, who was immediately seized by wicked executioners and condemned by the judges and was mutilated in all the aforementioned parts of his body: only the feet of the guiltless man were left him with his life, and the wretched skin of his head was not stripped off him. His friends and kinsmen, exceedingly dejected by this, went up to him, and sadly led the mutilated man back to his own house. One of his eyes had been entirely torn out, but the other one hung down on his face; a certain woman took it and replaced it in its socket, and it remained that way from Epiphany [6 Jan.] until Litania Maior [25 Apr.]. Giving in to the repeated encouragements of his friends, the man was led at that time to the relics of the saint so that he might regain his hearing through the merit of the blessed bishop: he considered that it would in no way be possible for him to regain the sight of his blinded eyes. In fact, once his ears had been cut off, the auditory passages had filled up with blood in such a way that the man was deprived of his hearing.[242] When he arrived there, he poured out to omnipotent God the following prayers from his pure heart:[243]

Gentle and bountiful God,
omnipotent founder of the universe,
king of all things, look upon me,
a wretched man guiltlessly mutilated;
restore my hearing to my wounded ears
through divine intervention
or else grant me a speedy death,
O Christ, greatest of Saviours;
and grant to me a heavenly life
after my death, I beseech you.
O most gentle Swithun
I ask you, merciful one:
come to the aid of my wretched self
placed in a condition of extreme anxiety,
and sustain me now
through your most holy assistance,
since, as you know through your prescience,
I was guiltlessly condemned!

officium constitutum est sicut in oculis uidendi' (CSEL xxvii/1. 29).

[243] The lines which follow are octosyllables. Although octosyllables were frequently employed by Anglo-Latin poets in the eighth century, particularly Aldhelm and his imitators (see A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, CSASE viii (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 19–72, with discussion of Lantfred at 68–9), they were less common in the tenth century; cf., however, the eighteen octosyllables in honour of Machutus in the early-eleventh-century Galba prayerbook (ed. B. J. Muir, *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book*, HBS ciii (London, 1988), p. 160, with discussion by E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 389–90); those beginning 'Tu corda nostra dirige / ad te felici tramite' in Paris, BNF, lat. 8092 (see M. Lapidge, 'Some Old English Sedulius glosses from BN lat. 8092', *Anglia*, c (1982), 1–17, at p. 3), and those beginning 'Celi senator inclite / sancte pater ecclesie / O Adeluuolde' (ptd Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. cxiv–cxv). It is possible that Lantfred was the model for these various late Anglo-Latin octosyllables, but what served as Lantfred's model is unclear.

Quid plura? [h]Cumque tales uir ille cum ingentibus preces fudisset gemitibus,[h] ilico[i] meruit lumen oculorum recipere quod non sperabat, et auditionem aurium quam desiderabat. Hoc namque miraculum in hoc est ualde mirandum: quia non legimus [j]in sanctarum codicibus scripturarum[j] quempiam cecatum hactenus recepisse lumen oculorum preter hominem istum.[244]

27.[a] DE HOMINE QVI INGENTEM CIPPVM[245] MODICO PRECIDIT CVLTELLO. Nec fore dignum iudico preterire silentio quod tempore praesignato quidam homo fide uenerabilis accepit a messoribus basilei quattuor mergites tritici absque licentia echonomi.[246] Qui dum eos ad proprium sinistro alite[247] deferret hospitium, regis dispensator in itinere eum repperit, interrogans quis ei dedisset manipulos quos portabat. Is itaque omnino noluit largitorem indicare echonomo, mallens mortis cruciatus[248] sustinere quam damnum amico irrogare. Quapropter iratus nimium prepositus, iussit eum ligari compedibus et uigilari custodibus, donec primo mortetenus uerberaretur ac postmodum capite plecteretur.[249] Cumque quadam nocte custodiretur a quodam uiro cum coniuge et familia uinctus, ille postulauit e custodibus quempiam, ut ei paruulum[b] accomodaret[c] cultellum ad ungues suos incidendum.[250] Qui protinus annuens compediti oraminibus, artauum de uagina abstraxit et uincto illi prestitit. Qui postquam accepit cultellum, coepit omnipotentem exorare Deum, ut ei subueniret per sancti pontificis Suuithuni meritum. Paterfamilias autem cum coniuge, somno grauati nimio, sopitum perrexerunt ilico; nec minus et caeteri custodes, ceu forent temulenti, dormierunt omnes. Quod cum uideret uir ille ingenti constrictus columbare, Dominum 'qui compeditos soluit et elisos erigit'[251] non cessauit exorare, quatinus eum liberaret a futurae tormentis poenae[d] per sanctam uenerabilis episcopi intercessionem, 'Obsecro', inquiens, 'te, sancte presul Suuithune, confessor Christi[e] gloriose, per quem Dominus facit miracula cotidie, ut tuis sanctis precibus liberes me a diris ligaminibus.' Tunc arripiens cum fide cultellum, quasi recentem caseum incidit ingentem cippum; et claui massam rupit ferream ceu ferrugineam araneae telam.[252] Qui mox solutus surrexit a compedibus, sanctum orans profusis precibus ut ei succurreret piis interuentionibus, eumque eriperet a nocturnis custodibus, qui ipsum torquerent grauius—si euigilarent—uerberibus. Cumque omnes pertransisset custodes—Deo disponente—dormientes, accessit ad carceris ianuam in qua erat ingens sera, quattuor quadratis pessulis[f] munita. Quam conspiciens obseratam, magno concussus metu, dixit in corde suo: 'Quid mihi, miserrimo omnium, prodest quod liber a uinculis pertransiui uigiles?

[h–h] *om. J* [i] *after* illico *J adds* uir ille [j] *om. J*
[c. 27] RN] [a] *This chapter is omitted from JV* [b] paruulam *N* [c] accomodaret *MSS, for* accommodaret [d] pene *N*
[e] Christe *N* [f] presulis *N*

[244] An even more remarkable miracle of sight restored after judicial blinding is retailed in the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. 6), c. 55 (below, pp. 690–4).

[245] CL *cippus* meant a 'stake' or 'pillar', but came in medieval Latin to mean a tree-stump or beam to which a prisoner was chained (see *DMLBS* s.v. 'cippus', which cites Aldhelm, *CdV* 1195–7, and—without recognizing it as such—Ælfric's *Glossary* (ed. Zupitza, p. 321): 'compes uel cippus. fotcops'). Wulfstan (*Narratio* ii. 576) implies that the prisoner's feet were locked in a hollow log (*ligno cauato*; cf. ii. 890: *cauo ligno*). In other words, the *cippus* was the Anglo-Saxon precursor of the stocks; cf. the word *columbare* in line 15, below.

[246] The royal officer in question is described in Old English documents as the king's *stiward* or steward (cf. the aforementioned 'Abingdon Glossary', where *economus* is glossed *stiward*: WW, col. 129.13). The position of the royal steward relative to other household thegns is clear from the will of King Eadred (Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 34–5 = BCS 912), where the king bequeaths to each of his ealdormen 120 mancuses of gold, to each *discthegn* ('seneschal') 80 mancuses, and to each *stigweard* ('steward') 30 mancuses. The steward appears to have been responsible for the management of a royal estate. Wulfstan adds that this particular steward was responsible for the royal estate at Kingsclere, Hants. (*Narratio* ii. 521); for the location of Kingsclere, see fig. 1.

[247] No precise parallel for Lantfred's usage of the phrase *sinistro alite* is recorded in *TLL* or the databases. It would seem to derive from Roman augury; cf. Cicero, *De divinatione* i. 120 ('eademque efficit in avibus divina mens, ut tum huc, tum illuc

Why say more? When the man had poured out prayers such as these with mighty lamentation, he was found worthy to receive his eyesight at once (which he had not dared to hope for) as well as the hearing which he had wished for. And, truly, this miracle is much to be marvelled at for this reason: that I have not read anywhere in the books of holy writ about anyone—except this man—having regained his eyesight who had been blinded to such an extent.[244]

27. ABOUT THE MAN WHO CUT THROUGH AN IMMENSE BEAM[245] WITH A TINY KNIFE. I do not think it would be appropriate to pass over in silence the fact that, in the time under discussion, a certain man, estimable for his faith, accepted from the king's reapers four sheaves of wheat without the permission of the royal steward.[246] As he was carrying the sheaves to his own house, unfortunately[247] the royal steward came across him on the road and began asking who had given him the sheaves which he was carrying. He of course did not wish to reveal the donor to the steward in any way, preferring to undergo the penalty of death[248] rather than to impute the theft to a friend. Accordingly, the steward became exceedingly angry and ordered him to be bound in shackles and detained by guards, until he could first be flogged to the point of death and afterwards beheaded.[249] And while he was tied up and was being guarded one night by a certain man with his wife and family, he asked one of the custodians to lend him a knife with which to trim his fingernails.[250] The guard, acceding at once to the requests of the prisoner, drew from his sheath a small dagger and handed it to him. After he had acquired the knife, the prisoner began to implore the omnipotent God to assist him through the merit of the holy bishop Swithun. The lord of the household and his wife went to sleep on the spot, overcome by great weariness; no less did all the other guards go to sleep as if they were drunk. When the man (who was fettered by an immense pillory) saw this, he did not cease from praying to the Lord—'Who releases those in chains and Who lifts up the downtrodden'[251]—to free him from the torments of his forthcoming punishment through the holy intercession of the venerable bishop, saying, 'I beseech you, holy bishop Swithun, glorious confessor of Christ, through whom God performs miracles daily, that through your holy prayers you may free me from these cruel fetters.' Then grasping the knife confidently, he cut through the huge beam as if it were a fresh cheese; and he broke away the iron mass of the spike as if it were a dusky spider's web.[252] As soon as he was free he stood up from his shackles, imploring the saint with profuse prayers to help him by his kindly intercession and to deliver him from the night watchmen, who—if they were to wake up—would punish him with a severe beating. And when he had passed by all the sleeping guards—by God's dispensation—he arrived at the door of his prison, in which there was a huge lock, strengthened with four rectangular bolts. Seeing the door locked and being seized by mighty fear, he said in his heart: 'What advantage does it bring me, the most wretched of all creatures, to have gotten free of my bonds and to have passed by all the

volent alites, tum in hac tum in illa parte se occultent, dum a dextra tum a sinistra parte canant oscines'), and Statius, *Theb.* iii. 495–6 ('dextrisque profundum / alitibus praetexe diem'). The phrase *sinistro alite* thus means 'by an inauspicious omen', hence 'unfortunately'.

[248] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* i. 3: 'mortis longos uitare cruciatus' (CSEL liv. 2).

[249] See above, n. 232.

[250] Anglo-Saxon law prohibited giving a sword to a slave, inasmuch as such a weapon could help a slave to escape ('Laws of Ine', § 29: ed. Liebermann, *Gesetze* i. 102, trans. Whitelock *EHD* i. 402, with discussion by Whitelock, *The Beginnings*, p. 110). The point here is that the *cultellum* was too small to be considered a sword, and in any case it is not specifically stated that the man was a slave.

[251] Ps. 145 (146): 7–8 ('Dominus solvit conpeditos . . . Dominus erigit adlisos'); also (mis)quoted below, c. 38.

[252] Isa. 59: 5 ('ova aspidum ruperunt et telas araneae texuerunt'); cf. Job 8: 14, Hosea 8: 6.

Modo me grauior expectat interitus, si non superuenerit Dei suffragium! Quapropter, uenerande presul Suuithune, adiuua me tua sancta intercessione, quatinus hanc possim horridam de hoc hostio[g] euellere seram.' Qui protinus seram arripuit manu, quae ita eum est subsecuta quasi pessulus[h] non esset in ea ac ueluti foret oleo[i] delibuta.[253] Quod dum cerneret uir ille, corde—non uoce!—Deum coepit glorificare, qui sperantes in sese[254] non desinit adiuuare. Et iam cum fiducia conditorem[j] orauit altissimum, quo per interuentum famuli Dei sacratissimum aperire silenter ualeret hostium:[k] quod quotienscumque reuoluebatur, eximium dare solebat strepitum. Quod dum aperiretur, nullum prorsus emisit sonum, sed siluit ceu rota quando peruncta est sungia. Tum ille laetus progreditur a carcere in quo clausus fuerat, inmanissimo cruciandus uerbere. Cumque foras egressus esset, orbem plaustri iuxta parietem repperit; quem ianuae ne aperiretur opposuit. Qui tota nocte festinanter ambulauit crastinaque lucescente aurora ad sanctum uiri Dei tumulum peruenit;[255] quo cum peruenisset, conditori laudem dedit. Et ita hic scriptum est, sicut ipse fratribus loci illius indubitanter retulit.

28. [a]DE PREPOSITO BYRHFERÐO.[a,b] Prepositus etiam Abbandunensis[c] monasterii [d]nomine Byrhferðus[d 256] effectus est cecus per interuallum quindecim annorum. Is dum nimia cecitate cruciaretur, compluribus peractis medicaminibus ustilatum[e] est caput eius duodecim adustionibus[257]—quae nihil ei prorsus[f] profuerunt, uerum multo magis obfuerunt. Qui demum audiens quae et quanta clementissimus auctor rerum miracula per suum dignatus est famulum benignissime hominibus prebere languentibus, Wintoniam nudis ueniens uestigiis[258] ad sancti corpus pontificis accessit cum precibus assiduis.[259] Quo cum peruenisset et eadem nocte ibidem uigilaret, crastina[g] albescente aurora lucem oculis conspicere meruit; atque sospes domum rediens, omnipotentem Dominum glorificare studuit.

29. [a]DE CECO IN ITINERE ILLVMINATO.[a] Anno[b] quinetiam ipso, quidam caecus ex longinquis Anglorum finibus, audiens[c] prodigiorum opinionem, cum puero ductore properabat ad sancti medicationem. Qui dum appropinquaret ciuitatem Wintoniam, uenit ad locum quendam in quo, fatigatus ex itinere,[260] cepit paululum requiescere. Erat autem ubi repausabant ingens crux lapidea,[261] tria passuum milia pene distans a prefata urbe. Cumque ibi aliquantulum requiescerent,[d] puer famelicus ait ad cecum senem: 'Manducemus, pater, aliquid; quoniam modo magnam patior famim,[e] et sumus prope ciuitatem. Ad quam cum uenerimus, edendi non habebimus possibilitatem.'

[g] hostio *MSS, for* ostio [h] pressulis *N* [i] olei *N* [j] *after* conditorem *N adds* ad (*then deleted by points*) [k] hostium *MSS, for* ostium

[c. 28] RNJV] [a–a] DE ABBANDVNENSIS MONASTERII PREPOSITO *J*; *om. V* [b] BYRNFERTHO *N* [c] Abundonensis *JV* [d–d] *om. JV* [e] ustilatum *MSS, for* ustulatum [f] *add. above line J* [g] Cristina *N*

[c. 29] RNJV] [a–a] *om. V* [b] A- *om. by rubricator in N* [c] audien *corr. to* audiens *J* [d] quiescerent *JV* [e] famim *MSS, for* famem

[253] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* x. 70 ('delibutus, de oleo unctus, ut athletae solent').

[254] See above, n. 195.

[255] The implication is that the man went to St Swithun for sanctuary. On the right of sanctuary in Anglo-Saxon England, see, for example, the 'Laws of Ine' § 5: 'If anyone is liable to the death penalty and he reaches a church, he is to retain his life and to compensate as the law directs him' (ed. Lieberman, *Gesetze*, i. 90; trans. Whitelock, *EHD* i. 399). See also D. Hall, 'The sanctuary of St Cuthbert', in *St Cuthbert: his Cult and his Community to AD 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 425–36.

[256] It has not been possible to identify this prior of Abingdon. Wulfstan adds the information that Byrhtferth was prior in the time of Abbot Osgar (963–84); see below, note to *Narratio* ii. 682. No Byrhtferth is listed among the monks of Abingdon in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster (ed. Birch, pp. 59–61; ed. Keynes, fos. 26v-27r); but this omission is of no great significance, insofar as the Abingdon list appears to have been drawn up much later (*c.*1030?) than, say, the list of Old

guards? Now a more cruel death awaits me, if God's assistance does not intervene! Therefore, venerable Bishop Swithun, help me with your holy intercession, so that I can break off the horrid lock from this door.' He straightway grasped the lock in his hand, and it came away after him as if there were no bolt in it and as if it had been smeared with oil.[253] When the man saw this he began in his heart (not out loud!) to glorify God, Who does not cease from helping those who trust in Him.[254] And now with confidence he prayed to the creator on high, so that he would be able to open the door silently through the most holy intervention of God's servant—the door which, whenever it turned on its hinges, usually gave out a loud noise. When it was opened, it gave out no sound at all, but was silent like a wheel when it is greased with soap. Then he went a happy man from the prison in which he had been detained in order to be tortured by a massive flogging. And when he was outside, he found a cartwheel leaning against the wall, which he put against the door so it couldn't be opened. He walked briskly all night and when dawn was breaking he arrived at the holy tomb of the man of God;[255] when he arrived there, he gave thanks to the creator. And it is recorded here just as he himself reported it unhesitatingly to the monks of that place.

28. CONCERNING PRIOR BYRHTFERTH. Similarly a prior of the monastery of Abingdon named Byrhtferth[256] was rendered blind for a period of fifteen years. While he was being tormented by this extreme blindness, he went through a good many medicines, and once his head was cauterised with twelve separate searings[257]—which of course did him no good, but rather did a good deal of harm. Hearing at that point of the great and many miracles which the merciful creator of things had generously deigned to offer to ailing men through His servant, he came barefoot[258] to Winchester and went up to the body of the holy bishop offering insistent prayers.[259] He arrived there and kept vigil there that same night; and when the next day's dawn was breaking, he was found worthy to see the daylight with his eyes; and returning home in sound health, he took care to glorify the omnipotent Lord.

29. CONCERNING THE BLIND MAN WHO RECEIVED HIS EYESIGHT ON A JOURNEY. In that same year, moreover, a certain blind man from the remoter parts of England, hearing the report of the marvels, hastened to the saint's medicine with a young boy as his guide. As he was approaching the city of Winchester, he came to a certain place in which, tired out from his journey,[260] he began to rest a little. Now in the place where they were resting, nearly three miles' distance from the aforementioned city, there was a large stone cross.[261] And while they were resting there briefly, the hungry lad said to the blind old man: 'Let us eat something, father, since I am now suffering from great hunger, and we are near the city. When we get to it, we shall not have any

Minster monks in the same volume.

[257] On the practice of cautery in Anglo-Saxon England, see Bonser, *The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 303, who adverts to a drawing in Durham, Cathedral Library, Hunter 100 (s. xii[1]), fo. 122r, which shows cauterization of the temples with cautery irons much like that which this Byrhtferth underwent. See also S. Rubin, *Medieval English Medicine* (London, 1974), pp. 138–40, and the plate on p. 102, showing cautery points and a physician preparing cautery irons.

[258] A surprisingly rare expression; but cf. Eusebius/Rufinus, *HE* vi. 3. 12: 'absque omni calciamento nudis incessisse uestigiis' (ed. Mommsen, p. 529).

[259] Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [ps. cxviii]: 'in assiduis precibus perseuerat' (CCSL xcviii. 1114); Gregory, *Registrum epistularum* v. 41: 'omnipotens Deus assiduis precibus implorandus' (CCSL cxl. 324), ix. 220: 'omnipotentis Dei assiduis precibus clementiam exoremus' (CCSL cxlA. 791).

[260] See above, n. 115.

[261] Except for noting that the cross was three miles from Winchester, Lantfred gives no specific information about its location. Wulfstan adds that the cross in question was called the 'King's Stone' in English (*Narratio* ii. 715). On the likelihood that the stone was a boundary marker (of Winchester's Chilcomb estate), see WS i. 257, and below, p. 529 n.

Respondit cecus: 'Fili, congruum nondum adest tempus.'[262] Puer inquit, 'Vtique, pater. Iam hora prandendi transacta est!' Cecus respondit, 'Quantum uiae adhuc superest hinc usque ad ciuitatem?' Puer infit ad egrum: 'Cito ueniemus ad sanctum; quapropter sumamus cibum antequam urbis subintremus murum, quoniam magnus ibi est tumultus.' Eger puero respondit: 'Nondum nona sonuit. Expectemus ergo usque ad horam, te flagito, nonam; et postquam conuenerimus ad uiri Dei corpusculum, ibi cum Domini benedictione Christi soluamus ieiunium.' Ductor rursus inquit improbus: [f-f]'Vere nona est; amplius ieiunare non debes.'[f-f] Cum ergo inter se tales disponerent sermocinationes, cecus ille audiuit homines causa uigilandi ad sanctum festinantes; qui protinus ductorem interrogauit quo pergerent. Ipse uero ait, 'Wintoniam gressus dirigunt[263] ad beati uenerandum Suuithuni tumulum, quo per eius interuentum salutis medicamentum percipiant languidi illorum.' Senex inquit, 'Qualis est iste locus in quo nunc consedimus?'[g] Puer respondit, 'Staurus hic est saxea fulgens grandis altissima, ad laudem Christi posita.' Qui consurgens ocius Christum orauit precibus ut sanaretur celitus per uiri magni[h] meritum: 'Domine Deus omnipotens, meas audi preces', inquiens, 'redde propriis lumen oculis suffragantibus meritis sancti Suuithuni presulis. O si istam claro lumine ciuitatem quandoque merear conspicere gaudens! O gloriose confessor Christi, Suuithune, ora pro me miserrimo peccatore, ne[i] sit mihi graue delictum[264] quia[j] ante horam frango ieiunium.'[265] Cumque cecus ille talem cum gemitu fudisset orationem, illuminatus est ibidem per sacri sacerdotis interuentionem. Moxque ut glaucoma ab eius oculis cecidit, suspiciens haud longe Wintoniam conspexit, quam toto mentis ardore paululum ante desiderabat uidere; et inpransus—ut cupiebat—ad sancti uatis properans accessit reliquias, magnificans saluatoris omnipotentiam. Quo cum uenisset, intimauit fratribus loci illius qualiter curatus foret per conditoris mundi famulum. Qui ad templum conuenientes,[k] ymnidicis uocibus laudauerunt auctorem uirtutum.

30. [a]DE DEBILI ET CLAVDO.[a] Venit denique in diebus illis ad sanctum Dei quidam debilis, 'claudus utroque pede'[266] et sic curuatus[b] egritudine, ut penitus non posset sese de loco remouere, nisi binis sustentaretur scabellis. Is confestim ut [c]ad sancti tumbam[c,d] accessit antistitis, recepit sospitatem somatis; sed mente permansit debilis, quoniam conditori Deo grates non retulit sicut ceteri fecerunt egri. Nimirum postquam erectus est diuinitus, sanctum relinquens protinus fugam arripuit celerius, et a nemine postea in ipso uisus est coenobio. Scabella tamen quibus sustentabat egritudinem prodiderunt quod curatus inde recessit per sancti Suuithuni meritum. Turme etiam circumstantium (quae tum ibi presentes aderant) constanter asseruerunt ita fore gestum per omnia sicut scriptum continetur in hac pagina.

31. [a]DE PVERO QVI[b] DE EQVO CECIDIT.[a] Eadem quoque tempestate quidam consul[267] regis nimium dilectus, in caducis prepotens rebus,[268] cum ingenti comitatu[269]—sicut mos est

[f-f] *om. V* [g] consedibus *N* [h] magnam *corr. to* magni *N* [i] ni *V* [j] quod *JV* [k] conuenirentes *corr. to* conuenientes *N*

[c. 30] RNJV] [a-a] *om. V* [b] curatus *corr. to* curuatus *J* [c-c] *add. above line J* [d] tumulum *N with* tumbam *add. in margin*

[c. 31] RNJV] [a-a] *om. V* [b] *after* QVI *J adds* CASV

[262] For the phrase *congruum tempus*, cf. Cassian, *Conlat.* xxi. 14: 'cum tempus festiuitatis escarum congruum fotum et refectionem necessariae absolutionis indulget' (CSEL xiii. 589). According to CLCLT4, the phrase also occurs 3× in Gregory's *Moralia in Iob.*

[263] The phrase *gressus dirigere* is biblical; cf. Ps. 36 (37): 2, 118 (119): 133, Prov. 3: 6, 15: 21, 16: 9, etc.

[264] For the phrase *graue delictum*, see Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* ii. 16 (CCSL cxiii. 79).

chance of eating.' The blind man said, 'My son, it is not yet the appropriate time.'[262] The boy said, 'Yes it is, father. Lunchtime has passed!' The blind man replied: 'How much of the trip is still left, from here to the city?' The boy says to the sick man: 'We shall very soon come to the saint; therefore let us take some food before we enter the city wall, since there is a huge crowd there.' The sick man replied to the boy: 'Nones have not yet sounded. Let us wait, therefore, until nones, I beg you; and after we have arrived at the body of the man of God, there let us break our fast with the blessing of Christ the Lord.' The naughty young guide spoke again: 'But it *is* nones; you ought not to fast any longer.' As they were exchanging remarks of this sort, therefore, the blind man heard other men hastening to the saint in order to keep vigil; immediately he asked his guide where they were going. And he said, 'They are directing their steps[263] towards Winchester to the venerable tomb of St Swithun, so that the sick people among them may receive a remedy through his intercession.' The old man said, 'What sort of place is this in which we are now sitting?' The boy replied, 'There is a large, tall, shining stone cross here, put up to the glory of Christ.' The blind man, getting up quickly, implored Christ in his prayers so that he might be divinely healed through the merit of the great man, saying: 'Omnipotent Lord God, hear my prayers; restore the light to my eyes with the merits of St Swithun the bishop assisting. O if I could sometime be found worthy to look joyfully on this city with unimpaired vision! O glorious confessor of Christ, Swithun, pray on behalf of me a miserable sinner, so that it won't be reckoned a grave sin[264] that I break fast before the proper hour.'[265] And when the blind man had poured out this prayer in lamentation, he received his eyesight in that place through the intercession of the holy bishop. And as soon as the glaucoma receded from his eyes, he looked up and saw Winchester not far off, which he desired to see with all his heart a short while before; and without having lunch—just as he wished—he went in haste to the relics of the saint, magnifying the omnipotence of the Saviour. When he arrived there, he reported to the monks of that place how he had been cured through the servant of the creator of the world. The monks gathered in the church and praised the author of miracles, chanting their hymns aloud.

30. CONCERNING THE MAN WHO WAS INFIRM AND LAME. Thereafter, there came at that time to the man of God a certain invalid man, 'lame in either foot',[266] and so bent over with illness that he could not transport himself at all from any place unless he was propped up by two crutches. As soon as he came to the tomb of the saint, he received the health of his body; but he remained spiritually infirm, since he did not repay thanks to God the creator as other sick people did. In fact, after he had been made to stand upright by divine aid, he immediately left the saint and quickly took flight, and was never again seen by anyone in that minster. However, the crutches by which he sustained his infirm body bore witness that he had been cured and then departed through the merit of St Swithun. Likewise the crowds of onlookers (who at that point had been present there) maintained consistently that it had happened in every detail just as it is recorded on this page.

31. CONCERNING THE BOY WHO FELL FROM A HORSE. At the very same time as well a certain much beloved ealdorman[267] of the king, who was very influential in secular affairs,[268] set off quickly with a huge retinue[269]—as is the custom among the Anglo-Saxons—for

[265] The phrase *frangere ieiunium* is from the *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 53 ('ieiunium a priore frangatur propter hospitem').

[266] See 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 9: 13 ('erat claudus utroque pede').

[267] On the meaning of *consul* in an Anglo-Saxon context, see above, n. 184; on the possible identity of the ealdorman in question, see below, note to Wulfstan's *Narratio* ii. 787.

[268] The phrase *in caducis rebus* is from Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* iii, pr. 9 ('aliquid in mortalibus caducisque rebus').

[*See p. 320 for n. 269*]

Anglosaxonum—properanter equitabat ad quendam uicum, in quo grandis apparatus ad necessarios conuiuandi usus erat illi opipare constructus. Accidit autem in ipso itinere [c]quo[d] quidam[c] puer eximiae indolis, quem comes[270] idem diligebat plus ceteris, ruina properante caderet de sonipede. Qui mox ut cecidit, crus brachiumque fregit et ita omnibus membris est dissolutus, ut omnes qui aderant crederent eum ilico moriturum. Paterfamilias autem, cum uideret puerum sibi dilectum morientem, amici nimium condolens casum, subnixis orationibus exorauit Dominum, quatinus pueri illius moribundi misereretur[e] per gloriosi uenerabilem pontificis intercessionem, 'Sancte', inquiens, 'Suuiðhune: flagita mundi redemptorem supplici prece, quo[f] prestet isti[g] uitam et sanitatem puero.[h] Quam si concesserit petitionem, omnibus uitae diebus meae me habebit fideliorem.[271] Quinetiam, summe sacerdos, insontem deducam infantem ad salutiferum tui somatis mausoleum, ut per medicabilem tuam intercessionem Christi sentiat beneficium.'[i] Cumque uir ille talibus Deum exoraret sermonibus, repente puer sursum prosiliuit[j] sanus—qui paulo ante iacebat ruina mortis[272] preoccupatus. Quod dum consul prospiceret, ultra quam effari posset letus effectus est; et cum omni deuotione mentis Deum glorificare coepit, qui 'cor contritum et humiliatum non spernit.'[273]

32. [a]DE MVLIERE QVAE IN GALLIA SANATA EST.[a] [b]Nec solum in finibus Anglorum, sed etiam in prouincia Francorum miracula sunt peracta per huius sancti merita. In eadem—ut perhibent qui hoc uiderunt[274]—regione,[b] quedam matrona nobilis[c] ita erat eodem tempore graui constricta dolore, ut per bis denos dies nec loqui posset nec cibum sumere; sed quasi corpus absque spiramine ita iacebat exanime. Accidit autem ut [d]sacerdos quidam[d] [e]nomine Lantfredus[e][275] de Anglorum finibus, dum pergeret ad Galliam in illis temporibus, hospitaretur in eadem ciuitatula in qua intolerabili dolore egrotat mulier pretaxata. Et quoniam eius coniunx predicto[f] notus fuerat sacerdoti, continuo ut eius aduentum sensit, legatos suos ad eum misit, deprecans ut siquod remedium potuisset impendere[g] quod profuisset coniugi miserande, non denegasset illi pro Christi ac fraterna caritate. At ille per predictos ei mandauit nuntios: 'Artem medicinam, ut bene nosti, a iuuentute[h] non didici. Consilium tamen tibi dabo optimum; cui si consenseris,[i] sentiet Dei beneficium[j] si ullo modo potest euadere mortis periculum.[276] Iube nouam componere[277] candelam;[278] eandemque uentura nocte in tali fac ardere basilica, in honore presulis almi per quem Deus multa apud Anglos facit mirabilia, exorans omnipotentem Deum pro infirma coniuge puris precibus ac credula fide: sic recipiet priscam sanitatem, spero, per eius sancti intercessionem.' Vir autem ille haec audiens, sine[k] mora iussit perficere cereum et cum

[c–c] qui quodam *N* [d] quo *MSS, perhaps for* quod [e] miseretur *N* [f] quod *N* [g] puero *JV* [h] isto *JV* [i] bene *N* [j] prosiluit *corr. to* prosiliuit *J*

[c. 32] RNJ] [a–a] DE MATRONA IN GALLIA SANATA *J* [b–b] Nec iudico dignum esse silentio preterire quod *J* [c] *after* nobilis *J adds* in predictis Gallorum terminis [d–d] quidam sacerdos *J* [e–e] *om. J* [f] prescripto *J* [g] impender *N* [h] iuuente *RN* [i] conseris *corr. to* consenseris *J* [j] feneficium *N* [k] si *corr. to* sine *J*

[269] Cf. Jerome, *Vita S. Hilarionis*, c. 13: 'cum intenti honore et comitatu' (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 102).

[270] On the meaning of *comes* in an Anglo-Saxon context, see above, n. 197.

[271] The implication is that the ealdorman will make more generous donations to the Old Minster—one of the principal objects in the programme to popularize the miraculous efficacity of St Swithun.

[272] A biblical expression; cf. Prov. 13: 14, 14: 27 ('ut declinet a ruina mortis').

[273] Ps. 50 (51): 19 ('cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit').

[274] The source for this and the other miracles which took place in Francia (cc. 33–4) was presumably Lantfred himself; hence his ironic disclaimer.

[275] It was apparently an accepted convention in hagiography to name oneself (in the third person); Wulfstan similarly names himself in cc. 42–3 of his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (ed. Lapidge and

a particular estate in which a mighty preparation for the necessary customs of entertainment had been sumptuously set up for him. Now it happened on this journey that a certain boy of noble stock, whom the ealdorman[270] himself loved more than the others, fell from his horse in a sudden tumble. Immediately upon falling he broke his leg and his arm, and was so shaken up in all his limbs that everyone who was there thought that he would die on the spot. But when the landlord saw that the boy he loved was dying, he felt greatly aggrieved at his young friend's misfortune, and implored the Lord with earnest prayers to have mercy on the dying boy through the venerable intercession of the glorious bishop, saying, 'O St Swithun: beseech the Redeemer of the world in humble prayer to grant life and health to this boy. If He shall grant this petition, He shall have me as a more faithful follower all the days of my life.[271] Moreover, greatest of bishops, I shall take this innocent child to the health-restoring tomb of your body, so that through your sanative intercession he may experience the bounty of Christ.' And when the man had prayed to God in words such as these, suddenly the boy sprang up restored to health—who a short time before had lain in anticipation of death.[272] When the ealdorman saw this, he was overjoyed more than he could say; and he began with every effort of his heart to praise God, Who 'does not reject a contrite and humble heart.'[273]

32. CONCERNING THE WOMAN WHO WAS CURED IN FRANCE. Not only in England, but even in the land of the Franks miracles were performed through the merits of this saint. In this very region—as people who saw it report[274]—a certain noble lady was at that time so afflicted with intense pain that for twenty days she could not speak or take food; but she lay lifeless as if her body were not breathing. Now it happened that while a certain priest from England named Lantfred[275] was travelling in France at that time, he was put up as a guest in the same village in which the aforementioned woman lay sick in unbearable pain. And since her husband had been acquainted with the priest in question, he sent his messengers to him as soon as he learned of his arrival, asking that if he could supply any sort of remedy which would be of benefit to his wretched wife, he would not withhold it from him for the love of Christ and their brotherly affection. And he sent to him this reply by the messengers in question: 'As you well know, I have not studied the practice of medicine from an early age. Nevertheless, I shall give you some excellent advice; if you agree to it, she shall experience God's bounty if in any way she can escape the threat of death.[276] Order a new candle[278] to be made ready,[277] and arrange for it to burn this coming night in some church, in honour of the kindly bishop through whom God is performing many miracles among the English, and implore God on your sick wife's behalf with sincere prayers and devout faith: in this way she will receive her former health, I hope, through the intercession of this saint.' Hearing these things, the man ordered

Winterbottom, pp. 64–6).

[276] For occurrences of the phrase *periculum mortis* in Classical Latin, cf. Seneca, *De breuitate uitae* viii. 2, Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* iv. 7. 6 ('D. Brutus periculum euasit mortis'), and Celsus, *De medicina* (3×). See also Eusebius/Rufinus, *HE* ii. 5. 1: 'immo et paene periculum mortis incurrerit' (ed. Mommsen, p. 117); Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxiv. 120 ('periculum mortis manet'); and Cassian, *Conlat.* xiv. 7: 'etiam hinc periculum mortis incurritur' (CSEL xiii. 402).

[277] One would expect the passive infinitive here; on Lantfred's occasional confusion of passive and active infinitives, see above, n. 171, and the following sentence ('iussit perficere cereum et cum festinatione deferri', where the passive infinitive *deferri* is used (correctly) alongside the active form *perficere* (incorrectly used).

[278] On the medieval use of votive candles, see *DACL* iii. 1613–22 s.v. 'cierges', as well as W. Mühlbauer, *Geschichte und Bedeutung der (Wachs-) Lichter bei den kirchlichen Funktionen* (Augsburg, 1874), pp. 1–33; D. R. Dendy, *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship*, Alcuin Club Collections, xli (London, 1959), pp. 108–19, and Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 95–9.

festinatione deferri ad sacerdotem ipsum. Ille autem cereum accipiens, has in eo litteras sculpsit, dicens:

'Sancte Suuithune pater, per quem medicamina confert[l]
aegris corporibus cuncticreans Dominus:
te precor[m] huic priscam[n] mulieri posce medelam,
clara sit ut populis alma fides Domini.'

Quid plura? Subsequenti die mulier recepit sanitatem, conlaudans Deum omnipotentem, qui eam pristine restituit[o] sospitati per suum sanctum presulem.

33. [a]DE ALTERA MVLIERE GENTIS FRANCORVM.[a] [b]Nec iudico dignum esse silentio preterire quod in predictis Gallorum terminis,[b] quedam muliercula—dum quadam oscitaret nocte nec sanctam mundi crucem saluatoris in eius[c] figeret[d] stomate—in tantum percussa est ab impurissimo demone,[279] ut inferius[e] labium dissoluta penitus mandibula a labro disiungeretur superiore. Hec dum [f]nullatenus cibum[f] posset capere solidum, nec intelligibile ullum exprimere uerbum (quoniam utrobique dispactum habebat[g] uocis artificium), plus mortua quam uiuens delata est ad coenobium, in quo sanctus Christi presul quiescebat in prouincia Anglorum—transnauigatis oceani fluctibus (qui separat Britanniam a Gallorum gentibus), bis quaternis mensibus expletis ab exordiis cruciatus intolerabilis. Que dum ibi per aliquos maneret dies, in uigiliis et orationibus perseuerans, per gloriosi meritum pontificis ita facta est incolomis, ut prorsus nulla egritudinis uestigia nec in uoce remanerent pristina neque in fracta mulieris mandibula. Quae postquam diuinitus est curata per huius almam antistitis intercessionem, ad patriam remeauit glorificans Deum omnipotentem.

34. [a]DE VLTRAMARINO LATRONE.[a] [b]In eadem denique Francorum regione,[b] cleptes quidam immanissimo deprehensus in scelere tenebroso[c] custodiebatur in carcere, nefandis uinctus catenis et dira compede,[d] donec in eculeo postridie tali suspenderetur pro crimine. Is audierat a negotiatoribus[e] (oceanum causa commercii transmeantibus) esse sanctum nouiter[f] inuentum in transmarinis partibus, per cuius interuentum egri sanarentur a multimodis languoribus. Huius in obscure noctis reminiscens tenebris, Dei incomprehensibile exorauit numen omnipotentis, quatinus ei subuenirent[g] magni[h] preces pontificis, effundens uocem lacrimis mixtam et[i] suspiriis:[280]

'Auctor o rerum prepotens
alme Deus atque clemens,
qui caelum, terram ac mare
sancto gubernas flamine—
per eius sancti meritum
per quem turmas languentium

[l] -t *add. above line J* [m] deprecor *N* [n] pris[. . .] *N* [o] restuit *J*
[c. 33] RNJ] [a–a] DE MVLIERE IN GALLIA A DEMONIO OBSESSA *J* [b–b] In eadem Francorum regione *J* [c] eis *corr. to* eius *N* [d] fugeret *N* [e] ferius *N* [f–f] cibum nullatenus *J, with transposition marks* [g] *add. above line J*
[c. 34] RNJV] [a–a] *om. V* [b–b] Nec solum in finibus Anglorum sed etiam in prouincia Francorum miracula sunt peracta per huius sancti merita. In eadem ut perhibent qui hoc uiderunt regione *JV* [c] tenebrosa *JV* [d] pede *N* [e] negonatoribus *N* [f] *om. V* [g] subuerent *J* [h] *add. above line J*

a wax candle to be made without delay, and to be taken in haste to the priest himself. And the priest, taking up the candle, engraved these words on it:

> St Swithun, our father, through whom the all-creating
> Lord grants medication to ailing bodies,
> I beg you, seek the time-honoured cure for this woman,
> So that the kindly love of our Lord may be manifest to all peoples.

Why say more? On the following day the woman regained her health, and began praising the omnipotent God, who restored her to her former health through His holy bishop.

33. ABOUT ANOTHER FRENCH WOMAN. Nor do I judge it appropriate to pass over in silence the fact that, in the aforementioned region of France, a certain poor woman—when on a particular night she yawned and did not make the sign of the holy cross of the world's Saviour on her mouth—was so violently seized by a foul demon,[279] that her jaw was completely disconnected and her lower lip was detached from her upper lip. Since she could not take in any solid food at all, nor express a single intelligible word (because the apparatus of voice production was mutilated in two places), she was taken, more dead than alive, after having crossed the waters of the channel which separates Britain from the people of France (eight months having elapsed since the beginnings of her intolerable ordeal), to the monastery in England in which the holy bishop of Christ lies in repose. While she was staying there for a few days, persisting in vigils and prayers, she was restored to health through the merit of the glorious bishop to such an extent that henceforth no traces of her infirmity remained either in her voice or in the broken jaw. After she had been divinely cured through the kindly intercession of the bishop, she returned to her homeland glorifying the omnipotent God.

34. ABOUT THE OVERSEAS THIEF. And thereupon, in the very same region of France, a certain thief who had been apprehended in a very serious crime was being detained in a dark prison, bound up in abominable chains and cruel shackles, until on the following day he would be hanged on the rack for his crime. He had heard from merchants who were crossing the channel on business that a saint had recently been discovered in overseas territories through whose intercession sick people were being healed from many sorts of illnesses. Recalling this in the depths of the dark night, he implored the unfathomable divinity of the omnipotent God, that the prayers of the great bishop would come to his aid, pouring out these words mixed with tears and sighs:[280]

> 'O omnipotent creator of all things,
> gentle and merciful God,
> Who govern heaven, earth and sea
> through the power of the Holy Ghost—
> through the merit of that saint
> through whom You cure crowds of sick persons,

[279] Putting the hand over the mouth after yawning (and, in Christian times, making the sign of the cross) is a very ancient practice: it was believed both to prevent the departure of the soul from the gaping mouth, and also to impede the entrance of demons; see H. Bächtold-Stäubli and E. Hoffman-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* iii. 253–6, s.v. 'gähnen', and P. Saintyves, *L'éternuement et le bâillement dans la magie, l'ethnographie et le folklore médicale* (Paris, 1921).

[280] On Lantfred's use of octosyllables, see above, n. 243.

sanas, rex pie, caelitus
in Anglorum limitibus:
morte de dira libera
quem redemisti propria,
ne soeuus hostis baratri
me mergat antrum[j] liuidi.
Sancte, nomen [k]cuius ego[k]
(Deum obtestor) nescio:
posce Christum quo misero
mihi succurrat ilico;
tibi promitto amplius
abhinc non uiuam furtibus.'

Latro cum ille talibus
Deum rogaret precibus,
solutus est diuinitus
catenis et compedibus;
carceris moxque ianuam
comperiens patefactam
(quam custos nocte clauserat
repagulis ac serula),
gauisus est eximium
se euasisse periculum
atque mortis interitum
utriusque[281] perpetuum,[l]
per sancti patris meritum
iuuamen ac suffragium,
glorificans caeli Deum
ac benedicens Dominum.

35. DE VISIONE CVIVSDAM NOBILIS IN VECTA INSVLA. Vir quidam canicie honorabilis prefulgida in Vectam[a] aeger degebat insulam. Qui permanens ter ternos paraliticus per annos, haud languida quibat leuare membra de lectulo absque alicuius famuli presidio. Hunc bini adolescentes miro fulgore coruscantes, angelicamque faciem retinentes,[282] uestibus induti candidissimis, taliter sunt allocuti in sopore noctis: 'Iam tempus adest, frater, te de fulcro surgere in quo iaces! Quapropter indue tuis temet exuuiis et properanter ueni extra cardinem liminis,[b283] nostrasque sermocinationes libenter audi.' Tum uir ille, ut potuit, continuo surrexit, sicut in dormitione somni uisum fuit illi; et propriis amictus induuiis, extra domum ad predictos iuuenes uenit. Qui dixerunt ei: 'Curre nobiscum.' Aeger respondit, 'Quomodo nunc currere possum, qui non surrexi de thoro[c] per interuallum nouem annorum, sine sustentamine bacilli[d] et famulorum?' Qui iuuenes dixerunt languido iterum: 'Noli timere, sed nobiscum perge. Nos te ducemus ad

[i] *add. above line J* [j] antrum *MSS, perhaps for* antro [k–k] cius ergo *N* [l] continuum *with* perpetuum *written above J* [c. 35] RNJ] [a] Vectam *corr. to* Wehtam *J* [b] luminis *N* [c] toro *J*; throno *N* [d] bacilli *MSS, perhaps for* baculi

[281] The phrase refers to death in this world as well as eternal damnation in the next; cf. above, n. 38.

merciful king, by Your heavenly agency,
in the territories of the English:
deliver from that cruel death
me whom You redeemed with Your own death,
so that the cruel fiend of hell
will not plunge me into his deadly pit.
O saint, whose name I do not know
(God is my witness):
ask Christ to come immediately
to the assistance of my miserable self;
I promise you moreover
that henceforth I shall not live by crime.'

When that robber had petitioned God
with prayers such as these,
he was miraculously released
from his chains and shackles;
and immediately thereafter, finding
the prison-door open—
which the guard that night had closed
with bolts and lock—
he rejoiced that he had escaped
so great a danger
as well as the perpetual oblivion
of either sort of death,[281]
through the merit, help and assistance
of the holy father;
and he glorified the God of heaven
and praised the Lord.

35. ABOUT THE VISION OF A CERTAIN NOBLEMAN ON THE ISLE OF WIGHT. A certain sick man, who was distinguished by his shining white hair, lived on the Isle of Wight. He had remained paralysed for a period of nine years, and was not able to raise his diseased limbs from the bed without the help of a servant. Two youths shining with a wondrous brightness in the appearance of angels,[282] and clothed in pure white garments, spoke to this man in a nocturnal dream in the following manner: 'It is now time, brother, to get up from the bed in which you are lying! Therefore put on your clothes and come quickly outside the doorway of your house,[283] and listen carefully to what we say.' Then the man got up at once as best he was able, as it had been disclosed to him in his dream-vision; and he dressed in his own clothing and came outside the house to the aforementioned youths. They said to him: 'Run with us.' The sick man replied, 'How now can I run, who have not got up from my bed for the space of nine years without the support of a crutch and of servants?' The youths replied to the sick man: 'Do not be afraid, but come with us. We shall

[282] A curious and slightly laboured expression ('having an angelic visage'); perhaps Lantfred intended *angelicaque facie renitentes.*

[283] The phrase *cardo liminis* is from Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 666 ('liminis introitum bifori dant cardine claustra').

locum in quo recipies aegritudinis medicamentum.' Paraliticus autem desiderans percipere corporis ualitudinem, libenter sermonibus iuuenum[e] allubescens, cum illis quoquomodo[f] quiuit currere inchoauit. Qui dum iuuenes pernici gressu fugientes[g] sequi pedibus non ualeret, sursum in aera eleuatus super eos uolauit diuinitus. Preduces autem iuuenes duxerunt languidum in delectabilem campum amoenitate conspicuum,[284] rosetis consitum et oliuetis uirentem, omnique pulchritudine delectabilem,[h] niueis atque floribus lilii uestitum, necne omnimodis aromatum odoramentis refertum; in quo nactus est basilicam gemmis et auro constructam. Quam cum intraret, conspexit sacrum antistitem sacerdotalibus ornatum decoraminibus, quasi ad missam celebrandum ante[i] altare stantem. Qui dixit ad egrum: 'Accede huc, homuncio,[285] propius; et loquere nobiscum de tuis utilitatibus.' Languidus uero, dum ad sacrum appropiaret ierarchum, inquit ad eum: 'Quid uis, domine mi?' Presul ait, 'Vide, frater, nemini malum[j] deinceps facias, nulli maledicas, proximum non detrahas, predonibus, homicidis, furibus et sacrilegis haud consentias, uerum omnibus succurras indigentibus in quantum uales opibus—et sic per Dei uirtutem priscam recipies sanitatem.' Aeger autem ille coepit premeditari mente, quod neminem uspiam lederet (nisi illum a quo prius lesus foret), et sibi bona facientibus (quamdiu[k] uiueret) iustae recompensationis[l] emolumentum retribueret. Venerabilis enim antistes, polose[286] intelligens illius cogitationem—quoniam bonum pro bono reddere et malum pro malo disponebat corde—inquit ad languidum: 'Noli, mi frater, hoc agere quod modo disponis sagaci cogitatione: ledentem te ne festines ledere, sed potius Dominum imitare Christum conditorem rerum—qui cum malediceretur, non maledicebat; cum pateretur, non comminabatur; uerum pro ledentibus exorabat patrem ut saluarentur, inquiens, "Pater, ignosce illis; non enim sciunt quid[m] faciunt."[287] Idem Dominus suis Christus precepit sequacibus: "Diligite inimicos uestros; benefacite his qui oderunt uos et orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus uos, ut sitis filii patris uestri qui in caelis est."[288] Et apostolus: "Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum; si sitit, potum da illi."'[289] Audiens autem egrotus, quod tam sacris eum hortaretur antistes sermonibus[n] sequi uestigia Christi,[290] dixit ei: 'Dic mihi, domine, quis es, qui etiam archana cordis[291] hominum dinoscis?' Sanctus respondit, 'Ego sum qui nuper[o] ueni'—quasi planius aliis indicaret uerbis, 'Ego sum idem sanctus per quem Olimpi Dominus anno presenti[292] aegrorum coepit mederi doloribus.' Languidus ait, 'Quo nomine nuncuparis?' Mirificus uates respondit: 'Wintoniam cum ueneris, repperies nomen quod queris'—quasi diceret, 'Ego sum ipse presul qui dicor Suuithunus, cuius corpus dudum Wintoniae fuit repertum.'

Post sancti uatis ammonitionem, paraliticus ille reductus est[p] ad mansionem. Qui cum euigilaretur[293] a soporis quiete, per omnia indicauit coniugi suae qualiter a duobus per somnium

[e] iuuenem *N* [f] quomodo *N* [g] fugien *N* [h] delectabile *N* [i] after ante *J add.* sanctum [j] nalum *J* [k] qua diu *J* [l] recompensationibus *N* [m] quod *RN* [n] *om. J* [o] per *corr. to* nuper *N* [p] *om. N*

[284] For the topos of the *locus amoenus*, see Curtius, *European Literature*, trans. Trask, pp. 195–200. Of passages which may have been known to Lantfred, cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* c. 13–16: 'prorsus odorato ture flagrantior halans / olfactum ambrosiae, necnon crescentia glebae / lilia purpureis possum conexa rosetis / vincere spirantis nardi dulcedine plena').

[285] A word which is uncommon outside the grammarians. In classical Latin it is used by Petronius, *Satyrica* (3×) and Juvenal, *Sat.* v. 133; Lantfred may have known it from Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* ii. 7: 'ego homuncio id non facerem' (CCSL xlvii. 40). The line is quoted by Augustine from his own *Confessiones* i. 16.

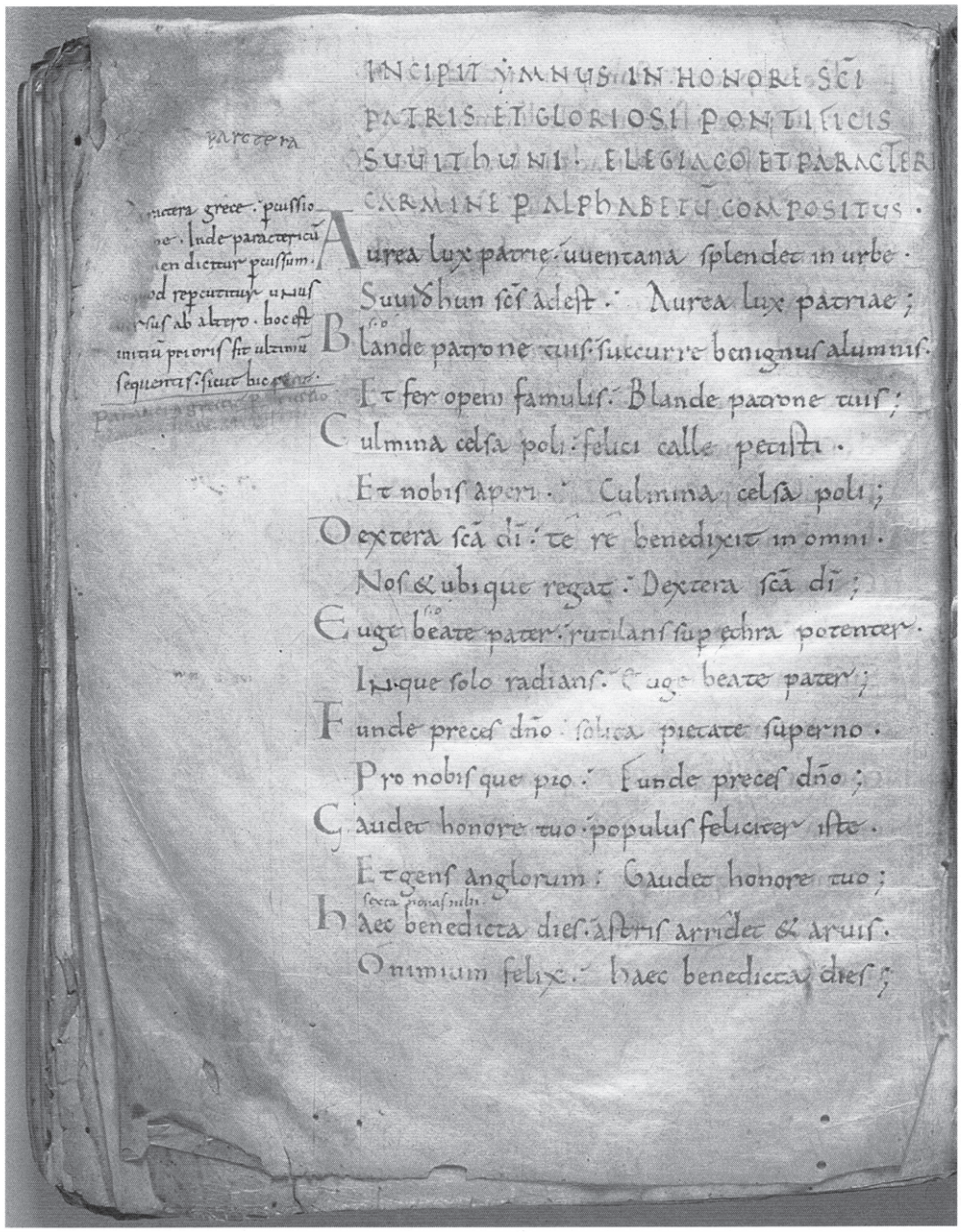
[286] The adverb *polose* is extremely rare, apparently attested only in Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis* i. 37; no further attestations are given in BTL), from where Lantfred presumably derived it. On Lantfred's knowledge of Martianus, see above, n. 116.

[287] Luke 23: 34 ('pater, dimitte illis; non enim sciunt quid faciunt'); no biblical variant *ignosce* is recorded.

[288] Matt. 5: 44–5 (quoted verbatim).

[289] Rom. 12: 20 (quoted verbatim).

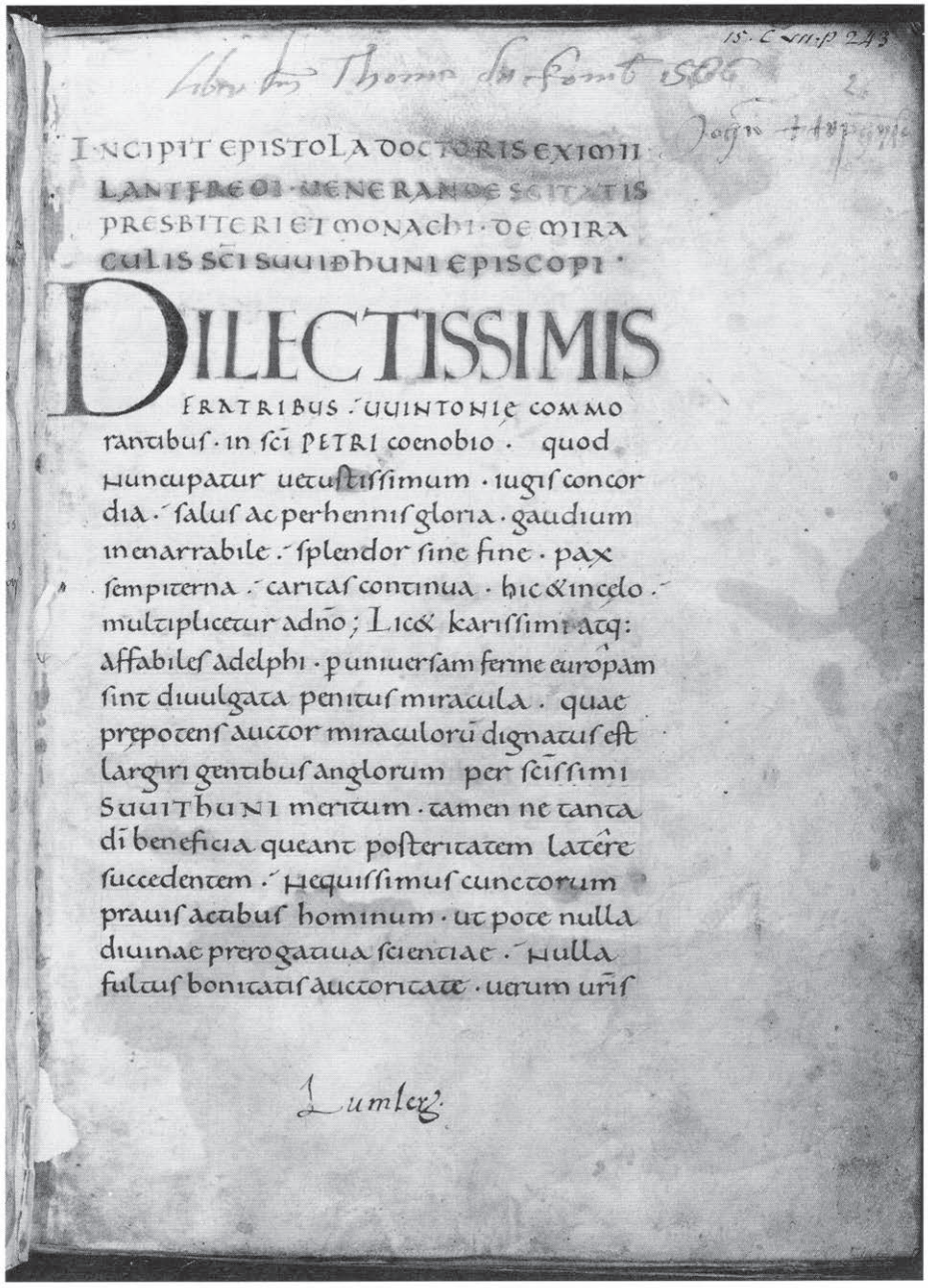
[290] Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* [ps. xxx] enarr. ii,



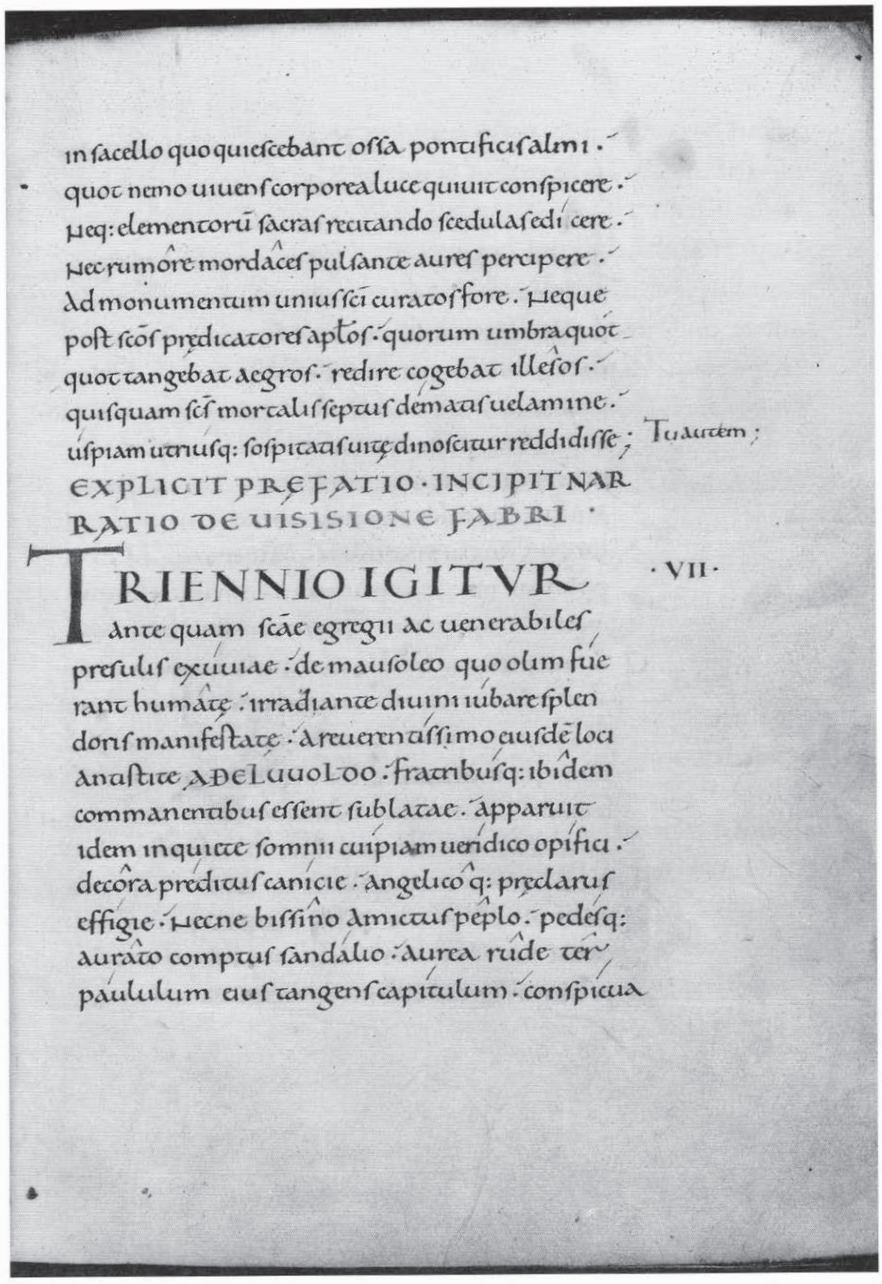
INCIPIT YMNUS IN HONORI SCI
PATRIS ET GLORIOSI PONTIFICIS
SUUITHUNI. ELEGIACO ET PARACTER
CARMINE P ALPHABETU COMPOSITUS.

Aurea lux patrie. uuentana splendet in urbe.
Suuidhun scs adest. Aurea lux patriae;
Blande patrone tuis succurre benignus alumnis.
Et fer opem famulis. Blande patrone tuis;
Culmina celsa poli. feluci calle petisti.
Et nobis aperi. Culmina celsa poli;
Dextera scā dī. te re benedixit in omni.
Nos & ubique regat. Dextera scā dī;
Euge beate pater. rutilans sup ethra potenter.
Inque solo radians. Euge beate pater;
Funde preces dño. subrica pietate superno.
Pro nobis que pio. Funde preces dño;
Gaudet honore tuo. populus feliciter iste.
Et gens anglorum. Gaudet honore tuo;
Haec benedicta dies. astris arridet & aruis.
Omnium felix. Haec benedicta dies;

Wulfstan(?), the hymn *Aurea lux patriae* in honour of St Swithun
Rouen, BM, MS U.107 (1385), fo. 82v, the script of Scribe III, later 990s
(see pp. 787–90).



Lantfred, *Translatio*, the opening lines of the Prefatory Letter to the monks of the Old Minster
London, BL, Royal 15. C.VII, fo. 2r, the script of the original scribe, *c.*1000 (s. x/xi)
(see pp. 239–40, 252–3).

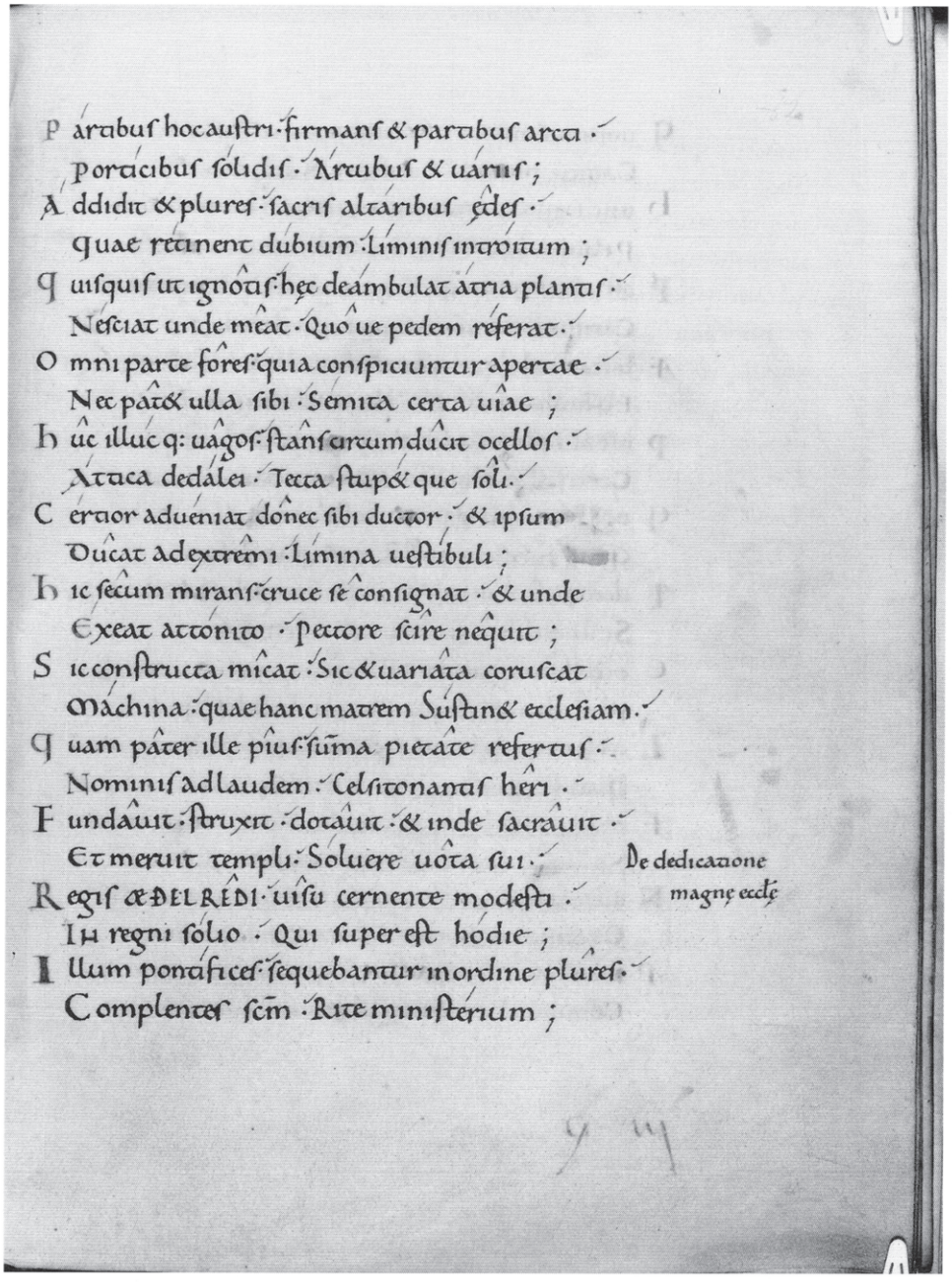


in sacello quo quiescebant ossa pontificis almi.
quot nemo uiuens corporea luce quiuit conspicere.
Neq: elementorū sacras recitando scedulas edicere.
Nec rumore mordaces pulsante aures percipere.
Ad monumentum unius scī curatos fore. Neque
post scōs predicatores aplos. quorum umbra quot
quot tangebat aegros. redire cogebat illesos.
quisquam scs mortalis septus dematis uelamine.
uspiam utriusq: sospitatis uite dinoscitur reddidisse; Tu autem;
EXPLICIT PREFATIO · INCIPIT NAR
RATIO DE UISISIONE FABRI ·

TRIENNIO IGITVR · VII ·
ante quam scae egregii ac uenerabiles
presulis exuuiae. de mausoleo quo olim fue
rant humate. irradiante diuini iubare splen
doris manifestate. a reuerentissimo eiusdē loci
antistite ADELUUOLDO. fratribusq: ibidem
commanentibus essent sublatae. apparuit
idem inquiete somnii cuipiam ueridico opifici.
decora preditus canicie. angelicoq: preclarus
effigie. Necne bissino amictus peplo. pedesq:
aurato comptus sandalio. aurea rude ter
paululum eius tangens capitulum. conspicua

Lantfred *Translatio*, the end of the Preface and the beginning of c. 1, the story of the smith's vision London, BL, Royal 15. C.VII, fo. 6r, the script of the original scribe, *c.*1000 (s. x/xi) (see pp. 239–40, 258–61).

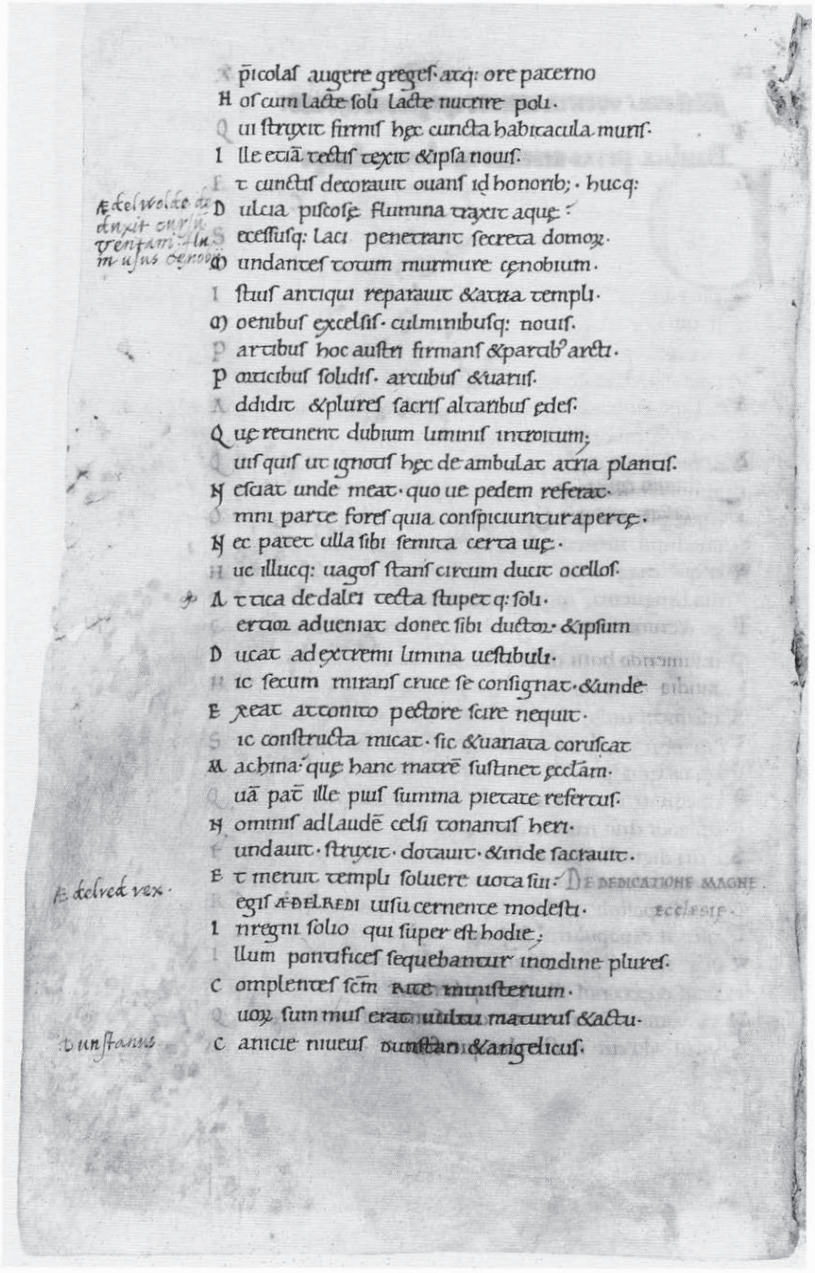
IV



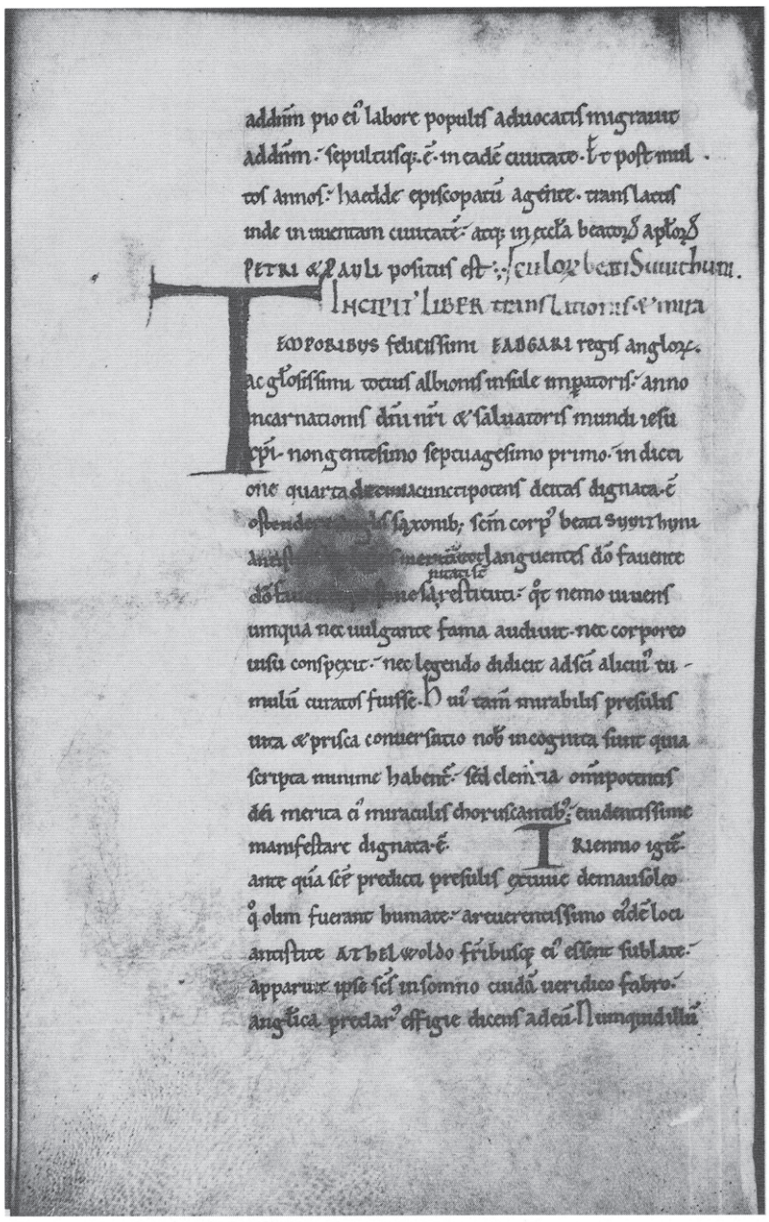
Partibus hoc austri · firmans & partibus arcti ·
Porticibus solidis · Arcubus & uariis ;
Addidit & plures · sacris altaribus ędes ·
Quae retinent dubium · Liminis introitum ;
Quisquis ut ignôtis · hęc deambulat atria plantis ·
Nesciat unde mêat · Quô ue pedem referat ·
Omni parte fôres · quia conspiciuntur apertae ·
Nec pât & ulla sibi · Semita certa uîae ;
Hûc illuc q: uâgos · stâns circum dûcit ocellos ·
Attica dedalei · Tecta stup & que sôli ·
Certior aduéniat dônec sibi ductor · & ipsum
Dûcat ad extrêmi · Limina uestibuli ;
Hic sêcum mirans · cruce sê consignat · & unde
Exeat attonito · Pectore scîre nêquit ;
Sic constructa mîcat · Sic & uariâta coruscat
Machina · quae hanc matrem Sustin & ecclesiam ·
Quam pâter ille pîus · sûma pietâte refertus ·
Nominis ad laudem · Celsitonantis hêri ·
Fundâuit · struxit · dotâuit · & inde sacrâuit ·
Et meruit templi · Soluere uôta sui ·
Regis ÆDELRÊDI · uîsu cernente modesti ·
In regni solio · Qui super est hodie ;
Illum pontifices · sequebantur in ordine plûres ·
Complentes scm̄ · Rite ministerium ;

De dedicatione magnę eccl̄ę

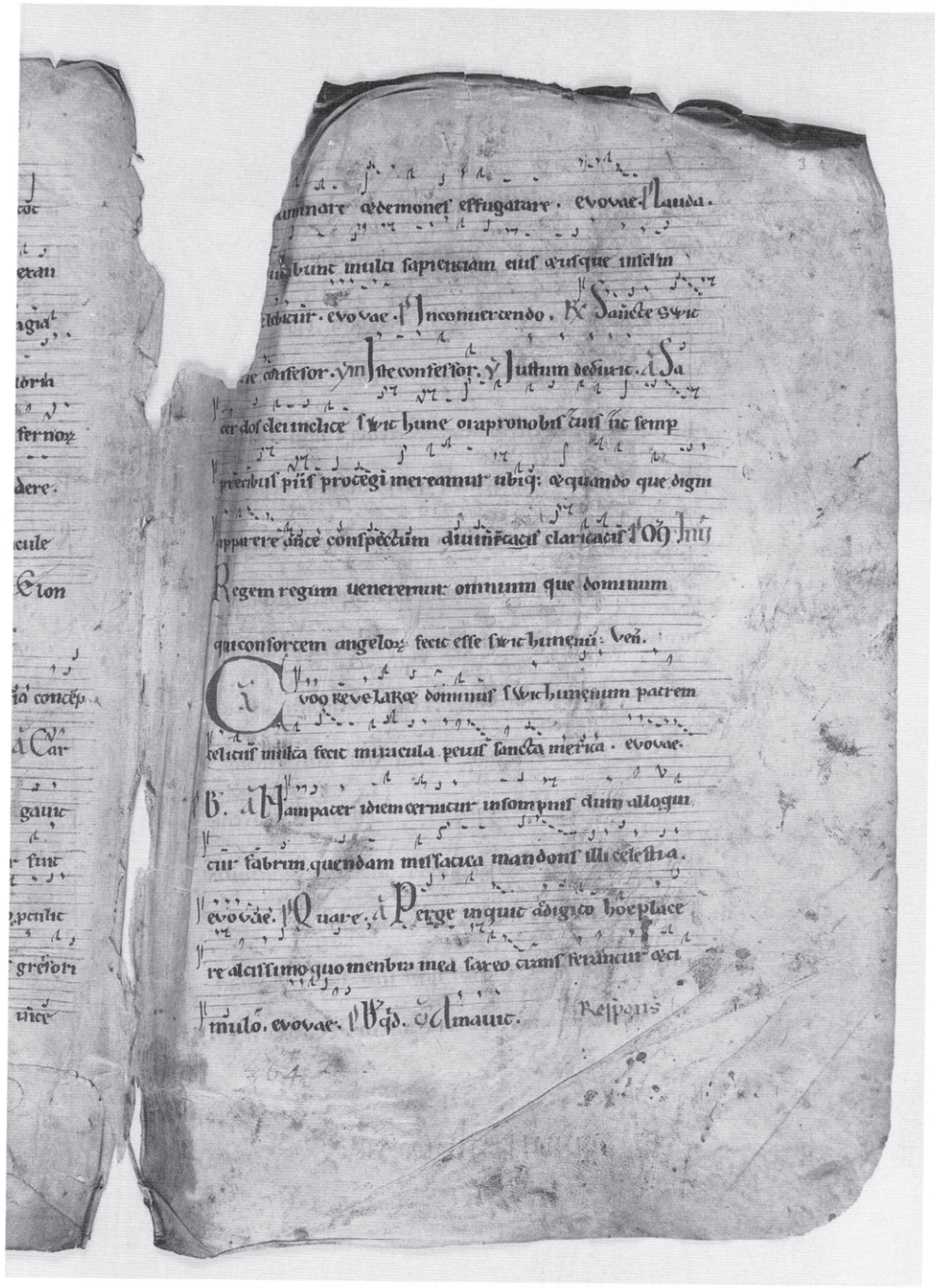
Wulfstan *Narratio*, *Epistola specialis*, lines 47–70, with the heading *De dedicatione magne ecclesie* London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII, fo. 52r, the script of the original scribe, *c.*1000 (s. x/xi) (see pp. 365, 374–7).



Wulfstan *Narratio, Epistola specialis*, lines 37–72, with the heading *De dedicatione magne ecclesie*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Auct. F. 2. 14, fo. 1v, *c.*1100 (s. xi²)
(see pp. 364, 374–7).

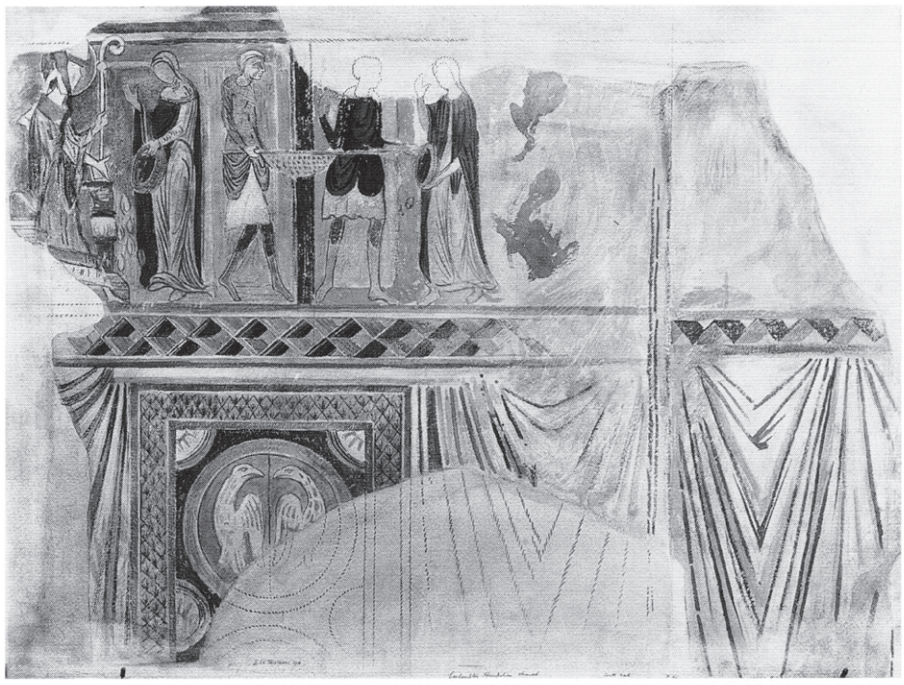


Ælfric(?), *Epitome* c. 1 and part of Roman c. 2
Paris, BNF, 5362, fo. 70v, the script of Scribe III, late 11th century (s. x^{ex})
(see pp. 555–7, 564–5).



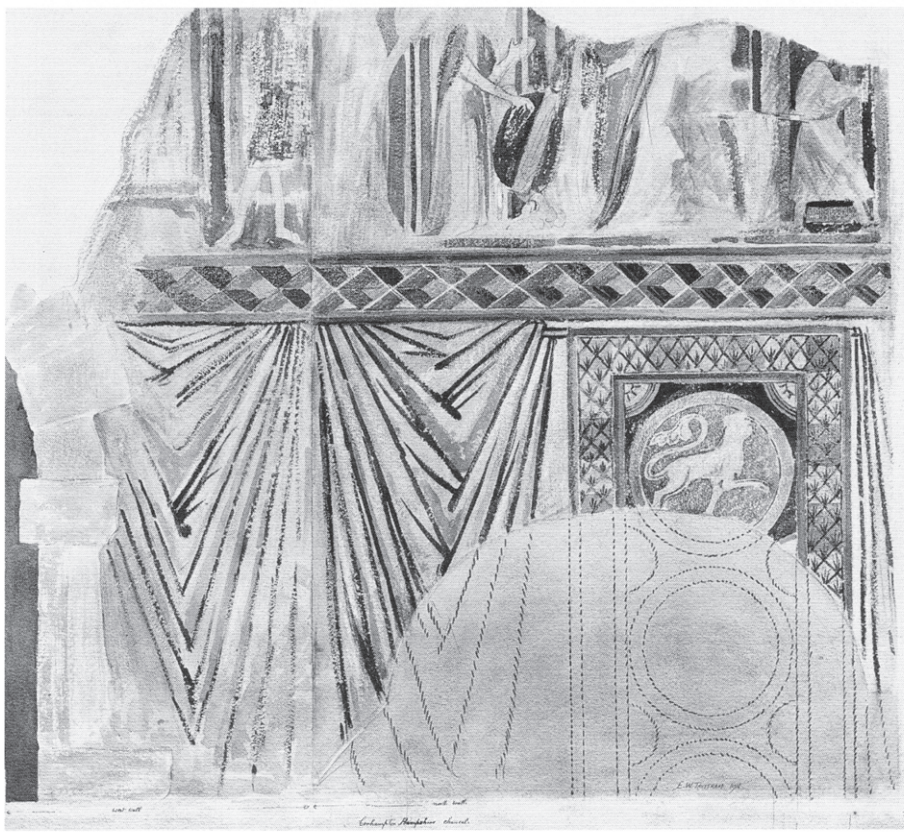
Fragment of an antiphoner with responses and verses from the *historia* of St Swithun
Helsinki, University Library, F. m. I no. 1, fo. 3r, *c.*1200
(see pp. 125–8).

VIII (*a*)



Corhampton, drawing by E. W. Tristram of wall-paintings in the south-west corner of the chancel showing miracles of St Swithun
Victoria and Albert Museum (see pp. 185–9, 636, 793).

VIII (*b*)



Corhampton, drawing by E. W. Tristram of wall-paintings in the north-west corner of the chancel showing an unidentified subject
Victoria and Albert Museum (see pp. 185–9, 636, 793).

IX (*a*)



Corhampton, wall-paintings in the south-west corner of the chancel, before restoration, showing miracles of St Swithun; Courtauld Institute of Art, photograph C 37/84 (see pp. 185–9, 636, 793).

IX (*b*)



Corhampton, wall-paintings in the north-west corner of the chancel, before restoration, showing an unidentified subject; Courtauld Institute of Art, photograph C 37/83 (see pp. 185–9, 636, 793).

X (*a*)



Corhampton, wall-paintings in the south-west corner of the chancel, after restoration, showing miracles of St Swithun; Courtauld Institute of Art
(see pp. 185–9, 636, 793).

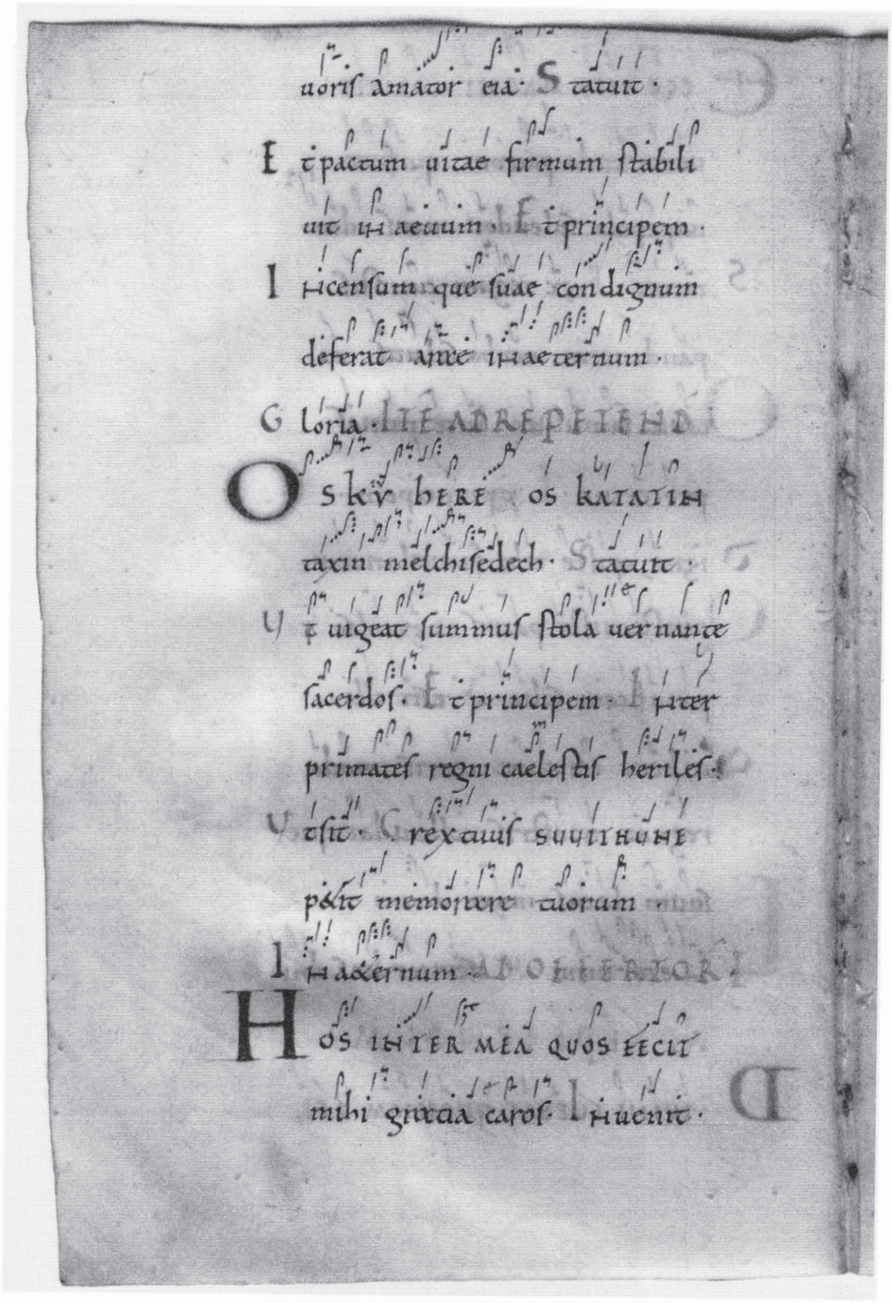
X (*b*)



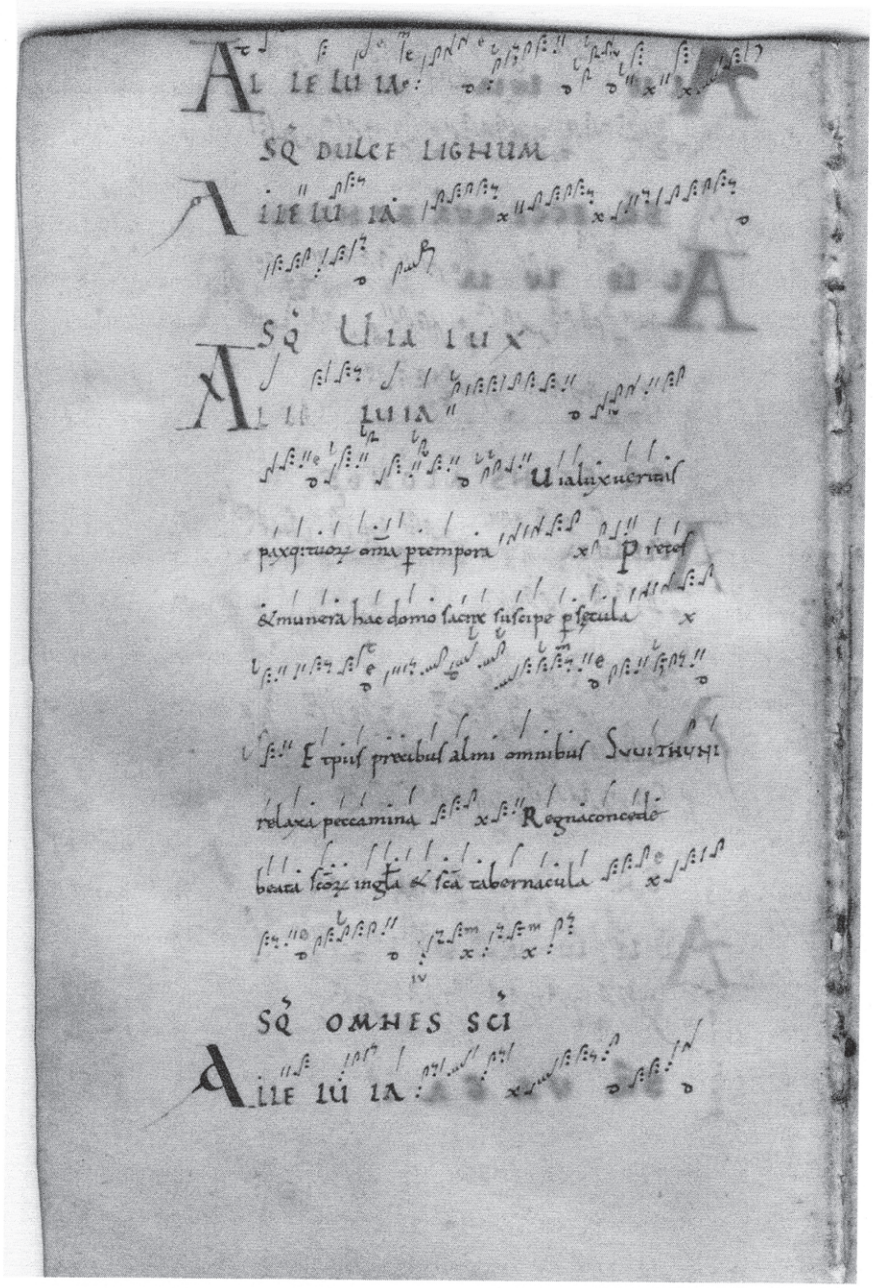
Corhampton, wall-paintings in the north-west corner of the chancel, after restoration, showing an unidentified subject; Courtauld Institute of Art
(see pp. 185–9, 636, 793).



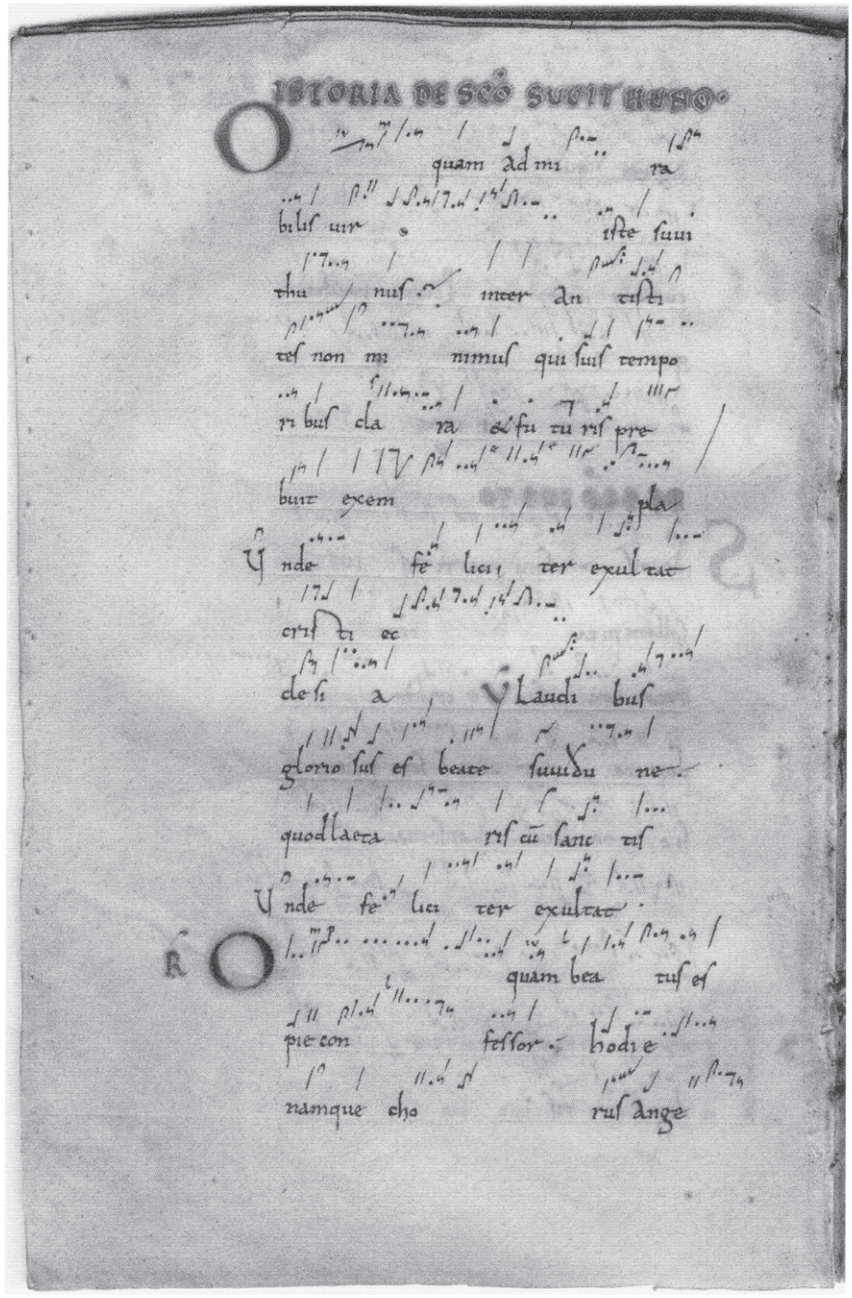
St Swithun in the east window of Winchester Cathedral
National Monuments Record (see p. 189).



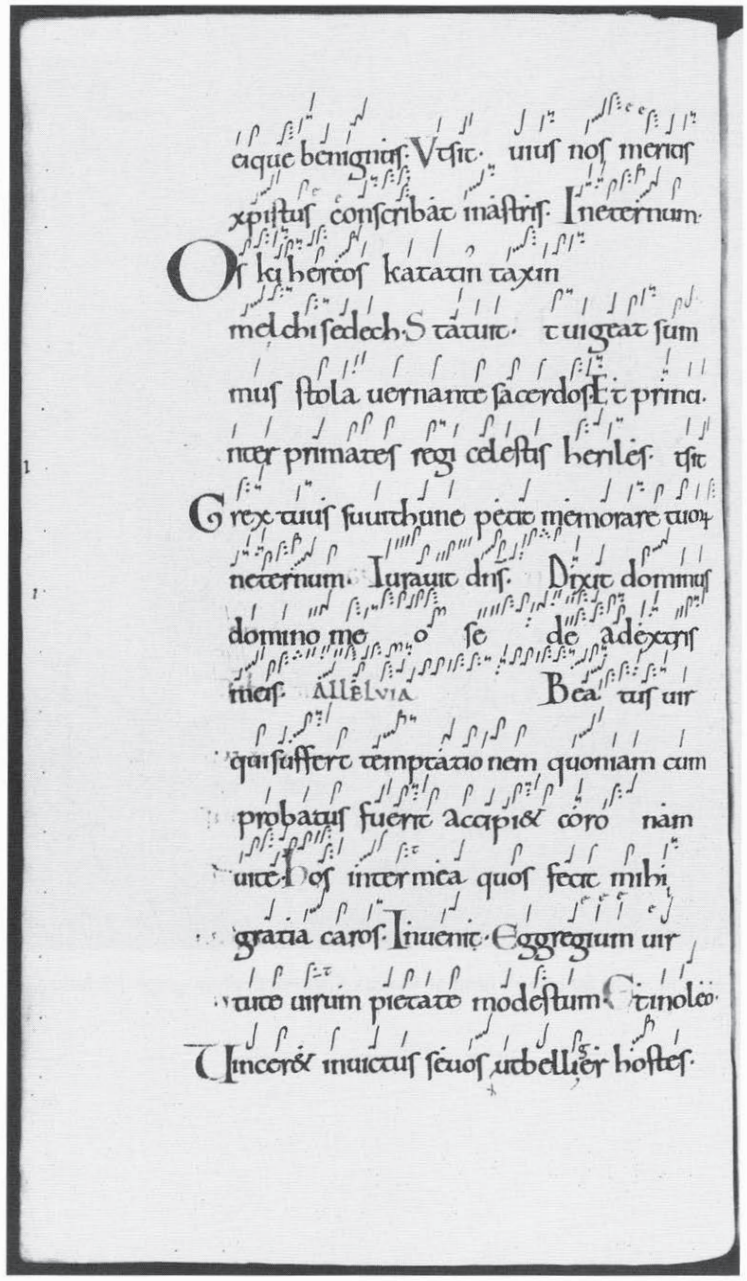
The earlier 'Winchester troper', tropes for the feast of St Swithun's deposition
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473, fo. 39v, *c.*1020s
(see pp. 191ff and Fig. 4).



The earlier 'Winchester troper', the sequence *Via lux ueritas*
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473, fo. 87v, *c.*1020s
(see pp. 191ff).



The earlier 'Winchester troper', the beginning of the *organa* for the Office liturgy for a feast of St Swithun, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473, fo. 186v, *c.*1020s (see pp. 191ff, 202–3).



The later 'Winchester troper', tropes for the two feasts of St Swithun
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, fo. 46r, mid 11th century
(see pp. 191ff, 198–9, and Fig. 5).

XVI



The relic of St Swithun's head at Evreux Cathedral; photograph by John Crook (see pp. 61–5).

take you to a place in which you will receive medication for your illness.' The paralytic, desiring to obtain the health of his body, eagerly obeyed the requests of the youths and began to run with them as well as he could. When he was no longer able to follow the youths (who were fleeing at a swift pace) on foot, he miraculously flew up in the air high above them. And the youthful guides led the sick man into a delightful field which was remarkable for its loveliness,[284] sown thick with rose-bushes and verdant with olive-trees, pleasant in all its beauty, and covered with the snow-white flowers of the lily and filled with every sort of delicious aroma; the man arrived at a church in this field constructed from gold and jewels. When he entered it, he saw a holy bishop clothed in priestly regalia, standing before the altar as if to celebrate mass. He said to the sick man: 'Come closer, little man,[285] and speak to us about your contribution.' The sick man, while he was approaching the holy priest, said to him: 'What do you wish, my lord?' The bishop said: 'Make sure, brother, that henceforth you do no evil to anyone, that you curse no one, that you do not slander your neighbour, that you do not conspire with robbers, murderers, thieves and those who plunder the church, but that you assist all needy persons with your riches as well as you can—and in this way through God's power you shall regain your former health.' Now the sick man began to mull over in his mind the fact that he had never harmed anyone—except someone by whom he had first been injured—and had always, as long as he had lived, repaid the stipend of a just reward to those people who did good deeds to him. But the venerable bishop, comprehending his thought-processes by heavenly means[286]—namely, that he was determining in his heart to repay good with good and evil with evil—said to the sick man: 'Do not, my brother, do what you are now considering in your clever calculation: do not hasten to harm someone who harms you, but rather hasten to imitate Christ the creator of all things Who, when He was cursed, did not curse in return; when He was suffering, did not issue threats, but implored His Father on behalf of those afflicting Him that they be saved, saying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."[287] Likewise Christ the Lord instructed his followers: "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you: and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you: that you may be the children of your Father Who is in heaven."[288] And the Apostle: "But thy enemy be hungry, give him to eat; if he thirst, give him to drink."'[289] And the sick man, hearing that the bishop was exhorting him with his holy words to follow in Christ's footsteps,[290] said to him: 'Tell me, my lord, who you are, who know even the secrets in the hearts of men?'[291] The saint replied, 'I am he who recently came'—as if in other words he was plainly indicating, 'I am that very saint through whom the Lord of heaven began this year[292] to cure the diseases of the sick.' The sick man said, 'What is your name?' The wonderful saint replied, 'When you come to Winchester, you will discover the name which you seek'—as if he were saying, 'I am that same bishop who am named Swithun, whose body was recovered at Winchester a short time ago.'

After the holy saint's admonition, the paralytic was taken back to his home. When he awakened[293] from the peace of his slumber, he explained to his wife in every detail how he had

serm. iii. 7: 'uis uiuere ut Christianus? uis sequi uestigia Domini tui?' (CCSL xxxviii. 217); [ps. cxl], c. 8: 'quia eius [*scil.* Christi] uestigia sequi cupiebat' (CCSL xl. 2031); and Bede, *Hom.* i. 21: 'haec et huiusmodi gerere Christi est uestigia sequi' (CCSL cxxii. 150).

[291] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* cxxxiii. 2: 'inspiciente Deo et omnia contemplante, quem arcana cordis non fallunt' (CSEL lvi. 244); *Comm. in prophetas minores* [Abacuc] i. 2 [5–8]: 'ut Dominus qui cordis arcana cognoscit' (CCSL lxxviA. 603); *Comm. in Hiezechielem* iv. 14 [1–11]: 'ipse sit Dominus qui cordis arcana cognoscit' (CCSL lxxv. 151); and Cassian, *Conlat.* xix. 12: 'quem latere omnia cordis arcana non possunt' (CSEL xiii. 546).

[292] The expression implies that the present chapter was written in 971, or in any case before July 972.

[293] Once again it is unclear why Lantfred should have used the passive form (one would expect *euigilaret*); see above, n. 117.

iuuenibus in floriferum perductus est pratum,[q] in quo accepit salutiferum pontificis imperium. Coniunx autem uiro dixit suo: 'Vis, dilecte mi, ut euocem agnatos, clientes et uicinos, quatinus te deferant ad basilicam quae est infra istam Deo dicata insulam? Nonne illo delatus poteris rogare Deum, quo tibi concedat medicinam tuae aegritudinis[r] per gloriosi Suuithuni meritum? Vere presul ipse fuit qui temet euangelicis sermonibus instituit, quique tibi manifestatus est per uisionem noctis.' Placuit autem languido optimum uxoris consilium. Cumque autem ad praedictam[s] deductus foret ecclesiam, et rogaret ibi cunctipotentem celi ac telluris regem, quatinus succurreret illi per intercessionem pontificis almi, protinus celestem a Domino promeruit curationem. Is autem, mox ut effectus est sanus, domum rediit pedibus—qui ad templum fuerat baccaulo deportatus—cum omni comitatu referens laudes Deo conditori, qui est auctor 'mirabilis et gloriosus in sanctis suis'.'[294] Non post multos etenim dies postquam salutis medelam[295] percepit, extra prefatam nauigauit insulam; et Wintoniam ueniens, episcopo preclui fratribusque ibidem residentibus[u] narrauit qualiter per Dei famulum sanitatem recepit. Venerabilis enim antistes ita hoc miraculum indicauit scriptori, sicut scriptum est in superficie huius codicelli.

36. DE IVVENE CAECO. Eodem tempore etiam iuuenis degebat quidam in quodam uico qui uocatur Colungaburna;[296] qui[a] in ipsa paschalis sollempnitatis die[b] effectus est[c] cecus casu accidente—adeo ut preter tenebrarum caliginem non posset aspicere quicquam, neque solis perspicuam claritatem.[297] Postquam autem multum perpessus foret in prefata cecitate, spopondit[d] se uigilaturum nocte in coenobio quod nuncupatur Sceftesbyrig,[e 298] quo requiescit corpus sanctissimae ac uenerabilis Ælfgiuae,[299] matris gloriosissimi[f] ac piissimi Anglorum regis Eadgari,[g] ad cuius tumulum multa infirmorum corpora per Dei omnipotentiam[h] recipiunt medicinam—partim pro suis, partim pro filii meritis. Quo regnante,[300] omnia pene monasteria,[i] olim sub antecessoribus desolata regibus, per eius clementiam feliciter sunt reparata. Qui dum ad prenotatum pergeret locum, a[j] propria coniuge nimium caeco ipsi est[k] persuasum, quo Wintoniam ad sanctum gressus dirigeret Suuithunum. Qui eius floccipendens[301] suggestiones,[l] ocius ad predestinatum properauit templum. Cumque illuc perueniens promissam excubiis duceret noctem, malo additum est malum: ingens gibbus creuit[m] super eius oculum, qui ita uirum cruciabat illum, quatinus iam nullum requireret luminis medicamentum, Deum solummodo rogans ut oculi [n]sanaret strumam,[n] [o]quae in modum famfaluce turgebat,[o] pestiferam. Qui allubescens rursus uxoris persuasionibus, tollens secum preducem puerum citato gressu Wintoniensem protinus festinabat ad urbem, exorans omnimodis

[q] paratum *N* [r] aegritudin *N* [s] predictum *corr. to* predictam *N* [t] tuis *N* [u] residetibus *N*
[c. 36] RNJ] [a] *add. above line J* [b] diae *N* [c] *add. above line J* [d] spospondit *JN* [e] sceptesbyrg *J*
[f] gloriosissime *N* [g] Æþgari *J* [h] omnipotentem *N* [i] monasterio *N* [j] ap *N* [k] *add. above line J*
[l] suggestionibus *J, perhaps rightly* [m] creauit *N* [n–n] strumam sanaret *J* [o–o] *add. in margin J*

[294] Ps. 67 (68): 36.

[295] Cf. Bede, *Hom.* i. 8: 'uerum medelam eis salutis . . . adhibuit' (CCSL xccii. 55).

[296] This is probably Collingbourne Kingston, Wilts. (see fig. 1, as well as Ekwall, *DEPN*, s.v., and *EPNS Wilts.*, pp. 342–5). Collingbourne Kingston is mentioned in the doubtful foundation charter of New Minster (S 370 = BCS 602), and in another equally doubtful charter of Edward the Elder dated 921 granting Collingbourne Kingston to the thegn Wulfgar (S 379 = BCS 635); see further D. J. Bonney, 'Two tenth-century charters concerning land at Avon and Collingbourne', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, lxiv (1969), 56–64.

[297] Cf. 1 Cor. 15: 41.

[298] The monastery of nuns at Shaftesbury (see fig. 1) was founded by King Alfred in approximately 888; its first abbess was Alfred's daughter, Æthelgifu. See Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. 85, and Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 272.

[299] Ælfgifu was the wife of King Edward the Elder and the mother of Kings Eadwig and Edgar. She died in 944, was buried at Shaftesbury, and miracles subsequently took place at her tomb. The chronicler Æthelweard, writing 978 × 988, reports that 'in cuius [*scil.* Ælfgifu] mausoleo, (cooperante Deo)

been taken in his sleep by two youths into a flowering field, in which he had received the bishop's beneficial injunction. His wife then said to her husband: 'Do you wish, my love, that I call forth our kinsmen, retainers and neighbours, so that they may take you to the church which is dedicated to God on this island? Once you have been taken there, can you not ask God to grant to you the remedy for your illness, through the merit of the glorious Swithun? For truly he is the very bishop who instructed you with the words of the gospel, and who appeared to you in your nocturnal vision.' The excellent advice of his wife pleased the sick man. And when he had been taken to the church in question, and there had implored the omnipotent God of heaven and earth to assist him through the intercession of the kindly bishop, he was found worthy to receive a heaven-sent remedy at once. And as soon as the man had been restored to health, he returned home on foot—he who had been carried to the church on a litter; and together with his retinue he repaid grateful thanks to God the creator, Who is a 'wonderful and glorious agent acting through His saints.'[294] Furthermore, not many days after he had received the remedy for his health,[295] he sailed from the aforementioned island; and coming to Winchester, he reported to the distinguished bishop and the monks living there how he had obtained his health. For this venerable bishop thereupon retailed the miracle to the present writer, just as it is written on the pages of this book.

36. ABOUT A YOUNG MAN WHO WAS BLIND. Similarly at the same time a young man was living in a place which is called Collingbourne;[296] on the very day of Easter itself he was struck blind by an unfortunate circumstance—so much so that he could not see anything except the darkness of shadows, and could not see the clear light of the sun.[297] And after he had suffered a long while with this blindness, he promised that he would keep vigil by night in the monastery at Shaftesbury,[298] where the body of the venerable St Ælfgifu[299] lies in repose, who was the mother of Edgar king of the English, and at whose tomb many bodies of sick persons receive medication through the omnipotence of God—partly as a result of her own, partly as a result of her son's merits. (During his reign[300] nearly all the monasteries which formerly had been left in ruin by previous kings have been successfully restored through his sympathy.) While the young man was setting off for the aforementioned place, he was much prevailed upon by his wife to direct his steps to St Swithun at Winchester. Disregarding[301] her suggestions, he went quickly to the church he had intended [i.e. Shaftesbury]. Once he got there and was spending the night as promised in vigils, misfortune was added to misfortune: a great lump grew above his eye which so tormented the man that at this point he sought no remedy for his blindness, but was simply asking God to cure the pernicious tumour which was swelling like a bubble. Giving in this time to the persuasions of his wife and taking with him a young boy as a guide, he hastened at once with a quickened pace to the city of Winchester, imploring the all-creating God in every manner

usque ad praesens innumerosa equidem miracula fiunt in coenobio, quod uulgo Sceftesbyrig nuncupatur' (ed. Campbell, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, p. 54). She is mentioned in the late Old English tract 'On the Resting Places of English Saints' (= *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*, ed. F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hannover, 1889)), c. 36; see also D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* vii (1978), 61–93, at p. 92 (no. 36); her feast day (18 May) is commemorated in some pre-Conquest calendars particularly from Winchester (see Wormald, *Kalendars*, pp. 62, 118, 146, 160, 188, 202, 230, and perhaps p. 132).

[300] It is impossible to determine from this ambiguous phrase whether King Edgar is still alive as Lantfred is writing (see above, p. 236). Most of the monastic refoundations took place in the early part of Edgar's reign, and Lantfred is probably referring back to that period, rather than to a time when Edgar was still alive.

[301] Note that, according to the scribe of R, this verb governs the accusative (*suggestiones*), but that the scribe of J construes it with the dative (*suggestionibus*). Elsewhere in Lantfred it is construed with the accusative (cc. 3, 10).

Deum cuncticreantem, ut ei per sacri uatis intercessionem conferret oculorum medicamen et strumae intolerabilem medicaret egritudinem. Qui dum extra prefatam processissent uillulam, cecus ductorem alloquitur collegam: 'Modo corpus meum adeo est refocillatum[p]—quod paulo ante ita erat grauatum nimio dolore ut sperarem me penitus uitam finire, nec ullo modo ad locum posse quo pergimus uenire. Gratias refero[q] omnipotenti[r] Deo, quia[s] nunc quo desidero pergere ualeo.' Iuuenis ductor infit aegroto: 'Supplici prece et humili mente puroque corde Iesum Christum posce, et ocius optatam recipies medelam.' Quid multa? Antequam peruenirent ad ciuitatem, cecus ille oculorum et gibbi recepit curationem per uenerandi antistitis[t] interuentionem. Accessit autem ad sancti uiri tumulum, atque ibi Deo grates ac sancto Suuithuno reddens, ad suum letus et alacer[u] reuersus est domicilium.

37. [a]DE QVODAM ADOLESCENTE INCVRVO.[a] Adolescens denique quidam habitabat in [b]prouincia quadam que Sumersætan[302] nuncupatur.[b] Qui pre nimia egritudine ita erat curuatus somate, ut decliui capite celum uix posset cernere. Is dum a propria[c] natiuitate detentus esset corporis curuamine, ac diu misere tali cruciaretur peste, Wintoniam accessit[d] quadam die ut elemosinam acciperet pro Christi nomine, semet sustentans gemino fuste. Qui cum subiret portam ciuitatis, obuiauit illi quidam iuuenis,[303] proficiscens causa legationis a cenobio quo uenerabilis quiescebant membra pontificis. Qui mox ut uidit egrum binis incumbentem cambuttis, interrogauit eum unde ueniret uel quorsum gressus dirigeret. Qui postquam eius cognouit arbitrium, persuasit languido quo pergeret ad sanctum, quatinus perciperet caeleste medicamentum. At ille dixit ei sermone lacrimabili, 'Te queso, miserere mei; deduc me ad tumbam presulis almi. Perplures transacti sunt dies[e] ex quo illo uolebam ire; sed non quiui absque ductore, quoniam ignotae sunt mihi huius ciuitatis uiae.' Misertus autem illius, iuuenis ille perduxit eum ad basilicam quo sancti uiri quiescebant reliquiae. In qua dum uigilaret nocte, per eius meritum sanitatem meruit recipere. Ad quem custos ecclesiae accedens matutino tempore, interrogauit eum[f] si melius haberet[304] ex parte. Qui respondens dixit ei, 'Ex quo natus fui hanc infirmitatem habui; et tormenta numquam tanta sustinui, quanta postquam huc adueni.' Cui custos ait: 'Cum omni mentis intentione diligenter Deum posce,[g] quoniam cito liberaberis ab hac inualitudine.' Qui dum ab illo recessisset[h] paululum, eger sanatus[i] surgens stetit ante sanctum et recto uultu suspexit celum,[305] laudans et glorificans regem caelorum.

38. DE MVLIERE MANICIS ALLIGATA. Nec obliuioni tradendum est, quod quaedam muliercula in ciuitate Wintonia[a] abluebat exuuias domini sui; quae subito dum portarentur ad

[p] refocillatums [sic] *N* [q] refere *N* [r] o- *add. above line J* [s] *om. J* [t] antistis *corr. to* antistitis *J* [u–u] *om. J*
[c. 37] RNJ] [a–a] DE ADOLESCENTE INCVRVO *J* [b–b] uico quodam qui nuncupatur Sumersæten *J* [c] *add. above line J* [d] pergens *with* accessit *written above J* [e] *add. above line J* [f] *om. J, perhaps rightly* [g] exposce *N*
[h] recessiset *N* [i] *add. above line J*
[c. 38] RNJ] [a] Wintoniae *J*

[302] It is not clear why the scribe of J should have altered *prouincia* to *uico*. As I have noted (above, n. 178), Lantfred uses *prouincia* to denote a large territory, often a shire; *uicus* on the other hand usually refers to a village or an estate. The earliest form of the name is recorded by Asser (writing in 893) as *Summurtunensis paga* (c. 53), 'the region of Somerton', and in fact *Sumorsæte* is merely a syncopated form of *Sumortun-sæte*, 'the inhabitants at Somerton' (see Ekwall, *DEPN*, s.v.). In other words, the scribe of R thought that Lantfred was referring to the region, whereas J's scribe thought the reference was to the village of Somerton, near Glastonbury (see fig. 1). Unfortunately, Wulfstan at this point does not mention the boy's origin and hence provides no supplementary information, but the scribes' hesitation indicates that the name 'Somerset' for the

to grant him medication for his eyes and to heal the intolerable anguish of the tumour, through the intercession of the holy saint. When they had proceeded beyond the aforementioned village [*scil.* of Collingbourne], the blind man spoke to his accompanying guide: 'My body is now revived to some extent—it was so burdened with intense pain a short while before that I was hoping to end my life once for all, nor was I hoping to be able in any way to get to the place we are now going. I give thanks to the omnipotent God, that now I am able to go where I wish.' The young guide said to the sick man: 'Ask Jesus Christ with an earnest prayer, a humble mind and a pure heart, and you shall quickly receive the remedy you hope for.' Why say more? Before they had reached the city, the blind man obtained the cure of his eyesight and of the tumour through the intervention of the venerable bishop. But he proceeded to the tomb of the holy man, and after giving thanks there to God and to St Swithun, he returned to his home hale and hearty.

37. ABOUT A CERTAIN CRIPPLED YOUNG MAN. Thereafter, a certain young man was living in a region which is called Somerset.[302] Because of an extreme illness, his body was so bent over, with his head pointing downwards, that he could scarcely see the sky. Since he had been crippled from birth by this curvature of the spine and for a long time had been tormented miserably by so terrible an affliction, he went one day to Winchester in order to receive alms in the name of Christ, propping himself up during the journey on two crutches. When he was entering the gate of the city, he was approached by a young man[303] who was setting out on an errand from the monastery in which the limbs of the venerable bishop lay in repose. As soon as he saw the sick man leaning on his two crutches, he asked him whence he had come and where he was going. After he had learned the sick man's intention, he persuaded him to go to the saint so that he might receive heaven-sent medication. But the sick man said to him in tearful words: 'I beg you, have pity on me: take me to the tomb of the holy bishop. Many days have passed since I conceived the desire to go there; but I couldn't possibly manage without a guide, since the streets of this city are unknown to me.' Taking pity on him, the young man led him to the church in which the relics of the holy man lay. While he was spending the night there in vigil, he was found worthy to receive his cure through Swithun's merit. In the morning the sacrist went up to him and asked him if he was feeling somewhat better.[304] He said to him in reply, 'Since the day I was born I have had this disease; and yet I have never felt such intense pain as I have felt since I came here.' The sacrist said to him: 'Address yourself earnestly to God with every effort of your heart, so that you may quickly be delivered from this disease.' And when the sacrist had withdrawn from him a short time, the sick man stood up, cured, before the saint's tomb, and looked at the sky with his head upright,[305] praising and glorifying the king of heaven.

38. CONCERNING THE WOMAN BOUND UP IN MANACLES. Nor ought the fact be consigned to oblivion, that a certain woman in the city of Winchester was washing the clothes of her

region had not yet become established in the late tenth century. Finally, it is not clear why the scribes have given the oblique form *Sumersætan* in lieu of the nominative *Sumersæte*; possibly the mistake was Lantfred's.

[303] Wulfstan (*Narratio* ii. 1108) gives the youth's name as Pippin, but no such name is found in the list of Old Minster monks preserved in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster (ed. Birch, pp. 22–9; ed. Keynes, fos. 17v-20r).

[304] On this use of *habeo* without the reflexive pronoun, see above, n. 209.

[305] Cf. Dan. 13: 35 ('quae flens suspexit ad caelum'); for the construction of *suspicio* with direct object, as here, cf. Jerome, *Ep.* cxlvii. 9: 'postquam a saluatore curata est, caelum erecta suspexit' (CSEL lvi. 325).

fluuium, a furibus arreptae sunt. Senior autem illius, ultramodum iratus eo quod suas[b] tam neglegenter custodiret induuias, eam compluribus cecidit uibicibus manusque eius ferreis uinxit[c] ligaminibus, adeo[d] strictis ut grauiter lacerarent brachiorum carnes. Haec dum acrius crucianda custodiretur usque in diem posterum,[e] accidit ut illius senior pergeret ad quoddam negotium. Quae mox ut conspexit domum uacuam, a custodibus fugam excogitauit protinus et ad templum, in quo sancti presulis quiescebat corpus, properauit ocius. Quo cum peruenisset et ante eius reliquias cum gemitu Deum oraret, quatinus per sancti meritum a diris eam uinculis liberaret, ilico manicae pessulo obseratae[f] in terram de eius ceciderunt manibus. Cumque hoc furibundo nuntiatum foret domino, coepit dicere quod nimium fuissent amplae, et ideo de manibus eius cecidissent catenulae. Nonnulli autem ad hoc comprobandum[g] accesserunt, [h]manicas acceperunt,[h] et coram illo in eas manus ancillae ipsius mittere uoluerunt: exceptis tribus digitis, nequiuerunt concludere illis. Eaedem denique infra eandem basilicam catenulae adhuc sunt suspensae, ut omnes qui eas uiderint laudent nomen omnipotentis Dei, 'qui compeditos soluit et elisos erigit.'[306]

39. DE SERVO COMPEDIBVS VINCTO. In prefata etenim urbe homo quidam seruum quempiam[a] habebat, compedibus uinctum pro quolibet seruitio neglegenter pretermisso. Idem autem famulus, dum per aliquot dies grauibus catenis nexus permaneret—nec permitteretur a domino solui omnino—quadam die oportunum tempus repperit, et[b] ad sancti reliquias quacumque quiuit ratione accessit. Qui dum flexis genibus ante sacri pontificis tumulum exposceret cuncticreantis Dei omnipotentiam, confestim de compedibus prosiliuit pessulum; et sic compedes ipsae diuinitus sunt reseratae, quasi aliquis eas resolueret claue. Mirum namque hoc est ualde: quod sanctus iste[c] Dei famulus, uenerabilis ac gloriosus, non solum meritis et orationibus medetur languentum doloribus, uerum etiam compeditos soluit multos a ualidis ligaminibus, a columbare et compedibus, a carcere tenebroso et graui tormento.

40. Quapropter, dilectissimi fratres, glorificemus Christum saluatorem inclitum ac redemptorem nostrum, qui nostris temporibus tanta hominibus beneficia languentibus dignatus est largiri[a] per salutiferum Suuithuni interuentum: cui est honor et imperium sine fine, cum patre et sancto pneumate, qui nos purget ab omni crimine et perducat ad celica Tempe![307] [b]FINIT LIBELLVS DE MIRACVLIS SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI.[b]

[b] *add. above line J* [c] uixit *N* [d] adesto *N* [e] postergum *N* [f] obsecrotos *N* [g] *after* comprobandum *J repeats* ad hoc [h–h] *add. above line J*

[c. 39] RNJ] [a] *om. RN* [b] *om. J* [c] *om. J*

[c. 40] RNJ] [a] largire *J (and cf. above, Praef., n. w)* [b–b] *om. J*

[306] Cf. Ps. 145 (146): 7–8 ('Dominus solvit conpeditos . . . Dominus erigit adlisos'); also (mis)quoted above, c. 27.

[307] I have remarked elsewhere on the rarity of this phrase in Anglo-Latin writings ('Three Latin poems', pp. 89, 114, repr. *ALL* ii. 229, 254): besides this occurrence in Lantfred it is found once in the *Breuiloquium Vitae Wilfridi* of Fredegaud of Canterbury (writing 948 × 958), and once in each of two poems composed at Winchester in Lantfred's time (the *Altercatio magistri et discipuli* and the *De libero arbitrio*), both printed in 'Three Latin poems'. I suggested there that this notion of the 'heavenly vales'

lord; and suddenly, while they were being carried to the river, they were snatched by thieves. The woman's owner—enraged beyond measure because she had taken care of his clothes so negligently—struck her several blows and bound her hands in iron manacles so tightly that they painfully injured the flesh of her arms. While this woman was being kept under watch until the following day in order to be severely punished, it happened that her owner went out to do some business. As soon as she saw that he had left the house, she thought out a way to escape from her custodians and went quickly to the church in which the body of the holy bishop lay in repose. When she had arrived there and was praying before his relics, with much lamentation, that through the saint's merit he would free her from the cruel bonds, straightway the manacles, which had been fastened with a bolt, fell from her hands to the ground. And when this had been reported to her angry owner, he began to say that they had been too large, and for that reason the chains had fallen from her hands. Several people, however, came forward in order to verify it, and picked up the manacles, and in his presence attempted to put them on the hands of his slave-girl: but except for three fingers, they were unable to get them on. From then until the present day these same manacles have been hung up within this very church, so that everyone who should see them would praise the name of God omnipotent, 'Who releases those in bondage and raises up those who are cast down.'[306]

39. ABOUT THE SLAVE WHO WAS BOUND UP IN CHAINS. Finally, in the city in question, a certain man had a slave whom he had bound in shackles because of some particular duty which he had carelessly overlooked. Now this same servant remained bound up in heavy chains for several days (nor was he allowed at all to be released by his owner), but on one particular day found an appropriate moment and went to the relics of the saint in whatever manner he could. While he was beseeching the omnipotence of all-creating God on bended knees before the saint's tomb, suddenly the bolt sprang out of the shackles, and thus these shackles were miraculously released as if someone had undone them with a key. This is highly remarkable: that this holy servant of God, who is venerable and glorious, should not only have healed the sufferings of the diseased through his merits and prayers, but that he even released many who were shackled from powerful bindings, from the head-collar and from foot-shackles, from the dark prison and from severe punishment.

40. Therefore, beloved brothers, let us glorify Christ the renowned Saviour, and our Redeemer, Who in our days deigned to bestow so many benefits on suffering men through the restorative intercession of St Swithun: to Him is honour and dominion without end, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, Who shall purify us from every sin and shall lead us to the heavenly vales![307] HERE ENDS THE BOOK OF THE MIRACLES OF ST SWITHUN THE BISHOP.

might be indebted to Statius's description of *Tempe* as a *locus amoenus* in the *Thebaid*, x. 84–99. Helmut Gneuss subsequently drew attention to other passages in classical Latin which may have informed the conception of *celica Tempe* ('Dunstan und Hrabanus Maurus. Zur Hs. Bodleian Auctarium F. 4. 32', *Anglia*, xcvi (1978), 136–48, at pp. 147–8 and n. 37); but no precise parallel is found in BTL.

2. WULFSTAN OF WINCHESTER, *NARRATIO METRICA DE S. SWITHVNO*

INTRODUCTION

SOME twenty years after the completion of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, a poet who was a monk at the Old Minster rendered Lantfred's prose work into hexameters, thereby producing a poem of nearly 3,400 lines, known to editors as the *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*.[1] For the most part the poet follows the text of Lantfred closely, only occasionally adding details of interest from personal knowledge. Most importantly, however, he added a metrical preface—the *Epistola specialis*—to his poem, dedicating the entire work to Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester (984–1006), and it is this *Epistola specialis* which is the primary witness to the vast programme of reconstruction at the Old Minster undertaken by Æthelwold and Ælfheah; the poem is also valuable for its eye-witness account of the original translation of St Swithun (*Narratio* i. 789–1078) and of the consecration of a lavish reliquary-shrine commissioned by King Edgar to house the relics of St Swithun (ii. 1–77). But beyond these historical considerations, the poem is of exceptional interest as the longest surviving pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin poem, and as the work of a poet who had a more subtle understanding of Latin metrical technique than any English poet since Bede. The poet states at one point (i. 888–9) that as a young oblate he had taken part in the mighty procession which accompanied the first translation of St Swithun's relics on 15 July 971. He does not give his name anywhere in the poem, and in the two surviving complete manuscripts the work is transmitted anonymously; but various converging evidence indicates beyond reasonable doubt that the poet in question was Wulfstan, precentor (*cantor*) of the Old Minster in the late tenth century.

[1] *BHL* no. 7947; also listed Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue* i. 515–16, and *ICL* nos. 7958, 3996, 5364, 12482, 6144 respectively. The (editorial) title of the poem was assigned by the Bollandists in *BHL* ('Narratio metrica auct. Wolstano mon.'), and followed by Alistair Campbell: *Frithegodi monachi Breuiloquium Vitae beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (Zürich, 1950). The title 'S. Swithunus: Miracula metrica' was preferred by M. Huber in his *editio princeps* of 1906 (see below). Neither of the principal manuscripts assigns a title to the poem, but R (London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII) lists 'capitula de miraculis sancti Swiðhuni episcopi et confessoris'.

i. THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE *NARRATIO METRICA DE S. SWITHVNO*

The poem's date of composition can be fixed fairly precisely from internal evidence. At one point in the *Epistola specialis*, the poet refers (line 217) to Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury (990–4), as being present at the rededication of the reconstructed Old Minster, which is said to have taken place 'recently': *nuper erant encenia rite peracta* (Ep. spec. 213). The lines following refer to Sigeric in the present tense (Ep. spec. 220: 'cuius ab eloquio dulcia mella fluunt'), and are concluded by an apostrophe to Sigeric, expressing the hope that God will protect him safe and sound for the good of the English people:

> Quem Deus e caelis tueatur ubique supernis
> Anglorum populis seruet et incolomem!
> (Ep. spec. 221–2)

These lines must have been written before the death of Sigeric on 28 October 994. On the other hand, at a later point in the *Epistola specialis*, the poet describes the saints whose tombs were located in the chancel of the Old Minster, and these saints include Æthelwold, who died in 984, but whose remains were first translated into the Old Minster on 10 September 996 (Ep. spec. 271–88). The poet then reports two miracles which accompanied the translation, the first involving a vision by a nobleman named Ælfhelm which took place before the translation, the second involving the cure of a blind girl which took place afterwards (Ep. spec. 289–300). (The same two miracles concerning the translation of St Æthelwold are reported by Wulfstan in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, cc. 42, 44.)[2] The implication of these references is that the dedicatory *Epistola specialis*—and presumably the remainder of the poem—had been completed before October 994, but that some further revision took place in September 996. That the poem achieved its final form late in 996 is confirmed by its presence in MS. R (= London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII), which on independent grounds was almost certainly written in that year, and in any event not later than *c.*1000. Furthermore, the poet at one point in the *Narratio* refers to the impending turn of the millennium (i. 1077: *saecli iam margine*).

We may now turn to the question of the author's identity. Suggestive is the fact that the poet, active at the Old Minster in late 996, should refer to two miracles related by Wulfstan in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, completed at the Old Minster in late 996. From various sources it is known that Wulfstan was the precentor at the Old Minster, and he is often referred to simply as Wulfstan *Cantor* (see below). It is therefore equally suggestive that in the *Epistola specialis* the poet refers to himself as *ultimus Anglorum seruulus ymnicinum*, 'the least little servant of English hymn-singers' (12), and that the word *ymnicinum* (gen. pl.) is glossed in R—a manuscript which, as we have seen,[3] was presumptively written in 996—as *.i. cantorum*: in other words, the poet was (modestly speaking) describing himself as an undistinguished precentor (*cantor*) at the Old Minster, Winchester, where Wulfstan *Cantor* is known on other grounds to have been the precentor at that time. The inference is that Wulfstan was the author of the *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*.[4]

[2] Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 64–6.

[3] Above, pp. 239–40.

[4] The inference was first drawn by the antiquary John Leland (*c.*1503–52), who while visiting Sherborne in the early 1530s wrote into the manuscript which survives as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14—our MS. B of the *Narratio*—the following annotation in his distinctive italic script: 'Autor huius operis [*scil.* the *Narratio*] fuit Wolstanus praecentor Ventane

The inference is confirmed by stylistic evidence. One poem certainly by Wulfstan is the *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis* (see below), the authorship of which is spelled out unambiguously in an acrostic embedded in the opening ten hexameters of this poem: VVLFSTANVS.[5] What is interesting is that this poem certainly by Wulfstan shares a number of unmistakable verbal similarities—in the same metrical feet—with the *Narratio*:

BreuiloquiumSS 9:	quibus est habitatio celi
Narratio ii. 941:	quibus est habitatio caelum
BreuiloquiumSS 245:	ducentes uitam cum religione modestam
Narratio ii. 822:	quae duxit uitam cum religione modestam
BreuiloquiumSS 265:	hac eadem sexta ueniens aetate caduca
Narratio, Ep. spec. 155:	quam tulerat sexta ueniens aetate caduca
BreuiloquiumSS 266:	humano generi clemens succurreret omni
Narratio ii. 1068:	humano generi clemens succurrat ut omni
BreuiloquiumSS 340:	quae nunc edicere longum est
Narratio ii. 15:	que nunc edicere longum est.

Many more verbal similarities of this sort are recorded in the Commentary (below). It is a characteristic feature of the *Narratio* poet that he recycles—perhaps too frequently!—lines used earlier in the poem, as can be seen from even a cursory glance at the Commentary. As Dolbeau remarks,[6] such 'auto-citation' cannot be a matter of coincidence, and goes therefore to confirm that the author of the *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* was Wulfstan *Cantor*, the precentor of the Old Minster in the last decade of the tenth century.

ii. THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF WULFSTAN OF WINCHESTER

Very little is known of Wulfstan's life, save what can be gleaned from his own writings and from a small number of contemporary witnesses.[7] At one point in the *Narratio*, Wulfstan records the fact that he was a child oblate at the time of the translation of St Swithun's remains in July 971: 'nos quoque nos pueri qua tempestate pusilli' (i. 889). This remark carries the implication that Wulfstan was born *c.*960, and perhaps slightly earlier.[8] He was a student in the monastic school at the Old Minster in the years following the translation of St Swithun in 971, since he reports that his studies were frequently interrupted by the need to go to the shrine and celebrate the occurrence of each new miracle:

ecclesiae' (fo. 11). The inference had become for Leland a certainty by the time he wrote his few pages on Wulfstan in his *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*, i. 164–6 (partly quoted below, p. 341 with n. 43); Leland there records that he had 'recently seen' two copies of works on St Swithun's translation and miracles: 'Ego praeterea, cum nuper essem in *Durotrigum* provincia reperi in *Clarofontana*, alias *Shireburnensi*, bibliotheca duos libros de *Translatione et Miraculis D. Swithuni*' (i. 165). One of these manuscripts was certainly Auct. F. 2. 14 (our B: see below, p. 364); but the identity of the other is unknown.

[5] See Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*', and Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xvii–xxii.

[6] Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 43.

[7] There is a full account in Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xiii–xxxix.

[8] In his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 14, Wulfstan claims to have seen one Ælfstan ordained abbot: 'Illum uero fratrem postmodum abbatem uidimus ordinatum' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 28). It is not absolutely certain what monastery Ælfstan was ordained abbot of, though various evidence points to the Old Minster itself (ibid. p. 28 n. 1; cf. also comm. to Lantfred, above, p. 284 with n. 158), with the consequential implication that Ælfstan was ordained soon after the expulsion of the secular clerics from the Old Minster in February 964. Since the customary age for oblature was 7, Wulfstan could have been born no later than 957—if indeed Ælfstan was ordained in 964. But uncertainties remain, and it is probably safer to assign a date of *c.*960 to Wulfstan's birth.

Saepe etiam nobis pueris discentibus una
quemlibet aut cantum seu qualemcumque libellum
contigit, ut tota penitus nil discere luce
possemus, signis pro crebrescentibus, omnes
sed uice continua sacram repetiuimus aedem.
(ii. 259–63)

Wulfstan will have been taught by various masters in the Old Minster school,[9] but at a later stage of his studies the greatest impression will have been created by the (occasional) instruction offered by Bishop Æthelwold[10] himself who, as Wulfstan was later to record, found it 'agreeable to teach young men and the more mature students, translating Latin texts into English for them, passing on the rules of grammar and metric, and encouraging them to do better by cheerful words.'[11] In many ways the complexion of Wulfstan's later literary oeuvre may be seen as a reflex of his study with Æthelwold.[12] In any event he excelled as a scholar to such a degree that he was appointed precentor (*cantor*) at the Old Minster.[13] Although the precise date of the appointment is unknown, Wulfstan subsequently appears in various Winchester sources with the epithet *cantor*: in the list of Old Minster monks compiled during the bishopric of Ælfheah (984–1006) which is preserved in the later *Liber uitae* of the New Minster,[14] where he is listed as 'Wulfstan .i. Cantor. Sacerdos';[15] in the Old English translation of Chrodegang's *Regula canonicorum* produced at Winchester *c.*1000 (where he is listed as *Wulfstan cantor*);[16] and in the Old English 'Vision of Eadwine', a text composed at the New Minster in the time of Bishop Ælfsige II (1012–32), where *Wlstan cantor* is listed as one of the monks who accompanied Bishop Æthelwold on a visitation of the New Minster (hence before 984).[17] Wulfstan also refers to himself as *Wulfstanum cognomento Cantorem* in c. 42 of his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*.[18] In any case it was while holding the office of precentor that Wulfstan composed his substantial corpus of Latin writings (see below) and music. Nothing further is known of his life. Some slender evidence may suggest that he left Winchester to accompany his patron, Bishop Ælfheah, on the latter's promotion to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1006, but this can be no more than a conjecture. The year of Wulfstan's death (early in the eleventh century?) is unknown; the day of his death, 22 July, is recorded as an *obit* in the calendar in 'Ælfwine's Prayerbook', an

[9] One of whom was perhaps the Welshman Ioruert, who is ridiculed in a poem perhaps by Lantfred, the 'Altercatio magistri' (ed. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', pp. 108–21, repr. *ALL* ii. 248–61); there is also evidence, too complex to set out here, that Ælfric, Wulfstan's coeval at the Winchester school, was taught by this Ioruert: see M. Lapidge, 'Ælfric's schooldays', in *Early Medieval Texts and Interpretations: Studies presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. S. Rosser and E. M. Treharne (Tempe, AZ, 2003), pp. 301–9.

[10] As a bishop Æthelwold will of course have been too busy to offer daily instruction in the school, but he obviously liked to be involved in some way.

[11] *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 31, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 46–8.

[12] See M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as scholar and teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 89–117, at 110–17 (repr. in *ALL* ii. 204–11).

[13] On the meaning of *cantor*, whose office included responsibility for liturgical services, especially the chant, as well as for the institutional library, see M. E. Fassler, 'The office of the cantor in early western monastic rules and customaries: a preliminary investigation', *Early Music History*, v (1985), 29–51, esp. p. 51.

[14] *Liber uitae*, ed. Birch, p. 25; ed. Keynes, fo. 18v; see also discussion by Keynes, ibid. pp. 88–9.

[15] Note that, if he was consecrated as *sacerdos* at the age of thirty while Ælfheah was still bishop of Winchester (hence before 1006), he cannot in any event have been born later than 976.

[16] *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. A. S. Napier, EETS o.s. cl (London, 1916), p. 9.

[17] F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), p. 401. The implication here might be that Wulfstan had been appointed precentor (*cantor*) before the death of Æthelwold in 984; but it is also possible that the author of the 'Vision of Eadwine', writing (say) in the 1020s, knew him by name as Wulfstan *Cantor*, and hence that the appellation has no chronological implication.

[18] Ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 64.

eleventh-century manuscript which survives as London, BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii and was written for Ælfwine, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester (1031–57), sometime during the period 1023 × 1031, before his elevation to the abbacy.[19]

There is greater certainty in respect of Wulfstan's literary estate, though even here it must be stressed that, as the corpus of his known writings comes to be better known and his literary style better appreciated, the possibility of attributing other writings—particularly among the large corpus of tropes and sequences from Winchester—must surely increase. I briefly list here those works which, in addition to the *Narratio*, may confidently be regarded as his.

1. *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (*BHL* no. 2647), a substantial prose work in forty-six chapters composed as an act of *pietas* soon after the translation of St Æthelwold on 10 September 996.[20] Wulfstan drew on his own personal knowledge of Æthelwold (including some miraculous anecdotes which the great bishop had apparently supplied to his prospective hagiographer), but situated this knowledge within a chronological framework supplied by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; he drew on earlier hagiographic models, such as the *Passio S. Laurentii* (*BHL* no. 1754), Sulpicius Severus *Vita S. Martini*, Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* and Alcuin's *Vita S. Vedasti* (*BHL* no. 8506),[21] as well as on more recent accounts of the *inuentio* and *translatio* of a saint's relics, notably that by his Winchester contemporary, Lantfred. The work is composed in clear, articulate Latin prose described by William of Malmesbury as *mediocris*, 'unadorned'.[22]

2. *Liturgical materials pertaining to the cult of St Æthelwold.* The evidence for attributing to Wulfstan a small corpus of hymns, prayers and tropes commemorating St Æthelwold has been set out elsewhere.[23] This corpus includes: an epanaleptic, abecedarian hymn to St Æthelwold (inc. 'Alma lucerna micat': *ICL* no. 591); a hymn for Vespers in sapphic stanzas (inc. 'Inclitus pastor': *ICL* no. 8011); an octosyllabic hymn to St Æthelwold (inc. 'Celi senator inclite': *ICL* no. 1793); two collects for the Office and two mass-sets for St Æthelwold, commemorating, respectively, the feasts of his deposition and translation;[24] two Introit tropes for St Æthelwold;[25] and a short treatise *De horis peculiaribus*, describing Æthelwold's devotional practices.[26]

3. The *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*, a poem of 669 hexameters, prefaced by a twenty-line prologue in elegiac distichs, which (as we have seen) contains the acrostic legend VVLFSTANVS.[27] The poem is a verse contrafactum of an anonymous Carolingian sermon on All Saints (feast day: 1 November) known from its incipit as *Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis*.[28] The version of the text of the sermon used by Wulfstan is very similar to that in a homiliary in Durham, Cathedral Library, A. III. 29 (s. xi^{ex}): a manuscript which also contains a unique homily for St Swithun (see above,

[19] See B. Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, HBS cviii (London, 1993), p. 97 ('obitus Wulfstani cantoris sacerdotis'), as well as *Liber uitae*, ed. Birch, p. 271; ed. Keynes, p. 120.

[20] See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xv–xvi, with text and translation at pp. 1–69.

[21] Wulfstan's use of Alcuin's *Vita S. Vedasti* has been demonstrated by Berschin, *Biographie* iv/1. 253–4. This important demonstration will need to be evaluated within the context of the unusual veneration accorded to St Vedast in Winchester liturgical sources of the late tenth century, such as the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold'.

[22] WMalm *GR* ii. 149 (ed. Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, p. 242).

[23] Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xxiii–xxvii.

[24] Ptd ibid. pp. cxv–cxvii.

[25] Ptd ibid. pp. cxvii–cxviii.

[26] Ptd ibid. pp. lxviii–lxxvii.

[27] Ed. Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*', pp. 63–87.

[28] J. E. Cross, '*Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis*: a sermon for All Saints and its use in Old English prose', *Traditio*, xxxiii (1977), 101–35.

pp. 116–22) as well as for other saints culted at the Old Minster, and which may therefore be a post-Conquest copy of a manuscript which existed at Winchester in Wulfstan's day. In any event, the *Breuiloquium* shares many features of diction (and a number of lines) with the *Narratio*; in Dolbeau's opinion, the *Breuiloquium* was composed shortly after the *Narratio*.[29] Interestingly, the feast of All Saints is also celebrated in a paracteric hymn on All Saints (inc. 'Aula superna poli') discussed below, which is almost certainly by Wulfstan.

4. Five paracteric hymns in abecedarian form (with one epanaleptic distich for each letter of the alphabet) which were possibly used in the mass liturgy as gradual hymns for the commemoration of Winchester saints.[30] These include: two hymns for St Swithun (inc. 'Aurea lux patriae', 'Auxilium Domine');[31] one for St Birinus (inc. 'Agmina sacra poli');[32] one for St Æthelwold (inc. 'Alma lucerna micat') mentioned above;[33] and the aforementioned hymn for All Saints (inc. 'Alma superna poli').[34] There are numerous verbal links between these hymns, the *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis* and the *Narratio*,[35] and these links, combined with the fact that all five hymns are in the same highly unusual verse-form, indicates decisively that they are the work of one author.

5. *Breuiloquium super musicam.* In the twelfth century William of Malmesbury noted that Wulfstan had composed 'an extremely useful work *de tonorum armonia*'.[36] Although no work of this title has come down to us, there are several quotations from a work of Wulfstan entitled *Breuiloquium super musicam*—presumably the same work under a different name—in an anonymous commentary on Boethius, *De musica*, preserved in two fifteenth-century manuscripts in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Bodley 77; All Souls College 90). The anonymous commentator quotes Wulfstan on four occasions;[37] and although the work has not been identified (and is possibly lost),[38] the quotations may ultimately be of use in identifying Wulfstan's work among unprinted late medieval treatises on music.

Finally, it is possible that compositions by Wulfstan remain to be identified—on stylistic grounds—among the large corpora of anonymous tropes and sequences preserved in the so-called 'Winchester Tropers': much of the trope and sequence repertory in these manuscripts was clearly compiled at Winchester in Wulfstan's time,[39] and one of the surviving manuscripts (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473) may perhaps be his own book and may even, as some have thought, contain his own handwriting.[40] But the attribution of such compositions is a complex undertaking, and beyond the

[29] Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 44.

[30] See Gneuss, *Hymnar*, pp. 117–18, and cf. p. 248.

[31] Ptd below, no. 12 (ii, iv) (pp. 783–7, 790–2).

[32] Listed *ICL* no. 474; ptd *AH* xlviii. 12–13 (no. 2).

[33] Listed *ICL* no. 591; ptd *AH* xlviii. 9–12 (no. 1) and *PL* cxxxvii. 104–5; see discussion in Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xxiv.

[34] Listed *ICL* no. 1409a; ptd P. Dronke, M. Lapidge and P. Stotz, 'Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte der Cambridger Liederhandschrift (CUL Gg. 5. 35)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, xvii (1982), 54–95, at pp. 59–65.

[35] See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xvii–xxx.

[36] WmMalm, *GR* ii. 149 (ed. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, p. 242).

[37] The quotations are printed and discussed by Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xvii.

[38] W. Sayers, 'Irish evidence for the *De harmonia tonorum* of Wulfstan of Winchester', *Mediaevalia*, xiv (1991 for 1988), 23–38, argues (unconvincingly, in my view) that a reference in the Old Irish *Tochmarc Emire* to a certain 'Ulbecán the Saxon' may be a reference to our Wulfstan, and reference to Ulbecán's 'sweet but true eloquence' may be a reference to the *De tonorum armonia*, which, on this evidence, was circulating in eleventh-century Ireland.

[39] For the tropes, see Planchart, *Trope Repertory*. No comparable study exists as yet for the sequences; see D. Hiley, 'Editing the Winchester sequence repertory of ca. 1000', in *Cantus Planus. Papers read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988* (Budapest, 1990), pp. 99–113.

[40] See Holschneider, *Organa*, pp. 76–81; Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 32–3. On the difficulties of identifying the handwriting, however, see M. Lapidge, 'Autographs of Insular Latin authors of the

scope of the present discussion.[41] In any event, the corpus of writings outlined above shows that Wulfstan was a prolific and skilled author of Latin prose and verse. With this corpus in mind we may now examine the metrical skill of the *Narratio*.

iii. THE POETIC STYLE OF THE *NARRATIO METRICA DE S. SWITHVNO*

The *Narratio* is the longest surviving pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin poem, and is also one of the most stylistically accomplished. As a quantitative poet, Wulfstan's only rival among pre-Conquest poets is Bede. The first scholar to recognize the quality of Wulfstan's verse was the antiquary John Leland (*c.*1503–52), who was himself an extremely accomplished Latin poet.[42] In his *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*, Leland characterizes Wulfstan as follows:

> Immortal God!—how much in the way of unfeigned faith, of compassion, of bold learning did he imbibe under that great teacher [Æthelwold]! But it is not my intention here to repeat at length examples of his faith or compassion; my concern is more properly with his learning. Say, therefore, you Muses of blessed memory, to what course of studies he principally directed his intelligence. For at your dictation, an account sweeter than any honey will flow like a torrent. As a young man he cultivated poetry more than other forms of expression; captured by its delights, he barely at any time entered the wider field of composition. (He tried, nevertheless, and that with some success.) But since he was particularly suited to verse composition, he always turned to that, as though to his own beloved. Nor did he lack a melodious voice, any more than he lacked supreme skill in composition. [Leland here quotes four lines, Ep. spec. 13–16, to give the flavour of Wulfstan's verse, and then continues.] However, his poetry, if I may speak frankly, is often uneven and rough, to such a degree that I would almost say it smacks of barbarity. Yet it rises not infrequently to genuine eloquence, as in these lines from Book I [Leland quotes *Narratio* i. 486–9]. Accordingly, the candid reader should ascribe what faults are found in his verse to his barbarous age, in which Wulfstan undoubtedly could offer something which deserves an attentive reader in our own golden age.[43]

It is important to try to identify briefly the excellence, and also the faults, to which Leland alludes.

Wulfstan's *Narratio* is conceived as a 'twinned work' or *opus geminatum*, that is to say, that it constitutes the verse *contrafactum* of Lantfred's prose *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*. The term *opus*

early Middle Ages', in *Gli autografi medievali: problemi paleografici e filologici*, ed. P. Chiesa and L. Pinelli (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 103–36, at 132–5.

[41] See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xxx–xxxvi. Some of the attributions mooted here have been queried by E. C. Teviotdale, 'Tropers', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R. W. Pfaff, Old English Newsletter Subsidia, xxiii (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995), pp. 39–44, at 40; but it must be said that, until a full stylistic analysis has been undertaken, hesitations have no greater force than hypothetical attributions.

[42] On Leland's Latin verse, see J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: the Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds, 1990), pp. 18–26.

[43] Leland, *Commentarii*, i. 164–6: 'Deum immortalem! quantum ille religionis infucatae, quantum pietatis, quantum nervosae eruditionis sub tanto hausit praeceptore. Sed nostrum non est in praesentia institutum vel religionis vel pietatis exempla altius repetere; a doctrina nostra rectius pendet oratio. Dicite igitur, felicis memoriae musae, quibus animum praecipue studiis intenderit. Nam, vobis dictantibus, sermo quovis melle dulcior instar torrentis defluet. Carmen prae cetera juvenis coluit, cujus illecebris captus, aegre aliquando liberiorem dicendi campum ingrediebatur: tentavit tamen, idque cum felicitate aliqua. At ut maxime aptus erat ad numeros, ita ad illos, tanquam ad delicias suas, semper recurrebat. Nec defuit vox bene canora, ut neque summa canendi peritia . . . Carmen tamen, ut ingenue fatear, subinde impar et inaequale; usque adeo, ut aliquando fere dixeram barbariem sapiat. Assurgit tamen non raro vel ad justam eloquentiam, ut in his primi libri versibus . . . Quare quod vitii in carmine est, adscribat candidus lector barbaro saeculo, in quo mirum certe *Wolstanum* potuisse aliquid praestare, quod nostra hac aurea aetate attentum mereatur lectorem.'

geminatum goes back to Bede, who used it in his *Historia ecclesiastica* to describe Aldhelm's *De uirginitate*, which consists of a prose treatise to which Aldhelm later composed, as the *Carmen de uirginitate*, a verse *contrafactum*; as Bede remarks, Aldhelm modelled his 'twinned work' on that of his predecessor, Caelius Sedulius.[44] Aldhelm's *De uirginitate* was intensively studied in tenth-century English schools,[45] probably as a result of the initiative of Æthelwold,[46] and it is not surprising that a number of tenth-century Anglo-Latin poets should have attempted *opera geminata*:[47] Frithegod (Fredegaud) of Canterbury, in his *Breuiloquium Vitae Wilfridi*,[48] the anonymous (Winchester) poet of a *Passio S. Eustachii*,[49] and another Winchester poet, a contemporary of Wulfstan, who composed a metrical *Vita S. Iudoci*, in honour of the patron saint of the New Minster.[50] Like these contemporary (or near contemporary) poets, Wulfstan for the most part adhered closely to the text of Lantfred's *Translatio*, retaining Lantfred's wording where possible, and only departing from it on a few significant occasions: to insert accounts of preparations for the ceremony of translation (i. 789–896), of a woman blind cured immediately before the translation and of the translation itself (i. 987–1046), of the miraculous cure of a crippled boy immediately following the translation (i. 1047–78), of the lavish reliquary for St Swithun commissioned by King Edgar (ii. 1–77), of Eadsige, the Winchester monk who was custodian of Swithun's shrine (ii. 134–50), and of countless miracles witnessed by Wulfstan when he was an oblate (ii. 232–65). (There are of course minor incidental details added by Wulfstan throughout which are not found in Lantfred.)[51] Wulfstan also composed a dedicatory poem to Bishop Ælfheah which prefaces the *Narratio* and is in a different metre (elegiacs) than the remainder, and which he described as an 'Epistola specialis' (ptd below, pp. 372–97). For the rest, Wulfstan's narrative follows that of Lantfred.

Although Wulfstan's verse has many individual features, as we shall see, it should be stated at the outset that his diction is heavily dependent on earlier Latin poets whom he had studied (and memorized). I have recorded in the Commentary such verbal debts as I have detected,[52] and the following statistics show the extent of Wulfstan's indebtedness (in order of frequency): Caelius

[44] Bede, *HE* v. 18: 'scripsit et de uirginitate librum eximium, quem in exemplum Sedulii geminato opere et uersibus exametris et prosa conposuit' (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 514). For the early Anglo-Latin tradition of *opera geminata* (esp. Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin), see P. Godman, 'The Anglo-Latin "opus geminatum": from Aldhelm to Alcuin', *Medium Ævum*, l (1981), 215–29, and G. Wieland, '"Geminus stylus": Studies in Anglo-Latin hagiography', in *Insular Latin Studies*, ed. M. Herren (Toronto, 1981), pp. 113–33.

[45] See, in general, M. Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature', *ASE* iv (1975), 67–111, at pp. 75–7 (repr. *ALL* ii. 113–15), as well as S. Gwara, 'Manuscripts of Aldhelm's *Prosa de uirginitate* and the rise of hermeneutic literacy in tenth-century England', *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser. xxxv (1994), 101–59, and the important work by Mechthild Gretsch cited in the following note.

[46] See M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE xxv (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 332–83.

[47] See M. Lapidge, 'Tenth-century Anglo-Latin verse hagiography', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, xxiv–xxv (1989–1990), 248–60.

[48] *Frithegodi monachi* [sic] *Breuiloquium uitae beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio metrica de sancto Swithuno* (Zurich, 1950), pp. 1–62; see M. Lapidge, 'A Frankish scholar in tenth-century England: Frithegod of Canterbury / Fredegaud of Brioude', *ASE* xvii (1988), 45–65, repr. *ALL* ii. 157–81.

[49] Ed. H. Varnhagen, 'Zwei lateinische metrische Versionen der Legende von Placidus-Eusebius: II. Eine Version in Hexametern', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xxiv (1881), 1–25; see M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold and the *Vita S. Eustachii*', in *Scire Litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, ed. S. Krämer and M. Bernhard (Munich, 1988), pp. 255–65; repr. *ALL* ii. 213–23.

[50] M. Lapidge, 'A metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* from tenth-century Winchester', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, x (2000), 255–306.

[51] See comm. to i. 452, 462–5, 573–4, 775, 959–79, 1305–12, 1404, 1442, ii. 78, 457–65, 516–19, 521, 682, 684–93, 715, 787.

[52] I have recorded verbal debts only when two (and preferably three) words are taken over by Wulfstan and used in the *very same metrical feet*. Unless the words are employed in the same metrical feet, it is difficult to be sure whether a debt is in question. For this reason I find the *apparatus fontium* which accompanies Alistair Campbell's edition of the poem (see below, p. 368) to be wholly unreliable; and its utility is further weakened by citation of sources which Wulfstan could scarcely have read, such as Lucretius and Silius Italicus (both of whom are cited by Campbell with the qualification: *locus Wulfstano ignotus*). But it must be said that the identification of sources has been greatly advanced by the advent of electronic databases such as BTL and CLCLT4.

Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* (100+ reminiscences), Aldhelm (65+), Vergil (55+), Arator (40+), and Venantius Fortunatus (35+). Given the frequency of these reminiscences, it could be inferred that Wulfstan had studied all these poets as part of his school curriculum, and retained their diction in his memory in later life. In any case, it is certain that he had studied these poets thoroughly. With respect to less frequently cited poets, it is difficult to be certain: there are fewer than ten citations each of Ovid, Lucan, Juvencus, Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, Bede (*Vita metrica S. Cuthberti*, *De die iudicii*), Horace, Statius, and Ausonius.

The question is, how Wulfstan applied the study of his poetic models to the composition of his own verse, and how his metrical technique compares to that of his predecessors. It is convenient to discuss his metrical technique under four headings: verse structure, prosody, embellishment, and diction.

Verse structure

We may begin with the structure of Wulfstan's hexameters. A hexameter line, as is well known, is made up of six feet; of these, the first four may consist either in a dactyl (a long syllable followed by two short: – ∪ ∪) or a spondee (two long syllables: – –). The final two feet nearly always consist of a fixed unit of a dactyl followed by a spondee (or trochee). In other words, it is in the first four feet that the poet has freedom of choice between dactyls and spondees. The poet therefore has a choice, in theory at least, of two to the power of four (2^4), that is, sixteen possible hexametrical patterns. Proficient poets, such as Vergil, achieve variety of pace by avoiding repetition of patterns or heavy reliance on a few favourite patterns.[53] Less competent poets, such as Aldhelm, use the same patterns again and again, giving their verse a palpable sense of monotony.[54] Based on the scansion of 1,000 lines of the *Narratio* (the 500 first lines of each of bks i and ii), Wulfstan's use of each of the sixteen possible patterns is shown in table 12 (I follow convention in using D to designate a dactyl, S to designate a spondee):[55] The first point to be noted is that the profile of Wulfstan's favourite eight patterns closely resembles that of Caelius Sedulius, the poet from whom he quotes most frequently; Sedulius's eight favoured patterns, in order of preference, are: DSDS, DDSS, DDDS, DSSS, DSSD, SDSS, SDDS, SSDS.[56] It is also significant that Wulfstan's favourite structure (DSDS) is used only 11.1 per cent of the time; this usage compares favourably with Vergil, who in the *Aeneid* uses his favourite pattern (DSSS) some 14.39 per cent of the time, as well as with the Late Latin poets whom Wulfstan had studied:[57] Prudentius (11.31 per cent), Paulinus of Nola (12.82 per cent), Caelius

[53] The fundamental study of Classical Latin poets is G. E. Duckworth, *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry: A Study in Metrical Variety* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1969). For Late Latin poets, see idem, 'Five centuries of the Latin hexameter: Silver Age and Late Empire', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xcviii (1967), 77–150. There is a concise study of the practice of one influential Late Latin poet by R. P. H. Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola: a Study of his Latinity*, Collection Latomus, cxx (Brussels, 1971), pp. 107–27.

[54] See my discussion in 'Aldhelm's Latin poetry and Old English verse', *Comparative Literature*, xxxi (1979), 209–31, at pp. 214–17 (repr. in *ALL* i. 247–69, at pp. 252–5), as well as the more thoroughgoing discussion by A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, CSASE viii (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 84–91, and idem, 'After Aldhelm: the teaching and transmission of the Anglo-Latin hexameter', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, ii (1992), 96–133, including important discussion of Wulfstan at pp. 121–4, with tabulation of his preferred hexameter patterns at pp. 128–33.

[55] My figures vary very slightly from those of Orchard, 'After Aldhelm', p. 133 (h), whose figures are based on scansion of the first five hundred lines of book i. If one were to scan 3,000 lines of Wulfstan's verse, the figures might again vary in minor ways. The crucial point is what patterns Wulfstan preferred, and how often he used them.

[56] See Duckworth, *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry*, p. 132 (table 1).

[57] Ibid. pp. 5, 132 (table 1). Cf. also the figure for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (13.08 per cent), which Wulfstan may have read.

TABLE 12
The structure of Wulfstan's hexameters

	Total	%
1. DSDS	111	11.1
2. DDSS	98	9.8
3. DSSD	90	9.0
4. DDDS	88	8.8
5. DSSS	88	8.8
6. DDSD	79	7.9
7. DSDD	76	7.6
8. SDSS	76	7.6
9. SSDS	59	5.9
10. SDDS	52	5.2
11. SDSD	50	5.0
12. DDDD	37	3.7
13. SSSS	32	3.2
14. SSDD	23	2.3
15. SDDD	22	2.2
16. SSSD	19	1.9

Sedulius (15.72 per cent), and Arator (16.19 per cent). This restrained practice is to be contrasted with that of the repetitive Aldhelm, who uses his favourite pattern nearly 30 per cent of the time (29.54 per cent, to be precise).[58] If anything, though, Wulfstan is even more restrained in his use of favourite patterns than are his Classical and Late Latin models.

It will also be noticed that each of the first seven of Wulfstan's preferred structures begins with a dactyl, and that, on the whole, he prefers structures that are dactylic rather than spondaic.[59] In this respect his verse resembles that of dactylic poets such as Vergil,[60] rather than that of spondaic poets such as Aldhelm, whose preference for spondees gives his verse a heavy, plodding feel. The dactylic nature of Wulfstan's verse can be illustrated by tabulating the number of dactyls in the hexametrical schemata listed above (see table 13). In other words, Wulfstan used on average 203.3 dactyls per hundred hexameters, or two per line. This figure aligns him with Bede among Anglo-Latin poets (Bede uses 207.0 dactyls per hundred lines), and distinguishes him sharply from spondaic poets such as Aldhelm (who uses only 136.98).[61] The percentage distribution of Wulfstan's dactyls are: Dactyl 1: 66.7 per cent; Dactyl 2: 50.2 per cent; Dactyl 3: 46.8 per cent; Dactyl 4: 39.6 per cent.[62] This

[58] Orchard, 'After Aldhelm', p. 133.

[59] Dolbeau ('Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 54) notes that, in his *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*, Wulfstan's favourite patterns were DSSS (11.96 per cent) and DDSD (10.23 per cent). These preferences are different from those of the *Narratio*, but once again it is important to stress the restrained usage (11.96 per cent in the *Breuiloquium* compared with 11.1 per cent in the *Narratio*) of the favoured pattern.

[60] Vergil's eight favourite patterns are: DSSS, DDSS, DSDS, SDSS, SSSS, DDDS, SSDS and SDDS (see Duckworth, *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry*, pp. 7, 132 (table 1)).

[61] The figures for Bede and Aldhelm are from Orchard, 'After Aldhelm', p. 128 (table I).

[62] In other words, in 66.7 per cent of Wulfstan's verse, or two out of every three hexameters, the first foot will be a dactyl; and so on. The figures given by Orchard ('After Aldhelm', p. 129 (table ii)) vary only slightly from these: D1: 66.4 per cent; D2: 51.0 per cent; D3: 48.8 per cent; D4: 39.0 per cent. Cf. also the figures given for Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and Statius by P. Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre* (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 87 n. 22 (but note that his figures pertain to the percentages of *spondees* in each of the first four feet; the percentage of dactyls can be arrived at by subtraction).

TABLE 13
Dactyls in Wulfstan's hexameters

1. DSDS:	111 × 2 = 222
2. DDSS:	98 × 2 = 196
3. DSSD:	90 × 2 = 180
4. DDDS:	88 × 3 = 264
5. DSSS:	88 × 1 = 88
6. DDSD:	79 × 3 = 237
7. DSDD:	76 × 3 = 228
8. SDSS:	76 × 1 = 76
9. SSDS:	59 × 1 = 59
10. SDDS:	52 × 1 = 104
11. SDSD:	50 × 2 = 100
12. DDDD:	37 × 4 = 148
13. SSSS:	0
14. SSDD:	23 × 2 = 46
15. SDDD:	22 × 3 = 66
16. SSSD:	19 × 1 = 19
total dactyls:	2033

distribution differs slightly, but not perhaps significantly, from that of Wulfstan's *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*, as analyzed by François Dolbeau.[63]

Wulfstan was evidently highly aware—more so even than the Classical and Late Latin poets who were his models, and in complete contrast to his predecessor Aldhelm—of the need to achieve variety in his metrical patterning. He avoids repeating a structure in two consecutive lines (or more);[64] and blocks of repeated patterns, which disfigure the verse of Aldhelm (for example),[65] are as rare in Wulfstan as they are in Vergil.[66] A more interesting question is whether Wulfstan ever attempted to achieve a narrative effect by the variation of metrical patterns. A classic example of such effect is found in a fragment of Ennius, where he describes, in a first spondaic line (SSSS), the slow and stealthy approach of the Gauls to the Roman Capitol, and then follows it with a rapid dactylic line (DDDD) describing their sudden attack:

quā Gallī furtim noctū summa arcis adorti
moeni a concubia uigilesque repente cruentant.[67]

Wulfstan often alternates between patterns of SSSS and DDDD, and it is possible that he, too, was attempting to enhance his narrative by such alteration. In a passage in bk i, for example, Wulfstan

[63] Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 54; from the figures given by Dolbeau, the following percentages can be extrapolated: D1: 61.7 per cent; D2: 48.3 per cent; D3: 35.6 per cent; D4: 43.8 per cent (giving an overall percentage of dactyls of 47.3 per cent).

[64] Cf., for example, *Narratio* i. 53–4 (DSDS), 64–5 (SDSS), 67–8 (DSSD), 75–6 (DSDD), 114–15 (DSSS), 146–7 (DSDS), 195–6 (SSDS), etc. Triple repetitions are rarer still: *Narratio* i. 174–6 (SDSD), 272–4 (DDSS), etc.

[65] See Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 90–1; Orchard notes in particular a passage in *CdV* 976–81 where Aldhelm repeats his favourite pattern (DSSS) six times in a row.

[66] Duckworth (*Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry*, p. 12) notes that Vergil allows himself a maximum of four repeated patterns, and does so but rarely (four times in the *Georgics*, seven times in the *Aeneid*).

[67] Ennius, *Annales* vii, frg. xiv (ed. O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Oxford, 1985), p. 90).

describes in a first spondaic line the slow and suspicious approach of the landowner to his pillow (where his crippled guest has indicated the lost key to his strongbox will be found) followed by the rapid astonishment with which he seizes the key and races to his strongbox in the following dactylic line (i. 353–4):

– – – – – – – –
puluillo cernens secum miratur; et ipsam
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑
accipit attonitus, reseratque celeriter arcam.

It is difficult not to think that the effect here was intentional; in any event, there is no doubt about Wulfstan's masterly control of hexameter patterning.

In addition to thinking about the overall pattern of each hexameter line, a skilled Latin poet had also to pay attention to the way that lines were linked to each other, and to the flow of words and syllables within each line. Skilled poets took care to ensure that the end of a hexameter line did not frequently coincide with the end of a sentence (producing what is called an 'end-stopped' line), but that sense should carry on over the line-end, producing what is called enjambement, and stop at a medial pause within the line.[68] Consider the following passage from bk i of the *Narratio*:

[1] ad fabrique thorum pedetemptim pergit, et eius
[2] ter caput auricoma contigit harundine, tactu
[3] permodico, sermone pio sic fatus ad illum:
[4] 'Tene quiescentem, frater, non an uigilantem
[5] cerno?' Faber respondit ad hec: 'Pater alme, grauatus
[6] dormieram paulo ante, sed hanc cum lumine cellam
[7] mox ut es ingressus, sopor his abscessit ocellis.'

(i. 12–18)

Lines 3 and 7 are end-stopped; that is, the sense comes to a stop at the end of the hexameter. In each of the remaining cases, the sense straddles the lines: 'et eius / . . . caput . . . contigit', 'tactu / permodico', 'uigilantem / cerno', 'grauatus / dormieram', 'cellam / . . . es ingressus'. In his skilful use of enjambement, Wulfstan's practice resembles that of Vergil, whose poetry served as a model for him in many ways.[69] In the first 100 lines of the *Aeneid*, there are twenty-seven end-stopped lines (that is, lines ending in a semi-colon, colon or period); in the first 100 lines of bk i of the *Narratio*, there are twenty-five, fewer even than in Vergil.[70]

Within the lines themselves, it was expected that there would be one at least one rhythmic pause or *caesura*, occurring at the end of a word but within a metrical foot. There are normally several such pauses within each hexameter.[71] If the *caesura* occurs after a long syllable of a word which is also the first of a metrical foot, it is called a 'strong' *caesura*:

[68] See E. D. Kollmann, 'Zum Enjambement in der lateinischen Hexameter', *Rheinisches Museum*, cxxv (1982), 117–34.

[69] On Virgilian enjambement, see the classic discussion by E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*, 4th edn. (Stuttgart, 1957), pp. 380–98, together with J. Dangel, 'Les enjambements dans l'*Éneide*. Lecture syntactique et incidences métriques', *Latomus*, xliv (1985), 72–100, and the article by M. Squillante, 'Enjambement e cheville', in *Encic. Virgil.* ii. 310–12.

[70] Cf. the practice of Aldhelm—whose poetry Wulfstan had certainly studied—who has thirty-three end-stopped lines, according to the definition given above, in the first 100 lines of his *Carmen de virginitate*.

[71] However, if the ends of words in a hexameter correspond to the ends of metrical feet, the (unpleasant) effect is called diaeresis. Diaeresis was avoided by Classical Latin poets as much as possible; it was only used (extremely rarely) for special effect, as for example in a notorious line of Ennius—'sparsis | hastis | longis | campus | splendet et horret'—where the diaeresis after each word emphasizes the sight of the bristling spears.

prīmă Dĕī nūtū | patuit haec uisio ternis (i. 1).

If it follows the long + first short syllable of a dactyl, it is called a 'weak' *caesura*.[72]

ōssă uĭrī bĕnĕdĭctă | forent translata sepulchro (i. 3).

Caesurae were normally placed after 2½ feet (penthemimeral *caesura*), but could also be placed either after 1½ feet (triemimeral *caesura*), or 3½ feet (hephthemimeral *caesura*). (Other placements are possible, but rare.) On the basis of scansion of the first 500 lines of each of bks i and ii, it is clear that the penthemimeral was Wulfstan's preferred *caesura*: it occurs in 85.6 per cent of his hexameters.[73] This figure is very similar to that for Vergil (85 per cent) and, of Late Latin poets, Prudentius (85 per cent) and Paulinus of Nola (82.5 per cent). Other Latin Latin poets who were well known to Wulfstan, such as Caelius Sedulius and Arator, use the penthemimeral *caesura* much less frequently (70 per cent and 57.5 per cent respectively); on the other hand, poets such as Aldhelm[74] and Wulfstan's European contemporaries[75] use it almost invariably.

In the remaining 14.4 per cent of his lines, Wulfstan uses a combination of triemimeral and hephthemimeral *caesurae*, as the following lines illustrate:

permodico, | sermone pio | sic fatus ad illum (i. 14)
cerno?' Faber | respondit ad hec: | 'Pater alme grauatus' (i. 16)
Respondit: | 'Mihi notus erat, | pater alme, sed in quo
sit presens | ignoro locum.' | Vir sanctus ad ista (i. 23–4)
ore tuo | tuba mira sonat, | quae te fore pandit (i. 29)

In cases like these, it might be argued that Wulfstan intended a weak or 'third trochaic' *caesura*, in other words, that in the preceding examples he intended a pause after the words *sermone*, *respondit*, *notus*, *ignoro*, and *mira*, in addition to, or instead of, the pauses indicated.[76] But the matter is uncertain, and could only be decided by consideration of the syntax, that is, whether there was a break in sense at the 'third trochaic'. In each of the examples quoted above, however, it is clear that the break in syntactic sense occurs at the hephthemimeral *caesura*, not at the 'third trochaic'. In any case, Wulfstan's use of the combination of triemimeral + hephthemimeral *caesurae* is significantly more frequent than that of his contemporaries,[77] and is another mark of his competence as a metrist.

Poets also attempted to vary the pace of syllables within a line by the use of elision.[78] When one

[72] Cf. the discussion in Klopsch, *Einführung*, pp. 65–8, who follows German practice in referring to the strong *caesura* as 'männlich', and the weak *caesura* as 'weiblich'. The weak *caesura* is also referred to as the 'third trochaic', because it falls after the long + first short syllable—in other words a trochee (– ⏑)—in the third foot of the hexameter.

[73] Cf. the discussion of Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*', pp. 56–7, who calculates that 91.6 per cent of hexameters in Wulfstan's *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis* have penthemimeral *caesurae*.

[74] See Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 92–7; according to Orchard's statistics, Aldhelm used the penthemimeral *caesura* in 97.5 per cent of his hexameters.

[75] See Giovanni Orlandi's detailed analysis of the metrical preferences of fifty Latin poets of the tenth and eleventh centuries (including Wulfstan's *Breuiloquium*, but not his *Narratio*): 'The hexameter in the *aetas Horatiana*', in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies*, ed. M. W. Herren *et al.*, Publications of The Journal of Medieval Latin, v, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2002), ii. 240–57. From Orlandi's statistics it is clear that Wulfstan's use of the penthemimeral *caesura* is relatively restrained in comparison with most of his contemporaries, who use this *caesura* on average 94.5 per cent of the time.

[76] Cf. Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*', pp. 56–7: 'Dans quelques cas cependant, la syntaxe invite plutôt à reconnaître la présence d'une troisième trochaïque . . . Il reste donc, parmi les coupes non-penthémimères, une marge d'incertitude.'

[77] Cf. Orlandi, 'The hexameter in the *aetas Horatiana*', table 1.

[78] The principal study is that of J. Soubiran, *L'élision dans la poésie latine*, Études et commentaires, lxiii (Paris, 1966); see also

word ended in a vowel or diphthong (or a vowel + *m*), and was followed by a word beginning with a vowel or diphthong, the two vowels/diphthongs were elided and scanned as one syllable. The elision of two vowels or diphthongs is called *synaloepha*; the elision of a final syllable ending in vowel + *m* is called *ecthlipsis*. In the following verse, *atqu(e) iterum* is an example of *synaloepha*, and *iter(um) atque* an example of *ecthlipsis*:

Sed monitis iter(um) atqu(e) iterum correptus eisdem (i. 91)

It is customary to include both *synaloepha* and *ecthlipsis* in any account of elision. Accordingly, on the basis once again of the first 500 lines of both books i and ii, Wulfstan uses *synaloepha* some 169×, and *ecthlipsis* 17×; a total of 186 elisions; in other words, elision occurs in 18.6 per cent of his hexameters, roughly one elision every five lines.[79] This usage is restrained in comparison with Vergil (52.8 per cent, or one elision every two lines),[80] but compares favourably with that of Late Latin poets such as Juvencus (21.0 per cent, or one every five lines) and Prudentius (27.6 per cent, one every four lines). It is in stark contrast to Aldhelm, who avoids the use of elision almost entirely: it occurs in only 3.9 per cent of his verse (160 times in 4116 lines), or roughly once every twenty-five lines.[81] It is also in stark contrast to many of Wulfstan's European contemporaries, who seem to have avoided elision as much as possible.[82] Furthermore, Wulfstan shows his confidence and mastery in the use of elision by the frequency with which he allows elision in the cadence, and especially in the sixth foot, of the hexameter,[83] as in these examples:

Cui presul: 'Num canonicus tibi cognitus ill(e) est (i. 19)
Hoc quoque nec sileas sed uaticinando result(a) et (i. 73)
omne quod auditu didicit per somnia d(e) illo (i. 140)

In the last of these examples, the monosyllable *de* has been elided. Elision of monosyllables is another technique[84] which Wulfstan employed frequently and confidently, as in the following example, 'qu(i) in tumul(o) hoc sancto requiescit corpore nuper' (i. 123), where the monosyllable *qui* has been elided.

The avoidance of elision in circumstances where a final vowel or diphthong (or vowel + *m*) occurs adjacent to an initial vowel or diphthong is called hiatus. On the whole skilful poets avoid hiatus;[85] there is only a small number of hiatus in Vergil, for example, always at a strong *caesura* (and always,

the earlier studies by L. Müller, *De Re Metrica Poetarum Latinorum praeter Plautum et Terentium*, 2nd edn. (Jena, 1894), pp. 279–379 ('De uocalibus inter se concurrentibus'), and R. B. Steele, 'Elision in Latin dactylic hexameters', *Philological Quarterly*, xix (1929), 43–60.

[79] For the *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*, Dolbeau ('Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 55), notes that Wulfstan uses elision in 20.75 per cent of his verses, and comments that, 'un tel chiffre est pour l'ensemble du moyen âge à peu près unique dans le monde anglo-saxon.'

[80] See, in general, F. H. Shipley, 'Virgil's verse technique: hiatus, elision, caesura in Virgil's hexameters', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, lv (1924), 137–58; and M. Bonaria, 'L'elisione', *Encic. Virg.* ii. 201–2.

[81] See Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 79–83.

[82] See Klopsch, *Einführung*, pp. 79–82, and esp. Orlandi, 'The hexameter in the *aetas Horatiana*', table ii, where the average percentage figure for the use of elision by fifty selected tenth- and eleventh-century Latin poets is 5.5 per cent.

[83] See G. Eskuche, 'Die Elisionen in den zwei letzten Füssen des lateinischen Hexameters, von Ennius bis Walahfrid Strabo', *Rheinisches Museum*, xlv (1890), 236–64, 385–418.

[84] See J. Soubiran, 'Élisions de monosyllabes à initial vocalique', *Pallas*, iv (1956), 39–50, and esp. idem, *L'élision*, pp. 387–435, as well as P. Tordeur, 'Le monosyllabe élidé et l'aphérèse en latin', *Revue informatique et statistique dans les sciences humaines*, xxx (1994), 183–222.

[85] See S. E. Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse* (London, 1903), p. 195: 'the later epic poets from Ovid onwards studiously avoid hiatus, whilst the older poets from Ennius to Vergil admitted it as a conscious imitation of Homer' (quoted by Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, p. 83 n. 48), as well as Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 33–8.

presumably, in imitation of Homeric practice).[86] Vergil does not, however, permit hiatus after a vowel + *m*. There are several examples of such hiatus in Wulfstan (marked, according to convention, with an obelus):

circumstant miserum † hinc hostes inde parentes (ii. 382)
quem mundam gestare manum † hic cernimus omnes (ii. 389)
excessitque modum † hoc tam mirabile signum (ii. 403)
quo discente uiam † hanc se nescire misertus (ii. 1115)

It will be noted that in each of these examples, the hiatus occurs at a strong *caesura*, and is followed in each case by a word beginning with *h*. The likelihood is that Wulfstan, as a native Anglo-Saxon, regarded initial *h* as a strongly aspirated consonant, as it is in Old English, and hence as one that would not elide.[87] In this he may have been following the practice of Aldhelm, in whose hexameters 77.27 per cent of hiatus derive from failure to elide before *h*.[88]

Classical Latin poets used various other techniques to vary the flow of syllables within hexameter lines, and it is clear that Wulfstan had studied these ways observantly. For example, whereas (as stated earlier) it was normal for the fifth foot of a hexameter to be filled with a dactyl, skilled poets very occasionally—and always for variety and emphasis—used a spondee in the fifth foot. Such verses are referred to as *spondiazontes*. Vergil occasionally used a *spondiazon* for emphasis, often, but not always, involving a quadrisyllabic word in the final two feet, as in the following example:[89]

cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum! (*Ecl.* iv. 49)

On two occasions, Wulfstan imitated this practice:

cuius erat uagina mero decorat(a) argento (i. 295)
prostratae coram Domino iubilantes una (ii. 251)

The first of these examples may be modelled directly on Vergil;[90] the intention of the second may have been to emphasize the unanimous jubilation which attended the miraculous cures following the translation of St Swithun.

Another unusual practice was called *synapheia*, in which the last syllable of a hexameter elided with the first syllable of the following line. The extra syllable thus fell outside the first hexameter's metrical structure, which accordingly was referred to as a 'hypermetrical' line. Vergil occasionally allowed an enclitic *que* at the end of a line to elide with a vowel at the beginning of the next line (*Aen.* i. 332: 'iactemur doceas. ignari hominumque locorum(que) / erramus . . .'); and other poets

[86] See (conveniently) H. W. Johnston, *The Metrical Licenses of Vergil* (Chicago, 1904), pp. 38–41, as well as Shipley, 'Hiatus, elision, caesura', pp. 140–2, and J. Veremans, 'Iato', *Encic. Virg.* ii. 886–8.

[87] His practice in this regard is not consistent, however, as may be seen from the following examples where the vowel preceding the word *hoc* is elided at a *caesura* (not, however, a strong *caesura*): 'ualde Deo siquid(em) hoc displicet omnipotenti' (i. 1350), 'certus eg(o) hoc didici, per apertaque signa probaui' (i. 1538), 'tolle uel hanc animam miser(o) hoc de corpore uel me' (i. 1577). Was it the placement at the strong *caesura*, rather than the quality of the initial aspirated *h*-, that determined Wulfstan's practice in this regard?

[88] See Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, p. 84. For Wulfstan's treatment of initial *h*- as a consonant, see also below, n. 107.

[89] See F. Cupaiuolo, *Un capitolo sull'esametro latino. Parole e finali dattiliche o spondaiche*, 2nd edn. (Naples, 1967), esp. pp. 107–8, as well as J. Soubiran, 'Les hexamètres spondaïques à quadrisillabe final', *Giornale italiano di filologia*, xxi (1969), 329–49, D. Nardo, 'Spondeiazontes in Giovenale', *Lingua e stile*, x (1975), 439–68, and M. Helzle, '*Σπονδειάζοντες* bei Lucan', *Latomus*, liv (1992), 590–600.

[90] Cf. *Aen.* vii. 634: 'aut levis ocreas lento ducunt argento'.

followed his example.[91] Wulfstan includes one daring example of the practice in his *Narratio* which is, as far as I am aware, the only hypermetrical line ever composed by a pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin poet:

> idem canonicus, qui mente biotticus atque
> lubricus ante fuit, subito mutatur in omne r(e)
> in tantumque Deo se pectore uouit et ore
> (i. 181–3)

Here it is possible that the *synapheia* of *re* was intended by Wulfstan to emphasize the startling transformation of the secular canon (Eadsige), who abandoned his evil ways and returned to the Old Minster as a monk.[92] It is in any case a striking indication of Wulfstan's confidence in Latin verse composition.

I have considered previously the structure of the beginnings (that is, the first four verses) of Wulfstan's hexameters; it remains to comment on the ways in which he handled hexameter endings. The pace of the cadence could be accelerated by using a single pentasyllabic word to fill the cadence at a stroke. Wulfstan uses this technique confidently, but not excessively:

> quem fabro sanctus praedixerat | īnuĕnĭĕndūm (i. 965)
> huncque mihi incolomem sola prece | rēstĭtŭĭstī (i. 1063)
> idcirco mirumque fuit, quia | prōsĭlĭĕbāt (ii. 294)

Where this device is employed by Wulfstan, it most frequently involves the words *omnipotens* or *cunctipotens*, declined in an oblique case, as in the following verses:[93]

> nisibus et totis laudaueris | ōmnĭpŏtēntēm (i. 262)
> et rogat intenta Dominum prece | cūnctĭpŏtēntēm (ii. 105)

Alternatively, the hexameter could be brought to an abrupt close by the use of two monasyllables in the final (sixth) foot, as in these two consecutive verses from book i of the *Narratio*:

> tempore nocturno mihi ter compārŭĭt ēt mē
> uerba super mella docuit praedūlcĭă dē sē
> (i. 124–5)

The use of monosyllables in the sixth foot was a favourite technique of Classical Latin poets, especially Vergil;[94] Wulfstan uses it in approximately 3 per cent of his verses; a further 1.5 per cent of his hexameters end in a final, single monosyllable.

[91] There is no example of *synapheia* of the word *re* in Vergil. See L. Quicherat, 'Les vers hypermètres de Virgile', *Revue de philologie*, xiv (1890), 51–5; Johnson, *The Metrical Licenses of Vergil*, pp. 44–5 (who provides a complete list of Vergil's hypermetrical lines); A. H. Carpenter, 'Hypermetric lines and interlinear hiatus in Latin hexameter verse', *Philological Quarterly*, ix (1930), 351–62; and P. Fortassier, 'L'hypermètre dans l'hexamètre dactylique latin', *Revue des études latines*, lvii (1979), 383–414, with the reply by J. Soubiran, 'Encore sur les vers hypermètres', ibid. lviii (1980), 126–36.

[92] That the *synapheia* might here be intended as a local effect is suggested by two lines in book ii, in which *re* is placed in the second line, with no elision: 'Wentana mercator erat, prudenter in omni / re semel circumspiciens' (ii. 301–2).

[93] See, in addition to the examples quoted, *Narratio*, Ep. spec. 261, i. 1350, ii. 66, 485, 990, 1043, 1089.

[94] See, for example, the detailed study by J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le monosyllabe dans l'hexametre latin. Essai de métrique verbale* (Paris, 1964), as well as J. W. Hough, 'Monosyllabic verse-endings in the *Aeneid*', *Classical Journal*, lxxi (1975), 16–24 (with corrections by E. F. Lacroix, ibid. lxxiii (1977), 30–1); E. F. Lacroix, 'A further note on monosyllabic verse-endings', *Classical Journal*, lxxiii

Prosody

From the preceding discussion it will be clear that Wulfstan had expert understanding of the structure of the Latin hexameter. His treatment of prosody, that is, the correct scansion of the long and short syllables of Latin words, shows similar expertise. His scansion is impeccable, on the whole;[95] where he departs from strict classical rules, he usually does so in the company of earlier poets, notably Vergil and the Late Latin poets who were his models.[96] Thus he frequently shortens the final long *-ō* of gerunds, as in *equitandŏ* (i. 102), *gradiendŏ* (ii. 149), *iubilandŏ* (i. 723), *neglegendŏ* (i. 155), *remeandŏ* (ii. 356), *sectandŏ* (ii. 49), *silendŏ* (Ep. gen. 53), *sustentandŏ* (ii. 776), and *uigilandŏ* (ii. 146, 587), as well as (more rarely), the final *-ō* of first person verbs, as in the verb *predico* at Praef. 114: 'felices ideo quos prēdĭcŏ nomine recto'.[97] He similarly treats as short the final long *-ē* of superlative adverbs, as in *promptissimĕ* (ii. 82, 186).[98] He treats the *-a-* in the first syllable of *statim* as long (i. 185, 368, 499; ii. 54),[99] and the final *-a* in *antea* (i. 442; ii. 130, 491) and *postea* (i. 493, 1436) as short. He scans the *-a-* in *pater*, especially in oblique cases, as either short or long, as may be seen from two examples:[100]

auditu sacros pātrūmquĕ didicerit actus (Ep. gen. 57)
priscorum monumentă pătrūm moderamine Christi (i. 469)

But in this licence Wulfstan was simply following the example of Vergil, who scanned the vowel short and then long in two consecutive words in a line of the *Aeneid*: 'gnatum ante ōră pătrĭs, pātrēm qui obtruncat ad aras' (*Aen.* ii. 663). In company with his predecessors, notably Vergil,[101] he often employs synizesis, whereby two vowels are slurred so as to be scanned as one: *Cantuarios* (i. 1460), *consueta* (ii. 101), *deambulat* (Ep. spec. 51), *deerat* (Praef. 48), *deinceps* (i. 783), *Letania* (ii. 480), and *parietibus* (i. 255).[102] A particularly striking instance is seen in the scansion of *Deum* as a monosyllable at *Narratio* i. 984: 'Tē Dēum lāudāmus, Dominum te corde fatemur'. A similar licence is Wulfstan's use of syncope,[103] whereby a syllable is cut from a word for the sake of metre: *aethra* (i. 83, 1012) and *aethre* (Ep. spec. 302, Praef. 15, 171, i. 952, 986, ii. 204, 773, 1025) in lieu of *aethera* and *aethere*; *copercli* (i. 962) for *coperculi*, *pericla* (i. 530) alongside *pericula* (i. 1182, 88. 559, 843, 1086);[104]

(1977), 30–1; and P. Tordeur, 'Le monosyllabe latin en fin de l'hexamètre dactylique', *Euphrosyne*, xvii (1989), 171–208. There is also a concise treatment of the technique in Vergil by Hellegouarc'h, 'Monosillabo', *Encic. Virg.* i. 570–3.

[95] As is usual in Medieval Latin poets, Wulfstan's scansion of Greek words is often incorrect: thus he scans *cānonicus* (i. 19, 113, 137, 181), *onōmate* (Ep. spec. 217, 253, ii. 299, 684, 717, 1014, 1019), and *ymēra* (Praef. 44, 52, i. 1082). Other examples of apparently incorrect scansion include *donec* with a following vowel (ii. 126), the final syllable of *pontificatus* declined in the gen. sg. but scanned as short (i. 429), or *sumăs* (i. 361), with the naturally long second syllable scanned short.

[96] For 'correct' classical scansion, and the practices of Late Latin poets, see the compendious study by Mueller, *De re metrica*, as well as S. Boldrini, *La prosodia e la metrica dei Romani* (Florence, 1992), pp. 45–81. One respect in which Wulfstan does not follow the example of his predecessors is that he rarely allows the lengthening of a naturally short vowel at the *caesura* (an exception, perhaps unique, is *mella* at i. 125); and it is possible that the unusually high number of hexameters with trithemimeral + hepthemimeral *caesurae* in Wulfstan's verse represents an attempt to avoid lengthening of short vowels at the penthemimeral *caesura*.

[97] Similar practices in Wulfstan's *Breuiloquium* are noted by Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 53.

[98] See Mueller, *De re metrica*, pp. 418–19.

[99] Mueller, ibid. p. 432.

[100] Cf. also *Narratio* i. 1232 (*pătri* short) with ii. 203 (*pātri* long), and Praef. 49 and i. 1001 (*pătris* short) with Ep. gen. 50 (*pātris* long).

[101] See Johnson, *The Metrical Licenses of Vergil*, pp. 7–11; Boldrini, *La prosodia*, pp. 63–6; and S. Timpanaro, 'Sinizesi', *Encic. Virg.* iv. 877–83.

[102] A usage modelled directly on Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 297 ('parietibusque premunt artis et quattuor addunt').

[103] On the practice, see Mueller, *De re metrica*, pp. 455–6.

[104] Note also *pericli* (i. 1185, 1275, ii. 318, 431, 678); *periclis* (i. 1261); *periclo* (i. 1291, ii. 464); and *periclum* (ii. 110).

saecla (i. 85, 1020) alongside *saecula* (Praef. 16, 106, i. 198, 1001, 1014, ii. 755);[105] *singlos* (i. 1013) in lieu of *singulos*; and *uincla* (i. 1175, ii. 571) alongside *uincula* (Praef. 55, i. 1161, ii. 315, 891, 908, 1144, 1150).[106] Wulfstan also exercised metrical licence in his treatment of the central *-i-* in *unius* and *illius*, which is correctly long, but which Wulfstan scanned as long or short, depending on local metrical exigencies. Compare, for example:

presulis unius sancti sublime sepulchrum (i. 253)
unius ad sancti curatos esse sepulchrum (Praef. 184)

and

illius meritis caperet quo munera lucis (ii. 56)
illius ut meritis queat euasisse periclum (ii. 110).

Other examples of such ambivalent treatment could be cited.[107] Wulfstan also allows himself considerable freedom in the scansion of Old English personal names;[108] but since there were scarcely rules governing such usage, such freedom is only to be expected.

Embellishment

Wulfstan's verse is highly wrought, and is embellished with various kinds of verbal play. Following the model of Vergil and other Latin poets,[109] Wulfstan made restrained, but effective, use of alliteration, as in the following lines:

ne flatus per falsa queat me fallere fallax (Ep. gen. 36)
presulis unius sancti sublime sepulchrum (i. 253)
presulis ad sancti Suuiðhuni insigne sepulchrum (i. 404)
et circa tumulum celeres tentoria tendunt (i. 911)
hunc adit; hoc meruit mediam medicante medelam (i. 1461)

It could be argued that Wulfstan's use of alliteration, like that of Aldhelm, was influenced by his familiarity with Old English verse which, in common with other early Germanic verse, was structured entirely on alliteration; but since alliteration is found in medieval Latin writers who had no Germanic background, or contact with vernacular verse-composition, there are probably no

[105] Note also *saecli* (Ep. gen. 22, i. 1006, 1014, 1077); *saeclo* (i. 5, 86, 1069, ii. 136, 144). The contrast is well illustrated at i. 1014: 'laudamus nomenque tuum per saecula saecli'.

[106] Note also *uinclis* (ii. 546, 596, 1140).

[107] Cf. his treatment of the adjective *Eous*, the first syllable of which, *E-*, is scanned sometimes short (Ep. spec. 117, i. 573, ii. 650), and sometimes long (i. 1596, ii. 464). The final *-er* of *pariter* is scanned long with following *h-* before a vowel in i. 515 ('occurrunt et eum pariter hac uoce salutant'), another example of his treatment of *h-* as a strongly aspirated consonant; but cf. two lines where the *-er* does not form a closed syllable with a following *h-*: i. 951 ('inque labore illum fecit clementer honestum'), i. 1531 ('sitque tuum nomen benedictum semper honestum'). What was the perceived difference in quality between the *h-* of *hac* and that of *honestum*? Cf. also his treatment of the final syllable of *gibber* in i. 324 (with following *hac*) and i. 340.

[108] Cf. his scansion of three separate occurrences within a few lines of the name *Eadsige* (which he, following Lantfred, latinizes as *Eadsinus*): *Eādsĭgĕ* (i. 22), but *Eādsīnum* (i. 35) and *Eādzĭnĕ* (i. 44).

[109] See the concise remarks by Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 42–7 and L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 25–8, as well as W. J. Evans, *Alliteratio Latina, or Alliteration in Latin Verse reduced to Rule* (London, 1921) and A. Cordier, *L'allitération dans l'Eneide* (Paris, 1939). More recent studies include W. M. Clarke, 'Intentional alliteration in Vergil and Ovid', *Latomus*, xxxv (1976), 276–300, and E. C. Reinke, 'Onomatopoeic alliteration in Vergil's *Aeneid*, Books 1–6', *Classical Bulletin*, lxii (1986), 37–42. There is concise treatment of alliteration in Medieval Latin verse in Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*, iv. 495–9.

grounds for assuming such contact in Wulfstan's case. The more interesting question is what effects Wulfstan wished to create by using it. In the cases listed above, one might assume that the alliteration simply reflected a local preference for euphony; but on occasion it has more structural point, as in the following example:

carcere compedibus custodibus atque solutis (ii. 62)

Here one can sense that the resolution into assonance in **s** at the end of the line represents an almost palpable release from the constriction of the alliteration on **c** earlier in the line.

Alongside Wulfstan's use of alliteration is his use of another striking kind of aural effect which Marouzeau has described as 'cacophony' (*cacophonie*),[110] by which he means jingling repetitions of sounds. Such cacophony occurs occasionally in Wulfstan's *Narratio*:

sunt ubi sancta pii lega**ta** nota**ta** patroni (i. 284)
leni**or** ut fieret do**lor** into**lera**bilis illi (ii. 284)
his multi**squ**(e) ali**is** oranti corde laborat (ii. 327)
dedecus hoc quoniam pati**enti** **mente** nequibat (ii. 328)

Wulfstan was an exceptionally accomplished poet, and one can only assume that his use of such cacophony was intentional; but what the intention was, is no longer clear.

Wulfstan also embellished his verse by the occasional use of rhyme of various kinds. Classical Latin poets occasionally used rhyme for local effects,[111] as in a famous example from Ovid (*Ars amatoria*, i. 59):

quot caelum stellas, tot habet tua Roma puellas.

Note that the two syllables before the penthemimeral *caesura* here rhyme with the two final syllables of the hexameter. The pervasive use of such bisyllabic rhyme, called 'leonine' rhyme, is a development characteristic of Medieval Latin poetry from the twelfth century onwards.[112] In his use of rhyme, Wulfstan falls between classical and later medieval usage. His use of monosyllabic leonine rhyme, a technique which was developed by Carolingian Latin poets,[113] is too numerous to list; an example is as follows:

desine iam fili; disponere talia noli (ii. 984)

On one striking occasion in book i, Wulfstan uses the same monosyllabic leonine rhyme in four consecutive lines:

quaerat et aeter**nam** morum probitate coro**nam**,
ne per foeda sua**m** maculando piacula uita**m**
incidat in foue**am** cecato corde profunda**m**,
et ne post modica**m** mundani luminis hora**m**
(i. 68–71)

[110] Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 38–42.

[111] See Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 54–60, and Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry*, pp. 32–4, as well as more recent studies by W. M. Clarke, 'Intentional rhyme in Vergil and Ovid', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, ciii (1972), 49–77, G. Simonetti Abbolito, 'Effetti fonici in Virgilio', *Orpheus*, viii (1987), 235–63. and P. Tordeur, 'Reflexions sur la rime', *Latomus*, li (1992), 315–28.

[112] For the use of rhyme in Medieval Latin verse, see Klopsch, *Einführung*, pp. 38–49, and Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*, iv. 487–95.

[113] K. Strecker, 'Studien zu karolingischen Dichtern, V. Leoninische Hexameter und Pentameter im 9. Jh.', *Neues Archiv*, xliv (1922), 213–51.

In all these examples, the rhyme takes place between the syllable before the penthemimeral *caesura* and the end of the line. As we have seen, Wulfstan attempted metrical variety by the use of trithemimeral and hepthemimeral *caesurae*, and it is interesting that he often allows rhyme between the two final syllables at these *caesurae*, as in the following examples:

cum subito, reserante Deo, cecidere cateni (i. 1184)
perquirunt neque repperiunt. Tum fama Teoðico (i. 1191)
uota Deo uouitque pio moribunda Suuiðhuno (i. 1253)
stat uotis intenta piis, ac nocte sequente (i. 1299)

At a later period, the use of this rhyme-scheme, augmented by a similar rhyme at the end of the line (as in the example from *Narratio* i. 1253), will develop into the flamboyant verses called *trinini salientes*.[114] Here, too, Wulfstan was pioneering in a modest way.

More distinctive, because unparalleld in earlier Anglo-Latin verse, is his use of bisyllabic leonine rhyme, in which the final two syllables of the hexameter rhyme with the two syllables immediately preceding the penthemimeral caesura, as in the example from Ovid quoted above, and in the following examples from Wulfstan:

Anglorum gentes fidei sed amore calentes (Praef. 124)
premia uirtutis qui munera datque salutis (i. 1618)
qua non languentes sanctum petiere gementes (ii. 237)

Sometimes Wulfstan links two consecutive hexameters by means of final, bisyllabic rhyme:

te quereris gaza, quia caelitus extat in ista
conseruata tibi diuino munere cista
(i. 327–8)

On rare occasions, Wulfstan achieves a more complex sort of rhyme, in which the final two syllables of consecutive lines rhyme with each other, as do the final two syllables before the penthemimeral caesura:

et qui Wintoniam pridem petiere gementes
post ad Lundoniam laeti rediere uidentes
(i. 1450–1)

sicque inimicorum sunt uersi in tristia risus
sic et amicorum sunt uersi in gaudia fletus
(ii. 395–6)

Complex rhyme of this sort, in verses called *collaterales*, only became widely practised in England from the thirteenth century onwards.[115] In this respect, Wulfstan was several centuries ahead of his time.

Another kind of verbal embellishment in which Wulfstan clearly took pride was polyptoton, that is, the repetition of a word or part of a word, in different inflectional forms, in successive syntactical units.[116] A few examples from Wulfstan will illustrate the technique:

[114] A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 321.
[115] Ibid. p. 320.
[116] The definition is from M. Roberts, *The Jewelled Style. Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, NY, 1989), p. 157. The same phenomenon is briefly discussed as 'adnomination' by

a Domino dominante trahit, quem luce coruscum
'Dominicum' gaudent omnes uocitare fideles
(i. 407–8)

quem **mundam** gestare manum hic cernimus omnes
et quem **mundatum** Domino **mundante** uidemus
(ii. 389–90)

spectarique uidens meruitque uidere uidentes (ii. 58)[117]

ne flatus per **falsa** queat me **fallere fallax** (Ep. gen. 36)

Polyptoton of this sort is found throughout Wulfstan's poem.

Another striking stylistic device is hyperbaton, namely the placement of words in what, from the point of view of syntax, is an unnatural order.[118] A certain amount of hyperbaton is unavoidable in Latin hexameter verse, given the exigencies of metre; but accomplished poets often stretched intelligibility to the limits by (for example) removing nouns from their qualifying adjectives, or from the prepositions which governed them.[119] In the case of a poet like Aldhelm, who seems to have conceived his verse one line at a time, nouns and their attributes are rarely separated and usually are to be found within the space of the one line; but in the case of Wulfstan, who was (as we have seen) adept at enjambement, and who conceived verse paragraphs several lines at a time, his use of hyperbaton often poses difficulties of comprehension. Consider the following example:

O Deus omnipotens, regnum per saecula **cuius**
numen et aeterno complectitur omnia gyro
(ii. 755–6)

The natural (prose) arrangement of these lines would be: 'O Deus omnipotens, cuius regnum et numen complectitur omnia aeterno gyro per saecula' ('O Omnipotent God, Whose kingdom and power enclose(s) all things forever in its eternal span'). Hyperbaton of this sort is found throughout the *Narratio*. One particular kind of hyperbaton is the so-called 'golden line', in which two nouns and their corresponding adjectives are arranged around a central verb (in the pattern A B C A B). On occasion Wulfstan uses a golden line with telling effect, as when he sums up and concludes his eulogy for Eadsige (the Winchester monk who was the sacrist of St Swithun's shrine) in the following carefully-crafted line:

aurea perpetuae conscenderet atria uitae (ii. 150)

Again, the use of hyperbaton of this sort at a turning point in the narrative is the mark of a highly competent poet.

A final kind of embellishment may be mentioned here, namely tmesis,[120] or the separation of a

Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 60–3. For detailed discussion of polyptoton in Classical Latin poetry, see J. Willis, *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 189–268.

[117] And note that *spectarique* is glossed *.i. uideres* in **R**, indicating that the glossator was intellectually engaged in the wordplay. Such engagement suggests that the glossator and the poet are one; see below, p. 367.

[118] The nature of hyperbaton in Classical Latin poetry is an immense subject which awaits comprehensive investigation. See R. G. M. Nisbet, 'The word order of Horace's *Odes*', *PBA* xciii (1999), 135–54, and J. G. F. Powell, 'Stylistic registers in Juvenal', ibid. pp. 311–34, esp. 323: 'In Latin, the most obvious feature of poetic register is persistent hyperbaton of noun and adjective'. See also the brief remarks by Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 294–302, and T. E. V. Pearce, 'The enclosing word order in the Latin hexameter', *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. xvi (1966), 140–71, 298–320, and cf. my discussion of hyperbaton with respect to Lantfred's prose, above, p. 230.

[119] See (briefly) Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry*, pp. 213–20.

[120] See Mueller, *De re metrica*, pp. 457–61.

word into two parts, usually for metrical reasons, as for example when Vergil divides the word *circumfudit*: 'et multo nebulae *circum* dea *fudit* amictu' (*Aen.* i. 412). Wulfstan uses tmesis on several occasions, usually involving the word *antequam*[121] but on one occasion involving *archiepiscopus*:

solibus **ante-** sacri **-quam** cum caelestibus hymnis (i. 2)
ante- sacri **-quam** membra forent translata sepulchro (i. 237)
ante- sed aegrotus **-quam** clauderet ipse loquelam (i. 1219)
ante- sibi necis interitus **-quam** forte propinquet (i. 1248)
Cantuarios **archi-** qui rexit **-episcopus** olim (i. 1460)
ante- sacri **-quam** membra forent translata patroni (i. 1497)
ante- mihi imponam **-quam** tam inportabile pondus (ii. 180)
percipit, **ante-** sacrum **-quam** posset adire sepulchrum (ii. 1099)

A bolder use of tmesis occurs where a word is divided over two lines, as in the following examples:

post- cuius sanctam nostrae parcendo saluti
sustinuit -quam sponte crucem, lux tertia surgit
(Praef. 42–3)

ante- sacerdotis studuitque inuisere tumbam
-quam qua natus erat regni perquirere partem
(i. 1522–3)

However, the most striking example of tmesis in Wulfstan involves an Old English word, *Bedefordscire*, which Wulfstan daringly divides as follows:

quam **'Bedeford-'** Angli censent uocitamine **'-scire'** (i. 1227)

Only a confident poet would attempt so daring a tmesis.

Diction

In Classical Latin, there was a palpable distinction between the diction of prose and that of poetry. On the whole, poets avoided vocabulary that was sensed as prosaic,[122] and developed a register of poetic language that distinguished itself clearly from that of prose.[123] Medieval Latin poets inherited from their classical predecessors a sense what what constituted the elevated register of poetic diction, although they cannot have been as sensitive to that register as were the Classical Latin poets who spoke Latin as a native language. In imitation (as they thought) of this elevated register, tenth-century Anglo-Latin poets characteristically adorned their verse with recherché vocabulary of one kind or another. Such vocabulary has been described as 'hermeneutic' (so-called because much of it may derive from Greek-Latin glossaries called *hermeneumata*), and consists in archaisms, neologisms and grecisms.[124] Wulfstan's poetic vocabulary features many unusual words, though none of them

[121] Tmesis of a sort occurs in *Narratio* i. 4–5, where the word *antequam* is divided over a line-end: 'quo quondam pausans in pace quieuit, et ante / quam ferret nostro caeli noua lumina saeclo'.

[122] The classic study of this phenomenon is B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Dichtersprache* (Lund, 1945), esp. pp. 13–97.

[123] There is an excellent survey by R. G. G. Coleman, 'Poetic diction, poetic discourse and the poetic register', *PBA* xciii (1999), 21–93; see also the important essays by Wilhelm Kroll, H. H. Janssen, and Manu Leumann, collected together, translated and updated by A. Lunelli, *La lingua poetica latina*, 2nd edn. (Bologna, 1980).

[124] See Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style'. On Greek-Latin glossaries, including those called *hermeneumata*, see the fundamental study by A. C. Dionisotti, 'Greek grammars and

are archaisms (which he seems on the whole to have avoided),[125] and few are ascertainable neologisms. It is convenient to treat Wulfstan's unusual poetic diction under three headings: nominal and adjectival compounds; nouns terminating in *amen*; and grecisms.

One characteristic feature of Latin poetic diction (as distinct from prosaic diction) was the use of nominal and adjectival compounds.[126] Classical poets often used such compounds, typically scanned as quadrisyllabic choriambs (– ∪ ∪ –) such as *bellipotens*, to fill the first foot of a hexameter. Anglo-Latin poets of the tenth century were well aware of the potential of this aspect of poetic diction, and used—and coined—many compounds, nominal and adjectival, to adorn their hexameters.[127] Wulfstan used a number of such words in his *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*,[128] and the *Narratio* abounds in them:

> *aestifer* (Praef. 160), *altithronus* (Ep. spec. 123, 306, i. 32, 831, 1395, ii. 433), *astriferus* (i. 923, ii. 14, 1062), *astrigerus* (ii. 557), *auricomus* (i. 13), *benigniuolus* (Ep. spec. 74), *caelicola* (i. 30), *celsithronus* (i. 1493), *celsitonans* (Ep. spec. 64, i. 1357), *Christicola* (Ep. spec. 37, i. 732, ii. 970), *clarisonus* (i. 423), *clauigerus* (Ep. spec. 176, Ep. gen. 8), *cunctipotens* (ii. 105, 1043, 1089), *cunctitonans* (i. 230), *dulcisonus* (i. 1358), *falsiloquus* (i. 338), *flammiuomus* (i. 72), *fluctiuagus* (i. 1119), *horrisonus* (Ep. spec. 203, ii. 564, 615, 622), *igniuomus* (Praef. 143, i. 500, 622, ii. 148), *imbriferus* (Ep. spec. 201), *laudifluus* (Ep. spec. 86), *mellifluus* (Ep. spec. 98, i. 639, 856, 1383, ii. 1003), *mirificus* (ii. 1015), *pestiferus* (Praef. 146, i. 539), *salutiferus* (Praef. 101, i. 1211, 1235, ii. 363, 846, 1004, 1037), *sanctiloquus* (Ep. gen. 56), *setigerus* (Ep. spec. 100), *signiferus* (Ep. spec. 196), *signipotens* (Ep. spec. 267, ii. 438), *somniferus* (i. 258), *soporiferus* (i. 1330), *stelliferus* (i. 1125), *ueridicus* (i. 74), *ueriloquus* (i. 37), *uersificus* (Ep. spec. 26), *ymnicinus* (Ep. spec. 12), *ymnisonus* (Ep. spec. 241, i. 987, 1022, 1372)

In the present state of our knowledge of Medieval Latin poetry, it is difficult to quantify such usage, and to establish which of these words were inherited by Wulfstan from earlier poets and which, if any, were coined by him.[129]

Another aspect of poetic diction which was used by Classical Latin poets such as Ovid,[130] but was taken to extremes by Anglo-Latin poets of the tenth century,[131] is the employment of nouns in *-men*

dictionaries in Carolingian Europe', in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks. The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. W. Herren (London, 1988), pp. 56.

[125] On two occasions Wulfstan uses the archaic form of the passive infinitive terminating in *ier* (*deducier*: i. 645, ii. 1038). For a complete list of such forms in Classical Latin, see KH, pp. 691–3 (§ 168), and for its stylistic register, Coleman, 'Poetic diction', pp. 44–5. The form was used by Vergil (e.g. *Aen.* iv. 493: 'dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artis'), and accordingly passed into poetic *koine*. It was used frequently by Anglo-Latin poets: see Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', p. 88 (repr. *ALL* ii. 228). Another archaism used once by Wulfstan is the ablative plural form *quis* (i. 956) for *quibus* (see KH, p. 613); but this usage had long been sanctioned by poets.

[126] See A. Grenier, *Etude sur la formation et l'emploi des composés nominaux dans le latin archaïque* (Nancy, 1912); I. C. Arens, '*-fer* and *-ger*: their extraordinary preponderance among compounds in Roman poetry', *Mnemosyne*, iii (1950), 241–52; J. Perret, 'La forme des composés poétiques du latin', *Revue des études latines*, xxx (1952), 157–67; F. Bader, *La formation des composés nominaux du latin* (Paris, 1962); and R. Oniga, *I composti nominali latini. Una morfologia generativa* (Bologna, 1988).

[127] See discussion by Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', p. 87 (repr. *ALL* ii. 227). One tenth-century Anglo-Latin poet who took the use of such compounds to an extreme was the anonymous author of the 'Hexametrical Romulus': see M. Lapidge and J. Mann, 'Reconstructing the Anglo-Latin Aesop: the literary tradition of the "Hexametrical Romulus"', in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Herren, ii. 1–33.

[128] Dolbeau ('Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 50) lists the following: *almificus* (41), *altithronus* (262, 714), *astrifer* (80, 445), *clauiger* (365), *dulcisonus* (599, 704), *grandisonus* (439), *mellifluus* (534, 692), *ueriloquus* (305), *uersificus* (691), *ymnidicus* (318).

[129] An attempt to quantify such usage in the poetry of Sedulius Scottus is found in J. Meyers, *Le classicisme lexical dans la poésie de Sedulius Scottus* (Liege, 1994).

[130] See briefly Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 113–14; E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius* (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 27–9; and esp. J. Perrot, *Les dérivés en -men et en -mentum* (Paris, 1961). Ovid's use of such vocabulary, much of it invented by him, was first discussed by E. Linse, *De Ovidio vocabulorum inventore* (Lepizig, 1891).

[131] See discussion in Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', pp. 87–8

and *-āmen*, declined in the ablative singular and nom./acc. plural, in the fifth foot of a hexameter, as in the following line from book i of the *Narratio*:

plurima secreto uoluit meditāmĭnĕ secum (i. 96)

The noun *meditamen* is rare outside of poetry. Wulfstan had a distinct penchant for such nouns,[132] as is clear from the following list:

conamine (i. 128, 1252, ii. 663), *decoramine* (ii. 955), *examine* (ii. 419), *foramina* (Ep. spec. 161), *fundamine* (Ep. spec. 119), *gestamina* (i. 1218), *gestamine* (i. 226, 587, 1298, ii. 777), *libamina* (i. 886), *ligamina* (Ep. spec. 255), *ligamine* (ii. 567), *lustramine* (i. 622, 1035, ii. 351), *medicamina* (Praef. 174, i. 483, ii. 438, 695, 855, 1085), *medicamine* (i. 76, 384, 397, 419, 433, 957, 1118, 1215, 1233, 1241, 1258, 1432, 1467, 1511, ii. 248, 511), *meditamine* (i. 96, 282), *moderamine* (Praef. 50, 125, i. 289, 469, 811, 820, ii. 143), *modulamine* (i. 947, ii. 432), *precamina* (i. 155, i. 214, 368), *sinuamine* (ii. 292, 1133), *solamina* (i. 1043), *spiramine* (Ep. spec. 115, i. 565, ii. 564), *sustentamine* (ii. 935), *uegetamine* (i. 1403), *uelamina* (i. 942), *uelamine* (Praef. 187, i. 10, 507, 977, 1273), *uocitamine* (i. 1227)

It is difficult to know how to quantify such usage, and even to establish which of the words represent neologism by Wulfstan himself, given that there have been so few studies of this aspect of Medieval Latin poetic diction.[133] It is a subject which requires more research.

A final aspect of Wulfstan's poetic diction is his use of grecisms.[134] Many Anglo-Latin authors, and especially those from Æthelwold's school at Winchester, prided themselves on their display, if not their knowledge, of Greek.[135] Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, which served as Wulfstan's source, is bristling with Greek vocabulary, and, not surprisingly, Wulfstan took over many of Lantfred's grecisms into his *Narratio*.[136] However, he also added some of his own, words which were not found in his source:

agape (*ἀγάπη*: i. 72), *cauma* (*καῦμα*: i. 500), *encenia* (*ἐγκαίνια*: Ep. spec. 213), *capsa* (*κάμψα*: Ep. spec. 154, i. 314), *numisma* (*νόμισμα*: i. 218), *podagricus* (*ποδαγρικός*: i. 1454), *theophania* (*θεοφάνεια*: ii. 478), *trias* (*τριάς*: i. 664)

None of these words is rare, and most could have been taken from (say) Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philogiae et Mercurii*, a text which was certainly studied at Winchester in Wulfstan's time.[137]

(repr. *ALL* ii. 227–8). Lantfred frequently used poeticisms in *-men* in his Latin prose: see above, p. 227.

[132] Dolbeau ('Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 50) notes the following forms in Wulfstan's *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*: *meditamine* (288, 524, 575, 636, 678), *fundamine* (360, 469), *libamina* (41, 504), *moderamine* (196, 214), *affamina* (284), *iuuamine* (690), *luctamine* (488), *lustramine* (53), *modulamine* (319), *purgamine* (537), *spiramine* (32).

[133] See M. Hélin, 'Vulgarismes et néologismes dans la latinité médiévale', *Le moyen âge*, x (1963), 247–58; O. Prinz, 'Mittellateinische Wortneubildungen, ihre Entwicklungstendenzen und ihre Triebkräfte', *Philologus*, cxxii (1978), 249–75; and A. M. Bautier and M. Duchet-Suchaux, 'Des néologismes en latin médiévale: approche statistique et répartition linguistique', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, xliv–xlv (1985), 43–63.

[134] See LHS ii. 759–65, Coleman, 'Poetic diction', pp. 45–7, and R. G. Mayer, 'Grecism', *PBA* xciii (1999), 157–82.

[135] See Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style', pp. 85–90 (repr. *ALL* ii. 123–8). For the suggestion that the penchant for Greek at Æthelwold's school at Winchester derives from the presence at King Edgar's court during the decade 959 × 970 of a native Greek-speaker, one Nikephoros (formerly metropolitan of Herakleia), see M. Lapidge, 'Byzantium, Rome and England in the early middle ages', *Settimane*, xlix (2002), 363–400, at pp. 386–99.

[136] Wulfstan took over the following grecisms from Lantfred: *biotticus* (i. 181), *carismate* (Praef. 65), *clima* (Praef. 6, i. 465, 691), *dema* (Ep. spec. 267, i. 954), *glaucoma* (Ep. spec. 291, i. 902, 1489), *ierarchus* (Ep. spec. 215, 281, i. 161, 449, 638, ii. 959, 1006, 1027), *machera* (i. 278, 313), *onoma* (Ep. spec. 217, 253, i. 28, ii. 299, 684, 717, 1014, 1019), *pneuma* (ii. 1171), *sicophanta* (i. 87), *soma* (ii. 122), *staurus* (i. 645, 701, ii. 750), *ymera* (Praef. 44, 52, i. 1082).

[137] For Lantfred's unambiguous use of Martianus Capella, see above, pp. 275 n. 116, 326 n. 286. The author of the *Altercatio magistri et discipuli*—who was perhaps Lantfred himself—also

In any event, there is no reason to suppose that Wulfstan had any expertise in Greek: he follows Lantfred in mistaking *staurus* as a feminine noun.[138]

The features discussed above show that, in terms of poetic style, Wulfstan was a resourceful and imaginative poet. However, alongside the more imaginative features of his style, there are various techniques, evidently designed to facilitate composition on a large scale, which impart a certain sense of tedium to his verse; and it is only fair to mention these.[139]

There are, for example, many instances in the poem where Wulfstan repeats a hexameter verbatim: 'angelico uultu niueoque decorus amictu' (i. 9, repeated at ii. 183), or 'nesciat unde meat, quoue pedem referat' (Ep. spec. 52, repeated at 130). Very often Wulfstan will repeat a hexameter with only minor alterations, as local exigencies require:

ponderis argenti gemmae rutilantis et auri (i. 78)
contulit argenti gemmae rutilantis et auri (ii. 5)

euigilat gibber fugiente grauedine somni (i. 266)
euigilat caecus fugiente grauedine somni (ii. 719)

gentibus Anglorum direxit ab arce polorum (Ep. gen. 18)
gentibus Anglorum direxit ab aethre polorum (Praef. 171)

orat, et extimplo fit lumine laeta superno (ii. 57)
orat, et extimplo fit munere laeta superno (ii. 111)

uenit ad excelsae sublimia culmina Romae (i. 1505)
duxit ad excelsae sublimia culmina Wentae (ii. 81)

Suuiðhuni meritis interuenientibus almis (i. 387)
Suuiðhuni meritis interuenientibus aiens (ii. 365)
Suuiðhuni meritis interuenientibus, et mox (ii. 427)

There are many repetitions of this sort throughout the *Narratio*, and I have tried to note them all in the Commentary accompanying the text. It is possible that the repetitions, with minor variation, derive from Wulfstan's familiarity with the formulaic conventions of Old English verse composition; but it should be borne in mind that Vergil, too, often recycled hexameter lines, and the example of Vergil may have served as Wulfstan's authorization for this practice.

A related feature is what may conveniently be called 'lexical localization'. Given the restraints of hexametrical composition, and the fact that Latin words consist of sequences of long and short vowels, it stands to reason that many words can only occupy certain positions within a hexameter line. This aspect of positioning of words has been well studied with respect to Classical Latin verse.[140] Within the constraints imposed by the metre, however, Classical Latin poets resorted to repetitious lexical positioning on a modest scale. Anglo-Latin poets, by contrast, abused the technique. The insistent use of lexical positioning by Aldhelm has been well explained in terms of the formulaic techniques of oral verse composition in the vernacular,[141] and perhaps a similar

knew Martianus (see Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', pp. 116–17, repr. *ALL* ii. 256–7), as did the Winchester author of the metrical *Vita S. Iudoci*: see Lapidge, 'A metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* from tenth-century Winchester', pp. 269, 298.

[138] See above, p. 226 with n. 72.

[139] Dolbeau ('Le *Breuiloquium*', p. 50) rightly remarks, with respect to Wulfstan's *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis*, 'Comme tous les adaptateurs, Wulfstan succombe parfois à la facilité.'

[140] See the brief remarks of Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 274–7, as well as the extensive study by L. De Neubourg, *La base métrique de la localisation des mots dans l'hexamètre latin* (Brussels, 1986), together with the brief comments on this book by A. S. Gratwick, 'The Latin hexameter', *Classical Review*, xl (1990), 340–3.

[141] Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 98–102, 119–25.

explanation may be pertinent to Wulfstan (though it might equally be argued that, since Wulfstan had studied Aldhelm thoroughly, he simply copied this aspect of Aldhelm's technique). In any event, lexical positioning of words is a pervasive aspect of Wulfstan's compositional technique. Consider, for example, his invariable placement of the adjective *aethereum* (declined in various cases) in the second foot of the hexameter, before the penthemimeral caesura (and note that the word is never positioned by Wulfstan in a different metrical foot):

spiritus **aethereae** ueniens a finibus aulae (Praef. 61)
redditus **aethereos** meruit spectare meatus (i. 402)
scandens **aethereum** uibranti lumine caelum (i. 660)
et iubar **aethereum** clareret ubique per ymnum (ii. 33)
ut Deus **aethereis** uobis pater extet in oris (ii. 998)

Similar lexical localization obtains with much (but not all) of Wulfstan's poetic vocabulary. In what follows, I provide a full list of Wulfstan's repeated localizations; note that I only cite examples of three or more repetitions, and that I give first the foot of the hexameter in which Wulfstan invariably places the word, then (in parentheses) the number of occurrences, followed by the line numbers of the occurrences).

almus (*-ae, -o, -i, -um, -is*): sixth foot (29×: Praef. 60, 193, Ep. gen. 28, i. 387, 595, 698, 809, 840, 1074, 1101, 1132, 1150, 1179, 1222, 1344, 1349, 1389, 1491, 1593, 1623, ii. 108, 628, 698, 737, 759, 850, 900, 1045, 1130)[142]

amici (*-o, -um*): sixth foot (15×: i. 149, 155, 220, 593, 685, 762, 802, 1217, ii. 392, 403, 425, 535, 837, 839, 980)

amictum (*-u*): sixth foot (8×: Ep. spec. 319, Praef. 30, 135, i. 9, 542, 617, 1340, ii. 183)

antea: fifth foot (7×: i. 416, 442, 555, 1394, ii. 130, 408, 770)[143]

beatus (*-am, -i, -is, -o, -um*): sixth foot (10×: Ep. gen. 9, Praef. 45, i. 85, 198, 909, 933, 1605, ii. 122, 364, 1074)

carcere (*-is*): first foot (6×: ii. 20, 549, 890, 906, 910, 1164)

caterua (*-as*): sixth foot (6×: Praef. 19, i. 1274, 1442, ii. 249, 375, 1165)

citatim: sixth foot (4×: i. 805, 1297, ii. 22, 1060)

contingeret: fifth foot (4×: i. 219, 283, ii. 209, 465)

conuocat: first foot (7×: i. 548, 683, 753, 862, 1212, ii. 352, 1024)

corporis: first foot (6×: Praef. 188, i. 269, 635, 743, ii. 188, 710)

culmina (*-e*): fifth foot (15×: Praef. 140, i. 82, 255, 437, 588, 659, 690, 740, 1381, 1385, 1505, 1589, ii. 81, 674, 1104)

denique: first foot (5×: Ep. spec. 450, i. 1444, ii. 143, 239, 373)

diuino munere: fourth and fifth feet (5×: i. 328, 355, 485, 680, 971)

[142] But Wulfstan locates *alma* and *alme*, with their short final syllables, at various places elsewhere in the hexameter (Praef. 121, i. 16, 23, 486, 570, 848, 1010, 1367, ii. 478, 499, 651, 858).

[143] The sole exception is ii. 491, where *antea* is placed in the first foot.

dolore (*-em, -es, -i, -is*): sixth foot (11×: i. 101, 575, 584, 610, 1276, 1285, 1548, ii. 277, 496, 880, 883)

dulciter: fifth foot (3×: i. 228, 891, 1318)

egregius (*-i, -is, -um*): second foot, ending at the penthemimeral caesura (11×: Ep. spec. 215, i. 756, 918, 969, 1337, 1464, ii. 141, 201, 368, 689, 1027)

et extimplo: second foot, ending at the penthemimeral caesura (10×: i. 115, 715, 753, 1258, 1426, ii. 24, 57, 111, 248, 908)

extitit: fifth foot (4×: i. 1202, 1554, ii. 515, 918)

fidelis (*-em, es, -i*): sixth foot (18×: i. 106, 179, 231, 234, 408, 458, 724, 785, 849, 908, 927, 1114, ii. 140, 304, 683, 820, 851, 970)

fomenta: fourth and fifth feet (5×: i. 613, 741, 788, ii. 1062, 1090)

gentem: sixth foot (4×: i. 971, 1521, ii. 830, 875)

gentibus: first foot (5×: Ep. gen. 18, Praef. 7, 89, 164, 171)

hactenus: first foot (3×: i. 134, 1377, ii. 508)

hospitio: second foot, before the penthemimeral caesura (4×: i. 220, 239, 1561, 1570)

humano generi: always in the first two and a half feet, before the penthemimeral caesura (3×: Praef. 36, 104, ii. 1068)

humanum: second foot, before the penthemimeral caesura (6×: Praef. 17, 138, 148, i. 1045, 1359, ii. 360)

ibidem: sixth foot (4×: i. 132, 727, ii. 372, 766)

ierarchi (*-o, -os, -um*): fifth and sixth feet (8×: Ep. spec. 215, 281, i. 161, 449, 638, ii. 959, 1006, 1027)

infit: sixth foot (7×: Praef. 78, i. 329, 379, 765, ii. 167, 739, 1092)

isto: sixth foot (11×: i. 46, 86, 347, 487, 756, 968, ii. 136, 144, 159, 190, 905)[144]

locello: sixth foot (3×: i. 286, 978, 1080)

loquela (*-ae, -am, -as, -is*): sixth foot (17×: Ep. spec. 13, Praef. 82, i. 53, 263, 292, 339, 516, 636, 1162, 1219, 1376, ii. 181, 195, 397, 927, 929, 983)

malignas (*-i, -o, -um*): sixth foot (8×: Praef. 112, i. 526, 548, 1106, 1321, 1328, ii. 867, 996)

metallo (*-is*): sixth foot (5×: Praef. 110, i. 104, 279, 932, 1411)

ministro (*-os, -i, -ans, -et, -er*): sixth foot (13×: Ep. spec. 239, 317, 325, Praef. 15, i. 203, 310, 788, 859, 913, 960, 1206, ii. 95, 337)

mirabile: fifth foot (8×: i. 697, 1054, 1223, ii. 123, 154, 401, 402, 577)

mirificare suum: first two and a half feet, before the penthemimeral caesura (4×: Ep. gen. 19, i. 832, 1036, 1078)

[144] By the same token, *istis* (2×), *isti* (1×) and *istam* (4×) are always placed in the final foot; *iste* and *ista*, because their final syllables are short, are variously placed.

misella (*-ae, -i, -is, -o, -os, -um*): sixth foot (20×: i. 121, 221, 536, 550, 624, 641, 1007, 1061, 1096, 1142, 1148, 1445, ii. 96, 276, 416, 547, 634, 745, 748, 972)

munimine: fourth and fifth feet (4×: Praef. 64, i. 314, 835, ii. 590)

murmure: fifth foot (3×: i. 1400, ii. 385, 456)

nonne: first foot (4×: i. 763, 1370, ii. 155, 1032)

obsecrat: first foot (3×: i. 1294, 1586, ii. 526)

obstupuit: first foot (3×: i. 351, 706, ii. 507)

ocellis (*-os*): sixth foot (4×: Ep. spec. 55, i. 18, i. 1130, ii. 172)

omnipotens: second foot, before the penthemimeral caesura (10×: Ep. spec. 111, Ep. gen. 17, i. 120, 535, 1375, 1542, ii. 279, 366, 638, 755)

omnipotentem (*-i*): fifth and sixth feet (6×: Ep. spec. 261, i. 262, 1350, ii. 66, 485, 990)

onomate: fifth foot (7×: Ep. spec. 217, 253, ii. 299, 684, 717, 1014, 1019)

patroni (*-o, -um*): sixth foot (39×: Ep. spec. 259, i. 42, 93, 139, 156, 324, 637, 836, 1068, 1079, 1155, 1189, 1240, 1281, 1416, 1437, 1458, 1475, 1497, ii. 31, 40, 47, 63, 72, 88, 98, 135, 162, 201, 211, 230, 400, 430, 433, 614, 708, 816, 1079, 1110)

perhennis (*-em, -i*): sixth foot (11×: Ep. spec. 9, Praef. 169, i. 117, 652, 1005, 1075, 1530, 1573, ii. 203, 951, 975)

pericli (*-is, -o, -um*): sixth foot (10×: i. 1185, 1261, 1275, 1291, 1302, ii. 110, 318, 431, 464, 678)[145]

perspicuus (*-o, -am, -is*): second foot, before the penthemimeral caesura (6×: i. 84, 695, 1341, ii. 42, 650, 761)

potestas: sixth foot (5×: Ep. spec. 29, 125, Praef. 51, i. 986, 1378)

praeduce: fifth foot (5×: i. 371, 1560, ii. 700, 705, 1101)

primus: first foot (3×: Ep. spec. 217, Praef. 79, i. 959)

quapropter: first foot (3×: Ep. gen. 32, Praef. 130, ii. 1167)

quatinus: first foot (11×: Ep. gen. 33, Praef. 22, i. 35, 126, 306, 373, 546, 742, 1507, ii. 602, 1030)

recessit: sixth foot (4×: i. 245, 287, 672, 1489)

repperit: first foot (5×: Praef. 121, i. 282, ii. 157, 353, 1155)

resultant: sixth foot (4×: Ep. spec. 137, Praef. 76, i. 953, 988)

rigidam: second foot, before penthemimeral caesura (3×: ii. 339, 580, 604)

sacellum (*-o*): sixth foot (13×: Praef. 180, i. 254, 907, 910, 1085, ii. 8, 126, 131, 155, 163, 804, 1119, 1158)

sacerdotis (*-um*): second foot, before the penthemimeral caesura (5×: Praef. 127, i. 428, 597, 1522, ii. 851)

salutem (*-es, -i, -is*): sixth foot (42×: Ep. gen. 3, Praef. 42, 189, i. 211, 259, 342, 361, 401, 434, 591, 600, 613, 642, 649, 728, 743, 752, 780, 858, 972, 1092, 1216, 1296, 1314, 1443, 1478, 1537, 1618, ii. 224, 228, 232, 238, 255, 710, 782, 861, 879, 938, 974, 1033, 1039, 1073)

[145] The one occurrence of *pericla*, with its short final syllable, is placed in the fifth foot (i. 530).

scilicet: first foot (3×: i. 492, 756, 969)

sepulchrum (*-i, -is, -o*): sixth foot (23×: Ep. spec. 285, Ep. gen. 47, Praef. 184, i. 3, 58, 75, 237, 253, 404, 461, 708, 837, 875, 963, 1211, 1257, 1425, 1466, ii. 170, 226, 1072, 1099, 1131)

sequenti: sixth foot (6×: i. 602, 1299, ii. 352, 845, 860, 1127)

solent: always before the hephthemimeral caesura (4×: i. 278, 849, ii. 10, 686)

solutus (*-a, -am, -is, -um*): sixth foot (8×: i. 1201, 1433, ii. 620, 649, 653, 672, 868, 1143)

supernum (*-a, -ae, -i, -is, -o*): sixth foot (23×: Ep. spec. 221, 329, Ep. gen. 32, Praef. 113, i. 167, 274, 308, 319, 375, 639, 770, 866, 1232, 1286, 1493, ii. 57, 111, 138, 199, 204, 688, 773, 999)

supero: third and fourth feet, after the penthemimeral caesura (4×: i. 76, 397, 957, 1432)

tempestate: fourth and fifth feet (4×: Praef. 66, i. 272, 889, ii. 783)

tonanti (*-em, -is*): sixth foot (19×: Ep. spec. 175, i. 898, 949, 970, 1347, 1360, 1373, ii. 139, 282, 437, 557, 610, 799, 811, 913, 1032, 1096, 1122, 1168)

turmae (*-as, -is*): sixth foot (6×: Praef. 141, 174, i. 483, 982, 1518, 1582)

uetusti (*-o*): sixth foot (8×: i. 164, 251, 360, 411, 646, 665, ii. 119, 716)

uiator: sixth foot (7×: Ep. spec. 191, 209, i. 545, 1098, ii. 524, 712, 831)

umquam: sixth foot (4×: i. 288, 1058, ii. 410, 491)

urbem: sixth foot (26×: Ep. spec. 173, i. 36, 45, 209, 370, 409, 537, 774, 974, 1064, 1149, 1294, 1427, 1464, 1514, 1520, 1549, 1553, ii. 34, 49, 52, 488, 643, 729, 1088, 1105)[146]

usquam: sixth foot (4×: Praef. 188, i. 294, 718, ii. 666)

utpote: first foot (3×: Praef. 150, i. 455, ii. 650)

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Wulfstan's lexical localization is why certain words (e.g. *patronus* and its oblique cases) should be placed in one metrical position invariably, whereas with other words, placement should be entirely variable. Note the placement of *adesse*, for example, which crops up in the second, fifth, and sixth foot of the hexameter:[147]

uidit **adesse** diem, meritum per presulis almi (i. 1491)
protinus et ductor sibi sensit **adesse** medelam (i. 1160)
humana tamen in specie est dignatus **adesse** (*Praef.* 19)

The placement of many words varies unpredictably: compare i. 650 ('priscam percipies') with ii. 974 ('percipies priscam'), or i. 875 ('pontificem sanctum') with i. 1516, 1602 ('sanctum pontificem'). It is an aspect of Wulfstan's verse composition which may be a result of haste, or of compositional principles not yet sufficiently well understood.

There is no doubt, however, of the overall excellence of Wulfstan's verse. With the possible exception of Bede, the quality of his verse surpasses that of all other pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin poets. One is bound to ask where and how he acquired such technique. I began the discussion of his

[146] Similar placement normally takes place with respect to *urbe* (8×) and *urbis* (5×); but there are various exceptions: Ep. gen. 64, i. 1452, 1546, ii. 831, 1124, 1147, etc.

[147] An equally extensive list of words which occur in variable positions could be compiled: *aegris, Anglorum, atria, audiit, aurea, Aurora*, etc. It is not clear why some words are fixed and others variable.

poetic technique with a quotation from John Leland (above, p. 341), in which the learned antiquary expostulated, 'how much in the way of . . . bold learning did he imbibe under that great teacher [Æthelwold].' We know that Æthelwold gave instruction in metrics at his famous Winchester school, for Wulfstan himself tells us as much in c. 31 of his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*: 'it was always agreeable to him to teach . . . the rules of grammar and metric' (*regulas grammaticae artis ac metricae rationis tradere*).[148] To judge solely from the poetry of Wulfstan, Æthelwold's instruction in metrics must have been given at an astonishingly high level, and it is a great pity that no Latin verse composed by Æthelwold has survived to put alongside that of Wulfstan. Wulfstan's verse would respond to further analysis, no doubt; but enough has been said to demonstrate that he was a Latin poet of outstanding calibre whose verse bears comparison with that of any early medieval Latin poet and even, in some small ways, with the poets of classical antiquity.

iv. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *NARRATIO METRICA DE S. SWITHVNO*

Wulfstan's *Narratio* is preserved complete in two manuscripts; brief excerpts are preserved in various other sources. We may begin with the two complete manuscripts.

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14 (S.C. 2657), fos. 11–50r (?Sherborne, s. xi^2) (pl. V).

The manuscript as presently constituted consists of four separate parts, all of English origin and all dating from *c.*1100: Part I, fos. 1–50 (Wulfstan, *Narratio*); Part II, fos. 51–89 (Prudentius, *Dittochaeum*; Theodulus, *Ecloga*; Avianus, *Fabulae*; Persius, *Saturae*; and Phocas, *Ars grammatica*); Part III, fos. 90–110 (*De bello Troiano*; pseudo-Ovid, *Nux*; poems by Serlo of Wilton); and Part IV, fos. 111–28 (Statius, *Achilleis*; Lactantius, *De aue phoenice*). Our concern is solely with Part I, that containing Wulfstan's poem. This part is of slightly earlier date than the remaining parts,[149] and was evidently designed as a separate booklet.[150] Part I is written in the elegant and comfortably spaced Style IV Anglo-Caroline script which was used throughout England in the years around the Norman Conquest (pl. V).[151] Although the script can throw no light on where in England the manuscript was written, its later provenance suggests that it may have originated at Sherborne; certainly it was seen at Sherborne in the early 1530s (1533?)[152] by the antiquary John Leland, who made several excerpts from the manuscript (see below),[153] and noted on fo. 1r, in his distinctive italic script, 'Autor huius operis fuit Wolstanus praecentor Ventane ecclesiae.' Furthermore, the fact that the author of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (below, no. 6) appears to have used this very manuscript of Wulfstan's poem while composing his account of St Swithun's miracles *c.*1100, suggests that the manuscript was already at Sherborne by that date;[154] but whether it was written there as well cannot be known.

[148] *Wulfstan*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 48–9.

[149] Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 353–4 (no. 295).

[150] See P. R. Robinson, 'Self-contained units in composite manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period', *ASE* vii (1978), 231–8, at p. 235, who suggests that Auct. F. 2. 14 is made up of four separate 'booklets'. It is clear that Parts II–IV were created for classroom use; the purpose of Part I is less clear, but it seems unlikely to have been intended for use in the classroom.

[151] For the script and its diffusion, see Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 111–40, 152–4.

[152] For the date of Leland's visit to Somerset, see J. P. Carley, 'John Leland at Somerset libraries', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* cxxix (1985), 141–54.

[153] See Leland's *Collectanea*, iv. 150 ('Shireburne. Vita Swithuni carmine heroico'), as well as the excerpts in *Collectanea*, i. 151–6, discussed below.

[154] See below, pp. 613–14.

R = London, British Library, Royal 15. C. VII (Old Minster, Winchester, s. x/xi), fos. 51r–124v (pl. IV).

This manuscript has been described in detail above (pp. 239–40), inasmuch as it contains on fos. 2r–49v the text of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (pls. II, III). As noted above, the fact that Wulfstan included an account of the translation of St Æthelwold (10 September 996) in Ep. spec. 271–300 indicates that the text of the poem in R cannot have been written before that date; but there is every reason to think that it was written very soon thereafter.

In addition to these two principal manuscripts of the complete *Narratio*, there are various excerpts of the poem which require brief mention.

First, among the many contents of the vast compendium of Christian-Latin poetry which survives as Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35, and which was written at St Augustine's Canterbury at some time in the mid-eleventh century,[155] there is on fo. 432r a copy of Wulfstan's version of the *Te Deum* which is found at *Narratio* i. 984–1021.[156] The implication is that there was a copy of Wulfstan's *Narratio* at Canterbury at the time the *Te Deum* was copied into Gg. 5. 35, and it is tempting to link the presence of the poem at Canterbury with the translation to the archbishopric in 1005 of Bishop Ælfheah, to whom the *Narratio* is dedicated, and who may for this reason have taken a copy of the poem with him to Canterbury; indeed there is some (slight) evidence to suggest that Wulfstan may have accompanied Ælfheah from Winchester to Canterbury.[157]

Another copy of part of Wulfstan's *Narratio* was interpolated by the Anglo-Norman historian Orderic Vitalis (1075–1142) into his personal copy of Wulfstan's prose *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, which survives among a collection of Winchester materials in a manuscript written by Orderic himself, now Alençon, BM, 14 (Saint-Evroul, s. xii^{in}). In c. 40 of the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, which describes the dedication of the reconstructed Old Minster on 20 October 980, Orderic inserted a passage from Wulfstan's *Narratio*, corresponding to Ep. spec. 45–114.[158] Characteristically, however, Orderic did not simply copy the lines verbatim; he recast several lines, and added to Wulfstan's account of the nine bishops present at the drinking-party which accompanied the dedication the following distich of his own composition concerning the drinking exploits of a pseudo-bishop named Poca ('cup'):

> Et tandem decimus Poca uenit episcopus illuc,
> nulla laboris egens, pocula multa bibens.

Orderic's conception of the bibulous Bishop Poca looks forward to the poetry of the goliards. In any event, because Orderic recast Wulfstan's verse so drastically, it is not possible to identify the manuscript source of his redaction.

In the mid-fifteenth century, the Winchester historian Thomas Rudborne included various lines of Wulfstan's *Narratio* in his *Historia maior*.[159] In total Rudborne quotes some eighteen

[155] There is a full description of the contents by A. G. Rigg and G. Wieland, 'A Canterbury classbook of the mid-eleventh century (the "Cambridge Songs" manuscript)', *ASE* iv (1975), 113–30, with mention of the metrical 'Te Deum' at p. 128; see also M. T. Gibson, M. Lapidge and C. Page, 'Neumed Boethian *metra* from Canterbury: a newly recovered leaf of Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 (the 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript)', *ASE* xii (1983), 141–52.

[156] The identification of this metrical 'Te Deum' as an extract from Wulfstan's *Narratio* was first made in Dronke, Lapidge and Stotz, 'Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte der Cambridger Liederhandschrift', p. 55.

[157] See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xxxvi–xxxix.

[158] Ibid. pp. clxxx–clxxxi. These lines were printed from the Alençon manuscript by L. D'Achéry and Jean Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1668–1701; 2nd edn., Venice, 1733–40), v. 606, whence they were reprinted in *PL* cxxxvii. 100–1.

[159] On Rudborne, see the discussion by John Crook, above, pp. 165–71. Rudborne's *Historia maior* is preserved in London, Lambeth Palace Library, 183; it is ptd, incompletely, in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 179–286.

lines.[160] Because Rudborne attributes the lines in question to 'Doctor Lantfredus in libro de vita ipsius gloriosi antistitis Swythuni', the likelihood is that he was quoting the poem from R (Royal 15. C. VII), since in that manuscript the *Narratio* is copied anonymously, but Lantfred's name is prominently visible in the rubric which precedes Lantfred's *epistola* at the very beginning of R (fo. 2r): 'Incipit epistola doctoris eximii Lantfredi'. And R remained at Winchester until the mid-sixteenth century when it was acquired by Thomas Dackomb.

Finally, the antiquary John Leland visited Sherborne in 1533, as we have seen, and took the opportunity to copy some 152 lines of the *Narratio* into his *Collectanea*.[161] As was his usual practice, Leland made a number of alterations and errors of haste in copying the *Narratio*.[162] But the fact that at Ep. spec. 80 he reproduced the reading *hominum*, which is an error in B for R's *comitum*, indicates unambiguously that Leland was copying from B. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, after copying his excerpts from the *Narratio*, he went on to copy four lines from the poem 'Inter signa gloriosi' (printed below, no. 12 (vi)), which is contained in B as well as in R, from which it was arguably copied (see below, pp. 793–4). In the brief compass of these four lines, Leland reproduced two variants found only in B (*isdem* in line 5, *Wintoniae* in line 7).

v. RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

For purposes of reconstituting the text of Wulfstan's *Narratio*, only the two complete manuscripts, B and R, need to be taken into consideration, since the various excerpts of the poem, discussed above, were demonstrably copied either from B or R, or, in the case of Orderic Vitalis, represent his personal redaction of the passage he copied. Concerning B and R, however, it must be said that the text which they present is, given the extent of the *Narratio* (3,400 lines), remarkably accurate. R cannot, on palaeographical grounds, be a copy of B, given that R was written *c.*1000, and B in the late eleventh century. But could B be a copy of R? Various evidence indicates unambiguously that it was. In the first place, B contains a small amount of error not found in R: i. 289 (*minime* R, *minimine* B), ii. 481 (*pro* R, *per* B). Secondly, there are various interlinear glosses in R which have been copied into the text of B, thereby producing unmetrical lines:

o

R: o dee cunctorum, saluator ubique tuorum
B: o dee cunctorum o saluator ubique tuorum (i. 1566)

est

R: caecus ad haec: non tempus adhuc ieiunia solui
B: caecus ad haec: non est tempus adhuc ieiunia solui (ii. 727)

Finally, the small amount of error in R (see below) is reproduced in B. These facts, taken together with the fact that the poem 'Inter signa gloriosi', which was added in R sometime in the late

[160] The quoted lines are found in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 180 (= Ep. spec. 254–6), 203–4 (= Ep. spec. 319–20, i. 457, 459–60, 471–3, 475–8), 235 (i. 1013–14, Praef. 134).

[161] Leland, *Collectanea*, i. 151–6; the lines quoted by Leland are as follows: Ep. spec. 39–46, 61–92, 117–20, 127, 145–50, 265–6, 269–70; Ep. gen. 5–7; Praef. 161–7; i. 22, 25, 55–7, 202–4, 215, 573–4, 595–9, 815–21, 940, 943, 1227; ii. 1–8, 52–3, 132–7, 305–7, 440–65, 521, 543–6, 685–92, 917–18, 1069–78.

[162] For example, he reproduced *maturus* (Ep. spec. 71) as *modestus*, and *niueus* (Ep. spec. 72) as *uiuens*. Equally serious is his error *Osgarus* (ii. 691) for *Wulfgarus*.

eleventh century, but was copied in B (incorporating a few small errors) by the main scribe, demonstrate that B was copied from R. For textual purposes, therefore, it may be eliminated.

There remains the question of the quality of the text in R. There is so little textual error in R that one might argue that it is Wulfstan's autograph.[163] There are, however, three places in R where the text is clearly in error: i. 1068 (*quam* R, for *quem*), ii. 309 (*heros* R, for *herus*), and ii. 386 (*uir* added after *pariter*). The first two are trivial slips, and could have been made by the author himself. The third, however, indicates that R was copied from an exemplar in which *uir* was added as an interlinear gloss:

R: clamantes pariter, 'uir hic inculpabilis est, est' (ii. 386)
.i. uir
exemplar: clamantes pariter, 'hic inculpabilis est, est'

The line as transmitted by R is unmetrical; and the error can most easily be explained by assuming that an interlinear gloss in the (hypothetical) exemplar was copied unwittingly into the text of R, thereby destroying the metre. This demonstration has the implication that R, though its text is nearly impeccable, is not Wulfstan's autograph.

R (followed by B) has a small number of interlinear glosses scattered throughout the poem, and it is worth asking whether these, too, might have been copied from Wulfstan's autograph. The identification of the author of the *Narratio* as Wulfstan Cantor depends partly on the interlinear gloss added over *ymnicinum* (Ep. spec. 12) in R (and B): *.i. cantorum*. The gloss over *illam* in R (but not B) in i. 281—*uel illum*—indicates genuine doubt, which may well be authorial, about whether the antecedent of the pronoun is the masculine noun *mucro* (i. 277) or the feminine *machaera* (i. 278). Similar authorial afterthoughts may be represented in R's interlinear annotations to Ep. spec. 133, i. 984, 1131, ii. 721, 810. A number of interlinear glosses can be understood as an author's attempt to explain compressed and difficult diction, as when at ii. 479—'Idibus octauis Ianum releuante Capella'—the word *Ianum* is glossed *.i. Ianuarium* (which would not scan), and *Capella* is glossed *.i. Capricorno*, which similarly would not scan in this position, but is the name by which the zodiacal sign is better known. One such gloss (to ii. 58) has already been mentioned (above, p. 355) as an example of participation by Wulfstan in his own verbal play. And on the understanding that the interlinear glosses in R derive from Wulfstan, he will also be the author of the various glosses in Old English which have been added to the text at ii. 435, 541. In any event, the text of R, including its apparatus of interlinear glosses, represents, with only a few minor slips, the text as it was composed and glossed by Wulfstan. It accordingly serves as the base-text for the present edition.

vi. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

Although excerpts from the poem were printed at various times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[164] the first complete edition of the poem was published in 1906 by Michael Huber.[165] Huber's text is based on both R and B, and is commendably accurate as far as it goes, but

[163] See Lapidge, 'Autographs of Insular Latin authors'. pp. 132–4.

[164] D'Achéry and Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, iv/2. 70–2 (2nd edn.: 72–4), v. 614–22; *Acta SS.*, Iulii i. 321–2; PL cxxxvii. 107–14; and Earle, *Gloucester Fragments*, pp. 63–6.

[165] M. Huber, *S. Swithunus. Miracula metrica auctore Wulfstano monacho*. I. *Text. Beitrag zur altenglischen Geschichte und Literatur*, Beilage zum Jahresbericht des humanistischen Gymnasiums

there is very little annotation and no translation; a second planned volume, which might perhaps have discussed the relation of Wulfstan's text to Lantfred's, never appeared.[166] Although Huber's text was listed by the Bollandists in 1911 in their first supplement to *BHL*, it remained unknown to Alistair Campbell, who in 1950 published what he thought was the *editio princeps* of Wulfstan's poem,[167] based on collation of both R and B. Although Campbell's edition is more widely available than is that of Huber, it has many defects, and was very harshly reviewed when it first appeared.[168] The page layout is confusing to the extent that it is impossible to distinguish Campbell's apparatus criticus from his reporting of manuscript glosses. His text contains a substantial number of errors (nearly fifty), more than one should expect from collation of two such easily legible manuscripts as R and B.[169]

vii. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

As we have seen, the text of the poem offered by R is a nearly perfect copy (excepting only three trivial slips) of Wulfstan's hypothetical original. It offers a text which is entirely reliable (save these slips), and has been followed as the base text of the present edition. (The few variant readings in B are reported in the apparatus criticus.) I have also followed R closely in matters of orthography, even though its presentation of, for example, the spellings *ae*, *e*, and tagged-*e* (which I represent invariably simply as *e*), is seemingly inconsistent. Inconsistency regarding *ae* is also found in manuscripts of Ælfric (see below, pp. 561–2), and may be a feature of scholastic training at Æthelwold's Winchester. In any event, there are no grounds for normalizing variants to *ae* or *e*, nor have I done so. The punctuation and capitalization of the text are modern (but note that I have, wherever feasible, broken up Wulfstan's seemingly interminable run-on sentences into more manageable units). The translation follows the Latin text closely, save in one respect: in narrating an event, Wulfstan varies unpredictably between present and past tense, and to represent his variation strictly would at times create nonsensical modern English. For convenience I have noted in the translation which sections of Wulfstan's narrative correspond to which chapters of Lantfred, so that those

Metten für das Schuljahr 1905/6 (Landshut, 1906).

[166] Ibid. pp. iv–v: 'Einstweilen soll nur der Text dieser Miracula metrica des Cantors Wulfstan herausgegeben werden, während eine Studie über diesen Text und über den hl. Swithun, über Bischof Ethelwold und die durch ihn vorgenommene Transferierung der Reliquien des hl. Swithun, sowie über Lantfredus, Wulfstan und Abt Aelfric einer anderen Gelegenheit vorbehalten bleiben soll.'

[167] A. Campbell, *Frithegodi Monachi Breuiloquium Vitae Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (Zurich, 1950), pp. 63–177; see p. x n. 13 ('*Narrationem* primus edidi').

[168] See, for example, the reviews by P. Grosjean, in *AB* lxx (1952), 401–4, and by D. C. C. Young, in *Classical Review*, v (1955), 213–14. Cf. also my remarks on Campbell's edition of Frithegod in the same volume: 'A Frankish scholar in tenth-century England', pp. 58–61 (repr. *ALL* ii. 174–7).

[169] The errors in Campbell's text are as follows (line numbers refer to my edition, not Campbell's): Ep. spec. 155 (*quadringenta* for *quadringentas*), 279 (*nullatenus* printed as two words), Praef. 90 (*uentura* for *uenturo*), 165 (*habito* for *habitu*), i. 188 (*petit* for *petiit*), 383 (*abiit* for *abit*), 421 (*laetuntur* for *laetantur*), 451 (*sanctus* omitted), 706 (*subtiloque* for *subitoque*), prose after 788 (*florioso* for *glorioso*), 800 (*quid* for *quod*), 860 (*ad stantem* for *adstantem*), 905 (*presuulis* for *presulis*), 1013 (*singulos* for *singlos*), 1019 (*cunfundamur* for *confundamur*), 1023 (*adstantesque* for *adstantes*), 1120 (*funere* for *funera*), 1179 (*dominum* for *deum*), 1233 (*optatam* for *optatum*), 1279 (*spendente* for *splendente*), 1317 (*mundaman* for *mundanum*), 1432 (*erectae* for *erectaeque*), 1471 (*ualent* for *ualeant*), 1513 (*succurentibus* for *succurrentibus*), rubric before 1553 (*ad* for *ab*), ii. 32 (*dominum* for *deum*), 82 (*seruile* for *seruili*), 258 (*ossana* for *osanna*), 385 (*extollunque* for *extolluntque*), all lines from 390 to 410 are misnumbered, 405 (*torgore* for *turgore*), 49 (*seminicemque* for *seminecemque*), 568 (*et* omitted), 574 (*se* for *te*), 578 (*facile* for *facili*), 586 (*nimis* for *nimiis*), 608 (*perfusus* for *perfusa*), 615 (*cum* omitted), 667 (*se* omitted), 801 (*prosperitas* for *prosperitatis*), 803 (*prensentabo* for *presentabo*), 849 (*optatum* for *optatam*), 871 (*nullatenus* printed as two words), 945 (*nemerosus* for *nemorosus*), 971 (*uales* omitted), 978 (*qui* omitted), 1071 (*Ælgifu* for *Ælfgifu*).

sections which have no correlate in Lantfred can easily be identified. Wulfstan treated the sections of prefatory material (Ep. spec., Ep. gen., Praef.) separately, and I have accordingly numbered each of these sections individually, in distinction to the practice of Huber and Campbell, who gave all the prefatory material a single, continuous numeration.

SIGLA

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14 (Sherborne, s. xi^2), fos. 1r–50r
R = London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII (Old Minster, Winchester, s. x/xi), fos. 51r–124v

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

⟨EPISTOLA SPECIALIS AD ÆLFEGVM EPISCOPVM⟩

Incipit ad domnum specialis epistola patrem
Ælfegum, Wenta residet qui presul in urbe,
de sancti patris Suuithuni insignibus et de
basilica Petri, reserat qui limen Olimpi.

Domno pontifici, Wentanam (principe Christo)
  qui regit ecclesiam, prospera cuncta canam.
Conferat Ælfego regni caelestis honorem
  qui dedit hunc omni pontificem populo;
ipse tibi pacem tribuat sine fine perhennem
  est qui sanctorum gloria, pax et honor:
hoc cupit ore pio, cupit hoc animoque benigno
  ultimus Anglorum seruulus ymnicinum!
Sit licet aegra mihi sine dogmatis igne loquela
  nec ualeam tanto scribere digna uiro,
hoc tamen exiguum, quod defero, munus amoris
  commendare tibi, magne pater, studui.
In quo perstrinxi quae fecit rector Olimpi
  Suuithuni meritis caelica signa patris
per quem magna suis miracula prebuit Anglis,
  milia languentum corpora saluificans.
Haec etenim cecini magnalia paupere cantu,
  presumendo boni de bonitate Dei,
grandia de minimis est qui pensare suetus,
  suscipiens uiduae bina minuta libens:

12 *over* ymnicinum *RB have* i. cantorum

The *Epistola specialis* has no correlate in Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*. Because it is a primary witness to the events—and especially the buildings—which it describes, it has been provided with fuller commentary than the remainder of Wulfstan's poem, much of which is simply a metrical recasting of Lantfred's prose. Throughout the Commentary I have attempted to document fully Wulfstan's re-use of his own verse; but note that I only cite verbal parallels that occur in the very same metrical feet.

2 *Ælfegum*. Ælfheah was bishop of Winchester from 19 Oct. 984 (the date of his consecration) until 1006, when he was translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury. He was subsequently murdered by the Danes at Greenwich (19 Apr. 1012) and as a result of this 'martyrdom' was widely venerated as a saint throughout England. What is known of Ælfheah's career is derived principally from notices in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*ASC*, trans. Whitelock, s.aa. 984, 994, 1006, 1011, 1012, 1023), and from the *Vita S. Elphegi* by the late eleventh-century Canterbury writer Osbern (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 122–47). See also Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 278–81, 283–5. The cadence *presul in urbe* is from Aldhelm, *CdV* 541 ('Siluester Roma degebat presul in urbe'); for Carolingian usages, cf. also *HexLexikon* iv. 337.

4 *basilica Petri*. The Old Minster, Winchester, was originally dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, as we learn from Bede, *HE* iii. 7; cf. above, p. 42, and below, note to lines 253–64. The cadence *reserat qui limen Olimpi* is found in the *Carmen de libero arbitrio* (line 163: 'clauibus inmensi reserat qui limen Olimphi': ed. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', p. 136; repr. in *ALL* ii. 276), a poem composed at Winchester during Æthelwold's episcopacy, very possibly by Lantfred (see above, p. 223). The cadence *limen Olimp(h)i* is Vergilian (*Ecl.* v. 56) and was also used by Aldhelm, *CdV* 1307; but the more extensive phrase suggests a direct link between Wulfstan and the *Carmen de libero arbitrio*.

5 *principe Christo*. A cadence much used by Christian-Latin poets: Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 252; Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xv.

⟨SPECIAL DEDICATORY LETTER TO ÆLFHEAH⟩

Here begins the letter of personal dedication to my lord and father Ælfheah, the bishop who resides in the town of Winchester, concerning the miracles of our holy patron St Swithun and concerning the Old Minster dedicated to St Peter, who opens the gates of heaven.

To the Lord Bishop who (under the governance of Christ) rules the church of Winchester I shall sing all things favourable. May He Who has given Ælfheah as bishop to all the people grant to him the glory of the heavenly kingdom; may He Who is the glory, peace and honour of the saints bestow on you everlasting peace without end [10]: with devout utterance, with kindly intention, he desires this, the least little servant of English precentors!

Although my discourse be frail, without the spark of learning, and although I cannot write things worthy of so great a man, yet it has been my concern to commend to you, great father, the modest gift of love which I present. In it I have collected the heavenly signs which the ruler of heaven performed through the merits of our patron St Swithun through whom He displayed mighty miracles to His English people, restoring to health thousands of bodies of the sick [20]. Indeed I have sung these mighty wonders in unworthy poetry, presuming on the bounty of the bountiful God Who is accustomed to place great value on the smallest things, gladly receiving the

346, xxi. 638; and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm. app.* xvi. 7 (see *HexLexikon*, iv. 355–6); it is repeated below, Ep. gen. 8.

6 *prospera cuncta*. A phrase much used by Christian-Latin poets (e.g. Dracontius, *Satisf.* 28, Eugenius of Toledo, *Carm.* xi. 4) and thence by Carolingian poets such as Alcuin (*Carm.* ix. 236, xi. 10, xxiv. 11, xlv. 20 etc.), Theodulf (*Carm.* xxxii. 2, xliv. 4), Hrabanus Maurus (*Carm.* vi. 16, xxv. 8) and others: see *HexLexikon* iv. 387–8. Cf. also below, Ep. spec. 325 ('prospera cuncta ministret').

7 Cf. below, Praef. 27 ('regni caelestis honorem').

9 *sine fine perhennem*. A cadence from Christian-Latin poetry (e.g. Damasus, *Epigr.* ii. 5 (ed. Ferrua, p. 87) or Dracontius, *Laud. Dei* i. 21, ii.81) and frequent in Carolingian poetry (see *HexLexikon* v. 176–7); it is also used by Wulfstan in *BreuiloquiumSS* 161 ('uitam sine fine perhennem').

10 *gloria pax et honor*. Cf. Theodulf, *Carm.* lxix. 1: 'gloria laus et honor.' This is the opening line of Theodulf's famous hymn for Palm Sunday (*ICL* no. 5612), which was sung as part of the extended procession before mass on that day (see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 139–40), according to the *Regularis concordia* c. 36 (ed. Symons, p. 35; ed. Symons and Spath, p. 107; ed. Kornexl, p. 73): the children (that is, the oblates) go ahead in the procession to the church, enter the church, and then sing (Theodulf's) *Gloria laus* with its verses, to which everyone responds *Gloria laus*.

12 *ultimus . . . ymnicinum*. The poet describes himself as 'the least little servant of English hymn-singers' (*ymnicinum*); and in MS. R (followed by B) this word is explained by a contemporary interlinear gloss as *cantorum*, 'precentors'. Since Wulfstan is consistently referred to in contemporary sources as Wulfstan *cantor* (see his own *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 42 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 64, together with discussion at pp. xiii–xiv), the OE translation of Chrodegang's *Regula canonicorum* (ed. Napier, 9), and the list of Old Minster monks preserved in the New Minster *Liber uitae* (*LVH*, ed. Birch, p. 25; ed. Keynes, fo. 18v, with discussion at pp. 88–9), it is probable that the poet is playing here on his own, well-known epithet. It was on the basis of this line and its gloss that Leland first identified Wulfstan as the author of the present poem (see above, p. 336 n. 4).

13–30 Wulfstan here manipulates the conventions of the exordium (see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (New York, 1955), pp. 83–5, 411–13): the profession of humility (lines 13–14, 21–6), the dedication (line 28), the commendation to the patron's protection (lines 16, 27–30) and profession of the work's brevity (lines 23–4).

13 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 144 ('quae ne tarda gerat sine dogmatis igne teporis').

14 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 3. 2 ('nec ualeam dignis reddere digna uiris').

15–16 Cf. Arator, *Ad Vigilium* 27 ('hoc tibi, magne pater, cum defero munus amoris').

17 *perstrinxi*: note that the same verb is used in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, praef.: 'ea que presentes ipsi uidimus et quae fideli seniorum relatione didicimus, in his scedulis summatim perstrinximus' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 2). Cf. also Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 96 ('ex quibus audaci perstringere pauca relatu') and Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* i. 9. 7 ('longum est, si omnia cupiam referre quae uidi: pauca perstringam'). The cadence *rector Olimpi* was first used by Ovid (*Met.* ii. 60, ix. 499), but used frequently thereafter by Christian-Latin poets such as Arator (*HA* i. 37, ii. 117) and thence by medieval poets such as Aldhelm (*CdV* 429); see *HexLexikon* iv. 468–9.

21 For the cadence *paupere cantu*, cf. perhaps Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxi. 522 ('paupere cultu'); cf. also below, i. 1357 ('magnalia singula cantu').

24 The parable of the widow's two mites: Mark 12: 41–4 and Luke 21: 1–4. This parable was frequently used in medieval

qua non paupertas, sed erat pensata uoluntas,
  quae uictum spreuit et sua cuncta dedit.
Haec igitur commendo tibi munuscula patri
  quae uoui Domino reddere corde pio,
ut tua dignetur haec corroborare potestas
  haec et ab infestis protegere insidiis.
Dignus apostolica resides qui presul in aula,
  instruis et populum dogmate catholicum
hocque monasterium uariis ornatibus ornas,
  intus et exterius illud ubique leuans.
Quod quondam renouauit ouans antistes Aðeluuold,
  sollicitudo cui nocte dieque fuit
Christicolas augere greges atque ore paterno
  hos cum lacte soli lacte nutrire poli.
Qui struxit firmis haec cuncta habitacula muris;
  ille etiam tectis texit et ipsa nouis
et cunctis decorauit ouans id honoribus, hucque
  dulcia piscosae flumina traxit aquae;
secessusque laci penetrant secreta domorum
  mundantes totum murmure coenobium.
Istius antiqui reparauit et atria templi
  moenibus excelsis culminibusque nouis,
partibus hoc austri firmans et partibus arcti
  porticibus solidis, arcubus et uariis.
Addidit et plures sacris altaribus edes;
  quae retinent dubium liminis introitum,
quisquis ut ignotis hec deambulat atria plantis

exordia (see Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Trask, p. 87).

28 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 245 ('sanctificat, nisi corde pio, nisi pectore casto').

31 The church is described as an *apostolica . . . aula* because it is dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul (see above, p. 42); for a similarly constructed hexameter, cf. above, line 2.

33–4 In praising Ælfheah, Wulfstan sets out to describe the impressive building-works accomplished by Ælfheah on the Old Minster; but before describing Ælfheah's contribution, he first surveys the reconstruction undertaken by Ælfheah's predecessor, Æthelwold (lines 35–124), namely work on the monastic precincts and extensions to the Old Minster (*porticus* or side-chapels on the north and south sides); he also began work on the eastern chapel and its crypt that was subsequently completed by Ælfheah.

36 The metrical formula *nocte dieque* is extremely common; it was first used by Ovid (*Met.* ii. 343, xii. 46, etc.), and then frequently thereafter by Christian Latin poets such as Caelius Sedulius (*CP* ii. 255), Arator (*Ad Parth.* 36) and Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* x. 8. 2).

37 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 260 ('commissos augere greges'), ii. 928 ('Christicolas punire greges').

39–44 Æthelwold 'built' new monastic buildings (*habitacula*: dorter, refectory, etc.?) and covered them with new roofs. It is not clear from the word *struxit* whether Æthelwold constructed anew or simply renovated existing buildings; in any case this (re)construction will have taken place after Æthelwold's expulsion of the secular canons from the Old Minster in 964. These monastic precincts lay to the south of the Old Minster and hence under the site of the present cathedral; they have not been recovered by excavation, therefore.

42 It is known from other sources that Æthelwold constructed an enclosed watercourse (drawn from the river Itchen) extending from the Old Minster to the old town wall (see fig. 2), which is almost certainly identical with that still flowing between Wolvesey and the cathedral close, known as the 'Lockburn': see S 1376 (= KCD 1347, dated 975 × 978) and S 1449 (= BCS 1163, dated 964 × 975) together with brief discussion in *I Interim*, p. 175 and WS i. 283–4, as well as Quirk *OM* pp. 43–4. From this watercourse, presumably, was drawn the subsidiary watercourse which 'cleansed' the monastic precincts: see J. Crook, 'Winchester's cleansing streams', *Winchester Cathedral Record*, liii (1984), 27–34, liv (1985), 15–25. It is also

widow's two mites: in that case not her poverty was considered but rather her good intentions, which caused her to scorn her own sustenance and give her all. And so I commend to you, my father, this little gift which I vowed with devout heart to render unto the Lord, so that your authority may deign to strengthen it and protect it from hostile criticism [30]. For you reside worthily as bishop in this apostolic church, you instruct the catholic people with your teaching, and you beautify this monastery with a variety of adornments, uplifting it everywhere, inside and out.

The triumphant Bishop Æthelwold formerly renewed it; it was his concern by night and day to increase the Christian flocks and with fatherly discourse to nourish them with the milk of earth and the milk of heaven. He built all these dwellings with solid walls; and he also covered them with new roofs [40], and rejoicing adorned the monastery with decorations of all kinds. And to this place he conducted pleasant streams of water abounding in fish; and conduits from a water course penetrate the inner recesses of the buildings, cleansing the entire monastery with their murmuring flow. Æthelwold also rebuilt the building of the Old Minster with lofty walls and new roofs, strengthening it on its southern and northern sides with solid side chapels and arches of various kinds. Similarly, he added numerous chapels to house holy altars; these disguise the entrance of the main doorway [50] so that, if someone were to walk through the interior of the church with unfamiliar steps, he would not know whence he came, nor how to retrace his steps,

interesting to remark that, according to the thirteenth-century tract *De abbatibus Abendonie*, Æthelwold constructed a watercourse for his monks' use during his abbacy at Abingdon: 'Fecit etiam ductum aquae quod currit sub dormitorio usque ad aquam quae dicitur Hokke' (*Chron. Abingdon*, ii. 278).

43 *secessusque laci*. The precise meaning of this phrase is not clear, and may mean no more than 'watercourse'; cf. Quirk, *OM* p. 43, who translates the words simply as 'cistern'. Although *lacus* is fourth declension, the genitive *laci* is attested in the Vulgate: Dan. 6: 17, Jer. 37: 15.

45–60 After discussing Æthelwold's work on the monastic precincts, Wulfstan moves on to describe his work on the Old Minster itself (*antiqui . . . templi*). On Æthelwold's building-works on the Old Minster, cf. also Wulfstan's account in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 37: 'ceterum non facile nobis occurrit explicare . . . quantum in structura monasterii elaboraret, ecclesiam reparando aliasque domos edificando' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 54).

45 *atria*. Quirk (*OM* p. 44) translates this word as 'courts', but it means no more than the 'edifice' or 'building itself' of the Old Minster—that is, in effect, the (seventh-century) nave. The primary Classical Latin meaning of the word *atrium* is simply 'hall' and this is the meaning which it had in the late tenth century to Ælfric, a Winchester alumnus: 'atrium. cauertun oððe inburh' ('atrium. residence or hall': *Ælfrics Grammatik*, ed. Zupitza, p. 318); cf. also the entry in the early eleventh-century 'Abingdon Glossary': 'atrium. mycel and rum heall' ('atrium. a large and spacious hall': WW, col. 186.14). Note also that it was conventional for Classical Latin poets to use the plural form *atria* largely for metrical reasons, but that such usage does not imply plural meaning: see *OLD*, s.v. 'atrium'. The cadence *atria templi* is re-used at ii. 242.

48 *porticibus*. The word *porticus* should perhaps best be left untranslated, as does Quirk (*OM* p. 44); it refers in any event to a chapel or side-chapel, and in this case probably refers to the very side-chapels which were recovered by excavation: see *VIII Interim*, pp. 318–20, and WS iv, Part II, Chapter VII. 1. ii, 5. Wulfstan's wording is not as clear as one might wish, but his mention of south and north (*austri . . . arcti*) indicates that he is referring to side-chapels or lateral apses and not to the great west-work itself, as known by excavation and possibly mentioned by Wulfstan in the following lines (49–50).

49–50 Once again Wulfstan's wording is not as precise as one might have wished, and it is not entirely clear if these *edes* are to be distinguished from the *porticus* mentioned in the previous line; nor is it precisely clear where these *edes* were located. If we assume that the main entrance to the church was at the western end, then we might conclude that the *edes* too were at the western end, since they obscure the entrance (*retinent dubium . . . introitum*). Wulfstan unfortunately gives no further information concerning the location of these *edes* with their altars in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 34: 'plurimis hinc inde suffultum oratoriis, in quibus sanctorum uenerantur suffragia' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 52) In any case, lines 49–50—if they are to be taken as referring to the mighty west-work which was recovered by excavation (see WS iv, Part II, Chapters VIII. 1. ii; VIII. 1. vii; Fig. 97*a*, 97*b*)—are a very cursory description of what must have been one of the most impressive architectural feats in northern Europe at that time. However, the excavations demonstrated beyond doubt that the focal point of the great west-work was the site of Swithun's original tomb; and we know from c. 2 of Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun' (below, no. 4), written 990–4 × 998—that is to say, at almost precisely the same time as Wulfstan's *Narratio*—that Swithun's original stone coffin 'now stands inside the new edifice' ('wiðinnan þam niwan geweorce'). The conclusion seems inescapable that Wulfstan is here indeed describing the west-work, however cursory his description, and that this west-work was built by Bishop Æthelwold and dedicated in 980. The building works undertaken by Bishop Ælfheah, which Wulfstan describes in greater detail, were at the eastern end of the cathedral.

nesciat unde meat quoue pedem referat,
omni parte fores quia conspiciuntur apertae
nec patet ulla sibi semita certa uiae.
Huc illucque uagos stans circumducit ocellos
Attica Dedalei tecta stupetque soli,
certior adueniat donec sibi ductor et ipsum
ducat ad extremi limina uestibuli.
Hic secum mirans cruce se consignat—et unde
exeat, attonito pectore scire nequit!

DE DEDICATIONE MAGNE ECCLESIE

Sic constructa micat sic et uariata coruscat
machina, quae hanc matrem sustinet ecclesiam,
quam pater ille pius summa pietate refertus
nominis ad laudem celsitonantis heri
fundauit, struxit, dotauit et inde sacrauit
(et meruit templi soluere uota sui)
regis Æðelredi uisu cernente modesti
in regni solio qui superest hodie.
Illum pontifices sequebantur in ordine plures,
complentes sanctum rite ministerium.
Quorum summus erat uultu maturus et actu
canicie niueus Dunstan et angelicus.
Hunc sequebatur ouans Anglorum lucifer, idem
presul Aðeluuoldus, corde benigniuolus.
Post alii septem quos nunc edicere promptum est
carmine uersifico cum pede dactilico:

52 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 143 ('inde pedem referens', a phrase ultimately derived from Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 485, 'iamque pedem referens', or *Aen.* x. 794, 'ille pedem referens'). The entire line is recycled below, Ep. spec. 130.

56 For the diction, cf. Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 179 ('et daedala fingere tecta'), with Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 40 ('Attica Cecropii') and i. 44 ('caecaque Daedalei'). The reference is to Daedalus, who constructed the legendary labyrinth in Crete for the Minotaur: the unguided traveller to the Old Minster is lost, as it were, like Ariadne in the Cretan labyrinth. For discussion of the myth as it was used by medieval authors, see P. R. Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1990), esp. pp. 72–82 ('the labyrinth as a sign of inextricability or impenetrability'); she does not, however, refer to the present passage in Wulfstan. The Daedalus myth is twice referred to briefly by Vergil, *Aen.* v. 588–91, vi. 27–30 (on Vergil's use of the myth, see W. Fitzgerald, 'Aeneas, Daedalus and the labyrinth', *Arethusa*, xvii (1984), 51–65); and also by Caelius Sedulius: 'quid labyrintheo, Thesidae, erratis in antro / caecaque Daedalei lustratis limina tecti?' (*CP* i. 43–4). In light of the reference in Caelius Sedulius, it is worth noting that there is a full account of the myth in a Carolingian commentary on Caelius Sedulius by Remigius of Auxerre. Part of this Remigian commentary (including that on *CP* i. 40–4) is printed by Huemer as an appendix to his edition of Caelius Sedulius (CSEL x. 322–3); the same commentary is preserved in two manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon origin approximately contemporary with Wulfstan: Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS. 134 (s. x/xi) and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS. 144/194 (s. x). The commentary could have been known to Wulfstan, therefore.

58 *extremi limina uestibuli.* Quirk (*OM* pp. 58–9) comments as follows on this line: 'On the theory that *extremi limina uestibuli* refers to a western porch, narthex or west-work, the use of *uestibulum* for the relic chamber . . . is suggestive—especially as *uestibulum* also sometimes means a west-work.' I can find no support in Anglo-Latin sources for Mr Quirk's assertion that *uestibulum* can refer to a west-work. In Classical Latin the word

because in every direction open doorways may be seen and there is no sure route apparent to him. Stopping, he casts his wandering eyes around here and there, and marvels (as it were) at the Daedalian structures of Greece, until an experienced guide comes to him and leads him to the threshold of the one remaining door [i.e. the entrance once again]. Here in amazement he signs himself with the Cross—and in this astonished state he still does not know how he can get out [60]!

THE DEDICATION OF THIS GREAT CHURCH

Thus constructed and adorned the edifice shines brilliantly which houses this our mother church and which that devout father [i.e. Æthelwold], filled with the greatest desire to praise the name of the Almighty Lord, laid out, constructed, enriched, and then consecrated (and thereby fulfilled the promise he had made about this his church) in the presence of the virtuous King Æthelred—who is still on the throne today. Several bishops followed the king in order, duly completing the holy ritual [70]. The first of these, pleasing in countenance and deed, was Dunstan, angelic with snowy-white hair. There followed him rejoicing the day-star of the English, that very same bishop Æthelwold, benign of heart. Then followed seven others whom one may readily name in verse with dactylic

simply meant a 'forecourt' or 'an enclosed space in front of a building' (see *OLD*, s.v.), and this is the meaning which it has in Latin–Old English glossaries of the tenth century, such as that in the 'Second Cleopatra Glossary' (in London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii): 'uestibulum. cauertun' ('uestibulum. court/courtyard': WW, col. 279.35). The *uestibulum* here is described as *extremum* because it is the last one through which Wulfstan's hypothetical tourist will pass before he leaves the church by—presumably—the main or western door. Wulfstan, in other words, may simply be referring to a narthex of some sort; there is no necessary implication that he is referring to a west-work.

60 Cf. perhaps Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 864 ('et ferit attonita pectora nuda manu').

61–114 Æthelwold's reconstructed Old Minster was first dedicated on 20 Oct. 980 (it was subsequently rededicated by Ælfheah: see below, lines 213–52). The precise date of this dedication is known from Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 40: 'Anno dominicae incarnationis nongentesimo octogesimo renouata et constructa est ecclesia Veteris Cenobii, nouem pontificibus eam sollempniter et cum magna gloria dedicantibus: quorum primi et precipui arcem tenebant Dunstanus archiepiscopus et ipse sanctus Ætheluuoldus episcopus, sub die .xiiii. kalendarum Nouembrium, in presentia regis Æthelredi et in conuentu omnium pene ducum, abbatum, comitum, primorumque optimatum uniuerse gentis Anglorum, qui eandem biduo cum omni gaudio celebrauerunt dedicationem' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 60). The political circumstances of the dedication are well discussed by D. J. Sheerin, 'The dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester, in 980', *RB* lxxxviii (1978), 261–73. The liturgical ceremony for the dedication of a church was contained in the service-book called the pontifical, and some notion of the ceremony which took place at Winchester in 980 may be gleaned by consulting two contemporary Anglo-Saxon pontificals: Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. Y. 7 (369) (New Minster, s. x^2; ed. H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, HBS xxiv (London, 1903), 73–100, with notes at 177–83) and Rouen, BM, A. 27 (368) (Crediton, s. xi^{in}; ed. G. H. Doble, *Pontificale Lanaletense*, HBS lxxiv (London, 1937), 2–18. See also discussion by P. de Puniet, *DACL* iv/1 (1920), cols. 374–405 (s.v. 'Dédicace des églises') and *The Claudius Pontificals*, ed. D. H. Turner, HBS xcvii (London, 1971), xx–xxiv. There is a contemporary line-drawing of the dedication ceremony in the Lanalet Pontifical (ed. Doble, *Pontificale Lanaletense*, pl. I).

65–6 These two lines derive nearly verbatim from Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 2. 5–6 (a poem on a church of St Andrew built by Vitalis, bishop of Ravenna):

> fundauit, struxit, dotauit, deinde dicauit
> et meruit templi soluere uota sui.

67 *regis Æðelredi*. King Æthelred, known to history as 'the Unready', was king from March 978 until his death on 23 Apr. 1016; see *HBC*, p. 27, and Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 163–231.

69 It is interesting that the bishops follow the king *in ordine*. No such order of precedence is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon pontificals (laity are not mentioned at all); but cf. the line-drawing in the Lanalet Pontifical (ed. Doble, *Pontificale Lanaletense*, pl. I), where laymen are shown standing to one side as the bishop begins the ceremony.

72 Dunstan is described as *summus* because he was the archbishop of Canterbury (959–88); on Dunstan, see J. A. Robinson, *The Times of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 81–103, Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 243–53, and *St Dunstan. His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992). If, as is usually thought, Dunstan was born *c.*909, he will have been over 70 at the time of the dedication: hence he is rightly described as *canicie niueus*. The phrase *canicie niueu(s)* is repeated at ii. 113.

75 Cf. below, ii. 15 ('quae nunc edicere longum est').

76 *carmine uersifico*: cf. Theodulf, *Carm.* xxvii. 65 and Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* i. 4. 10; cf. *HexLexikon* i. 285.

Ælfstan, Æþelgarus rursumque Ælfstanus et Æscuuig,
Ælfeah, Æþelsinus, hic et Adulfus erant.
Post alii plures aderant, proceresque ducesque
gentis et Anglorum maxima pars comitum.
Quos e concilio pariter collegerat illo
quod fuerat uico regis in Andeferan
idem pastor ouans ac saepe notandus Aðeluuold,
sicut ei Domini gratia contulerat.
Et celebrant cuncti sollempnia maxima templi,
plaudentes Domino pectore laudifluo;
laetanturque bonis super omnibus, ille benignus
quae statuit cunctis presul opima dari.
Fercula sunt admixta epulis, cibus omnis habundat;
nullus adest tristis, omnis adest hilaris.
Nulla fames ubi sunt cunctis obsonia plenis
et remanet uario mensa referta cibo.
Pincernaeque uagi cellaria sepe frequentant
conuiuasque rogant ut bibere incipiant.
Crateras magnos statuunt et uina coronant
miscentes potus potibus innumeris.
Foecundi calices, ubi rusticus impiger hausit
spumantem pateram gurgite mellifluam!—
et tandem pleno se totum proluit auro,
setigerum mentum concutiendo suum.
Sicque dies alterque dies processit in hymnis
et benedixerunt omnia corda Deum.
Omnibus expletis tandem sollempniter hymnis
quos in honore Dei uox sonuit populi
unusquisque suas alacer repedauit ad oras,
in Domino gaudens, pectore et ore canens.

80 comitum] *corr. ex* hominum *B*

77 *Ælfstan . . . Ælfstanus.* There were three bishops of that name in 980: Ælfstan of London (961–995 × 996), Ælfstan of Rochester (946 × 964–995) and Ælfstan of Ramsbury (970–81). Of these three, two—the bishops of Rochester and Ramsbury—had formerly been monks at the Old Minster, since they are included in the Old Minster list in the *Liber uitae* (*LVH*, ed. Birch, p. 23; ed Keynes, fo. 18r), and from the remainder of those present at the dedication in 980, it would appear that most, perhaps all, of them were former Winchester monks. From this it would follow that the two Ælfstans here in question were the bishops of Rochester and Ramsbury. On the other hand, it is worth noting that at the second dedication in 992 × 994 (see below, lines 213–40), there were again two Ælfstans present, and this time it is probable that they were the bishops of London and Rochester (the bishop of Ramsbury having died in 981). The matter is insoluble in the present state of our knowledge. *Æþelgarus*: Æthelgar, bishop of Selsey, 2 May 980–988 (when he was translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury). He was a former monk of Glastonbury and Abingdon, and seems to have followed Æthelwold from Glastonbury to Abingdon to Winchester; he became abbot of the New Minster, Winchester, in 964 and remained there even after his elevation to Selsey (see also above, p. 285 n. 159). On his later tenure of the archbishopric of Canterbury, see Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 278–9. *Æscwig*: Æscwig, bishop of Dorchester-on-Thames, 975 × 979–1002, and a former monk of the Old Minster (see *LVH*, ed. Birch, p. 23; *Liber uitae*, ed. Keynes, fo. 18r).

78 *Ælfheah*: this (second) Ælfheah was bishop of Lichfield (973 × 975–1002 × 1004), and a former monk of the Old Minster (see *LVH*, ed. Birch, p. 23; *Liber uitae*, ed. Keynes, fo. 18r). *Æþelsinus*: Æthelsige was bishop of Sherborne (978–990 × 992) and a former monk of the Old Minster (see *LVH*, ed. Birch, p. 23;

measure: Ælfstan, Æthelgar, another Ælfstan and Æscwig, Ælfheah, Æthelsige and Æthelwulf too were here. There were many other bishops as well, and nobles and ealdormen as well as the great majority of the English royal thegns [80]. The rejoicing prelate, the oft-mentioned Æthelwold, had gathered all these men (as the grace of God granted it to him) from that meeting of the witan which had taken place at the royal estate of Andover. They all celebrate the dedication of the church, praising the Lord in their hearts overflowing with bliss; and they rejoice in all the sumptuous delights which the bishop decided to lay on for everyone. Course is joined to course, every sort of food abounds; no-one is sad, all are joyful [90]. There is no hunger here where food is in all abundance, and the table stands piled high with a variety of victuals. Circulating wine-stewards delve into the cellars and urge the revellers to begin drinking. They set up the great drinking bowls and spice the wine, pouring out innumerable cups of the beverage. And abundant are the cups when the thirsty boor has drained the frothing bowl, honey-sweet in its stream!—in the end he soaks himself from the full drinking bowl itself, jamming it against his bristly chin [100]. Thus one day and another pass in hymns and all hearts praise God. When at length all the hymns which the voice of the people intoned in God's praise were solemnly brought to a close, each returned to his own district, rejoicing in the Lord, singing with heart and voice. Never, I

Liber uitae, ed. Keynes, fo. 18r). *Adulfus*: Athulf (an abbreviated form of the name Æthelwulf) was bishop of Hereford (*ob.* 1012) and a former monk of the Old Minster (see *LVH*, ed. Birch, p. 23; *Liber uitae*, ed. Keynes, fo. 18r). The dates of his consecration are given as 951 × 955, but an episcopacy of 57+ years is most unlikely: either our records for Hereford are incomplete, or two bishops named Æthelwulf held that see in succession. In any case it is unlikely, as Sheerin observes ('The dedication', p. 272), that Æthelwulf will have been a monk of the Old Minster before 964, the date of Æthelwold's expulsion of the secular canons.

79 *post alii plures*. From the foregoing commentary, it would appear that Wulfstan has named only those bishops who were former Winchester monks; any other bishops present are classed simply as *alii* (but cf. Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 40, where he specifices *nouem pontifices* (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 60: presumably the seven here mentioned, plus Dunstan and Æthelwold)). For the expression *post alii . . . proceres*, cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 740 (for Wulfstan's extensive use of this Vergilian passage, see below, notes to lines 93–100). *proceresque ducesque*: The word *dux* is consistently used in texts of the later Anglo-Saxon period to render OE *ealdorman*: see H. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 163–5; H. R. Loyn, 'The term ealdorman in the translations prepared at the time of King Alfred', *EHR* lxviii (1953), 513–25; and A. Thacker, 'Some terms for noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, ii (1982), 201–36, at pp. 205–7. The royal charters of the earliest years of Æthelred's reign (979 × 982) are invariably witnessed by six *duces* or 'ealdormen': Ælfhere, Æthelwine, Brihtnoth, Æthelweard, Æthelmær and Eadwine (see S 834, 836–9, 841; Keynes, *Diplomas*, Table 6; and Keynes, *Atlas*, Table lxii). By contrast with *duces*, the word *proceres* has no specific, technical sense here, and means simply 'noblemen', 'members of the king's council'.

80 *maxima pars comitum*. The *comites* are the royal thegns who witness charters as *ministri*. Æthelred's charters for the years 979 × 982 are usually witnessed by some fourteen *ministri* (see Keynes, *Diplomas*, Table 7, and Keynes, *Atlas*, Table lxiii, for their names), of whom the majority were reportedly present at the dedication. For the use of *comes* to render OE *þegn*, 'thegn', see Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 308–27; H. R. Loyn, 'Gesiths and thegns in Anglo-Saxon England from the seventh to the tenth century', *EHR* lxx (1955), 529–49; and Thacker, 'Some terms for noblemen', pp. 207–9.

81–2 *concilio . . . in Andeferan*. Andover, some twelve or thirteen miles north of Winchester on the old Roman road to Gloucester, was a royal estate (*uicus*) in the late tenth century: see fig. 1 and WS i. 466. For other meetings of the witan (*concilio*) at Andover, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 269. Wulfstan, however, is our only source for a meeting of the witan at Andover in Oct. 980. Æthelwold clearly seized the opportunity of inviting the witan to attend the dedication (and feasting) at nearby Winchester. For the phrase *quos e concilio*, cf. Vergil, *Aen.* v. 75.

87 Cf. below, ii. 454, 555 ('ille benignus').

93–100 Wulfstan's description of the drinking-party is modelled on Vergil's description of Dido's banquet in *Aen.* i. 723–47; the thirsty boor in Wulfstan corresponds to Vergil's Bitia.

95 The entire line is from Vergil, *Aen.* i. 724 (= vii. 146).

97 The expression *foecundi calices* is from Horace, *Epist.* i. 5. 19; *impiger hausit* is from Vergil, *Aen.* i. 738 (referring to Bitia).

98 *spumantem pateram*: from Vergil, *Aen.* i. 739.

99 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 739 ('spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro').

100 Cf. Prudentius, *Hamartigenia* 410–11 ('setarum pondera mento / concutiens').

101 Cf. below, i. 883 ('iamque dies alterque dies processit et ecce').

103 *omnibus expletis*: cf. the Offertory trope for the dedication of a church in the Winchester tropers (Bodley 775 and CCCC 473, on which see above, pp. 90–4, 191–7): 'omnibus expletis fuerant quae rite patranda' (*AH* xlix. 293 (no. 562)); for the phrase *omnibus expletis* as the first member of a hexameter, cf. also below, i. 938, 979.

Numquam tanta fuit talisque dicatio templi
in tota Anglorum gente patrata, reor,
qualis erat Wenta celebrata potenter in urbe
in sancti Petri Coenobio Veteri.
Quod Deus omnipotens sic protegat inmaculatum,
ut iuge dignetur ipse habitare in eo,
et quicumque humiles hoc ingrediuntur asilum
exultent plenae participes ueniael

DE ORIENTALI PORTICV

His super antistes sacro spiramine plenus
adhibuit Domino plurima uota suo;
nam fundamen ouans a cardine iecit Eoi
porticus ut staret aedificata Deo.
Erexitque nouum iacto fundamine templum;
ne tamen expleret raptus ab orbe fuit,
pro meritis superam digne translatus in aulam.
Quorum multiplices non numerantur opes;
altithronum primo quibus exhilarauit ab euo
donec Christo animam redderet ipse suam.

DE CRIPTIS

Vestra cui statim successit in arce potestas
et coeptum uigili pectore struxit opus.
Insuper occultas studuistis et addere criptas
quas sic Dedaleum struxerat ingenium,
quisquis ut ignotus ueniens intrauerit illas
nesciat unde meat quoue pedem referat.
Sunt quibus occultae latitant que hinc inde latebrae;
quarum tecta patent, intus et antra latent.
Introitus quarum stat clausus et exitus harum
quas homo qui ignorat luce carere putat,
nocte sub obscura quae stare uidentur et umbra.
Sed tamen occulti lumina solis habent:

133 *over* clausus *RB have* uel apertus

111 For the phrase *Deus omnipotens* used in the same metrical feet, see especially Aldhelm, *CdV* 1606, 1678, 2107 (and cf. *HexLexikon* ii. 55–7), as well as below, Ep. gen. 17 (with note), i. 120, 535, 1375, 1542, ii. 279, 366, 755.

115–24 Wulfstan now goes on to describe construction-work undertaken at the east end of the Old Minster by Æthelwold. From its place in Wulfstan's narrative, it is a reasonable deduction that this work was begun after the

believe, had so great and lavish a church-dedication taken place in all of England as that which was gloriously celebrated at Winchester in the Old Minster of St Peter [110]. May Almighty God keep it thus undefiled so that He may deign to dwell within it forever, and let whatever humble folk enter that refuge rejoice in being partakers of God's bountiful mercy!

CONCERNING THE EASTERN CHAPEL

Moreover Bishop Æthelwold, filled with the Holy Spirit, made several other undertakings to his Lord; for he joyously laid a foundation from the eastern axis so that a chapel built for God should stand there. And he was to have built a new structure upon that foundation; but before he could complete it he was taken from this world [120] and appropriately transferred, in accord with his merits, to the heavenly abode. The manifold excellence of his merits cannot be numbered; he gladdened high-throned God with them from the very beginning of his life until he delivered his soul to Christ.

CONCERNING THE CRYPTS

Your Excellency [i.e. Ælfheah] straightway succeeded him in the episcopacy and with attentive application brought to completion the work thus begun. What is more, you have taken care to add hidden crypts which Daedalian wit had constructed in such a way that, should any unfamiliar visitor enter them he would not know whence he came nor how to retrace his steps [130]. They have unseen recesses which lie hidden on this side and that; their roofs are open, but inside their compartments lie hidden. Their entrance and exit is sealed, but someone who does not know these crypts—which seem to subsist in the depth of night and darkness—might think them devoid of light.

dedication ceremony in Oct. 980.

115 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 176 ('ieiunium dapibus sacro spiramine plenus'), Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 10. 16, *CdV* 396 ('sacro spiramine plenus'), as well as Wulfstan's own *Breuiloquium SS* 32 ('sacro spiramine fretus').

116–17 Æthelwold's new construction-work was to be a chapel at the eastern end of the Old Minster; but he had done no more than lay the foundations at the time of his death in 984. Æthelwold's plans for the eastern chapel were extended by Ælfheah so as to include crypts: see below, lines 127–8.

119 Cf. perhaps Theodulf, *Carm.* xxx. 7 ('utque pium consurgat opus fundamine iacto').

120 From Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 12. 4 ('ne tamen expleret raptus ab orbe fuit').

122 From Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i, praef. 10 ('quorum multiplices nec numerantur opes').

125–44 the crypts. For discussion of Wulfstan's description of the crypts, see Quirk, *OM* pp. 59–61. Once again Wulfstan's wording is not as precise as might be wished. The crypt itself was apparently divided up into recesses or compartments (*occultae latebrae*; *cauernae*) which were open at the top (*tecta patent*) but dark within (*antra latent*). In darkness it was impossible to find one's way in or out of them; but they were fitted with windows (? *lumina solis*) so that, during the daytime, the sun illuminated these compartments. Each compartment housed an altar and relics. It would seem that the structure in question was a 'ring-crypt', an architectural form attested in other Anglo-Saxon churches, as for example at Wing and Brixworth (see Taylor and Taylor, *AS Architecture*, iii. 1014–17). Such a structure would have implied a central ambulatory, with the compartments at the outer circumference of the ambulatory; the compartments would have had openings to let in light from the outside. It is clear, therefore, that the ring-crypt recovered by excavation at the eastern end of the Old Minster is identical with the structure built by Ælfheah: cf. *VII Interim*, pp. 317–19, and WS iv.1, Part II, Chapter X. 1. ii, 5, 6, and 7. i, fig. 98*a*, 98*b*.

125 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 12. 5 ('cui mox Emesius successit in arce potestas'). The word *statim* is appropriate: Æthelwold died on 1 Aug. 984 and Ælfheah was consecrated on 19 Oct. the same year.

126 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 12. 6 ('sed coeptum ut strueret ferre recusat onus').

130 The line is recycled from Ep. spec. 52.

135 Cf. Juvencus, *Evang.* ii. 177 ('nocte sub obscura celso sublatus honore').

136 The cadence *lumine solis* is from Aldhelm (*CdV* 180, 1528, 1689); see also below, note to ii. 207.

cuius in exortu, cum spicula prima resultant,
  lucifer ingrediens spargit ubique iubar
et penetrat cunctas lucis splendore cauernas,
  donec in hesperium sol ruat oceanum.
machina stat quarum, sacram subportant et aram
  sanctorumque pias ordine relliquias;
multiplicique modo manet utile culmen earum:
  exteriora gerens, interiora tegens.

DE ORGANIS

Talia et auxistis hic organa qualia nusquam
  cernuntur, gemino constabilita solo.
Bisseni supra sociantur in ordine folles,
  inferiusque iacent quattuor atque decem:
flatibus alternis spiracula maxima reddunt.
  Quos agitant ualidi septuaginta uiri

138 Cf. perhaps Ovid, *Fasti* i. 78 ('et tremulum summa spargit in aede iubar').

139 A confirmation of the cave-like nature of these compartments is provided by a passage in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 42, where a man from Wallingford visits the tomb of St Æthelwold (see below, line 142), which is situated *ad antrum sarcofagi* (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 66).

140 *sol ruat* is a Vergilian tag; cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 508 ('sol ruit interea').

141–2 That the crypt was intended to house relics is clear from a passage in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 41, where it is stated that Æthelwold in 984 was buried *in cripta ad australem plagam sancti altaris* (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 64). Note, however, that this burial in the crypt took place before Ælfheah's building works.

144 *exteriora gerens*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 30 ('exteriora gerens albae uelamina formae').

145–76 the organ. In late tenth-century England—perhaps as a result of the Benedictine reform movement—churches were frequently furnished with organs: Dunstan provided the abbey of Malmesbury with an organ (see William of Malmesbury, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 10, in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 301–2); Ealdorman Æthelwine endowed Oswald's foundation at Ramsey with £30 for the purchase of copper pipes for the organ (see the anonymous twelfth-century *Liber benefactorum ecclesiae Ramesiensis* (ed. W. D. Macray, *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis* (RS, London, 1886), p. 90); and for his abbey of Abingdon Æthelwold constructed an organ 'with his own hands' (see *Chron. Abingdon*, ii. 278); and in the light of these organs it is not surprising that the Old Minster should have been similarly provided. Unfortunately, none of these Anglo-Saxon organs survive (in fact the earliest surviving organ in Europe is from Sion in Switzerland, dating from the thirteenth century), and consequently Wulfstan's extensive description of the Winchester organ has attracted the persistent attention of musicologists: see [H. D.], 'The monster organ in Winchester Cathedral of the tenth century', *Hampshire Notes & Queries*, v (1890), 39–40; W. L. Sumner, *The Organ: Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use* (4th edn., London, 1973), pp. 36–7; J. Perrot, *L'orgue, de ses origines hellénistiques à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1965), pp. 305–8, trans. N. Deane, *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 229–32; Holschneider, *Organa*, pp. 139–43; W. Apel, 'The early history of the organ', *Speculum*, xxiii (1948), 191–216; J. W. McKinnon, 'The tenth-century organ at Winchester', *The Organ Yearbook*, v (1974), 4–19; P. Williams, 'Organ', in *New Grove*, xiii. 710–79, and idem, *The Organ in Western Culture 750–1250* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. pp. 187–98. The latter account by Williams is the fullest and, from a philological point of view, the most accurate attempt by a student of early organs to understand Wulfstan's description.

It is possible, though perhaps not likely (given its thunderous sound), that the Old Minster organ was used in liturgical performance. On the use of the organ in medieval liturgy in general, see H. R. Bittermann, 'The organ in the early middle ages', *Speculum*, iv (1929), 390–410, at pp. 401–9, where evidence is given for the use of organs in the processional for mass and in the Office for accompanying psalmody and hymnody (but note that the organ was not used to accompany the mass itself before the twelfth century); see also D. Schuberth, *Kaiserliche Liturgie. Die Einbeziehung von Musikinstrumenten, insbesondere der Orgel, in den frühmittelalterlichen Gottesdienst*, Veröffentlichungen der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Liturgieforschung, xvii (Göttingen, 1968). More recently, it has been suggested by Holschneider (*Organa*, pp. 143–4; see also idem, 'Die instrumentalen Tonbuchstaben im Winchester Troper', in *Festschrift Georg von Dadelsen zum 60. Geburtstage*, ed. T. Kohlhase and V. Scherliess (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 155–66) that the notated

Nevertheless, they have the light of the unseen sun; at day-break, when the first rays glimmer, the sun enters and scatters its radiance everywhere, and with the brilliance of its light reaches into all the compartments, until it sinks into the western ocean [140]. Their structure is such that they each in turn contain a holy altar and the holy relics of saints; and their structure is useful in many ways: supporting what is without, yet covering what is within.

CONCERNING THE ORGAN

And here you have enlarged the organ, such as is nowhere to be seen, and set it on a double foundation. Twelve bellows are joined in a rank above, and fourteen lie below: they produce the mightiest of gusts in alternate blasts. Seventy strong men operate them [150], flexing their arms,

organa in one of the Winchester Tropers (CCCC 473) were intended to be accompanied by the organ, and that the alphabetical notation corresponded to the alphabetical lettering on the organ slides (see below, note to lines 159–60; see also Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 52–3, 66). On the other hand, given the difficulties of organizing and coordinating the seventy men who operated the bellows (see below, lines 150–3), the organ can scarcely have been used in every liturgical service. More likely, as Williams (*The Organ*, p. 198) suggests, the organ's sound was 'like a sustained, tuned, versatile bell-substitute'; he concludes: 'Speculating beyond the poem, one can imagine a large mixture made up of unisons and octaves, a real compass of two octaves or so repeating over forty keys played sometimes by two organists, and a mechanism such as would allow several if not all of the types of polyphony [in the Winchester Tropers]' (ibid.).

Finally, it has been suggested that Wulfstan's account of the Winchester organ is grossly exaggerated, and that his exaggeration derives from his understanding of medieval arithmology (reflected in the numbers 12, 14, 40, 70, etc.): see McKinnon, 'The tenth-century organ', pp. 6–9 (with useful qualification by K. Vellekoop, 'Die Orgel von Winchester: Wirklichkeit oder Symbol?', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, viii (1984), 183–96). However, McKinnon misrepresents the nature of Wulfstan's description; and in other respects—architectural ones especially—Wulfstan's language, though often regrettably vague, is not excessive and hyperbolic. I follow Holschneider in interpreting Wulfstan's description literally (*Organa*, p. 141 n. 133: 'Ich halte den Bericht Wulfstans jedoch durchaus in realem Sinne für glaubwürdig'), as do K. Körte, 'Die Orgel von Winchester: Rekonstruktionsversuch einzelner Teile', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, lvii (1973), 1–24, and Williams, *The Organ*, pp. 187–98 (with detailed commentary on each line of Wulfstan's text).

145 *auxistis*. Ælfheah evidently 'enlarged' an organ which was already *in situ*. Since we know that Æthelwold built an organ at Abingdon during his abbacy there *c.*954–63 (see preceding note), it may be presumed that he will also have installed an organ at Winchester following his elevation there in 963, and that Ælfheah will simply have enlarged Æthelwold's pre-existing organ (cf. Williams, *The Organ*, p. 190).

146 *gemino . . . solo*. The Winchester organ was a 'double' organ: it had two keyboards and was operated by two monks (lines 159–60), and hence was mounted on a double foundation (see also the following note). Where precisely within the Old Minster it was located, is unclear: in the original nave? in Ælfheah's newly reconstructed eastern chapel? or in a gallery, perhaps in the west-work? One might compare Byrhtferth's description in his *Vita S. Oswaldi* of the organ at Ramsey, said to be located *in altis* (*HCY*, i. 464), which is translated by Quirk as 'in a gallery' (*OM* p. 61). The latter two possibilities are perhaps unlikely, since Ælfheah merely 'enlarged' an organ already *in situ*, and since, if the organ was indeed used to accompany the liturgy, it would most conveniently have been located near to where the monks assembled. Here as elsewhere Wulfstan's language is too imprecise to permit a certain conclusion.

147–8 *folles*. These are the bellows, of which twelve were 'above' in an upper register (*supra*) and fourteen 'below' (*inferiusque*). It is not quite clear what is meant here by 'above' and 'below': are we to understand that the twelve upper bellows were above the floor, and that the fourteen others were below it? Or was the apparatus housed in some sort of two-tier structure, with bellows on one level and sounding parts above on another (as Williams, *The Organ*, p. 190, suggests)? In any case the number of bellows (twelve plus fourteen) is not unusual, as may be seen from comparison with the organ reputedly found in Jerusalem (according to the Carolingian treatise *De diuersibus generibus musicorum* = ps.-Jerome, *Ep.* xxiii: see below, note to line 167), which had twelve pairs of bellows. The bellows themselves were probably simple hide blast-bags or hand-held wedge-bellows: see Sumner, *The Organ*, pp. 36–7, and Williams, *The Organ*, pp. 191–2.

149 Cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* xi. 1–2 ('flatibus alternis uescor cum fratre gemello / non est uita mihi, cum sint spiracula uitae').

150–3 *septuaginta uiri*. Where were these seventy sweating men situated? They are unlikely to have been standing in the nave, particularly if the organ was being used to accompany psalmody of the Divine Office—and particularly if they were shouting exhortations to each other (152: 'certatimque suos quique monent socios'). But the fact that they sent the blasts of air 'upwards' (*sursum*) rather suggests that they—and the bellows—were located in a crypt or cellar below the floor of the church. It is not clear how the seventy men divided their responsibilites among the twenty-six bellows, and Körte ('Die Orgel'), followed cautiously by Williams, *The Organ* (pp. 191–2),

brachia uersantes multo et sudore madentes;
certatimque suos quique monent socios
uiribus ut totis impellant flamina sursum
et rugiat pleno kapsa referta sinu.
Sola quadringentas quae sustinet ordine musas
quas manus organici temperat ingenii:
has aperit clausas iterumque has claudit apertas,
exigit ut uarii certa Camena soni.
Considuntque duo concordi pectore fratres
et regit alphabetum rector uterque suum.
Suntque quaterdenis occulta foramina linguis
inque suo retinet ordine quaeque decem.
Huc aliae currunt illuc aliaeque recurrunt
seruantes modulis singula puncta suis.
Et feriunt iubilum septem discrimina uocum,
permixto lyrici carmine semitoni.
Inque modum tonitrus uox ferrea uerberat aures
preter ut hunc solum nil capiant sonitum:
concrepat in tantum sonus hinc illincque resultans
quisque manu patulas claudat ut auriculas,
haudquaquam sufferre ualens propiando rugitum
quem reddunt uarii concrepitando soni.

158 exigit] *corr. ex* exiit *B*

suggests that the seventy men were divided into several shifts, perhaps roughly three such shifts consisting of twenty-six men each manning a single hand-held wedge-bellows (see above, lines 147–8).

151 Cf. perhaps Silius Italicus, *Punica* xii. 642 ('tum uultus modo non paruo sudore madentes') and Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 619 ('miraturque interque manus et bracchia uersat').

152 Cf. perhaps Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 290 (= v. 778): 'certatim socii feriunt mare'.

154 *kapsa*: the reservoir, which in turn supplied air for the four hundred pipes. For a reservoir of (perhaps) comparable size, cf. that of the organ in Jerusalem described in *De diuersis generibus musicorum* (see below, note to line 167), which was made of two elephant hides. For the diction of Wulfstan's pentameter, cf. perhaps Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 432 ('et mecum plenos flore referte sinus').

155–9 The *quadringentae musae* are four hundred pipes, probably made of copper or bronze, as in the case of the organ pipes at Ramsey (see above, note to lines 145–76). The four hundred pipes are opened or closed (157) by means of the 'slides' (*linguae*): see below, note to lines 161–2. On the measurement (and size) of medieval organ pipes in relationship to (Pythagorean/Boethian) musical theory, see K.-J. Sachs, *Mensura fistularum. Die Mensurierung der Orgelpfeifen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1970–80), esp. ii. 166–76. As Williams (*The Organ*, p. 198) observes, given that the Winchester organ was mounted on two floors, 'it need not have had pipes larger than 4' at the most.'

156 *manus organici . . . ingenii*. As McKinnon rightly notes, this phrase refers not to an individual, but to the skill of the organist in the abstract ('The tenth-century organ', p. 10); there were in fact two organists (159: *duo fratres*). Earlier commentators (e.g. Sumner, *The Organ*, p. 37) supposed wrongly that the two monks were supervised by a 'chief organist', but such an interpretation does violence to the meaning of *ingenium*. Cf. also Vellekoop, 'Die Orgel', pp. 193–4, who suggests that Wulfstan is here alluding to Isaiah 22: 22, where it is the house of David (hence figurally the Church) of which David has the key, 'et aperiet et non erit qui claudat et claudet et non erit qui aperiat'. It is not impossible that Wulfstan had this biblical passage (with its reflex in Rev. 3: 7) in mind; but such figural associations would not in any case rule out a literal reading of the the lines in question, rather they would supplement it.

159 *concordi pectore fratres*. As Williams (*The Organ*, p. 194) points out, it is perhaps significant that the organists are *fratres*, 'monks', rather than lay musicians. For the diction, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1586 ('gestamus pectora fratres'), and, perhaps, Alcuin, *Carm.* xcviii. 1. 5 ('haec uia uos pariter concordi pectore ducat') and cix. 1. 7 ('conueniant pariter deuoto pectore fratres').

159–60 Apparently *alphabetum* refers to a 'manual' (though not in the modern sense of an organ manual); each of the two monks will have had his own 'manual'. Since there were forty

dripping with sweat; and they eagerly exhort their companions to drive the air upwards with all their force so that the swelling reservoir may resound with full chamber. It in turn sustains the four hundred pipes by itself, which the hand guided by musical skill controls: it is the hand which opens closed pipes and again closes open ones, as the melody of the music requires. And two monks of one mind sit together, and each controls his own manual [160]. There are hidden apertures in forty slides; and each slide in turn has ten apertures. Some advance this way, some retreat that way, keeping the individual notes in pitch. And the seven distinct notes, with the 'lyric' semitone added, strike the *iubilum*. Like thunder the iron-clad sound strikes one's ears so that they can take in no sound save this: the sound, reverberating here and there, is so loud that everyone covers his open ears with his hands [170]; as he draws near he can in no way endure the roar which the various pipes

slides (line 161), each monk's manual will have comprised twenty slides. And each slide in turn was probably marked with a letter of the alphabet corresponding to the note in the scale which it controlled (see Holschneider, *Organa*, pp. 140–1); hence the assemblage of slides was rightly called by Wulfstan an 'alphabet'. It is not clear from Wulfstan's description whether the 'alphabets' were back-to-back or facing each other. There is an illustration of two men playing an organ (of a much different sort) in the 'Utrecht Psalter' (now Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS. 32), fo. 83r), a manuscript written at Hautvillers near Rheims *c.*830 which was in England, at Canterbury, by *c.*1000: see Perrot, *L'orgue*, pl. XXIII, Vellekoop, 'Die Orgel', pl. 2, and Williams, *The Organ*, pl. 4. McKinnon ('The tenth-century organ', p. 11) suggests that Wulfstan's description was in fact based on this very illustration in the Utrecht Psalter; but there is no evidence that the Utrecht Psalter was ever at Winchester, and McKinnon's conjecture that 'Ethelwold brought it to Winchester from Fleury' is nonsense on several counts, above all that Æthelwold never went to Fleury (Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 10) and that the Utrecht Psalter was never at Fleury.

161–2 There were four hundred pipes, and hidden apertures on forty slides. What seems to be implied is that each slide had ten apertures (line 162) pertaining to its ten pipes; when a slide was open (= pushed in? cf. Holschneider, *Organa*, p. 141), the wind rushed from the reservoir through the ten apertures and into the ten pipes (see also Apel, 'The early history', pp. 205–6). However, this apparently straightforward interpretation is problematical, and Williams (*The Organ*, p. 195) has suggested an alternative explanation: 'more likely is that the slider had a single hole' and that 'the "ten" refers to holes not in the slider but above on the topboard, thus holes for the pipe-feet.'

163–4 The organ was 'played' by the organists pushing in slides and pulling them out: the note could be changed as quickly as one slide could be pulled out and the next one pushed in. With practice, perhaps, enough virtuosity could have been achieved to accompany the notated organa in CCCC 473 (see above, note to lines 145–76). For the structure of line 163, cf. below, i. 1616 ('huc hilares currunt, illuc alacresque recurrunt').

165–6 If, as Holschneider plausibly suggests (*Organa*, p. 141), the 'seven distinct notes' correspond to the seven notes of the Frankish musical treatises by Hucbald and Notker Labeo (which seven notes correspond in turn to our 'major scale", with A as the tonic, and if perhaps the 'lyric semitone' corresponds to our B-flat (see below, note to line 166), then each *alphabetum* or manual may have embraced two octaves plus. Williams (*The Organ*, p. 196) similarly suggests that the scheme described by Wulfstan corresponds 'with the alphabet C D E F G A B H of the Harding Bible, thus a complete octave of notes, the schema for a longer keyboard.'

165 *et feriunt iubilum.* This same phrase occurs in an epanaleptic poem on All Saints preserved in an English manuscript of the eleventh century which, I should argue, was also composed by Wulfstan: see P. Dronke, M. Lapidge and P. Stotz, 'Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte der Cambridger Liederhandschrift (CUL Gg.5.35)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, xvii (1982), 54–95, at p. 62; see also Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xxix–xxx, and above, p. 340. The *iubilum* is a biblical expression (Job 8: 21, 33: 26; Psalm 46 (47): 6) and means a 'sound or cry of joy/jubilation', specifically one uttered during a religious festivity.

165 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 646 ('obloquitur numeris septem discrimina uocum').

166 *lyrici . . . semitoni.* It is not precisely clear what Wulfstan meant by a 'lyric' semitone; cf. Perrot, *L'orgue*, p. 308: 'demitons "lyriques". Quels étaient ceux-ci? On l'ignore.' Holschneider (*Organa*, p. 141) proposed to resolve the difficulty by emending *lyrici* to *lydici*; but it is equally unclear (to me at least) what a 'Lydian' semitone might refer to in this context. Williams (*The Organ*, p. 196) suggests that the 'lyric semitone' is 'an allusion to the lyre's extra note beyond its seventh string—in any case a fanciful reference to the B-flat that was about to be discussed extensively in music-theory but evidently familiar already to organ-makers.'

167 *inque modum tonitrus.* The description of the organ's thunderous sound is again closely paralleled in the Carolingian treatise *De diuersis generibus musicorum* (= ps.-Jerome, *Ep.* xxiii): 'in sonitum nimium, quos [*sc.* the pipes] in modum tonitrui concitat' (PL xxx. 213); cf. R. Hammerstein, 'Musica Hieronymi', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, xvi (1959), 117–34, for commentary on this treatise. Cf. also Byrhtferth's description in his *Vita S. Oswaldi* of the thunderous sound made by the organ at Ramsey: '. . . quo tonitruali sonitu excitauit mentes fidelium laudare nomen Domini' (*HCY* i. 464). Note also that Wulfstan preserves the correct classical genitive form of *tonitrus*; cf. the biblical form attested in Job 38: 25, Psalm 76 (77): 19, Mark 3: 17, Rev. 6: 1, 14: 2. For the phrase *uox ferrea*, cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 626 ('ferrea uox') and Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 99 ('uox ferrea clamet'); for *uerberat aures*, cf. Lucan, *Phars.* vii. 25 ('uerberet aures'), but the cadence is also used in Christian-Latin poets such as Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvii. 242 and Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* i. 151: see *HexLexikon* v. 565.

Musarumque melos auditur ubique per urbem
et peragrat totam fama uolans patriam.
Hoc decus ecclesiae uouit tua cura Tonanti
clauigeri inque sacri struxit honore Petri.

DE TVRRIS AEDIFICIO

Insuper excelsum fecistis et addere templum
quo sine nocte manet continuata dies.
Turris ab axe micat qua sol oriendo coruscat
et spargit lucis spicula prima suae.
Quinque tenet patulis segmenta oculata fenestris,
per quadrasque plagas pandit ubique uias.
Stant excelsa tolis rostrata cacumina turris,
fornicibus uariis et sinuata micant;
quae sic ingenium docuit curuare peritum
quod solet in pulchris addere pulchra locis.
Stat super auratis uirgae fabricatio bullis
aureus et totum splendor adornat opus.
Luna coronato quotiens radiauerit ortu
alterum ab ede sacra surgit ad astra iubar.

174 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* xi. 139 ('et iam fama uolans') and Arator, *Ad Parth.* 27 ('haec ubi fama uolans').

177–212 The tower. Wulfstan's description of the tower erected by Ælfheah is of outstanding architectural interest, and it is not surprising that there have been various scholarly attempts to reconstruct and visualize it: see Quirk, *OM* pp. 61–2, and especially WS iv.1, Part II, Chapter X. 1. ii, iii; 6; 7. Unfortunately, so much of Wulfstan's description is couched in imprecise terminology (much of it derived from earlier poets, especially Venantius Fortunatus), that it is difficult to be certain where in the church the tower was located, for example, or what precisely it looked like. It is unlikely, in any case, that the illustration of a church tower found in the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' (see F. Wormald, *The Benedictional of St Ethelwold* (London, 1959), pl. VIII, and Deshman, *The Benedictional*, pl. 35) can be taken as a representation of Ælfheah's tower (for a different view, however, see WS iv.1, Part II, Chapter X. 1. ii, iii; 6; 7), for that illustration was drawn during Æthelwold's episcopacy, hence before 984 and perhaps as early as 973 (see the remarks by Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional*, pp. 260–1, and above, p. 179), long before Ælfheah's tower was begun.

177 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1324 ('insuper excelsum forti compage sacellum').

178 The line is taken verbatim from Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 1. 12; the metaphor apparently means that the tower was so high as to stand in the realm of perpetual light.

179 *turris ab axe micat.* The axis here is the 'vault' of heaven (Wulfstan is reiterating his conceit that the tower is so high that it reaches to the heavens), not the crossing of the church. Given the extraordinary height of the tower, Wulfstan implies, it is not surprising that the sun's first rays should strike the tower before they strike the rest of the church. In other words, there is no implication whatsoever that the tower was at the east end of the church: it is the sun which rises in the east, not the tower; for a different view, however, see Quirk, *OM* p. 62 ('the phrase *turris ... coruscat* may suggest that the tower was towards the east') and the reconstruction in WS iv.1, Part II, Chapter X. 1. ii, iii; 6, 7. Wulfstan's terminology is so vague as to defy any attempt to locate the tower precisely. For the diction, cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 76 ('orientis ab axe').

181 *quinque ... fenestris.* Wulfstan's hexameter is modelled on Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 7. 47 ('tota rapit radios patulis oculata fenestris'), a source which is laid heavily under contribution by Wulfstan in the present passage (see below, notes to lines 189–92). The most economical explanation of Wulfstan's (borrowed) diction is that the tower was divided into five *segmenta* or 'segments' (probably 'storeys'), the divisions presumably being marked by horizontal string-courses, for string-courses were a common feature of Anglo-Saxon towers: see Taylor and Taylor, *AS Architecture*, iii. 887–914, esp. pp. 902–14. The five storeys in turn were 'fenestrated' or 'oculated' with belfry-windows: again, as in many Anglo-Saxon church towers (see Taylor and Taylor, *AS Architecture*, iii. 869–86, 909). Whether any especial significance should be attached to *patulis* ('open'), a word taken over from Venantius Fortunatus, is unclear; possibly Wulfstan means that the windows were splayed (Taylor and Taylor, ibid. iii.

produce as they sound. The music of the pipes is heard everywhere through the town, and its flying report traverses the entire country. Your mindfulness dedicated this ornament of the church to Almighty God and built it in honour of St Peter, the holy key-bearer.

ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE TOWER

Moreover, you have undertaken to add a lofty structure where perpetual day abides without the intervention of night. From the summit of heaven a tower gleams, on which the rising sun shimmers and sprinkles the first rays of its light [180]. It has five storeys fenestrated with open belfry-windows, and it opens out in all four directions. The upper reaches of the tower stand beaked with roofs and glisten, recessed with various arches; the experienced acumen [i.e. of the church-wright]—which is accustomed to add beautiful touches to beautiful buildings—taught the builders how to make these curved arches. Higher still stands the structure of a lightning-rod with its gilt knobs, and its golden splendour adorns the entire edifice. Every time the moon shines down from its crowned visage, a reciprocal gleam rises from the holy church to the stars [190]. If

861–2), but it would be unwise to burden this one borrowed word with much interpretation. Quirk (*OM* p. 62) suggests that the storeys had 'round openings', but there is nothing in the text to support this suggestion. In sum Ælfheah's tower as described by Wulfstan appears—on my interpretation—to have resembled a number of surviving Anglo-Saxon church towers, such as those at Kirk Hammerton, St Benet's Cambridge and St Peter's Monkwearmouth; but for a fundamentally different interpretation of the evidence, see WS iv.1, Part II, Chapter X. 1. ii, iii; 6; and esp. 7.

182 *per . . . uias.* This line apparently means no more than that there were windows on all four sides of the tower.

183 The 'upper reaches' (*excelsa . . . cacumina*) of the tower were 'beaked' (*rostrata*) with 'roofs' (*tolis*). The diction of the line perhaps owes something to Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 285 ('emicat aula tholis'); cf. also below, i. 447 ('turris erat rostrata tolis'). There has been serious misunderstanding of what this line means, particularly as to what is implied by *cacumina* and *tolis*. Concerning the *cacumina* Quirk writes (*OM* p. 62): 'it seems clear that the tower had a superstructure, almost certainly of timber (the *cacumina*, line 179 [*rectius* 183]'); but I can discover no evidence that *cacumen* ever implied a timber superstructure (see *OLD*, s.v. 'cacumen'). Similarly, concerning the *t(h)oli*, Quirk (ibid.) suggests that there could have been 'a series of recessed stages like St Riquier and the Benedictional. These curved stages could, aptly, be described as *toli*, a *tholos* being a round temple with a circular colonnade'. Whatever the word *tholos* (*θόλος*) meant in Greek is not pertinent; in late Anglo-Saxon England it meant no more than roof, as is clear from a gloss on the word *tholos* in a passage of Caelius Sedulius (that quoted above) in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. Adv. 18. 7. 7 (Thorney, s. x^{ex}), fo. 9v, where the word is explained as *summa pars tecti*, and then glossed in Old English as *top* (= 'the highest part of the roof'). In other words, the upper reaches of the tower built by Ælfheah were crowned with a roof: nothing more specific can be extracted from this vaguely-worded line. Again, for a fundamentally different interpretation, see WS iv.1, as above, note to line 181.

184 The 'upper reaches' (*cacumina*) of the tower were also 'recessed' or 'curved' (*sinuata*) with 'various arches'. Again the diction is vague. The word *sinuata* can mean 'curve', but also 'recessed' (cf. *OLD*, s.v. 'sinuo', 4.); and in the next lines (185–6) we are told that the churchwright's ingenuity worked out how to 'build the curves' (*curuare*). Depending on how one might wish to interpret *sinuata*, the lines in question might simply mean that the upper part of the tower was decorated with pilaster-strips in the form of arches (for contemporary examples of towers so decorated, see Taylor and Taylor, *AS Architecture*, iii. 915–27). There is no implication in Wulfstan's diction that the arches were open (as are the arches in the illustration of a church in the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold': see above, note to lines 177–212), and Wulfstan may simply be referring to blind arcading. For a different interpretation of the evidence, see WS iv.1, as above, note to line 181.

187 *uirgae fabricatio.* The structure of this 'rod' (*uirga*) with its 'gilt knobs' is difficult to visualize, and Wulfstan's diction once again is frustratingly imprecise. The word *uirga* does not appear to have been used in an architectural context before Wulfstan, and he may be using it somewhat metaphorically. Unfortunately, the subsequent description of the *uirga* in lines 189–92 is drawn verbatim from Venantius Fortunatus, so it is not possible to extract any precise meaning from them, nor to glean any notion of its dimensions, nor to assess whether the gilding (*auratis bullis, aureus splendor*) was metaphorical or actual. If actual, it will have been a very costly structure. For the phrase *auratis . . . bullis* in the same metrical feet, see Aldhelm, *Enigm.* c. 25, *CdV* 207.

189–92 These lines are taken verbatim from Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 7. 43–6:

> luna coronato quotiens radiauerit ortu
> alter ab aede sacra surgit ad astra iubar.
> si nocte inspiciat hanc praetereundo uiator,
> et terram stellas credit habere suas.

The text of Venantius agrees exactly with that of Wulfstan, with the exception of the word *alter* in the second quoted line, where Wulfstan's text reads *alterum* (line 190). The variant reading *alterum* is attested in a small group of Venantius Fortunatus

Si nocte inspiciat hanc pretereundo uiator
et terram stellas credit habere suas.
Additur ad specimen stat ei quod uertice gallus,
aureus ornatu, grandis et intuitu.
Despicit omne solum, cunctis supereminet aruis,
signiferi et Boreae sidera pulchra uidens.
Imperii sceptrum pedibus tenet ille superbis,
stat super et cunctum Wintoniae populum.
Imperat et cunctis euectus in aera gallis
et regit occiduum nobilis imperium.
Impiger imbriferos qui suscipit undique uentos
seque rotando suam prebet eis faciem;
turbinis horrisonos suffertque uiriliter ictus,
intrepidus perstans, flabra niues tolerans.
Oceano solem solus uidet ipse ruentem,
Aurorae primum cernit et hic radium.
A longe adueniens oculo uicinus adheret,
figit et aspectum dissociante loco.
Quo fessus rapitur uisu mirante uiator
et pede disiunctus lumine iunctus adest.
Plura quid his addam? Tota uirtute laboras
ut decores totum undique coenobium!

199 in aera] *corr. ex* inera *B*

manuscripts; and one member of this group is a fragmentary manuscript of Anglo-Saxon origin now preserved as Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS. 312 C (s. x/xi); on this manuscript and the text of Venantius Fortunatus known to Wulfstan, see R. W. Hunt, 'Manuscript evidence for knowledge of the poems of Venantius Fortunatus in late Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* viii (1979), 179–95, at p. 284.

193–210 The weathercock. Wulfstan's description of the weathercock on Ælfheah's cathedral is a precious testimony, particularly because—excepting a reference in Vitruvius (*De architectura* i. 6. 4) to what might have been a weathercock on the Tower of the Winds in Athens—there is no literary evidence for weathercocks before the tenth century; see H. Leclercq in *DACL* iii/2 (1914), cols. 2886–2905, s.v. 'coq'; O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Die Kunst des zehnten Jahrhunderts im Lichte der Schriftquellen* (Strassbourg, 1935), pp. 35–6; and the very cursory survey in A. Needham, *English Weathervanes* (Haywards Heath, 1953), pp. 8–12. From late tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England there is a clear illustration of a weathercock in one of the illuminations of the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' (see Wormald, *The Benedictional of St Ethelwold*, pl. VIII, and Deshman, *The Benedictional*, pl. 35), and another in a line drawing in the *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. Doble, pl. I (similar illustrations occur in two other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: London, BL, MS. Harley 603 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, for both of which see the article by Carver cited below). There is also an illustration of a man carrying a weathercock while mounting the roof of Westminster Abbey on the late eleventh-century Bayeux Tapestry (see D. M. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London, 1985), pl. XXIX). Contemporary with the illustration on the Bayeux Tapestry is a record in the 'Black Book of Coutances' (s.a. 1091) concerning a gilded weathercock on the cathedral at Coutances: see G. Bouet, 'De l'ancienneté des coqs sur les tours d'églises', *Bulletin monumentale*, xv (1849), 532–3. Unfortunately, there is no contemporary archaeological evidence to corroborate these

a traveller passing by night would gaze upon this golden rod, he might think that the earth had stars of its own. There is an added embellishment in that a weathercock stands on its summit, adorned in gold, awe-inspiring to behold. It gazes down on the entire countryside, soars over all the fields, able to behold the bright constellations of the starry North. It holds the sceptre of rule in its proud talons and stands above the entire populace of Winchester. Thus raised aloft this noble fowl commands all other birds, and rules the western domain [200]. It is eager to receive the rainy winds from all directions and, turning itself, it offers its face to them; bravely it endures the violent blasts of the wind, standing unafraid, tolerating gales as well as snowstorms. It alone [i.e. of all inhabitants of Winchester] sees the sun sinking into the western ocean, and likewise it sees the first ray of dawn. Someone coming from afar fastens on it, once in its vicinity, with his eye and, though still far off, fixes his sights in that direction. Thus the weary wayfarer is carried along by his rapt gaze, and although he is still remote [i.e. from the Old Minster] by virtue of the remaining journey on foot, he is nonetheless fixed to it by virtue of his eyesight [210]. Why should I add more to these remarks? You [Ælfheah] do all these things with great skill in order to embellish the entire minster in every respect!

various references: see M. O. H. Carver, 'Contemporary artefacts illustrated in late Saxon manuscripts', *Arch* cviii (1986), 117–45, at p. 125.

193 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 6. 13 ('additur ad specimen locus ipse quod eminet aruis').

195 *supereminet aruis*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 6. 13 (quoted in preceding note).

200 *occiduum . . . imperium*. The 'western domain' is Wessex (cf. below, line 266, where *occiduas gentes* are certainly the West Saxons). There is no implication here that the weathercock and the tower were at the western end of the church (though they may well have been).

201–4 These lines have a striking resemblance to one of the Exeter Book Riddles (no. 81 in the standard editions; no. 77 in the edition cited below), the subject of which is almost certainly 'Weathercock':

> Ic eom bylgedbreost, belcedsweora;
> heafod hæbbe ond heane steort . . .
> Aglac dreoge
> þær mec wegeð se þe wudu hrereð,
> ond mec stondende streamas beatað,
> hægl se hearda, ond hrim þeceð

This text is taken from C. Williamson, *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1977), p. 111 (no. 77); for discussion, see pp. 361–4, and for a translation, see C. Williamson, *A Feast of Creatures: Anglo-Saxon Riddle Songs* (London, 1982), p. 139:

> I am puff-breasted, proud-crested,
> Swollen-necked. I strut on one foot . . .
> I twist in torment when the forest-shaker [i.e. wind]
> whips and shoves; where I stand the storm-
> wind-waters roll, hail stones
> sleet shrouds, frost slips freezing,
> snow drifts down . . .

207–10 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 6. 17–20:

> A longe adueniens oculo uicinus habetur,
> iungitur aspectu dissociante loco.
> quo fessus rapitur uisu inuitante uiator:
> si pede defecerit, lumine tractus adit.

Wulfstan's recasting of these lines eliminates Venantius's mannered alliteration (*uisu inuitante uiator*) and makes a more elegantly balanced sententia of the final line.

211 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 342 ('arma quibus Domini tota uirtute geruntur'). Wulfstan recycles the first member of the hexameter ('plura quid his addam') at ii. 359, 860.

DE EIVS DEDICATIONE

Cuius nuper erant encenia rite peracta
et celebrata satis ordine mirifico.
Octo quod egregii Domino sanxere ierarchi
quos simul hic pietas fecit adesse Dei.
Primus erat quorum Sigericus, onomate pulchro
'uictor' honore potens, 'uictor' in arce nitens,
ante retroque micans, habitu uenerandus et actu;
cuius ab eloquio dulcia mella fluunt.
Quem Deus e caelis tueatur ubique supernis
Anglorum populis seruet et incolomem!
Hunc Ælfstanus ouans, alter comitatur et Ælfstan:
pontifices ambo, plenus uterque Deo.
Ælfeah adest, Ordbirhtus adest, Wulfsinus et Ælfric,
splendentes cuncti iure sacerdotii.
Incipiuntque omnes modulata uoce canentes:
'Pax sit huic domui, pax sit et hic fidei;
pax fiat intranti, pax et fiat egredienti;
semper in hocque loco laus sit honorque Deo.'
Sic in laude Dei resonant noua moenia templi,
omnis et in Domino lingua resultat ouans.
Hinc adstant proceres, pueri hinc iuuenesque senesque,
et celebrant sancti gaudia coenobii.
Sic optata diu, data nunc, memoranda per aeuum
uotis plena piis fulsit in urbe dies!
In qua promeruit sua gaudia cernere pastor
officioque sacro reddere uota Deo.

213–40 The second dedication. The dedication of 20 Oct. 980 took place at Æthelwold's instigation when the foundations for the extensive building works had been laid; this was followed by a second dedication—presumably on completion of the works—under Ælfheah. Wulfstan does not give the precise date of this second dedication, but it must have taken place between the accession of Bishop Wulfsige of Sherborne in 993 (see below, line 225) and the death of Archbishop Sigeric on 28 Oct. 994 (see below, lines 221–2). The day of the dedication is similarly unknown, but it may be relevant to mention that in one of the Winchester tropers (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 775, fo. 56v) there is a trope commemorating a *dedicatio ecclesiae* for 24 Nov. However, it is most likely that the ceremony would have taken place on a Sunday, and in 992 Nov. 24 fell on a Thursday, on a Friday in 993, and on a Saturday in 994 (on this problem see Planchart, *Repertory* i. 40–1, who suggests that 24 Nov. was the date used for commemoration before 980). In any case, unlike the earlier dedication, Ælfheah's ceremony did not include King Æthelred and the witan, and may have been an exclusively ecclesiastical affair (see below, note to lines 239–40).

213 *nuper*. Wulfstan's poem was composed before the death of Sigeric on 28 Oct. 994 (see below, lines 221–2), but it was evidently revised after the translation of St Æthelwold on 10 Sept. 996 (see below, lines 289–96); it is consequently impossible to assign any precise meaning to *nuper*. *encenia*: originally a Greek word (ἐγκαίνια) meaning 'dedication' or 'consecration' of a church; but Wulfstan probably took the word directly from Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 1, a poem which he laid heavily under contribution in the following lines. Cf. also, perhaps, *Vita S. Galli* 1514 ('haec postquam fuerant obsonia rite peracta'); but there is no evidence that this poem was ever known in England.

215 *octo . . . ierarchi*. Although Wulfstan specifies eight bishops, he names only seven. The eighth, presumably, was Ælfheah himself, the addressee of the poem.

THE DEDICATION

Its dedication was recently carried out according to liturgical rite and celebrated with appropriate ceremony. Eight noble prelates whom devotion to God compelled to be present consecrated it to the Lord. Of these the first was Sigeric, through his pleasing name a 'victor' mighty in honour, a 'victor' resplendent in his authority, gleaming before and behind, venerable in appearance and deed; from his discourse sweet honey flows [220]. May God in heaven preserve him everywhere and protect him for the peoples of England! The joyous Ælfstan accompanies him as does another Ælfstan: both bishops, both filled with divine inspiration. Ælfheah is there, Ordbriht too, Wulfsige and Ælfric, all resplendent by virtue of their episcopal authority. And they all begin to sing in harmonious voice: 'Peace to this dwelling, peace here for the faith; peace to him who enters, to him who goes forth; let there always be praise and honour for God in this place [230]!' Thus the new walls of the church echo in praise of God and every joyous tongue resounds in the Lord. Here stand dignitaries, boys here, young men and old men, and they all celebrate the prosperity of the holy monastery. Thus the day, long desired, granted now, memorable forever, filled with devout prayers, glistened in the town! On this day the bishop [i.e. Ælfheah] was found worthy to behold the fulfilment of his happiness, and through his office to render unto God the promises he had made. Here the bishops throng you,

216 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 2 ('Israhel electos fecit adesse uiros').

217 *Sigericus*. Sigeric was archbishop of Canterbury from 990 until his death on 28 Oct. 994; see *HBC*, p. 214, and Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 278–83. With the phrase *onomate pulchro* Wulfstan draws attention to his pun on Sigeric's name: the OE adjective *sigerice* means 'victorious', 'triumphant'.

218 Cf. perhaps Ovid, *Remedia amoris* 450 ('iam pridem summa uictor in arce fuit').

220 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 15. 102 ('cuius ab eloquio dulcia mella fluunt').

221–2 These lines were clearly written while Sigeric was still alive (he died 28 Oct. 994); on the date of the poem, see above, p. 336.

223 *Ælfstanus . . . et Ælfstan*. The two Ælfstans in question were bishops of London (961–995 × 996) and Rochester (946 × 964–995). The earlier dedication of 980 was also attended by two bishops named Ælfstan; but there is reasonable doubt about whether it was the same two who attended the later ceremony (see above, note to line 77).

224 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 176 ('plenus at ille Deo') and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 28 ('cultor uterque Dei').

225 *Ælfheah*: Ælfheah, bishop of Lichfield (973 × 975–1002 × 1004): this Ælfheah, a former monk of the Old Minster, also attended the dedication in 980 (see above, note to line 78). *Ordbirhtus*: Ordbriht, bishop of Selsey (989–1009). Ordbriht was one of the original monks who accompanied Æthelwold from Glastonbury to Abingdon, according to Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 11; he subsequently became abbot of Chertsey (see *Heads*, p. 38) and then bishop of Selsey. On his career, see Hart, *ECNENM*, pp. 350–1. *Wulfsinus*: Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne (993–1002). *Ælfric*: bishop of Ramsbury (990–5) and subsequently archbishop of Canterbury (995–1005); see Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 256–9.

226 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 28 ('iure sacerdotii cultor uterque Dei'); this same line of Venantius is recycled entire by Wulfstan below, Ep. spec. 270.

227 Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xi. 20 ('etiamnum uoce canentis'), Aldhelm, *CdV* 458 ('praesaga uoce canebat') and the Carolingian poet known as Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* ii. 12 ('modolata uoce canamus'); cf. *HexLexikon* v. 714. The cadence *uoce canentes* is recycled at i. 1414, ii. 60.

228–30 Cf. the antiphon sung on entering the church during the dedication rite in the 'Benedictional of Archbishop Robert': 'Pax huic domui et omnibus habitantibus in ea, pax ingredientibus et regredientibus. Alleluia' (ed. Wilson, p. 76); the same words are found in the *Pontificale Lanaletense* (ed. Doble, p. 5). For the metrical form, cf. Bernoin, *Carm.* x. 8 ('dicit uadens: oro supplex, pax huic sit domui').

231 The cadence *moenia templi* is from Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 40; it is re-used below, i. 1097.

233 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 3 ('leuitas proceres pueros iuuenesque senesque').

234 Cf. the antiphon *Ecce tabernaculum* in the service for the dedication of a church in the 'Benedictional of Archbishop Robert': '. . . pro cuius amore celebratis hodie gaudia templi tempore festi' (ed. Wilson, p. 83); the same antiphon occurs in the *Pontificale Lanaletense* (ed. Doble, p. 11).

235–8 These lines are from Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 29–32:

> En spectata diu, data nunc memoranda per aeuum,
> uota plena piis fulget in urbe dies,
> in qua promeruit sua gaudia cernere pastor
> officioque sacro reddere uota Deo.

Hinc te pontifices circumdant, inde ministri;
te totum cinxit hinc honor inde fauor.
Et simul ymnisona fratrum coeunte corona
quisque tuum uotum qua ualet arte canit.
Cimbalicae uoces calamis miscentur acutis,
disparibusque tropis dulce Camena sonat.
Insuper et cleri iubilat plebs omnis et infans
et deitatis opem machina trina tonat,
laetitiae augmentum quoniam cumulatur in omni
istius antiqui parte monasterii.
Laetanturque cibis omnes epulisque refecti
potibus et uariis, omnibus atque bonis.
Sic huius sancti nituit celebratio templi
nomine apostolico sanctificata Deo.
Haec est aula pii fulgens in onomate Petri
qui solet excelsos claue ligare polos,
qui prestante Deo soluitque ligamina mundo
et reserat cunctis caelica regna piis.
Haec quoque, Paule, tibi committitur aula tuenda,
qui mundi cunctos ore domas populos.
Existatis ut hic speciales ambo patroni,
est quibus unus apex gloria parque polo;
exaudire Deum rogitetis et omnipotentem
dignanter populi uota precesque sui,
quisquis ut hoc templum beneficia poscere quaerit
impetret a Domino gaudia plena pio.
Qua uir apostolicus iacet almus et ille Birinus
has lauacro gentes qui lauit occiduas.
Signipotens in ea pausat quoque demate Suuiðhun
qui precibus cunctum subleuat hunc populum.

239–40 These lines are from Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 45–6:

Hinc te pontifices circumdant, inde ministri:
cingit te totum hinc honor, inde fauor.

In an Anglo-Saxon context the word *ministri* normally refers to the king's thegns (*minister* is the normal form of attestation for a thegn in a charter); but given that the entire line is lifted from Venantius, we cannot be certain of its precise meaning here, for in Christian Latin *ministri* can often refer to deacons or simply to clergy (cf. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, s.v. 'minister'). Unlike the dedication of 980, this second dedication was not attended by King Æthelred and the witan (cf. above, note to lines 213–50); it is possible that it was a purely ecclesiastical affair, since—with the possible exception of the *ministri*—Wulfstan makes no mention of the laity.

241 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 21 ('plaudens in sancta fratrum coeunte corona'). Venantius's expression is a sort of hypallage or transferred epithet: a 'crown of monks', because the monks' tonsure was a symbolic representation of Christ's crown of thorns.

242 From Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 48 ('quisque tuum uotum qua ualet arte canit').

243–4 From Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 9. 57–8:

cymbalicae uoces calamis miscentur acutis
disparibusque tropis fistula dulce sonat.

245 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 9. 69 ('pontificis monitis clerus, plebs psallit et infans').

246 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 52 ('et trinitatis opem machina trina sonet'). There has been some confusion about the meaning of *trina machina*. Holschneider (*Organa*, p. 140 n. 131), for example, suggests that the words refer to the threefold structure of the mighty organ (bellows, reservoir, pipes). But such conjecture is unnecessary: the three-tiered assembly is made up of professed monks (*fratrum corona*), those in minor orders

here the clergy; here approbation and applause surround you on all sides [240]. At the same time the chanting circle of monks assembles, and each one chants your prayers with what skill he may. The sounds of the cymbals are mixed with shrill pipes, and with unequal measures the sweet music resounds. Moreover, all the clergy in minor orders and the child-oblates sing praises and this three-tiered choir intones the bounty of God—for an abundance of joy is registered in every part of the Old Minster. Everyone rejoices, filled with food and feasting, with various drinks, with all good things [250].

This, then, was the glorious dedication of this holy church, consecrated to God in the name of the apostles. The Old Minster gleams in the name of St Peter, who locks the lofty heavens with his key and who, when God was made manifest to the world, undoes the locks and opens up the heavenly realms to the devout. To your protection too, Paul, is this church entrusted; you subdue all peoples of the world with your eloquence. And so may you both be the special patrons here who share an equal sublimity and glory in heaven [260]; may you insistently beg Almighty God kindly to hear the petitions and prayers of His people so that whoever wishes to seek this church to ask its blessings may obtain full joy from the bountiful Lord.

Here lies that holy apostle Birinus, who washed these western peoples with baptism. Mighty in miracles, Swithun too rests here in body; he brings relief to the entire populace with his prayers. In

(*plebs cleri*) and oblates (*infans*), as is clear from a sequence in one of the Winchester tropers, CCCC 473 (ptd *AH* xl. 61–2 (no. 47)): 'indefessa carmina / trina reddente machina'); cf. ibid. p. 63 (no. 49): 'Deus, cuius dextera / prouidetur trina / mundi machina pulchra.'

248 Cf. above, Ep. spec. 45.

252 From Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 7. 28 ('nomine apostolico sanctificata Deo').

254 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 2. 8 ('qui meruit solus claue ligare polos'.

255 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2236 ('Sed prestante Deo caecatur corde malignus').

256 *caelica regna*. A phrase used very frequently by Theodulf of Orelans: *Carm.* vi. 52, xv. 30, xxviii. 932, xxxviii. 3. 7, xli. 1. 144, lv. 13; see *HexLexikon* i. 241–2.

257–9 Cf. the commendation of the church to its patron in the dedication rite in the 'Benedictional of Archbishop Robert': 'tibi sancte .ill. commendamus hanc curam templi huius . . . ut hic intercessor existas' (ed. Wilson, p. 90).

263–4 Cf. the words of the *Praefatio in medio ecclesiae* of the dedication rite in the 'Benedictional of Archbishop Robert': 'ut omnes qui hoc templum beneficia iusta deprecaturi ingrediuntur cuncta se impetrasse letentur' (ed. Wilson, p. 83; cf. pp. 76, 81, 97). The phrase *gaudium plenum* is biblical (John 16: 24).

265–310 The saints of the Old Minster. It is interesting to note that a list of saints' resting-places in England (known as the *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*), a work compiled in the early eleventh century, lists the following saints as lying in the Old Minster: Birinus, Hæddi, Swithun, Iustus, Æthelwold, Ælfheah ('the Bald'), Beornstan and Frithestan (see D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* vii (1978), 61–93, at p. 91). Of these, Wulfstan includes Birinus, Swithun, Beornstan, Ælfheah and Æthelwold.

265–6 *Birinus*. Birinus was an Italian by birth who was sent to England by Pope Honorius (625–38); he converted the West Saxons to Christianity during the reign of Cynegils (611–42), who, in collaboration with King Oswald of Northumbria, give Birinus Dorchester-on-Thames as his episcopal see. Birinus was buried at Dorchester, but his remains were translated to the Old Minster by Bishop Hæddi (676–705). Virtually everything we know concerning Birinus is reported by Bede, *HE* iii. 7 (cf. iv. 12); but the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives 635 as the date on which Cynegils was baptized, and 650 as that on which Agilbert succeeded Birinus as bishop of Wessex (*ASC*, trans. Whitelock, pp. 18, 20). There survives an epanaleptic hymn on St Birinus (inc. 'Agmina sacra poli iubilent modulamine dulci': *AH* xlviii. 12–13 (no. 2)) which is very probably by Wulfstan (cf. above, p. 340); there is also a sequence in honour of St Birinus found in both of the Winchester tropers (inc. 'Caelum mare, tellus / et, quae sunt, cuncta': *AH* xl. 154–5 (no. 171)). A *uita* of Birinus consisting entirely of excerpts from Bede is preserved in Paris, BNF, MS. lat. 5362, fo. 70r–v; these excerpts were possibly compiled by Ælfric (see below, p. 556). There is also the anonymous *Vita S. Birini* (*BHL* no. 1361; ed. Love, *Three Lives*, pp. 2–46), a work produced at Winchester in the last decade or so of the eleventh century, by the author of the *Vita S. Swithuni* printed as no. 5 below (see below, pp. 611–12). Birinus's feast on 3 Dec. (*depositio*) is recorded in nearly all the pre-Conquest calendars printed in Wormald, *Kalendars*. The feast of Birinus's *translatio*, 4 Sept., is recorded much less frequently (and not before the first half of the eleventh century), which gives rise to doubt as to whether the *translatio* commemorated is that performed in the late seventh century by Hæddi, or a subsequent translation in the late tenth century by either Æthelwold or Ælfheah, but not reported in our surviving records.

267 *ea*. The antecedent is presumably *aula* in line 253. It is unfortunate that Wulfstan does not give more specific information concerning the location of the tombs of Birinus and Swithun (see following note).

In medio templi fulgent Byrnstanus et Ælfeah
iure sacerdotii cultor uterque Dei.
Summus et antistes, patrie decus, altor egentum,
spes peregrinorum, splendor honorque patrum,
noster Aðeluuoldus, pastor, pater atque magister;
cuius in aeterna luce coruscat apex,
cuius in Anglorum micat omni limite nomen
inque monasteriis pluribus inque locis,
quae uouens Domino construxit eique sacrauit
centenos in eis accumulando greges.
Qui inter pontifices minimus nullatenus extat,
cuius doctrinae splendet ubique iubar;
inter apostolicos sed lucet in axe ierarchos
per quem signa facit iam manifesta Deus,
illustrans oculos tetra caligine mersos
et reuocans neruis languida membra suis.
Ad cuius sacrum ueniunt quicumque sepulchrum
cum precibus plenam percipiunt ueniam;
quique fide pleni quaerunt beneficia Christi
munera quae cupiunt caelitus inueniunt.
Comperit hoc nuper quidam uir nobilis Ælfhelm
in somnis tumbam iussus adire sacram.
Cuius erant oculi nimio glaucomate clausi,
nec ualuit Phoebum cernere nec radium.
Qui mox huc ueniens, sanctus mandauit ut idem,
percepit clarum luminis intuitum;
et nullo ducente redit, miratur et in se
qualis erat ueniens, qualis et hinc rediens.
Sic etiam quaedam nimis infirmata puella
ducitur ad tumulum matre gemente sacrum.

269 *in medio templi.* Apparently the tombs of the (relatively unimportant) saints Beornstan and Ælfheah ('the Bald') were located in the middle of the chancel; but where, then, were the tombs of Birinus and Swithun? Wulfstan gives no specific information. For the diction of the hexameter, cf. perhaps Candidus of Fulda, *Vita S. Eigili* ii. 15. 38 ('quae tunc noscitur in medio consistere templi'). *Byrnstanus*: Beornstan, bishop of Winchester (29 May 931–1 Nov. 934); for the dates, see O'Donovan, 'Episcopal dates, ii', pp. 110–11. William of Malmesbury (*GP*, pp. 163–4) reports that Beornstan was a man of the most devout purity, who spent his days praying for the souls of the deceased and his nights wandering through the cemetery reciting psalms. He gave much of his energy to caring for the poor, and died while praying. Years later—still according to William of Malmesbury—Æthelwold had a vision in which SS. Beornstan, Birinus and Swithun appeared before him and in which St Beornstan claimed to enjoy favour equal to that of the other two in heaven; and hence that he deserved to be venerated equally on earth. If there is any basis to this story, it may imply that Æthelwold was personally responsible for establishing the cult of Beornstan at Winchester. *Ælfheah*: Ælfheah, known as 'the Bald', was Beornstan's successor as bishop of Winchester (935–12 March 951); see O'Donovan, 'Episcopal dates, ii', pp. 111–12. From Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (c. 8) we learn that it was Ælfheah who consecrated Æthelwold (and Dunstan) as priest; Wulfstan there adds that Ælfheah had a special gift of prophecy. William of Malmesbury repeats this information (*GP*, pp. 164–5), and adds a second example of Ælfheah's prophetic powers to the one given by Wulfstan.

270 From Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 6. 28 (cf. above, lines 224, 226).

271–310 Unlike the other Winchester saints, who receive only cursory mention, Wulfstan devotes a number of lines to St Æthelwold (bishop of Winchester, 963–84), perhaps simply

the middle of the church Beornstan and Ælfheah glisten, each devoted to God by virtue of his episcopacy [270]. And there too is the greatest of bishops, the glory of his country, the sustainer of the poor, the hope of pilgrims, a celebrity and eminence among the fathers, Æthelwold, our own shepherd, father and teacher; his grandeur shines in eternal light, his name is renowned in every region of the English, in monasteries and in various other places which, according to his vow, he built and dedicated to God, increasing in them the flock of the faithful a hundredfold. He is by no means the least among the bishops, for the ray of his teaching shines everywhere [280]; but he also shines in heaven among the apostolic prelates, for through him God already works indubitable miracles—bringing sight to eyes sunk in foul darkness and recalling diseased limbs to their full strength. Whoever comes to his holy tomb with prayers receives God's abundant grace; and those who, full of faith, seek the favours of Christ find from heaven the gifts they desire. A certain nobleman, Ælfhelm, who was ordered in a dream to approach the sacred tomb, recently discovered this [290]. His eyes were sealed with excessive glaucoma, nor was he able to see the sun or its light. As soon as he came here—as the saint had commanded—he regained a clear perception of the light; and he returned without a guide, amazed at how he had been when he arrived and how he was when returning. Similarly a certain very sick girl is brought to the holy tomb by her grieving mother. Straightway she falls asleep; when she

because Æthelwold had been Wulfstan's teacher and mentor (line 273: *noster . . . magister*; cf. above, p. 394). It is not clear from the poem where in the Old Minster Æthelwold was buried; but we know from Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (c. 41) that he was originally buried *in cripta ad australem plagam sancti altaris* (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 64: 'in the crypt on the south side of the altar'). When Æthelwold's remains were translated on 10 Sept. 996, they were relocated *in choro ecclesiae* (c. 43).

271–2 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 22a. 7–8:

lumen dulce meum, patriae uigor, altor egentum,
spes peregrinorum, ductor honorque patrum.

Cf. also vii. 7. 71 ('principis auxilium, patriae decus, arma parentum'). A good example of Æthelwold's care for the poor is reported by Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 29: during a famine (probably that of 976) Æthelwold broke up the church-plate in order to feed a multitude of starving people (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 44–6)

273 Cf. the epanaleptic poem to St Æthelwold (which is almost certainly by Wulfstan: see above, p. 339), line 30: 'et pater et pastor peruigil esto tuis' (*AH* xlviii. 10 (no. 1)).

274 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 5. 30 ('et tuus aeterna luce coruscat apex'), and the epanaleptic poem to St Æthelwold quoted in the previous note, lines 9–10:

Ecce coruscat apex tibi pontificalis abunde
quem sine fine tenes, ecce, coruscat apex.

(*AH* xlviii. 10 (no. 1)).

276–7 On the monasteries built by Æthelwold, see Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, cc. 22–4 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 36–42).

278 The parable of the hundredfold reward: Matt. 19: 29, Luke 8: 8.

281 For the phrase *inter apostolicos*, cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 7. 5, iv. 5. 18, as well as the Introit trope for St Æthelwold in one of the Winchester Tropers (CCCC 473): 'inter apostolicos stola splendente ierarchos' (*AH* xlix. 99 (no. 209), line 3); cf. Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 145, ii. 175, and Blume, 'Wolstan von Winchester', p. 22.

283 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 267 ('caligine mersas'); Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigr.* viii. 1 ('exueret Deus ut tetra caligine mundum') and Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* ii. 38 ('Paulinique oculum tetra caligine mersum').

284 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 12. 44 ('dumque sepulchra tenent languida membra fouent').

287 Cf. Wulfstan's *BreuiloquiumSS* 285 ('quique fide pleni, deuoto et pectore summi').

289–96 The miracle reported here is also recorded in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 42 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 64–6). According to the prose account Ælfhelm, a citizen of Wallingford, is told in his dreams by St Æthelwold to go to Winchester and seek Wulfstan *Cantor* (a detail omitted, perhaps significantly, from the poem; it is also perhaps significant that in the prose *uita* the man is referred to as *urbano cuidam*, whereas in Ep. spec. 289 he is a *uir nobilis*—perhaps a thegn, although no thegn of this name occurs in the charters of Æthelred: see Keynes, *Atlas*, Table lxiii). Ælfhelm is duly led to Æthelwold's tomb, where he miraculously regains his sight. In the prose *uita*, Wulfstan specifically states that the miracle took place 'in the twelfth year after the death of the glorious bishop Æthelwold' (ibid. p. 64: 'anno duodecimo post obitum gloriosi pontificis Ætheluuoldi . . .'). Given that Æthelwold died in 984, both the prose *uita* and the corresponding lines in the poem must date from 996 or later. Lines 289–96 (and perhaps the entire account of Æthelwold: lines 271–310) must accordingly have been composed at least two years later than the lines addressed to Archbishop Sigeric (above, lines 221–2).

295 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 215 ('et nullo ducente redit . . .'); cf. also below, ii. 609 ('miratur et in se').

297–300 This miracle too is related in Wulfstan's prose *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 44, where the girl is said to have been the daughter of a man who was a servant of one Æthelweard (unidentifiable).

Protinus obdormit; uigilans sanissima surgit,
incolomisque domum cum genitrice redit.
Talia quid mirum rutilant quod signa per illum
et quod post mortem clarus in aethre micat?
Cuius uita fuit uirtutibus undique plena;
qui iugiter studuit corde placere Deo,
temporibusque suis clara atque exempla futuris
prebuit, altithronum semper amando Deum.
Multiplici iubilo gaudens feliciter unde
exultat Christi nobilis ecclesia;
est quoniam Dominus mirabilis et metuendus
qui facit in sanctis signa stupenda suis.
Sunt alii plures etiam hinc inde locati
de quibus est scriptum quod canit ecclesia:
'Corpora sanctorum sunt hic in pace sepulta
et uiuunt eorum nomina in aeternum.'
Quorum facta sequens et dicta fideliter implens
sedulus iniunctum perficis officium.
Lumen apostolicum populis tua lingua ministrat
et uerbum Domini te reserante patet.
Pauperibus uictum, nudis largiris amictum,
diuidis et miseris munera larga pius,
ut commissa tibi duplicata talenta reportans
introeas Domini gaudia uera tui.
Suscipe, queso, tibi quae defero munera patri
atque ea quae meritis debita soluo tuis.
Haec tibi uita diu rogo prospera cuncta ministret
luxque futura tibi prosperiora ferat.
Hic Domino multos soluas pia uota per annos
ut tibi commissae multiplicentur oues
et subeas regnum grege te comitante supernum
cum sanctis semper laetus in arce poli:
quod tibi concedat qui cuncta elementa gubernat
unus ubique potens in trinitate Deus!
Explicit ad domnum specialis epistola patrem
Ælfegum, Wentam qui regit ecclesiam.

332 *after* Deus *RB add* amen

300 Cf. perhaps Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv.136 ('atque comes genetricis abit'), and Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 44 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 66: 'et gaudens cum genitrice domum rediit').

304 Cf. Wulfstan, *BreuiloquiumSS* 589–90 ('insistunt iugiter seruantque ea corde libenter / et soli Domino semper placere studentes').

309–10 Cf. Ps. 67: 36 ('mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis').

310 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 798 ('plurima patrauit deserto signa stupenda').

311 *sunt alii plures.* The others include (presumably) Hæddi, Frithestan and Iustus: see above, note to lines 265–310. Of these,

awakens she gets up fully cured and returns home in good health with her mother [300]. What wonder that such miracles shine forth through him, and that after his death he gleams radiant in heaven? For his life was in every respect abounding in miracles; he constantly sought to please God, and for his own and future times he provided an unambiguous example by always loving Almighty God. Accordingly the noble church of Christ happily exults, glad with manifold joy: for the Lord is wondrous and to be feared Who works such amazing miracles through His saints [310].

There are several others buried here and there, concerning whom that has been written which the church chants: 'The bodies of the saints are here buried in peace and their names live forever.' Following the example and faithfully fulfilling their teaching you [i.e. Ælfheah] conscientiously carry out the duty you have undertaken. Your tongue administers the apostolic light to the people, and through your exposition the word of the Lord is made clear. You distribute food to the poor, clothing to the naked, and you devoutly share out generous gifts among the wretched [320], so that, carrying back redoubled the talents entrusted to you, you may enter into the true joy of your Lord.

Receive, I beg, these gifts which I bring to you, my father, and the debt which I pay to your merits. I pray that this life may long furnish you with all prosperity and that the light to come may bring you greater benefits still. May you fulfil your holy promises to the Lord here for many years yet, so that the sheep entrusted to you may increase and you may enter the heavenly kingdom accompanied by your flock, joyous forever with the saints in heaven [330]: may He grant this to you Who governs all created things, the Almighty God, One in Three!

Here ends the special letter of dedication to my lord and father Ælfheah, who rules the church of Winchester.

two were former bishops of Winchester: Hæddi (676–705) and Frithestan (909–31). I am unaware of any evidence for a Winchester cult of Frithestan, but Hæddi is commemorated by a sequence in one of the Winchester tropers, CCCC 473 (inc. 'Aue, pontifex Hædde / rutilans in aula': *AH* xl. 203 (no. 228)). St Iustus of Beauvais was a boy-saint who was allegedly martyred under Diocletian and was widely culted in France and Flanders. King Æthelstan is said to have acquired the head of St Iustus for Winchester: see the *Ann. Wint.*, p. 10 ('iste [*sc.* Æthelstan] dedit Wintoniensi ecclesiae caput sancti Iusti martyris'). St Iustus is commemorated in several tropes in the Winchester tropers: for Introit (*AH* xlix. 122 (no. 272)), Offertory (ibid. pp. 299–300 (no. 580)) and Communion (ibid. p. 351 (no. 721)); cf. also Planchart, *Repertory*, i. 145–6; ii. 90–1, 212, 231. There is also a sequence in honour of St Iustus in the Winchester tropers (inc. 'Fulget dies iucunda': *AH* xl. 226–7 (no. 256)).

313–14 The lines are a metrical recasting of Ecclus. 44: 14: 'corpora ipsorum in pace sepulta sunt et nomen eorum uiuet in generationes et generationes.' The pentameter is unmetrical (probably intentionally so).

315 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 3. 41 ('quorum gesta sequens et dicta fideliter implens').

317 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 4. 5 ('lumen apostolicum populis tua lingua ministret').

319 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 24 ('nudis largitur amictum').

320 The phrase *munera larga* is a common tag; cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 321, Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 21. 9, and *HexLexikon* iii. 463–4.

321–2 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 3. 33–4:

ut bene commisso sese duplicante talento
introeat Domini gaudia uera sui.

The parable of the talents is in Matt. 25: 14–23.

323 Cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 17. 1 ('munera parua nimis, pia, suscipe quaeso libenter').

324 Cf. Arator, *Ad Vigilium* 28 ('respice quod meritis debita soluo tuis').

325 For the phrase *prospera cuncta ministret*, see above, note to Ep. spec. 6, and perhaps *Vita S. Galli* 1354: '. . . domino, qui prospera cuncta ministrat' (on the improbability of this poem having been known to Wulfstan, see above, note to line 213).

329 Cf. below, i. 943 ('Æðelgarus adest grege se comitante nouello').

330 The words *in arce poli* are a frequent cadence, but cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 26. 114, xi. 5. 16, as well as one of the epanaleptic poems to St Swithun (ptd below, p. 788), lines 41–2:

Xristus in arce poli nos ut conscribat amoeni
nosque locet superi Christus in arce poli.

See also *AH* xlviii. 15 (no. 3).

332 After *Deus* the scribe of R (followed by the scribe of B) automatically added *Amen*, so as to complete the doxology; but *Amen* stands outside the metre of the line and has been omitted from the text here.

333 The structure of this hexameter is recycled at Ep. gen. 1, 63.

⟨EPISTOLA GENERALIS AD MONACHOS VETERIS COENOBII⟩

Incipit ad cunctos generalis epistola fratres
qui baiolant inibi suaue iugum Domini.

Fratribus aeternae crescant augmenta salutis
omnibus in magna Christo famulantibus urbe,
nomine quae proprio Wintonia dicitur, et quae
conlustrat turrita suos hinc inde colonos,
omnibus Occiduis caput et Saxonibus extat:
clauigeri in Petri degunt qui, principe Christo,
Coenobio Veteri uitam sectando beatam
quam pius ille pater sanctissimus atque magister
instituit, toto Benedictus in orbe coruscans—
uita salus pietas splendor pax gloria uirtus
multiplicetur eis per eum qui trinus et unus
continet imperium super omnia regna per euum!
Magna, pii fratres, miracula caelitus acta
finibus in cunctis Europae nota patescunt;
quae Deus omnipotens, hominum sator atque redemptor,
gentibus Anglorum direxit ab arce polorum
mirificare suum uoluit quo tempore sanctum
Suuithunum, innumeras sanans a clade cateruas.
Sed reor indignum beneficia tanta latere
aetatem, uentura foret quae in margine secli;
unde mihi quantum Dominus concesserit ipse
eloquar, et modico percurram magna relatu.
Et licet extremus hominum atque abiectio plebis
sim—quia sermonis me nulla scientia fulcit
nec misero meritum probitas mihi conferat ullum—
de Christi pietate tamen confisus, et almis
sanctorum nitens precibus, parendoque uobis
hinc canere incipiam; uelut et de gurgite stillam
marmoris exiguam, sic ista canendo restringam.
Quapropter Dominum prius inuoco mente supernum
quatinus ad meritum miseri non tendat iniqui
sed magis affectum uelit ut pensare iubentum.
Vos quoque, uos seruo precibus succurrite uestro,
ne flatus per falsa queat me fallere fallax:
inretitus enim curis et deditus imis
haud animus quicquam poterit dinoscere ueri,

⟨THE GENERAL DEDICATORY LETTER TO THE MONKS OF THE OLD MINSTER⟩

[= Lantfred, *Epistola*]

Here begins the general letter to all the monks who in this place bear the Lord's sweet yoke.

May the amplitude of eternal salvation increase for all the monks who serve Christ in the great town, called Winchester by its own name, which from its battlements surveys its countrymen hither and yon, and stands as the capital for all the West Saxons: to those who abide in the Old Minster of St Peter the key-bearer, seeking, under the governance of Christ, the blessed life which that most holy father and teacher [10], Benedict, resplendent through all the world, established—may life, salvation, devotion, splendour, peace, glory and virtue be increased through Him Who, One and Three, holds dominion over all kingdoms forever!

Holy brothers, the great miracles performed through heavenly agency are well known in all countries of Europe; Almighty God, creator and redeemer of men, directed them to the English peoples from the citadel of heaven at the time when He wished to glorify his own St Swithun, thereby curing countless throngs of their misfortune [20]. Nevertheless, I believe it inappropriate that such great bounties should remain unknown to that time which shall come to be in the world's last age; accordingly, to the degree that the Lord grant it to me, I shall myself speak out and briefly relate the great deeds in a modest narrative. And although I am the very least of men and a reject of humanity—for no expertise in writing sustains me, nor does my good conduct confer any privilege upon me—yet, trusting in Christ's mercy and relying on the prayers of the saints, and in obedience to you, here shall I begin to sing; and, as if they were a tiny drop [30] from the surge of the sea, I shall compress these great miracles in my poem. Wherefore I first of all call upon the heavenly Lord, that He not regard the deserts of a wretched sinner but rather may choose to consider the good intentions of those requesting the work. You, you too, come with your prayers to the aid of your servant, so that deceptive pride may not deceive me in falsehood: for the intellect, ensnared and given over to base concerns, will not be able to perceive any truth, unless first the Holy Spirit, source

1 Cf. below, Ep. gen. 63 ('explicit ad cunctos generalis epistola fratres').

2 Cf. Matt. 11: 30 ('iugum enim meum suaue est'); cf. also below, ii. 1060 ('suaue iugum Domini baiulantibus').

12 For the use of this device, called *articulus*, in which single semantically related words are listed asyndetically without connectives so as to constitute a verse, see M. Roberts, *The Jewelled Style. Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, NY, 1989), pp. 59–60; Roberts points to examples in Venantius Fortunatus (a poet certainly studied by Wulfstan), Dracontius and Sidonius Apollinaris. Another example in Wulfstan is found at *Narratio* i. 855 ('instruit, exercet, renouat, meliorat, adornat').

13 Wulfstan uses the trinitarian tag *trinus et unus* frequently; cf. *Narratio*, Praef. 14, i. 32, 656, ii. 62; *BreuiloquiumSS* 78, 163.

15 For the phrase *caelitus acta*, cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 197 ('caelitus actum'), and below, i. 825, 1207.

17 For the phrase *Deus omnipotens* used in these metrical feet, see above, note to Ep. spec. 111; the line '(O) Deus omnipotens hominum sator atque redemptor' is recycled at ii. 366; for the phrase *hominum sator atque redemtor*, see below, i. 611, 1133.

18 This line is recycled (with a minor change) at Praef. 171; the cadence *ab / in arce polorum* is Aldhelmian (*Enigm.* liii. 7: 'Vergilias numeris aequans in arce polorum'), and is used by Wulfstan at i. 275, ii. 818, 1173.

19 For the phrase *mirificare suum* in the first half of a hexameter, cf. below, i. 832, 1036, 1078.

20 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 3 ('et innumeras relevans a clade catervas', and cf. ibid. iii. 43–5); cf. also below, i. 1442.

22 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 105 ('quae ventura forent . . .') and Wulfstan, *BreuiloquiumSS* 276 ('Que uentura forent . . .').

30 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 221 ('Hinc canere incipiam').

37 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 39 ('. . . vanis deditus curis').

ni prius errorem tetrae caliginis omnem
expulerit sanctus donorum spiritus auctor.
Et quia permodicum sapit hec que uoluitur aetas
de uariis signis et de uirtutibus illis
quae sacer hic precibus uiuens in corpore gessit
(scribendi studio quamuis neglecta fuissent),
articulum reuocemus ad haec caelestia que sunt
eius post obitum miracula saepius acta—
non solum quo sancta iacent sua busta sepulchro
uerum etiam multis Anglorum gentis in oris.
Idcircoque pias accessimus edere causas
huius et insignis laudes euoluere patris;
est quoniam laudare Dei beneficia dignum
hisque ea qui ignorant laudando edicere iustum,
et reticere eadem contra atque silendo negare est
impium et indignum mutilatoque ordine stultum.
Quinetiam natura animi sic condita constat
ut si sanctiloquos peragrauerit ordine libros,
auditu sacros patrumque didicerit actus,
inspirante Deo, cordis peruersa relinquat
execret et rabiem, lacerat quae uulnere mentem,
et flexus uitam ducat pietatis amicam
secteturque humilem uirtutum mente magistram
quae per descensum solet altum scandere caelum.
Explicit ad cunctos generalis epistola fratres,
qui Domino Wenta famulantur in urbe uenusta.

⟨PRAEFATIO⟩

Incipit exigui praefatio stricta libelli—
parua canens sed magna tamen mysteria tangens—
de facili pietate tulit qua carnea Christus
membra, lauans totum sacro baptismate mundum
restaurans et eum fuit unde expulsus in ortum.
Omnibus est notum quadri per climata mundi
gentibus ac populis, sacro baptismate lotis,
catholicam quicumque fidem sectantur et illam
mente tenent atque ore docent ac moribus implent,
quanta pius misero Christus beneficia mundo
contulit et quantum cunctis impendit amorem
qui in Dominum credunt, qui condidit omne quod extat,
cuius et ingentem sapientia circuit orbem,

of all gifts, shall drive away all the error of foul ignorance [40]. And because this passing age knows so little about those various signs and miracles which this saint performed through his prayers while living in the flesh (even though they had been neglected by the industry of hagiographers), let us direct our attention to those heavenly miracles which were so often accomplished after his death—not only where his holy remains lie in the tomb, but also in many provinces of the English people. Therefore I have undertaken to narrate the circumstances and to disclose the praiseworthy deeds of this excellent father [50]; for it is appropriate to praise the bounties of God, and proper in praising to make them known to those unaware of them; contrariwise, to keep silent about them and by that silence to deny them is wicked and disgraceful, and to relate them in altered sequence is foolish. In fact the nature of the mind is so constituted that if it proceed in sequence through the books of holy utterance and learn by hearing the holy deeds of the fathers, through God's inspiration it may abandon the perversities of the heart and despise the fury which rends the mind with its wound, and thus persuaded may pass a life dear to holiness [60] and may pursue humility, mistress of the virtues, which by its lowly path customarily ascends to high heaven.

Here ends the general letter to all the monks who serve the Lord in the agreeable town of Winchester.

⟨PREFACE⟩

[= Lantfred, *Praefatio*]

Here begins the brief preface of the small little book singing modestly but touching upon great mysteries concerning the ready devotion by which Christ took up fleshly limbs, washing the entire world with holy baptism and restoring it to paradise from which it had been expelled.

It is known to all the nations and peoples throughout the regions of the four-cornered world who, cleansed by holy baptism, follow the catholic faith, hold fast to it in mind, teach it in word, and fulfil it in their behaviour, what great bounties the devoted Christ has conferred on this wretched world [10], and what great love He has imparted to all those who believe in the Lord Who created all that exists, Whose wisdom encompasses the vast universe, Who is worshipped as

42 Cf. Wulfstan, *BreuiloquiumSS* 228 ('De excelsis sanctis caeli uirtutibus illis').

50 Cf. below, i. 877 ('huius et insigni').

58 Cf. Prov. 17: 20 ('qui peruersi cordis est non inuenit bonum').

63 Cf. above, Ep. gen. 1 ('Incipit ad cunctos generalis epistola fratres').

3 The line is recycled below, Praef. 191.

4 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 78 ('totum namque lauans uno baptismate mundum'), and below, Praef. 105, 192, i. 1242. For the phrase *sacro baptismate* in the same metrical feet, cf. Praef. 7 (repeated after only three lines).

7 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 849 ('quicquid baptismate lotis'), 864 ('. . . quibus in baptismate lotis').

10 For the cadence *beneficia mundo*, cf. below, i. 1585, ii. 1170.

nomine qui trinus colitur, deitate sed unus.
Qui, licet angelicos stabiliret in ethre ministros,
ante- coaeternus fierent -quam saecula patri
et daret humanum genus ut subsisteret omne
conderet ac totum nullo de semine mundum,
humana tamen in specie est dignatus adesse:
corpore uirgineo suscepit et infima terrae
(nostra sibi socians, sua nec tamen alta minorans),
quatinus humanam caeli de sede repulsam
naturam liuore suo sanaret, et illam
perpetuae mortis soeua de fauce redemptam
in paradysiacum surgendo reduceret hortum,
rursus ut amissae repetat primordia uitae
possideatque iugem regni caelestis honorem,
quem prius amisit uetiti dulcedine pomi
contempnendo bonus statuit quae iussa creator.
Qui postquam nostrum de uirgine sumpsit amictum
sex quasi lustra gerens, placidam Iordanis ad undam
uenit ut acciperet dare quod uenit ipse lauacrum,
in se iustitiam sic et compleret ut omnem.
Ternis hinc annis post plurima signa uolutis
sponte crucem subiit, patiens ac probra pependit—
humano generi uitam conferret ut inde
unde necem mortis soeuissimus intulit hostis;
et lucra perpetuae nobis daret inde coronae
dampna repentinae demon dedit unde ruinae;
arbore uita homini sic et reseraret Olimpum,
arbore mors homini sicut reserauit Auernum.
Post- cuius sanctam nostrae parcendo saluti
sustinuit -quam sponte crucem, lux tertia surgit.
Inde quaterdenis uoluit quos uisit ymeris.
Bethaniae post arua petens coramque beatis
qui tantum meruere uiris spectare triumphum,
nubibus assumptus subit aurea sidera uictor
maiestate quibus numquam uel numine deerat.
Ad dextram patris ipse sedet totumque gubernat
et regit aeterno moderamine cum patre mundum,
aequalis deitas quibus est eademque potestas.

Denique septenas sol postquam uertit ymeras
septies et typicum compleuit in orbe recursum
paschalis festi, Christus quo uincula rupit
mortis et inferni destruxit claustra profundi,

threefold in name but one in godhead. Although He established the angels as His servants in heaven, being coeternal with the Father before the ages came to be, and although He granted that the whole human race should exist, and created the entire universe from nothing, nevertheless, He deigned to provide help in human likeness: He adopted the dregs of this earthly flesh from a virgin body [20] (joining our flesh to Himself but not diminishing His sublimity), to the end that He might by His suffering restore human nature, driven from its heavenly seat, and, by His resurrection might lead it thus redeemed from the savage jaws of everlasting death, back again into the garden of paradise, so that it might seek again the origins of its lost beatitude and obtain the perpetual privilege of the heavenly kingdom which formerly it lost through the sweetness of the forbidden fruit, thereby repudiating the commands which its bountiful creator had imposed. Some thirty years after He assumed the garment of our flesh from the Virgin [30], He came to the gentle waters of the Jordan in order that He might receive that baptism which He Himself had come to give, and thus might fulfil in Himself all justice. After the passage of three years and many miracles, He underwent crucifixion of His own will, and hung there enduring abuse—in order that He might bestow life upon mankind from the very same source whence the savage Enemy had imposed the sentence of death; and might grant to us the boon of an everlasting crown from the source whence the demon inflicted a penalty of sudden disaster; that by the tree [i.e. the Cross] life should open heaven to man [40], just as by the tree death opened hell to him. After He endured the Holy Cross of His own will for the sake of our salvation, the third day dawns. Then for forty days He visited those whom He wished. Afterwards He sought the fields of Bethany, and in the presence of those blessed men who deserved to behold so mighty a triumph, He was taken up into the clouds and as a victor entered those golden stars [i.e. heaven] from which He had never been absent in majesty or godhead. He sits at the right hand of the Father, and with His Father He governs and rules the entire universe with everlasting authority [50], and together they possess equal divinity and omnipotence.

At length, after the sun rotated seven days seven times and in its rotation brought about the periodic return of the paschal feast on which Christ burst the bonds of death and destroyed the gates

15 Cf. below, i. 310 ('angelicos . . . ministros').

18 *nullo de semine*. In the corresponding passage, Lantfred mentions the creation of the world into the four elements (*materialis formatio*); Wulfstan attempts to improve on Lantfred by saying that the world was created 'from no element', hence from nothing, where *semen* is used in the rare but attested classical sense of 'element' (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 6, 730–1).

19 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 1 ('thalamis dignatus adesse'); cf. also below, i. 1003.

22 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 556 ('. . . prima de sede repulsi').

24 For the phrase *soeua de fauce* in the same metrical feet, see Aldhelm, *CdV* 490; cf. also below, ii. 426 ('. . . mortis de fauce redemptum'), and *BreuiloquiumSS* 328 ('. . . baratri de fauce redemptum').

26 For the cadence *primordia uitae*, see Juvencus, *Euang.* ii. 202, and Aldhelm, *Enigm.* xxix. 5, *CdV* 176; cf. also *HexLexikon* iv. 354.

27 Cf. above, Ep. spec. 3 ('regni caelestis honorem').

28 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 70 ('pereuntem hominem uetiti dulcedine pomi').

31–2 These lines are borrowed nearly verbatim from Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 141–2:

> sex quasi lustra gerens placidam Iordanis ad undam
> uenit ut acciperet hoc, quod dare uenerat ipse.

43 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 14 ('lux tertia surgit').

44 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 175 ('inde quater denis iam noctibus atque diebus'); see also below, i. 669.

45–9 This passage is modelled closely on Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 423–6:

> Bethaniae mox arua petit: coramque beatis
> qui tantum meruere uiris spectare triumphum,
> aetherias euectus abit sublimis in oras,
> et dextra sedet ipse patris totumque gubernat.

For the phrase *aurea sidera* in line 47, cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 488 ('ferit aurea sidera clamor').

55 Cf. below, Praef. 136 ('nos et ab inferni subtraxit fauce profundi').

illuxit uotiua dies mortalibus, in qua
fit concessa reis optata remissio legis,
quae numero sacratur eo quo deluit olim
inclitus ille Dauid sua crimina, psalmicen et rex.
Sed potius nunc sancta nitet quam consecrat almus
spiritus, ethereae ueniens a finibus aulae
et replens fulgore locum quo territus omnis
coetus apostolicus latuit munimine clausus,
Iudaica feritate pauens exire nec audens.
Quorum compleuit tunc corda carismate tanto
spiritus ille opifex, ut tempestate sub ipsa
omne ibi linguarum pariter modulamen adesset,
omnibus et linguis diuersa uoce disertis
sufficeret uox una loqui magnalia Christi.
Continuoque uiris ignito corde refertis
conclusae patuere fores, patefacta remansit
ianua; proclamant pulsa formidine linguae,
affirmant regnare Deum super aethera Christum—
quem dudum clausi fuerant uocitare nec ausi!
Auribus et uulgi tonitrus ceu territat orbem
uoce prophetarum sic mystica uerba resultant.
Primus apostolico sistens et in agmine Petrus
plebis apostaticae constans senioribus infit:
'Dicite nunc, populi seniores, dicite quid sit
iustius ante Deum—uobis parere Deumque
linquere? Non enim quae uidimus acta silere
possumus, aut tacitis celare audita loquelis.
Displiceat, placeat: numquam reticebimus illum
est qui uera salus ac certa redemptio mundi,
quem cruce fixistis, cui maxima probra dedistis.
Vidimus en ipsum calcata uiuere morte;
uidimus hunc etiam super omnes scandere caelos.
Victor ubique tonat, caelum terramque gubernat;
gentibus hunc canimus toto uenientibus orbe.
Quo trepidat cunctus uenturo iudice mundus:
hic bona digna bonis, mala digna malisque rependet.'
Talibus ardebant uerbis et amore calebant,
nec metuunt ullam constantia pectora poenam
aspera nec facilem minitantia uerbera mortem:
omnia dira pati Iesu pro nomine prompti
insuper atque necem gratis sufferre parati.
Ast ubi se turbae sic expauere feroces
eloquio torrente premi, pars credula quaedam

of bottomless hell, there shone forth that day, prayed for by mortals, on which the long-desired remission of the law is granted to sinners, and which is hallowed by the same number as that by which David, psalmist and king, once washed away his sins. Now, rather, the holy day glistens as that which the Holy Spirit sanctified [60] as it came down from the confines of the heavenly palace and filled with light the place where all the frightened band of apostles lay hidden behind a bolted door, quaking with fear at the ferocity of the Jews and not daring to go outside. Then that active Spirit filled their hearts with such blessing, that at that very same time the modulation of every language was present, and one voice was sufficient to declare the wondrous deeds of Christ to all peoples versed only in their native languages. And straightway, as the hearts of these men were filled with flame [70], the doors were unbolted, the doorway held open: with all fear gone their tongues speak out, they affirm that Christ rules as God above the heavens—He Whom a short time before in hiding they had not dared to name! And just as thunder rumbles through the world, so with the voice of prophets their mystical words ring in the ears of the crowd. And Peter, standing first in the apostolic rank, with determination addressed the elders of the apostate people: 'Say now, O elders of the people, say what is more righteous before God—to obey you and to abandon God [80]? For we cannot keep silence about the deeds we have seen or with stifled speech conceal the things we have heard. Like it or not, we shall never keep silent concerning Him Who is the true salvation and sure redemption of the world, Whom you nailed to the Cross, Whom you reviled with relentless abuse. For we have seen Him alive after treading down death; we have also seen Him ascending the heavens. He is resoundingly victorious everywhere, He rules heaven and earth; we proclaim Him to the nations who come from all over the world. The universe fears what is to come when He is Judge [90]: He shall requite the good with worthy rewards and the evil with worthy punishments.' With words such as these they were inflamed and grew ardent in their love; their steadfast hearts feared neither punishment nor severe floggings foreshadowing a ready death: they were ready to endure all cruel afflictions for the name of Jesus and, what is more, were even prepared to undergo death willingly. And when the hostile crowds were afraid to be overwhelmed by a torrent of words, a certain faithful

59–60 Cf. 2 Sam. (2 Kgs.) 24: 24. The number in question is the 50 shekels with which King David bought the threshing-floor and oxen from Araunah in order to make a sacrifice and so avert the plague; Wulfstan equates these with the number of days from Easter to Pentecost (50).

61–2 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 119–20 ('spiritus aetherea descendens sanctus ab aula / irradiat fulgore locum quo stemma beatum').

63 The phrase *coetus apostolicus* is also employed at the beginning of a hexameter below, i. 992, and in *BreuiloquiumSS* 399.

64 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 709 ('Iudaica feritate parat').

68 For the phrase *diuersa uoce* in the same metrical feet, see Aldhelm, *CdV* 16.

71 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 104 ('adtactu patuere fores').

77 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 69–70 ('primus apostolico, parua de puppe uocatus, / agmine Petrus erat . . .').

78 For the phrase *plebis apostaticae*, cf. perhaps Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 375 ('plebis apostolicae').

92 Cf. perhaps Ovid, *Ars amatoria* iii. 571 ('aetate et amore calentes').

credidit in Christum, pars impia soeuit et illi.
Nec mora uitantes inimicae gentis alumnos
sancta salutiferi complent precepta magistri:
bis senas sortique datas sparguntur in oras
adgressique omnes aequo discrimine gentes;
humano generi reserant pia dogmata regni
et mundant totum Christi baptismate mundum.

Posteritas quorum post plurima secula tandem
sparserat Anglorum caelestia semina genti.
Qui prius ignari deitatis ubique potentis
delubra falsorum coluere maligna deorum,
iactantes mutis fumantia tura metallis.
Sed, crescente fide, baptismi in gurgite loti,
idola demonii penitus spreuere maligni
felices et amare Deum coepere supernum—
'felices' ideo quos predico nomine recto
audito quoniam diuini dogmate uerbi,
suscepere fidem Christi sine sanguine fuso
doctorum, qui illos solo sermone domabant.
Quod gentes aliae nusquam fecisse leguntur,
multiplici quae strage suos strauere magistros
difficilemque uiam paucis credentibus ultro
repperit alma fides, quoniam respersio multa
sanguinis in toto maduit crudeliter orbe.
Nullus ut ignorat ueterum qui scripta peragrat,
Anglorum gentes fidei sed amore calentes
elegere piam tanto moderamine uitam,
ut quas nec uires hominum nec bella domabant
ora sacerdotum per lenia uerba ligarent;
ferratas acies et quae strauere feroces
colla iugo Domini certarent subdere mites.
Quapropter Dominus genti concessit eidem
sanctos e propriis quo consequeretur alumnis
innumeros, uirtute Dei qui caelitus omnes
sanarent aegros in cunctis finibus eius.

Sit iugiter nostro laus et benedictio Christo,
suscepit fragilem qui nostrae carnis amictum
nos et ab inferni subtraxit fauce profundi
(quem quondam primogenito ferus intulit anguis—
ut genus humanum post comperit omne per orbem).
Qui similis uirtute Deo dum quaereret esse

proportion believed in Christ, but the wicked remainder raged against him. Escaping without delay from the scions of that hostile race [100], they fulfil the holy commandments of the Redeemer Who brought salvation: they are scattered into twelve regions granted by lot, and with a similar assignment they approach all nations; they reveal the holy teaching concerning the heavenly kingdom to the human race, and cleanse the whole world with Christ's baptism.

Their successors, at length, after many centuries, had sown the heavenly seeds among the English people. Previously they had been ignorant of Almighty God Whose divinity is everywhere, and they venerated the baleful shrines of false gods, scattering smoking incense on speechless metal objects [110]. However, as their faith grew, and when they had been washed in the baptismal stream, they wholly forsook the idols of the evil adversary and these blessed people then began to love Almighty God—I use the appropriate term in calling them 'blessed', since, when they had heard the teaching of the divine Word, they received the faith of Christ without shedding the blood of the teachers who had subdued them through speech alone. No other nations anywhere are read to have done this; rather, they murdered their teachers with manifold slaughter, and the gentle faith found its way with difficulty to those few who willingly believed [120], since a great effusion of blood seeped cruelly throughout the world. But as everyone who peruses the writings of the ancients knows, the peoples of England, ardent in love of the faith, chose the way of righteousness with such conviction that these peoples—whom neither the violent force of arms nor wars could subdue, the gentle words of missionaries did bind; and who in their ferocity overwhelmed shield-walls, in their gentleness vied in submitting their necks to the yoke of the Lord. Accordingly, the Lord granted to this same people [130] that they should obtain from their own offspring countless saints who, by the power of God, could cure through heavenly agency all the sick throughout all His lands.

Let praise and blessing be offered forever to our Christ, Who took up the fragile garment of our flesh and carried us off from the jaws of abysmal hell—which the fierce serpent formerly inflicted on the first-born, as all mankind throughout the world has subsequently discovered. When he sought to

99 Cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 6. 19 ('credidit in Christum, caeli qui sceptra gubernat').

101 Cf. below, i. 880 ('precepta magistri'), and *HexLexikon* iv. 312.

102 Cf. perhaps Lucan, *Phars.* iii. 64 ('bellaque Sardoas etiam sparguntur in oras').

103 Cf. perhaps Vergil, *Aen.* v. 154 ('post hos aequo discrimine Pristis'); cf. also i. 1200, ii. 1065.

105 See above, note to Praef. 4.

106 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 260 ('posteritatis quorum numero crescente nepotum').

107 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 392 ('gentibus in cunctis spargunt que semina lucis'), and the epanaleptic hymn to St Æthelwold, inc. 'Alma lucerna micat' 27: 'omnibus inque locis sparsisti semina lucis' (ptd *AH* xlviii. 10).

110 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 48 ('mutis animas damnare metallis').

111 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 984 ('baptismi gurgite mersos'), 1448 ('baptismi gurgite mersi'), 1540 ('baptismi gurgite sacro').

115 Cf. below, note to i. 1033.

116 For the cadence *sanguine fuso*, cf. Lucan, iv. 278, vi. 310; Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* v. 50, xxvii. 215; and Aldhelm, *CdV* 1840, 2761.

128 Cf. Arator, *Ep. ad Florianum* 21 ('et qui ferratas acies atque agmina uincunt'), and Aldhelm, *Enigm.* xcvi. 1 ('ferratas acies et denso milite turmas').

135 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 98 ('. . . carnis uestitus amictu').

136 Cf. above, Praef. 55 ('mortis et inferni destruxit claustra profundi').

138 For the phrase *genus humanum* in the same metrical feet, cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* lxiii. 1, *CdV* 922, 1249, 1639, 1688, 2503, as well as below, i. 1359.

factorique suo considere culmine caeli
(cum foret angelicis praelatus in aethere turmis
atque creaturis ingenti lumine cunctis!),
pulsus in igniuomae preceps ruit ima Gehennae
cunctarumque miser rerum uilissimus extat.
Pro meritis ululatque suis ac, trusus Auerno,
ignea pestiferi soluit tormenta ueneni
dentibus insanis sese manditque trahitque.
Et dolet humanum caelo genus esse locandum
quod uidet inferius fore se re prorsus in omni,
utpote corporeum limoque parente creatum
uermibus aequandum fragilique putredine tectum,
quodque superba sibi tulit extollentia regnum
id possessurum Christo tribuente per aeuum.

Post cuius sacram de uirgine natiuitatem
(quam tulerat sexta ueniens aetate caduca
carnis participem, carnis sed labe carentem),
nec mora nongentos sol transuolat aureus annos
adnectens uolucri bis septem cardine lustra,
bis septemque suos indictio uerterat orbes
Cancer et in medio se uoluerat aestifer anno:
imperium regni tenuit quo tempore magnus
Eadgar et inuictus, sublimia sceptra gubernans,
omnibus Anglorum feliciter imperitando
gentibus, Arcturi quae uertice sidera cernunt—
moribus, eloquiis, habito uarioque diremptae—
insula quas pelagi cingens hinc continet atque hinc
'Albio' quam ueteres uocitare didicimus Anglos.
Haec cum felici uolitarent tempora cursu,
ipse Dei genitus—lux uera, nitorque perhennis—
aurea caelestis dignanter munera lucis
gentibus Anglorum direxit ab aethre polorum
Suuiðhuni per magna patris suffragia sancti
huius amatoris, huius pastoris et urbis;
sunt data millenis per quem medicamina turmis
omnia depulsis sanantia corpora morbis.
Nam postquam fuit euectum uenerabile corpus
illius (argentum pretio quod uincit et aurum),
prisca salus aegros tot restituebat et ipsos
concedente Deo fecit procedere sanos,
sancta uiri quo membra iacent tumulata sacello—
cernere quot nemo uiuens in corpore quiuit,

be like to God in power and to take a place with his creator at the summit of heaven [140] (even though he was already exalted among the angelic ranks in heaven and among all creatures because of his great splendour!), he was driven out and fell down headlong into the depths of fire-blasting hell, and the wretch is now the vilest of all creatures. He bemoans what he has deserved and, cast into hell, he endures the fiery torments of pestilent poison, and with rabid teeth he gnaws and rends himself. He also laments the fact that mankind is to be placed in heaven, for he observes that it is inferior to him in every respect inasmuch as it is corporeal, created from its parental slime [150], on a par with worms and clothed in frail corruption—yet destined by Christ's gift to obtain for all time that kingdom which his overweening pride had taken from him.

After His holy birth from the Virgin (which He had undergone as He came in the sixth transient age of the world, participating in the flesh but lacking its corruptibility), the golden sun swiftly flew across nine hundred years, and with its swift course added on twice-seven lustra, and the indiction had turned its twice-seven revolutions, and sultry Cancer had stationed itself in mid-year [160]: at that time the great and unconquerable King Edgar wielded royal authority, possessing the highest sceptre of office, blessedly ruling all the English peoples who behold the stars beneath the zenith of Arcturus—diverse in customs, speech and dress—the English whom the island in the sea contains in its girth on this side and that, which we have learned the early English called 'Albion'. When these times had run their prosperous course, the very Son of God—the true light and everlasting splendour—generously sent the golden gifts of celestial light [170] to the English peoples from the summit of the heavens by means of the supreme intercession of our holy father Swithun, a lover of Christ and pastor of this city, through whom remedies which cured the body and expelled all disease were given to countless thousands. For after his venerable body (which surpasses silver and gold in value) had been translated, a state of pristine health restored so many of the sick and by God's gift made them go forth in health from the place where the holy limbs of that man lay entombed in a shrine [180]—so many that no-one living in body has been

140 For the cadence *culmina/e caeli*, cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* c. 3, *CdV* 2, 1445, 2816, as well as below, i. 740, ii. 1104, and the numerous examples cited in *HexLexikon*, i. 512–13.

143 Cf. below, ii. 148 ('lapsus in igniuomae rueret tormenta Gehennae').

146 Cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* i. 404 ('effuge pestiferi rabies uaesana ueneni'), and also Aldhelm, *CdV* 1432 ('caerula pestiferis extollit colla uenenis').

147 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ix. 340 ('suadet enim uesana fames manditque trahitque'); cf. also below, ii. 176 ('dentibus insanis').

148 Cf. below, i. 467 ('esse locandum').

154 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 300 ('Christique insignem de uirgine natiuitatem').

155 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 265 ('hac eadem sexta ueniens aetate caduca').

162 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2059 ('nam pater auguste regnorum sceptra gubernans').

164 Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* i. 204 ('praeterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis').

170 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2005 ('aurea caelestis largitur praemia regni').

171 A line recycled (with a minor change) from Ep. gen. 18.

175 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 25 ('omnia depulsis sanabat corpora morbis'); cf. also below, i. 1134.

179 For the phrase *concedente Deo*, cf. below, i. 176; for *procedere sanos*, see below, note to ii. 1164–5.

180 Cf. below, i. 1085 ('tumulata sacello').

nec sacris elementa legens ediscere libris,
nec audire auidas rumore uolante per aures,
unius ad sancti curatos esse sepulchrum;
post nec apostolicos quos Lucas retulit actus—
quorum umbra infirmos quotquot tangebat abire
fecerat incolomes—sanctus uelamine quisquam
corporis indutus fragili dinoscitur usquam
reddere corpoream totiens animeque salutem.

Explicit exigui praefatio stricta libelli
de facili pietate tulit qua carnea Christus
membra, lauit totum proprio qui sanguine mundum.

Incipiunt tituli de signis presulis almi.

⟨LIBER PRIMVS⟩

"INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA DE MIRACVLIS SANCTI SWIÐHVNI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS."

i. De uisione fabri
ii. De clerico gibberoso nomine Æþelsino
iii. De ciue Wintoniensi
iv. De translatione sancti antistitis Suuithuni
v. De caeca muliere
vi. De filio uiduae
vii. De innumeris miraculorum prodigiis
viii. De tribus caecis mulieribus et de iuuene muto
ix. De ancilla Teoðici campanarii
x. De paralitico in lecto egritudinis sue curato
xi. De caeca muliere
xii. De matrona quae bis sanitati restituta est
xiii. Quomodo sanctus cuidam matrone per uisum apparuit
xiv. De paralitico Lundoniense
xv. De sedecim Lundoniensibus caecis
xvi. De alio claudo Lundoniense
xvii. De .xxv. infirmis qui in una die curati sunt

"–" incipiunt capitula de miraculis sancti Swiðhuni episcopi et confessoris *om. B*

able to observe, nor to learn from reading the letters in holy books, nor to hear with hungry ears from flying report, that a similar number had ever been cured at the tomb of one saint; and not since the acts of the apostles which Luke reported—whose shadow had made as many of the sick as it touched depart in health—has any other saint, clothed in the frail covering of the flesh, ever been known to restore the sick to health of body and soul on so many occasions.

Here ends the brief preface of the small little book [190] concerning the ready devotion by which Christ took up fleshly limbs and cleansed the whole world with His blood.

Next begin the chapter-headings concerning the miracles of the beneficent bishop.

BOOK i

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTER-HEADINGS OF THE MIRACLES OF ST SWITHUN, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.

i. Concerning the vision of the smith [i. 1–198]
ii. Concerning the hunch-backed priest named Æthelsige [i. 199–485]
iii. Concerning a citizen of Winchester [i. 486–788]
iv. Concerning the translation of the holy bishop Swithun [i. 789–896]
v. Concerning the blind woman [i. 897–1046]
vi. Concerning the son of the widow [i. 1047–78]
vii. Concerning countless wonders of miracles [i. 1079–1126]
viii. Concerning the three blind women and the dumb youth [i. 1127–70]
ix. Concerning the slave-girl of Teothic the bell-founder [i. 1171–1201]
x. Concerning the paralytic cured of his ailment on his sick-bed [i. 1202–24]
xi. Concerning the blind woman [i. 1225–42]
xii. Concerning the matron who was twice restored to health [i. 1243–1304]
xiii. How the saint appeared to a certain matron in a vision [i. 1305–1417]
xiv. Concerning the paralytic from London [i. 1418–39]
xv. Concerning the sixteen blind men of London [i. 1440–51]
xvi. Concerning another cripple from London [i. 1452–69]
xvii. Concerning the twenty-five sick who were cured on one day [i. 1470–8]

185 Cf. Arator, *Ep. ad Vigilium* 19 ('uersibus ergo canam, quos Lucas rettulit Actus').
191 The line is recycled from above, Praef. 3; cf. also below, i. 1620.
192 Cf. below, i. 1242 ('totum proprio qui sanguine mundum').

xviii. De puero per quinquennium caecato
xix. De nobili caeco qui Romam perrexit
xx. De paralitico Hrofensi
xxi. De ceco quem iratus ductor longe ab hospitio reliquit
xxii. De quattuor aegris utriusque sexus

EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA PRIORIS LIBELLI.

i. INCIPIT VERA NARRATIO QVOMODO SANCTVS ANTISTES SWITHVNVS— ANTEQVAM SANCTAE RELIQVIAE ILLIVS SVBLATAE ESSENT DE MONVMENTO— CVIDAM FABRO PER VISVM APPARVIT ET EVM, VT SVAM LEGATIONEM CVIDAM EADZINO CANONICO MANDARET, AMMONVIT.

Prima Dei nutu patuit haec uisio ternis
solibus ante- sacri -quam cum caelestibus hymnis
ossa uiri benedicta forent translata sepulchro
quo quondam pausans in pace quieuit, et ante
quam ferret nostro caeli noua lumina saeclo,
sicut eam cui uisa fuit narrare solebat.
Tempore nocturno cuidam per somnia fabro
sanctus adest, nitidis perfusus uertice canis,
angelico uultu niueoque decorus amictu,
undique bissini comptus uelamine pepli,
aurea perspicuis et habens sandalia plantis;
ad fabrique thorum pedetemptim pergit, et eius
ter caput auricoma contigit harundine, tactu
permodico, sermone pio sic fatus ad illum:
'Tene quiescentem, frater, nunc an uigilantem
cerno?' Faber respondit ad hec: 'Pater alme, grauatus
dormieram paulo ante, sed hanc cum lumine cellam
mox ut es ingressus, sopor his abscessit ocellis.'
Cui presul: 'Num canonicus tibi cognitus ille est,
Coenobio rex e Veteri quem depulit Eadgar
cum sociis simili fuerant qui mente profani?
Hunc ut nosse queas, est Eadzige nomine dictus.'
Respondit: 'Mihi notus erat, pater alme, sed in quo
sit presens ignoro locum.' Vir sanctus ad ista:
'Nunc', ait, 'hic habitat, uallis qua Winclea constat.'
'Cur, domine', inquit, 'eum dubio quasi corde requiris,
cuius utrumque mihi nomenque locumque reuelas?
Pande mihi, rogo, pastor ouans, quod onoma tuum sit.
Ore tuo tuba mira sonat, quae te fore pandit
caelicolam; mihi propterea miserere, precor te.'

xviii. Concerning the boy blinded for five years [i. 1479–94]

xix. Concerning the blind nobleman who went to Rome [i. 1495–1545]

xx. Concerning the paralytic from Rochester [i. 1546–53]

xxi. Concerning the blind man whom his angry guide abandoned far from lodgings [i. 1554–95]

xxii. Concerning the four sick persons of either sex [i. 1596–1621]

HERE END THE CHAPTER-HEADINGS OF BOOK i.

i. HERE BEGINS THE TRUE ACCOUNT OF HOW THE HOLY BISHOP SWITHUN, BEFORE HIS HOLY RELICS WERE TAKEN UP FROM THE TOMB, APPEARED TO A CERTAIN SMITH IN A VISION, AND ADMONISHED HIM TO DELIVER HIS MESSAGE TO A CERTAIN CANON EADSIGE.

[= Lantfred, c. 1]

This first vision was revealed by the will of God three years before the blessed bones of the holy man were translated, accompanied by celestial hymnody, from the tomb where once he lay, resting in peace, and before he brought a new light of heaven to our world—just as the man to whom it was revealed used to tell it. One night the saint appears to a certain smith in a dream, the crown of his head streaming with bright hair, radiant with his angelic countenance and snowy-white clothing, covered all over with the folds of a linen robe [10], and having golden sandals on his bright feet; and he goes slowly up to the bed of the smith, touches his head lightly three times with a golden-tipped rod and addresses him thus with kindly words: 'Do I now behold you sleeping, brother, or awake?' The smith replied to these words: 'Beloved father, I had been sleeping soundly a short while before, but as soon as you entered this chamber with your radiance, all sleep departed from these eyes.' The bishop said to him: 'Is that canon known to you whom King Edgar expelled from the Old Minster [20] along with his colleagues who were wicked with a similar inclination? In order that you may recall him, he is called Eadsige by name.' He answered: 'He was known to me, holy father, but where he is now I do not know.' The holy man replied to these words: 'He now lives in the vale of Winchcombe.' 'Why, my lord', said the smith, 'do you seek—as if in doubt—a man both whose name and dwelling-place you are able to reveal to me? Tell me, I pray, triumphant bishop, what your name is. A wondrous trumpet resounds from your mouth, which reveals that you are a heavenly citizen; wherefore, I pray you, have mercy on me' [30]. The

7 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 681 ('tempore nocturno caelesti laude beauit'); cf. also below, i. 105, 124, ii. 1036.

8 Cf. below, ii. 916 ('uertice canis').

9 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 328 ('flammeus aspectu niueo praeclarus amictu'), and below, i. 542, 617, 1340. The entire line is recycled at ii. 183.

10 Cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 7. 11 ('lanea uillosi spreuit uelamina pepli'), and *CdV* 1146 ('serica purpureis praebens uelamina peplis').

Cui sacer antistes: 'Nomen quod quaeris habebis.
Nomine in altithroni, constat qui trinus et unus:
suscipe uerba tibi nunc quae mandauero, fili,
suggero quodque tibi studiosus et impiger audi,
quatinus Eadzinum properes maturus ad ipsum
(huc referens si forte pedem hanc uiserit urbem)
ueriloquo sermone et ei mea iussa reueles.
Quod si corde tenet haec moenia uisere numquam
tuque uenire ad eum ratione nequiueris ulla,
illius hic aliquem uideas si forte clientem,
continuo sibi parte mea tu concitus adsta
et manda ut proprio satagat narrare patrono
omne quod haud dubiis tibi nunc iniungo relatis:
"Hec, Eadzine, tibi presul legata Suuithunus
dirigit, ut Wentam pergas festinus ad urbem
pontifici mandans, est qui praelatus in isto
tempore episcopio (quondam quod rexerat ipse),
eius ut e tumulo corpus leuet inque sacrata
collocet ecclesia; quoniam diuinitus ecce
est sibi concessum quod tempore pontificatus
illius occiduis sum clarificandus in oris".'
Cui faber: 'Ille meis nullo modo credere dictis
uoluerit nec, sancte, tuis parere loquelis.'
Sanctus ad haec: 'Vt uera sibi te dicere credat
credulus atque meis sit fido pectore iussis,
dic illi properando meam quo uisere tumbam
pergat et e senis unum trahat orbibus orbem
quos retinet stringendo mei clausura sepulchri.
Illum continuo fuerit si spera secuta,
hoc sit ei certum quod te nunc destino ad illum.
Quod si non ipsum diuellere quiuerit orbem,
credere nullimoda tibi tunc ratione ualebit.
Indubitanter ei post haec mandare memento
quo si perpetuam mauult contingere uitam
neuorum maculas interna mente relinquat,
curet et in melius mutare salubriter actus
et studeat mores componere sedulus omnes,
quaerat et aeternam morum probitate coronam,
ne per foeda suam maculando piacula uitam
incidat in foueam cecato corde profundam,
et ne post modicam mundani luminis horam
ignea flammiuomae soluat tormenta Gehenne.
Hoc quoque nec sileas, sed uaticinando resulta et

holy bishop replied to him: 'You will soon have the name you seek. In the name of the lofty-throned God Who is One and Three, receive the words which I shall entrust to you, my son, and listen attentively and closely to what I tell you, so that you may hasten promptly to Eadsige himself (if by chance he shall direct his footsteps to visit this town here) and may reveal my commands to him in accurate reporting. But if he has it in mind never to visit these walls and you can by no means get to him, if perchance you should see here any retainer of his [40], hasten immediately to accost him on my behalf and order him to undertake to report to his master everything which I now enjoin on you in words of indubitable accuracy: "Eadsige, Bishop Swithun sends this message to you—that you go quickly to the town of Winchester and command the bishop who at this time occupies the bishopric (which he himself [i.e. Swithun] once ruled) to take his body up from its tomb and place it inside the holy church; for it has been divinely granted to him that in the time of his episcopacy [50] I am to be revealed in the western world".'

The smith replied to him: 'He [i.e. Eadsige] will be altogether unwilling to believe my statements, O saint, and to obey your words.' The saint answered: 'In order that he may believe you are telling him the truth and may with trusting heart believe my commands, tell him to go in haste to visit my tomb and to pull up one ring of the six rings which the covering of my sepulchre holds fast. If the ring should pull away at once, let that be his surety that I now send you to him [60]. But if he cannot pull away the ring, then he will in no way believe you. After this, remember to tell him without hesitation that if he wishes to attain to everlasting life, he must abandon the stains of sin with all his heart and take care advantageously to change his conduct for the better and apply himself sedulously to set his behaviour in order, and by his probity to seek an eternal crown, so that, in staining his life with foul sins he will not, in the blindness of his heart, tumble into that vast pit [70], nor, after his brief hour of light in this world, suffer the fiery torments of flame-belching hell. Do not keep silent about this either, but let your

40 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2609 ('tale fuit letum miserorum forte clientum'); cf. also below, i. 136.

64 For the phrase *perpetuam . . . uitam*, cf. perhaps Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 341 ('aurea perpetuae capietis praemia uitae'); cf. also below, ii. 150.

70 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2236 ('sed praestante Deo caecatur corde malignus').

ueridico sermone palam predicito, quod mox
ut fuerit clausura mei patefacta sepulchri,
inuenient tantos supero medicamine plenos
thesauros ut, quicquid humo uersatur in omni
ponderis argenti, gemmae rutilantis et auri,
sit ualde exiguum coram mortalibus atque
uilescat totum uisis ornatibus horum.'
Talia miranti postquam preconia sanctus
tradidit antistes, penetrato culmine cellam
liquit et, angelico subuectus in ethra uolatu,
moenia caelorum subit aurea, iunctus in illis
sanctorum capiti Christo, per saecla beatus
pro sanctis meritis seclo quae gessit in isto.

His faber ammonitus, metuens sicophanta uideri
falsus et a cunctis furioso pectore dici
insanus si tale palam quid diceret ulli,
uisa sibi prorsus patefacere non erat ausus.
Sed monitis iterum atque iterum correptus eisdem
(nec minus et dirae cladis terrore minatus,
impleret sancti citius ni iussa patroni),
quod siluit timidus post prodidit omne coactus.
Nescius ergo opifex animum quo flecteret idem,
plurima secreto uoluit meditamine secum
pectore et ambiguo duplicique labore laborans—
hinc quia castellum nesciit qua manserat idem
clericus, hinc quia quamuis idem certissime sciret,
nil melius tamen esset ei, quia corpore toto
debilis ingentem patitur per membra dolorem:
uadere nec plantis, equitando nec ire ualebat.
Qui tamen, exigua tandem uirtute resumpta,
sub lucem sua membra leuat, pulsante metallo,
tempore nocturnas celebrant quo concine laudes
et matuta Deo persoluant uota fideles;
ut ualuit seseque parat, fulcroque relicto
surgit et ad tumbam maturo tramite pergit
sancti pontificis, precibusque incumbit anhelis,
exorans Dominum singultibus et lacrimis, quo
dignaretur ei clemens ostendere talem
quendam hominem qui sancta patris legata referre
uellet eo qua canonicus habitauerat idem.
Qui prece finita, prisca et uirtute recepta,
comperit extimplo certus se caelitus esse
exauditum ab eo qui confugientibus ad se

prophecy ring out and openly predict with truthful speech that, as soon as the covering of my tomb is lifted, they will find such mighty treasures full of divine healing-power that, whatever mass of silver, shining gems or gold is buried in all the earth, it will become thoroughly trivial in the sight of men and grow wholly cheap once they have seen the beauty of my relics' [80]. After the holy bishop had delivered these pronouncements to the astonished man, he left the room by passing through its roof and, borne aloft with angelic flight, he entered the golden citadel of heaven, being joined there to Christ, the head of the saints, and remaining blessed forever because of the holy works which he accomplished in this world.

Although the smith had been warned by the saint's words, yet he feared that he might appear to be a false rumour-monger and that he would be called by everyone a madman of insane disposition if he would openly disclose such a thing to anyone, and so he did not dare to repeat his vision at all [90]. But, having been rebuked again and again with these same admonitions (and even threatened with the terror of woeful disaster if he did not quickly fulfil the orders of the saintly patron), he subsequently declared under constraint everything which he had kept in silence because of his fear. And so this same smith, not knowing where to direct his thoughts, mulled over many things in private meditation, striving with redoubled effort in his uncertainty—on the one hand because he was unacquainted with the town where the canon lived, on the other because even though he should know it quite surely, that would be no better for him, for he was ill and suffered great pain in his entire body [100]: he could travel neither on foot nor by horseback. Yet when at last he has regained a little strength, he gets himself up at first light with the ringing of the bell, when the faithful harmoniously sing praises at Nocturns and make their morning prayers to God; he prepares himself as best he could, rises from his bed, and, going quickly to the tomb of the holy bishop, he gives himself over to breathless prayers, beseeching the Lord with sobs and tears that [110] He deign mercifully to show him some man who would be willing to take the holy message of the saint to the place where the canon lived. At the conclusion of his prayer he regained his former strength, and was straightway certain in the knowledge that he had been heard from heaven by Him Who is

75 Cf. below, i. 963 ('fit statim clausura sacri patefacta sepulchri').

78 Cf. below, ii. 5 ('argenti gemmae rutilantis et auri').

83 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 206 ('angelicis subuectus eas ut tutior ulnis').

92 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2268 ('sed nullus ualuit sanctas terrore minarum').

103 Cf. below, i. 1220, ii. 732 ('uirtute resumpta').

104 For the phrase *membra leuat*, cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 203, and below, i. 571; for *pulsante metallo*, cf. below, i. 932, 1411.

105 See above, note to i. 7.

109 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 221 ('uocibus assiduis precibusque extorsit anhelis'); cf. also below, i. 143 ('precibusque extorsit anhelis'), as well as i. 1428, ii. 878 ('precibusque incumbit anhelis').

114 Cf. below, i. 376 ('qui prece finita').

116 Cf. below, i. 1536 ('qui confugientibus ad se').

auxilium prestare solet uitamque perhennem.
E senisque orbem mox credulus arripit unum,
obsecrans Dominum, madidis ac fletibus aiens:
'O Deus omnipotens, cuius super omnia numen
et regnum sine fine manet, mihi, queso, misello
annue propitius, si caelicus iste sacerdos
qui in tumulo hoc sancto requiescit corpore nuper
tempore nocturno mihi ter comparuit et me
uerba super mella docuit praedulcia de se,
quatinus hanc ualeam ferri hinc diuellere speram,
sanctus ut in somnis mihi tum predixerat idem.'
Dixerat, et speram facili conamine prensam
extrahit; et dicto citius de rupe tenaci
hunc sequitur, quasi tenta foret sabulone marino.
Quae rursum propriae repetens confinia rimae,
calce repressa parum, sic fixa remansit ibidem
ut non posset eam posthac diuellere quisquam—
hactenus ut liquido claret cernentibus illam.
Cumque die mediante forum peragraret eodem,
inuenit quendam memorati forte clientem
canonici, Wentam propria pro merce petentem.
Quem mox ut uidit, summisso corde poposcit,
panderet ut proprio manifesta uoce patrono
omne quod auditu didicit per somnia de illo,
nec illum quoquam discedere siuit ab ipso
donec tandem ab eo uix impetrauerat hoc quod
uocibus assiduis precibusque extorsit anhelis.
Qui postquam faciem remeando reuisit herilem,
tempora multorum Phoebo replicante dierum—
seu sibi commissi (solet ut contingere) uerbi
inmemor aut fortasse metu concussus herili—
conticuit, dominoque suo patefacere differt
quod se poscenti pridem spopondit amico.
Sed quadam tamen ecce die dum solus adesset
ceperat haec secum meditari mente sagaci,
cognouitque nefas graue se patrare sibique
non fore apud Dominum scelus hoc ueniabile summum,
Suuithuni celando sacri missatica patris
necnon et fidi neglegendo precamina amici.
Compunctusque animo perrexit adire patronum,
quicquid et a fabro didicit—uel grande parumue—
impiger adsistens ex ordine retulit illi.
Qui quoniam mundana fuit sectatus et ima

accustomed to grant aid and everlasting life to those who take refuge in Him. In this trust he suddenly snatched one of the six rings, speaking in prayer to the Lord with flowing tears: 'Almighty God, Whose power [120] and rule abide over all things without end, kindly grant, I pray, to me poor wretch that, if that heavenly priest whose holy body rests in this tomb appeared three times to me by night quite recently and instructed me in words sweeter than honey about himself, I may be able to draw up this ring of iron, as the saint himself on that occasion predicted to me in my dream.' When he had spoken, he drew up the ring with slight effort; and more swiftly than the telling it came away from the retentive stone as if it were mounted in sea-sand [130]. When it was replaced in the enclosure of its slot and pressed slightly by his heel, it remained there so fixed that afterwards no-one could pull it out—as is clearly apparent to those who have seen it subsequently. And when, during that same day, he was crossing the market-place, he came by chance upon a retainer of the aforementioned canon, who had come to Winchester on business. As soon as he saw him he insisted humbly that he [i.e. the retainer] openly declare to his master everything which he [i.e. the smith] had heard and learned about that man in the dream [140]; nor did he allow him to go away until at length he had obtained—barely—the favour he wrung from him with constant requests and urgent pleadings. After the retainer returned and saw his master, and the sun had unrolled an interval of many days—whether because (as often happens) he had forgotten the message entrusted to him, or because perhaps he was shaken with fear of his master—he kept silent and delayed reporting to his master what he had previously promised to his pleading friend. But one day when he was alone [150], he began to mull these matters over in his thoughtful mind, and he realized that he was committing a serious offence, a sin not readily to be forgiven in the presence of the Lord, by concealing the message of the holy father Swithun and neglecting the entreaties of his trusting friend. And, struck with remorse in his heart, he approached his master and boldly reported everything to him in order—whether significant or trivial—which he had learned from the smith. His master, inasmuch as he was devoted to the things of this world and was still making his way

120 See above, note to Ep. spec. 111 (on the Aldhelmian usage of *Deus omnipotens* in these same feet); the phrase *O Deus omnipotens* is used at the beginning of a hexameter in i. 535, ii. 366, 755.

121 For the phrase *sine fine manet*, cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 66 ('imperium sine fine manet'); cf. also below, i. 834, 1619, ii. 1171.

124 Wulfstan recycles this line (with a minor grammatical change) at ii. 1036.

125 Cf. below, ii. 1037 ('uerba salutiferi docuit praedulcia Christi').

129 Cf. below, i. 1217, 1586, ii. 238 ('et dicto citius').

138 Cf. below, i. 920 ('summisso corde').

143 The line is quoted verbatim from Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 221; cf. also Aldhelm, *CdV* 2108.

147 Cf. perhaps Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 468 ('hoc concussa metu mentem').

151 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 404 ('. . . et tecum mente sagaci').

156 Cf. below, i. 1458 ('perrexit adire patronum'), ii. 98, 1079.

huius adhuc falsae gradiens per deuia uitae,
auscultare pii tempsit legata ierarchi,
his prebere suam uoluit nec credulus aurem.
Et quia Coenobio fuerat stimulatus adempto
ex quo cum sociis expellitur ante Vetusto,
non modo pontificem meritoque et nomine dignum
inclitum Aðeluuoldum, qui illos generaliter inde
expulerat—uirtute Dei moderante superni—
pro uitiis meritisque nequam factisque nefandis
Eadgaro prestante sibi fautore benigno,
uerum etiam fratres ibi tunc quos degere nouit
illi complures ubi iam mansere per annos
suspectos habuit zelo et mordente perosos;
atque ideo, potius sancti quam iussa patrare
curaret, fidei perpendere rennuit aure.
Sed postquam geminum sol uerterat aureus annum,
concedente Deo qui dat sua munera gratis
omnibus, ecclesiae quos uinea congregat almae,
ut quoscumque in ea praenoscerit esse futuros
quosque operatores hic uiderit esse fideles
reddat eis brauium finita luce laborum,
idem canonicus, qui mente biotticus atque
lubricus ante fuit, subito mutatur in omni re,
in tantumque Deo se pectore uouit et ore
ut, qui subiectus fuerat paulo ante caducis
rebus, eas statim non ficto corde relinquens,
omnia contempti fugeret discrimina mundi
atque monasterium, pulsus fuit unde proteruus,
mente humili petiit promissaque debita soluit,
suscipiens habitum Benedicti patris honestum,
permansitque in eo normali tramite uiuens
usque diem mortis, sic felix sumptus in astris.
Quo narrante palam sic gesta didicimus ista
sicut hic exiguo pandit sermone libellus.
Sit Dominus noster benedictus in aethere semper,
peccantes qui iustificat, qui corde superbos
prosternit uirtute sua, qui mente pusillos
in se sperantes super aethera scandere prestat,
conregnent ut ei per saecula cuncta beati!

ii. DE CLERICO GIBBEROSO NOMINE ÆÐELSINO, QVI AD SEPVLCHRVM SANCTI PONTIFICIS SWIÐHVNI CVRATVS EST PRIMVM, DOMINICA DIE .IIII. NONAS IVLII.

Talia praefatis dum gesta patrantur in oris
curuus erat quem prima suae primordia uitae
membrorum cum strage premunt, cui nomen Æþelsi,

along the byways of this deceptive life [160], refused to listen to the message of the holy bishop, nor did he wish to give it his attention. Moreover, because he had been incensed by being deprived of the Old Minster, from which he had earlier been expelled together with some of his colleagues, he suspected and hated with gnawing envy not only that renowned bishop—worthy in merit and name, Æthelwold, who had driven them hence together as God's power directed him, because of their vices, evil deserts and unspeakable deeds, with the outstanding support of good King Edgar—but also the monks whom he knew now abided in the place [170] where the canons had lived for many years; and on that account, rather than take care to perform the commands of the saint, he refused to listen to them with an ear of trust. But after the golden sun had turned two years, by the gift of God Who bestows His favours freely on all whom the vineyard of Holy Church embraces, in order that He may give the reward of their labour at the end of life [180] to those whomsoever He has foreknown would be its members and whom He has seen to be faithful workers, this very canon, who was previously of a worldly and wanton disposition, suddenly was wholly changed and devoted himself to God in heart and word to such a degree that he, who had shortly beforehand been enslaved to ephemeral things, straightway abandoned them wholeheartedly, fled the trials of the world he disdained, humbly sought the Old Minster from which he had been expelled for his wantonness, and fulfilled his vow by taking up the righteous habit of our father Benedict; and he abided there, living according to the rule [190], until the day of his death when he was happily taken up into heaven. We learned these events from his own full report, exactly as this little book sets them down in its frail diction. Ever blessed be our God in heaven, Who justifies sinners, Who overwhelms the haughty with His power, Who grants to the humble who hope in Him to ascend above the heavens that they may reign along with Him forever blessed!

ii. CONCERNING ÆTHELSIGE, THE HUNCH-BACKED CLERIC, WHO WAS THE FIRST TO BE CURED AT THE TOMB OF THE HOLY BISHOP SWITHUN ON SUNDAY, 4 JULY.

[= Lantfred, c. 2]

While such things were being done in the aforementioned regions, there was a hunchback whom the very beginnings of his life [200] afflicted with a disease of the limbs, whose name was Æthelsige,

165 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 185 ('. . . meritoque et nomine fulgens'), and *BreuiloquiumSS* 283 ('. . . meritoque et nomine sancti').

167 Cf. below, ii. 688 ('pietate Dei moderante superni').

175 Cf. below, i. 236 ('geminos sol uerterat aureus annos').

176 Cf. above, Praef. 179 ('concedente Deo').

178 For the cadence *esse futuros*, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 986, and below, i. 1006.

188 Cf. below, i. 457 ('mente humili').

190 The phrase *quo narrante* is ambiguous here, and could refer either to Eadsige or to the smith. Lantfred specifies the smith (*quo narrante ipso opifice didicimus*), whom he had apparently met; but Wulfstan's syntax and first person pronouns (*quo narrante . . . gesta didicimus*) may imply that Wulfstan had discussed the story with Eadsige, whom he will have known as a member of the Old Minster *familia*.

197 Cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* lxxxi. 9 ('sex igitur comites mecum super aethera scandunt').

198 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 394 ('saluator clemens qua saecula cuncta beauit').

199 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 73 ('talia Bethleis dum signa geruntur in oris'); and cf. below, i. 1127, ii. 819.

200–1 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 244–5 ('claudus erat, cui prima dies exordia uitae / membrorum cum strage dedit'), as well as Aldhelm, *Enigm.* xxix. 5 ('olim sumpserunt ex me primordia uitae'), and *CdV* 176 ('corpore de spurco sumit primordia uitae').

multiplici languore miser. Quem uilla tenebat
regia quae, frugum foecunda alimenta ministrans,
Aþeluuarabyrig solito uocitatur ab Anglis.
Cui caput in tantum gibbus submerserat ingens
ceu pariter iunctura foret genibusque genisque.
Qui postquam plures sic rite peregerat annos,
audit responsum noctis per somnia certum
se debere citum Wentanam pergere ad urbem
solliciteque inibi medicum perquirere talem
qui sibi sublatam posset reparare salutem.
Protinus ergo uigil patriam fratresque reliquit
cum quibus a puero altus erat quorumque rogatu
clericus extiterat; quibus et ualedixit et illinc
pergere festinat maturo tramite Wentam,
gibbum sustentans ingentem fuste gemello.
Quam celer ut petiit, mox est susceptus ab uno
ciue cui solitum formare numismatis aera;
cum quo sol medium donec contingeret annum
manserat, hospitio satus et uegetatus amico.
Qui tanto curuum dilexit amore misellum,
pro Christi hunc pietate fouens, ut nulla sine illo
sumeret ore libens allata alimenta nec illo
uult absente meri dulcem potare liquorem.
Si prope uel longe peteret conuiuia forte,
hunc secum deferre iubet gestamine molli
seruorum seu cornipedum, testando sine aegro
se non posse cibum contingere dulciter ullum.
Tandem curriculo medium uolitante per annum,
cunctitonans aegro miserans saluator eidem
respexit hominis beneficia larga fidelis
strumosique preces, fudit quas corde gementi;
misit eique citam, pulso languore, medelam,
pontificis sancti petit ut mox mente fideli
mausoleum, radii uelut ecce sequentia narrant.

More suo geminos sol uerterat aureus annos
ante- sacri -quam membra forent translata sepulchro
pontificis. Strumosus erat quo tempore merens
altus in hospitio quo sum praefatus, et ecce
nocte uidet media subito per somnia binos
stare sibi iuuenes nimio candore micantes,
alloquio dulci pariter haec dicere et illi:
'Dormisne an uigilas?' Gibber miratus ad illos
respondit: 'Paulo ante sopor me pressit, at istam

a poor wretch suffering with manifold illness. He lived on the royal estate which provides in abundance the rich nourishment of crops and is customarily called Alderbury (Wilts.) by the English. An enormous hump pressed down his head so badly that there was virtually a link between his cheeks and knees. After he had duly spent many years in this condition, he heard through his dreams one night the reliable advice that he ought to go quickly to the town of Winchester and eagerly seek there such a physician [210] as could restore to him his lost health. And so, immediately upon awakening, he left his home and the monks with whom he had been raised from his boyhood and at whose request he had taken minor orders; and he bade them farewell and hastened thence by a quick route to Winchester, supporting his great hump on crutches. As soon as he reached it he was immediately taken in by a citizen whose business it was to form the bronze of coinage; he stayed with him, sustained and quickened by his friendly hospitality, until the sun reached a half-year [220]. The moneyer loved the wretched hunchback with such great affection, cherishing him for the love of Christ, that without him he would not willingly partake of any food served to him nor, in his absence, did he wish to drink the sweet liquor of wine. If perchance he were going to a banquet near or far, he ordered that the man be brought along with him, by the comfortable conveyance of servants or horses, for he insisted that without his crippled friend he could not touch any food with enjoyment. At length, as the year's course was passing the half-way mark, the Almighty Saviour, taking pity on this cripple [230], looked favourably on the generous bounties of his loyal friend and on the hunchback's prayers which he poured from his grieving heart; and He sent to him a prompt cure which drove away his illness as soon as he sought with devout intention the tomb of the holy glorious bishop as the sequence of the ensuing narrative now relates.

The golden sun was to turn two years in its usual course before the body of the holy bishop was to be translated from his tomb [i.e. it was now 969]. At that time the grieving hunchback was being maintained in the lodging I have mentioned when, lo and behold, at midnight in a dream he saw two [240] young men gleaming with exceptional brilliance stand suddenly before

241 candore] *corr. ex* candere *B*

202 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 153 ('multiplici languore miser').

206 Cf. below, i. 418 ('genibusque genisque').

207 Cf. below, ii. 934 ('rite peregerat annos').

218 On Wulfstan's use of *numisma* here (the word does not occur in Lantfred at this point), cf. Ælfric's *Glossary*, ed. Zupitza, p. 302: 'numisma. mynet'.

219 Cf., perhaps, Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 134 ('contigit annos'), and below, ii. 209.

233 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 44 ('innumerus pulso languore saluti'), and below, i. 373 ('pulso languore medelam'), 1478, ii. 224, 861, 1033 ('pulso languore salutem').

235 Cf. below, i. 614 ('sequentia narrant').

236 Cf. above, i. 175 ('geminum sol uerterat aureus annum').

237 The line is recycled below, i. 1497 ('ante- sacri -quam membra forent translata patroni').

243 Cf. below, i. 634 ('Dormisne an uigilas').

irradiante domum uestro splendore recessit.'
Percunctantur eum: 'Te circa qualiter est nunc?'
Aduersis ait in numeris: 'Me struma fatigat.'
Subiungunt: 'An esse cupis ueniente medela
sanus?' At ille: 'Volo, si donet Christus.' Et illi
protinus haec addunt: 'Fulcro, consurge, relicto
primo mane, celerque ad limina sacra Vetusti
perge Monasterii, studioque require sagaci
presulis unius sancti sublime sepulchrum
quod super inuenies positum tumulare sacellum,
parietibus structum necnon et culmine tectum,
sarcofagi inque modum bis bina fronte locatum.
Hoc inter sanctamque crucem quae sistitur illic
saxea somniferam paulatim carpe quietem,
mox et utramque Deo capies miserante salutem,
ac simul aeternae caelestia gaudia uitae,
si grates studeas iugiter persoluere Christo,
nisibus et totis laudaueris omnipotentem.'
Talibus incuruum postquam monuere loquelis,
angelici iuuenes ingenti luce nitentes
unde prius ueniunt caelo se concito reddunt.
Euigilat gibber fugiente grauedine somni,
laetaturque nimis se talia cernere uisa;
promissum cupiensque sibi medicamen adesse
corporis atque animae, fulcro consurgit ab egro,
pergit et ad patrem narratque per omnia quicquid
uiderat in somnis sibi caelitus esse relatum.
Qui stupuit nimium quod tempestate soporis
excitat hospes eum, sed rem cognouit ut omnem
glorificat Dominum tota uirtute supernum,
sperantes in eum qui saluat in arce polorum.

Nec dignum reticendo reor uitare quod idem
perdidit ingentem nummarius ante mucronem
quem solito plerique solent uocitare macheram,
cuius erat uagina auri radiante metallo
predita decocti permundi sculptaque mole
argenti nimia. Quaesiuit ubique nec illam
repperit. Attonitus tacito meditamine secum
scrutari coepit quidnam contingeret illi,
quod sua momentum fit res subtracta per unum.
Qui percunctari persaepe decreuerat aegrum
cerneret an aliquo pugionem forte locello;
sed quotiens adstabat ei, sic corde recessit

him and together speak sweetly to him these words: 'Are you asleep or awake?' The hunchback, amazed, replies to them: 'Sleep oppressed me a short while ago, but departed as your splendour lit up this house.' They ask him: 'How are you now?' He says in words of reply: 'The hump exhausts me.' They continue: 'Do you wish to be cured by the advent of a remedy?' And he: 'I do, if Christ grant it.' And they immediately add these remarks: 'Rise at dawn and, leaving your bed [250], go quickly to the holy entrance of the Old Minster, and seek with diligent application the prominent tomb of a holy bishop, upon which you will find a mortuary-shrine made with walls and covered with a roof, with its four panels set in the manner of a sarcophagus. Take briefly some sleepful rest between this and the holy cross of stone which is set up there, and straightway through God's mercy you will receive a twofold salvation, and at the same time the heavenly joys of the eternal life [260], if you take care always to give thanks to Christ and with every effort to praise the Almighty.' After they advised the hunchback with these remarks, the angelic youths, shining with immense brilliance, return quickly to heaven whence they came. The hunchback awoke as the drowsiness left him and rejoiced exceedingly to have seen such a vision; and, desiring that the promised medication for body and soul be at hand, he rose from his sickbed, went to his host and made a complete report to him of everything [270] which he had seen disclosed to him from heaven in his dream. The host was greatly amazed that his guest should awaken him at the time of sleep, but when he knew the whole matter, with all his strength he glorified the heavenly Lord Who from the citadel of heaven saves those who hope in Him.

Nor do I think it right to avoid, through silence, relating that this same moneyer had lost a large dagger which people commonly call a *machera* ['stabber'], the scabbard of which was adorned with the gleaming metal of pure gold and embossed with a great mass [280] of refined silver. He sought it everywhere and failed to find it. Surprised, he began to wonder to himself what could have happened to it, that the thing had been misplaced at some point in time. He had often decided to ask the hunchback if by chance he had seen his dagger anywhere; but whenever the man was present,

272 **stupuit**] *corr. ex* **stipuit** *B* 281 *over* **illam** *R has* **uel illum**

251 Cf. below, i. 360, 411 ('ad limina sacra Vetusti').

259 *utramque . . . salutem*: he will be cured both in this life and in the next.

260 Cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 1. 3 ('ianitor aeternae recludens limina uitae').

262 Cf. below, i. 399 ('nisibus et totis').

264 Cf. below, i. 341, ii. 921 ('angelici iuuenes').

266 The line is recycled below, ii. 719 ('euigilat caecus fugiente grauedine somni'); cf. also i. 377 ('ueniente grauedine somni'), 501 ('abeunte grauedine somni').

274 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1190 ('anthletam Domini fretum uirtute superna'); for the first part of the hexameter, cf. below, i. 357, 1595, ii. 200 ('glorificat Dominum').

275 Cf. above, Ep. gen. 18 (with note); see also below, ii. 818, 1173.

mentio mucronis ueluti nil perderet umquam.
Quod sine diuino minime est moderamine gestum,
cuius ab instinctu—patuit ceu postea—gazae
est memor hac hora qua somnia uiderat aeger
audit et angelicae predulcia iussa loquelae.
Talibus incuruum tunc atque affatur eundem:
'Dic, rogo, si nostrum mucronem uideris usquam
cuius erat uagina mero decorata argento
undique est obrizo circumdata nec minus auro?'
Gibber ad haec humili subiunxit uoce uicissim:
'Perdiderasne tuum, pater o uenerande, mucronem?'
'Quidni?' ait, 'amisi.' Curuus: 'Quando?' inquit, 'ubiue?'
Respondit: 'Ter quinque dies sol iam rotat ex quo
hoc carui nec eum ualui perquirere, fili.
Nam super hoc scamnum manus ista reliquerat illum;
quem manus abstulerat, mihi credo, latronis iniqui.
Plurima sed quid nunc ego te per uerba retento?
Perge tuum citus ad lectum, da membra sopori,
quatinus ante diem capias pausando quietem,
qua surgente locum ualeam te ducere ad illum
quem tibi legati praesignauere superni.'
Hospitis edictis obtemperat ille paternis,
rursus et angelicos somno uidet ecce ministros
praefatos adstare sibi. Quem nec mora ducunt
hospitis ad cistam, reserant quam claue silenter,
ostendunt et ei quam uir bonus ille macheram
perdidit illesam. Rursum munimine kapsam
recludunt, pausante uiro, clauimque reponunt
sub puluinari, nutu mandantque silenti
indicet ut domino quod res sua non foret illi
per furis subtracta manum sed tuta quod esset
conseruata sibi Domino miserante superno,
ut nihil ambigeret—certus sed sciret—ab illo
se fore donandum proprii mercede laboris,
qui bona se propter facientibus aethera pandit.
Lucifer interea, noctis caligine mersa,
surgit et euigilans gibber hac uoce patronum
alloquitur: 'Ne sis, rogito, nutritor amande,
ne sis sollicitus de illa quam perdere nuper
te quereris gaza, quia caelitus extat in ista
conseruata tibi diuino munere cista.'
Ammirans opifex stupuit, subrisit et infit:
'Quid, rogo, quid loqueris? Quid talia uerba profaris?

mentioning the dagger left his thoughts as if he had never lost it. This did not happen without divine intervention, through whose inspiration—as was later apparent [290]—he remembered his treasure at the very hour when the hunchback saw the vision and heard the sweet commands of the angelic speech. And he then addresses the hunchback thus: 'Tell me, please, if you have seen anywhere my dagger whose scabbard is decorated with pure silver and covered all over with pure gold?' In his turn the hunchback replied to this in a modest tone: 'Venerable father, had you lost your dagger?' 'How not?—I have lost it', he said. The hunchback said: 'When? And where?' He answered: 'The sun has turned fifteen days since [300] I have missed it, nor could I find it, my son. For this very hand of mine had left it on this bench; but, believe me, the hand of a wicked thief has stolen it. But why am I delaying you now with so many words? Go quickly to your bed, give your limbs over to sleep so that you may get some rest before dawn, so that at daybreak I can take you to that place which the heavenly messengers have specified for you.' He obeys the fatherly commands of his host, and lo and behold in a dream he sees once again the aforementioned angelic messengers [310] before him. Immediately they lead him to his host's strongbox, which they open silently with a key, and they show him the dagger—intact—which the good man had lost. Then, as the man goes back to sleep, they close the strongbox with its bolt and replace the key under the pillow, and with a nod they request the silent man to tell his lord that his property had not been stolen from him by the hand of a thief but had been kept safe for him by the mercy of the heavenly Lord, so that he should have no doubt—but know for certain [320]—that he would be given the recompense of his labour by Him Who opens heaven to those who do good for His sake. Meanwhile, with night's darkness sinking, the morning star rises, and upon awakening the hunchback speaks thus to his patron: 'Do not, I pray you, beloved provider, do not be worried about the treasure which you recently complained of losing, for it remains, kept safe for you by divine bounty, in this strongbox.' The craftsman was struck with wonder, smiled, and said: 'What is it, I ask you, what is it you say? Why do you say such things [330]?

289 **minime] minimine** *B*

279 Cf. below, i. 295 ('cuius erat uagina').
295 Cf. above, i. 279 ('cuius erat uagina').
310 Cf. above, Praef. 15 ('angelicos . . . ministros').
319 Cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xx. 207, Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 202, Bede, *VCM* 652 ('Domino miserante'), and below, i. 1296.
328 Cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* lv. 1 ('alma domus ueneror diuino munere plena') and *CdV* 2903 ('ultimus in requiem diuino munero fretus'); cf. also below, i. 355, 485, 680, 971.

Bis denos iamiamque dies sol uertit et unum
postquam clauiculam cistae inuenisse nequibam,
et tu dicis ibi nostrae fore pondera gazae?
Credere non ualeo. Non est ita.' Clericus inquit:
'Crede mihi, quia uera loquor, quia perdere quod te
credis ibi inuenies argenti pondus.' At ille:
'Vnde tibi notum?—uel quis tibi talia suasit
friuola falsiloquis mendacia fingere uerbis?
Credulus esse tuis nullo modo quibo loquelis.'
Gibber ad haec: 'Ne, queso, uelis dubitare, pater mi.
Angelici iuuenes, qui primo tempore noctis
cras mihi uenturam fore predixere salutem,
ad me nunc iterum gallo uenere canente
hancque citim cistam reserantes claue mucronem
ostendere tuum pretii cum pondere sanum.
Hancque iterum propriae claudentes obice clauis
clauim, puluillo taciti posuere sub isto,
quam tu per casum dicis te perdere dudum.
Surgito, quaeso, celer, studioque adtende sagaci
an sint uera mihi monstrant quae somnia noctis.'
Obstupuit nimium de talibus ille relatis;
ad priuum properatque thorum, clauimque remoto
puluillo cernens secum miratur; et ipsam
accipit attonitus, reseratque celeriter arcam,
contemplansque suam diuino munere gazam
adfore seruatam nullaque in parte minutam
glorificat Dominum qui confidentibus in se
dat bona cuncta pius. Post hec conuersus ad egrum,
'uisne', ait, 'ut faciam gerulos adstare gemellos
qui te comportent ad limina sacra Vetusti
Coenobii, quo sumas ibi recubando salutem
presulis ad tumbam, iuuenes ut nocte profunda
praedixere tibi?' Gibber respondit ad illum:
'Tu tantum precede prior, te ego subsequar, hisque
fustibus ut potero me sustentabo gemellis.
Non opus est, miserante Deo, quo portitor adsit,
nunc ex parte mihi quia sentio adesse medelam.'
Arripuere igitur statim socialiter unam
ambo uiam, comitemque suum precesserat aeger;
sanus et infirmum sequitur sine more per urbem.
Continuoque sacram petiit cum preduce tumbam
gibber et exorat clementia pectora Christi
quatinus optatam pulso languore medelam

The sun is about to turn the twentieth day plus one since I have been unable to find the key of the strongbox, and you say that my weighty treasure is there? I cannot believe it. It is not so.' The cleric said: 'Believe me, for I speak the truth, for you will find there the mass of silver which you think you have lost.' But the other replied: 'Whence do you know this?—Or rather, who has persuaded you to contrive such nonsensical stories with lying words? I am in no way able to believe what you say.' To this the hunchback replied: 'Do not, I beg you, my father, be doubtful [340]. The angelic youths, who at the beginning of the night predicted that health would come to me on the morrow, came again to me now at cock-crow and, as they opened this strongbox quickly with the key, showed me your dagger intact with its precious weight. Then, closing it with the bolt of its own key, they silently placed under your pillow the key which you say you lost a while ago by mischance. Please rise quickly and inquire with due attention whether the things shown to me by my dreams be true' [350]. He was greatly astonished at this tale; and he hastens to his bed and, removing the pillow, marvels at seeing the key; and he picks it up in amazement, quickly opens the strongbox and, gazing upon his treasure preserved by divine dispensation and in no way diminished, he praises the Lord Who mercifully grants every bounty to those who trust in Him. Then he turned to the cripple and said: 'Do you wish me to have two porters summoned who could carry you to the entrance of the Old Minster [360] so that you may gain your health by resting there at the tomb of the bishop, as the young men foretold it to you in the depth of night?' The hunchback replied to him: 'Just go before me; I shall follow you and prop myself up on these crutches as best I can. By God's mercy, there is no need of a porter here, for even now I feel that a partial cure has come to me.' Immediately, therefore, they both set out together on the one journey; the cripple preceded his companion and the healthy man followed the ailing one promptly through the town [370]. And at once the hunchback, along with his guide, sought out the holy tomb and begged the merciful heart of Christ that, through the merits of the saint, he might receive the longed-for cure, his sickness

352 priuum] *corr. ex* proprium *B*

338 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 624 ('plurima sed falsis finxissent friuola uerbis'), and perhaps *Enigm.* lxxvii. 3.

341 Cf. above, i. 264 ('angelici iuuenes'), and below, ii. 921.

351 Cf. below, i. 706 ('obstupuit nimium').

355 See above, note to i. 328.

357 Cf. above, i. 274 ('glorificat Dominum'), and below, i. 1595, ii. 200.

360 Cf. above, i. 251, and below, i. 411 ('ad limina sacra Vetusti').

365 Cf. below, ii. 776 ('se sustentando gemellis').

368 For the unusual adverb *socialiter*, cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 382 ('ut quecumque uelint socialiter omnia possint').

373 For the phrase *pulso languore*, see above, note to i. 233.

perciperet sancti meritis, ut noctis opacae
tempore legati sibi praedixere superni.
Qui prece finita postquam surrexit ab aruo,
opprimitur subiti ueniente grauedine somni
quo uix splendorem posset spectare diurnum.
Qui sicut potuit ductori protinus infit:
'Perge, pater, quocumque tibi uideatur ad horam,
corpore lassato quia me sopor adgrauat ingens,
idcircoque mihi modicum pausare necesse est.'
Ille abit, hic mansit. Vix obdormiuit et ecce
coeperunt nerui subito medicamine tendi
omnis et in proprios compago reuertitur usus.
Sicque diu optata meruit gaudere medela,
Suuiðhuni meritis interuenientibus almis.
Euigilat sanus, toto et sic corpore sanus
ut nusquam gibbi locus appareret; et a se
fustibus abiectis, cunabula longa relinquens,
surgit et erecto uidet aurea lumina uultu
caelorum Phoebique rotam lunaeque meatum—
qui pronus paulo ante solum prospexerat imum
ceu pecus insipidum uelut ac procliuis humi bos.
Iamque peragratis sanctorum hinc inde fauillis,
hospes ad incuruum properat festinus, eumque
repperiens stantem supero medicamine sanum
ad caelos alacris palmas utrasque tetendit,
nisibus et totis Dominum benedixit; eumque
duxit in ecclesiam, narrauit et omnibus ille
qualiter egrotus Christo medicante saluti
redditus, ethereos meruit spectare meatus.
Hoc signum micuit primum diuinitus actum
presulis ad sancti Suuiðhuni insigne sepulchrum
Iulius in Nonis dum uerteret astra quaternis,
illuxitque dies culmen qui nominis alti
a Domino dominante trahit, quem luce coruscum
'Dominicum' gaudent omnes uocitare fideles.
Protinus hoc facto uolat undique fama per urbem.
Concurrunt populi sexus simul omnis et aetas;
conueniunt omnes ad limina sacra Vetusti
Coenobii; noua signa uident, mirantur et omnes.
Precipites hinc inde ruunt magis ac magis, et uox
tollitur in caelum et ferit aurea sidera clamor.
Adstitit in medio prebens spectacula de se
clericus erectus quem merserat antea gibbus;

having been expelled, as the heavenly messengers had foretold during the dark night. After he arose from the ground at the end of his prayer he was oppressed by a sudden onset of drowsiness, so that he could scarcely see the light of day. He spoke at once, as best he could, to his guide: 'For the meanwhile, father, you go on wherever seems best [380], for a great weariness overwhelms me as my body grows weak, and therefore it is necessary for me to rest here a little while.' The one departs, the other remains. He had just fallen asleep when lo and behold his muscles began to be stretched by a sudden cure and every joint returned to its proper functioning. And thus he deserved to rejoice in his long-desired cure by the intercession of the holy merits of Swithun. He awakens in good health, so sound through his entire body that the place of the hump appears nowhere; and, casting away his crutches and abandoning his long confinement [390], he arises and with upraised countenance gazes on the golden lights of heaven, the orb of Phoebus [i.e. the sun], the course of the moon—he who shortly before, bent over, had looked upon the base earth, like a mindless beast and like an ox bent over the dirt. Then the host, after he had toured the tombs of the saints lying here and there, returned quickly to the hunchback and, finding him standing, healed by a heavenly cure, he promptly stretched forth both hands to heaven and blessed God with all his strength; and he led him into the church and told all [400] how the sick man, restored to health by Christ the physician, now merited to gaze upon the astral movements. This, the first divinely wrought miracle at the distinguished tomb of the holy bishop Swithun, shone forth when July was turning the stars on the fourth day before the Nones [i.e. it was 4 July]; and that day gleamed which draws the sublimity of its name from the victory of the Lord, the day which, blazing with light, all the faithful call 'the Lord's' [i.e. Sunday]. Immediately upon this event its report flew everywhere through the town. The people rush together, every sex and age [410]; all come to the holy entrance of the Old Minster; they see the new miracle and all are amazed. They rush headlong from here and there more and more, and their noise is raised to heaven and the outcry strikes the golden stars. The cleric—whom previously the hump bent low—stood upright in their midst, displaying the spectacle on his own

389 appareret] appereret *B*

374–5 *noctis opacae / tempore.* Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 225–6 ('tunc noctis opacae / tempore'); the phrase derives ultimately from Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 658. Cf. also below, i. 1177–8, 1315, ii. 865, 921.

376 Cf. above, i. 114 ('qui prece finita'), and below, i. 769 ('surrexit ab aruo').

377 Cf. above, note to i. 266.

387 The core of this hexameter ('Suuiðhuni meritis interuenientibus') is recycled at ii. 365, 427; for the phrase 'Suuiðhuni meritis', see also i. 1095, 1133, 1220, 1578, 1594, ii. 217, 1169.

392 Cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* iv. 4 ('alta poli solisque iubar lunaeque meatus').

394 The cadence is from Vergil, *Aen.* v. 481 ('procumbit humi bos').

396 Cf. below, ii. 314 ('properat festinus').

397 Cf. below, i. 433 ('miro medicamine sanum').

398 Cf. perhaps Vergil, *Aen.* i. 93 ('et duplices tendens ad sidera palmas').

399 Cf. above, i. 262 ('nisibus et totis').

401 Cf. perhaps Aldhelm, *CdV* 1089 ('caelitus instaurant, Christo donante, salute'); for Wulfstan's use of the phrase *Christo medicante (salutem)* in the same metrical feet, see below, i. 600, 1092, 1314, 1437, ii. 223, 1073.

406–7 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 316–17 ('inradiare dies, culmen qui nominis alti / a domino dominante trahit'); for the cadence *luce coruscum*, cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* viii. 3. 141 ('culmen apostolicum radianti luce coruscum') as well as Aldhelm, *CdV* 2170, 2744. The phrase ultimately derives from Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 470 ('telis et luce coruscus aena').

409 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 554 ('fama uolat paruam subito uulgata per urbem'); cf. also below, i. 1514 ('uolat undique fama per urbem').

411 Cf. above, i. 251, 360 ('ad limina sacra Vetusti').

412 Cf. below, ii. 656 ('mirantur et omnes').

414 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 488 ('ferit aurea sidera clamor'); cf. also below, ii. 59 ('tollitur in caelum').

atque in eum solum cuncti sua lumina figunt,
mirantes paulo ante hominem genibusque genisque
haerentem iam stare Dei medicamine rectum,
tellurem plantis spectantem uertice caelum.
Laetantur monachi, lacrimis per gaudia fusis;
congaudent populi, noua quod miracula cernunt.
Omnia clarisonis pulsantur cimbala plectris.
Christum lingua sonat, Christum cor omne resultat;
hymniferi Christumque chori ueneranter adorant,
cantibus et Christum modulantibus omnia laudant.

Sed quoniam festiua dies illuxerat in qua
gemma sacerdotum, Martinus, in ordine sacro
pontificatus erat Domino sacratus, et in qua
translatus micuit, toto mirandus in orbe,
coeperunt fratres inibi normaliter alti
quaerere solliciti cuius suffragia sancti
hunc facerent aegrum miro medicamine sanum.
Complures aderant hunc qui dixere saluti
restitui sanctis interuenientibus illis
relliquiae quorum summo uenerantur honore
intra praescripti sublimia culmina templi,
nomina sunt quorum uitae caelestis in albo.
At qui curatus fuerat diuinitus aeger,
ut se res habuit, constanti pectore coram
testatur se per meritum consistere rectum
pontificis sancti, uelut audiit antea somno.
Nonnulli fuerant hunc qui dixere medelam
percipere optatam pia per suffragia sancti
Martini, in cuius solito celebratur honore
praesignata dies, hoc maxime conicientes
turris erat rostrata tolis quia maxima quedam
illius ante sacri pulcherrima limina templi
eiusdem, sacrata Deo sub honore ierarchi;
inter quam templique sacram pernobilis aulam
corpore uir Domini sanctus requieuit humatus.
Cuius adhuc ipso latuit nos tempore nomen,
nec fuerant nisi perpauci qui pandere nossent
aut nomen meritumque uiri, iam tempore longo
utpote transacto postquam sacer ille sacerdos
corpore ibi tumulatus erat. Nam uilis apud se
mente humili in tantum presul fuit inclitus idem—
ut perhibent omnes hunc qui nouere fideles—
ut se post obitum sineret nullatenus intra

person; all fixed their eyes on him alone and marvelled that a man who shortly before had his cheeks adhering to his knees now stood upright by the healing of God, confronting the ground with his feet and the heaven with his head [420]. The monks rejoice with tears of joy; the people too rejoice that they behold new wonders. All the bells are struck with clear-sounding clappers. Every tongue sounds forth Christ and every heart resounds; the hymn-singing choirs humbly adore Him and with melodious singing all creatures praise Christ.

But because that day dawned as the feast on which Martin, the jewel of bishops, had been ordained in the Lord in the holy rank of the episcopate, and on which at his translation he gleamed forth, a wonder to the whole world [430], the monks living there according to monastic rule began anxiously to inquire which saint's intercession made this sick man whole with wondrous cure. There were many present who maintained that he had been restored to health by the intercession of those saints whose relics are venerated with great reverence within the lofty vault of the aforementioned church, whose names are in the book of heavenly life. But the sick man who had been divinely cured maintained with constancy in their presence [440] that—as was indeed the case—he stood upright through the merits of the holy bishop, as he heard before in his dream. There were many who said that he received his longed-for cure through the holy intercession of St Martin, in whose honour the aforesaid day was being celebrated with customary reverence. They based their surmise especially upon the fact that there was a certain large tower, beaked with a roof, standing before the beautiful entrance of that holy church, dedicated to God in honour of this same St Martin; between it and the sacred building of the renowned church [450] the holy man of God [i.e. St Swithun] rested in body. His name was still unknown to us at that time, nor were there any, save very few, who had the knowledge to reveal the name or merits of the man, inasmuch as a long time had already passed since that holy bishop had been buried there. For that celebrated bishop was, because of his humility, so low in his own regard—as all the faithful who knew him relate—that he would in no wise allow himself after his death to be buried

418 Cf. above, i. 206 ('genibusque genisque').

423 Cf. below, ii. 735 ('cimbala plectris').

425 For the phrase *ueneranter adorant*, cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 431.

427 Cf. below, i. 838 ('dies illuxerat').

430 Cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* xiv. 1 ('sum namque excellens specie, mirandus in orbe').

433 Cf. above, i. 397 ('supero medicamine sanum').

436–7 On the saints whose relics were preserved within the Old Minster, see above, Ep. spec. 265–75; at the time Wulfstan was writing, they included SS Birinus, Swithun, Beornstan, Ælfheah (I), and Æthelwold. There is also the interesting statement in Osbert of Clare's *Vita S. Eadburgae* to the effect that Æthelwold translated the relics of thirteen saints (see above, p. 147). For the cadence *culmina templi*, cf. Aldhelm, *CE* ii. 2, *CdV* 562.

444 Cf. below, i. 599, ii. 283 ('pia per suffragia sancti').

447 On the meaning of *tolis rostrata*, see above, note to Ep. spec. 183.

448 Cf. below, ii. 273 ('sancti pulcherrima limina Petri').

449 For the phrase *sacrata Deo* in the same metrical feet, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1786, 2171.

452 Note the personal observation by Wulfstan, which has important implications for the cult of St Swithun (see above, p. 16).

457 Cf. above, i. 188 ('mente humili').

aecclesiae Christi penetralia corpore poni,
sed nec in electis loca per diuersa sepulchris
in quibus antiqui patres iacuere sepulti,
aurea sol oriens orbi qua spicula mittit,
qua mediumque diem feruente calore perurit;
sed magis occiduo mandat se climate poni
illius illustris (quam saepe notauimus) aulae,
contestans lacrimando suum non esse locandum
corpus in ede sacra Domini, praeclara nec inter
priscorum monumenta patrum. Moderamine Christi
est ita quod factum iusto, uir sanctus ut idem,
qui tactus uirtute humili se spreuit et extra
est templum quasi uilis homo indignusque sepultus,
innumeris signis uirtutibus atque coruscis
clarus apostolicam post transferretur in aulam.
In quo sermonem diuini dogmatis esse
cernimus impletum plebem qui dicit ad omnem:
'Ima subit preceps sese exaltando superbus;
ima petens humilis contra exaltabitur omnis.'
Sic sacer iste Dei, templi post limina pausans,
ad tempus latuit; sed eum miseratio Christi
luce coruscantem mundo post prodidit omni,
non tentumque polis sed et exaltauit in aruis,
prestans aegrotae per eum medicamina turmae,
senserat ut presens de quo cantauimus aeger
innumerique alii diuino munere sani.

iii. QVOMODO WINTONIE CIVIS QVIDAM, VISIS MVLIERIBVS AETHIOPISSIS, ACRI DOLORE SIT CORREPTVS AC SANCTI PATRIS SWITHVNI PIA COMMONITIONE PER VISVM ANIMATVS ET AD EIVS SACROSANCTVM TVMVLVM ACCEDENS, PRISTINAE SANITATI RESTITVTVS.

Alma fuit uicina dies, sollempnis et orbi,
qua sacer antistes Domini Suuithunus, ab isto
corpore mortali felici tramite migrans,
aurea perpetui conscendit premia regni,
qua iunctus sine fine Deo laetatur in euum.
Cumque dies eadem benedicta rediret in orbem,
scilicet eiusdem per tempora mensis et anni
postea quo fuerat tumuli sublatus ab antro,
uir quidam locuples, Wentane sedis alumnus,
more cupit solito proprios inuisere mannos,
pinguia gramineis carpunt ubi pascua glebis
propter aquae ductum qui muros alluit urbis.

within the sanctuary of the church of Christ [460], nor even in the noble places of interment at various locations in which the ancient fathers lie buried, where the sun, rising on the world, sends its rays or where it burns at mid-day with its seething heat; but rather he ordered that he be buried to the west of that famous church (which we have often mentioned), insisting with tears that his body must not be placed in the holy church of the Lord, nor among the renowned tombs of the ancient fathers. But by the just disposition of Christ it so happened that this same holy man [470] who, moved by humility, abased himself and was buried outside the church like a low and unworthy man, was later translated into the apostles' church when he became renowned through countless signs and gleaming miracles. In him we see fulfilled the word of divine teaching which says to all the people: 'The haughty man by exalting himself goes headlong to the depths; on the other hand, every humble man, seeking the lowest place, will be exalted.' Thus this holy man of God, resting outside the threshold of the church, lay hidden for a time; but the mercy of Christ [480] later disclosed him, gleaming with light, to the whole world, and exalted him not only in heaven but also on earth, bestowing through him cures to the ailing throng—just as this sick man (about whom we have been writing) realized, and as did countless others made whole by divine bounty.

iii. HOW A CERTAIN CITIZEN OF WINCHESTER, UPON SEEING ETHIOPIAN WOMEN, WAS SEIZED BY A SEVERE ILLNESS AND, ENCOURAGED BY THE KINDLY ADVICE OF THE HOLY FATHER SWITHUN IN A VISION, WAS RESTORED TO HIS FORMER HEALTH UPON APPROACHING HIS HOLY TOMB.

[= Lantfred, c. 3]

The holy day was near, solemn throughout the world, on which Swithun the holy bishop of the Lord, departing from this mortal body on his blessed journey, ascended to the golden rewards of the everlasting kingdom where, joined without end to God, he rejoices forever [490]. And when that same blessed day returned to the world, that is, at the time of the very month and year in which he was later taken up from the cavern of his tomb, a certain wealthy man, a native of the see of Winchester, is desirous of going to see his horses, as is his custom, where they crop the rich fodder in grassy fields by the water-course which flows by the walls of the city. Then as the sun

461 Cf. below, i. 590 ('loca per diuersa').

462–5 These lines clearly imply that the monks' cemetery was located to the east and south of the Old Minster, in an area not accessible to excavation inasmuch as it lies beneath the present cathedral. See also Lantfred's *Translatio*, c. 3 (above, p. 273) with n. 103, and WS iv.1, Part II, Chapter II. 1. iv; IV. 1. ii; VIII. 1. ii.

467 Cf. above, Praef. 148 ('esse locandum').

473 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 490 ('demoniis mandant, uirtutibus atque coruscant').

477–8 Cf. Matt. 23: 12, Luke 14: 11, 18: 14.

485 See above, note to i. 328.

489 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 341 ('aurea perpetuae capietis praemia uitae'), as well as Aldhelm, *CdV* 2005 ('aurea caelestis largitur praemia regni') and 2008 ('martira perpetui dum scandit limina caeli'); cf. also above, i. 64.

495 Cf. below, i. 1266 ('more cupit solito thalamos inuisere quosdam'), ii. 830 ('more cupit solito Gallorum uisere gentem').

Tum medium uoluente diem Titane per austrum,
quo lassus ueniens statim recubando soporem
colligit, igniuomi pausans in caumate Phoebi.
Qui post euigilans, abeunte grauedine somni
prospectisque domum burdonibus ire cupiuit,
nil sibi posse mali sperans contingere calle
in tam permodico. Sed (pro!) secus accidit illi.
Nam prope prefatum solus dum pergeret amnem,
haud procul aspiciens Furias uidet ecce gemellas
ante suam faciem nullo uelamine tectas,
sed piceas totas obsceno et corpore nudas,
crinibus horrendas furuis et uultibus atras
armatas gelido serpentinoque ueneno,
quae super extremam predicti fluminis undam
ceu geminae ex ternis Furium sedere sorores.
Quae mox ut coram sese properanter euntem
conspexere uirum, surgunt et comminus illi
occurrunt et eum pariter hac uoce salutant:
'Frater amande, ueni, nostras adtende loquelas;
huc celer appropia, uolumus quia pauca loquendo
uerba referre tibi; tu stans ea protinus audi.'
Qui nimium stupefactus eis nullatenus ullum
reddere responsum poterat sed coepit ab ipsis
(ut ualuit) primum modico pertendere gressu,
pernicemque fugam post carpere prepete cursu.
Quae cum uidissent quod iussis nollet earum
auditum prebere suum, sed calle citato
arripuisse fugam, rabidarum more luparum
insectantur eum perniciter, atque malignum
uirus ab ore uomunt misero cum talia promunt:
'Cur, insane, fugis? Quo iam, moriture, recurris?
Non nos incolomis, miser, euasisse ualebis,
sed nobis spretis horrenda pericla subibis.
A nobis nulla ratione indempnis abibis,
nec te presidio pernix fuga liberat ullo,
contempnis nostras tumido qui corde fabellas.'
Territus ille Deo se commendauerat aiens:
'O Deus omnipotens, mihi, te rogo, parcito clemens
et miserere tuo, uis ut, pie Christe, misello.'
Haec ait et quantum ualuit properabat ad urbem.
Sed cum nulla uirum feritas comprendere posset
Eumenidum, tardaret eum nec pestiferum quid,
tertia progreditur, ueniens a uertice collis,

turns mid-day through the south, he arrives there exhausted and, lying down at once, he catches some sleep, resting in the heat of the burning sun [500]. Awakening somewhat later as the drowsiness of sleep left him, and after he had looked over his horses, he wished to go home, assuming that no evil could befall him on such a short way. But (alas!) the contrary occurred. For while he was making his solitary way along the aforementioned river, he suddenly sees two Furies at no great distance in front of him, covered with no clothing, but rather they were naked and pitch-black with foul bodies, terrifying with dark hair and black faces, armed with cold snake's venom [510]; they sat above the very surface of the aforementioned river like two sisters of the three Furies. As soon as they saw the man hurrying near them, they arose and advanced near him and together addressed him in these words: 'Dear brother, come, pay attention to our words; quickly draw close, for we wish to speak a few words to you; you stand there and hear them forthwith.' He was astonished and could give them no reply, but he began [520] at first, as best he could, to move away from them with short steps, but later to beat a hasty retreat in swift flight. When they saw that he would not give audience to their commands, but had taken flight on the run, they pursued him swiftly like rabid she-wolves and vomited an evil poison from their mouths as they spoke thus to the poor man: 'Why, fool, do you flee? Where, doomed man, are you running? You will not be able, wretch, to escape us unharmed, but you will undergo grim perils for scorning us [530]. In no way will you depart from us unscathed, nor will swift flight save you with its protection, you who, in the pride of your heart, scorn our words.' Terrified, he commended himself to God, saying: 'O Almighty God, mercifully spare me, I pray You, and have mercy on Your wretched servant, Holy Christ, as You wish.' He said these words and hastened as best he could towards the town. But while the savagery of these two Eumenides could not catch the man, nor could any of their pestilence delay him, a third emerged, coming from the crest of a hill [540],

500 Cf. below, i. 622 ('igniuomi . . . Phoebi').
501 Cf. above, note to i. 266.
507 Cf. perhaps Ovid, *Met* xi. 611 ('pullo uelamine tectus').
522 The cadence *praepete cursu* is also used in ii. 25 and in *BreuiloquiumSS* 701; cf. Arator, *HA* i. 259 ('. . . cui praepete cursu').
524 The phrase *calle citato* derives from Arator, *HA* i. 54 ('. . . qui calle citato'); cf. also below, ii. 730 ('iam calle citato').
535 See above, notes to Ep. spec. III, i. 120.

terribilis uultu proceraque corpore uasto—
usa tamen niueo pictoque decenter amictu,
dissimilisque habitu uultuque prioribus extans.
Haec etenim latuit post collem fraude reperta
propter iter per quod cupiit transire uiator
quatinus hunc caperet furuis si intactus abiret.
Quae mox e latebris secretis surgit et ad se
conuocat Eumenides infesta uoce malignas:
'Huc properate citim, uacuo nolite labore
longius hunc hominem uerbis agitare misellum.
Hic non effugiet manuum tormenta mearum—
uos licet effugeret uolitantum more strepentes
aucarum, uanis implendo fragoribus auras!'
Sicque uiatorem spectat conuersa fugacem;
nec tamen hunc agitat cursu uelut antea furue
Eumenides, sed fixa manens in uertice collis
ingentem manicam rugis plicat effera ternis,
perualido stridore et eam mox tollit in altum,
hunc cupiens tota uirtute ferire. Nec ipsum
praeualuit penitus contingere, sed super illum
editus e strepitu manicae nothus irruit, huncque
in dextro latere adtigerat paulisper. Eumque
(nec mora) cum Furiis linquens abscessit, in amnis
gurgite precipiti saliens ac prepete saltu.
Ast homo percussus dirae spiramine uestis
protinus in faciem quasi mortuus occidit, illic
unius in spatio iacuitque immobilis horae,
nil leua patiens sed tanta peste grauatus
in dextra ut nec ad incessum crus tendere posset,
nec proferre manum cruce se signaret ut alma.
Qui post ut quiuit surgens sua membra leuauit,
se leuaque manu uix sustentauit et hasta.
Claudicat incedens donec peruenit Eoam
Wintonie ad portam, Michahelis honore dicatam.
Ad quam perueniens iterum cadit atque dolore
corripitur nimio nec se ualet inde mouere.
Cumque diu uexatus ibi miser ille iaceret,
ecce uiatores quidam uenere, uirumque
cernentes ita seminecem languore grauari,
intrarunt urbis sublimia moenia statim
atque ea curabant narrare parentibus aegri.
Protinus adueniunt, magnum et glomerantur in orbem.
Hinc dolor, hinc gemitus, hinc ammiratio crescit

terrible in countenance and immense with a huge body—yet she wore becomingly a white, embroidered garment, and was unlike the earlier two in dress and countenance. For she lurked, hidden by guile, behind the hill hard by the path along which the wayfarer wished to pass so that she could capture him if he escaped the black ones unscathed. She arose immediately from her hiding-place and summoned the two Furies to her with hostile voice: 'Hasten here quickly; do not endeavour in vain to pursue the little wretch any longer with words [550]. He will not escape tortures at my hands—even though he escaped you two, honking like flying geese, filling the air with pointless noises!' And so she turns and looks at the fleeing wayfarer; she does not pursue him by running, as the black Eumenides had previously done, but she remains on the crest of the hill and with ferocity folds her great tunic into three plaits; she straightway raises it aloft with a mighty roar, intending to strike him with all her strength. She was unable to touch him at all, but the blast of wind from the rustle of the tunic fell upon him [560] and touched him slightly on the right side. Immediately she left him and withdrew with the Furies, jumping with a straight and headlong leap into the stream of the river. But the man, struck by the blast of the deadly garment, fell immediately on his face as if he were dead, and he lay there immobile for the space of an hour, not suffering on his left side, but on the right he was oppressed with so great an affliction, that he could neither stretch out his leg to walk, nor his hand to sign himself with the Holy Cross [570]. After a while, he got up as best he could, lifting his limbs, and supported himself—barely—with his left hand and spear. He limps along until he arrives at the East Gate of Winchester which is dedicated in honour of St Michael. When he reached it he again fell down, and was seized with intense pain, nor could he move himself thence. And when he had lain there suffering for a long time, lo and behold some travellers arrived and, seeing the half-dead man afflicted with suffering, immediately entered the lofty walls of the town [580] and took care to report these things to the kinsmen of the stricken man. The kinsmen came at once and gathered in a large circle. Here sorrow and groans abounded, and astonishment as to how he

543 See above, note to i. 9.

544 Cf. perhaps Statius, *Theb.* vi. 894, x. 392 ('fraude reperta'), and *HexLexikon* ii. 350.

553 For the phrase *implere . . . auras*, cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 114 ('uacuas implent balatibus auras'), iv. 34 ('uagas implentes uocibus auras').

571 See above, note to i. 104.

573–4 This information concerning the East Gate (see fig. 2) and its dedication to St Michael is not found in Lantfred. On the East Gate, see WS i. 275 (with n. 6), 330 (with n. 6), as well as discussion below, p. 635 n. 30.

582 Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 79 ('fit sonitus; magnum mixtae glomerantur in orbem').

unde repentinos incurreret ille dolores,
flebiliterque rogant unde haec sibi tanta ruina
accideret, paulo ante ab eis qui sanus abibat.
Quem tamen, ut poterant, molli gestamine uectum
duxere ad proprii lugentia culmina tecti;
hunc inibique nouem seruant in lance dierum,
quaerentes medicum loca per diuersa, nec ullum
repperiunt qui posset eum reparare saluti.
Qui nimium mesti, per pluraque tedia fessi,
quod prebere suo ualeant solamen amico
peruigili tractant studio, sic fantur et illi:
'Visne, o care parens, quo te portemus ad almum
Coenobium quod quisque Nouum modo nuncupat, in quo
sancta sacerdotis requiescunt ossa Iudoci
quem Deus innumeris quondam clarescere signis
fecit, ut eiusdem pia per suffragia sancti
percipias priscam, Christo medicante, salutem?'
'Hoc', ait, 'opto libens, sed in ista non queo nocte;
me, rogo, uos sed eo deducite nocte sequenti
et de me faciat Christi clementia quod uult.
Propterea ad uestri nunc ite cubilia tecti,
percipite et dulcem tranquilla pace quietem,
cras huc uenturi, ruerint cum lumina Phoebi,
ad sanctumque eritis mecum uigilare parati.'
Qui mox ut redeunt, contexerat astra polo nox
quae solet humano requiem prestare labori,
crescere sed gemitum facit aegris atque dolorem.
Qua mediante potens hominum sator atque redemptor
dirigit inualido medicum de cardine summo
caelorum per quem geminae fomenta salutis
suscepit gaudens, ut uerba sequentia narrant.
Infirmo siquidem, cum nullum prendere somnum
pre gemitu posset sibi quem dolor intulit ingens,
uir quidam niueo splendens adstabat amictu,
uertice consertam paradysi flore coronam
calciamenta sacris gestans atque aurea plantis.
Cuius ad ingressum tam claro lumine cella
completur quasi plena foret splendore corusci
ignis et igniuomi nitido lustramine Phoebi.
Incumbensque rudi, gemmis quae fulsit et auro,
accessit qua membra iacent uexata miselli,
intenditque in eum clementi lumine et illi
dulcibus alloquiis haec fatur et ore paterno:

had come to this sudden grief, and they asked in tears whence this great disaster befell him who had shortly before left them in sound health. Nevertheless they brought him, as best they could, borne on a gentle litter, to the sorrowing roof of his own house; and they cared for him there for a period of nine days as they sought a physician in various places, nor did they find one [590] who could restore him to health. Grief-stricken and exhausted from their many wearisome endeavours, they considered with attentive concern what relief they might offer to their friend, and they addressed him thus: 'Do you wish, dear kinsman, that we carry you to the holy monastery which everyone now calls the New Minster, in which rest the holy bones of St Iudoc, whom God once made famous with countless miracles, so that you may, with Christ as physician, receive your former health through the prayers of this saint' [600]? He said: 'I wish this very much, but tonight I cannot; but, I pray, take me there tomorrow night, and let the mercy of Christ do with me as He pleases. Therefore, go now to your beds in your own houses and take sweet rest in tranquil peace, in readiness to come here tomorrow, so that when the sun sets you will be prepared to keep vigil with me at the saint's tomb.' As soon as they departed, night wove the heaven with stars—night, which usually grants rest to human toil, but brings increase of groaning and pain for the sick [610]. At midnight, the mighty creator and redeemer of men sent from the highest vault of heaven to this sick man a physician through whom he received with joy the lenitives of twofold salvation, as the following words relate. Now while the sick man could take no rest because of the anguish which his great pain inflicted on him, there stood by him a certain man resplendent in a snowy-white garment, wearing on his head a crown woven from the flowers of Paradise and golden sandals on his holy feet. At his entry the room is filled with a light as bright [620] as if it were filled with the brilliance of blazing fire and with the gleaming radiance of the fiery sun. Leaning on a staff which shone with jewels and gold, he drew near to where the tormented body of the poor man lay; and he gazed on him with merciful regard, and with sweet address and fatherly utterance spoke these words to him: 'Does

587 Cf. below, i. 1298, ii. 777 ('molli gestamine').

588 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 129 ('uentum erat ad maesti lugentia culmina tecti'); for the cadence *culmine tecti*, see also Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 186, and cf. below, i. 1589, as well as *HexLexikon* i. 516.

589 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 674 ('sub lance dierum').

590 Cf. above, i. 461 ('loca per diuersa').

597 Cf. below, ii. 162 ('requiescunt ossa patroni').

599 Cf. above, i. 444, and below, ii. 283 ('pia per suffragia sancti').

600 See above, note to i. 401.

605 Cf. below, i. 821 ('tranquilla pace').

606 For the cadence *lumina Phoebi*, cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 2. 17, iv. 8. 9, *Enigm.* xxvi. 2, lvii. 8, *CdV* 775, 1030, as well as *HexLexikon* iii. 252–3.

608 Cf. below, i. 1154 ('contexit et astra poli nox').

611 See above, note to Ep. gen. 17.

612 Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* ix. 528 ('. . . cum cardine summo').

614 Cf. above, i. 235 ('sequentia narrant').

616 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* v. 172 ('tum uero exarsit iuueni dolor ossibus ingens').

619 This line is recycled below at i. 1342.

621 Cf. below, i. 1228 ('splendore corusci'), and *HexLexikon* v. 251–2.

622 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 53 ('luente die lustramine claro'), and below, i. 1035, ii. 351; cf. also above, i. 500 ('igniuomi . . . Phoebi').

626 Cf. below, ii. 923 ('dulcibus alloquiis').

'Tene sopor, fili, fessum premit an uigilas nunc?'
Languidus intremuit nec dat responsa ierarcho.
Mellifluo rursum haec addidit ore sacerdos:
'Tune uigil recubas, an te sopor opprimit, aut tu
uerba loqui uis nulla mihi, carissime fili?'
Ille secundo silet, dare adhuc responsa nec audet.
Tertio qui repetens sic percunctatur eundem:
'Dormisne an uigilas? Retices cur? Aut trepidas quid?
Corporis optatam si quaeris habere medelam,
intentum nostris auditum prebe loquelis.'
His animatus homo dedit haec responsa patrono:
'Sancte pater, uigilo, tibi sed dare uerba tremisco,
te quoniam ciuem fieri perpendo supernum;
et quia plasmatum scio me de puluere terrae,
te coram paueo; mihi sed miserere misello.'
Presul ait sanctus: 'Si uis, dilecte, salutem
percipere amissam, ne te patiaris ad illud
ferre Monasterium uocitant quod quique Nouellum,
sed magis ad staurum te fac deducier illam,
sita Monasterio fulget quae nota Vetusto
unius ad tumbam uenerandi presulis. Hic tu
peruigil excubias deducere nocte memento,
insistens precibus, Christoque fauente salutem
priscam percipies simul et magnalia cernes
omnipotentis ibi, qui spes est unica mundi,
qui uerus medicus, splendor uiget atque perhennis,
fons uiuus uiuum prebens sitientibus haustum,
qui cibus absque fame, uia, dux et semita uitae,
lux sine nocturna caligine, pacis origo,
munus caelestis patriae, qui trinus et unus
uiuit in aeternum super omnia regna polorum.'
Talibus aegrotum postquam uir sanctus eundem
confortauit ouans, cellae mox culmina liquit,
scandens aethereum uibranti lumine caelum.

Nec mora rite diem Phoebo uergente sequentem
finibus occiduis, ut promisere, parentes
conuenere simul fratrem baiolare uolentes
ad Triadis noua tecta suum. Quos ille benigne
suasit et exorat quo limina sacra Vetusti
Coenobii peterent. Faciunt ut suaserat. Atrae
incumbunt tenebrae. Statim defertur ad illam
in qua sanctus erat requiescens corpore tumbam.
Peruigilat ternis ibi noctibus atque diebus,

sleep hold you wearied, my son, or are you now awake?' The ailing man trembled and made no reply to the bishop. Again, with honey-sweet speech the bishop continued: 'Do you recline there awake, or does sleep overwhelm you, or do you [630] not wish to speak to me, beloved son?' The man kept silent a second time and did not yet dare to reply. The bishop spoke a third time and questioned him thus: 'Are you asleep or awake? Why do you keep silent? Or do you fear something? If you seek to receive the longed-for cure of your body, give your undivided attention to my words.' Encouraged by these remarks, the man gave the following reply to the patron: 'Holy father, I am awake, but I fear to speak to you, for I deem you to be a citizen of heaven; and because I know that I have been moulded from the dust of the earth [640], I am terrified in your presence; but have mercy on my wretched self.' The holy bishop said: 'If you wish, dear friend, to obtain your lost health, do not allow yourself to be carried to the monastery which people call the New Minster, but rather have yourself brought to that well-known cross which stands gleaming at the Old Minster, at the tomb of a venerable bishop. Remember to keep constant vigil there during the night, urgent in prayer, and through Christ's favour you will receive your former health and at the same time you will behold the mighty works [650] of the Almighty Who is the single hope of the world, Who is the true physician, Whose brightness is everlasting, the living fountainhead providing vital refreshment for the thirsty, Who is food without hunger, the way, the guide, the path of life, a light without nightly darkness, the source of peace, the gift of the heavenly homeland, Who lives forever, Three and One, over all the kingdom of the heavens.' After the triumphant holy man encouraged the invalid with such words, he departed straightway through the roof of the room and ascended the ethereal heaven in a glimmering light [660].

Soon, as the sun duly turned the following day towards the western regions, the man's kinsmen assembled as they had promised, wishing to convey their brother to the new building of the Trinity [i.e. the New Minster]. He gently urges and entreats them to seek the holy entrance of the Old Minster. They do as he urged. The black shadows of night close in. He is carried immediately to that tomb in which the saint was resting in body. He keeps vigil there for three days and three nights,

634 Cf. above, i. 243 ('dormisne an uigilas').

643 Cf. i. 1092 ('percipere amissam'), as well as i. 1525 ('percepit amissum'), ii. 861 ('percipit amissam').

644 Cf. ii. 694 ('interea caecus tetra caligine mersus'); cf. also ii. 1069.

648 Cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* c. 5 ('peruigil excubiis numquam dormire iuuabit').

649 Cf. below, i. 670 ('insistens precibus').

651 The phrase *spes est unica mundi* is from Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 60 ('omnipotens aeterne Deus, spes unica mundi'); cf. Wulfstan, *BreuiloquiumSS* 262 ('filius altithroni, qui spes est unica mundi').

653 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 23 ('ieiunis qui ferre cibum, sitientibus haustum').

657 For the cadence *regna polorum*, cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iii. 31, *CdV* 755, 2160, as well as below, i. 1004.

668 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1776 ('ignibus opposuit sanctam cum corpore tumbam').

669 For the phrase *noctibus atque diebus*, see above, note to Praef. 44.

insistens precibus simul et ieiunia ducens.
Tertia nox aderat mediis excursa tenebris.
Fessa nimis uigilum custodia cuncta recessit
et sibi nocturnam mox adtraxere quietem.
Sanctus adest iterum pater et mitissimus aegro,
hoc uultu similique habitu quo splenduit olim
de caelo ueniens se dum monstraret eidem.
Cui monitis dat uerba sacris, ac mandat ut inde
ocius expellat mulierem uisibus aegram
quae propter tumulum recubans ibi dormiit eius,
sperans optatum diuino munere lumen
sumere caelestis pia per suffragia uatis.
Qui cernens alium prope se dormire uolentem
conuocat, hancque iubet de claustro ducere eodem,
hancque sinat migrare domum, sibi postque quiescat.
Hic citus assurgens iussis parebat amici.
Expellebat anum, rediit nec postea ad aegrum,
ante sed obdormit uenerandi limina templi.
Mox et ab humanis sic languidus ille relictus
excubiis, supera meruit pietate iuuari.
Nam uersus contra sublimia culmina turris
climatis occidui, uisum sustollit in altum,
conspexitque uirum super ipsa cacumina stantem,
undique splendentem praeclari solis ut orbem,
ex auro funem manibus tenuitque retortum
per quem perspicuam subtilique arte plicatam
demisit tunicam. Quae mox ut tangere terram
uisa fuit, per se graditur (mirabile uisu!)
tamque diu pergit donec peruenit ad almum
tugurium sancti. Veniens quo protinus intrat
sarcofagum sancti, uidet hanc nec postea quisquam.
Quin etiam staurus prope stans ibi saxea tota
contremuit quasi prona solo procumbere uellet.
Quam super adstiterat uisu miranda columpna
quae rutilans altum conscenderat ignea caelum.
Talia conspiciens miracula territus aeger
obstupuit nimium subitoque sopore grauatur.
Qui mox ut tenuem carpebat pectore somnum,
contremuit totum crepitante fragore sepulchrum—
in quo pontificis sanctissima gleba quieuit—
concutiturque locus tanta uertigine totus
ceu fieret terrae uentorum turbine motus.
Tum quoque per uisum quidam perrexit ad egrum,

urgent in prayer and fasting at the same time [670]. The third night was at hand and had passed through the midnight darkness. The attentiveness of those keeping the vigil with him waned, exhausted, and they soon gave themselves over to nocturnal rest. The holy, most gentle father appeared again to the sick man with the very same mien and attire in which he was previously resplendent, when he came from heaven and revealed himself to this same man. He gives to the man some words of holy admonition, and asks that he quickly remove from there an ailing blind woman who lay sleeping by his tomb, hoping to obtain her longed-for sight [680] by divine gift through the holy prayers of the heavenly saint. The sick man, spotting one of his friends who wished to sleep near him, calls him over and asks him to take the blind woman outside the churchyard, and to allow her to go home, and thereafter to take his rest. The man rose quickly and obeyed the commands of his friend. He sent out the old woman and did not subsequently return to the sick man, but slept before the entrance of the venerable church. And the sick man, abandoned thus by human guardians, soon merited to be aided by heavenly mercy. For, turned towards the lofty summit of the tower [690] in the western part of the churchyard, he lifted his gaze and saw a man standing on the very top, shining all over like the orb of the glorious sun; and he held in his hands a rope plaited from gold, by means of which he lowered his bright tunic woven with subtle skill. As soon as it was seen to touch the ground, it advanced of its own accord (a wonder to see!) and so continued until at length it reached the holy sarcophagus of the saint. Arriving there it immediately entered the tomb of the saint, and no-one saw it afterwards [700]. Moreover, the stone cross standing nearby trembled all over as if it would fall forward flat on the ground. Above it stood a column wondrous to see which, fire-bright, ascended to high heaven. The sick man, as he observed these miracles, was terrified and greatly astounded, and was overcome with sudden sleep. As soon as he snatched some light sleep, the entire tomb—in which the most holy earthly remains of the bishop rested—shook with a thunderous noise, and the whole place was shaken with such a tremor [710] as if there were an earthquake accompanied by a hurricane. Then, too, in his vision, someone came up to the sick

670 Cf. above, i. 649 ('insistens precibus').

671 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 258 ('tertia **lux aderat**'); cf. also below, i. 892, ii. 375 ('tertia lux aderat').

672 Cf. below, ii. 538, 548 ('uigilum **custodia**').

680 See above, note to i. 328.

701–2 The (stone) cross of the sick man's vision trembles as if it wished to bend down and touch the earth, while above it a column of light ascends to the heavens: metaphors which also occur strikingly in the Old English poem *Dream of the Rood*, lines 4–7, 59–60.

706 Cf. above, i. 351 ('obstupuit nimium').

707 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 56 ('**placidum carpebat** pectore somnum').

709 For the unusual expression *sanctissima gleba* (used again at ii. 817) to describe St Swithun's relics, cf. also the discussion of Goscelin's use of this expression, below, p. 619.

eius et extendens latus et crus debile traxit,
omniaque in proprios reuocauerat organa neruos.
Sic uir et extimplo, uenit qui languidus illo,
fit sanus; miroque modo caligam pedis eius
caelitus abstractam quam postea querere multi
temptabant, quisquam reperire nequiuerat usquam.
Quod fuit idcirco gestum, plebs sciret ut omnis
indubitanter et ut longe lateque pateret,
quod meritis sancti Suuithuni presulis idem
languidus a Domino fuerat curatus, et omnis
terra et lingua Deo iubilando rependeret ymnum.
Qui idcirco sanatus erat, quia corde fideli
in prece permansit nec mens incredula quoquam
flectere quiuit eum. Qui, si discederet inde
a tumulo sancti nec pernoctaret ibidem,
non caperet forsan reduci uirtute salutem.
Sed quia permansit fixus sinceriter in spe,
mente quod optauit fidei per munera sumpsit.
In quo sermonem compleri constat herilem
Christicolam plebem coram qui fatur ad omnem:
'In finem quicumque bonum permanserit usque,
incunctanter erit saluus sine fine per euum.'
Nam tria hoc aegro miracula cernimus acta:
Eumenidum speciem, pia dogmata patris et ipsam
de qua nunc resonat pauperrima carta medelam.
Corpore percutitur, capiat quo mente uigorem,
castigat quoniam natum quem diligit omne,
corrigit ac Dominus recipit quem culmine caeli.
Ore pio sancti, petat ut fomenta, monetur,
quatinus infirmum se per peccata fatendo
corporis admittat gaudens animeque salutem.
Humani generis quoniam saluator et auctor
non de morte hominum letatur iniqua gerentum,
soeua nefandorum sed uult contagia morum
conuerti in melius, strictum ne exerceat actus
iudicium quo damna malis aeterna parantur.
Qui uitiis purgare animam si curat, ut ille est
corpore sanatus, sine fine merebitur heres
caelestis patriae felicia regna tenere.
Ergo uir, ut priscam se sensit habere salutem,
conuocat extimplo socium; sic fatus ad illum:
'Tempus adest remeare domum, quia celitus adsum
per famulum hunc Christi morbo curatus ab omni

man and, pulling on one side, tugged his enfeebled leg, and so restored all his limbs to their proper musculature. Thus in a moment the man who had come there as an invalid is made sound; and in an astonishing way the shoe of his foot was pulled off by heavenly agency; many subsequently tried to look for it, but no-one could find it anywhere. This was done for this reason: that all the people should know without doubt and that it should be published far and wide [720], that this sick man was cured by the Lord through the merits of the holy bishop Swithun and that all the earth and every tongue should joyously repay a hymn of praise to God. The man was cured for this reason: that, with faithful heart he remained in prayer, nor was disbelief able to turn him aside in any way. This man, if he had departed from the tomb of the saint and not kept vigil there, would probably not have received his health with the return of strength. But because he remained there sincerely firm in hope, he obtained his heart's desire through the gift of faith [730]. It is evident that in him was fulfilled the word of the Lord which speaks directly to the entire Christian people: 'Whosoever endures unto the end, he shall be saved at once forever without end.' For we may distinguish three miracles performed in this sick man: the appearance of the Eumenides, the holy instruction of the father [i.e. St Swithun], and the very cure concerning which this miserable page now resounds. He is struck down in body so that he might acquire strength of mind, for 'the Lord chastises every son whom He loves, and corrects him whom He receives at the height of heaven' [740]. He is admonished from the holy mouth of the saint to seek a cure so that, by confessing his infirmity in sin, he might joyously receive health of body and soul. For the Saviour and creator of humankind does not rejoice at the death of evil-doers, but desires that the foul contagion of their wicked ways be changed for the better, so that He need not exercise that severe judgement whereby eternal punishments are prepared for the wicked. If anyone takes care so to purge his soul of sin, just as that man was made whole in body, he will deserve to inherit [750] and keep without end the happy kingdom of the heavenly fatherland. Accordingly, when that man realized that he had regained his former health, he immediately summoned his friend and addressed him thus: 'It is time to return home; for here I stand divinely cured of all sickness through this servant of Christ, namely the

753 *over* hoc *R has* s. in

714 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 256 ('et reuocata suis adtemperat organa neruis'); cf. also below, i. 1439.

720 Cf. below, i. 1114, 1540 ('longe lateque'), and *HexLexikon* iii. 220.

733–4 Matt. 10: 22 ('qui autem perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit').

740 See above, note to Praef. 140.

744–8 Cf. Ezech. 18: 32 ('quia nolo mortem morientis, dicit Dominus Deus; reuertimini, et uiuite').

746 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 20 ('saeua nefandorum renouant contagia rerum').

scilicet egregium Suuiðhunum, corpore in isto
qui sancto pausat tumulo. Sum stare nec ausus
amplius hic, quia me nimius stupor undique uallat,
huncque locum sanctum cognosco per omnia dignum
esse Deo per signa facit quae maxima in illo.'
Qui rogat: 'Estne uelut narras mihi, frater?' Et ille,
fronte crucem pingendo sacram, respondit amico:
'Nonne uides signare meam me nunc cruce frontem
qui paulo ante manum nec ad os conuertere quibam?'
Corde sub ambiguo respondit amicus et infit:
'Quod facis intueor; uerum si sistere rectum
te ualeas plantis, titubo.' Qui dixit ad illum:
'Non modo stare queo, firmum sed et addere plantis
incessum, medicante Deo.' Surrexit ab aruo
sospes, abitque domum tota uirtute supernum
magnificans Dominum, qui sanum fecerat illum.
Mane iterum ueniens agapem dispersit egenis,
fratribus et narrat sunt qualiter omnia gesta.
Fit res nota citim, fama uolitante per urbem;
clocca facit notum pulsata Britannica signum,
laeta cohors fratrum Domino persoluit et ymnum.

Nomen abhinc sancti meritumque patescit ubique,
coepit et a multis magis ac magis undique quaeri.
Nam postquam sanatus erat paraliticus iste,
octo uiri pluresque suam petiere salutem
ad tumulum sancti in spatio ter quinque dierum
ante- foret -quam de tumulo translatus, ibique
in tantum deinceps coeperunt crescere signa,
noctibus ut plures illo sua lumina ferrent,
excubias inibi ducentes corde fideli.
Sicque diu quae sub modio latitando lucerna
delituit, candelabri posita arce refulsit,
luminis aeterni cunctis fomenta ministrans.

iv. QVOMODO SVGGERENTE BEATAE MEMORIAE DOMNO AÐELWOLDO EPISCOPO ET IMPERANTE GLORIOSO REGE EADGARO SANCTAE AC VENERABILES ANTISTITIS SWIÐHVNI RELIQVIAE SVBLATE SVNT DE MONVMENTO ET IN ECCLESIA BEATORVM APOSTOLORVM PETRI ET PAVLI DECENTISSIME RECONDITE IDIBVS IVLII ANNO DOMINICE INCARNATIONIS .DCCCCLXXI. INDICTIONE .XIIII.

Interea felix animarum pastor et altor,
sedis apostolicae culmen sortitus Aðeluuold
lumen apostolicae quia sparsit ubique lucernae,
talibus in signis secum miratur, et imo

excellent Swithun who rests in body in this holy tomb. I have not dared to remain longer here, for extreme astonishment presses me on all sides, and I know that this place is holy and in all respects worthy of God, through the great miracles which he performs in it' [760]. The other asks: 'Is it indeed as you tell me, brother?' And he replied to his friend, making the sign of the Holy Cross on his forehead: 'Do you not now see me sign my forehead with the Cross, who a short time before could not put my hand up to my face?' His friend replied in some doubt and said: 'I observe what you are doing; but I am in suspense as to whether you can stand erect on your feet.' He said to him: 'Not only am I able to stand, but in addition I can, by God's cure, impart a steady gait to my feet.' He got up from the ground safe and sound and went home, glorifying with all his strength [770] the Lord on high Who had made him whole. He returned again in the morning, distributed alms to the poor, and told the monks how everything had taken place. The affair became well known quickly, as the report flew quickly through the town; the ringing of the 'British' bell made the miracle known, and the happy assembly of monks sang a hymn of thanksgiving to the Lord.

Thereafter the name and merits of the saint became known everywhere, and he began more and more to be sought out by many people from all over. For after this paralytic had been cured, eight men and more sought their health [780] at the tomb of the saint in the space of a fortnight before he was translated from the tomb, and miracles began henceforth to increase there to such an extent that at night time more and more people brought their candles and kept vigil there faithfully. And thus the lamp which for so long lay hidden away under a bushel shone forth when placed on top of the candelabrum, administering the cure of eternal light to all peoples.

iv. HOW AT THE INSTIGATION OF LORD BISHOP ÆTHELWOLD, OF BLESSED MEMORY, AND AT THE COMMAND OF GLORIOUS KING EDGAR, THE HOLY AND VENERABLE RELICS OF BISHOP SWITHUN WERE TAKEN UP FROM THE TOMB AND MOST HONOURABLY LAID IN THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL ON THE IDES OF JULY, IN THE YEAR OF THE LORD'S INCARNATION 971, IN THE FOURTEENTH INDICTION.

[not in Lantfred]

All the while the blessed shepherd and nurturer of souls, Æthelwold [790], who had obtained the dignity of this apostolic see because he scattered everywhere the light of the apostolic lamp, marvels to himself in the midst of these miracles, and glorifies the Lord from the

769 Cf. above, i. 376 ('surrexit ab aruo').

770 Cf. below, note to i. 1232. For the first half of the line, cf. below, i. 1492, ii. 705 ('sospes abitque domum').

772 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 580 ('spargentes agapem, pascentes rebus egentem').

774 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ix. 473–4 ('interea pauidam uolitans pennata per urbem / nuntia Fama ruit'); cf. also below, i. 1064 ('fama uolitante per urbem').

775 The observation that the bell was a 'British' bell (*clocca ... Britannica*) is not found in Lantfred, and its meaning is unclear: does the adjective *Britannica* imply that it was of 'British', that is, Welsh, construction? Does it refer to an inscription which could be read on the bell itself (on inscriptions on bells dating from the Anglo-Saxon period, see WS vii/1. 122–4)?

779 Cf. below, ii. 1053 ('postquam sanatus erat').

781 Cf. below, i. 898, 926 ('ad tumulum sancti').

785–6 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 545 ('et candelabri positas uelut arce lucernas'). The image of hiding light under a bushel is from Matt. 5: 15.

789–896 These lines have no correlate in Lantfred, but are of exceptional interest in that they provide an eye-witness account of the translation of a saint's relics; see above, pp. 16–18.

790 Cf. below, i. 1514 ('sedis apostolicae').

pectore glorificat Dominum qui talia prestat
tempore episcopium quo rexerat ipse, piasque
exorat Domini lacrimis ac fletibus aures,
quo pietate sua quae sunt magnalia coepta
usque ad perfectum dignetur ducere finem,
taleque consilium miserens inmitteret illi
quale sibi placeat plebi quod prosit et omni.
Haec secum uoluens memorat quod prouida cunctis
terra matre satis clamat Sapientia dicens:
'Omnia fac cum consilio sapientis amici
et te post factum non penitet, optime fili.'
Talia tractanti Deus inspirauit eidem
sancto pontifici solium regale citatim
uisere, et insigni noua pandere gaudia regi
et cordis secreta sui patefacere coram
perficere optatum posset quo firmius actum,
clarius ut liqueat translatio presulis almi
et populo Anglorum pateat sollempnius omni,
quae fieret patrata Dei moderamine summi
et simul imperii celebrata fauore caduci.
Deque Deo certus populo uallatus opimo,
it citus ad regem solito sibi more benignum—
splendidus imperio qui nomine fulserat Eadgar
et felix plures iam tunc regnauerat annos;
inclitus Anglorum gentes et rexerat omnes
barbaricasque sibi Christo donante subegit,
strauerat ac pedibus solo terrore subactas;
corde uigil, uirtute potens, moderamine pollens,
et totum regnum tranquilla pace gubernans
tempore felici quo talia signa patebant,
quando suum Dominus sanctum patefecerat orbi.
Quem mox ut petiit uerbis narrabat apertis
temporibus quae signa suis sint celitus acta,
quodque nouum lumen sit de celestibus ortum
Anglorum populis sibi Christo auctore subactis
per sanctum Domini famulum. Quod ut audiit ille,
sicut erat totus summa pietate repletus,
gaudia permiscet lacrimis, 'sit gloria', dicens,
'altithrono iugiter, nostro qui tempore sanctum
mirificare suum clemens dignatur et ipsum
per manifesta suae pandit miracula plebi;
cui maneat iugiter uirtus et honor sine fine.
Ergo celer remea, Christi munimine fretus

bottom of his heart because He was granting such wonders at the time when he ruled the bishopric, and he beseeches with tears and weeping the Lord's audience so that He might deign to bring to a perfect end the wonders which He had begun by His kindness, and that in His mercy he would send him such a plan as would be pleasing to Himself and of benefit to all the people. While pondering these things he recalls what prudent Wisdom [800] cries out loudly to all those born from mother earth, saying: 'Do all things with the advice of a wise friend, and you will not regret your action afterwards, best of sons.' God inspired this same holy bishop as he pondered such things to go quickly to see the royal throne and to report the joyous news to the excellent king [i.e. Edgar] and to reveal the secrets of his heart in his royal presence, so that he might be able to accomplish more resolutely his desired action and so that the translation of the beloved bishop might be more openly celebrated and declared in more solemn fashion to all the English people [810], in order that it be accomplished through the governance of Almighty God and at the same time be celebrated with the favour of earthly rule. Confident in God and escorted by an excellent retinue, he goes quickly to the king who was customarily well-disposed towards him—King Edgar by name, who gleamed in the splendour of his dominion and who had ruled prosperously then for a number of years; he had ruled with renown over all the English peoples and by the gift of Christ had subjugated to himself the barbarian peoples, and had prostrated them before his feet, subdued by fear alone; he was vigilant in heart, mighty in virtue, strong in governance [820], and was ruling the entire kingdom in peaceful tranquillity at that happy time when the miracles were revealed, when the Lord revealed His saint to the world. As soon as he reached the king he recounted clearly the miracles performed in his times through divine agency, and that a new light had risen from heaven upon the English people, the king's subjects, by the authority of Christ, through the holy servant of the Lord. When he heard this, filled as he was with the greatest holiness, he mingled joy with tears, saying [830], 'Glory always to the high-throned God Who deigns in His clemency at our time to glorify His saint, and declares him to His people through manifest miracles; let virtue and honour abide continuously with Him without end. Therefore, return quickly, relying on Christ's protection as well as our

808 optatum] *corr. ex* optatam *B*

801 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 497 ('de his etiam sapiens loquitur sapientia dicens').

802–3 Ecclus. 32: 24 ('fili, sine consilio nil facias, et post factum non poenitebis').

818–19 King Edgar's subjugation of barbarian peoples is a favourite topos in the writings of monastic reformers; see *ASC* s.aa. 959 DEF, 975 DE (trans. Whitelock, pp. 75, 77), and the remarks of Ælfric in his 'Life of St Swithun', c. 28 (below, p. 606, with n. 67), who reports that on one occasion eight kings did obeisance to Edgar, a detail which is picked up by JW ii. 422 (s.a. 973). For the phrase *Christo donante* in these metrical feet, see below, note to i. 1216.

821 Cf. above, i. 605 ('tranquilla pace').

825 For the phrase *caelitus acta*, see above, note to Ep. gen. 15.

830 Cf. below, i. 1057 ('laeta pias fundit lacrimas, "sit gloria", dicens').

832 Cf. above, Ep. gen. 19, and below, i. 1036, 1078 ('mirificare suum').

834 See above, note to i. 121.

835 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 236 ('auxilio Christi tamen et munimine freti').

et nostro simul imperio, tantumque patronum
caelitus ostensum sacro transferre sepulchro,
ut cupis, accelera, digne huncque locare studeto
intus in ecclesia quae te pastore coruscat.
Nos etenim uita comite hunc curabimus almum
pontificem digno uenerari munere non post
multos hos menses, Iesu ut clementia nostri
dignetur per eum misereri semper in euum.'
Talia precellens ubi rex edicta peregit
imperiosa pii cordis prolata latebris,
presul ouans Domino grates persoluit, et inde
(nec mora) diuertit callem remeandoque Wentam
peruenit. Tum forte dies illuxerat alma
'Dominicam' uocitare solent quam quique fideles.
Signa uocant plebem sacra ad sollempnia missae;
certatim properant spatiosaque moenia complent
ecclesiae sanctae. Domini uenerandus Aðeluuold
processit solito missam celebrare sacerdos,
qua mediante suo populum sermone salubri
instruit, exercet, renouat, meliorat, adornat,
oreque mellifluo delapso et caelitus imbre
arida corda rigat, uirtutum et germina plantat,
inspirante Deo, dat et incrementa salutis.
Et dictis iam finis erat, geminisque ministris
aetatem propter nimiam hinc inde leuatus
surgit et adstantem populum generaliter omnem
conuocat. Alloquitur sistens et uoce paterna,
'nostis', ait, 'cuncti, Dominus quae tempore nostro
signa facit sancti meritis qui rexerat olim
presul episcopium, pollens uirtutibus, istud
quod (licet indigni) regimus moderante superno
iudice, qui gratis cui uult sua munera prestat.
Nunc rogo sincera rogo uos et mente benigna
quo triduana Deo ieiunia ducere sponte
nobiscum curetis, eum placemus et omnes
atque exoremus uoto communiter uno,
nos ut peccato soluat miseratus ab omni
et sibi complacitis uirtutum floribus ornet,
nosque ita permundet, digni mereamur ut istum
pontificem sanctum cum laude leuare sepulchro,
hunc et in ecclesiam transferre celebriter istam,
huius et insignis rutilet presentia coram,
caelitus et plebi beneficia conferat omni.'

authority, and hasten to translate this great, divinely-revealed patron saint from his holy tomb as you desire, and take care worthily to place him inside the church which shines bright under your pastoral care. And indeed we, as long as we live, shall take care [840] to venerate this holy bishop with a worthy gift after not many months, so that the clemency of Jesus may deign through him to have mercy on us forever.' When the eminent king finished his royal commands, brought forth from the depths of his devout heart, the joyous bishop gave thanks to the Lord and straightway redirected his path and returned to Winchester. As it happened the beloved day had dawned which all the faithful customarily call 'the Lord's' [i.e. Sunday, 9 July 971]. The bells summon the people to the holy solemnities of the mass [850]; they rush eagerly and fill the spacious building of the holy church. The venerable priest of the Lord, Æthelwold, came forth as usual to celebrate mass, in the course of which he instructed, aroused, renewed, improved and adorned the people with his healthful discourse, and with his honeyed words he watered parched hearts with rain fallen from heaven and planted the seedlings of the virtues and by God's inspiration gave them increase of salvation. The end of his remarks was then at hand; he rose, supported by two attendants on each side because of his great age [860], and calls together all the people standing there. As he stands he addresses them in a fatherly tone: 'You all know', he said, 'the miracles which the Lord is accomplishing in our time through the merits of the saint who once, a bishop mighty in virtues, ruled this see which I (though unworthy) now rule under the sway of the heavenly Judge, Who freely bestows His gifts on whom He pleases. I now ask you with sincerity and good will that of your own accord you take care to observe with us a three-day fast for God, and let us all propitiate Him [870] and together beg Him with one prayer, that in His mercy He may free us from all sin and adorn us with the flowers of the virtues so pleasing to Him, and thus thoroughly cleanse us that we may be found deserving to raise up this holy bishop from his tomb with praise and to translate him with ceremony into this church, that his glorious presence may shine before us and confer favours from heaven on all the people.' The

838 Cf. above, i. 427 ('dies illuxerat').

841 The *dignum munus* with which Edgar will honour St Swithun is the precious reliquary described below, ii. 4–15.

851 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ix. 39 ('condunt se Teucri portas, et moenia complent').

852–8 The implication of these lines seems to be that, during mass, Æthelwold preached to the laity (*populum*) and instructed them: are we to understand that he preached to them in the vernacular? If so, at what point of the mass did the preaching take place? It has been suggested plausibly that, from the Carolingian period onwards, a vernacular sermon of catechetical nature, known as the Prone, could be added to the mass after the Gospel, and that is perhaps what is in question here: see M. McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 37–9; on the Prone itself, see H. Leclercq, 'Prône', *DACL* xiv/2 (1948), 1898–1902, and U. Berlière, 'Le Prône dans la liturgie', *RB* vii (1890), 97–104, 145–51, 241–6. The notion of Æthelwold delivering vernacular homilies *ad populum* is a fascinating one, in view of the huge corpus of anonymous vernacular homilies which have come down to us (see D. G. Scragg, 'The corpus of vernacular homilies and prose saints' lives before Ælfric', *ASE* viii (1979), 223–77). It must be said, however, that the characteristic 'Winchester school' vocabulary, of which Æthelwold was the progenitor, is rarely to be found in the corpus of anonymous homilies, as has been shown comprehensively by W. Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch* (Munich, 1987).

855 For the use of this rhetorical device, called *articulus*, see above, comm. to Ep. gen. 12.

856–7 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 519–20 ('spiritus igne sacri qui corda fidelia mundant, / imbribus atque rigant celestibus . . .'), 544 ('. . . germine plantis').

858 Cf. below, ii. 133 ('inspirante Deo').

859 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 223 ('et iam finis erat'), and below, i. 980 ('et psalmis iam finis erat'). The observation that Æthelwold had to be supported by two attendants is an interesting comment on the state of his health in 971. On Æthelwold's recurrent illness, and especially his swollen legs (phlebitis?), see Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 30 (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 46).

868 For the cadence *mente benigna*, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2868, and *HexLexikon* iii. 331–2.

Prebuit assensum populus concorditer omnis;
proclamant se uelle sequi precepta magistri,
illius et monitis animo parere libenti.
Sic alacer missae presul mysteria complet.
Iamque dies alterque dies processit, et ecce
quarta uenit quae prima fuit ieiunia plebi
qua fuerant indicta piae. Tum suscipit illa
suppliciter Domino uota et libamina fundens,
et fratrum numerosa cohors hec inchoat omnis,
carmina persoluens psalmorum nocte dieque.
Nos quoque nos pueri qua tempestate pusilli
duximus ut reliqui pariter ieiunia laeti
cantantes Domino psalmorum dulciter ymnos.
Tertia lux aderat; rapidis discursibus oras
sol rotat occiduas. Ieiunia soluimus omnes
de Domini pietate hilares, sanctique Suuithuni
optantes toto sollempnia corde uenire
et noua temporibus magnalia cernere nostris.

v. DE CAECA MVLIERE.

Venerat interea quaedam muliercula caeca
ad tumulum sancti, lacrimis pulsatque Tonantem
et precibus sanctum rogitat constanter ut illi
impetret a Domino caelestis munera lucis.
Exaudiuit eam mitissimus, atque petenti
reddidit optatum pulso glaucomate uisum.
Fit notum populo, signis resonantibus una.
Concurrunt alacres; properant hinc inde, ruuntque
presulis ad tumulum; Domini magnalia cernunt.
Presul adest Domini magnus gaudetque piasque
impendit lacrimas. Tolli iubet inde sacellum
quod tumulo sancto quondam posuere fideles
(qui fama narrante uirum nouere beatum).
Iussa citi complent, illincque tulere sacellum
et circa tumulum celeres tentoria tendunt
ne populus supra nimium ruat undique sanctum,
peruia sed paucis pateat clausura ministris
expectetque foras uallante crepidine uulgus.
Vespera iam sonuit, laus uespertina resultat.
Qua prece completa fratrum processio prima,
lumine, ture, sacro textu, cruce predita Christi,
incipit egregium iubilo laudare Suuithunum,
cum pastore pio pergens ad busta uerenda.

entire populace agreed with unanimity; they declared that they wished to follow the precepts of their teacher [880] and to obey his admonitions with willing assent. And then the eager bishop completed the mysteries of the mass. And now one day [Monday] and another [Tuesday] passed, and lo and behold the fourth day of the week [Wednesday] came which was to be the first on which the fast was decreed for the devout populace. Then they took up the fast, pouring forth prayers and offerings to the Lord in supplication, and all the numerous assembly of monks began the fast and rendered the chanting of the psalms by night and day. I too, as a young oblate at that time, kept the fast along with the rest [890], chanting psalms sweetly to the Lord. The third day was at hand [Friday 14 July]; with swift course the sun swung round to the western regions. We all then broke our fast, rejoicing in the Lord and longing with all our hearts for the coming of the sollemnities of St Swithun, and to see these great events in our own time.

v. CONCERNING THE BLIND WOMAN.

[not in Lantfred]

Meanwhile a certain blind woman had come to the tomb of the saint. With tears she entreats the Almighty Lord, and with her prayers she petitions the saint that he obtain for her from the Lord the gift of heavenly light [900]. The kindly saint heard her and bestowed on the suppliant her longed-for vision upon the expulsion of her blindness. This became known to the people as all the bells rang together. They assemble happily; they hasten from here and there, and rush to the tomb of the bishop and behold the mighty works of the Lord. The Lord's great bishop [i.e. Æthelwold] is present; he rejoices and sheds holy tears. He gives orders for the shrine to be lifted, which the faithful (who knew by report that the man was holy) had formerly placed on the holy tomb. Men hasten to obey his commands, and they remove the shrine from there [910], and quickly set up tents around the tomb so that the people would not rush from everywhere upon the very holy saint, but so that the enclosure should be accessible to a few attendants and the people should wait outside with their pressing din. At that point the bell for Vespers rang, and the praise of Vespers resounded. Upon the completion of this Office the first procession of monks, equipped with candles, incense, the Holy Scriptures and the Cross of Christ, began in chant to praise the excellent Swithun; together with their devoted pastor [i.e. Æthelwold] they proceeded to the venerable tomb.

880 Cf. above, Praef. 101 ('precepta magistri').

883 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 356 ('iamque dies alterque dies processit, et aurae'); cf. also above, Ep. spec. 101 ('sicque dies alterque dies processit in hymnis').

889 This is one of the few autobiographical observations which Wulfstan makes anywhere in his writings; it enables us to form some notion of the chronology of his career (see above, p. 337).

891 Cf. below, ii. 243 ('cantantes Domino').

892–3 Two lines confected from phrases in Caelius Sedulius: *CP* iii. 258 ('tertia lux aderat'), 252 ('rapidis discursibus ignem'), 254 ('occiduas dimissus in oras'). The phrase *tertia lux* at the beginning of a hexameter is also Vergilian (*Aen.* iii. 117). Cf. also above, i. 671, and below, ii. 375.

897 Cf. below, i. 1047 ('adtulit interea proprium muliercula natum').

898 Cf. above, i. 781, and below, i. 926 ('ad tumulum sancti').

900 For the cadence *munera lucis*, cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 55.

903 Cf. below, i. 1064, ii. 128 ('fit notum').

905 Cf. below, ii. 235 ('presulis ad tumulum'), and also below, i. 1066 ('magnalia cernunt'), 1112 ('magnalia cernant').

914 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 524 ('stansque suis foribus uallante crepidine carcer').

917 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 8 ('cruce territa Christi').

Laudibus et precibus summisso corde peractis,
rursus in antiquam cum laude reuertitur aulam.
Sol ruit oceano, radians apparuit Vrsa
noctis et astriferas adtraxerat Hesperus umbras.
Lumina quique parant; tumbam testudine uallant;
undique precipites ueloci tramite tendunt
ad tumulum sancti. Sparsim micuere coruscae
lampades; adueniunt plures pluresque fideles
uisere thesaurum per tempora longa secretum
sed—miserante Deo—uentura luce patendum.
Peruigiles noctem ducunt generaliter illam,
instantes precibus deuoto pectore fusis.
Interea fratres, solito pulsante metallo,
euigilant in honore uiri celebrantque beati
cantica psalmorum nocturnae laudis et ymnos,
laetitiae et iubilum matuta laude canendum.
Iamque dies aderat quem Iulius Idibus ornat.
Nec mora Aðeluuoldus presul Dominique sacerdos,
omnibus expletis solito normaliter usu,
cursibus atque suis speciali more peractis,
uestibus induitur sacris; Ælfstanus et abbas
induitur pariter; demumque ex ordine cuncti
sacra sacerdotes sumunt uelamina, necne
Æðelgarus adest grege se comitante nouello.
Procedunt ambae niueo candore cohortes,
lumina gestantes ac tura Sabea cremantes;
sanctum euangelium sequitur quoque cum cruce Christi.
Incipit antistes tremulo modulamine cantans:
'Iustum deduxit Dominus per recta uiarum
ostenditque illi regnum sublime Tonantis
et donauit ei sanctorum dogma peritum,
inque labore illum fecit clementer honestum,
illius et nitido compleuit in aethre labores.'
Hoc iubilum cuncti modulata uoce resultant.
Conueniunt ubi sanctus erat uir demate pausans;
accedunt propius timidi, populoque remoto
intrarunt pauci tentoria quis sacer ille
septus erat tumulus supero medicamine plenus.
Interea cunctis psallentibus ordine psalmos,
primus adest terrae fossor uenerandus Aðeluuold;

929 miserante] *corr. ex* mirante *B* 935 *over* matuta *RB have* .i. matutina

920 Cf. above, i. 138 ('summisso corde'). 922 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 508 ('sol ruit interea'), and also below,

When they had completed their hymns of praise and prayers with humility [920], they again return with praise into the Old Minster. The sun fell into the Ocean, the radiant Bear appeared and Hesperus drew along the starry shades of night. Everyone prepares candles; they crowd in on the tomb in force; they rush headlong from every direction with swift course for the saint's tomb. Gleaming lamps twinkled here and there; more and more of the faithful come to see the treasure so long hidden, but to be revealed on the morrow through God's mercy. They keep vigil together through that night [930], intent upon the prayers which they pour from their devout hearts. All the while, at the sound of the usual bell, the monks keep vigil in honour of the holy man, and they perform the chants of the psalms and hymns of Nocturns, and the melody of joy to be sung at Lauds. And now the day was at hand which July adorns with its Ides [i.e. Saturday 15 July]. Once everything had been finished according to the rule of ordinary usage and the particular additional offices had been completed, Æthelwold, bishop and priest of the Lord, was vested without delay in holy vesture; and Abbot Ælfstan [940] too was vested likewise; and at length all the priests in order took up holy vestments; Æthelgar, too, was present accompanied by his community from the New Minster. Both communities advanced in snow-white brightness, bearing candles and burning Sabaean incense; the holy gospelbook followed along with the Cross of Christ. With resonant note the bishop intoned: 'The Lord conducted the just man along the way of righteousness and revealed to him the lofty kingdom of the Almighty, and bestowed on him the learned teaching of the saints [950], and mercifully made him righteous in his work and completed his labours in the bright heaven.' Everyone echoed this chant with melodic voice. They come to where the holy man rested in body; they draw nigh in fear; and, when the crowd had been removed, a few entered the tents by which that holy tomb, filled with celestial medication, was enclosed. While all present were chanting the psalms in order, the first to excavate the earth was the venerable Æthelwold; then

i. 1154, 1429, ii. 548 ('sol ruit **oceano**').

923 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 221 ('**noctis et astriferas** induceret Hesperus umbras').

925 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 763 ('dum **calles gemini dispari** tramite tendunt'); cf. also *Enigm.* lix. 7, *CdV* 1315.

926 Cf. above, i. 781, 898 ('ad tumulum sancti').

932 Cf. above, i. 104, and below, ii. 1411 ('pulsante **metallo**').

936 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 132 ('iamque dies infanda aderat').

938 Cf. above, Ep. spec. 103 ('omnibus expletis'), and below, i. 979.

940 Liturgical ceremonies for the deposition of relics in Anglo-Saxon pontificals of the tenth and eleventh centuries all derive (directly or indirectly) from a Roman service preserved in a pontifical *ordo* which originated in Rome in the mid-eighth century. The *ordo* in question, which has the rubric *In nomine Dei summi ordo quomodo in sancta romana ecclesia reliquiae conduntur*, is printed as *Ordo* XLII in the standard edition of such texts by M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931–61), iv. 395–402; for discussion of the origin and significance of this *ordo*, see ibid. pp. 353–94, and also M. Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Turnhout, 1979), pp. 46–9. The Anglo-Saxon pontificals preserving texts of this *ordo* are as follows: the 'Dunstan Pontifical' (Paris, BNF, lat. 943: ?Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x^2), fos. 27v–29r; the 'Egbert Pontifical' (Paris, BNF, lat. 10575: s. x^2), ed. H. M. J. Banting, *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, HBS civ (London, 1989), 49–52 (lacking the rubric); the 'Claudius Pontifical I' (London, BL, Cotton Claudius A. iii, fos. 31–86, 106–50: Worcester or York, s. xi^1), ed. D. H. Turner, *The Claudius Pontificals*, HBS xcvii (London, 1971), 51–3; the 'Lanalet Pontifical' (Rouen, BM, A. 27 (368): Crediton, s. xi^{in}), ed. G. H. Doble, *Pontificale Lanaletense*, HBS lxxiv (London, 1937), 22–4. There is an earlier treatment of the service which, although outdated in some respects, retains value: W. H. Frere, *Pontifical Services* I, Alcuin Club Collections, iii (London, 1901), 3–7, 34–9. On Abbot Ælfstan, see above, p. 284 with n. 158.

943 On Abbot Æthelgar, see above, p. 285; for the structure of the hexameter, cf. Ep. spec. 329 ('et subeas regnum grege te comitante supernum').

944 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2369 ('**flammeus aspectu, niueo** candore coruscus').

945 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 416–17 ('**centum Sabaeo / thure calent** arae').

948–52 The biblical passage underlying these lines is Wisd. 10: 10 ('haec profugum irae fratris iustum deduxit per uias rectas; et ostendit illi regnum Dei; et dedit illi scientiam sanctorum; honestauit illum in laboribus, et compleuit labores illius'). Surprisingly, however, this verse does not appear to be specified in any service for the translation of relics in the Anglo-Saxon pontificals cited above, note to i. 940.

953 Cf. below, i. 983 ('modulata uoce resultans').

959–79 Wulfstan's description of Æthelwold's discovery and translation of Swithun's remains contains many details not found in Lantfred, particularly the touching of the relics, washing

tum fodiunt alii (quos iusserat ille) ministri,
perueniuntque locum tumuli fodiendo sub imum;
stipitibusque tribus sublata mole copercli
fit statim clausura sacri patefacta sepulchri,
inueniuntque illum thesaurum protinus illic
quem fabro sanctus praedixerat inueniendum,
huius ut exigui pandunt exordia libri.
Cuius in aspectu argentum uilescit et aurum,
quicquid et in mundo gazarum cernitur isto,
scilicet egregii sanctissima membra Suuithuni
cuius in aduentu Raphahel, medicina Tonantis,
uenit ad Anglorum diuino munere gentem,
milia languentum priscae reparando saluti.
Protinus in lucem prolato corpore sacro
mirus odor redolens totam compleuerat urbem,
cinnamoma premens et balsama nectare uincens.
Adtingunt trepidi pretiosum corpus et illud
membratim lotum mundo uelamine uoluunt,
concluduntque nouo sanctissima membra locello;
omnibus expletis hec imponuntque feretro.
Et psalmis iam finis erat; tum presul Aðeluuold,
corpore translato quod portauere gemelli
abbates humeris, gaudentibus undique turmis,
incipit hunc ymnum, modulata uoce resultans:
'Te Deum laudamus, Dominum te corde fatemur;
te aeternum patrem tellus ueneratur et omnis.
Te chorus angelicus teque omnis in ethre potestas
uocibus ymnisonis atque incessantibus orant;
te cherubin laudant, seraphin tibi necne resultant
et tibi proclamant: "Sanctus, super omnia sanctus,
sanctus in excelsis, Sabaoth Dominusque Deusque;
maiestate tua caeli terraeque replentur."
Coetus apostolicus te glorificandus adorat;
te numerus uatum laudabilis ore canoro,
martyrum et insignis te exercitus undique laudat.
Aecclesiaeque fides totum diffusa per orbem
te solum Dominum, te corde fatetur et ore
patrem mirandae maiestatisque tremendae;
atque tuum natum simili in deitate colendum,
paraclitumque sacrum parili dicione uerendum.
Tu rex O regum regnas et gloria, Christe,
tu patris existens ante omnia saecula natus;
tu suscepturus hominum genus ad redimendum

other attendants (whom he had ordered) did the digging [960], and they reached the place by digging at the bottom of the tomb; and when the mass of the lid had been removed with three poles, the enclosure of the holy tomb was immediately laid open, and there they found at once that treasure whose discovery the saint had predicted to the smith, as the first chapter of this modest book declares. At the sight of this treasure silver and gold grow cheap, as does whatsoever treasure is seen in this world, for it is the most holy body of the excellent Swithun at whose advent Raphael, the medication of God [970], came by divine gift to the English nation, restoring thousands of the sick to their former health. As soon as the holy body was brought forth into the light, a wonderful odour, surpassing cinnamon and balsam in its sweetness, filled the entire town. With apprehension they touched the precious body, washed it limb by limb and wrapped it in a clean shroud, and enclosed the most holy limbs in a new shrine; and when this was finished they placed them on a feretory. The psalms were completed [980]; then, when the body—which the two abbots had borne on their shoulders as the crowds rejoiced—had been translated, Bishop Æthelwold began this hymn, chanting with harmonious voice: 'We praise You, O God; in our hearts we acknowledge that You are the Lord. All the earth venerates You as the eternal Father. The angelic chorus and every power in heaven pray to You with hymnodic and unceasing voices; the Cherubim praise You, the Seraphim too resound and cry out to You: "Holy, over all things Holy, Holy in the highest, Lord God of Sabaoth [990], Heaven and earth are filled with Your majesty." The apostolic throng, worthy of glory, adores You; the praiseworthy number of prophets with harmonious voice, the noble army of martyrs too praises You on every hand. And the Church's faith spread through the whole world, with heart and voice, acknowledges You alone as Lord, the Father of wondrous and fearsome majesty; Your Son too, to be adored in like deity, and the Holy Paraclete, to be revered in like authority. You, Christ, rule as King of kings and their glory [1000]; You are the Son of the Father before all ages; when You took upon yourself human kind for its redemption, You deigned

984 *over* te *RB have* uel nunc

them, wrapping them in a clean shroud, placing them in a temporary shrine which was in turn placed on a feretory. Cf. above, pp. 17–18, as well as discussion by Crook ('King Edgar's reliquary', p. 197), who suggests that a late twelfth-century wall painting in Winchester cathedral may in fact be intended to depict the act of translation as it is described here by Wulfstan.

963 Cf. above, i. 75 ('ut fuerit clausura mei patefacta sepulchri'), and below, i. 1332 ('sacri patefacta nec intrant').

970 Cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iii. 26 ('cuius in aduentu gaudet clementia Romae'), and below, ii. 90.

971 See above, note to i. 328.

975 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 698 ('. . . balsama nectare grata').

980 Cf. above, note to i. 859.

983 Cf. above, i. 953 ('modulata uoce resultant').

984–1021 Wulfstan's versified version of the *Te Deum* is also preserved as an independent poem in CUL, Gg. 5. 35 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi^{med}), fo. 432r: see A. G. Rigg and G. R. Wieland, 'A Canterbury classbook of the mid-eleventh century (the "Cambridge Songs" manuscript)', *ASE* iv (1975), 113–30, at p. 128; for the identification of the verses as an extract from Wulfstan's *Narratio*, see P. Dronke, M. Lapidge and P. Stotz, 'Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte der Cambridger Liederhandschrift (CUL Gg.5.35)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, xvii (1982), 54–95, at p. 55 (see also above, p. 365). On the use of the *Te Deum* in monastic observance, where it was sung at the end of Matins on Sundays and major feast days, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 83–4, with text and translation at pp. 270–1; on the origin of the prayer, see briefly *DACL* xv/2 (1953), 2028–48, and E. Kähler, *Studien zum Te Deum und zur Geschichte des 24. Psalms in der alten Kirche* (Göttingen, 1958).

984 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1543 ('qui Christum corde fatentur').

989–91 Another attempt by Wulfstan to render the *Sanctus* is found at *BreuiloquiumSS* 207–9:

> 'Sanctus, sanctus' ei proclamant 'sanctus' et illi
> 'O Deus, O sabaoth, dominans dominantibus O rex
> sunt pleni uirtute tua celique solumque.'

uirginis innuptae thalamum dignatus adisti.
Tu nece deuicta reserasti regna polorum.
Tu patris ad dextram resides in luce perhenni.
Tu iudex secli quoque crederis esse futurus.
Quesumus ergo, tuis famulis succurre misellis
sanguine quos proprio pretioso, Christe, beasti,
cumque tuis sanctis fac nos sine fine beari.
Saluum fac populumque tuum, Deus alme, redemptor,
et benedic illi, sit ut in caelestibus heres;
huncque regens extolle pius super ethra per euum.
Per singlos te, Christe, dies benedicimus omnes,
laudamus nomenque tuum per saecula saecli.
Ista nos dignare die sine labe tueri
et nostri miserere, Deus, miserescito nostri.
Sit tua, te petimus, clementia, Christe, super nos,
corde pio cuncti sicut sperauimus in te.
In te speramus: non confundamur in euum.
Gloria sit soli tibi semper in omnia saecla,
haec nobis hodie qui festa uidere dedisti.'
Talibus ymnisonis persultant uocibus omnes,
adstantes pariter iuuenesque senesque canentes.
Iamque omnis portis exercitus intrat apertis,
diues opum, diues pretii, caelestis et auri.
Hinc monachi, hinc populi in Domino laetantur in unum;
omnia signa sonant, feriunt atque ethera bombis;
signorum sonitus hominum et uox concrepat una.
Intrant ecclesiam sancto cum corpore laeti,
collocat ac digne praeclarus episcopus illud,
ornatum prebens, in gyro et pallia tendens.
Et caput ad sancti celebrat sollempnia missae,
exhortans omnem diuino dogmate plebem
ut timeat Dominum, trepidans ac diligat illum
qui tali dignatus erat lustramine sanctum
mirificare suum, caelo terraque coruscum,
et dare temporibus sollempnia tanta modernis.
Fit missae interea celebratio sancta peracta;
gaudentes cuncti proprias gradiuntur ad edes,
ac pro posse suo reficit seseque suamque
quisque cibo potuque domum. Languore coacti
infirmi ueniunt, lacrimis sanctumque requirunt.
Mitis adest: audit miseros, solamina prestat;
nec mora sanantur reducique salute fruuntur,
et quibus humanum miseris solamen abesse
contigit e caelis data sunt solacia cunctis.

to approach the womb of an unwed virgin. When You destroyed death You opened the kingdom of heaven. You sit at the right hand of the Father in everlasting light. You are also held to be the future Judge of the world. And so, we pray, come to the aid of Your miserable servants whom You, Christ, made blessed by Your own precious blood, and make them blessed with Your saints without end. Save Your people, dear God, Redeemer [1010], and bless it, that it be Your heir in heaven; and as You govern it, raise it up kindly above the heavens forever. We bless You, Christ, through every day and we praise Your name forever. Deign this day to keep us without sin and have mercy on us, O God, have mercy upon us, according as, with heart devout, we have all hoped in You. We place our hope in You: let us never be confounded. Glory be to You alone always, forever [1020], Who have given us today to behold this feast.' Everyone sang out with hymning voices in this manner, and those present, young and old alike, were singing. And then, when the doors had been opened, the entire host entered, rich in wealth, cost and heavenly gold. Here the monks, here the people rejoice together in the Lord; all the bells ring, and strike heaven with their sound; the noise of the bells and the voices of men resounds together. They enter the church in joy with the holy body, and the excellent bishop places it there worthily [1030], providing it with decoration and stretching shrouds all around it. And he celebrates mass at the saint's head, exhorting all the populace with divine instruction to fear the Lord and love Him with fear—He Who had deigned with such splendour to glorify His saint, brilliant in heaven and on earth, and to grant such sollemnities to modern times. Meanwhile the holy celebration of mass is completed; with joy everyone returns to their own homes, and each, according to his ability, refreshes himself and his household [1040] with food and drink. Impelled by their illness the sick come and seek out the saint with tears. That kindly saint is ever present: he hears the wretches, he offers consolation; without delay they are cured and enjoy restored health; and to all those wretches for whom, as it happened, human relief was lacking, solace was granted from heaven.

1013 **singlos**] *corr. ex* **singulos** *B*

1003 See above, note to Praef. 19; cf. also below, ii. 685 ('uirginis innuptae').

1004 See above, note to i. 657.

1006 See above, note to i. 178.

1009 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 60 ('mereamur ibi sine fine beari').

1025 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 14 ('Ostia, diues opum . . .'), ix. 26 ('diues equum, diues pictai uestis et auri').

1030 Cf. below, ii. 67 ('collocat et sanctum uenerandus episcopus arcam').

1033 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 731 ('condidit egregiam diuino dogmate legem'), and above, Praef. 115.

1036 Cf. above, Ep. gen. 19, i. 832, and below, i. 1078 ('mirificare suum').

1042 Cf. below, i. 1153 ('lacrimis sanctumque requirunt'), ii. 55 ('lacrimis sanctumque petiuit'), ii. 746 ('uotis sanctumque requirunt').

1045 Cf. below, ii. 360 ('humanum misero solamen abesse').

vi. DE MVLIERIS PAVPERCVLAE FILIO QVI AD SEPVLCHRVM BEATI PATRIS SWIÐHVNI IN IPSA DIE TRANSLATIONIS EIVS VNA CVM MVLTIS ALIIS INFIRMIS SANATVS EST.

Adtulit interea proprium muliercula natum,
singultu quatiente gemens pro pignore eodem.
Cuius erant digiti trans palmam forte retorti,
sic in utraque manu matris progressus ab aluo.
Proicit hunc tumulo sanctus fuit unde leuatus
ardescente fide. Casu manibusque tenebat
id genus uuarum 'cyresan' quod nuncupat Anglus.
Perstitit in precibus; subito (mirabile uisu!)
prosilit incolomis totus puer, abripit uuas
e manibus matris comedens. Quod uidit ut illa
laeta pias fundit lacrimas, 'sit gloria', dicens,
'O bone Christe, tibi, nullum qui deseris umquam
in te sperantem, miseris sed munera prestas
insperata pius. Tibi sit, Suuithuneque sancte,
gloria per Dominum, mihi qui miserendo misellae
caelitus hunc puerum tanta de clade leuasti
huncque mihi incolomem sola prece restituisti.'
Fit notum signum fama uolitante per urbem.
Rursum conueniunt qui illinc paulo ante recedunt;
innumeri circum populi magnalia cernunt.
Signa sonant solito, conlaudant omnia Christum,
Suuiðhunumque simul reboat laus sancta patronum
per quem tanta Deus tribuit magnalia saeclo.
Sicque die sancto finito in laudibus illo,
unusquisque suam gaudens remeauit ad edem.
Ex qua luce Deus presens hoc tempus adusque
non cessat prestare pius beneficia cunctis
languentum cuneis meritum per presulis almi.
Laus, honor et uirtus patri genitoque perhennis
spirituique sacro qui tempora nostra beare
est dignatus et in saecli iam margine sanctum
mirificare suum: cui gloria constet in euum.

vii. QVOD POST HVIVS SANCTI VIRI TRANSLATIONEM PER INTERVALLVM QVINQVE MENSIVM, RARA DIES FVERIT QVA AD EIVS TVMVLVM VARII NON SANARENTVR LANGVIDI.

Postquam relliquiae sancti cum laude patroni
translatae fuerant, sacro positaeque locello,
quattuor infirmi capiunt uel quinque medelam
illius ad tumulum, tres sol dum uertit ymeras.

1069 quem] quam *RB*

vi. CONCERNING THE POOR WOMAN'S SON WHO WAS CURED AT THE TOMB OF THE BLESSED FATHER SWITHUN ON THE VERY DAY OF HIS TRANSLATION ALONG WITH MANY OTHER INFIRM PEOPLE.

[not in Lantfred]

Meanwhile a woman brought her own son; she was moaning with spasmodic sobs because of this same child. It chanced that his fingers were twisted back across his palm; thus afflicted in each hand he had come forth from his mother's womb [1050]. With burning faith she cast him upon the tomb from which the saint had been translated. By chance she was holding in her hands that variety of fruit which an Englishman calls *cyresan* ('cherries'). She continued in prayer; suddenly (it was wonderful to see!) the boy jumped up wholly sound; he snatched the cherries away from the hands of his mother and ate them. When she saw this she joyously poured forth devout tears and said: 'Glory be to You, bountiful Christ, Who desert no-one who hopes in You, but in Your kindness bestow unexpected gifts on the wretched. Glory be to you through the Lord, St Swithun [1060], who, in your compassion for me, a poor woman, have from heaven relieved this boy from so great an illness, and have restored him to me sound by your prayer alone.' The miracle becomes known as its report flies through the town. Those who shortly before had withdrawn come together again; the countless people all around behold these mighty events. The bells sound as usual; all things praise Christ and at the same time the holy praise echoes their patron Swithun, through whom God granted such mighty miracles to the world. And so, as that holy day came to an end in praise [1070], everyone returned with joy to his own house. From that day on, and even up to this present time, God does not cease, in His kindness, to bestow His favours on all the throngs of the sick through the merits of the holy bishop. Everlasting praise, honour and virtue be to the Father, to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, Who has deigned to bless our era and, even now, at the turning point of this age, to glorify His saint: may His glory remain forever!

vii. THAT THROUGH A PERIOD OF FIVE MONTHS AFTER THE TRANSLATION OF THIS HOLY MAN, THERE WAS HARDLY A DAY ON WHICH VARIOUS OF THE SICK WERE NOT CURED AT HIS TOMB.

[= Lantfred, c. 4]

After the relics of the holy patron had been translated with praise and placed in a holy shrine [1080], four or five sick men received a cure at his tomb while the sun was turning three days.

1047 Cf. above, i. 897 ('uenerat interea quaedam muliercula caeca').

1048 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 108 ('singultu quatiente ualens').

1050 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 349 ('... mundo necdum progressus ab aluo').

1053 The OE word *cyrse* ('cherry'), pl. *cyr(e)san* is a loanword from Latin *cerasum*; cf. the 'Second Cleopatra Glossary', 'cerasius. cirisbeam' (WW 269. 18), and the *Monasterialia indicia*, ed. D. Banham (Pinner, 1991), p. 36, 'cyrsena tac'.

1055 Cf. below, ii. 807 ('prosilit incolumis').

1057 Cf. above, i. 830 ('gaudia permiscet lacrimis, "sit gloria", dicens').

1062 Cf., perhaps, Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 45 ('populus a clade leuauit'); cf. also below, i. 1471.

1064 Cf. above, i. 903, and below, ii. 128 ('fit notum').

1066 Cf. above, i. 905 ('magnalia cernunt'), and below, i. 1112 ('magnalia cernant').

1069 Cf. above, ii. 644, 694.

1071 Cf. below, ii. 884 ('suas gaudens remeauit ad oras').

1074 Cf. below, i. 1101, 1491, ii. 628, 850, 1045 ('meritum per presulis almi').

1076 Cf. below, ii. 204 ('spirituique sacro').

1077 The words *saecli iam margine* refer to the turning point of the millennium, and imply that Wulfstan must have written these words only a few years before A.D. 1000; as we have seen, the *terminus post quem* for the completion of the work is the translation of St Æthelwold, 10 Sept. 996 (see above, p. 336).

1078 Cf. above, Ep. gen. 19, i. 832, 1036 ('mirificare suum').

Expletum triduum menses dum quinque sequuntur,
rara dies fuerat qua non sanata redirent
corpora languentum quo sunt tumulata sacello
ossa beata uiri. Numero crescente bis octo
bisque nouem fuerant; quo decrescente quaterni
tresque fiunt sani. Numerus dum creber adesset,
octo decem bis sexque fiunt ter quinque simulque.
Vidimus in spatio decies quo sol rotat orbem
plusquam bis centum uario languore grauatos
percipere amissam—Christo medicante—salutem.
Vidimus aegrotos, ingenti compede strictos,
qui superant anni numerum, non tempore multo
Suuiðhuni meritis superam rapuisse medelam.
Vidimus innumeros intusque forisque misellos,
undique uallantes sublimia moenia templi
uicinas adeoque uias ut quisque uiator
tramite non posset facili perquirere sanctum;
qui paucos Titane dies uertente per orbem
sunt ita curati meritum per presulis almi
ut tandem uix quinque sacre in penetralibus aule
si presens stares, aegros remanere uideres.
Inuida quapropter resecandaque lingua sileto
et reticendo tuum iam foedum claude labellum!
Conticeant reprobi, peruerso corde maligni,
igne uenenosus quos liuor adurit edaci,
qui memoranda uiri negat aut miracula sancti,
aut quae uoce nequit mendosa loquente negare,
nititur in partem falso transferre sinistram.
Quique etiam ueniant qui incredula corda gerebant
et patris ad tumulum Christi magnalia cernant
atque creatori preconia digna rependant!
Cognoscant omnes longe lateque fideles
quod Dominus noster, qui tegmine carnis opertus
hac aetate pius per semet lumina caecis,
auditum surdis dedit et uestigia claudis,
depulit atque omnem facili medicamine pestem,
fluctiuaga et siccis superambulat aequora plantis,
fecit et innumeras post funera surgere turbas,
in nostris quoque temporibus caelestia signa
contulit ad laudem sibi, sancti patris et huius
ad manifestandum meritum per talia gesta
uirtutum numero poterit quae prendere nemo,
lucida stelliferi superant quia sidera caeli,
marmoris et bibulas cum dinumerantur harenas.

As five months followed the completion of that period of three days, there was hardly a day on which the bodies of the sick did not return cured from the shrine where the holy bones of that man were interred. At its greatest extent the daily number stood at sixteen or eighteen; at its least extent, four and three were made sound. When the number was greater there were eight, ten, and twelve, and fifteen at one time. We have seen in the period in which the sun turns its orb ten times [1090] more than two hundred people, burdened with various sicknesses, receive their lost health from the healing of Christ. We have seen sick men, bound with a great disability, who surpassed counting in any one year, seize in a short time a heavenly cure by the merits of Swithun. We have seen countless wretches, inside and out, besieging the lofty walls of the church and the nearby roads to such an extent that a traveller could not seek out the saint by an easy passage; but as the sun turned a few days through its course [1100], they were so well cured through the merits of the holy bishop that, should you stand there present, you would see scarcely five sick persons remaining in the interior of the holy church. Therefore be silent, envious tongue (which ought to be cut out!) and close now your foul lip in silence! Let wicked men be silent, evil men in the perversity of their hearts—those whom with devouring fire that poisonous envy consumes, which denies the memorable deeds or miracles of the holy man, or which attempts falsely to give an evil interpretation to what it cannot deny with lying report [1110]. Let them come too who bear unbelieving hearts and at the tomb of our father [i.e. Swithun] let them behold the mighty miracles of Christ, and render worthy praise to the creator. Let all the faithful far and wide know that our Lord—Who, veiled in the covering of flesh, by His kindness in His own time gave on His own account sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf and the ability to walk to the crippled, and drove away every disease with ready cure, and walked with dry feet on the wave-wandering sea, and raised up countless throngs after death [1120]—even in our time has granted heavenly miracles, to His own praise, and to show forth the merits of this father, through such working of miracles as no-one can enumerate, for they surpass the shining constellations of the starry heaven and the thirsty sands of the sea when they are reckoned up.

1104 resecandaque] *corr. ex* **rescandaque *B*** **1119 fluctiuaga] fluctiuga *B***

1085 Cf. above, Ep. gen. 180 ('tumulata sacello').

1092 Cf. above, i. 643 ('percipere amissam') and note.

1093 Cf. below, ii. 565 ('ingenti compede strictus').

1096 Cf. below, i. 1442 ('uidimus innumeras').

1097 Cf. above, Ep. spec. 231 ('moenia templi'), and note.

1101 Cf. above, i. 1074, and below, i. 1491, ii. 628, 850, 1045 ('meritum per presulis almi').

1105 Wulfstan here employs a striking phrase from an earlier Winchester poem (the author of which was perhaps Lantfred himself: see above, p. 223) entitled 'Versus L. de quodam superbo': 'conquinisce, precor; foedum iam claude labellum!' (ed. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', pp. 89–90, 116; repr. in *ALL* ii. 229–30, 256).

1106 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2236 ('caecatur corde malignus'), and below, ii. 996.

1112 Cf. above, i. 905, 1066 ('magnalia cernunt').

1113 Cf. below, ii. 1100 ('preconia digna rependit').

1114 Cf. above, i. 720 ('longe lateque'), and below, i. 1540.

1115 For the phrase *tegmine carnis opertus*, cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 173 ('tegmina carnis'), iv. 97 ('uelamine carnis opertum').

1116–17 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 41 ('lumina caecatis dedit et uestigia claudis'). For the phrase *auditum surdis*, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 860 ('auditu surdos et claudos gressibus ornat').

1120 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 282 ('qui dabit innumeras post funera surgere turbas').

1125 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2 ('lucida stelligeri qui condis culmina caeli'), 1445 ('lucida stelligeri scandentes culmina caeli'), 2816 ('limpida stelligeri scandentes culmina caeli').

1126 For the phrase *bibulas . . . harenas*, cf. Vergil, *Georg.* i. 114 ('bibula deducit harena'), Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 102 ('bibulae numeris aequantur harenae'), and Wulfstan's own *Breuiloquium*SS 75 ('quis pelagi bibulas numero conclusit arenas'). The ultimate source of the simile (as far as Christian writers are concerned) is Gen. 22: 17.

viii. DE TRIBVS CECIS MVLIERIBVS ET DE IVVENE MVTO.

Talia Wentana dum signa geruntur in urbe,
sustulerat nox atra diem mulieribus omnem
in Vecta regione tribus; quarum una coruscum
lumen corporeis numquam conspexit ocellis,
atra duas caligo nouem caecauerat annos.
Fama uolans hinc inde sonat quod presulis almi
Suuiðhuni meritis hominum sator atque redemptor
innumera expulsis sanaret corpora morbis.
Affines rogitant ut eas trans aequora ponant
(insula Vecta uago quia cingitur undique ponto),
quo sanctum facili post tramite adire ualerent.
Assensum prebent, caecas trans aequora ponunt
et patriam repetunt, inopes solasque relinquunt.
Stant miserae, ductore carent, penitus quid agantque
ignorant. Solum superest pulsare benignum
singultu precibusque Deum. 'Miserere misellis',
exclamant, 'miserere, potes namque omnia, Iesu,
auxilio conferre pio.' Quibus ilico prestat
larga ducem Christi pietas qui duceret illas.
Hic iam bis denos compleuit circiter annos,
ex quo natus erat per longa silentia mutus.
Aduenit; exorant lacrimosa uoce misellae
unanimes, ut eas Wentam perducat ad urbem
mirificis signis ubi fulsit episcopus almus.
Annuit ille preci, Deus inspirauit ut illi,
in reflexo et eas deducit tramite Wentam.
Limina sacra petunt, lacrimis sanctumque requirunt.
Sol ruit oceano, contexit et astra poli nox.
Qua mediante pii meritis concessa patroni
uenit et illustrat totas lux aurea caecas,
et ueniente die fecit discedere noctem.
Occulit algentem surgens Aurora Bootem,
noctis et humentem caelo dimouerat umbram;
protinus et ductor sibi sensit adesse medelam:
uincula rumpuntur mutam retinentia linguam,
mutus et ignotas plano serit ore loquelas.
Sic Dominus, mundi lux uera et sermo parentis,
his pius infirmis oculos atque ora nouauit,
uerbaque per uerbum, per lumen lumina surgunt.
Dat iuuenis signum monacho transcendere limen
aecclesiae quo pandat ei miracula gesta.
At iuuenem custos sequitur, quid eumque uocaret

viii. CONCERNING THE THREE BLIND WOMEN AND THE DUMB YOUTH.

[= Lantfred, c. 5]

While such miracles were being accomplished in the town of Winchester, dark night had taken away all daylight from three women in the territory of the Isle of Wight; of these, one had never seen the shining light with her bodily eyes [1130], and dark mist had blinded the other two for nine years. Here and there a flying report makes it known that, by the merits of the holy bishop Swithun, the creator and Redeemer of mankind was curing countless bodies, their illnesses being driven away. The women ask their neighbours that they put them across the sea (for the Isle of Wight is surrounded on all sides by the flowing sea), so that they might subsequently be able to approach the saint by an easy journey. The neighbours agree and place the blind women across the sea, and seek again their homeland, leaving the women destitute and alone. The women stand there in misery and, in the absence of a guide, do not at all know what to do [1140]. It only remained to address the beneficent God with prayers and sobbing. 'Have mercy on us wretches', they cry, 'have mercy, for You can grant all things, O Jesus, with Your loving aid.' At once the bountiful mercy of Christ provides them with a leader to guide them. The man in question had already completed about twenty years; he had been dumb through long silence since he was born. He arrives; and the wretched women in unison beg him with tearful voice to lead them to Winchester where the holy bishop shone through wondrous miracles [1150]. He consents to their request, as God inspired him, and conducts them by a winding road to Winchester. They reach the holy entrance and seek out the saint with tears. The sun fell into the Ocean and night covered the stars of the sky. At midnight a golden light, granted by the merits of the holy patron, comes and illumines all the blind women and makes their night depart on the approach of day. Rising dawn hid the chill constellation Bootes and removed the moist shade of night from the sky; and straightway their guide sensed that his cure was at hand [1160]: the ties which bound his mute tongue are broken and the dumb man scatters unfamiliar words from his open mouth. Thus the Lord, the true Light of the world and the Word of the Father, in His kindness renewed the eyes and mouth for these sick people, speech arising through the Word and sight through the Light. The youth gives a sign to the sacrist to cross the threshold and go outside the church so that he could reveal to him the miracles accomplished. And the sacrist follows the youth

1131 *over* annos *R has* uel annis 1167 miracula] *corr. ex* micula *B*

1127 Cf. above, note to i. 199.

1130 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 708 ('aure nec audiuit, quod nec conspexit ocello').

1133 See above, note to Ep. gen. 17.

1134 Cf. above, note to Praef. 175.

1135 Cf. below, i. 1138 ('trans aequora ponunt').

1137 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 676 ('et facili iam tramite sistam').

1138 Cf. below, i. 1328 ('assensum prebent'), and above, i. 1135 ('trans aequora ponant').

1142 Cf. below, ii. 972 ('miserere misellis').

1143–4 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 194 ('praeceptor, miserere, potes namque omnia, Iesu'), iii. 61 ('auxilio succurre pio').

1153 Cf. above, i. 1042 ('lacrimis sanctumque requirunt'), and below, ii. 55 ('lacrimis sanctumque petiuit').

1154 Cf. above, i. 608 ('contexerat astra polo nox'), and i. 922 ('sol ruit oceano').

1157 Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 466 ('te ueniente die'), and Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 39 ('ingrediente die fecit discedere noctem').

1159 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 589 [= iv. 7]('humentemque Aurora polo dimouerat umbram').

1160 Cf. below, ii. 1046 ('sibi sensit adesse medelam').

1162 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 752 ('. . . nudam serit ore loquelam') and Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 12. 11, *CdV* 2787. The cadence is ultimately Vergilian (e.g. *Aen.* v. 842: 'funditque has ore loquelas'); cf. *HexLexikon* iv. 64–5.

1163–5 These lines are closely modelled on Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 196–8:

> tunc Dominus mundi, lux nostra et sermo parentis,
> sordibus exclusis oculos atque ora nouauit;
> uerbaque per uerbum, per lumen lumina surgunt.

The ultimate biblical source is John 8: 12.

explorat. Qui narrat ei rem protinus omnem.
Ille uocat fratres, ueniunt hi soluere grates.

ix. DE ANCILLA TEOÐICI CAMPANARII.

Rustica Wintoniae facili pro crimine quaedam
ecce ligabatur manicis ac compede bino,
feruidus imperio Teoðic ut precipit herili,
fundere campanas solitus; nexuque tenaci
stricta catenatis gestabat uincla lacertis
uibicibus multis crudelibus atque flagellis,
uenturo torquenda die. Quae noctis opacae
tempore continuo lacrimis non cessat amaris
exorare Deum, meritis quo presulis almi
libera tortores posset uitare feroces.
Erumpens Aurora micat; iam tempus adest quo
soluere debuerat metuenda pericula flagri.
Suspirans trepidat, lacrimans gemitumque frequentat,
cum subito, reserante Deo, cecidere catenae
compedis e pedibus, fugit ac tormenta pericli
exiliens, dominis somno uinoque sepultis.
Arripuitque citum fugiens ancillula cursum,
transiliens omnes ueloci calle plateas,
uenit et ad sanctum manicis sic uincta patronum.
Euigilant domini, foribusque patentibus illam
perquirunt neque repperiunt. Tum fama Teoðico
nuntiat hanc cursu sanctum petiisse fugaci,
cuius erat meritis a compede libera. Qui mox
turbidus insequitur, furiis accensus et ira.
Nec tamen adueniens audet furibundus in illam
ultrices inferre manus, sed territus intus
secreto terrore Dei, praesente popello
qui stetit ad sanctum, trepidanti corde propinquat
et manicas, cogente Deo, reserauit eamque
siuit abire domum nullo discrimine lesam—
quam Domino uidit sancto et soluente solutam.

x. DE PARALITICO IN LECTO EGRITVDINIS SVE CVRATO.

Vir quidam multis paraliticus extitit annis,
rure manens patrio quod nuncupat Hamme colonus.
Debilis in tantum, membris languentibus, ut se
quo iacuit fulcro nulla ratione ualeret
erigere absque sibi iugiter famulante ministro.
Comperit auditu miracula caelitus acta

and asks why he had called him. The youth at once explains to him the whole affair. The sacrist summons the monks and they come to give thanks [1170].

ix. CONCERNING THE SLAVE-GIRL OF TEOTHIC THE BELL-FOUNDER.

[= Lantfred, c. 6]

Now a certain country-girl of Winchester was, for a slight offence, bound with manacles and twin shackles by the order of her angry master Teothic, a bell-founder; bound thus by this tight constriction, she bore her bonds on chained arms and was to be tormented on the following day with many cruel lashes and floggings. All through the dark night she did not cease from beseeching God with bitter tears, that by the merits of the holy bishop she might be freed and escape her fierce torturers [1180]. Dawn breaks, shining; the time is now at hand in which she is to undergo the terrifying tortures of the lash. She sighs in fear and redoubles her tearful groanings when suddenly the chains of her shackles fell from her feet as God released them, and in a bound she flees the tortures of her punishment as her masters were buried in sleep and wine. The slave-girl took a swift course in her flight, darting with rapid passage through all the market-places and came, still bound with manacles, to the holy patron. Her masters wake up, seek her from the opened doors [1190] and do not find her. Then rumour tells Teothic that she had in swift flight sought the saint, through whose merits she had been released from the shackles. He immediately pursued her in a rage, burning with fury and anger. Yet when he arrived he did not dare, raging though he was, to lay vengeful hands on her, but terrified inwardly by a secret fear of God, in the presence of the people standing before the saint, he drew near with trembling heart and loosened the manacles as God compelled him, and allowed her to go home, harmed with no peril [1200]—she whom he had seen released by God and by the saint.

x. CONCERNING THE PARALYTIC CURED IN HIS SICK-BED.

[= Lantfred, c. 7]

There was a certain man, paralyzed for many years, living in his native country home which its inhabitants call Ham. He was so weak with his diseased limbs that he could in no way raise himself up from the bed in which he lay without a servant helping him continually. He heard of the divine

1198 propinquat] propinquant *B*

1174–5 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 74–5 ('. . . nexuque cruento / saeua catenatis gestantes uincla lacertis'); for the cadence *uincla lacert(i)s*, cf. also Aldhelm, *CdV* 281, 1210, as well as below, ii. 891; with line 1175, cf. below, ii. 1150 ('ille catenatis iacet inter uincula plantis').

1177–8 Cf. above, note to i. 374–5; with line 1178, cf. also Aldhelm, *CdV* 2134 ('Eustochium lacrimis uirgo non sensit amaris').

1182 Cf. below, ii. 1086 ('metuenda pericula').

1184 Cf. below, ii. 1158 ('cum subito reserante Deo').

1186 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 265 ('urbem somno uinoque sepultam'), and below, ii. 563.

1194 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 946 ('exuuiasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira'); cf. also below, ii. 536, as well as i. 1559, ii. 1135.

1200 Cf. above, note to Praef. 103.

1202 Cf. below, ii. 918 ('paraliticus extitit annos').

1206 Cf. ii. 920 ('sibi iugiter famulantis alumni').

1207 Cf. above, note to Ep. gen. 15.

pontificis sancti meritis, animoque sagaci
credidit amissas se posse resumere uires
duceret excubias saltim si nocte uel una
illius ante salutiferum recubando sepulchrum.
Conuocat agnatos sic uerba precantia fundens:
'O cari fratres, supplex rogo, pingite uestros
cornipedes phaleris, imponite meque feretro,
ducite et ad sanctum cuius medicamine possim
sumere caelestem, Christo donante, salutem.'
Haec ait, et dicto citius famulantur amici;
cornipedes falerant, gestamina mollia sternunt.
Ante- sed aegrotus -quam clauderet ipse loquelam,
Suuithuni meritis subito uirtute resumpta
prosilit e lecto. Currens iter arripit, omnes
praeuolitatque equites hunc qui comitantur, et almum
peruenit ad uatem incolomis (mirabile dictu!),
uixque illum socii fuerant equitando secuti.

xi. DE CAECA MVLIERE.

Nobilis interea quaedam matrona potensque
finibus in patriae mansit pollenter auitae
quam 'Bedeford-' Angli censent uocitamine '-scire'.
Haec subito priuata fuit splendore corusci
luminis in tantum, tribus ut currentibus annis
solis inexhausti radium non cerneret ullum.
Quae uouit se uelle pio donaria ferre
qualiacumque patri, sibi si uirtute superna
redderet optatum solito medicamine lumen.
Wintoniam deducta uenit patrisque requirit
membra salutiferi, uestem quandamque sacrato
altari imposuit, statim uisumque recepit.
Et secum mirata stupet quia sic in utroque
res sibi conueniunt—uno quasi cerneres ictu
ponere palliolum uisumque leuare serenum.
Laudum uota pio soluit deuota patrono,
laeta reditque domum Christi medicamine salua,
saluauit totum proprio qui sanguine mundum.

xii. DE MATRONA QVE MERITIS SANCTI VIRI BIS SANITATI RESTITVTA EST.

Altera tunc etiam pollens matrona salute
incipit amissa ualido languore grauari.
Vicini simul et famuli cunctique propinqui
accedunt ad eam, planctu miseroque tumultu

miracles performed by the merits of the holy bishop, and he wisely believed that he could regain his lost strength if he could keep vigil even for one night [1210] by lying before that saint's restoring tomb. He summons his kinsmen and pours out his prayers, as follows: 'Beloved brothers, I beg you humbly to deck out your horses with harness, place me on a litter, and take me to the saint by whose medication I may through Christ's gift be able to receive heavenly health.' Thus he spoke, and faster than the telling his friends obey him; they harness their horses, they arrange a soft stretcher. But before the sick man had ended his speech, by the merits of Swithun he suddenly regains his strength [1220] and bounds up from the bed. He takes to the road on the run and races before all the horsemen who were escorting him and arrives at the holy saint safe and sound (wondrous to tell!), and his companions had scarcely been able to follow him as they rode.

xi. CONCERNING THE BLIND WOMAN.

[= Lantfred, c. 8]

Meanwhile a certain noble and powerful lady lived in the territory of her ancestral fatherland which the English describe by the name of Bedfordshire. She had suddenly been deprived of the brilliance of shining daylight to such an extent, that during the course of three years she did not behold any ray of the inexhaustible sun [1230]. She made a vow that she would bring such and such gifts to the holy father if he would, with his accustomed healing, restore to her the longed-for vision by heavenly power. She came escorted to Winchester, sought out the body of the health-bringing father, placed a certain vestment upon the blessed altar and at once received her sight. And she wonders to herself in amazement that events happened to her thus in every respect, as if you could see in one glance the laying down of the vestment and the raising up of clear vision. She devoutly fulfilled her vow of praise to the patron [1240] and returned home with joy, healed by the medication of Christ, Who healed the entire world with His own blood.

xii. CONCERNING A LADY WHO WAS TWICE RESTORED TO HEALTH BY THE MERITS OF THE HOLY MAN.

[= Lantfred, c. 9]

Then too another noble matron began, upon the loss of her health, to be burdened with a serious illness. Her neighbours and servants and all her relatives came to her together and with lamentation

1212 precantia] *corr. ex* **piecantia** *B*

1209 Cf. below, ii. 490 ('se posse resumere uirum').
1212 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 107 ('uix uerba **precantia fari**'); cf. also below, i. 1565 ('sic uerba precantia fundens').
1216 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1089 ('caelitus instaurant Christo donante salutem'). The structure of the hexameter is repeated at ii. 1073 ('corpora caelestem Christo medicante salutem').
1217 Cf. above, i. 129 ('et dicto citius').
1220 Cf. above, i. 103, and below, ii. 732 **('uirtute resumpta')**.
1228 Cf. above, i. 621 ('splendore corusci').
1230 Cf. below, i. 1533 ('solis inexhausti').
1232 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1190 ('anthletam Domini **fretum uirtute superna**'); cf. also above, i. 770, and below, i. 1286.
1242 Cf. above, Praef. 192 ('totum proprio **qui sanguine** mundum').
1246 Cf. ii. 472 **('accedunt ad eum')**.

sollicitant illam proprias disponere gazas
ante- sibi necis interitus -quam forte propinquet,
arbitrantur eam quoniam cito morte premendam.
Interea languor fessam crescendo fatigat;
desperata iacet, uix pectore flatus anhelat.
Qualicumque tamen poterat conamine mentis
uota Deo uouitque pio moribunda Suuiðhuno,
perciperet si forte aliquod solamen ab illo,
protinus ingentis secum donaria gazae
ferret et excubiis noctem perduceret unam
illius ad sacrum deuota mente sepulchrum.
Vouit, et extimplo medicamine sana potitur.
Sed mentis uigor intus abest, quia corpore sano
dum fruitur se post abicit beneficia Christi,
inmemor e quantis fuerit subuecta periclis,
nec quae uota Deo uouit sub limine mortis
sollicite studuit persoluere reddita uitae,
sicut erat dignum, nec reddere debita laudum.
Tempore non multo post haec comitata maritum
more cupit solito thalamos inuisere quosdam,
cornipedes mandatque suis pompare superbos.
Ornantur faleris, splendescunt timpora bullis.
Praecedit uir eam raro comitatus equestre.
Primorum proceres donec procederet illam
plures expectant, ostroque insignis et auro
stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
Illa sequendo uirum uario uelamine picta
tandem progreditur, magna stipante caterua.
Nec mora scandit equum, cuncti secura pericli,
nil quoniam prisci sibi sensit inesse doloris.
Ventum erat ad thalamos ingens ubi regia pubes
consulibus permixta aderat creberque satelles.
Processit splendente toga; mox arripit ecce
languor eam subito dolor et fortissimus a quo
per sanctum fuerat nuper medicata patronum.
Languida fessa iacet, cruciatibus aegra fatescit.
Tum memor illa sui tandem moribunda reatus,
suspirat lacrimis, ingenti uoce gemensque,
'hunc', ait, 'hunc merito cogor sufferre dolorem,
iam quoniam curata fui uirtute superna,
nec Domino studui persoluere debita laudum,
nec promissa tuli sancto quae munera uoui.
Sed magna pietate tua mihi parce, redemptor,

and sad disquiet entreated her to dispose of her wealth before the separation of death should chance to approach her, for they thought she would soon be overcome by death. Meanwhile the illness exhausted her further as it increased [1250]; she lay there beyond hope, scarcely able to exhale the breath from her chest. Yet, as she was about to die, and with such effort of the mind as she could manage, she made a vow to God and to the holy Swithun, that if perchance she should receive any relief from him, she would immediately bring gifts of vast treasure and keep vigil for one night at his holy tomb with devout application. She made this vow, and immediately obtained her health through his medication. But she lacked inner strength of mind, because while she enjoyed a sound body she disdained the favour of Christ [1260], forgetting from what great dangers she had passed, nor, once restored to life, was she concerned to fulfil the vows she made to God on the threshold of death, nor to render Him due praise, as was appropriate. Not long afterwards she wants to accompany her husband, as she usually did, to attend a certain wedding; and she commands her servants to harness her haughty steeds. They are adorned with their harnesses and their heads gleam with bosses. Her husband went before her with a small escort of riders. Many dignitaries of the aristocracy awaited her until she should proceed [1270], and the horse stood there resplendent in purple and gold and fiercely gnawed its frothy bridle. She, dressed in various finery, eventually sets out, following her husband with a large retinue. Without delay she mounts the horse, not apprehensive of any danger, because she feels no twinge of her former pain. They arrived at the wedding where a large group of royal youth was present, mixing in with ealdormen and many royal thegns. She proceeded in her glittering dress; but all of a sudden sickness seized her, and that intense pain, from which [1280] she had recently been cured through the saintly patron. She lies there ill and exhausted, weak and fainting with pain. Then finally, remembering her guilt on the point of death, she sighs with tears and, groaning, says in a loud voice, 'I am forced to endure this pain deservedly because I have already been cured by heavenly power, but I did not take care to pay my debt of praise to the Lord, not did I bring the promised gifts which I vowed to the saint. But in Your great kindness spare me, Redeemer, and

1278 satelles] *corr. ex* **satellas** *B*

1252 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 89 ('et praecepta Dei toto conamine mentis'), and *Carmen de libero arbitrio* 171: 'quapropter toto mentis conamine poscens' (ed. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems', p. 171, repr. *ALL* ii. 276).

1256 Cf. below, ii. 1081 ('noctem cum duceret unam').

1257 For the phrase *deuota mente* in these metrical feet, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 122, 234, 1314, 1665, 2049, 2565, and below, ii. 430, as well as *HexLexikon* ii. 50–1.

1262 For the cadence *limine mortis*, cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* iv. 353, Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 1. 18 ('limina mortis'), and below, ii. 333, 807, as well as *HexLexikon* iii. 199.

1264 For the cadence *debita laudum*, cf. below, i. 1287, 1353.

1266 Cf. above, i. 495 ('more cupit solito proprios inuisere mannos'), and below, ii. 830 ('more cupit solito Gallorum uisere gentem').

1269 Cf. ii. 785 ('multo comitatus equestre').

1271–4 The passage is borrowed almost verbatim from Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 134–6:

> ostroque insignis et auro
> stat sonipes, ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
> tandem progreditur, magna stipante caterua,
> Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo.

1286 See above, note to i. 1232.

1287 See above, note to i. 1264.

et miserae succurre mihi, Suuiðhune benigne,
surgere ut hoc merear redeunte salute periclo
et mea uota tibi persoluere debita patri.'
Dixit, et adstantes summissa uoce clientes
obsecrat ut Wentam citius ferretur ad urbem
in qua sanctus ouat Christo sub principe pollens,
quo rursus caperet, Domino miserante, salutem.
Prompta clientelae paret manus hancque citatim
ad Domini sanctum molli gestamine ducunt.
Stat uotis intenta piis, ac nocte sequenti
denuo percepit quam perdidit ante medelam.
Sicque Deo grates ac debita uota rependit,
incolomisque redit totis exuta periclis,
et thalamos repetit pridem quos languida liquit,
omnibus affatim Christi magnalia narrans.

xiii. QVOMODO VIR SANCTVS CVIDAM MATRONE PER VISVM APPARVIT.

Dum per aperta suum Dominus miracula sanctum
mirificaret, Aðeluuoldus, uenerabilis heros,
inculcat precepta sagax, quae more paterno
iam prius instituit, nobis rituque magistro
obseruanda dedit. Qui nos aetatis ab ipso
tempore primeuo Christo suscepit alendos;
lacte polique aluit, carnis quos lacte nutriuit.
Nam mirandarum cernens magnalia rerum,
edixit quo quisque foret dum caelitus aeger
redditus optatae, sancto medicante, saluti,
seu rutilante die seu tempore noctis opacae,
protinus e manibus fratres opus omne relinquant
mundanum, peterentque sacram socialiter edem
curarentque Deo persoluere dulciter ymnum.
Accidit interea domnus cum presul abiret
utilitate Deus sibi quod commisit ouilis,
ut nostri quidam seniores, fraude maligni
daemonis illecti, precepta haec ferre nequirent;
sed graue ualde sibi, nimium fierique laborem,
sic nocturna sibi quererentur somnia tolli,
terque quaterque simul pulsati nocte sub una.
Suaseruntque alios edicta relinquere praue
quae seruanda dedit uenerandus episcopus illis.
Assensum prebent aliqui, suadente maligno;
intermittit opus sanctum pars maxima fratrum.
Nocte soporifera solito miracula crescunt;

you, kindly Swithun, come to my aid, miserable as I am [1290], that I may rise from this peril as health returns and fulfil my vows due to you, my father.' She spoke thus, and with humble voice she asks her attendants that she be carried quickly to the town of Winchester in which the saint rejoices, mighty under Christ the Lord, that again she might receive her health by the Lord's mercy. The ready band of retainers obeys and quickly brings her on a soft litter to the Lord's saint. She remains intent on holy prayers, and on the following night she received anew the cure she had previously lost [1300]. And thus she gives thanks to God and fulfils her vows, and returns in sound health, free of all danger, and once again she goes to the wedding which she had left beforehand in sickness, reporting sufficiently to everyone the mighty deeds of Christ.

xiii. HOW THE HOLY MAN APPEARED TO A CERTAIN LADY IN A VISION.

[= Lantfred, c. 10]

While the Lord was glorifying His saint through manifest miracles, the venerable hero Æthelwold was wisely imposing the precepts which in fatherly fashion he had formerly established and, in the way of a teacher, had given to us to be observed. He had adopted us from our earliest years to be fostered in Christ [1310], and he nourished with the milk of heaven those whom he fed with the milk of the flesh. Observing these great wonders, he commanded that, when any infirm person was divinely restored to longed-for health through the saint's medication, whether during the burning day or at the time of dark night, the monks should abandon every worldly activity, and together go to the church and take care to render sweetly a hymn to God. Now while the Lord Bishop was once away on business for the benefit of the flock which God entrusted to him [1320], it happened that certain of our elders, enticed by the deception of the evil demon, were unable to endure these commands; they complained rather that it was quite burdensome and was becoming an excessive hardship for them that their night-time rest should be taken from them, since they were being disturbed three and four times in one night. And they persuaded the others wickedly to abandon the observance which the venerable bishop had given them to keep. At the persuasion of the evil one some agreed; the great majority of the monks gave up the holy work. In the sleepy night the miracles occurred as usual [1330];

1290 succurre] succure *RB*

1293 Cf. below, ii. 282 ('summissa uoce').

1296 See above, note to i. 319.

1298 Cf. above, i. 587, and below, ii. 777 ('molli gestamine').

1305–12 These lines have no correlate in Lantfred, and are an important autobiographical testimony by Wulfstan to his tutelage by Æthelwold. Similar personal references to this tutelage are found in two hymns almost certainly by Wulfstan: an epanaleptic, abecedarian hymn dedicated to St Æthelwold (inc. 'Alma lucerna micat': *ICL* no. 591), and a sapphic hymn similarly dedicated (*ICL* no. 8011). For discussion of the biographical importance of these hymns, see Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xxiv–xxv.

1315 See above, note to i. 374–5.

1319 Cf. below, ii. 88 ('accidit interea').

1321 For the cadence *fraude maligni*, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 316, 585, 1639.

1328 Cf. above, i. 1138 ('assensum prebent').

torpor eos somnusque grauis, serpente ueterno
ludificante, premit, sacri patefacta nec intrant
limina coenobii nec debita carmina laudum
persoluunt Domino. Currunt ter quinque dies, sic
neglecta uirtute Dei pro crimine tali.
Indoluit sanctus Domini precepta quod audent
presulis egregii contempnere mente procaci,
daemonio suadente malo. Per somnia post hec
uisus adest cuidam magna cum luce matronae;
fulgidus intuitu niueoque decorus amictu,
uertice perspicuam gemmis auroque coronam,
calciamenta sacris gestans atque aurea plantis.
Predulci sermone potens sic fatus ad illam:
'Mox ut Wintoniae uigilans aspexeris almum
pontificem, dilecta Dei, constanter ei dic
imperet ut monachis uitam ducentibus illic
ne cessent ymnis Dominum laudare tonantem,
fit quotiens optata salus ibi cuilibet aegro
concessa ad tumulum Suuiðhuni presulis almi.
Valde Deo siquidem hoc displicet omnipotenti
ipse quod innumeris pandit miracula signis
uisibus illorum, male sic rapiuntur et ipsi
rebus in humanis ut munia debita laudum
non referant illi, studiis sed mente caducis
(quod scelus est!) inhiant diuinaque munera calcant.
Obsecro ne grauidum sit eis nec corde molestum
celsitonantis heri magnalia singula cantu
promere dulcisono, premat hos ne iudicis ira
qui genus humanum diiudicat omne per ignem.
Plura quid his? Sed siquis abhinc a laude Tonantis
clauserit ora piger, tumido uel corde superbus,
hoc nisi peniteat, uitii non fraude carebit.
Nimirum Deus idcirco tot tamque stupenda
tempore postremo prebet miracula mundo,
saxea mollescant hominum peruersaque corda,
gaudia et ut quaerant homines aeterna polorum.
Sunt quia signa fide tribuenda carentibus alma;
nec opus est adeo prebere fidelibus illa.
Num Domino parent eius qui munera tempnunt?
Nonne Dei zelum caecata mente lacessunt
qui reticendo negant eius magnalia tanta?
Adde quod ymnisonas si cessent reddere laudes,
protinus haec eadem cessabunt dona Tonantis.

but torpor and deep sleep oppressed them as the ancient serpent made sport of it, and they did not enter the open doors of the holy minster, nor did they render due hymns of praise to the Lord. A fortnight passed while God's authority was thus neglected through such a sin. The saint of the Lord [i.e. Swithun] grieved because they dared in their impudence to scorn the command of the excellent bishop at the persuasion of the evil demon. Shortly afterwards, he appeared with great light in a dream to a certain lady; he was brilliant to see, and elegant in snow-white vestment [1340], with a bright crown of gold and jewels on his head and golden shoes on his holy feet. With sweet discourse the mighty one addressed her thus: 'Beloved of God, as soon as you awake and see at Winchester the good bishop, tell him forcibly that he should order the monks leading there the religious life not to cease praising the Almighty Lord with hymns, as often as desired health is granted to any sick person at the tomb of the holy bishop Swithun. Indeed this very much displeases God Almighty [1350], that He presents wonders with countless miracles to their sight and they themselves are so wickedly carried away by human activities that they do not return a due service of praise to Him, but they are devoted to worldly pursuits (which is a crime!) and disdain the divine gifts. I pray, let it not be a burden or nuisance to them to declare in sweet-sounding song every mighty deed of the omnipotent Lord, so that they will not be pursued by the wrath of the Judge Who judges the entire human race with fire. Need I say more? But if henceforth [1360] any haughty man with swollen heart shut up his mouth to praise of the Almighty, unless he repent of it, he shall not escape the risk of sin. In fact God provides so many and such amazing wonders for the world in this latter age so that the stony and perverse hearts of men may be softened and that men may seek the eternal joys of heaven. For holy signs must be given to those who lack faith; but there is no need to provide them to such an extent for the faithful. Do they obey the Lord who scorn His gifts? Do they not rather provoke the jealousy of God in their mind's blindness [1370] who by their silence deny His mighty deeds? Add that if they cease to render hymns of praise, straightway these very gifts of the Almighty will cease. But

1332 **patefacta**] *corr. ex* **patefacte** *B*

1332 Cf. above, i. 963 ('sacri patefacta sepulchri').
1333 Cf. below, ii. 119, 256 ('limina coenobii').
1340 See above, note to i. 9.
1341 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1288 ('accipit ornatam gemmis auroque puellam'), and below, ii. 44, 953 ('gemmis(que) auroque').
1342 This line has been recycled from i. 619.
1343 Cf. below, ii. 115 ('praedulci sermone').
1347 Cf. below, ii. 811 ('non cessant Christum comites laudare tonantem').
1353 Cf. above, note to i. 1264.
1354 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1742 ('diuitias mundi conculcans mente caducas').
1359 See above, note to Praef. 138.
1370 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1198 ('quamuis hunc stolidi caecata mente ligarent').

Quod si caelestem satagunt benedicere regem,
tot Deus omnipotens ibi caelica signa patrabit
quot ualet humanis euoluere nemo loquelis
hactenus acta loco mundane partis in uno,
naturam geminam postquam diuina potestas
Christi personam iunxit clementer in unam.
Qui Deus est ac uerus homo, qui morte perempta
aurea siderei penetrauit culmina regni,
uexit et excelsis quicquid suscepit ab imis.'

Talia mellifluo postquam precepta matronae
tradidit alloquio, uultum mox inde remouit
concitus angelicum, penetrato et culmine tecti,
lumine uibranti rutilum conscendit Olimpum.
Euigilat matrona dolens se luce carere
quam uidit lucere sibi. Tamen ocius inde
surgit et accersit gerulis uelocibus almum
pontificem, narrans quicquid per somnia uidit.
Qui motus paulisper—ut est sapientibus usus—
mittit item mandata loco quo tunc erat ipse
regis in obsequio duplici pro sospite regni,
fratribus et renouat quae sanxerat antea iura.
Mandat ut altithrono laudum persoluere grates
intenti satagunt, permiscet et aspera blandis:
siquis adesset ibi laudem qui reddere Christo
neglegeret, cella solus sibi staret in una
cum fratres solitae peterent conuiuia mensae,
se gemitu lacrimisque lauans ac murmure tristi,
peniteat septem ieiuno uentre diebus,
noctibus et totidem merens, alimenta nec ulla
sumeret excepto facili uegetamine panis
exigui, potuque leui de gurgite riui.
Nuntius aduenit mandans edicta magistri.
Inuadit cunctos nimia formidine terror;
mulcet item pietatis amor. Post talia iussa
non audent tardare diu, precepta sequuntur
unanimes. Si forte die, si uespere, uel si
nocte foret mediante aliquis diuinitus aeger
curatus sancti meritis, pulsante metallo,
torpor abest, pigredo fugit, somnusque recedit
et repetunt sancti fratres altaria templi
cum iubilo cuncti simul una uoce canentes:
'Laus sit et imperium, decus et tibi, Christe, per euum
qui facis in sancto miracula tanta patrono
claudere quae numero ualet aut comprendere nemo.'

if they occupy themselves with blessing the heavenly King, Almighty God will perform there so many heavenly miracles—so many that no-one speaking in human speech could report to have been performed in any one part of the world since the divine power of Christ mercifully joined a twofold nature into one person. He is God and true man, Who upon the destruction of death [1380] entered the golden summits of the starry realm and bore to the heights whatever He had taken up from the deep.'

After he had communicated these commands to the lady in mellifluous speech, he quickly took from there his angelic countenance, and, departing through the top of the roof, with gleaming light he ascends to the bright heaven. The lady awakens, grieving at the absence of the light which she had seen shining upon her. Yet she gets up quickly and by means of swift messengers she summons the good bishop and tells him everything she had seen in her dream [1390]. He was upset only slightly—as is usual for wise men; moreover, he dispatches orders from the place where he was then in the king's service for the twofold well-being of the kingdom, and he renews for the monks the rules which he had earlier established. He commands that they devote their attention to rendering due thanks of praise to the high-throned God, and he mixes with these mild admonitions a harsh threat: if anyone there should neglect to render praise to Christ, he is to remain alone by himself in a cell while the other monks seek refreshment at the accustomed meal-times; but that monk, cleansing himself with groans and tears and sad lamentation [1400], is to do penance with fasting and grieving for seven days and as many nights, and is to take no sustenance save the light nourishment of a small amount of bread and a small drink of water from the stream. The messenger came and delivered the orders of our master. Terror seized everyone with great trepidation; by the same token the love of holiness soothed them. After receiving these orders they do not dare long to delay, but follow the commands of one accord. If by day or in the evening or at midnight some sick person has perchance been divinely [1410] cured by the merits of the saint, at the sounding of the bell, drowsiness departs, laziness flees and sleep withdraws, and the monks seek again the altars of the holy church, and together with one voice they sing with joy: 'Praise and dominion and glory forever be to You, O Christ, Who accomplish in our saintly patron such great miracles which no-one can count or comprehend!'

1375 See above, note to Ep. spec. 111.

1376 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 162 ('**edidit humanas animal** pecuale loquellas').

1381 For the phrase *culmina regni*, cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iii. 4 ('donec praesentis contemnes culmina regni'), as well as *HexLexikon* i. 514–5; cf. also below, i. 1584 ('aurea siderei mihi reddere lumina caeli'), ii. 767 ('aurea siderei cernebat lumina caeli').

1382 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 38 ('euehit excelsis quicquid **suscepit** ab imis').

1383 Cf. below, ii. 1003 ('**talia** mellifluo').

1386 Cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 12. 7 ('exin **sidereum Christus** conscendit Olimpum').

1393 Cf. below, ii. 1114 ('duplici pro sospite').

1399 Cf. below, ii. 241 ('conuiuia mensae'), and *HexLexikon* i. 442–3.

1404 The words *de gurgite riui* have no correlate in Lantfred, and preseumably refer to the water-course which Æthelwold provided for the monks of the Old Minster: see above, Ep. spec. 41–4.

1411 Cf. above, i. 104, 932 ('**pulsante metallo**').

1414 Cf. above, Ep. spec. 227.

1416 This line is recycled at ii. 63; cf. also ii. 408.

1417 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 214 ('. . . **numero** nec **clauditur** ullo').

xiv. DE PARALITICO LVNDONIENSE.

Lundoniensis erat quo tempore uernula quidam,
uersa cui posterga fiunt uestigia morbo;
perculeratque manus eadem ualitudo gemellas,
omnibus et membris sic debilitatus anhelat,
quo penitus nullam posset sperare medelam.
Crescebatque dolor numerosa clade iacentis,
adficiens miseros longo merore parentes.
Fama notat quae signa micant patrata sepulchro
uatis, et extimplo per sexaginta uiarum
milia Wentanam baiolis defertur ad urbem.
Peruenit ad sanctum precibusque incumbit anhelis.
Sol ruit oceano, nox surgit et ecce repente
exiliere pedes, nerui sumuntque uigorem,
protinus et rectum capiunt uestigia gressum,
erectaeque manus supero medicamine sanae
plausere et digitis pariter lusere solutis.
Gaudia confestim rapiunt uotiua parentes
dumque suum cernunt sanum diuinitus aegrum.
Vt ueniunt mesti, redeunt sic postea laeti,
per meritum sancti, Christo medicante, patroni,
consuetam miseratus opem qui prestat egenis
et reuocata suis adtemperat organa neruis.

xv. DE .XVI. LVNDONIENSIBVS CECIS.

Nec solus superam persenserat iste medelam
Lundoniensis homo, nimia sed peste grauatas
uidimus innumeras inde huc uenisse cateruas
et patris ad tumulum superam rapuisse salutem.
Denique caecati quos sexus uterque tenebat
huc quondam pariter uenere bis octo miselli;
e quibus in prima statim ter quinque serenam
luce uident lucem, sextus decimusque sequentem
uidit et euehitur cuneis cum pluribus aegris.
Persoluunt condigna Deo preconia laudum,
et qui Wintoniam pridem petiere gementes,
post ad Lundoniam laeti rediere uidentes.

xvi. DE ALIO CLAVDO LVNDONIENSE.

Hac quoque uir quidam preclarus in urbe manebat
diuitiis locuples, gressum qui perdidit omnem;
claudus utroque pede, tumuitque podagricus humor.
Grossescente lue, medicos accersit eisque

xiv. CONCERNING THE PARALYTIC FROM LONDON.

[= Lantfred, c. 11]

There was at that time a certain native of London whose feet were twisted back by disease; the same illness had struck both his hands [1420], and he gasped so weakened in every limb that he could hope for no remedy at all. The man's pain increased with many an onslaught as he lay there and afflicted his poor kinsmen with continual grief. Report declares what resplendent miracles have been worked at the tomb of the saint, and immediately he is carried by bearers over sixty miles to the town of Winchester. He reaches the saint and devotes himself to breathless prayers. The sun sank into the Ocean, night drew on, and lo and behold, suddenly his feet twitched, his muscles acquired strength [1430] and at once his footsteps took on a correct pace and his hands, raised up and cured by heavenly healing, clapped and played once the fingers were released. Straightway his kinsmen grasp the joyous result of their prayers as they gaze upon the sick man divinely healed. Just as they came in sorrow, so in joy they later depart, as Christ effected the healing through the merits of the holy patron, who mercifully bestows his customary aid on the needy and who adapts restored limbs to their muscles.

xv. CONCERNING THE SIXTEEN BLIND PEOPLE FROM LONDON.

[= Lantfred, c. 12]

This was not the only man from London to receive a heavenly cure [1440]; rather, we saw countless throngs oppressed with severe illness come here from London and snatch divine health at the tomb of our father. Finally, there once came sixteen wretched blind people of either sex; of these, fifteen see the kindly light on the first day, and the sixteenth sees the second day's light and is led out, cured, with very many previously ailing throngs. They give due declaration of praise to God, and they who beforehand sought Winchester with groans [1450] afterwards returned joyfully to London, their sight restored.

xvi. CONCERNING ANOTHER CRIPPLE FROM LONDON.

[= Lantfred, c. 13]

There also dwelled in London a certain distinguished man, wealthy in riches, who had lost all ability to walk; he was lame in each foot and his gout swelled. As the disease worsened, he summoned

1424 Cf. below, ii. 472 ('merore parentes').

1425 Cf. below, ii. 708 ('fama notat').

1429 Cf. above, i. 922, 1154, and below, ii. 548 ('sol ruit oceano'). The cadence *ecce repente* is used by Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 295, but also by Bede, *VCM* 78, 351, as well as by various Carolingian poets (see *HexLexikon* ii. 163–4); see also below, ii. 533, 789, 806, 823.

1438 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 70 ('consuetam non liquit opem'), and Arator, *HA* ii. 28 ('quis tribuat miseratus opem'); cf. also below, i. 1607 ('consuetam miseratus opem').

1439 See above, note to i. 714.

1442 The observation that the poet 'saw' (*uidimus*) the countless throngs oppressed with illness is a personal statement which has no correlate in Lantfred. Wulfstan uses the expression *uidimus* some seven times in the *Narratio*. For the phrase *innumeras . . . cateruas*, see above, note to Ep. gen. 20; cf. also above, i. 1096 ('uidimus innumeros').

1449 For the cadence *preconia laudum*, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 146 ('praeconia laude'), 2784 ('praeconia laudis').

1450 Cf. below, ii. 237 ('petiere gementes').

non minimas diuisit opes ut sanior esset;
nilque ualent prodesse uiro. Qui postea tandem
uectus equo sanctum perrexit adire patronum,
gens Augustinum quem nuncupat Anglica tota,
Cantuarios archi- qui rexit -episcopus olim.
Hunc adit; hoc meruit mediam medicante medelam,
et rupto pedis unius stat compede sanus.
Tempus abit modicum; sanctus rumore patescit
noster et egregius. Wentam festinat ad urbem
semileuatus homo, precibus sanctumque requirit.
Vix affatur eum, sancti mox ante sepulchrum
rumpitur alter ei subito medicamine compes,
et pede pro solo claudus qui poscere uenit,
sanus utroque redit, Domino gratesque rependit.

xvii. DE .XXV. INFIRMIS QVI IN VNA DIE CVRATI SVNT.

Rumor ubique uolans aegros facit undique sanctum
uisere, quo nimia ualeant a clade leuari.
Bis deni uenere simul cum quinque iugatis
infirmi, uariis stricti languoribus omnes:
loripedes, surdi, mutos comitantur et orbi.
Perquirunt omnes una cum mente patronum
et medicante Deo—qui subleuat omnia uerbo—
protinus unius pariter sub lance diei
redduntur cuncti pulso languore saluti.

xviii. DE PVERO PER QVINQVENNIVM CECATO.

His ita sanatis, quidam prediues habebat
ingenuis puerum quendam natalibus ortum,
extiteratque sibi predulcis et unicus idem.
Lumine corporeo fruitur quinquennis ab ipsa
natiuitate et eo gaudens uidet omnia lustro.
Preteriit lustrum, perdit puer ilico uisum,
extiteratque alio caecus sine lumine lustro.
Abripit hunc genetrix populo uallata clientum;
detulit hunc sancto, noctem perducit et unam
excubiis ardente fide. Mox mane corusco,
Aurora ducente diem, glaucoma recessit
uisibus a pueri, clarum Dominoque medente
uidit adesse diem, meritum per presulis almi.
Sospes abitque domum cernens puer omnia rursum;
nemine celsithrono laudes reticente superno,
omnia qui lustrat pius et lustrata gubernat.

physicians and paid out to them considerable wealth so that he could be well; and they could be of no help to him. In due course he subsequently proceeded on horseback to approach the holy patron whom the entire English nation calls Augustine, who once ruled Canterbury as archbishop [1460]. He goes to him; and by his medication he obtained a partial remedy and was cured in that the stricture in one foot was unblocked. A short time passed; our excellent saint became known by report. The half-healed man hastens to Winchester and seeks out the saint with prayers. He has scarcely addressed him, when before the tomb of the saint the other stricture is unblocked by a sudden cure, and he who came crippled to pray on behalf of the one foot, returned healthy in each foot, and gave thanks to the Lord.

xvii. CONCERNING THE TWENTY-FIVE INVALIDS WHO WERE CURED ON ONE DAY.

[= Lantfred, c. 14]

Report flying everywhere brought sick people from all over to see the saint [1470], so that they could be relieved of severe illness. Twenty sick people came in company with five more joined to them, all afflicted by various illnesses: the lame, the deaf and the blind accompanied by the mute. With one mind they all sought the patron and, by the healing of God—Who gives relief to all creatures by His Word—straightway they were all restored to health in the space of one day and their illness driven away.

xviii. CONCERNING A BOY BLIND FOR FIVE YEARS.

[= Lantfred, c. 15]

As these were cured thus, a certain very wealthy man had a son born of noble kin [1480], and the boy was a delight and uniquely dear to him. He enjoyed the physical light from his birth to five years' age and was cheerfully able to see everything in that five-year period. That period passed and the boy suddenly lost his vision and was blind without sight for another five years. His mother, surrounded by a throng of retainers, took him along; she brought him to the saint and spent a night there in vigil with burning faith. Soon in the bright morning, as dawn brought on the day, the blindness receded from the boy's vision, and by the Lord's healing [1490] he saw the brightness of the day at hand through the merits of the holy bishop. And the boy went back homeward again, able to see everything; no-one was silent in praise of the Almighty God above, Who illumines all things and kindly governs what He illumines.

1472 **uenere**] *corr. ex* **uenire** *B*

1456 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 117 ('quae magnas tenuarat opes, ut sanior esset').
1457 Cf. below, ii. 696 ('nilque ualent prodesse uiro').
1458 Cf. above, i. 156 ('perrexit adire patronum').
1463 Cf. ii. 226 ('tempus abit modicum').
1469 Cf. below, i. 1617 ('Domino gratesque rependunt').
1471 Cf. above, note to i. 1062.
1476 Cf. below, i. 1545 ('illustrante Deo qui illuminat omnia uerbo').
1477 Cf. Bede, *VCM* 653 ('sub lance diei'), and above, i. 589.
1478 See above, note to i. 233.
1480 For the cadence *natalibus ortum*, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1266, 1784, 1883, 2164, 2359, as well as *HexLexikon* iii. 490.
1488 Cf. below, ii. 99 ('mox mane corusco').
1491 Cf. above, i. 1074, 1101, and below, ii. 628, 850, 1045 ('meritum per presulis almi').
1492 Cf. above, i. 770, and below, ii. 705 ('sospes abitque domum').

xix. DE CECO QVI ROMAM PERREXIT.

Nec pretermittam per muta silentia quod uir
ortus erat quidam clara de stirpe parentum
ante- sacri -quam membra forent translata patroni,
finibus Anglorum patriis qui manserat idem
uberibus gazis opibusque insignis habundans.
Cui clausit geminas subito caligo fenestras
et nox in tantum creuit per claustra genarum
ut nihil exceptis posset sentire tenebris.
Tandem luce carens spatiosum nauigat aequor,
multaque rura legens atque oppida mille peragrans,
uenit ad excelsae sublimia culmina Romae.
Multiplicatque preces interno pectore fusas
quatinus amissum, pulsa caligine, uisum
perciperet, sanctis sibi succurrentibus illis,
sunt ibi milleni qui circumquaque sepulti.
Incumbit precibus. Succedunt tempora lustri
nec tamen optatae fruitur medicamine lucis.
Adueniunt solito patriis e finibus Angli
sancta peregrinis inuisere limina plantis
sedis apostolicae. Volat undique fama per urbem,
nuper in Anglorum quendam fore gente repertum
sanctum pontificem, signorum luce micantem,
nomine Suuiðhunum, per quem moderator Olimpi
milibus aegrotis prestat beneficia turmis,
finitima de clade leuans diuinitus omnes.
Nec mora Romuleam liquit uelociter urbem
caecus, et Anglorum repetit per deuia gentem;
ante- sacerdotis studuitque inuisere tumbam
-quam qua natus erat regni perquirere partem.
Protinus hac ipsa qua nocte aduenerat illo
percipit amissum longo iam tempore uisum,
suffragante sibi Suuiðhuno presule summo.
Miratur, stupuit, huc circumspexit et illuc,
fronte crucem signat, sese benedixit et ambas
erigit ad caelum palmas ac talia fatur:
'Rex pie Christe, tibi sit gloria lausque perhennis,
sitque tuum nomen benedictum semper honestum,
qui caecas reserando meas sub fronte fenestras
solis inexhausti mihi cernere clara dedisti.
Et Suuiðhune, Dei tu summe sacerque sacerdos,
semper haue, decus Anglorum, qui uera probaris
esse medela Dei, qui confugientibus ad te

xix. CONCERNING THE BLIND MAN WHO WENT TO ROME.

[= Lantfred, c. 16]

Nor may I pass over in dumb silence the fact that there was a certain man born of distinguished parents, a man renowned and abounding in rich treasures and wealth, who lived in his paternal land of England before the body of the holy patron was translated. Darkness had suddenly closed the twin windows of his eyes [1500] and, because of the impairment of his vision, his blindness grew so bad that he could perceive nothing but shadows. At length, though blind, he sails the open sea and after travelling through many lands and traversing thousands of towns, he comes to the high citadels of lofty Rome. And he redoubles the prayers poured from his innermost heart so that he might, on the dispersal of the darkness, receive his lost vision through the aid of those thousands of saints who were buried there. He continues in prayer. A period of five years passes [1510] and yet he does not achieve the desired cure of his sight. English people customarily came from their homeland on pilgrimage to visit the holy thresholds of the apostolic see. The story flies everywhere through the city that there has recently been discovered in the nation of the English a certain saintly bishop, gleaming with the light of miracles, named Swithun, through whom the Ruler of heaven grants His bounties to countless invalids, relieving them all from imminent danger by divine intervention. Without delay the blind man swiftly leaves the city of Romulus [1520] and through the byways seeks again the nation of the English; and it is his concern to visit the tomb of the bishop even before he seeks out the region of the realm where he had been born. Immediately, on the very night he had arrived there, he received, through the intercession of the great bishop Swithun, the sight which he had lost long ago. He marvelled, was astonished, looked around here and there; he made the sign of the Cross on his forehead, blessed himself, raised up both hands to heaven and spoke thus: 'Merciful king, O Christ, everlasting praise and glory be to You [1530], and may Your righteous name be always blessed; You open up the blind windows on my face, and You have made me able to behold the brilliance of the inexhaustible sun. And you, O Swithun, holy bishop of God, hail to you always, glory of the English, who are proven to be the true remedy of God, who restore

1521 **per]** ***added above the line in B***

1496 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 94 ('quae uos a stirpe parentum'), Aldhelm, *CdV* 2173 ('inclita haec fuerat generosa stirpe parentum'), and below, ii. 821 ('clara de stirpe parentum'), and *BreuiloquiumSS* 105 ('clara Dauid de stirpe').

1497 Recycled from above, i. 237 ('ante- **sacri -quam membra** forent translata sepulchro').

1500 Cf. Aldhelm, ***CdV* 958 ('tertius orbatur geminis sub** fronte fenestris').

1501 Cf. Caelius **Sedulius, *CP* iv. 256 ('natale lutum per** claustra genarum').

1503 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 67 ('gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum nauigat aequor'); cf. also ii. 280 ('spatiosum transmeat aequor').

1504–5 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 1217–18 ('plurima quaeque legens distinctis oppida uicis / uenit ad excelsae sublimia culmina Romae'); with i. 1505, cf. ii. 81, 674.

1512 Cf. below, ii. 196 ('uariis e finibus Angli').

1514 Cf. above, i. 790 ('sedis apostolicae'), and i. 409 ('uolat undique fama per urbem').

1516 Cf. below, i. 1602 ('sanctum pontificem').

1517 Cf. below, ii. 899, 1011 ('moderator Olimpi'), as well as *HexLexikon* iii. 393, which cites a single instance of the phrase in Germanicus, *Aratea* 32.

1519 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 1208 ('finitima de clade leuat, quo munere uiso').

1532 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 38 ('atque diu clausas reserans sub fronte fenestras'); cf. also Aldhelm, *Enigm.* lxxii. 4, *CdV* 958, 2869, and below, i. 1581.

1533 Cf. above, i. 1230 ('solis inexhausti').

1536 Cf. above, i. 116 ('qui confugientibus ad se').

lumina restituis, prestas omnemque salutem.
Certus ego hoc didici, per apertaque signa probaui,
tempore qui tanto peregrina per auia caecus
corpora sanctorum longe lateque petiui,
qui mihi si uellent hec lumina reddere possent.
Sed Deus omnipotens tibi me seruauit, ut eius
splendens in toto per te sit gloria mundo.'
Sic domum laetus rediit clare omnia cernens
illustrante Deo, qui illuminat omnia uerbo.

xx. DE PARALITICO HROFENSI.

Praeterea quidam uir mansit in urbe Hrofensi
lumine priuatus, dimenso et corpore mancus,
necnon et lateris patiens utriusque dolorem.
Fertur ab agnatis splendet qua sanctus ad urbem.
Duxit ibi spatium triduani temporis orans
et mox euehitur reducique salute potitur.
Lucis amoena uidet, rediuiuo et corpore gaudet;
sicque Deum laudans repetit qua uenerat urbem.

xxi. DE CECO QVEM IRATVS DVCTOR LONGE AB HOSPITIO RELIQVIT.

Vir quoque luce carens in finibus extitit Hunum
tempora nocturnis ducens septena tenebris.
Hunc quidam solito praecessit ductor euntem
limen ad ecclesiae, foret aut quocumque necesse,
hunc iterumque domum pietate reducit amica.
Tempore sed quodam, furiis inuectus et ira,
liquit eum campi in medio sine preduce stantem.
Solus, ab hospitio per deuia longa remotus,
stat miser ignorans sese quo uerteret aut qua
parte domum redeat. Lacrimas effudit amaras
exorans nimiis Dominum singultibus ut se
respiceret clemens, sic uerba precantia fundens:
'O Dee, cunctorum saluator ubique tuorum,
qui circumfuso caelum terramque pugillo
cingis, et aeterno circumdas omnia giro:
respice me miserum quem cernis lumine captum
longe et ab hospitio, duce me linquente, remotum.
Dirige, queso, meos ad te super aethera gressus
et dispone meos placet ut tibi, conditor, actus,
cum sanctis lucemque mihi concede perhennem
sedibus in superis ubi lux tua splendet in euum.
Fac, rogo, fac mecum solita pietate, redemptor,

sight to those who flee to you and bestow all health. I have learned this for certain, established it through manifest miracles, I who was blind for so long a time and sought far and wide in my pilgrim wanderings the bodies of the saints [1540] who could have restored my sight to me if they had so wished. But Almighty God kept me for you, that His glory might shine forth through you in all the world.' And thus he returned home happily, seeing everything clearly through the illumination of God, Who illumines all things with His Word.

xx. CONCERNING THE PARALYTIC FROM ROCHESTER.

[= Lantfred, c. 17]

Moreover, a certain man lived in the town of Rochester; he was deprived of his sight and maimed in his whole body and also suffering pain in each side. He is taken by his kinsmen to the town [i.e. Winchester] where the saint shines forth. He spent a period of three days' time praying there [1550], and soon he was relieved and gained restored health. He sees the beauties of the light and rejoices in his revived body; and thus, praising God, he sought again the town whence he had come.

xxi. CONCERNING A BLIND MAN WHOM AN ANGRY GUIDE ABANDONED A LONG WAY FROM THE INN.

[= Lantfred, c. 18]

There was also a blind man in the region of *Hunum* who had spent seven years in nocturnal darkness. Normally a certain guide preceded this man as he went to the door of the church, or wherever was necessary, and with friendly devotion brought him home again. But one time, carried away by rage and anger, he abandoned him in the middle of a field without any guide [1560]. The wretch stood there alone, a long way away from his lodging, not knowing where to turn or in what direction to return home. He shed bitter tears as he begged the Lord with deep sobs mercifully to regard him, and thus he poured forth his prayers: 'O God, Saviour of all Your own wherever they are, Who encompass heaven and earth in Your closed fist and surround all things with eternal circumference: look on me, a wretched man, Whom You see to be deprived of light and far removed from shelter, my guide having abandoned me [1570]. Direct, I pray, my steps towards You above the heavens and dispose my actions, Creator, as it pleases You, and grant me everlasting light with Your saints in the heavenly seat where Your light shines forever. Treat me, I pray, O Redeemer, with your accustomed mercy, and do not

1566 saluator] *R adds* o *above this word*; o *is taken into the text by the scribe of B (see above, p. 366)*

1540 Cf. above, i. 720, 1114 ('longe lateque').
1542 See above, note to Ep. spec. 111.
1545 Cf. above, i. 1476 ('et medicante Deo qui subleuat omnia uerbo').
1547 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 183 ('aspicit inualidum, dimenso corpore mancum').
1559 Cf. above, note to i. 1194.
1565 Cf. above, i. 1212 ('sic uerba precantia fundens'), and note.
1568 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 65 ('nomen et aeterno conplectens omnia gyro'); cf. also below, ii. 756 ('et aeterno complectitur omnia gyro').

in manibusque nequam noli me tradere, sed nunc
tolle uel hanc animam misero hoc de corpore uel me
Suuiðhuni meritis fac cernere lumina solis.
Te quoque, pontificum mitissime, uocibus oro
flebilibus; succurre mihi pietate paterna,
hasque diu clausas dignare aperire fenestras,
qui facis innumeras a clade resurgere turmas.
Credo fide plena te posse, uir inclite, si uis
aurea siderei mihi reddere lumina caeli
per Dominum, cuncto qui dat beneficia mundo.'
Obsecrat, et dicto citius sub fronte gemellae
effulgent acies, campi in medioque merentur
ablatum spectare diem. Laetatur et inde
uertitur ad proprii sine preduce culmina tecti.
Conueniunt fratres, stant hinc atque inde parentes,
et mirantur eum paulo ante abscedere caecum,
lumine percepto statimque redire uidentem.
Rem quaerunt; exponit eis se presulis almi
Suuithuni meritis noua cernere gaudia lucis.
Glorificant Dominum, replet qui lumine mundum.

xxii. DE .IIII. EGRIS VTRIVSQVE SEXVS.

Nec minus Eois gemini uersantur in oris
Saxonum de gente uiri nil lucis habentes,
atra sed extinctae gestantes nubila formae.
Quos totidem comitantur anus que tempore multo
officio manuum gemuere pedumque relictae.
Auditu didicere Dei beneficia quae per
sanctum pontificem Wenta patrauit in urbe,
aegrotos sanando greges; statimque, relictis
sedibus, unanimo properant inuisere corde
insignem pietate uirum, coramque beato
pontifice exorant Dominum, conferret ut illis
consuetam miseratus opem. Mox ergo uirorum
uultibus effulgent oculi tandemque merentur
optatum spectare diem. Mulieribus ambae
incipiunt, medicante Deo, recalescere palmae
et reduci uirtute uigent, manibusque leuatis
fronte crucem plaudendo notant et commoda queque
perficiunt sancti meritis atque hospite gressu
conuixere pedes, surguntque et calle nouello
exiliunt calcantque solum, coramque popello
huc hilares currunt, illuc alacresque recurrunt.

hand me over to wicked hands, but now either take this soul from this wretched body or make me to behold the light of the sun by the merits of Swithun. I beseech you too, gentlest of bishops, with tearful cries; come to my aid in your paternal kindness [1580], and deign to open these windows so long closed, for you make countless throngs rise up from their afflictions. With complete faith I believe, renowned man, that you are able, if you wish, to restore to me the golden light of the starry heaven through the Lord Who grants His bounties to the whole world.' He prays, and faster than the telling the twin eyes under his forehead shine and in the middle of the field he gazes upon the lost daylight. He rejoices and then heads without a guide for the protection of his own house. His brothers assemble and his kinsmen stand about [1590] and they marvel that he had shortly before departed blind, and suddenly returned sighted, his vision restored. They seek an explanation; he explains to them that he is able to perceive joys of light through the merits of the kindly bishop Swithun. They glorify the Lord, Who fills the world with light.

xxii. CONCERNING FOUR SICK PERSONS OF EITHER SEX.

[= Lantfred, c. 19]

Also in eastern regions [i.e. Essex] there lived two men of the Anglo-Saxon nation who had no vision, but whose eyes conveyed dark clouds in indistinct outline. A similar number of old women accompanied them, who for a long time had lamented their loss of the use of their hands and feet [1600]. They had heard of the favours of God which He accomplished through His saintly bishop in Winchester, by curing the ailing throngs; and at once, leaving their homes, they hasten with one intention to see the man renowned for his mercy, and in the presence of the blessed bishop they beseech the Lord mercifully to grant to them His accustomed aid. Immediately, therefore, the eyes of the men shine on their faces and at last they behold the longed-for daylight. The women's two hands begin to grow warm again with God's medication [1610] and are strong with renewed strength, and with raised hands they joyfully make the sign of the Cross on their foreheads, and they perform every manual activity by the merits of the saint, and with unfamiliar step their feet come to life, and they get up and leap about with youthful step, and they tread upon the ground and in the peoples' presence they run back and forth cheerful and happy. And

1601 didicere] dedicere *B* 1616 alacresque] *corr. ex* alacrasque *B*

1578 For the cadence *lumina solis*, cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 255, Juvencus, *Euang.* i. 567, ii. 167, iii. 16, 206, Aldhelm, *CdV* 180, 1206, 1528, 1689, and below, ii. 207, as well as *HexLexikon* iii. 254–5.

1581 See above, note to i. 1532.

1584 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 43 ('aurea deuexi dum format sidera caeli'), and below, ii. 767 ('aurea siderei cernebat lumina caeli'); cf. also above, i. 1381.

1585 Cf. above, Praef. 10, and below, ii. 1170 ('beneficia mundo').

1586–8 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 261–3:

> mox ergo gemellae
> uultibus effulgent acies tandemque merentur
> ignotum spectare diem.

For the phrase *sub fronte*, cf. above, note to i. 1532; see also below, i. 1607–9, ii. 503–5. For *ut dicto citius*, cf. above, i. 129, 1217, and below, ii. 238.

1589 For the cadence *culmina tecti*, cf. above, note to i. 588.

1590 Cf. below, ii. 432 ('conueniunt fratres').

1595 Cf. above, i. 274, 357 ('glorificat Dominum'), and below, ii. 200.

1598 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* v. 512 ('. . . atra uolans in nubila fugit'), and Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 33 ('. . . extinctae poscentes munera formae'); see also below, ii. 702, 1098.

1602 Cf. above, i. 1516 ('sanctum pontificem').

1607 Cf. above, note to i. 1438.

1608 Cf. below, ii. 503 ('uultibus effulgent').

Sicque domum redeunt Domino gratesque rependunt
premia uirtutis qui munera datque salutis;
cui manet imperium nunc et sine fine per euum.

Explicit exigui prior aegra camena libelli;
incipit eiusdem peruile poema secundum.

⟨LIBER SECVNDVS⟩

[a]INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA SEQVENTIS LIBELLI DE MIRACVLIS SANCTI SWIÐHVNI EPISCOPI[a]

i. De fabrica arcae et de eius translatione
ii. De muliere quae inuisibiliter ad sanctum portata est
iii. De duabus mulieribus quarum una caeca, altera fuit muta
iv. De .xxxvi. aegris qui in tribus diebus sanati sunt
v. De .cxxiv. egris qui in .xiv. diebus curati sunt
vi. De eo quod ipsa miracula omnem excedant numerum
vii. De homine qui parricidium commisit
viii. De homine qui nuda manu ignitum calibem portauit
ix. De homine quem legis latores cecauerunt
x. De homine qui ingentem cippum cultello incidit
xi. De preposito Abbandunensis monasterii
xii. De caeco in itinere illuminato
xiii. De debili et claudo
xiv. De puero qui de equo cecidit
xv. De muliere quae per sanctum in Gallia sanata est
xvi. De altera muliere gentis Francorum
xvii. De ultramarino latrone
xviii. De uisione cuiusdam nobilis in Vecta insula
xix. De iuuene caeco

[a–a] incipiunt capitula sequentis libelli de miraculis sancti Swiðhuni episcopi *om. B*

1617 Cf. above, i. 1469 ('Domino gratesque rependit').
1619 See above, note to i. 121; cf. also below, ii. 1171 ('cui manet imperium').
1620 Cf. above, Praef. 191 ('explicit exigui praefatio stricta libelli').

Book ii of Wulfstan's *Narratio* corresponds to the narrative in Lantfred, *Translatio* cc. 20–40; but Wulfstan prefaces his narrative with an account of a lavish reliquary-shrine commissioned by King Edgar. In the accompanying prose *capitulum*, Wulfstan gives the date of this second translation as 8 Oct., but

thus they return home and give thanks to the Lord, Who grants the reward of virtue and the gift of salvation; dominion is His now and forever without end.

Here ends the frail effort of the first slight book [1620]; here begins its second miserable component.

BOOK ii

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTER-HEADINGS OF THE SECOND BOOK OF THE MIRACLES OF ST SWITHUN THE BISHOP.

i. On the construction of the reliquary and the saint's translation [ii. 1–77]
ii. Concerning the woman who was invisibly transported to the saint [ii. 78–204]
iii. About two women, of whom one was blind, the other mute [ii. 205–17]
iv. Concerning thirty-six sick people who were cured in the space of three days [ii. 218–25]
v. Concerning 124 sick people, who were cured in the space of a fortnight [ii. 226–31]
vi. Concerning the fact that the miracles themselves surpass reckoning [ii. 232–65]
vii. Concerning the man who murdered a kinsman [ii. 266–98]
viii. About the man who carried some red-hot metal in his bare hand [ii. 299–434]
ix. Concerning the man whom the judges blinded [ii. 435–511]
x. About the man who cut through an immense beam with a knife [ii. 512–679]
xi. Concerning the prior of the monastery of Abingdon [ii. 680–705]
xii. Concerning the blind man who received his eyesight on a journey [ii. 706–73]
xiii. Concerning the man who was infirm and lame [ii. 774–82]
xiv. Concerning the boy who fell from a horse [ii. 783–812]
xv. Concerning the woman who was cured in France by the saint [ii. 813–63]
xvi. About another French woman [ii. 864–85]
xvii. About the overseas thief [ii. 886–914]
xviii. About the vision of a certain nobleman on the Isle of Wight [ii. 915–1061]
xix. Concerning a young man who was blind [ii. 1062–1101]

unfortunately does not specify the year. The event must have taken place before the death of King Edgar on 8 July 975 and, to judge from the position in Lantfred's framework into which Wulfstan has inserted it, after Oct. 971 (see above, pp. 302–3). It is not possible to decide between 972, 973, and 974; but note that 8 Oct. did not fall on a Sunday in any of these three years. Furthermore, Lantfred shows no knowledge of this remarkable reliquary-shrine—implying that he had left Winchester by the time it was constructed?—but if so, it is curious that Wulfstan positions the account of the commissioning of the shrine in the midst of Lantfred's narrative, not at its end.

xx. De adolescente incuruo

xxi. De muliere manicis alligata

xxii. De seruo compedibus uincto

EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA.

i. INCIPIT DE FABRICA ARCAE ET DE SECVNDA SANCTI VIRI TRANSLATIONE, QVE FACTA EST DIE .VIII. IDVS OCTOBRIS, REGE EADGARO IMPERANTE.

Has inter uirtutis opes rex inclitus Eadgar
promissum compleuit opus, que uouit et almo
pontifici studuit toto persoluere nisu;
namque alacer Domino, colimus quem nomine trino,
contulit argenti, gemmae rutilantis et auri
ter centum libras aequa sub lance probatas,
et iubet aurifices simul adfore quosque peritos,
ut patris dignum fabricent in honore sacellum.
Conueniunt uillam fabri properanter ad illam
quam 'magnam' uocitare solent, opus eximiumque
certatim fabricare student atque ocius explent,
auxilio comitante Dei. Qua passio Christi
sculpta beata nitet, simul et surrectio, necne
eius ad astriferos ueneranda ascensio caelos:
plura inibique micant, quae nunc edicere longum est.
Hac itaque expleta pulchro satis ordine capsa,
inclitus antistes pater et uenerandus Aðeluuold
corpore de sancti partem conclusit in illa,
nuntiat et regi quod iusserat omne patrari.
His ille auditis, alacri fit pectore laetus,
precipit et capsam sibi presentare paratam.
Qua circumspecta fit laetior, hancque citatim
toto corde Deo sancto uouitque Suuiðhuno;
misit et extimplo quos secum nobiliores

1 Cf. Caelius **Sedulius, *CP* v. 1 ('has inter uirtutis opes iam proxima paschae')**.

2 Cf. Caelius **Sedulius, *CP* ii. 43 ('promissum compleuit opus')**.

4 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 40 **('proprietas ergo credatur nomine trino')**; cf. also *HexLexikon* iii. 556.

5 Cf. above, i. 78 ('argenti gemmae rutilantis et auri').

7 *aurifices*. The king orders goldsmiths to assemble at his estate at King's Somborne, where they are commissioned to fashion a magnificent reliquary from three hundred pounds of gold, silver, and rubies. It is not clear whether the goldsmiths were members of the royal household; but it is interesting to note that, among the list of monks of the Old Minster preserved in the New Minster *Liber uitae*, there is a Wulfric *aurifex* (whose name occurs immediately before that of Wulfstan Cantor), a Byrhthelm *aurifex*, and a Byrnhelm *aurifex* (whose name occurs immediately before that of Lantfred): *LVH*, ed. Birch, p. 25; ed. Keynes, fos. 18v, 19r with pp. 88–9; see also M. Lapidge, 'Artistic and literary patronage in Anglo-Saxon England', *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medievo*, xxxix (1992), 137–91, at pp. 152–3 (repr. in *ALL* i. 37–91, at pp. 52–3).

8 *sacellum*. This magnificent reliquary-shrine has unfortunately not survived. The programme of its decoration, including scenes of Christ's Passion, Resurrection and Ascension (ii. 12–14), has been discussed by C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: a New Perspective* (Manchester, 1982), pp. 198–200, who observes that the remaining scenes depicted on the reliquary—mentioned but not discussed by Wulfstan (ii. 15)—must similarly have been

xx. Concerning a crippled young man [ii. 1102–22]

xxi. Concerning the woman bound up in manacles [ii. 1123–46]

xxii. About the slave who was bound up in chains [ii. 1147–66]

HERE END THE CHAPTER-HEADINGS.

i. HERE BEGINS THE ACCOUNT OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SHRINE, AND OF THE HOLY MAN'S SECOND TRANSLATION, WHICH TOOK PLACE ON 8 OCTOBER, DURING KING EDGAR'S REIGN.

[not in Lantfred]

Amidst these mighty displays of miraculous power, the renowned King Edgar brought to completion a work which he had undertaken, and he strove diligently with his every effort to render to the holy bishop those things he had promised; for the happy king bestowed on the Lord, Whom we worship in threefold name, three hundred pounds of silver, ruby gems and gold, all measured out on a level balance; and at the same time he commands certain skilled goldsmiths to be present so that they might make a suitable reliquary-shrine in honour of the holy father. The goldsmiths hastily convene at that royal estate which people are accustomed to call the 'Great' [10], and they strive eagerly to fashion the excellent work, and quickly they bring it to completion with God's assistance. The blessed Passion of Christ glistens there, engraved on the shrine, and likewise the Resurrection, and also His awe-inspiring Ascension to the starry heavens: many other scenes glisten there too, which it is a long undertaking to describe at this time. Accordingly, when this reliquary had been completed in a sufficiently pleasing fashion, the renowned bishop and reverend father Æthelwold enclosed a part of the saint's body within it, and he announced to the king that everything which the king had commissioned was completed. Having heard these words, the king rejoices with gladdened heart [20], and orders the finished reliquary to be presented to him. When he has inspected it he becomes happier still, and he quickly dedicates it with all his heart to God and to St Swithun; and immediately he dispatched those thegns whom by chance he

concerned with the concept of eternal life. Dodwell (ibid.) points to various analogous objects, including the Gandersheim Casket (on medieval reliquaries in general, see *DACL* xiv/2 (1948), cols. 2294–2359, s.v. 'Reliques et reliquaires', as well as J. Braun, *Die Reliquaire des christlichen Kultus und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg, 1940)). It has recently been suggested that the depiction of a shrine-reliquary on a wall-painting recently uncovered in Winchester Cathedral, and dating from the late twelfth century, may be intended as a representation of King Edgar's reliquary: see J. Crook, 'King Edgar's reliquary of St Swithun', *ASE* xxi (1992), 177–202, esp. pp. 197–202, with pls. XVI–XVIII. Crook points to various evidence which suggests that the reliquary may still have been in existence in the mid-fifteenth century, but was apparently melted down in 1448 to provide material for a new shrine of St Swithun (ibid. p. 201).

9–10 Wulfstan unfortunately does not name the royal estate which was known as 'the Great'. From context, we can deduce that it was located to the west of Winchester, since the procession bearing the reliquary arrived at the west gate of the city (ii. 53; see fig. 2); furthermore, since each of the processions—that proceeding from the royal estate to Winchester, and that proceeding westward from Winchester to meet it—travelled three miles (ii. 30), the estate in question must have been located some six miles west of Winchester. There were several royal estates in the near vicinity of Winchester (see fig. 1 and WS i. 465–6): King's Worthy two miles to the north; Andover (where the *witan* met on the eve of the dedication of the Old Minster in 980: Ep. spec. 82), twelve miles to the northwest; and King's Somborne, 7½ miles directly west of Winchester. The implication is that the reliquary was made at King's Somborne, whence it was brought in procession to Winchester.

12 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 261 ('completa est passio Christi').

15 Cf. above, Ep. spec. 75 ('quos nunc edicere promptum est'), and *BreuiloquiumSS* 340 ('pro multisque aliis que nunc edicere longum est').

tum fortasse habuit, mandans ut prepete cursu
cum cuncto pariter comitatu protinus irent
ad sancti patris obsequium, quin insuper addens
ut de Wintonia sexus simul omnis et aetas,
seruus et ingenuus quicumque maneret in illa,
procedat nudis tria per miliaria plantis,
obuiet et sancto cum relligione patrono,
omnis lingua Deum quo conlaudaret in unum,
et iubar ethereum clareret ubique per ymnum,
laudibus excelsis ac transferretur ad urbem.
Est ita quod factum: siquidem processimus omnes
continuo nudis tria per miliaria plantis,
dulcia Dauiticis resonantes organa psalmis,
et uix incessum populo stipante mouentes.
Progredimur pro posse tamen properanter, et ecce
obuia turba uenit sanctum comitata patronum;
congaudent nobis, nos congaudemus et illis.
Tandem perspicuam ferri conspeximus arcam,
Beselehelitica subtiliter arte politam,
argento albentem, gemmisque auroque rubentem,
atque in se pretium mundum quod uincit habentem.
Sternimur ad terram, pronis ac mentibus omnes
condigno sanctum ueneramur honore patronum;
erecti dehinc preconia psallere laudum
coepimus, et feretrum sectando redimus ad urbem.
Audires peditum iubilo modulasse cohortes,
aspiceresque equitum manibus plausisse phalanges.
Iam simul ad Wentam laeti peruenimus urbem,
peruiaque occiduae reserantur limina portae;
et statim populis intrantibus obuia quaedam
caeca puella uenit, lacrimis sanctumque petiuit,
illius meritis caperet quo munera lucis.
Orat, et extimplo fit lumine laeta superno,
spectarique uidens meruitque uidere uidentes.
Tollitur in caelum populi uox aurea pulsans
sidera, proclamantque omnes hac uoce canentes:
'Quis deus inmensus sicut Deus, inclite, noster?
Tu Deus es uerus, qui regnas trinus et unus,
qui facis in sancto miracula tanta patrono.'
Ducitur in sanctam sanctus cum laude sacerdos
ecclesiam, cunctis gaudentibus atque sonora
uoce creatorem laudantibus omnipotentem;
collocat et sanctam uenerandus episcopus arcam—

had with him, ordering them to go at once with swift pace—and with the entire retinue besides—into the service of the holy father, even adding, moreover, that each person from Winchester, of whatever age and sex—whether slave or nobly born, whosoever dwelled in that town—was to proceed barefoot over the three miles [30], and was to go to meet the holy patron with reverence, so that every tongue might magnify God in unison and the ethereal radiance would shine everywhere through the chanting, and St Swithun would be translated to the city with glorious acclaim. That is what took place: we all did indeed proceed straightway over the three miles barefoot, chanting the sweet melodies to the psalms of David and scarcely making any progress amidst the pressing throng. We nevertheless proceed quickly as best we can, and then lo and behold the other crowd accompanying the holy patron comes into view [40]; they rejoice at meeting us, we rejoice at meeting them. In due course we spied the distinguished [metal] reliquary [being carried], finely wrought with the skill of Beseleel, luminous with silver, glowing with jewels and gold, and containing within it the treasure which surpasses all the world. We fall to the ground, and in our prostrate hearts we all worship the holy patron with appropriate respect; upright once again we begin to hymn the celebration of praise, and following the feretory we return to the town. You would have heard the companies of pedestrians singing with jubilation [50], and you would have seen the throngs of riders on horseback applaud by clapping their hands. Together now we arrive joyfully at the town of Winchester, and the entrance-doors of the western gate are opened; and immediately a certain blind girl came to meet the crowds as they entered, and sought the saint's assistance with her tears, so that through his merits she might acquire the gift of eyesight. She prays, and straightway she is made happy through heavenly light, and, with her eyesight restored, she deserved both to be looked upon and to look upon those people looking at her. The golden voice of the people is raised to the sky, touching the stars, and they all proclaim, singing in this tone [60]: 'What god is as mighty as Our God, O glorious One? You are the True God, Who reign Three and One, Who produce such mighty miracles through our patron saint.' The holy bishop [i.e. St Swithun in the reliquary] is brought into the holy church in celebration, with everyone rejoicing and praising the omnipotent creator in resounding tones; and the reverend Bishop Æthelwold places the holy reliquary—as was

50 *over* audires *RB add* s. si adesses 58 *over* spectarique *R adds* i. uideri 59–60 *in the margin R adds* scema: yperbole 61 *over* Deus *RB have* s. tu; *over* inclite *RB have* o

26 For the phrase *cuncto pariter* in these metrical feet, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1527, 2013.

30 This line is recycled a few lines below, at ii. 36.

36 Mostly recycled from a few lines above (ii. 30).

42 It is unclear whether *ferri* is the genitive of *ferrum* ('iron', 'metal'), or the passive infinitive of *fero* ('to carry').

43 The reference is to Beseleel, one of two smiths commissioned by the Lord to make the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant, as well as all the vessels and candelabra pertaining to the Tabernacle (Ex. 31: 2–11). According to *DMLBS*, the word *beselehelitica* occurs uniquely here amongst Anglo-Latin sources, and is possibly a coinage by Wulfstan.

44 Cf. above, i. 1341 (with note), and below, ii. 953 ('gemmis auroque').

46 Cf. below, ii. 676 ('sternitur ad terram').

53 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 752 ('obscuraque limina portae'), Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 287 ('peruia pulsanti reserantur limina cordi'), and Aldhelm, *CdV* 2451 ('florida lucifluae claudent et limina portae').

55 Cf. above, i. 1042, 1153 ('lacrimis sanctumque requirunt').

57 Cf. below, ii. 111 ('orat et extimplo fit munere laeta superno').

59 Cf. above, i. 414 ('tollitur in caelum').

60 Cf. above, note to Ep. spec. 227.

61–3 A paraphrase of Ps. 76 (77): 14–15 ('. . . quis deus magnus sicut Deus noster; tu es Deus qui facis mirabilia').

63 This line is recycled from i. 1416; cf. also ii. 408.

64 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 651 ('iam fuit Hesperiae famosus laude sacerdos').

67 Cf. above, i. 1030 ('collocat ac digne praeclarus episcopus illud').

sicut erat dignum—super altare inmaculatum.
Sicque diem totum sacris expendimus ymnis,
et redeunt proceres, potuque ciboque refecti,
regis ad obsequium, narrantque per omnia quicquid
per meritum sancti meruere uidere patroni.
Ille refert hilares imo de pectore grates,
quod tam grata pio fuerint sua munera Christo,
quae dignatus erat claris ita comere signis;
et cum rege pium benedicunt omnia Christum,
est qui rex regum, cui laus sit nunc et in euum.

ii. DE MVLIERE, QVAE INTER INNVMERABILEM POPVLI MVLTITVDINEM INVISIBILITER AD SANCTI VATIS SEPVLCHRVM DEPORTATA EST.

Vir fuit interea plebeius origine quidam,
in Boreae regione degens; cui seruula quedam
per furtum subtracta fuit. Quam predo retentam
duxit ad excelsae sublimia culmina Wentae
seruili dicione, et eam promptissime cuidam
uendidit urbano, praefatae sedis alumno.
Mango domum rediit; famulans ancilla remansit
e patrio distracta solo. Sol plurima uoluit
tempora; seruiuit sine fraude fideliter illa,
omnia iussa tenens et non sibi iussa relinquens.
Accidit interea priscum uenisse patronum
illius ad Wentam sibi commoda queque lucrari;
cuius in aduentu fit laeta ancillula, moxque
hunc audacter adit—domino ignorante cui tunc,
ut cecini, subiecta fuit—dominumque priorem
alloquitur secura suum. Mox, indice fama,
nota fuit dominae sed haec fabulatio seruae.
Accersiuit eam blanda sub fraude minister;
ad dominam reuocata uenit, statimque misella
stringitur adtritis ingenti compede plantis,
amplius antiquum ne posset adire patronum.
Vertitur interea caelum, et mox mane corusco
progreditur mulier, dominatrix effera seruae,
exercere sibi consueta negotia quaedam,
ancillamque domi liquit sic compede strictam.
Quae mox, ut ualuit, cum compede limina transit,
et sola exterius sedit miserabilis illic,
et rogat intenta Dominum prece cunctipotentem,
liberet a diris ut eam miserendo catenis.
Vertitur ad sanctum—potuit quoquomodo—templum

appropriate—upon the sacrosanct altar. And thus we pass the entire day in songs of holy praise, and the dignitaries, refreshed with food and drink [70], return to the king's service, and they report in every detail what they had been found worthy to see through the merit of the holy patron. The king gives joyous thanks from the depth of his heart that his gifts had been so acceptable to the blessed Christ which He had deigned to enhance with such evident signs; and with the king they all praise the blessed Christ, Who is King of kings, to Whom be praise now and forever.

ii. CONCERNING THE WOMAN WHO AMIDST A COUNTLESS MULTITUDE OF PEOPLE WAS TRANSPORTED INVISIBLY TO THE SHRINE OF THE HOLY SAINT.

[= Lantfred, c. 20]

At that time there was a certain man, a *ceorl* in origin, living in the north; a slave-girl was stolen from him by theft. The robber kept her [80] and took her to the high citadels of lofty Winchester as a slave in his power, and sold her very quickly to a certain citizen, a native of that aforementioned place. The slave-trader returned home; the girl remained in servitude, separated from her native land. The sun revolved through many seasons; that slave-girl served faithfully without deceit, obeying all her commands and not neglecting anything which was asked of her. Meanwhile it happened that her former owner had come to Winchester in order to acquire certain goods for himself; at his arrival the slave-girl becomes happy, and straightway she boldly approaches him [90]—with her present owner not knowing to whom she had formerly belonged, as I said—and converses unconcernedly with her former lord. Immediately, with rumour the informant, this conversation of the slave-girl becomes known to her present mistress. A deputy fetched her with a persuasive deception; thus summoned, she comes to her mistress, and immediately the poor wretch is tied up with her bruised feet thrust into an immense shackle, so that she cannot henceforth go to her former owner. Meanwhile the heavens revolve, and with dawn breaking the woman—the beastly mistress of the slave-girl [100]—sets out straightway to perform certain normal business; and she leaves her slave-girl at home tied up thus in shackles. The girl immediately goes, as best she can, to the doorway with her shackles, and the miserable wretch sits outside there and beseeches the omnipotent Lord in an eager prayer mercifully to free her from her detestable chains. She turns to the holy church—in whatever way she could manage—

83 *over* praefatae *R has* i. Wentanae

69 This entire line is recycled below, ii. 264.

70–1 The dignitaries return to King Edgar at King's Somborne to report the reception of the reliquary at the Old Minster: but is it not somewhat odd that the king himself did not participate in the precession? Was he by then too ill to do so? For the phrasing, cf. also below, ii. 1121 ('potu ciboque refectus').

78 That the man was *plebeius* in origin (here rendered as OE *ceorl*) is a detail not found in Lantfred.

81 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 1218, and above, i. 1505. The present line is recycled below, ii. 674 ('uenit ad excelsae sublimia culmina Wentae').

82 The phrase *seruili dicione* is used in these same feet below, ii. 303, 318.

88 Cf. above, i. 1319 ('accidit interea').

90 See above, note to i. 970.

92 Cf. below, ii. 357 ('ut cecini').

99 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 484 ('uertitur interea mutato nomine sanctus'); cf. also above, i. 1488 ('mox mane corusco').

105 Cf. below, i. 1089 ('Dominum prece cunctipotentem').

in quo condignis ueneratur honoribus almus
presul, et hunc lacrimis totis pulsatque medullis,
illius ut meritis queat euasisse periclum.
Orat, et extimplo fit munere laeta superno,
namque sacerdotem sibi uidit adesse micantem,
canicie niueum praeclara et ueste coruscum.
Accessitque ad eam, percunctabatur et idem
praedulci sermone, elegam quid haberet; eandem
arripuit dextraque manu, tenuitque per ulnam,
uexit et ad sancti tumulum pungentis in ictu,
inter et innumeram quae constitit undique turbam,
limina Coenobii uallans quasi sacra Vetusti.
Ponit—adhuc uinctis gemino cum compede plantis—
infra aditum claustri seris atque obice clausi,
iuxta altare sacrum, iacuit quo soma beatum.
Mirum etenim dictu fuit et mirabile uisu,
plebe quod e tanta ualuit hanc cernere nemo—
sed neque presbiterum qui illam portauerat illo—
donec in sacro staret sic uincta sacello,
quod presens clausum uidit tum claue popellus.
Fit notum dominae, nimis et miratur apud se,
subsequitur tandemque suae uestigia seruae,
rem uisura nouam, que contigit antea numquam.
Aduenit interea frater, qui claue sacellum
clauserat, Eadzinus, uir religiosus, et omni—
inspirante Deo—morum probitate uerendus.
Cuius in hoc modico stat mentio scripta libello,
sunt ubi sancta pii legata notata patroni,
quo suadente fuit seclo conuersus ab isto,
normalem ducens usque ultima tempora uitam.
Participem regni quem credimus esse superni,
dilexit quoniam tota uirtute Tonantem,
preceptisque Dei seruiuit amore fideli,
cernit et egregium uisu felice Suuithunum,
cuius doctrinam studuit seruare modestam.
Denique diuino constat moderamine gestum
ut, postquam seclo fuerat conuersus ab isto,
custodiret eum cum sollicitudine, et illi
qualemcumque uicem uigilando rependeret—a quo
custoditus erat—mundi ne lata sequendo
lapsus in igniuomae rueret tormenta Gehenne,
sed magis angustae gradiendo per ardua portae
aurea perpetuae conscenderet atria uitae.

in which the kindly bishop is venerated with due honour, and importunes him in tears from the bottom of her heart that through his merits she might be able to escape from danger [110]. She prays, and immediately she is blessed with a heavenly boon, for she sees a priest approach her, radiant with snowy-white hair and shining in his resplendent vestments. And he went up to her and he questioned her in very soothing speech as to why she was so miserable; and he seized her by the right hand and grasped her arm as far as the elbow, and in a split-second transported her to the saint's tomb and into the midst of a countless throng which was present everywhere, fortifying as it were the holy portals of the Old Minster with a rampart. He places her—with her feet still bound by a double shackle [120]—within the church's innermost shrine, which was closed by lock and key, and next to the holy altar where the holy body lay. It was marvellous to relate and a miracle to see, that out of so great a multitude no-one had been able to observe these things—they did not even see the priest who had brought her there—until she stood thus, bound, within the sanctuary, which the people present saw was shut at that point with lock and key. This becomes known to the slave-girl's mistress, and she marvels greatly to herself and eventually follows the footsteps of her slave-girl, intending to witness a novelty which had never previously occurred [130]. Meanwhile the monk arrived who had locked the sanctuary with a key—Eadsige, a devout man and, through God's inspiration, one to be respected for the total honesty of his behaviour. There is notice of him earlier in this modest little book, at the point where are recorded the holy visitations of our saintly patron Swithun, at whose insistence Eadsige was converted from this world, henceforth leading a life in accordance with the Rule until his last days. I believe him now to be a member of the heavenly kingdom, since he loved God with such energy and kept God's commandments with such faithful devotion [140]; and now with blessed vision he gazes on the excellent Swithun, whose sober teaching he strove to observe. Accordingly it came about through divine governance that, after he had been converted from this world, he should watch over Swithun's remains with attentive care, and should, by keeping watch over the place in question, repay him by whom he had been protected, so that he would not fall headlong into the torments of hell by following the broad highway of this world, but rather, proceeding through the straits of the narrow gate, he would ascend to the golden halls of eternal life [150].

109 Cf. Caelius **Sedulius**, *CP* iii. 38 ('. . . **hunc lacrimis totis pulsatque medullis**').

111 Cf. above, **ii. 57 ('orat et extimplo fit lumine laeta superno')**.

115 Cf. above, i. 1343 ('predulci sermone').

117 Cf. below, ii. 194 ('pungentis in ictu')

119 Cf. above, i. 1333 ('limina coenobii'), and **below, ii. 256.**

123 Cf. **below, ii. 401 ('nam mirum dictu fuit et mirabile uisu')**.

128 Cf. above, i. 903, 1064 ('fit notum').

133 Cf. above, i. 858 ('inspirante Deo').

134–50 This excursus on Eadsige has no correlate in Lantfred. Eadsige had clearly died in the period between the completion of Lantfred's *Translatio* and that of Wulfstan's *Narratio*. Eadsige has previously been mentioned by Wulfstan in his account of the revelation which precedes the translation of the saint in 971 (i. 22, 35, 44); see also above, p. 260 n. 43. In the list of Old Minster monks in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster, Eadsige is described simply as *monachus* (ed. Birch, p. 25 (no. lvii); ed. Keynes, fo. 19r, with discussion at p. 89); it is uncertain, therefore, whether he can be identified with either the Eadsige *diaconus* whose obit is recorded against 28 Mar. in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, or the Eadsige *sacerdos* recorded there against 27 July (ed. Günzel, pp. 93, 97).

136 Cf. below, ii. 144 ('seclo fuerat conuersus ab isto').

144 Cf. above, ii. 136 ('fuit seclo conuersus ab isto').

148 Cf. above, Praef. 143 ('pulsus in igniuomae preceps ruit ima Gehennae').

150 For the phrase *perpetuae . . . uitae* in these metrical feet, see Aldhelm, *CdV* 752, 1226, 1503; cf. also above, note to i. 64.

Ergo ubi constrictam bino cum compede stantem
uidit eam—clauimque sinu seruaret opaco—
ammirans nimium sic fatur semet ad ipsum:
'Rem miram uideo, quodque est mirabile cerno.
Nonne ego per memet clausi paulo ante sacellum?
Et quis in hoc adito mulierem clauserat istam?
Repperit an ualuam manus hec quam clausit apertam?'
Accedensque ad eam populo auscultante profatur,
'O mulier, quis—fare mihi—te clausit in isto
uestibulo, cuncti in quo te nunc stare uidemus?
Quae te intrare sacrum suasit presumptio claustrum,
in quo mirifici requiescunt ossa patroni?
Qua poteras clauso ratione latere sacello,
te quia non uidi claue hec cum limina clausi?'
Tum mulier, iuuenem cernens adsistere quendam
extra balconem, proprio qui nomine Eaduuoldus
clericus est dictus, monacho respondit, et infit:
'Clericus iste suas, me clericus iste leuauit
in scapulas, currensque locum me uexit ad istum,
meque modo hic posuit sancti patris ante sepulchrum.'
Clericus econtra iurando negauit, et inquit:
'Te numquam ante meis conspexi, testor, ocellis.'
Illa ait: 'Ipse etenim me tu citus arripuisti,
hucque tuis scapulis celeri me calle tulisti.'
Clericus infausto dedit hec responsa precatu:
'Dentibus insanis te, morsibus atque cruentis,
omni parte simul lanient ursique lupique,
et genus omne canum, tenebrosa nocte latrantum,
undique te laceret, teque undique dente cruentet,
ante- mihi imponam -quam tam inportabile pondus!'
Illa refert tales ad se conuersa loquelas:
'Presbiter accessit quidam uenerabilis ad me,
angelico uultu niueoque decorus amictu,
uidit et in dominae miseram me limine flentem,
compatiensque mihi predulcia uerba gementi
conloquitur, rapuitque meam promptissime dextram,
uexit ad huncque locum celeri me tramite sanctum,
corporis et tanta posuit dulcedine, quantam
promere non possem, centum licet ora mouerem;
et quia me templo postquam sistebat in isto,
non alium uidi, qui clericus esset in omni
hoc populo, preter iuuenem qui comminus hic stat.
Idcirco uoluens animo arbitrabar eundem

Therefore, when he saw the slave-girl standing there bound by her twin shackles—and was aware that he had the key in the depths of his cloak—marvelling greatly he addresses himself thus: 'I see something astonishing, and I recognize that it is miraculous. Did I not myself close the sanctuary a short while ago? And who has locked this woman in this sanctuary? Or did she find open the door which this hand of mine closed?' Approaching her he says, with the crowd listening: 'Tell me, woman, who locked you in this chamber, in which all of us now see you standing [160]? What presumption persuaded you to enter the holy enclosure in which the bones of our wondrous patron lie in peace? By what means were you able to conceal yourself when the sanctuary was closed, since I didn't see you when I locked these doors shut?' Then the woman, noticing a young man standing just outside the barrier, a cleric in minor orders whose name was Eadwold, addressed the monk Eadsige and said: 'This cleric lifted me on his shoulders, this cleric did, and carried me to this place on the run, and placed me a short time ago in front of the tomb of the holy father' [170]. The cleric denied this, swearing to the contrary, and said: 'I testify that I have never before seen you with my eyes.' She said: 'You did indeed snatch me up quickly and brought me here on your shoulders by a rapid route.' The cleric gave this reply with a dreadful curse: 'I would that bears and wolves and the entire race of hounds howling in the pitch-dark night were together to tear you to pieces with their violent fangs and bloody jaws, and were to maul you all over and to gore you everywhere with their teeth, before I should take upon myself so insufferable a burden' [180]! Turning to him she delivers words of this sort: 'A certain venerable priest came up to me, glorious with his angelic visage and snowy-white raiment, and saw that I was weeping wretchedly on my mistress's doorstep, and, taking pity, he spoke very soothing words to me as I continued moaning, and he quickly seized my right hand, and carried me to this holy place by a swift path, and set me down with such great physical gentleness that I could not describe it even if I could speak from a hundred mouths; and since he subsequently placed me in this church [190] I saw no-one amongst this entire crowd who might be a cleric except the young man who stands near here. Therefore, turning this over in my mind, I assumed

162 Cf. above, i. 597 ('requiescunt ossa Iudoci').
176 Cf. above, Praef. 147 ('dentibus insanis').
183 Cf. above, note to i. 9.
189 Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* ii. 43–4 ('non mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum / ferrea uox'), and Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 99 ('nam centum licet ora mouens uox ferrea clamet'). On the topos of the hundred mouths and the iron voice, see P. Courcelle, 'Histoire du cliché des cent bouches', *Revue des études latines*, xxxiii (1955), 231–40.

hunc fore, qui uexit huc me pungentis in ictu.'
Retulit has mulier populo mirante loquelas.
Adstant innumeri uariis e finibus Angli,
et cernunt cuncti pariter magnalia Christi;
inuasitque omnem stupor et miratio plebem,
attoniti capita atque mouent, et corde supernum
glorificant Dominum, qui tam perrara peregit
signa per egregii suffragia sancta patroni
Suuithuni, cuius stat mentio semper in euum.
Gloria sit patri, laus sit genitoque perhenni,
spirituique sacro qui regnat in ethre superno.

iii. DE DVABVS MVLIERIBVS, QVARVM VNA FVIT CAECA, ALTERA MVTA.

Haec post occiduis uiduae torquentur in oris
diuerso languore duae. Quarum una tenebris
anxia nocturnis, priuataque lumine solis,
nil uidet; obstruso gemit altera muta palato
ex utero matris, donec contingeret annos
ferme senectutis. Quibus adfuit una uoluntas
uisere patronum. Per deuia multa uiarum
muta rexit caecam, quae pro ductrice uiantes
explorat, qua parte queant perquirere sanctum.
Nec mora dum ueniunt illique precamina fundunt,
caeca diem uidit, sermonem muta recepit;
regressaeque domum Christo pia uota rependunt,
Suuithuni meritis qui illas sanauit opimis.

iv. DE .XXXVI. AEGRIS QVI IN TRIBVS DIEBVS SANATI SVNT.

Conuenere dehinc unius in orbe diei
ter deni, senique simul, languoribus acti—
lumine priuati, manibus pedibusque relicti,
auditu uacui, concluso gutture muti;
quinetiam multi paralitica corpora passi.
In spatioque trium Christo medicante dierum
percipiunt celerem pulso languore salutem,
et repetunt proprias animis letantibus aedes.

212 *over* quae *RB have* s. caeca 213 *over* explorat *RB have* .i. interrogat 215 *over* recepit *RB have* s. et

him to be the same one who carried me here in a split-second.' The woman retailed these words as the crowd marvelled. There were countless Englishmen there present from various regions, and they all recognized equally the mighty workings of Christ; and astonishment and amazement took possession of the entire crowd and, stunned, they nodded their heads and in their hearts they praised the heavenly Lord, Who accomplishes such unique [200] miracles through the holy intercession of our excellent patron St Swithun, whose title to fame remains always and forever. Glory be to the Father, and praise be to the eternal Son, and to the Holy Ghost, Who reigns in the heavenly realms.

iii. ABOUT TWO WOMEN, OF WHOM ONE WAS BLIND, THE OTHER MUTE.

[= Lantfred, c. 21]

After these events took place, two widows in the western regions were tormented by various afflictions. One of them is distressed by darkling shadows and, deprived of the sun's light, she sees nothing; the other, mute since leaving her mother's womb, has been moaning with a cleft palate until she is nearly touching on the years of old age. The one desire between them [210] was to see our patron saint. Through the many byways of roads the mute directs the blind woman, who in turn asks wayfarers on her guide's behalf as to where they might be able to seek the saint. When they arrive there and pour out their prayers to him, without delay the blind woman sees the light of day and the mute receives the gift of speech; returning home they repay their holy prayers to Christ, Who cured them through the abundant merits of Swithun.

iv. CONCERNING THIRTY-SIX SICK PEOPLE WHO WERE CURED IN THE SPACE OF THREE DAYS.

[= Lantfred, c. 22]

Afterwards, thirty-six people assembled there within the space of one day, driven by their various ailments—they were variously deprived of eyesight, lacking control of their arms and feet [220], devoid of hearing, mute with constricted throat; moreover, many were afflicted with paralysed bodies. And in the space of three days they receive—through Christ's medication—a swift cure once their diseases have been expelled, and they return to their own homes rejoicing in their hearts.

194 Cf. above, ii. 117 ('pungentis in ictu').
196 Cf. above, i. 1512 ('patriis e finibus Angli').
200 Cf. above, i. 274, 357, 1595 ('glorificant Dominum').
204 For the first part of the hexameter, cf. above, i. 1076 ('spirituique sacro'). The entire phrase *qui regnat in aethre superno* is recycled at ii. 773; cf. also ii. 557, 818. For the cadence *in aethre superno*, cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 685; as Dolbeau notes (p. 98), the use of the syncopated form *aethre* in the fifth foot of a hexameter is one of Wulfstan's stylistic tics (cf. Ep. spec. 302, Praef. 15, 171, i. 952, 986, ii. 1025, and discussion of syncope above, pp. 351–2).
207 See above, note to i. 1578.
208 *obstruso* is apparently a spelling for *obtruso*.
209 Cf. above, note to i. 219.
220 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 456 ('sunt uinclis alii manibus pedibusque ligati').
221 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 154 ('auditu uacuus').
224 Cf. above, note to i. 233.

v. DE .CXXIV. AEGRIS QVI IN REVOLVTIONE .XIV. DIERVM CVRATI SVNT.

Tempus abit modicum; ueniunt patris ante sepulchrum
languentes centum, bis deni necne quaterni.
Hi propriam curante Deo rapuere salutem,
uerteret ardentem cum sol bis septies orbem;
quique prius sanctum mesti petiere patronum
laetantur propriis sanati incedere plantis.

vi. DE EO QVOD IPSA MIRACVLA OMNEM EXCEDANT NVMERVM.

Quid loquor innumeras strictim numerando salutes
innumeros sumpsisse greges? Nam claudere nullus
signa ualet numero, quae sunt diuinitus acta
presulis ad tumulum per singula puncta dierum.
Nocte dieque simul tandem mora non erat ulla
qua non languentes sanctum petiere gementes,
et dicto citius subitam meruere salutem.
Denique prandendi nobis cum tempus adesset,
saepe fuere simul ter quinque, bis octoque, sani.
Nec mora, et apposite laeti conuiuia mensae
liquimus, et sancti repetiuimus atria templi,
cantantes Domino modulatis uocibus ymnum.
Quis non posset ibi lacrimas impendere largas
laetitia plenas, uel quem conpunctio cordis
ad bona non traheret, presens cum plura uideret
agmina languentum dubia sub morte grauari,
surgere et extimplo sancti medicamine patris
aecclesiae et tantas pauimenta operire cateruas?
Vndique sanatis ibi quae iacuere medullis
prostratae coram Domino, iubilantes una
uoce Deo monachis cum concrepitantibus ymnis.
Saepe etiam medium nobis cantantibus ymnum,
longinquis uenere alii de finibus aegri,
continuoque suam cuncti sumpsere salutem;
limina coenobii sumus egrediendo nec ausi
linquere, pro signo donec caneremus et illo,
'Laus sit in excelsis tibi, Christe, et osanna per euum.'
Saepe etiam nobis pueris discentibus una
quemlibet aut cantum, seu qualemcumque libellum,
contigit, ut tota penitus nil discere luce
possemus, signis pro crebrescentibus, omnes
sed uice continua sacram repetiuimus aedem,

249 *over* tantas *RB have* s. cum uideret

v. CONCERNING 124 SICK PEOPLE, WHO WERE CURED IN THE SPACE OF A FORTNIGHT.

[= Lantfred, c. 23]

A short while passes; 124 ailing people come before the tomb of the father. When the sun had rotated its fiery orb twice-seven times, they quickly regained their health through God's care; and they who previously had sought the holy patron in sadness [230] rejoice to be setting off, cured, on their own feet.

vi. CONCERNING THE FACT THAT THE MIRACLES THEMSELVES SURPASS RECKONING.

[not in Lantfred]

What shall I say of the countless (countless even by careful reckoning!) cures which countless throngs obtained? For no-one could confine in a number all the miracles which took place every hour of the day through heavenly intercession at the bishop's tomb. By night and by day there was no space of time in which sick persons did not seek the saint in lamentation and then deserve—quicker than the telling of it—a swift cure. In fact when it was time for us to eat, there were often fifteen or sixteen people cured at once [240]. Without delay we gladly abandoned the delights of the table laid for us and sought the edifice of the holy church, chanting a hymn to the Lord in harmonious voices. Who there would not pour out abundant tears filled with joy, or who would not be drawn with heartfelt compassion to good works, when being present he should see many throngs of the sick, oppressed by the burden of an uncertain death, arise straightway through the healing power of the holy father, and should see such great crowds cover the pavements of the church? On all sides those crowds, who previously were lying there [250], are now, with their inwards healed, prostrate before the Lord, with the monks praising God in unison with their resounding hymns. Often, while we were in the very midst of singing a hymn, other sick persons arrived from faraway places, and immediately all of them obtained their cure; we did not dare to go out and leave the doors of the minster until we had sung 'Praise be to Thee on high, O Christ, and "Hosanna" forever' for that particular miracle. Often too, while we young oblates were together in class learning either some chant or some particular text [260], it so happened that we were able to learn virtually nothing

226 Cf. above, i. 1463 ('tempus abit modicum').

232–65 These lines have no correlate in Lantfred, and permit an interesting glimpse into the life of the monks in the Old Minster while the first spate of miracles was taking place, such that their mealtimes in the refectory were frequently interrupted (ii. 241). Most interesting is Wulfstan's personal observation that he was an oblate (ii. 259: *nobis pueris*) at the time, and that his lessons were similarly interrupted.

235 Cf. above, i. 905 ('presulis ad tumulum').

237 Cf. above, i. 1450 ('petiere gementes').

238 Cf. above, i. 129, 1217, 1586 ('et dicto citius').

241 Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* i. 301 ('mutuaque inter se laeti conuiuia curant'), and above, i. 1399 ('conuiuia mensae').

242 Cf. above, Ep. spec. 45 ('atria templi').

243 Cf. above, i. 891 ('cantantes Domino').

253 The structure of the line is repeated a few lines later, at ii. 259 ('saepe etiam nobis pueris discentibus una').

256 Cf. above, i. 1333, ii. 119 ('limina coenobii').

258 Matt. 21: 9 ('osanna filio Dauid . . . osanna in altissimis'); cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 210 ('semper in excelsis tibi laus et osanna canantur').

259 Modelled on a line which occurs a few lines earlier (ii. 253: 'saepe etiam medium nobis cantantibus ymnum').

sicque diem totum sacris expendimus ymnis,
laudantes Dominum, qui cuncta gubernat in euum.

vii. DE HOMINE QVI PARRICIDIVM COMMISIT.

Contigit interea quendam patrasse reatum,
nam occidit proprium crudeli morte parentem;
unde reo statim precepit episcopus urbis
ferreus ut uentrem constringeret acriter omnem
circulus, et similem paterentur brachia poenam,
continuosque nouem semet cruciando per annos
atria sanctorum lustraret saepe locorum,
uiseret ac sancti pulcherrima limina Petri,
quo ueniam tantae mereretur sumere culpae.
Ille uagus pergit, sese cruciatque peragrans
atria sanctorum, donec tortura misellum
stringeret ingenti per singula membra dolore.
Nuntia fama uolat, patris et miracula narrat
quae Deus omnipotens Anglorum in gente peregit.
Ille morae inpatiens spatiosum transmeat aequor
Wintoniamque petens, humili se pectore sternit
ante Dei famulum, summissa uoce Tonantem
exoratque Deum, pia per suffragia sancti,
lenior ut fieret dolor intolerabilis illi—
quem iam per multos tolerauerat acriter annos—
cum subito miserente Deo disrumpitur ille
qui secuit uentris uitalia ferreus orbis,
prosiliensque cadit, sanusque homo uentre remansit.
Alter et orbiculus, qui strinxerat illius ulnam,
iamque fuit totus sanie liuoris opertus,
ante pedes cecidit, dolor omnis eumque reliquit.
Ille erat in tantum modico sinuamine strictus
ut uix articulos posset comprendere ternos.
Idcirco mirumque fuit, quia prosiliebat
integer extra hominis quam strinxerat acriter ulnam,
cum multisque aliis testantibus inclita signa
compedibus, manicis, scabellis atque bacillis,
coenobio pro teste fuit suspensus in ipso.

266 *over* quendam *RB have* s. hominem 269 *over* uentrem *RB have* s. illius

in the space of that day because of the burgeoning miracles, but rather we all went at once to the holy minster and thus we spend the entire day in sacred hymns praising the Lord, Who governs all things unto eternity.

vii. CONCERNING THE MAN WHO MURDERED A KINSMAN.

[= Lantfred, c. 24]

Meanwhile, it happened that a certain man committed a grave crime, for he killed one of his kinsmen in cold-blooded murder; whereupon the bishop of that town straightway ordered that an iron band be tightly bound around the guilty man's entire stomach, and that his limbs undergo a similar torture [270], and that, afflicting himself thus for nine continuous years, he frequently seek the sanctuaries of holy places and visit the most glorious shrine of St Peter, so that he might deserve to receive pardon for so foul a crime. The pilgrim wanders, and tortures himself while travelling to the shrines of saints, such that the torment afflicted the poor man in every limb with immense pain. Rumour the messenger flies abroad and reports the miracles of the holy father which omnipotent God was effecting among the English nation. Impatient of delay, he crosses the vast sea [280] and, seeking Winchester, he prostrates himself with humble heart before the servant of God, and prays in meek tones to Almighty God that, through the holy intercessions of the saint, his insufferable pain might become milder for him—the pain which he had already borne bitterly for many years—when suddenly, through God's mercy, that iron band which was cutting into his vital inwards snaps, and springs away, and the man was left with his stomach unconstricted. And another smaller ring which had bound his elbow—the ring at that point was covered over with blackened gangrene [290]—fell before his feet, and all his pain left him. It had been tightened with a certain amount of twisting to such an extent that it could scarcely enclose three fingers. And therefore it was a marvel, since it had sprung away in one piece from the man's elbow which it had been constricting, and, together with many other fetters, manacles, crutches and staves which attest to illustrious miracles, it was hung up as a witness in the minster itself.

264 Recycled entire from above, ii. 69.

266 Cf. below, ii. 888 ('patrasse reatum').

267 For the phrase *crudeli morte* in these metrical feet, see Vergil, *Aen.* x. 386, Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 4. 12, *CdV* 2267, and *HexLexikon* i. 508.

268–70 It is interesting to note that it was the bishop (unfortunately not named) who imposed the penance: but why was the man not guilty under secular law? Because a kinsman (rather than a stranger) had been killed?

272 The hexameter-opening *atria sanctorum* is re-used four lines later (ii. 276).

273 Cf. above, i. 448 ('sacri pulcherrima limina templi').

278 Cf. below, ii. 483 ('nuntia fama ruit patrisque insignia pandit').

279 See above, note to Ep. spec. 111.

280 Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 327 ('prurigo morae impatiens'), Lucan, *Phars.* vi. 424 ('impatiensque morae'), Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 116 ('impatiensque morae'), and *HexLexikon* iii. 35, as well as below, ii. 673 ('ille morae inpatiens'); for the second part of the hexameter, cf. above, note to i. 1503.

282 Cf. above, i. 1293 ('summissa uoce'). For the cadence *uoce Tonantem*, see Aldhelm, *CE* iii. 50, iv. 3. 6, iv. 7. 9, *CdV* 590, 1271, 1524, 2414, 2817, 2878, as well as *HexLexikon* v. 720–1.

283 Cf. above, i. 444, 599 ('pia per suffragia sancti').

284 Cf. below, ii. 792, 877 ('dolor intolerabilis').

292 Cf. below, ii. 1133 ('permodico sinuamine strictae').

296 Cf. below, ii. 327 ('his multisque aliis').

viii. DE HOMINE QVI NVDA MANV IGNITVM CALIBEM PORTAVIT.

Nobilis interea Flodoaldus onomate quidam
multiplices possedit opes; qui gnarus in urbe
Wentana mercator erat, prudenter in omni
re semet circumspiciens. Cui uernula quidam
seruili dicione fuit subiectus, eumque
dilexit nimium, quia nouerat esse fidelem.
Prenditur is subito quodam pro crimine casu
presidis Eadrici fit ductus et ante tribunal,
regia quem tenuit tum uillula nomine Calne.
Mandat ut hunc uigilum teneat custodia donec
illius adueniat (quem iam prediximus) herus,
portaret nudaque manu carbone rubentem
ignitum calibem: foret inculpabilis et si,
pergeret incolomis, si uero noxius esset,
plecteret hunc gladio tortor, ceruice retecto.
Comperit hoc senior; properat festinus et illo
quo sibi dilectus iacet inter uincula seruus,
prefectum regisque petit quo linqueret omne
iudicium clementer et ut sibi subderet ipsum
seruili dicione hominem, sine clade pericli.
Abnuit ille preci rursumque edixit ut idem
iret ad examen, calibem gereretque rubentem.
Condoluit nimium serui pro morte Flotholdus;
rursus ad Eadricum pergit cum munere et illi
'hanc', ait, 'argenti libram tibi confero puri,
nec minus et seruum, tibi quo famuletur in euum,
linquere ut examen tantum digneris et iste
effugiat uiuus, pro quo sum tanta locutus.'
His multisque aliis oranti corde laborat,
dedecus hoc quoniam patienti mente nequibat
ferre, suum famulum se coram morte necari.
Quinetiam tristes simul accessere parentes
eiusdem famuli, donaria multaque spondent
prefecto regis, quoniam cupiere propinquum
eruere a turpis patefacto limine mortis.
In uanum cuncti uotis precibusque laborant:
spreuit eos tumidus mundi pro fascibus omnes.
Iussit adesse hominem; timidus stetit ille uocatus.

298 *over* homine *R has* cuiusdam Flodoaldi urbani 309 herus] heros *RB*

299–434 The legal implications of this passage, particularly the procedure of the trial by ordeal, have been well discussed by D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan *Cantor* and Anglo-Saxon law', in *Nordica et Anglica. Studies in Honor of Stefan Einarsson*, ed. A. H. Orrick (The Hague, 1968), pp. 83–92, esp. 87–92, repr. in her *History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th Century England* (London,

viii. ABOUT THE MAN WHO CARRIED SOME RED-HOT METAL IN HIS BARE HAND.

[= Lantfred, c. 25]

Meanwhile, a certain nobleman by the name of Flodoald possessed many riches; he was a merchant well known [300] in the town of Winchester who handled himself cautiously in every business dealing. A certain young slave was subject to this man through legal servitude, and the man loved him very much, since he knew him to be trustworthy. This slave is suddenly apprehended for an offence through a certain mishap and is brought before the tribunal of Eadric the king's reeve, who at that time was the tenant of a royal estate at Calne. Eadric orders that the young slave be kept in the custody of guards until his owner (whom I mentioned above) should come and the slave should carry in his bare hand an iron bar glowing red-hot [310] with coal: and if he were innocent, he might go home unpunished, but if he were guilty, the executioner would strike him with a sword and decapitate him. The owner learns this; he hastens quickly to the place where his beloved slave is lying in chains, and he petitions the king's reeve to abandon all judicial proceedings and instead to keep the boy himself under the conditions pertaining to a slave, without risking the danger of the legal suit. The reeve rejected the plea and again decreed that the slave should undergo the ordeal and should carry the red-hot iron [320]. Flodoald mourned greatly for the inevitable death of his slave; and again he goes to Eadric with a gift and says to him, 'I hand over to you this pound of pure silver and the slave as well, into your perpetual service, if only you will deign to call off the ordeal, and this boy on whose behalf I have spoken so much—may escape alive.' With these and many other words he exerts himself with a pleading heart, since he was unable to endure this disgrace with patient resignation—namely, that his slave be put to death in his presence. Moreover, the grieving kinsmen of this same slave arrived at the same time [330], and they promised many gifts to the king's reeve, since they desired to snatch their relative from the gateway leading to a shameful death. They all strive in vain with their promises and prayers: the reeve spurned them all, exulting in his secular authority. He ordered the man to be brought; the man, once summoned, stood there in fright.

1981), no. V. However, Whitelock was unaware that Wulfstan's account was based on that of Lantfred, *Translatio*, c. 25; the relevant passage is discussed in detail above, pp. 308–9 (n. 233). As Whitelock pointed out (pp. 89–91), the interesting feature of the episode is not the ordeal itself, but the negotiations which preceded it: Flodoald's attempt to buy his slave's freedom was legitimate (and not a case of bare-faced bribery), since, if the crime—unspecified by either Lantfred or Wulfstan—was one not punishable by the death penalty, then it was open to the accused's party to offer a legal composition to the relevant royal officer.

299 It is an interesting reflection on the structure of Anglo-Saxon society that a merchant—and a foreign merchant at that (see above, p. 308)—could in any sense be described as *nobilis*: perhaps simply a reflection of his considerable wealth? Note that Flodoald is not described as *nobilis* by Lantfred.

303 Cf. above, ii. 82 ('seruili dicione'), and below, ii. 318.

305 Cf. below, ii. 888 ('prenditur is subito').

306 Cf. below, ii. 376 ('presidis . . . ante tribunal').

310 Cf. below, ii. 347 ('carbone rubentem'), and ii. 346 ('nudaque manu').

313 Cf. below, ii. 541 ('plecteret hunc gladii tortor mucrone retecti').

314 Cf. below, ii. 1135 ('comperit hoc senior'), and above, i. 396 ('properat festinus').

315 Cf. below, ii. 1150 ('iacet inter uincula').

318 Cf. above, ii. 82, 303 ('seruili dicione').

321 Wulfstan appears to have used the spelling *Flotholdus* here (cf. ii. 299, 352, 391, 429: *Flodoaldus*) for metrical reasons: here he required a trisyllabic word, the last two syllables of which were long, whereas elsewhere in Wulfstan the form *Flodoaldus* (exactly as it is spelled by Lantfred) is quadrisyllabic, with two short syllables followed by two long. Cf. also below, ii. 795 ('condoluit nimium pueri pro morte').

327 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 145 ('. . . rogans oranti corde Tonantem'); cf. also above, ii. 296 ('cum multisque aliis').

328 Cf. below, ii. 357 ('quoniam patienti mente nequibat').

329 For the cadence *morte necari*, cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 4. 12 ('morte necauit'), *CdV* 2267 ('morte necaret'); cf. also below, ii. 358 ('ferre suum famulum se coram uertice plecti').

333 See above, note to i. 1262.

335–6 Note the wordplay here on *tumidus* / *timidus*.

Ignis adestque ingens, et mandat ut ipse ministri
proiciunt sarmenta rogo flammaeque uoraci
inmittunt rigidam nimio cum pondere massam;
quae statim prunis recalescit et igne rubescit.
Tum iubet ignitum iudex producere ferrum;
paret ei famulus: productus ab igne calibsque
exarsit candens, scintillat et undique feruens;
stipitibus geminis solitoque imponitur. Et mox
compulit ipsum hominem massam portare. Coactus
accessit, nudaque manu timide excipit illam,
et portat calibem multo carbone rubentem.
Protinus incandens arsura repleuit et ingens
illius uolam, nimio turgore perustam,
signaturque manus statim de more sigillo
usque diem quem Phoebus agit lustramine terno.
Conuocat ast hominem Flodoaldus luce sequenti,
repperit et miserum pro crimine morte necandum.
Tristior efficitur famuli pro morte propinqua.
Aduocat et fratrem, socios accersit et omnes,
disponens proprium remeando reuisere tectum,
ut cecini, quoniam patienti mente nequibat
ferre suum famulum se coram uertice plecti.
Plura quid his addam? Dominus cum cerneret ipse
funditus humanum misero solamen abesse,
uertitur ad Dominum comitatumque aduocat omnem,
hortaturque illos secum quo supplice uoto
larga salutiferi rogitarent pectora Christi,
liberet ut miserum mortis de fauce, beati
Suuiðhuni meritis interuenientibus, aiens,
'O Deus omnipotens, hominum sator atque redemptor,
hoc rogo, mancipium tu clemens eripe nostrum
presulis egregii per sancta precamina, et ipsi
hunc ego concedam, per quem tot milia, Christe,
languentum sanas, hunc si miseratus ab illis
caelitus eripias, mala qui scrutantur in illum.'
Dixit, et in Domino fidens permansit ibidem.
Denique transacta properanter luce secunda,
portauit calibem postquam miser ille rubentem,
tertia lux aderat, uigilum uallante caterua,
presidis et rursum perducitur ante tribunal,
quo circumstantes uideant manifesta clientes,
mundus ab illato fieret si crimine, uel non.
Pallidus aduenit, trepidanter et adstitit atque

An immense fire is kindled, and the reeve orders that his officers cast brushwood into the blaze and that they place the steely mass of excessive weight in the all-consuming flame; it is heated immediately by the coals and glows in the fire [340]. At that point the judge orders the glowing iron to be taken out; a servant obeys him; and as it is drawn from the fire the steel is glowing hot and throws off sparks in all directions; and it is placed according to custom on two wooden posts. And straightway the reeve forced the man to carry the metal. Thus constrained he approaches, and he takes it apprehensively in his bare hands and carries the piece of steel still glowing from all the coals. Immediately a huge, searing burn filled his palm, which became inflamed with massive swelling, and, as is usual, the hand is closed with a seal [350], until the day which the sun brings with its third successive splendour. But Flodoald summons the man the following day and finds the poor wretch still condemned to death for his crime. He is made even sadder on account of the imminent death of his slave. And, deciding to return home, he calls his brother and summons all his companions, since, as I said, he could not with patient resignation bear to see his slave undergo capital punishment in his presence. Why do I add more words to these? When the master himself realized that all human comfort was entirely remote from the poor wretch [360], he turns to the Lord, and calls on all his retinue and urges them that with a humble prayer they beseech the generous understanding of health-bringing Christ, so that, with the merits of Swithun interceding, He might release the poor man from the jaws of death, saying, 'O Almighty God, Creator and Redeemer of men, I ask thus: that You in Your mercy release my slave through the holy prayers of the excellent bishop; and I shall grant the slave to St Swithun, through whom, O Christ, You heal so many thousands of sick, if, taking pity [370], You will deliver him through heavenly mercy from those persons who contemplate an evil outcome for him.' He spoke, and trusting in the Lord, he remained there. At length, when the second day after that poor man carried the burning metal had quickly passed, the third day arrived, and, hemmed in by a throng of guards, he is brought once more before the tribunal of the reeve so that all the officers standing there might see clear evidence as to whether or not he was innocent of the alleged crime. He arrives pale with fright, and stands there trembling, and at the reeve's

346 Cf. above, ii. 310 ('nudaque manu').
347 Cf. above, ii. 310 ('carbone rubentem').
352 Cf. below, ii. 860, 1127 ('luce sequenti').
353 Cf. below, ii. 395, 794 ('morte necandum').
357 Cf. above, ii. 92 ('ut cecini'), and ii. 328 ('quoniam patienti mente nequibat').
358 Cf. above, ii. 329 ('ferre suum famulum se coram morte necari').
359 Cf. above, Ep. spec. 211 ('plura quid his addam'), and below, ii. 860.
360 Cf. above, i. 1045 ('humanam miseris solamen abesse').
363 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 26 ('clare salutiferi taceam miracula Christi'); cf. also below, ii. 1004, 1037.
364 Cf. below, ii. 426, 900 ('mortis de fauce').
365 Cf. above, i. 387 ('Suuiðhuni meritis interuenientibus').
366 See above, notes to Ep. spec. 111, Ep. gen. 17, and i. 120.
369 Cf. below, ii. 901 ('per quem tot milia Christe').
375 Cf. above, note to i. 671.
376 Cf. above, ii. 306 ('presidis . . . ante tribunal').

presidis ad iussum timidus cito protulit ulnam;
designatque manum, qui clauserat ante sigillo.
Circumstant miserum hinc hostes, inde parentes,
et spectant palmam certis obtutibus omnes.
Quid morer? Exclamat cum preside turba clientum,
extolluntque hostes ipsi cum murmure uoces,
clamantes pariter, 'hic inculpabilis est, est.
Non est culpa in eo, non est aut crimen in illo.
Dignum morte in eo poterit quis inicere quicquam,
quem mundam gestare manum hic cernimus omnes
et quem mundatum Domino mundante uidemus?'
Talibus auditis stupuit Flodoaldus, et omnes
mentibus attoniti nimium mirantur amici
qui palmam turgore uident carbonis adustam;
cernebantque hominem poenis ac uerbere dignum,
sperabant et eum merita iam morte necandum.
Sicque inimicorum sunt uersi in tristia risus,
sic et amicorum sunt uersi in gaudia fletus.

Impediunt tardam retinacula muta loquelam;
uincimur, exiguis nec possumus edere uerbis
talia signa Dei, nec paupere promere cantu,
gloria tam clari sit quam ueneranda patroni.
Nam mirum dictu fuit et mirabile uisu,
excessitque modum hoc tam mirabile signum—
luce quod arsuram clara speculantur amici
et totam palmam turgore inflante crematam,
conspexere et eam hostes sic undique sanam,
ignitum ferrum quasi numquam tangeret ullum.
Haec tua sunt proprie, tua sunt magnalia, Christe,
qui facis in sancto, quae comperit antea nemo,
nam nihil in mundo de te sperantibus umquam
difficile est conferre tibi, quia subditur omnis
imperiis natura tuis, sua iuraque linquens
transit in aduersas te precipiente figuras
et per se quodcumque negat te iudice prestat.
Conticuere omnes strictis mucronibus hostes,
adstabant hominem qui decollare misellum.
Preses conticuit, facieque pudente rubescit;
prodere nec ualuit faceret quae culpa nocentem
quem Deus, ut uoluit, secreto examine mundat.
Iudiciumque prius qui linquere tempsit iniquum

386 *after* pariter *RB add* uir

command the frightened man quickly holds out his arm [380]; and he who had closed the hand with a seal unseals it. Here the enemies, there the kinsfolk surround the poor wretch, and they all examine the palm with intent gaze. Why should I linger? The throng of officers together with the reeve exclaim, and the enemies themselves raise their voices with a murmur, shouting one and all, 'This man is innocent, he truly is! There is no guilt in him, nor is there any crime. Who could cast any suspicion that he was deserving of death, whom we all see to have a guiltless hand and whom we see cleansed of guilt through the Lord's cleansing power' [390]? Flodoald was astounded when he heard these things, and all his friends, astonished in their hearts, wonder greatly, since they see his palm still burned by the inflammation caused by the glowing metal; and they realized that the man deserved punishment and flogging, and they were only hoping that he would be killed in a dignified manner. Thus the sneers of the enemies are turned to despondency, and thus are the tears of the friends turned to joy.

Mute fetters hold back my torpid speech; I'm overcome, nor can I express in my trivial words such mighty miracles of God, nor indicate in my impoverished verse [400] how venerable is the renown of so distinguished a patron. For it was a marvel to relate and marvellous to see, and this astonishing miracle excelled the norm—since in the clear light of day the friends see the burn and the entire palm seared by the inflamed swelling, and the enemies see it to be healed in every respect, as if he had never touched the glowing metal. These, Christ, are Your own mighty works, You Who through the saint perform miracles which no-one ever heard of before, for there is nothing in this world which it is difficult for You to bestow upon those who place their hope in You [410], since all Nature is subject to Your commands, and abandoning its customary laws it changes into alternative forms at Your order, and whatsoever it refuses on its own it performs at Your behest. All the enemies, who stood ready with their swords drawn to decapitate the poor wretch, fell silent. The reeve fell silent and blushed shamefacedly; nor was he able to proclaim, as he wished to do, that the man whom God vindicated by a secret ordeal was guilty of the alleged crime. And he who formerly refused to relinquish of his own accord the unfair judicial process [420],

385 For the cadence *murmure uoces*, cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* lxxv. 2 ('murmura uocis'), *CdV* 2727 ('murmura uocum').

386 The text transmitted in RB reads 'clamantes pariter uir hic inculpabilis est est', which, given that *hic* is always long, would require the first two syllables of *inculpabilis* to be scanned short: but elsewhere *inculpabilis* is scanned correctly (ii. 311: 'ignitum calibem foret inculpabilis et si'). The likelihood is that something like *.i. uir* stood as a gloss over *hic* in R's exemplar, and was mistakenly incorporated into the text by the scribe of R (on Wulfstan's lengthening of *-er* before aspirate *h-*, see above, p. 352 n. 107). For the implications which this correction has for the text of Wulfstan, see above, p. 367.

391 Cf. below, ii. 976 ('talibus auditis').

395 Cf. above, ii. 353, and below, ii. 794 ('morte necandum').

397 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 897 ('excute, Petre, meae retinacula tarda loquelae'), and *BreuiloquiumSS* 19 ('soluite uincla meae, sancti, rogo, tarda loquele').

401 Cf. above, ii. 123 ('mirum etenim dictu fuit et mirabile uisu').

410–11 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 5–6 ('nil igitur summo de se sperantibus umquam / difficile est conferre Deo').

411–13 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 85–7:

> Te duce difficilis non est uia; subditur omnis
> imperiis natura tuis, rituque soluto
> transit in aduersas iussu dominante figuras.

415 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 1 ('conticuere omnes'), and perhaps x. 651–2 ('strictimque coruscat / mucronem').

sponte sua, uirtute Dei nunc ipse coactus
et libra seruoque caret; soloque pudore
contentus proprias rediit confusus ad aedes.
Discedunt hostes confuso pectore tristes,
laudibus et laeti Dominum uenerantur amici.
Tolluntque agnatum mortis de fauce redemptum,
Suuiðhuni meritis interuenientibus, et mox
Wintoniam repetunt, Dominique insignia pandunt.
Persoluitque pium Flodoaldus nec mora uotum,
contulit et famulum deuota mente patrono,
qui subtraxit eum tanti de clade pericli.
Conueniunt fratres, solito et modulamine laudes
altithrono referunt, talem gaudentque patronum
esse sibi, per quem totiens noua gaudia cernunt.

ix. DE HOMINE QVEM LEGIS LATORES CECAVERVNT.

Hoc et inauditum plectro iuuat indere signum
quod mira uirtute fuit diuinitus actum
per meritum sancti, qui iunctus in axe Tonanti
signipotens inopina piis medicamina uotis
impetrat, et miseris quae uult beneficia prestat.
Precipit interea rex iustus et inclitus Eadgar,
quosque minis terrendo malos lex staret ut ista
gentis in Anglorum diffuso limite, quo si
fur aliquis seu predo ferox inuentus eadem
adforet in patria, crudelia dampna subiret:
lumine priuatus, miser et caecatus utroque;
tortor eique simul nares precidat et aures
truncaretque manus plantasque securibus actis,
subtraheretque simul capitis cum pelle capillos,
seminecemque uirum poena cruciante peremptum
proiceret canibus rabidis exactor edendum,
nocturnisque auibus, coruis et edacibus, atque
membratim in uacuas caesum dispergeret auras.
Stat praedicta pii lex et sententia regis
in commune bonum quam sanxerat ille benignus,
unusquisque suis securo ut pectore lucris
plena pace frui posset sine murmure damni.
Exploratores siluarum densa peragrant,
predonesque locis inuestigantur opacis,
et membris caesi prebent spectacula plebi.

435 *over* plectro *RB have* hearpslege

is now compelled—through God's miraculous agency—to do without both the pound of silver and the slave; and content with only his disgrace he returns in confusion to his home. The saddened enemies leave in a mood of depression, and the gladdened friends venerate the Lord with praise. And they raise up their kinsman, redeemed from the jaws of death through the interceding merits of St Swithun, and soon they return to Winchester and make known the Lord's miracle. And without delay Flodoald fulfilled his devout promise, and with dutiful resolve he handed over the slave to the patron saint [430] who had rescued him from the threat of such great danger. The monks assemble, and in their accustomed chanting render praise to Almighty God and rejoice that theirs is such a patron saint, through whom they so often witness new delights.

ix. CONCERNING THE MAN WHOM THE JUDGES HAD BLINDED.

[= Lantfred, c. 26]

It is appropriate to introduce an unheard-of miracle on this harp [i.e. in this poem] which by miraculous agency was divinely perpetrated through the saint's merit, who, resplendent through his miracles and joined in heaven to the Almighty, operates unexpected cures through his holy prayers, and bestows kindnesses at will on the wretched. At this time the just and excellent King Edgar orders [440]—for the purpose of deterring criminals by means of threats—that the following law should stand throughout the broad expanse of England, whereby, if any thief or malicious robber were to be apprehended in this same country, he was to undergo cruel injuries: he was to be deprived of sight, wretchedly blinded in each eye; the executioner was then to cut off his nose and ears together, and was to lop off his hands and feet with the blow of an axe and likewise scrape off the hair of his head together with the scalp; and then the executioner would cast the man, barely alive and destroyed through this excruciating torture, to hungry dogs to be eaten [450], and to nocturnal birds and voracious ravens, and would scatter the mutilated trunk a piece at a time to the four winds. The aforementioned edict and sentence of the just king—which that good man promulgated for the common weal—is still in force, so that everyone may have peace of mind regarding his wealth and may be able to enjoy it in complete safety without the whisper of a threat concerning its loss. The king's agents search through the depths of the forests and robbers are sought in hidden recesses, and those who are dismembered provide a public display.

426 Cf. above, ii. 364, and below, ii. 900 ('mortis de fauce').

427 Cf. above, i. 387, ii. 365 ('Suuiðhuni meritis interuenientibus').

430 See above, note to i. 1257.

431 Cf. below, ii. 678 ('hunc qui de tanti subtraxit clade pericli').

432 Cf. above, i. 1590 ('conueniunt fratres').

434 For the phrase *noua gaudia* in these metrical feet, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 796; cf. also i. 806, 1594.

440–56 The legal process of mutilation here described is treated in detail by Whitelock, 'Wulfstan *Cantor* and Anglo-Saxon law', pp. 83–7 (although, as mentioned above, note to ii. 299–434, she was unaware that Wulfstan was basing his account on Lantfred). As noted in the discussion of Lantfred (above, p. 309 n. 233), no such law is recorded among the surviving legislation of King Edgar. See also the discussion of the present passage, in light of that in Lantfred, by K. O'B. O'Keeffe, 'Body and law in late Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* xxvii (1998), 209–32, at pp. 227–8.

442 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 23 ('usque sub extremum diffuso in limite mundum'), and below, ii. 902 ('gentis in Anglorum diffuso limite sanas').

445 The line is recycled at ii. 468 ('lumine priuatur miser et caecatur utroque').

447 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 270 ('. . . si caesa securibus actis').

452 Cf. perhaps Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 592 ('uacuas it fumus ad auras'); cf. also Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 2. 13 ('in uacuasque procul fugiens euanuit auras').

457–65 This passage has no correlate in Lantfred, and apparently derives from Wulfstan's knowledge of the grisly activities of the king's agents (*exploratores*). The final lines of the passage—that a mother could go safely with her children anywhere in England—is based on Bede, *HE* ii. 16, describing England in the days of King Edwin: 'ut, sicut usque hodie in prouerbio dicitur, etiam si mulier una cum recens nato paruulo uellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se ledente ualeret' (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 192).

Perculerat terrorque animos formidine cunctos:
detestanda manus fuit et consumpta latronum,
sic ut ad extremum mater cum pignore posset
ire per anfractus securo pectore curuos
aequoris Eoi de finibus absque periclo,
litoris occidui donec contingeret oras.

Prenditur interea quidam sine crimine furti;
nec mora iudicio fuit et dampnatus iniquo.
Lumine priuatur miser et caecatur utroque,
naribus excisis, auresque manusque secantur.
Insontique pedes tantum liquere gemellos,
et capitis miseranda cutis cum crine remansit.
Accedunt ad eum tristi merore parentes,
ad propriamque domum caesum duxere propinquum.
Vnus enim penitus fuerat de sedibus orbis
obrutus, alter ei supra faciemque pependit;
quem compassa uiro statim muliercula quedam
prendit et extinctum miserata reduxit in orbem,
sicque Theophania Christi permansit ab alma,
Idibus octauis Ianum releuante Capella,
torqueret donec Maior Letania recursum,
septenas Maii Tauro lustrante kalendas.
Interea solito uolitans pennata per Anglos
nuntia fama ruit, patrisque insignia pandit.
Hortantur miserum fraterna uoce propinqui
pergeret ut Wentam, rogitaret et omnipotentem
pura mente Deum, quo per suffragia sancti
redderet auditum misero miseratus ademptum.
Percipit ille fidem. Wentam peruenit ad urbem,
pro sola auditus sanctum poscitque salute,
desperans ullum se posse resumere uisum,
antea caecatum quia non audiuerat umquam
quemlibet extinctas iterum accepisse fenestras.
Auribus auditum petiit (quae, sanguine plenae,
uocis iter nullum dextra leuaque trahebant),
talia contrito fundens suspiria corde:
'Christe, tua pietate meo succurre dolori,
dampna uides quem dira pati sine crimine furti.
Te rogo per sanctum hunc patrem: concede meis nunc
auribus auditum cesis, Deus alme, uel istam
tolle animam citius misero hoc de corpore, postque
aeternam largire mihi super ethera uitam.'
Vix ea fatus erat, mirum dictuque gemellae

And terror seized all hearts with trepidation [460]: the loathesome congress of thieves was eradicated so that, in the end, a mother could go by the winding by-roads with her children in peace of mind, without any danger, from the bounds of the eastern sea until she reached the shores of the western coast.

Meanwhile, a certain man is apprehended, although innocent of theft; without delay he was condemned through an unjust sentence. The wretched man is deprived of sight and blinded in each eye; his nose, ears and hands are cut off. The executioners left only the two feet of the guiltless man [470], and the miserable scalp with its hair was left intact. In sad gloom the kinsmen approach the man and lead their mutilated relative back to his own home. One eye-ball had been completely torn from its socket; the other hung down his face; taking pity on the man, a woman immediately took hold of it and replaced it in its socket, and it remained that way from the Holy Epiphany of Christ (when the Goat [i.e. Capricorn] is alleviating the darkness of January on the eighth Ides [i.e. 6 January]) until the Greater Litany had achieved [480] its return (with the Bull [i.e. Taurus] illuminating the seventh Kalends of May [i.e. 25 April]). In the meantime, rumour the messenger, flying on feathered wings, raced in its usual manner throughout England and made known the excellent miracles of the holy father [i.e. Swithun]. With brotherly persuasion the kinsmen urge the wretched man to go to Winchester and to beseech Almighty God in pure heart mercifully to restore to the wretched man his lost hearing, through the interventions of the saint. The wretch accepts this advice. He arrives at the town of Winchester, and he prays to the saint for the sake of his hearing alone—despairing of the possibility of recovering anything of his sight [490], since he had never heard of anyone who had been blinded recovering the use of his damaged eyes. He sought hearing for his ears (which, being filled with blood, took in no trace of any voice from either right or left), pouring out laments such as these from his humble heart: 'O Christ, have pity on my suffering through Your mercy—me whom You see to have undergone extreme mutilations without being guilty of the crime of theft. I beseech You through this holy father: grant hearing now to my mutilated ears, bountiful God, or else quickly snatch this soul from this wretched body and afterwards [500] grant me eternal life beyond the stars.' He had scarcely said these words when—marvellous to say!—both his eyes shine

478 *over* Theophania *R has* .viii. ID Ianuar. 479 *over* Ianum *RB have* .i. Ianuarium; *over* Capella *RB have* .i. Capricorno
480 *over* Maior Letania *R has* .vii. Kl. Mai 481 Maii] Mai *B* 489 pro] per *B*

460 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 54 ('perculerat formido animos').
466 Cf. below, ii. 497 ('sine crimine furti').
468 Cf. above, ii. 445 ('lumine priuatus miser et caecatus utroque').
472 Cf. above, i. 1246 ('accedunt ad eam'), and i. 1424 ('merore parentes').
483 Cf. above, ii. 278 ('nuntia fama uolat patris et miracula narrat').
490 Cf. above, i. 1209 ('se posse resumere uisum').
493 Cf. below, ii. 499 ('auribus auditum').
497 Cf. above, ii. 466 ('sine crimine furti').
499 Cf. above, ii. 493 ('auribus auditum').
502 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 90 ('uix ea fatus eram'); see also below, ii. 766.

uultibus effulgent acies atque orbe repletur
obrutus ante oculus; Dominoque fauente meretur
insolitum spectare diem. Patuere fenestrae
auribus excisis, auditus et intrat apertus.
Obstupuit natura, suas quia perdit habenas,
hactenus in mundo quoniam sibi talia numquam
contigerant, aliquem post lumina prendere uisum
caecata, et reducem post nubila cernere lucem,
hunc preter solum, patris medicamine fotum.

x. DE HOMINE QVI INGENTEM CIPPVM MODICO PRECIDIT CVLTELLO.

Hoc neque preteream, quamuis reboare coturno
non ualeam modulo, sed magnificare stupendum
paupere et exiguo temptabo poemate signum,
tempore non alio quod caelitus extitit actum.
Sirius autumno segetes coquit ubere laeto,
frugibus inmensae ruperunt horrea messes.
Vitibus et grauidis confert sua munera Bachus,
et spumat plenis uindemia sordida labris.
Sicut et in reliquis, hac in regione remota
regia messores habuit quoque uilla Clearan.
Insistunt operi nimio sudore madentes,
certatimque metunt, pluuia ne forte grauentur,
imbribus aut subitis. Ad quos e calle uiator
diuertit quidam, uegetans se paupere uita.
Obsecrat, e tantis sibi quo perpauca maniplis
dent alimenta, quibus uegetaret seque suosque.
Suscipiunt uotum miseri pietate coacti,
triticeos ternos illi donantque maniplos.
Accipit, hosque domum parat alite ferre sinistro.
Vix adiitque locum solito quo forte iacebat
limes agro positus (litem ut discerneret aruis)
dispensator ei fuit obuius ecce repente
regius, huncque rogat sibi quis frumenta dedisset.
Maluit ille mori largum quam prodere amicum.
Dispensator ad haec furiis accensus et ira,
stringere compedibus miserum pede mandat utroque,
seruet et hunc uigilum custodia nocte dieque,
uerberibus lanians, flagris scopisque cruentans;
mortetenusque hominem crucient tormenta, dehincque

509 *over* aliquem *R has* s. hominem maturescere fecit

516 *over* autumno *RB have* s. in; *over* coquit *R has* urebat, maturescere fecit *and B*

in his face, and the eye which had been torn out is replaced with another eye-ball; and with the Lord's assent he is found worthy to gaze on the unwonted light of day. The orifices in the amputated ears were opened, and unimpaired hearing returns. All Nature was astonished, because it had abandoned its reins, since never before had such marvels befallen it in this world, that someone might regain his sight after having his eyes put out, and see again the light of day after a period of blindness [510]—never before, in fact, except this one occasion, sponsored by the therapy of the holy father.

x. ABOUT THE MAN WHO CUT THROUGH AN IMMENSE BEAM WITH A TINY KNIFE.

[= Lantfred, c. 27]

Nor shall I pass over that event which took place at the same time through divine agency, even though I am unable to intone it resoundingly in my modest style: nonetheless I shall try to magnify this astonishing miracle in meagre and feeble verse. In the autumn, Sirius [i.e. the Dog-Star] ripens the crops in its fertile bosom; the vast harvests burst the granary with their produce. And Bacchus bestows his bounty on the laden vines, and the grimy wine-press foams from its brimming lips. As elsewhere in the world, so too in this remote region [520] the royal estate of Kingsclere likewise had its reapers. They bend over their work dripping with excessive sweat, and they gather the crops eagerly, so that they will not by chance be slowed down by rainfall or by sudden showers. A certain wayfarer, who sustained himself by meagre means, approached them from the road. He begs them that, from such abundant stooks, they give him a very few sheaves with which he could feed himself and his family. Moved by pity for the poor man they take up his request and give him three sheaves of wheat. He takes them and prepares to carry them home under his left arm [530]. He had scarcely reached the place where by chance the usual boundary-marker lay in the field (so that it could settle a dispute about land), when the king's reeve suddenly came upon him, and asked him who had given him the corn. The man preferred to die rather than to betray his generous friend. The reeve, incensed to fury and rage at this, orders the poor man to be bound with shackles on each foot, and detains him day and night under the watch of guards, flogging him with cudgels, lacerating him with whips and lashes; and these tortures are intended to afflict the man to the point of death, and thereupon [540] an executioner

503 Cf. above, i. 1608 ('uultibus effulgent').

503–5 Cf. above, note to i. 1586–8.

510 For the cadence *cernere lucem*, cf. Aldhelm, *CE* i. 15, as well as *HexLexikon* i. 318–19.

512 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 756 ('pomposo reboant tua bella cothurno').

516–19 This purple passage on the fruits of autumn has no correlate in Lantfred. It is based largely on Vergilian diction: cf. *Aen.* iii. 95 ('eadem uos ubere laeto'), *Georg.* i. 49 ('illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes'), ii. 6 ('spumat plenis uindemia labris').

521 *Clearan* (here in the genitive) is the OE equivalent of modern Kingsclere, some 18 miles north of Winchester: see fig. 1 and Ekwall, *DEPN* p. 111 s.v. 'Clere'. Kingsclere was a royal estate which had belonged to King Alfred, since it is listed as one of the possessions bequeathed to his eldest daughter in his will (S 1507 = BCS 553 [*æt Clearan*]; also ed. Birch, *LVH*, pp. 52–4, and trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 173–8, 321 n. 60); it was subsequently listed among royal estates bequeathed in the will of King Eadred, 951 × 955 (S 1515 = BCS 912; also ed. and trans. F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 34–5, 64–5. Kingsclere remained a royal estate at the time of Domesday, and even down to the reign of Henry II: see WS i. 292, 466–7 with n. 9.

529 It is not clear why Wulfstan alters the four sheaves in Lantfred (c. 27: 'quattuor mergites tritici') to three: perhaps for metrical reasons.

531–2 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 897–8 ('. . . forte iacebat / limes agro positus litem ut discerneret aruis'). Although the lines are lifted from Vergil, they attest to the existence of recognized boundary stones which marked off legal rights in Anglo-Saxon England. See below, note to ii. 715 (on the Chilcomb estate). I am grateful to Patrick Wormald for helpful discussion on this point.

533 See above, note to i. 1429.

536 See above, note to i. 1194.

538 Cf. above, i. 672, and below, ii. 548 ('uigilum custodia').

plecteret hunc gladii tortor mucrone retecti.
Protinus inuadit stringitque satelles egenum,
ducit et ad uillam peruerso tramite Clearan.
Perueniunt quo carcer erat; quem sedibus imis
tortores clausere truces, uestigiaque eius
ligno mersa cauo uinclisque tenacibus artant.
Abscessere, et ibi clausum liquere misellum.
Sol ruit oceano; uigilum custodia uenit;
carceris ima petit uallans hinc inde ligatum.
Flammea nocturnas pepulit candela tenebras,
et uigiles primae duxere crepuscula noctis.
Mitibus interea miser e custodibus unum
poscebat uerbis, ut ei comodare parumper
dignetur modicum secet unde superflua cultrum
unguibus. Oranti fauet ille benignus, eique
ferrum porrexit. Totis et nisibus ille
inuocat astrigero qui regnat in axe Tonantem,
et rogat, ut sancti precibus succurreret illi,
posset ut instantis uitare pericula mortis.
Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus egris
incipit, et fessos gratissima serpit in artus;
opprimit et uigiles sopor ecce grauissimus omnes,
ceuque forent ebrii, siceraque meroque sepulti:
sic simul horrisono stertunt spiramine cuncti.
Vidit ut hoc uigilans ingenti compede strictus,
ingemit exorans tacito clamore Deum, qui
erigit elisos, soluitque ligamine uinctos,
hunc ut et a poena soluat miserendo futura,
clamat et ad sanctum: 'Pater O uenerande Suuiðhune,
te rogo, tu misero mihi nunc placatus adesto;
tu precibus sanctis haec solue tenacia uincla,
qui facis ut languor fugiat ueniente medela,
qui releuas plures: releua miseratus et unum,
ut Dominus rerum per te laudetur in aeuum.'
Dixerat ut, manibus cultrum mox arripit huncque
imposuit ligno strictus fuit unde cauato,
constanti flagrante fide, et (mirabile dictu!)
ingentem facili perfindit acumine cippum,
quis ueluti caseum precidit lacte recentem,
et claui rigidam, fuerat quae ferrea, massam
ceu tenuem stipulam, et quasi telam rupit aragne.
Soluitur attonitus mox compede liber aperto;
surgit et erexit geminas ad sidera palmas,

is to decapitate him with the blade of an unsheathed sword. Straightway a retainer comes up and binds the poor man and takes him to the estate of Kingsclere by a devious route. They arrive at where the prison was; vicious torturers incarcerate him in the lowest depths, and, inserting his feet in a hollow beam, they bind them by means of tight fetters. They depart, and leave the wretched man shut up there. The sun sinks in the ocean; the night-watch arrives; they seek out the depths of the prison enclosing the man on this side and that. A burning candle was driving away the shadows of night [550], and thus the guards spent the semidarkness of the first watch. Meanwhile, the wretch asked one of the guards in gentle words whether he might deign to oblige him for a brief period with a small knife by which he might trim away the excess from his fingernails. The kind man acceded to the wretch's entreaties and handed over his pocket-knife. And with all his might the wretch calls upon Almighty God Who rules in the starry heaven, and asks that through the prayers of the saint [i.e. St Swithun] He have mercy on him, that he might be able to avoid the danger of an imminent death. It was now the time when rest first comes to poor human creatures [560] and creeps agreeably into their tired limbs; and now a heavy slumber overcomes all the guards—as though they were drunk, overwhelmed with intoxicating liquor and wine: and thus all of them snored together in one stentorian exhalation. When the man—who was still awake, shackled with the mighty fetter—sees this, with a silent outburst he beseeches God, Who lifts up those who are down-trodden and Who releases captives from their chains, that He might in His mercy release him from his imminent torture, and he calls upon the saint: 'O venerable father Swithun, I ask you, be benignly disposed to my wretched self [570]; release these binding chains with your holy prayers, you who arrange for sickness to flee at the remedy's advent, and who give relief to many: in your mercy free also this one, so that through you the Lord of all things may be praised forever.' When he had said these things, he took in his hands the pocket-knife, and stuck it into the hollow log by means of which he was shackled, his constant faith unwavering, and—marvellous to say!—he cuts through the mighty tree-trunk with the smooth blade, just as someone cuts a cheese freshly curdled, and he also cuts through the rigid metal of the spike [580]—which was made of iron—as if through a slender reed, and broke it as though it were a spider's web. With the stocks thus open the astonished man is immediately freed; he gets up and raises both hands to the heavens, praying

541 *over* plecteret *R has* **kyrpte** *and B* **crypte**; *over* gladii *R has* **sweordes**; *over* **mucrone** *R has* **mid ecge** *and B* **ecge**; *over* **retecti** *RB have* **abrodenes** 553 comodare *RB, spelled thus for metrical reasons*

541 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 423 ('. . . gladii mucrone retecto'); cf. also above, ii. 313 ('plecteret hunc gladio tortor ceruice retecto').

544–6 These lines are based on a passage of Arator, *HA* ii. 404–6:

> conueniunt ubi carcer erat, quem sedibus imis
> includunt comitante Sila, uestigia quorum
> ligno mersa cauo uinclis tenuere beatis.

Cf. also Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 412 ('tenacia uincla'), and below, ii. 890.

548 Cf. above, i. 922, 1154, 1429 ('sol ruit oceano'), and above, i. 672, ii. 538 ('uigilum custodia').

559 Cf. below, ii. 843 ('uitare pericula mortis').

560–1 Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 190 ('in noctem, fessosque sopor suus occupat artus'), *Aen.* ii. 268–9 ('tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit et dono diuum gratissima serpit'), and Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 37 ('at postquam fessos Domini manus adtigit artus'). The first 'watch' or part of the night (*prima quies*) was also known as *crepusculum*, according to Bede, *De temporibus*, c. 3 (CCSL cxxiiiC. 586), followed by Ælfric, *De temporibus anni* iii. 19 (ed. Henel, p. 24). Cf. also below, ii. 647.

563 See above, note to i. 1186.

565 Cf. above, i. 1093 ('ingenti compede strictos').

567 Cf. below, ii. 1146 ('erigere elisos cui posse et soluere uinctos').

574 Cf. below, ii. 859 ('laudetur in aeuum').

583 For the cadence *ad sidera palmas*, cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 93, ii. 153, ix. 16, and below, ii. 753, as well as *HexLexikon* v. 146–7.

exorans sanctum pius ut succurreret illi
liberet a soeuis et eum custodibus, hunc qui
uerberibus nimiis statim laniando grauarent,
si surrexissent, uigilandoque membra leuassent.
Nec mora custodes tacitus pertransit, et illos
disponente Deo grauidus sopor opprimit omnes.
Accessit quo clausa fuit munimine serae
ianua non modicae; nam pessulus intus opaco
obice quadratus muniuerat undique seram.
Vidit et expauit, trepidansque lugubriter hesit;
concutitur magnoque metu, sic corde gemitque:
'Heu mihi, qui infelix hominumque miserrimus adsto!
Quid mihi nam prodest uinclis quod liber apertis
excessi uigiles, qui me tenuere ligatum?
Interitus grauior restat mihi poenaque maior,
ni mihi subueniant tua nunc suffragia, Christe.
O Suuiðhune pater, ne me, rogo, sancte, relinquas,
sed solita pietate mihi succurre, precor te,
quatinus hanc ualeam tacite hinc euellere seram,
nullus et hoc uigilum persentiat indice quoquam.'
Sic ait, et rigidam fidenti pectore seram
arripit; illa manum facili uirtute trahentis
haud mora subsequitur, sua sic retinacula linquens
adforet in sera nullus quasi pessulus ipsa,
unguine sed perfusa foret prepinguis oliui.
Quam tacitus deponit humi, miratur et in se
rem gestam; coepitque Deo iubilare Tonanti,
in se sperantem qui numquam deserit ullum,
anxietate leuat sed eum miseratus ab omni.
Iam perfecta uiri fiducia pectore fulsit;
orat et, ut sancto sibi subueniente patrono
horrisonas aperire queat cum cardine ualuas,
eximium dare quae strepitum uoluendo solebant.
Has aperit, nullum penitus sonitumque remittunt;
cardo rotans sed uterque silet uelut orbita plaustri,
resina pingui fuerit cum forte peruncta.
Carcere, compedibus, custodibus atque solutus,
gaudet ouans, iugulandus erat qui morte nefanda,
liber et horrisonae transiuit limina ualuae,
progrediensque foras, plaustri citus arripit orbem;
quem tacitus ianue opposuit, ne staret aperta
sentiat et uigilum quae sunt custodia facta.
Sic qui clausus erat paulo ante et compede strictus,

devoutly that the saint assist him and free him from the cruel guards, who would punish him at once by flogging him with excessive blows if they were to get up and to stir their limbs by awakening. Without delay he silently passes through the guards: by God's contrivance a heavy sleep oppressed them all. He proceeded to where the door was secured by a bolt [590] of no mean size; for within the door a rectangular bolt strengthened the lock on every side by means of a dark bar. He sees this, becomes frightened, and, trembling, stops dejectedly; he is seized by mighty fear, and thus he laments in his heart: 'Ah me, who stand here the most wretched and unlucky of men! What good does it do me that, when the stocks were opened, I escaped from the guards who held me captive? A more terrible death and a greater torture awaits me, unless Your assistance now avails me, O Christ! O father Swithun, do not, I ask, abandon me [600], but, I pray, assist me with your customary mercy, so that I may silently be able to draw this bolt and none of the guards may notice it through any alarum whatsoever.' He says this and with a trusting heart grasps the stiff bar; without delay the bar follows the hand of the man drawing it with effortless force, coming free from its fastening as if there were no bolt in the lock itself, but rather, the lock had been lubricated with oil of the fatty olive. He quietly lays the bolt on the ground and marvels inwardly at what had happened; and he begins to rejoice in Almighty God [610] Who never abandons anyone who places hope in Him, but in His mercy releases him from all distress. Now complete confidence was gleaming in the man's heart; and he prays that, with the holy patron assisting him, he may be able to open the squeaking door on its hinges—which usually produce a great noise when turned. He opens it and it emits no sound at all; but rather, each hinge as it turned was silent like the wheel of a wagon when perchance it has been greased with oily resin. And thus, liberated from his prison, shackles and guards [620], he who was to be executed through an abominable death rejoices exultantly, and, a free man, he steps beyond the threshold of the squeaking door and, going outside, he quickly lays hold of a wagon wheel; he quietly placed it against the door, so the door would not remain open and so the guards would not realize what had happened. Accordingly, he who a short while before had been imprisoned and bound in shackles escapes unharmed by imprisoning in

608 For the cadence *praepinguis oliui*, cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* v. 68 ('pinguis oliui') and Bede, *VCM* 152 ('praepinguis oliui'), with discussion by M. Lapidge, 'Prolegomena to an edition of Bede's metrical *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*', *Filologia mediolatina*, ii (1995), 127–63, at pp. 151–2.

615 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 573–4 ('horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae / panduntur portae').

618 Cf. below, ii. 665 ('orbita plaustri').

622 For the cadence *limina ualuae*, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 456, 1041.

tortores nunc ipse suos claudendo uicissim
euolat illesus, meritum per presulis almi.
Sic pietas Domini, bona quae non denegat ulli,
incolomem dat abire hominem, sed cardine fixo
irrita recluso custodia permanet antro.
Saepius et uigiles illusit ianua fallax,
rem gestam penitus qui non sensere sub umbra,
compedibus uinctum credunt sed adesse misellum,
et repetunt dulcem securo corde soporem.
O semper laudanda fides! Tibi subditur illud
quod Natura negat, solitis quam moribus uti
non sinit Omnipotens, quotiens iubet ipse potenter
posse quod insolitum fieri mirata perurguet.
Ergo homini pietate Dei de morte redempto
fit uia. Vi rumpunt gressus somnumque moramque;
non cessat tota uelox incedere nocte,
donec Wentanam properando ueniret ad urbem.
Interea noctis tetra caligine mersa
consurgens Aurora micat. Torpore grauati
excutiunt sua membra uiri, sumuntque flagella
torquerent ut eum, quem prime tempore noctis
compede constrictum mediis liquere tenebris.
Hunc pietate Dei nec adhuc sensere solutum,
utpote perspicuus quia nondum fulsit Eous,
nec rebus certum lux adtulit alma colorem.
Nec mora conueniunt, nequiquam hominemque requirunt.
Fallit eos cippus claui compage solutus,
cultelli medius facili uirtute recisus,
inque duo disrupta iacet uis ferrea claui.
Diuersi circumspiciunt, mirantur et omnes,
qua posset uirtute aliquis precidere tantam
compedis et claui per opaca silentia massam.
Accedunt quo carcer erat paulo ante reclusus;
ecce uident aliud quod adhuc mirentur: ibi nam
sera iacet reserata solo sine claue, stupetque
uultibus attonitis eadem custodia. Post haec
hostia propellit toto conamine, uixque
preualet obstructas tandem patefacere ualuas,
opponente uiro quas obstruit orbita plaustri.
Soeuit ad ista cohors, facti nec conspicit usquam
auctorem, nec quo se ardens inmittere possit,
uindicet ut tantum quod eos sic luserat actum.
Confusi referunt domino quid contigit illis.

his turn his own torturers, through the merit of the holy bishop. Thus the mercy of the Lord, which withholds its benefits from no-one, allows the man to escape unscathed and also, with the door jammed [630], the guards remain ineffectual through being shut up in the cell. The furtively closed door frequently deceived the guards who, in the darkness, did not realize at all what had happened, but continued to think that the wretch was still with them bound in shackles, and they went back to a soothing sleep with unperturbed conscience. O faith ever praiseworthy! To you is subject that which Nature disallows, whom Almighty God does not permit to exercise her usual behaviour on such occasions when He Himself mightily commands something to take place which Nature in astonishment would regard as unusual. Accordingly, through God's mercy there is a way open for the man redeemed from death [640]. His footsteps forcibly overcome sleep and delay; throughout the night he does not abandon his rapid pace until he arrives in haste at the town of Winchester. Meanwhile the daylight, which had been submerged in the black shadow of night, rises resplendent at dawn. The guards, weighed down by sluggishness, shake their limbs and take up their cudgels so that they can flay the man whom in the darkness they had left bound in stocks at the first watch of the night. They did not yet realize that he had been liberated through God's mercy, inasmuch as the resplendent east had not yet grown bright [650] and gentle light had not brought its clear coloration to things. They assemble without delay, and look for the man in vain. The tree-trunk, detached from its connection with the spike, confounds them, it having been cut through the middle by the effortless force of the pocket-knife, and the iron mass of the spike lies severed in two. Individually they look around and in utter silence they all wonder with what strength anyone could cut through the mass of the stock and spike. They arrive at where the cell had been shut a short while before; here they see something else which they wonder at still more: for [660] the bolt lay unlocked there on the ground without a key, and the garrison gazes on it with astonished looks. Thereupon they push at the door with all their might, and at length they are barely able to open the jammed door which the wagon wheel placed by the man obstructed. The garrison becomes enraged at this, nor does it see anywhere the perpetrator of the deed, nor where in its fury it might turn in order to avenge the deed which had tricked them thus. In a state of confusion they explain to their chief what has happened to them. He no less than they

628 Cf. above, i. 1074, 1101, 1491, and below, ii. 850, 1045 ('meritum per presulis almi').

630–9 The entire passage is closely modelled on Arator, *HA* i. 522–30:

> ad templum facit ire uiros; sed cardine fixo
> irrita signato custodia permanet antro,
> stansque suis foribus uallante crepidine carcer
> clausus apostolicis uestigia pandit aperta
> gressibus, et uigiles illudit ianua fallax.
> O numquam neglecta fides! cui subiacet illud
> quod natura negat, propriis quam legibus uti
> non sinit Omnipotens, quotiens iubet ipse uicissim
> posse quod insolitum fieri mirata perurget.

640 Cf. perhaps Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 6. 7 ('dum chaos inferni surgens de morte redemtor').

644 Cf. below, ii. 694 ('interea caecus tetra caligine mersus').

645 Cf. below, ii. 703 ('consurgens aurora micat').

646 Cf. Arator, *HA* ii. 422 ('excutiens sua membra toro').

647 For the *primae tempore noctis*, see above, note to ii. 560–1.

656 Cf. above, i. 412 ('mirantur et omnes').

658 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 219 ('. . . foribus clausis per opaca silentia noctis').

659 See above, note to ii. 544.

665 Cf. above, ii. 618 ('orbita plaustri').

Exhibuit faciem nihilominus ille pudentem,
nec sapit unde hominem perquirere possit ademptum—
quem cunctis patuit Domino soluente solutum.
Ille morae inpatiens, orto iam sole corusco,
uenit ad excelsae sublimia culmina Wentae, et
ut grates ageret tanto pro munere, supplex
sternitur ad terram Dominum uirtutis adorans,
cordis et affectu sanctum ueneranter honorans,
hunc qui de tanti subtraxit clade pericli—
illius auxilio, solus qui regnat ab euo.

xi. DE PREPOSITO ABBANDVNENSIS MONASTERII.

Interea horrendis quendam subitisque tenebris
inuoluit caligo uirum ter quinque per annos,
corporeo uisuque caret; qui nomine Birhferth
dictus erat proprio. Prouiderat hicque fidelis
rura monasterii, pulchro quod onomate quique
uirginis innuptae sanctum sub honore Mariae
Abbandun uocitare solent, quod iure paterno
rexerat Osgarus iam tunc uenerabilis abbas.
Nunc etiam, pietate Dei moderante superni,
moribus egregiis est cui praelatus et almis,
qui noto cunctis Niger est agnomine dictus,
mente sed irradiat Wulfgarus et ore coruscat;
commissumque gregem monitis precibusque tuetur,
augmentoque boni in Domino laetatur ouilis.
Interea caecus tetra caligine mersus
adhibuit complura suo medicamina morbo,
nilque ualent prodesse uiro. Bis sena deinde
in caput a medicis infertur adustio caeci;
nec habuit melius, nocuit sed adustio peius.
Comperit auditu sancti miracula patris;
ad Wentam nudis uenit cum preduce plantis;
duxit ibi noctem coram patre peruigil unam,
et rogat extinctae reddi sibi munera formae.
Consurgens Aurora micat, sanctoque medente
restaurata suis micuerunt ora lucernis,
sospes abitque domum, carpens sine preduce cursum.

673 Cf. above, ii. 280 ('ille morae inpatiens'), and note.
674 Cf. above, ii. 81 ('duxit ad excelsae sublimia culmina Wentae'), and note to i. 1505.
676 Cf. above, ii. 46 ('sternimur ad terram').
678 Cf. above, ii. 431 ('qui subtraxit eum tanti de clade pericli').

displayed a blushing face [670], nor did he know where he could look for the man who had been snatched from him—whom everyone could see had been released through the Lord's liberating power.

The man, impatient of delay now that the radiant sun had risen, comes to the towering spires of lofty Winchester and, prostrate in order to give thanks for so great a gift, lies on the ground in worship of the author of the miracle, and with heartfelt feeling reverently praises the saint who had removed him from the threat of such great danger—through His assistance, Who alone reigns forever.

xi. CONCERNING THE PRIOR OF THE MONASTERY OF ABINGDON.

[= Lantfred, c. 28]

At the same time, blindness had enveloped a man with its terrifying and unexpected shadows [680] in such a way that he lacked corporeal vision for a period of fifteen years; he was called Byrhtferth by his own name. This trustworthy man had looked after the estates of that monastery which, dedicated to the glory of the intact Virgin Mary, people are accustomed to call by the pleasing name of Abingdon, which at that time was ruled in a fatherly way by the venerable Abbot Osgar. Now, however, through the merciful authority of Almighty God, its ruler is known to everyone through his outstanding and kindly virtues by the nickname *Niger* [i.e. 'the Black'][690], but who as Wulfgar is radiant of mind and handsome in appearance; he watches over the flock entrusted to him with his admonitions and prayers, and he rejoices in the Lord through the increase of his goodly sheepfold. Meanwhile the blind man, plunged in black darkness, applied a good many medications to his ailment, and they were of no help to him. Then a twelve-stage cauterization is applied by physicians to the blind man's head; he was no better for it, rather the cauterization did him greater harm. He learned through hearsay of the miracles of the holy father; together with a guide he came to Winchester barefooted [700]; he spent one night there in prayer at the father's tomb, and he asked that the gift of his now-extinct vision be restored to him. The day dawns resplendently, and through the saint's therapy his healed eyes shone with their former brightness, and he goes home safe and sound, making his way without a guide.

682 The identity of this Prior Byrhtferth is unknown (see above, p. 316 n. 256); certainly no monk of that name is listed among the monks of Abingdon in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster (ed. Birch, *LVH*, pp. 59–61; ed. Keynes, fos. 26v–27r), though there is a Byrhtmær, a Byrhtwold, and a Byrhtwine. Wulfstan adds to Lantfred's account the interesting detail that Byrhtferth looked after the estates of the monastery ('prouiderat . . . rura monasterii').

684–93 These lines have no correlate in Lantfred, and represent Wulfstan's knowledge of contemporary events at Abingdon.

685 Cf. above, i. 1003 ('uirginis innuptae').

687 Abbot Osgar, who was one of the monks who followed Æthelwold from Glastonbury to Abingdon, became abbot of Abingdon after Æthelwold's appointment to Winchester in 963; he died in 984. See *Heads*, p. 23; Hart, *ECNENM*, pp. 355–6; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 20 n. 2, 26 n. 3. Osgar had spent some time at Fleury (at Æthelwold's insistence) during the decade 954 × 963, and was a close colleague of Lantfred; see above, p. 221.

688 Cf. above, i. 167 ('uirtute Dei moderante superni').

691 Wulfgar was abbot of Abingdon, 990–1016: *Heads*, p. 24; Hart, *ECNENM*, pp. 364–5. No source other than Wulfstan reports that his nickname was *Niger*; in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster he is simply named as 'Wulfgar abbas' (*LVH*, ed. Birch, p. 59; ed. Keynes, fo. 26v).

694 Cf. above, ii. 644 ('interea noctis tetra caligine mersa').

696 Cf. above, i. 1457 ('nilque ualent prodesse uiro').

702 See above, note to i. 1598, as well as below, ii. 1098 ('quid morer extinctae caelestia munera formae').

703 Cf. above, ii. 645 ('consurgens aurora micat').

704 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 151 ('instaurata suis radiarunt ora lucernis'); cf. also below, ii. 880 ('restaurata suae').

705 Cf. above, i. 770, 1492 ('sospes abitque domum').

xii. DE CECO IN ITINERE ILLVMINATO.

Venit ab Anglorum dimotis sedibus alter
caecus, eo uoluente, canit quem dactilus, anno.
Fama notat sancti celeberrima signa patroni;
cum puero ductore citim properabat ad ipsum,
corporis ut celerem mereretur habere salutem,
caelitus optatum possetque resumere uisum.
Iamque uiae prope finis erat. Tum forte uiator
calle fatigatus coepit dare membra quieti
fessa, loco ternis qui milibus extat ab urbe
Wintonia, quem lingua 'Petram' uocat Anglica 'Regis',
est ibi uexillum quoniam de rupe uetusto
erectum sublime crucis, sub onomate ueri
regis, et aeterni super omnia regna potentis.
Euigilat caecus fugiente grauedine somni,
et consedit humi, ductorque famelicus illum
alloquitur: 'Rogo, care pater, pellamus acerbam
pane famem, potuque sitim, quia uexor utroque,
uiscera sicca gerens; multum nec distat ab urbe,
quam prope iam uideo, postquam peragramus et illam
uescendi nobis aderit quia nulla facultas;
corpore ieiuno tunc deficiemus et ambo.'
Caecus ad haec: 'Non tempus adhuc ieiunia solui.'
'Est', inquit, 'transacta', puer, 'nunc hora, pater mi.'
Respondit: 'Quantum superest hinc callis ad urbem?'
'Ad sanctum ueniemus', ait, 'iam calle citato;
idcircoque cibum rogo te sumamus, ut illuc
tendere possimus, stomachi uirtute resumpta,
est populi quia magnus ibi creberque tumultus.'
Aeger ad haec: 'Non nona suam peruenit ad umbram,
necdumque alternis sonuerunt cimbala plectris.
Expectemus eam, te flagito sedulus, horam
et precibus uatem postquam petierimus almum,
soluamus miserente pio ieiunia Christo.'
Ductor ad hec rursus subdens puer improbus infit:
'Est, pater, est nonae, mihi credito, circulus horae;
est ut dico tibi tempus ieiunia solui;
iam tenet Hesperias uergens sol aureus oras.'
Haec cum dicta forent, caecus properare uiantes
audit, et explorat callem quo tendere tanta
turba uelit. Respondit ei: 'Sunt quique miselli;
Wintoniam tendunt, uotis sanctumque requirunt,
ducentes proprios uariis languoribus aegros,

xii. CONCERNING THE BLIND MAN WHO RECEIVED HIS EYESIGHT ON A JOURNEY.

[= Lantfred, c. 29]

In the course of that same year, about which my dactylic verse now sings, another blind man came from a remote area of England. Report was making known the celebrated miracles of the holy patron; with a boy as his guide the man hastened quickly to the saint so that he might deserve to receive a speedy cure for his body [710] and might through heavenly agency regain his longed-for vision. And now the end of his journey is nearly at hand. At this point the wayfarer, probably worn out by the trip, began to give his tired limbs over to sleep in a place which is three miles from Winchester and which the English tongue calls the King's Stone, because standing there is a replica in ancient stone of the sublime Cross, bearing the name of the True King Who holds eternal sway over all realms. The blind man wakes up as the heaviness of slumber leaves him, and sits on the ground, and his hungry guide [720] addresses him: 'Dear father, I beseech you that we may banish our acute hunger with bread and our thirst with drink, for I am tormented by both, and my inwards are parched; nor is it far from the town which I see close at hand, since after we reach it there will be no opportunity for us to eat; and by then we shall both be weakened by our starving bodies.' To this the blind man replies: 'It is not yet time to break our fast.' The boy says: 'Even now the time has passed, my father.' The blind man replies: 'How much of the journey is left from here to the town?' 'We shall arrive at the saint's tomb', he says, 'very quickly; [730] and therefore I beseech you that we take some nourishment, so that we may be able to proceed there, with strength restored to our stomachs, since there is a great crowd of people there, and a pressing throng.' The sick man says to this: 'Noon has not yet cast its shadow, nor in the meanwhile have the bells rung out their answering peals. Let us wait for that moment, I ask you earnestly, and after we have sought the holy saint with our prayers, then let us break our fast through Christ's loving mercy.' The naughty young guide speaks again, adding the following: 'Believe me, it is, father, it is high noon [740]: it is time to break fast, just as I tell you; already the golden sun is declining in western regions.' As these things are being said, the blind man hears other wayfarers hastening by; he asks the boy about the destination to which so great a throng wished to proceed. He says to him: 'Every one of them is infirm; they are going to Winchester and are seeking the saint with their prayers, taking with them their sick, afflicted with various

721 *over* acerbam *RB have* uel acutam

727 *over* non *R has* s. est *and B has* non est tempus

708 Cf. above, i. 1425 ('fama notat').

715 Wulfstan adds to Lantfred's account the name of this stone: *Petram Regis* = King's Stone. Its precise location is unknown; however, since it lay some three miles from Winchester (*ternis . . . milibus extat ab urbe*), and since the *territorium* around Roman towns seems usually to have been approximately 3 miles in radius, it is possible that this King's Stone was a boundary marker defining the extent of the ancient Chilcomb estate, which in the tenth century was the suburban estate of the bishop of Winchester: see fig. 1, and especially WS i. 256–7, with fig. 5.

719 The line is recycled from above, i. 266 ('euigilat gibber fugiente grauedine somni').

732 Cf. above, i. 103, 1220 ('uirtute resumpta').

735 Cf. above, i. 423 ('cimbala plectris').

739 Cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* viii. 49 ('crudelis mater magis an puer improbus ille').

747 Cf. Arator, *HA* i. 170 ('pulsis languoribus aegros'), and below, ii. 1013.

illius ut pietas releuet de clade misellos.'
'Qualis', ait, 'foret iste locus quo forte sedemus?'
'Staurus adest', inquit, 'hic saxea grandis et alta,
erecta ad laudem summae et deitatis honorem.'
Caecus ad ista senex, fidenti pectore surgens,
expandit geminas supplex ad sidera palmas,
exclamans lacrimis imo de corde profusis:
'O Deus omnipotens, regnum per saecula cuius
numen et aeterno complectitur omnia gyro,
aspice de summis, regum rex inclite, caelis,
decute nocturnas et ab his, rogo, uultibus umbras,
et clarum largire diem per presulis almi
Suuiðhuni meritum, qui gaudet in ethere tecum.
O si perspicuo merear quandoque uidere
lumine Wintoniam, pater O uenerande Suuiðhune,
subueniant tua queso mihi suffragia, ne sit
peccatum pergrande mihi ieiunia sancta
soluere, nona priusquam fulgeat hora diei.'
Vix ea fatus erat, subito et lustratus ibidem
aurea siderei cernebat lumina caeli.
Circumfert oculos, secum miratus ouansque,
moenia ceu cupiit Wentane conspicit urbis.
Ibat et inpransus, ceu uouerat antea, uenit
ad sanctum grates referens atque omnia narrans
fratribus. Hi ueniunt, laudes solitasque rependunt
auctori Christo, qui regnat in ethre superno.

xiii. DE DEBILI ET CLAVDO.

Debilis interea quidam, pede claudus utroque,
cernuus ad terram contracto corpore totus
haerebat, scamnis se sustentando gemellis.
Ductus amicorum molli gestamine, sanctum
peruenit ad patrem, fusa et prece sanus abibat.
Arripuit fugam maturo calle pedester,
coenobioque in eo uidit quem postea nemo.
Per scabella tamen patuit res ipsa popello,
per sanctum patrem caperet quod et ipse salutem.

xiv. DE PVERO QVI DE EQVO CECIDIT.

Consul erat quidam qua tempestate, caducis
praepollens opibus, regi dilectus eratque
Eadgaro nimium. Multo comitatus equestre—
ut mos est Anglis-Saxonibus—ire parabat

ailments, so that the saint's mercy may relieve the poor folk of their misfortune.' 'What might this place be like', he says, 'in which by chance we are sitting?' 'There is a large, tall stone cross here', he says [750], 'set up in praise and honour of the highest Deity.' Thereupon the blind old man, getting up with faith in his heart, humbly extends his two hands to the stars, exclaiming in profuse tears from the depths of his heart, 'O Omnipotent God, Whose kingdom and power encloses all things forever in its eternal span, look down from the highest heavens, O King of kings, and dispel the nocturnal shadows from these eyes, I pray, and grant to me the clear light of day, through the merit of Bishop Swithun, who rejoices in your presence in heaven [760]. O, if at some time I am to deserve to see Winchester with unimpaired eyesight, O venerable father Swithun, I pray that your good offices may assist me, so that it not be a mighty sin to break my holy fast before the hour of noon shines forth.' He had scarcely said these things, when suddenly he was illuminated in that place and looked on the golden lights of the bright sky. He casts his eyes about, marvelling and rejoicing as he looks upon the walls of Winchester, exactly as he had wished. He set off without eating—exactly as he had vowed beforehand—and came [770] to the saint's shrine, giving thanks and reporting all this to the monks. They assemble and give their customary praises to Christ the miracle-worker Who reigns in the heavens above.

xiii. CONCERNING THE MAN WHO WAS INFIRM AND LAME.

[= Lantfred, c. 30]

In the meantime a certain invalid, lame in either foot, was completely bent over to the ground with his crippled body and propped himself up with two crutches. Taken by friends on a soft litter, he arrived at the holy father's shrine, and after pouring out his prayers went away cured. In fact he took to flight on foot at a brisk pace, and no-one in that minster ever saw him again [780]. Nevertheless the event was manifest to the people through the crutches, namely that he had received his cure through the holy father.

xiv. CONCERNING THE BOY WHO FELL FROM A HORSE.

[= Lantfred, c. 31]

There was a certain ealdorman at that time who was extremely rich in earthly goods and much beloved of King Edgar. Accompanied by a large mounted retinue—as was the custom among the Anglo-Saxons—he made preparations to go and visit an estate which had been

751 The line is recycled at ii. 1145 ('basilica ad laudem summae et deitatis honorem').

752 Cf. above, ii. 604 ('fidenti pectore').

753 See above, note to ii. 583.

755–6 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 64–5 ('qui caelum terramque tenet per saecula cuius / nomen et aeternae conplectens omnia gyro'). Neil Wright points out to me that, whereas Sedulius's text as printed by Huemer has the reading *nomen*, a number of ninth-century French manuscripts reported by Huemer here read *numen*, which was presumably the reading found in Wulfstan's copy of the *Carmen paschale*. For the phrase *O Deus omnipotens*, see above, notes to Ep. spec. 111, i. 120; for the phrase *et aeterno complectitur omnia gyro* in line 756, see above, note to i. 1568.

758–9 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 145–6 ('decute nocturnis extinctis uultibus umbras / et clarum largire diem').

766 See above, note to ii. 502.

773 See above, note to ii. 204.

775 Cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 1. 31 ('cernuus ad terram confractis ossibus ambro').

776 Cf. above, i. 365 ('me sustentabo gemellis').

777 Cf. above, i. 587, 1298 ('molli gestamine').

779 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 229 ('sub calle pedestri').

785 Cf. above, i. 1269 ('raro comitatus equestre').

uisere concessum regali munere uicum.
Scandit equum, pubesque uirum comitatur euntem;
maturant alacresque uiam. Puer ecce repente
indolis eximiae quidam, properante ruina,
lapsus equo cecidit, mox et confregit ei crus;
et quassat dextram dolor intolerabilis ulnam,
omnibus et membris ita fit resolutus, ut omnes
hunc credant comites subita iam morte necandum.
Condoluit nimium pueri pro morte; gemitque
mente comes, totis Dominum poscitque medullis,
illius ut solita releuet pietate ruinam,
Suuithuni per magna uiri suffragia sancti,
'Sancte, tuis', aiens, 'precibus, Suuiðhune, tonantem
exora Dominum, puero quo conferat isti
prosperitatis opem; quod si concesserit illi
pronior existam, semperque fidelior exhinc,
quinetiam puerum tibi presentabo tenellum,
subuenias ut ei, quo sunt tua busta sacello,
percipiatque inibi sanus beneficia Christi.'
Talia corde pio rogat, et puer ecce repente
prosilit incolomis, iacuit qui in limine mortis,
artubus et cunctis ita sanus et integer extat,
acsi lapsus equo nullum persenserit ictum.
Consul ad haec hilaris Dominum benedicit, et omnes
non cessant Christum comites laudare tonantem,
pectore contritum qui numquam despicit ullum.

XV. DE MVLIERE QVE IN GALLIA SANATA EST.

Te quoque, Francorum gens O clarissima, noster
pauper et exiguus resonat cum laude libellus,
in nostra quoniam non tantum gente, sed in te
sunt quoque per nostrum miracula gesta patronum—
fulgida sanctorum glebis quae mille coruscas,
nomina scit quorum qui regnat in arce polorum.
Talia nam nostris dum signa geruntur in oris,
hac in parte fuit quaedam matrona fidelis,
edita nobilium clara de stirpe parentum,
quae duxit uitam cum religione modestam,
ardescens in amore Dei. Grauis ecce repente
stringit eam per membra dolor; non promere uerbum
eloquio priuata ualet, nec percipit ullum

810 *over* benedicit *R has* uel benedixit scilicet *and B has* scilicet in Francorum
816 *over* quoque *R has* .i. etiam
820 *over* hac in parte *R has* in uestra, Francorum

granted to him by the king. He mounts his horse, and a troop of young men accompanies him on his journey; together they quickly hasten along their way. Suddenly a young man of outstanding ability fell from his horse in a sudden tumble [790], and broke his leg straightway; and an unbearable pain shot through his right arm, and he was so badly shaken in all his limbs that all the retinue thought that he would die a sudden death. The ealdorman was greatly aggrieved at the thought of the boy's death; and he laments in his heart and beseeches the Lord with all his might to alleviate the boy's misfortune with His usual mercy, through the mighty offices of the holy St Swithun, saying, 'O St Swithun, implore through your prayers the Almighty Lord that He may bestow on this boy [800] the bounty of good health; if He should grant this to him, I shall be the more devoted and ever faithful thereafter; moreover, I shall donate this gentle boy to you so that you may heal him at the sanctuary where your remains are preserved, and so that he may there receive Christ's favour when he is restored to health.' He asks these things in his worshipful heart and suddenly the boy springs up safe and sound—he who had been lying on the threshold of death—and is so well cured and restored in all his limbs as if he had received no injury from the fall from the horse. Thereupon the delighted ealdorman praises the Lord, and all the retainers [810] do not cease from praising Almighty Christ, Who never despises anyone of humble heart.

xv. CONCERNING THE WOMAN WHO WAS CURED IN FRANCE.

[= Lantfred, c. 32]

You, too, O illustrious people of France, our slender and modest book records with esteem, since not only among our own people, but even among yours, miracles were performed through our patron saint—you [i.e. France] who shine resplendent through thousandfold relics of saints, whose names He knows Who reigns in the citadel of heaven. For while such miracles were taking place in our lands, there was in your territory a certain devout lady [820], born of a distinguished stock of noble parents, who led a virtuous life in religion, burning with the love of God. An intense pain suddenly seizes her in all her limbs; she is unable to utter a single word in private conversation, nor

787 Wulfstan specifies that the ealdorman (*consul*) in question was setting out to inspect an estate which had been granted to him by King Edgar. As we have seen (above, pp. 292–3 n. 184), there were only four ealdorman attesting charters during the period 971–5: Ælfhere of Mercia, Æthelwine of East Anglia, Byrhtnoth of Essex, and Oslac of Northumbria. Of these, Ælfhere of Mercia was probably the most powerful (cf. Hart, *ECNENM*, p. 260: 'Ælfhere was the most powerful ealdorman of his day'), and the ealdorman described by Wulfstan was *caducis / praepollens opibus*. Furthermore, of the surviving charters of King Edgar, only one records a grant to one of his ealdormen, and that is a grant to Ælfhere of land at Down St Mary (Devon) (S 795 = BCS 1303), dated 974. This much might suggest that Ælfhere is the unnamed ealdorman in question here; but the record of charters surviving from this period is not complete enough to permit certainty (see Keynes, *Atlas*, Table lvi). On the career of Ælfhere, see A. Williams, '*Princeps Merciorum gentis*: the family, career and connections of Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia 956–83', *ASE* x (1981), 143–72, esp. pp. 157–60.

789 See above, note to i. 1429.

792 Cf. above, ii. 284 ('dolor intolerabilis'), and below, ii. 877.

794 Cf. above, ii. 353, 395 ('morte necandum').

795 Cf. above, ii. 321 ('condoluit nimium **serui pro morte**').

806 See above, note to i. 1429.

807 See above, note to i. 1262; cf. also above, i. 1055 ('**prosilit incolomis**').

811 Cf. above, i. 1347 ('**ne cessent ymnis Dominum laudare tonantem**').

818 See above, note to i. 275.

819 See above, note to i. 199.

821 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 2173 ('**inclita haec fuerat generosa stirpe parentum**').

822 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 245 ('**ducentes uitam cum religione modestam**').

823 See above, note to i. 1429.

824 Cf. below, ii. 872 ('**nec promere uerbum**').

pre nimio languore cibum. Voluuntur in axe
uiginti cum sole dies; hoc tempore toto
sic miseranda iacet, quasi nec spiramen haberet.
Interea quidam nostra de gente sacerdos
more cupit solito Gallorum uisere gentem;
hospitiumque habuit susceptus in urbe uiator,
qua mulier uexata iacet. Quod sensit ut eius
uir, cui notus erat uenerabilis ille sacerdos,
mox ad eum celeres mandat properare clientes
exorans aliquam saperet si forte medelam,
ocius hanc miserae miserans impenderet aegre.
Ille fidem sumens haec uerba remittit amico:
'Me puero numquam studui didicisse medelam;
arte quidem careo, uos ut bene nostis amici.
Sed tibi consilium prestabo salubriter unum,
cui si consensum dederint tua pectora firmum,
indubitata Dei beneficia sentiet aegra,
si ualet atrocis uitare pericula mortis.
Precipe candelam citius formare nouellam,
in temploque Dei facito hanc lucere sequenti
nocte, salutiferi patris sub honore Suuiðhuni—
per quem magna Deus miracula prebet in Anglis—
exoraque Deum pro coniuge pectore fido.
Spero quod optatam capiet sanata medelam,
subueniente Deo meritum per presulis almi.'
Verba sacerdotis uir ut audiit ille fidelis,
nec mora candelam iussit tornare rotundam,
hancque sacerdoti festino tramite ferri.
Qui cereum accipiens apices hos sculpsit in illo:
'Sancte Suuithune pater, per quem medicamina confert
aegris corporibus qui cuncta creauit Hiesus,
te precor, huic priscam mulieri posce medelam,
alma fides Domini populo clarescat ut omni,
per meritumque tuum Christus laudetur in aeuum.'
Plura quid his addam? Mulier mox luce sequenti
percipit amissam pulso languore salutem,
conlaudans totis Dominum sanata medullis
et referens cunctis summi preconia uatis.

xvi. DE ALTERA MVLIERE GENTIS FRANCORVM.

Sed neque preteream, quod ibi muliercula quedam
manserat, obscuro quae tempore noctis opacae
oscitat, ore crucem neglexit et indere sanctam.

take in any food because of her extreme affliction. Twenty days turn on the axis of the sun; throughout all this period she lay in such misery as though she was no longer breathing. Meanwhile a certain priest of our community sought in his habitual way to visit the people of Gaul [830]; and the traveller was put up in an inn in the same town in which the distressed woman was lying. When her husband—to whom that venerable priest was well known—learns this, he straightway orders some of his retainers to go quickly to the priest, asking that, if perchance he should know some remedy, he might quickly prescribe it for his diseased wife. The priest sends back this message in good faith: 'When I was young, I never made any effort to learn such a remedy; as you well know, my friends, I lack any knowledge of medicine. Nevertheless I shall offer you one piece of beneficial advice [840] which, if you trust in it with all your heart, your sick wife will experience the undoubted assistance of God, if she is able to avoid the danger of a dreadful death. Give orders for a new candle to be made quickly, and have it lit in God's church the following night in honour of health-bringing St Swithun—through whom God displays mighty miracles among the English—and with a pure heart pray to God on your wife's behalf. I trust that she will receive the desired remedy at God's behest through the merits of the holy bishop' [850]. As soon as the conscientious husband heard the priest's advice, he ordered a round candle to be fashioned without delay and to be taken to the priest with swift dispatch. Taking up the waxen candle, the priest engraved these letters on it:

St Swithun, our father, through whom Jesus, Who created all things, grants medication to ailing bodies, I beg you, seek the time-honoured cure for this woman, so that the kindly love of the Lord may be manifest to all the people, and Christ may be praised forever through your merit.

Why should I add more to these words? On the following day [860] the disease is expelled and the woman straightway obtains the health she had lost; restored, she praises the Lord with all her might, explaining to everyone her admiration for the greatest saint.

xvi. ABOUT ANOTHER FRENCH WOMAN.

[= Lantfred, c. 33]

Nor shall I omit to mention that a certain woman lived there [i.e. in France] who yawned at the darkest hour in the dead of night and neglected to make the sign of the Cross over her mouth.

829 The priest in question here is almost certainly Lantfred himself (see above, pp. 218–19); in which case *nostra de gente* (and cf. ii. 815) must refer to 'our community [of the Old Minster]', rather than the English race.

830 Cf. above, i. 495 ('more cupit solito proprios inuisere mannos'), 1266 ('more cupit solito thalamos inuisere quosdam').

843 Cf. above, ii. 559 ('uitare pericula mortis').

850 Cf. above, i. 1074, 1101, 1491, ii. 628, and below, ii. 1045 ('meritum per presulis almi').

855–9 Lantfred composed this prayer in elegiac couplets. In adapting it, Wulfstan was able to repeat Lantfred's hexameters verbatim, but was forced to recast his pentameters into hexameters; he added a further hexameter for good measure. Campbell suggested reading *posce salutem* for *posce medelam* in line 857; but Lantfred's text—of which Campbell was unaware—certainly reads *posce medelam* here. For the phrase *laudetur in aeuum* (859), see above, ii. 574.

860 Cf. above, Ep. spec. 211 ('plura quid his addam'), ii. 359; for the cadence *luce sequenti*, cf. above, ii. 352, and below, ii. 1127.

861 See above, note to i. 233.

865 See above, note to i. 374–5.

Plectitur hec zabuli statim feritate maligni,
mandibulae et penitus fit ei compago soluta,
atque a se disiuncta patent utraque labella
more canis rabidi, qui fauce tabescit hianti.
Sumere quae uictum potuit nullatenus ullum,
eloquio planum ualuit nec promere uerbum.
Conuenere ad eam merenti corde parentes,
exponuntque illam trans aequora calleque recto
fertur ad Anglorum mulier quasi mortua gentem.
Mensibus expletis iam tunc solaribus octo
uexauit postquam dolor intolerabilis illam,
ducitur ad Wentam, precibusque incumbit anhelis
ante Dei famulum; mox surgit laeta, saluti
restaurata suae. Vestigia nulla doloris
apparent in ea, sed prisca uoce reuersa,
mandibulae compago suos reuocatur in usus,
ceu mulier nullum fuerit perpessa dolorem.
Quae sanata suas gaudens remeauit ad oras,
glorificans Dominum prelucentemque Suuithunum.

xvii. DE VLTRAMARINO LATRONE.

Comperit et sancti quidam suffragia latro,
accola Francorum fuerat qui gentis et ipse.
Prenditur is subito furti patrasse reatum,
clauditur et caeco tali pro crimine statim
carcere; mersa cauo tenet et uestigia ligno,
soeua catenatis ac uincula sustinet ulnis,
donec mane trucis subeat suspendia mortis.
Qui prius in culpa fieret quam prensus iniqua,
audiit inuentum nuper trans aequora sanctum,
per quem mira Deus spectacula prebuit Anglis,
aegris subueniens, strictos et compede soluens.
Huius in obscurae reminiscens tempore noctis,
ingemit, effundens lacrimas et talia dicens:
'O Dee, siderei sator et moderator Olimpi,
eripe me miserum mortis de fauce, per almi
pontificis meritum, per quem tot milia, Christe,
gentis in Anglorum diffuso limite sanas.
Inuoco, sancte, tuum—quod nescio promere—nomen;
obtestor Dominum: scit hoc ille, omnia qui scit.
Posce Deum, misero mihi quo succurrat in isto
carcere. Abhinc furti numquam patrabo reatum,
si licet instantem mihi nunc euadere mortem.'

Immediately she is punished by the cruelty of the evil demon, and the rigidity of her jaw gives way entirely and both her lips appear to be disconnected from her face in the likeness of a rabid dog which expires with a gaping jaw [870]. She was unable to take in any food at all, nor could she produce an audible word of speech. Her kinsfolk gathered about her in dejected spirits; and they send her overseas, and the woman is carried as if she were dead by a direct route to England. Subsequently, eight calendar months after the unbearable pain had first afflicted her, she is brought to Winchester, and she falls prostrate in panting prayers before God's servant; immediately she arises joyfully, restored to her former health. No traces of the affliction [880] are visible on her, but, with her former voice returned, the rigidity of her jawbone is again called upon to discharge its proper functions, just as if the woman had experienced no malady. Cured, she returned contentedly to her own country, praising the Lord and the illustrious Swithun.

xvii. ABOUT THE OVERSEAS THIEF.

[= Lantfred, c. 34]

A certain thief, who likewise was a citizen of France, came also to know the good offices of the saint. This man is suddenly apprehended in the course of committing an offence of theft, and for a crime of this sort he is immediately locked in a dark prison; he has his feet inserted in a hollow log [i.e. in stocks][890] and has cruel chains put on his fettered arms, until on the morrow he can undergo a grim death by hanging. Before he was detained for this unfair sentence, he had heard that a saint had recently been discovered across the Channel through whom God was displaying wondrous sights to the English: assisting the infirm and releasing those bound in shackles. Recalling this during the dead of night, he groans, pouring out his tears and speaking as follows: 'O God, Creator and Ruler of the starry heavens, snatch my wretched self from the jaws of death through the merit [900] of the good bishop, through whom You, O Christ, cure so many thousands throughout the broad expanse of England. I call, O saint, upon your name—which I don't even know; I call upon the Lord as witness: He Who knows all things knows it. Pray to God that He may assist my wretched self in this prison. Henceforth I shall never commit an offence of theft if it is possible for me to escape the death now threatening me.' He spoke, and

903 *over* sancte *RB have* s. o 905 succurrat] succurat *RB*

872 Cf. above, ii. 824 ('non promere uerbum').
877 Cf. above, ii. 284, 792 ('dolor intolerabilis').
878 See above, note to i. 109.
880 See above, note to ii. 704.
883 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iii. 116 ('mulier perpessa cruorem').
884 Cf. above, i. 1071 ('suam gaudens remeauit ad aedem').
888 Cf. above, ii. 305 ('prenditur is subito').
890 See above, note to ii. 546.
891 See above, note to i. 1174–5.
895 Cf. above, ii. 847 ('per quem magna Deus miracula prebet in Anglis').
899 Cf. above, i. 1517, and below, ii. 1011 ('moderator Olimpi').
900 Cf. above, ii. 364, 426 ('mortis de fauce').
901 Cf. above, ii. 369 ('per quem tot milia Christe').
902 See above, i. 442 ('gentis in Anglorum diffuso limite quo si'), and note.

Dixit, et extimplo sunt omnia uincula rupta;
compedibus plantae manicis soluuntur et ulnae.
Carceris ad ualuam properat: nihilominus ipsa
stat patefacta, ferox quam clauserat obice custos.
Progreditur iubilans mortis se euadere poenas;
liber abit sancti meritis, uirtute Tonantis
cui decus, imperium, sit gloria, lausque per euum.

xviii. DE VISIONE CVIVSDAM NOBILIS IN VECTA INSVLA.

Vir fuit interea generosus origine quidam,
perfusus niueis honorando in uertice canis;
insula quem tenuit proprio que nomine Vecta
dicitur. Hicque nouem paraliticus extitit annos;
seque leuare ualet nulla ratione cubili,
presidio absque sibi iugiter famulantis alumni.
Angelici iuuenes cui tempore noctis opacae
adsistunt gemini, miro fulgore corusci,
dulcibus alloquiis et mulcent talibus aegrum:
'Tempus adest, frater, iam te consurgere lecto
quo recubas; ideoque tuis nunc indue temet
exuuiis limenque domus transcendito uelox,
noster et esto comes nostras audique loquelas.'
Qui mox ut ualuit lecto consurgit—ut illi
per somnum patuit—iuuenum paretque loquelis.
Vestibus induitur limenque excessit, et extra
tecta domus ueniens pueris sociatur eisdem.
Qui dixere ad eum: 'Nobiscum curre.' Ait ille:
'Currere non ualeo, quoniam paraliticus exto,
iamque nouem lapsos sol rite peregerat annos
surrexi numquam sine sustentamine postquam.'
'Ne paueas', subdunt, 'nos sed comitare parumper.
Nos hac nocte locum te perducemus ad illum
in quo percipies Christo medicante salutem.'
Quae responsa libens paraliticus audit; et illos
quo nisu potuit statim comitando cucurrit.
Precedunt sed eum, quibus est habitatio caelum.
At iuuenes dum calle sequi non preualet aeger,
aeris alta petit super hos uolitatque leuatus;
et duxere illum per amoena uirecta uolantem,
campus ubi nemorosus adest, qua lilia candent,
et rosa purpureo uernans rubet undique flore,
stant et oliuetis ubi cinnamoma refertis,
balsama nectareis spirantque uirentia guttis,

immediately all his chains burst; his feet and arms are freed from the binding fetters. He goes quickly to the prison door: it likewise [910] is standing wide open—which the cruel guard had closed with a bolt. He departs, rejoicing that he has escaped the death-penalty—but he went free through the merits of the saint and the omnipotence of the Almighty, to Whom be honour, dominion, glory and praise for ever.

xviii. ABOUT THE VISION OF A CERTAIN NOBLEMAN ON THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

[= Lantfred, c. 35]

Meanwhile there was a certain man of noble birth who was held in esteem because of the white hair on his head; he lived on that island which is properly called Wight. And this man has been paralyzed for nine years; he is unable to lift himself up from his bed in any manner without the assistance of a young man attending him continually [920]. In the dead of night two angelic youths approach him, shining with a wonderful brightness, and they offer solace to the sick man in these soothing words: 'The time is nigh, brother, for you to get up from the bed in which you lie; and for that reason dress yourself now in your clothing and quickly cross the threshold of your house, and be our companion and listen to what we say.' As soon as he can he gets up from the bed—as it had been revealed to him in his dream—and he obeys the instructions of the youths. He is soon dressed and crosses the threshold, and going beyond [930] the covered area of the house he joins these same youths. They said to him: 'Run with us.' He says: 'I am unable to run, since I am a paralytic, and the sun has duly passed through the course of nine years since I last got up without any support.' 'Have no fear', they add, 'but accompany us a short while. Tonight we shall take you to that place where you will obtain your health through Christ's therapy.' The paralytic willingly heard these words; and with whatever effort he can manage he ran alongside them at the start [940]. But they—whose dwelling is in heaven—went out in front of him. And when the sick man can no longer follow the youths on foot, he seeks the upper reaches of the air and, air-borne, flies above them; and they guided his flight through lush green places where in a shady glade lilies bloom and the budding rose reddens with its brilliant hue, and where cinnamon trees stand in burgeoning olive-groves and where evergreen balsam trees exude their nectar-like gum and all the

913 For the cadence *uirtute Tonantis*, see Aldhelm, *CE* iv. 1. 20, *CdV* 1098, as well as *HexLexikon* v. 658.

916 Cf. above, i. 8 ('uertice canis').

918 Cf. above, i. 1202 ('paraliticus extitit annis').

920 Cf. above, i. 1206 ('sibi iugiter famulante **ministro**').

921 See above, notes to i. 264, 341, 374–5.

923 Cf. above, i. 626 ('dulcibus alloquiis').

924 For the phrase *tempus adest* in these metrical feet, see Aldhelm, *CdV* 1660.

930 Cf. above, i. 940 ('**uestibus induitur**').

934 Cf. above, i. 207 ('rite peregerat annos').

941 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 9 ('sint memores **miseri, quibus est** habitatio celi').

944 For the phrase *amoena uirecta*, see Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 638 (describing Elysium), Caelius Sedulius, *CP* i. 53, Prudentius, *Hamartigenia* 795, etc. (see *HexLexikon* i. 80); the phrase *per amoena uirecta* is also used below, ii. 1026. Wulfstan's description of the *locus amoenus* here (ii. 944–51) has many precedents in Christian-Latin poetry: see Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Trask, pp. 183–202.

messis aromaticae redolent et germina cuncta.
Est ubi summa quies et delectatio perpes,
lux sine nocte iugis, uite et dulcedo perhennis.
Huc illucque acies circumtulit aeger; et ecce
conspicit ecclesiam, gemmis auroque coruscam.
Hanc celer ingreditur, stantem conspexit et illic
quendam pontificem, miro decoramine comptum,
ante altare sacrum, ueluti celebrare paratum
missarum Domino sollempnia; et inquit ad egrum:
'Huc, homo, sta propius, nostris atque utere uerbis
utilitate tua.' Trepidans ait ille ierarcho:
'Pande tuum mihi uelle, pater mirande, precor te.'
Presul ad haec: 'Quae dico tibi, tu sedulus audi.
Ne studeas inferre malum, te suadeo, cuiquam
ulterius hominum, sed noxia cuncta relinque,
quae lacerant miseram crudeli uulnere mentem.
Irascens animo cuiquam maledicere noli,
sed de corde tuo detractio cuncta recedat.
Numquam consensum tribuas predonibus ullum,
sed furum manui tuus acriter obuiet ensis,
sacrilegas sternendo acies; et dilige Christum,
Christicolas omnes et amare memento fideles;
et cunctis bona—quaeque uales—impende libenter,
possibile est quantumque tibi, miserere misellis.
Haec si sollicitus seruaueris atque benignus,
percipies priscam Christo curante salutem,
insuper et uitam cum prosperitate perhennem.'
Talibus auditis sancti sermonibus, aeger
uoluit in occulto nullum se ledere uelle,
hunc nisi qui primum per iurgia lederet ipsum;
et se uelle bonum conferre fideliter illi,
qui sibi corde prius bona largiretur amico;
his atque his similem semperque rependere sortem.
Inclitus antistes penetralia comperit eius
pectoris, et talem repetit nitido ore loquelam:
'Desine iam, fili; disponere talia noli;
discedant animo, te nunc quae uoluere cerno.
Ledere ledentem te noli corde feroci;
quin potius sectare pii uestigia Christi,
qui maledicta ferens, nulli maledicta rependit,
sed nec cum patitur rigida feritate minatur,
quin pro se patrem ledentibus omnipotentem
exorat, quo saluet eos, "pater", in cruce dicens,
"his ignosce, suum nequeunt quia scire reatum."

fruits are redolent of a fragrant harvest. Here there is consummate peace and perpetual contentment [950], endless light without night, and the delight of eternal life. The old man cast his eyes about here and there; and lo and behold he notices a church gleaming with jewels and gold. He quickly enters and notices a certain bishop standing there in front of the altar, clothed in wondrous apparel, as if he were ready to celebrate the mysteries of the mass for the Lord; and he said to the sick man: 'Stand a little closer here, my good man, and use what I say to your best advantage.' Trembling, the man said to the prelate: 'Explain your intentions to me, wondrous father, I beseech you' [960]. To this the bishop replied: 'You listen carefully to what I tell you. Don't ever again attempt to do evil to any man, I advise you, but abandon all those vices which afflict the wretched soul with a devastating wound. Do not curse anyone with anger in your heart, but rather let all slander depart from your thoughts. Never offer any sympathy to robbers, but let your sword smartly oppose a gang of thieves, slaying these wicked forces; and love Christ, and remember to love all faithful Christians [970]; and give generously to everyone whatever riches you can manage; and as far as it is within your means, have pity on the poor. If you have kept these precepts attentively and willingly, you will obtain your former health through Christ's therapy, and—what is more—the eternal life with all its joy.' Having listened to these words of the saint, the sick man thought secretly that he would wish to harm no-one, except the man who had in the first instance harmed him in some quarrel; and that he would duly wish to do a good turn to the man who had done good deeds to him in friendly dispositions [980]; and that he would always repay these with a return similar in kind. The excellent bishop comprehends the innermost workings of his mind, and repeats the following advice, his visage gleaming: 'Stop this, my son; do not consider such actions; let these thoughts—which I now see you contemplating—be dispelled from your mind. Do not harm someone harming you with vindictive intent; rather, follow in the footsteps of kindly Christ Who, being cursed, does not repay anyone with curses, and likewise, when He is suffering, does not issue threats with inflexible severity but rather prays to the omnipotent Father on behalf of those wounding him [990] so that He may save them, saying on the Cross, "Father, forgive them, for they are unable to recognize their own guilt."

949 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* v. 324 ('messis aromaticae notum uenere gementes').

952 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 558 ('huc atque huc acies circumtulit, adspicit urbem').

953 Cf. above, i. 1341 (with note), ii. 44 ('gemmis(que) auroque').

972 Cf. above, i. 1142 ('miserere misellis').

976 Cf. above, ii. 391 ('talibus auditis').

983 See above, note to i. 1162.

991–2 Luke 23: 24.

Ista deditque suis precepta sequacibus, aiens,
"Diligite infestos sub amica mente inimicos,
qui uos oderunt; bona cuncta rependite contra,
proque illis orate pii, qui corde maligno
uos turbant et agunt—nos et per probra lacessunt—
ut Deus aethereis uobis pater extet in oris,
heredes patriae faciatque haerere supernae."
Hoc et apostolici confirmant dogmata uerbi:
"Si tuus esuriens inimicus adesse uidetur
aut sitiens, satiare cibo hunc potuque memento".'
Talia mellifluo deprompserat ore sacerdos
uerba salutiferi monita et praedulcia Christi,
quae redolent superando fauos atque omnia mella.
Languidus angelicum perquirit ad ista ierarchum:
'Sancte Dei, dignare mihi, rogo, pandere quis sis,
pectoris humani cui sic archana patescunt.'
Ille ait: 'Ille ego sum, ueni qui nuper ad Anglos'—
planius infirmo uerbis quasi diceret istis:
'Ille ego sum sanctus, per quem moderator Olimpi
coepit in hoc anno languentum plura leuare
corpora, depulsis languoribus.' Aeger ad ista:
'Dic, rogo: Quo pollens uocitaris onomate, sancte?'
Mirificus uates dedit haec responsa roganti:
'Moenia Wentanae ueniens cum uiseris urbis
inuenies nomen, quod nunc obnixe requiris'—
clarius aegroto dictis quasi panderet istis:
'Ille ego sum presul, qui dicor onomate Suuiðhun,
qui nuper fueram Wentana repertus in urbe.'
Haec ubi dicta pio sanctus sermone peregit,
languidus ad propriae secreta reducitur aedis.
Nec mora et euigilat fugiente quiete soporis.
Conuocat uxorem, narratque per omnia quicquid
uiderat in somnis—se qualiter ethre uolantem
duxerunt iuuenes per amoena uirecta micantes,
in quibus egregii didicit mandata ierarchi.
His mirata super coniunx sic fatur ad illum:
'Visne uocem nostros, O mi dilecte, clientes,
quatinus ecclesiae baiolent te ad limina sanctae,
insula quam Domino benedictam continet ista?
Nonne allatus eo poteris rogitare Tonantem,
quo tibi concedat pulso languore salutem,
per meritum sancti, qui splendet ubique, Suuithuni?
Ipse erat, haud dubium, presul uenerabilis ipse,

And He gave these instructions to his followers, saying: "Love with kindly understanding the hostile enemies who hate you; repay them in every case with good deeds, and pray lovingly for them who are troubling and vexing you—and who provoke us through their disgraceful deeds—so that God may be your father in the ethereal realms and may make you heirs of the heavenly kingdom." The teachings of the apostolic word confirm this [1000]: "If your enemy appears to be hungry or thirsty, take heed to satisfy him with food and drink".' The bishop brought forth from his honeyed mouth these sweet admonitory words of health-bringing Christ, which in their fragrance surpass honeycombs with all their honey. Thereupon the sick man questioned the angelic priest: 'O saint of God, I beseech you, vouchsafe to reveal to me who you are, to whom the secrets of the human heart lie open thus.' He said: 'I am he, who came recently to the English'—as if he had spoken more plainly to the invalid in these words [1010]: 'I am the saint, through whom the Ruler of heaven began this very year to relieve the many bodily sufferings of the diseased by expelling their infirmities.' The sick man replies to this: 'Tell me, I pray: by what name are you in your majesty known, O saint?' The magnificent saint made this reply to his questioner: 'When you visit the walls of the town of Winchester, you will learn the name which you are now seeking eagerly'—as if he had more clearly revealed his name to the sick man in these words: 'I am that bishop who am called by the name of Swithun, who recently was discovered in the town of Winchester' [1020]. When the saint had finished his discourse of kindly admonition, the invalid is brought back to the interior of his own home. And without delay he awakens as the contentment of his slumber vanishes. He calls his wife and tells her in detail what he had seen in his dream—how the resplendent youths had taken him in flight through the heavens to lush green fields in which he had learned the counsels of the excellent prelate. Marvelling over these things, his wife speaks to him: 'Do you wish, my beloved, that I call our servants so that they may transport you to the threshold of the holy church [1030] which this island holds sacred to the Lord? If you were taken there, would you not be able to beseech Almighty God to grant you health—once the disease had been expelled—through the merit of St Swithun, who shines resplendent everywhere? Without doubt he himself was that venerable bishop who appeared to

994–9 Matt. 5: 44–5.

996 See above, note to i. 1106.

998 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1426 ('donec in aethereas flamma prorumperet oras').

1001–2 Rom. 12: 20.

1003 Cf. above, i. 1383 ('talia mellifluo').

1004 For the phrase *salutiferi . . . Christi*, see above, note to ii. 363; for the cadence *praedulcia Christi*, cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1714 ('dulcia Christi'). Note also that the entire line is recycled, with minor alteration, below, ii. 1037.

1005 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* ii. 268 ('eloquia exuperantque fauos atque omnia mella').

1011 Cf. above, i. 1517, ii. 899 ('moderator Olimpi').

1013 See above, note to ii. 747.

1033 See above, note to i. 233.

tempore nocturno tibi qui comparuit, et te
uerba salutiferi docuit predulcia Christi.
Ergo age, sume fidem, sine te et deducier illuc,
quo ualeas celerem capere, ut confido, salutem.'
Consilium placuit quod suggerit illa marito.
Nec mora sub lucem mandauit adesse clientes,
suasit et ut coniunx sanctam defertur ad edem,
exoratque Deum uotis ibi cunctipotentem—
qui mare, qui terras, qui lucida condidit astra—
quo succurrat ei meritum per presulis almi;
continuoque citam sibi sensit adesse medelam.
Totus et erigitur rediuiuo corpore sanus
sicque domum sospes redit, et uestigia linquens
tandem aliena, suis laetatur uadere plantis.
Inmensas Domino studuitque rependere grates:
conlaudat Christum pariter comitatus et omnis,
in sanctis qui mira facit mirabilis in se.
Qui postquam sanatus erat non tempore multo,
assumit comites secum trans aequora plures,
et sequitur surgens a puppi uentus euntes.
Certatim nautae feriunt mare et aequora uerrunt,
ocius optata cunctique fruuntur arena.
Wintoniam ueniunt; ex ordine cunctaque pandunt
magno pontifici necnon et fratribus illic
suaue iugum Domini baiulantibus; atque citatim
conueniunt, Christum solito et uenerantur in unum.

xix. DE IVVENE CAECO.

Sensit et astriferae cecus fomenta medelae,
contigerat subito cui lumine solis in ipsa
paschali caruisse die, dictante tremendo
iudice, qui pensans aequo discrimine cuncta
hunc domat aduersis, hunc prosperitatibus ad se
adtrahit, his atque his nunc hec, nunc illa rependens,
humano generi clemens succurrat ut omni.
Interea caecus, nimia caligine pressus,
se uigilaturum spopondit, ubi inclita pausat
Ælfgifu clementis genitrix sanctissima regis
Eadgari, ad cuius capiunt aegrota sepulchrum
corpora caelestem Christo medicante salutem,
partim pro propriis, partim meritisque beati
pignoris, in cuius regni sunt tempore cuncta
regibus antiquis regnantibus eruta quondam
limina sacrorum reparata monasteriorum.

you during the night and taught you the sweet words of health-bringing Christ. Therefore, set to it, have confidence, allow yourself to be taken there, so that you may receive a speedy cure—as I trust you will.' The advice which she gave pleased the husband [1040]. Without delay he summoned his servants at daybreak and, just as his wife had suggested, he is taken to the holy church, and there in his prayers he asks Omnipotent God—Who created the sea, the earth and the shining stars—to assist him through the merit of the holy bishop; and immediately he felt the presence of a sudden remedy. And he gets up, completely restored in his reawakened body, and thus he returns home safe and sound, and relinquishing at last his artificial feet he rejoices to be able to walk on his own. He took great care to render mighty thanksgiving to the Lord [1050], and all his retinue likewise praises Christ Who, marvellous in Himself, performs marvels through His saints. A short time after the man had been cured, he takes several of his companions with him across the water, and the wind rising from astern follows them on their way. Eagerly the sailors strike the sea with their oars and churn up the waters, and very soon they all disembark on the desired seashore. They come to Winchester; they explain everything from beginning to end to the great bishop [i.e. Æthelwold] as well as to the monks there who bear the gentle yoke of the Lord; and hastily [1060] the monks assemble and in their accustomed manner they praise Christ in unison.

xix. CONCERNING A YOUNG MAN WHO WAS BLIND.

[= Lantfred, c. 36]

A blind man also experienced the poultice of heavenly therapy—a man to whom it had suddenly happened that he lost his eyesight on the very day of Easter, all at the command of the awesome Judge Who, weighing out all things with a balanced judgement, subdues one man with adversities, draws another to Him through fortunate circumstances, and, now paying out this or that to one or the other, aids the entire human race in His mercy. Meanwhile the blind man, burdened with his extreme blindness, vowed that he would keep vigil at the place [i.e. Shaftesbury] where [1070] the most holy Ælfgifu, mother of merciful King Edgar, is buried, at whose tomb many diseased bodies attain to a heavenly cure through Christ's therapy—partly through her own virtue, partly through those of her saintly offspring, during whose reign all the edifices of sacred monasteries, left in ruin while earlier kings were reigning, were restored. The

1036 See above, notes to i. 7, 124.

1037 The entire line has been recycled, with minor alteration, from above, ii. 1004.

1045 Cf. above, i. 1074, 1101, 1491, ii. 628, 850 ('meritum per presulis almi').

1046 Cf. above, i. 1160 ('sibi sensit adesse medelam').

1053 Cf. above, i. 779 ('postquam sanatus erat').

1055 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 130 ('prosequitur surgens a puppi uentus euntes').

1056 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 290 ('certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora uerrunt').

1057 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 172 ('egressi, optata potiuntur Troes arena').

1065 Cf. above, note to Praef. 103.

1068 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 266 ('humano generi clemens succurreret omni').

1071 Cf. above, ii. 884 ('suas gaudens remeauit ad oras').

1073 Cf. above, i. 1216 ('sumere caelestem Christo donante salutem').

Pergit adire locum Sceftesbyri nomine dictum;
coniugis hortatu suadetur adire patronum.
Rennuit. Ad dictum ueloci tramite templum
uadit, ibique uigil noctem cum duceret unam,
ecce malum super ante malum quod pertulit illi
additur, et crescens oculum super illius ingens
gibbus eum cruciat tanta inualitudine, quo iam
nulla rogare sibi lucis medicamina reddi
posset, ob inmensae metuenda pericula strume.
Tandem consensum monitis prebere coactus
coniugis, ad Wentam properat uelociter urbem,
summissa poscens Dominum prece cunctipotentem,
patris ut obtentu lucis fomenta diurnae
restauraret ei. Qui mox processit ut inde
ductori, 'paulo ante fui quasi mortuus', infit,
'nec me sperabam, statim nisi perdere uitam.
Nunc autem, miserente Deo, quo pergere nitor,
incolomis ualeo.' Ductor respondit ad ista:
'Pura mente Deum, te suadeo, posce tonantem,
percipies citam laetanti corde medelam.'
Quid morer? Extinctae caelestia munera forme
percipit, ante- sacrum -quam posset adire sepulchrum
patris, et accedens preconia digna rependit
laetus, et ad proprium rediit sine preduce tectum.

XX. DE ADOLESCENTE INCVRVO.

Venerat et quidam iuuenis strumosus eodem
tempore, decliui iugiter qui uertice mersus
cernere siderei poterat uix culmina caeli.
Cui mox ut Wentam pergens intrauerat urbem
nomine pro Christi petat ut solacia uictus,
sustentans geminis sua languida membra bacillis,
obuiat e pueris quidam cognomine Pippin,
qui legatus erat casu tunc missus ab ipso
coenobio, sancti quo pausant ossa patroni.
Percunctatur eum, uellet quo tendere gressum.
Simpliciter respondit ei, se poscere uictum
uelle, ubi quiuisset. Qui persuasit eidem
pergat ut ad sanctum duplici pro sospite patrem.
Quo discente uiam hanc se nescire, misertus
illius, ad sacrum studet hunc perducere templum.
In quo dum noctem solummodo peruigil unam
duceret, Aurora meruit lucente medelam

man sets out to go to the place called Shaftesbury; but he is urged by his wife's counsel to go instead to our patron [i.e. St Swithun]. He refused. He goes to the aforementioned church [1080] by a speedy route; and when he had spent a night in vigil there, lo and behold, misfortune is added to the misfortune he had already suffered: an immense lump growing above his eye torments him with such intense pain that he can no longer think to ask for any cure for his eyesight to be granted him because of the frightful pain of the great tumour. At length, compelled to give his consent to the advice of his wife, he hastens quickly towards the town of Winchester, beseeching the Almighty Lord in humble prayers that through the protection of the father [i.e. Swithun] He might redeem for him the blessings of daily light [1090]. As soon as he had left there he says to his guide: 'A short while ago I was virtually dead, nor did I hope for anything but to die quickly. Now, however, through God's mercy, I feel well enough to go wherever I wish.' To these words the guide replied: 'I urge you to beseech Almighty God with a clean conscience and, rejoicing in your heart, you will experience a prompt cure.' Why do I tarry? He receives the heavenly gift of his former vision before he is able to reach the holy tomb of the saint; and as he approaches he joyously renders well-deserved praise [1100], and returns to his own house without need of a guide.

XX. CONCERNING A CRIPPLED YOUNG MAN

[= Lantfred, c. 37]

At the same time there came a certain crippled young man who was continually bent over with his head pointing downwards so that he could scarcely see the summits of the starry heaven. As soon as he had entered the town of Winchester in order that he might in the name of Christ seek the solace of refreshment—propping up his weakened limbs on two crutches—he is approached by one of the oblates named Pippin who had at that moment been sent by chance as a messenger from the very minster in which the bones of the holy patron lie in repose [1110]. He asks him where he intends to go. He replies quite simply to the boy that he intends to seek food wherever he may. The boy urged him to go to the holy father for the sake of twofold sustenance [i.e. spiritual and corporeal]. On learning that he does not know the way, the boy, having pity on him, undertakes to lead him to the holy church. When he had spent only a single night in the church in prayer, the sick man was found worthy to receive his cure at daybreak; and he stood upright

1081 Cf. above, i. 1256 ('noctem perduceret unam').
1086 Cf. above, i. 1182 ('metuenda pericula').
1089 Cf. above, ii. 105 ('Dominum prece cunctipotentem').
1097 Cf. Aldhelm, *CdV* 1449 ('spiritus et carnis sumpserunt corde medelam').
1098 See above, note to i. 1598, and ii. 702 ('et rogat extinctae reddi sibi munera formae').
1104 See above, note to Praef. 140.
1110 Cf. above, i. 1113 ('preconia digna rependant').
1114 Cf. above, i. 1393 ('duplici pro sospite').

aeger; et erectus patris stetit ante sacellum,
et recto nitidum uultu conspexit Olimpum;
sicque ibi sanatus, potuque ciboque refectus,
glorificat regem, celi super astra tonantem.

xxi. DE MVLIERE MANICIS ALLIGATA.

Nec taceam, quod et in Wenta muliercula quedam
urbe sui domini uestes lauit, hasque repente
arripiunt fures. Senior quod ut audiit eius,
strinxit eam manicis, secat ac per terga flagellis.
Haec acrius torquenda foret cum luce sequenti,
progreditur senior consueta negotia more
exercere sibi solito. Quod uidit ut illa,
arripiendo fugam citius properauit ad almum
pontificem. Vix fatur eum, moxque ante sepulchrum
illius manicae cecidere solotenus ambae,
quae fuerant tam permodico sinuamine strictae,
ut facerent laceras ulnarum acerrime carnes.
Comperit hoc senior, furiisque agitatur et ira,
et nimium manicas incredulus asserit amplas
atque ideo cecidisse manu. Statimque probantes
nonnulli conantur, eo presente, catenis
eiusdem palmas ancille inmittere. Ternis
exceptis digitis, nequeunt concludere uinclis.
Credulus et tandem tremebundo pectore factus,
cessauit miseram diris affligere poenis,
quam uidit sancti clara uirtute solutam.
Vincula adhuc eadem suspensa uidentur in ipsa
basilica, ad laudem summe et deitatis honorem,
erigere elisos cui posse et soluere uinctos.

xxii. DE SERVO COMPEDIBVS VINCTO.

In praefata etenim quidam ferus urbe tenebat
compedibus strictum quendam pro crimine seruum.
Pretereunt aliquot momenta caduca dierum;
ille catenatis iacet inter uincula plantis.
Cumque reum uigili dominus statione teneret
nec illum penitus solui permitteret, ecce
quadam luce domi residens cum solus adesset,
tempus oportunum tacito sub corde cupitum
repperit; ad sanctum—ualet et quoquomodo—patrem
accessit, flexoque genu rogat omnipotentis
pectora blanda Dei, pius ut succurreret illi;

before the sanctuary of the father [i.e. St Swithun] and with upturned face he gazed on the shining heaven [1120]; and thus cured and refreshed by food and drink he praises the heavenly King holding sway beyond the stars of the firmament.

xxi. CONCERNING THE WOMAN BOUND UP IN MANACLES.

[= Lantfred, c. 38]

Nor shall I pass over in silence the fact that a certain woman in the town of Winchester was washing the clothing of her master and that thieves suddenly grabbed the clothing. When her master heard about this, he bound her in manacles and scourged her back with lashes. Although she was to be punished more severely on the following day, her master sets out to dispose of his usual business in the accustomed manner. When she notices this, she takes to flight and quickly hastens to the kindly [1130] bishop. She had scarcely addressed him, when suddenly, in front of his tomb, both the manacles—which had been so tightly tied with thin bindings that they made bitterly painful sores on her arms—fell to the ground. Her master discovers this and is stirred up in rage and anger, and, unwilling to believe the miracle, alleges that the manacles were too large and for that reason had fallen from her hands. At once a number of people attempted to establish the truth in his presence by inserting the same slave-girl's hands into the chains. Three fingers excepted, they could not enclose them in the manacles [1140]. And at length the master, converted into a believer with trembling heart, stopped afflicting with cruel punishments the poor girl whom he sees to have been released through the manifest power of the saint. The very manacles are still to be seen hanging in this church, in praise and honour of the highest Deity, for Whom it is possible to raise up the down-trodden and release those in chains.

xxii. ABOUT THE SLAVE WHO WAS BOUND UP IN CHAINS.

[= Lantfred, c. 39]

In the aforementioned town a certain cruel man kept one of his slaves bound up in fetters because of a peccadillo. Certain fleeting moments of days pass by; the man still lies in chains with his feet fettered [1150]. And when the master had detained the guilty man under continual surveillance and had not allowed him to be released at all, suddenly, when the man was sitting at home one day on his own, he finds the appropriate moment he had been hoping for in his silent heart: he goes to the holy father by whatever means he can manage, and on bended knee he beseeches the kindly disposition of Almighty God in His mercy to help him: when all of a

1121 Cf. above, ii. 70 ('potu ciboque refecti').
1122 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 423 ('glorificent patrem uestrum super aethra Tonantem').
1127 Cf. above, ii. 352, 860 ('luce sequenti').
1133 Cf. above, ii. 292 ('modico sinuamine strictus').
1135 Cf. above, ii. 314 ('comperit hoc senior'), and note to i. 1194.
1145 Cf. above, ii. 751 ('erecta ad laudem summae et deitatis honorem').
1146 Cf. Bede, *De die iudicii* 24 ('qui solet allisos sanare et soluere uinctos'); cf. also above, ii. 567.
1150 Cf. above, ii. 315 ('iacet inter uincula'); see also above, note to i. 1174–5.
1151 Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ix. 183 ('portam statione tenebant').

cum subito, reserante Deo, patris ante sacellum
tinniit exiliens e compede pessulus, acsi
corpore quis presens cum claue resolueret illum.
Nam ualde est mirum, quod uir sanctissimus iste
non solum meritis fouet ac uirtutibus aegros,
uerum etiam multos absoluit compede uinctos,
carcere et inclusos mortisque in limine prensos;
eripit et miseras uaria de peste cateruas,
suscipit et mestos et dat discedere laetos.

Quapropter, fratres, Christum ueneremur ouantes,
corde Redemptorem laudemus et ore Tonantem,
Suuithuni meritis qui talia pandere nostris
temporibus dignatus erat beneficia mundo,
cui manet imperium cum patre et pneumate sancto,
qui pius et clemens nos crimine purget ab omni,
cumque suis sanctis sublimet in arce polorum.

1173 *after* polorum *R adds* amen *and B adds* amen. explicit liber secundus miraculorum sancti Suuithuni

sudden a bolt springing from the fetter—as God released it—clanked in front of the father's tomb, just as if someone physically present had undone it with a key [1160]. Now it is truly marvellous that this most holy man not only cares for the diseased through his merits and miraculous powers, but also releases many prisoners bound in chains and shut up in prisons and detained on the verge of death; and he snatches many wretched throngs from various illnesses, and takes in the despondent and grants that they may depart in joy.

[= Lantfred, c. 40]

Therefore, brothers, let us rejoice in praising Christ, and let us glorify the Redeemer in our hearts and the Almighty with our voices Who, through the merits of St Swithun, deigned to bestow such mighty blessings on the world in our days [1170]: He, Whose dominion remains with the Father and the Holy Ghost, Who, in His kindness and mercy shall cleanse us of all sin, and Who with his saints resides on high in the citadel of the heavens.

1158 Cf. above, i. 1184 ('cum subito reserante Deo').

1165–6 Cf. Caelius Sedulius, *CP* iv. 3–4 ('. . . et innumeras releuans a clade cateruas / suscipit infirmos et dat discedere sanos').

1168 Cf. Aldhelm, *CE* iii. 50 ('fratres concordi laudemus uoce Tonantem').

1170 Cf. above, Praef. 10, i. 1585 ('beneficia mundo').

1171 Cf. *BreuiloquiumSS* 162 ('cum patre qui uiuit, cum sancto et pneumate regnat'); cf. also above, note to i. 121, and i. 1619 ('cui manet imperium').

1173 See above, note to i. 275.

3. *EPITOME TRANSLATIONIS ET MIRACVLORVM S. SWITHVNI*

INTRODUCTION

At some time after the death of Æthelwold in 984, but before the publication of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* between the years 992 and *c.*998, an anonymous author from Winchester, presumably a monk of the Old Minster, produced a highly abbreviated version of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (above, no. 1). This abbreviated version is designated *Liber translationis et miraculorum beati Swithuni* in the single manuscript which preserves it, but for the sake of convenience I shall refer to it simply as the *Epitome*, following the example of the Bollandists, who designated it thus in their catalogue of hagiographical writings.[1] The *Epitome* is in effect an abbreviation of certain selected chapters of Lantfred's work, but its author shapes Lantfred's material in a characteristic way, and alters a number of details reported by Lantfred, which suggests that he too was an eyewitness to the events described. As such the *Epitome* offers slight but independent testimony to the development of the cult of St Swithun at the Old Minster; furthermore, if—as I shall argue—the *Epitome* is the work of Ælfric, it becomes an important witness to the work of one of Anglo-Saxon England's best known authors.

i. THE LATIN WRITINGS OF ÆLFRIC

Ælfric, the homilist and grammarian, is one of the best known and best studied authors of late Anglo-Saxon England. He has left a substantial corpus of writings in Old English, including two series of *Catholic Homilies* (each series containing forty homilies) and an analogous series of *Lives of Saints*, as well as numerous supplementary homilies, pastoral letters and biblical translations and didactic works of various kinds.[2] But Ælfric also composed a number of writings in Latin, and although these have been studied less than his vernacular writings, they show him to be a scholar of impressive range and learning, a stylist of modest ability in Latin prose, though not, as far as we know, in verse.[3] Ælfric's Latin prose writings have recently been the subject of a detailed

[1] *BHL* no. 7498.

[2] For bibliography on Ælfric's life and writings, see below, p. 575 nn. 2–3.

[3] The only Latin poetry known to have been composed by Ælfric is six lines of rhythmical verse (in the form 6pp + 6pp, to use Norberg's system of notation), beginning 'Olim haec trastuli sicuti ualui', which are appended to his 'Life of St Martin', no. xxxi of his *Lives of Saints* (ed. Skeat, *LS* ii. 312).

examination,[4] and there is no need here to do more than list briefly those Latin works which are certainly by Ælfric. These include: various Latin prefaces;[5] the *Colloquium*;[6] the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*;[7] the 'Letter to the monks of Eynsham';[8] and the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*.[9] The nature of these last three works—the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, the 'Letter to the monks of Eynsham', and the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*—underlines an important feature of Ælfric's scholarly activity, namely that he put much energy into redacting the writings of others. His *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* is an abbreviation of Wulfstan of Winchester's earlier *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*;[10] the 'Letter to the monks of Eynsham' is a monastic customary based principally on Æthelwold's earlier *Regularis concordia*;[11] and the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* are drawn, as their name implies, from Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*.[12] In the latter case Ælfric apparently produced his epitome of Priscian in order to use it as the basis for his own *Grammar*. Understanding of this aspect of Ælfric's scholarly activity—the creation of a working epitome on which he subsequently based a work in the vernacular—has made it possible to identify his compilatorial activity in other manuscripts. A notable example is Boulogne-sur-mer, BM, 63 (70), fos. 1–34,[13] a manuscript written at an unidentified centre in southern England some time in the early eleventh century, which was later owned at Saint-Bertin.[14] This manuscript contains at its beginning (fos. 1r–10r) a series of excerpts from the *Prognosticon futuri saeculi* by Julian of Toledo,[15] and it has been demonstrated that Ælfric used these excerpts as the source of various of his homilies, particularly the *Sermo ad populum in octauis Pentecosten*[16] and the homily for the first Sunday after Easter in his First Series of *Catholic Homilies*.[17] Alongside the 'Boulogne excerpts' (as they are called) from Julian's *Prognosticon* is a copy (fos. 10r–13r) of one of Ælfric's pastoral letters (no. 2a, for

[4] C. A. Jones, '*Meatim sed et rustica*: Ælfric of Eynsham as a medieval Latin author', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, viii (1998), 1–57.

[5] Conveniently collected together in *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. J. Wilcox, Durham Medieval Texts, ix (Durham, 1994), pp. 107–8 [preface to the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*], 111 [preface to the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*], 112–13 [*Admonitio* to the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*], 114–15 [preface to the *Grammar*], 119–20 [preface to *Lives of Saints*], 122 [preface to the 'Life of St Thomas'], 123 [preface to the pastoral letter for Wulfsige], 125–6 [preface to the three pastoral letters for Wulfstan]. For sake of completeness, Wilcox also prints the prefaces to the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and the 'Letter to the Monks of Eynsham'.

[6] Ed. G. N. Garmonsway, *Ælfric's Colloquy*, 2nd edn. (London, 1947); note that only the Latin text of the *Colloquium* is certainly by Ælfric (the Old English gloss is a later accretion to the text). For discussion, see P. Lendinara, 'The *Colloquy* of Ælfric and the *Colloquy* of Ælfric Bata', in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 207–88 (no. XII), who argues that Ælfric was the author of the gloss; S. Gwara and D. W. Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: the Colloquies of Ælfric Bata* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 43–51; and J. Hill, 'Winchester pedagogy and the *Colloquy* of Ælfric', *Leeds Studies in English*, xxix (1998), 137–52.

[7] *BHL* no. 2646; ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 70–80.

[8] Ed. C. A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, CSASE xxiv (Cambridge, 1998).

[9] Ed. D. W. Porter, *The Excerptiones de Prisciano*, AST iv (Woodbridge, 2002). Porter's introduction (pp. 23–33) contains convincing evidence for the attribution of this work to Ælfric: not least the fact that the *Excerptiones* are the principal source of Ælfric's *Grammar*.

[10] On the relationship between the two works, see Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. cxlvi–clv. The arguments in favour of the priority of Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* are endorsed by A. G. Rigg, 'The long or the short of it? Amplification or abbreviation?', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, x (2000), 46–73, at pp. 65–7.

[11] See Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 19–58, and idem, '*Meatim sed et rustica*', pp. 21–41.

[12] See Porter, *The Excerptiones de Prisciano*, pp. 12–13.

[13] The links between Ælfric and the Boulogne manuscript were set out in detail by E. M. Raynes, 'MS. Boulogne-sur-mer 63 and Ælfric', *Medium Ævum*, xxvi (1957), 65–73; see further M. McC. Gatch, 'MS Boulogne-sur-mer 63 and Ælfric's First Series of *Catholic Homilies*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, lxv (1966), 482–90.

[14] The manuscript is listed by Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 800. The script is Anglo-Caroline Style I (see Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 2–4, 144–9), but there are various features which point to a later stage in the evolution of this style, hence to a date somewhat after *c.*1000.

[15] The excerpts are ed. M. McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 129–46.

[16] Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-mer 63', pp. 65–6; the homily is ed. Pope, *Hom. Supp.* i. 407–52 (no. xi).

[17] Gatch, 'MS Boulogne-sur-mer 63', pp. 486–7. The homily is ed. Clemoes, *CH* i. 307–12 (no. xvi); see discussion by M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS s.s. xviii (Oxford, 2000), pp. 127–35.

Wulfstan), and it was the contiguity of the texts which first encouraged the suspicion that Ælfric was the compiler of the excerpts from the *Prognosticon*. And following the pastoral letter are other anonymous compilations which have links with Ælfric's writings and have plausibly been attributed to him. For example, the *Sermo in natale Domini et de ratione animae* (fos. 13r–18r) was used by Ælfric as the source for his homily on the Nativity, the first item in his *Lives of Saints*,[18] and was arguably compiled by him (partly from Alcuin's *De ratione animae*).[19] Similar arguments apply to the remaining items in the Boulogne manuscript.[20] The essential point is that Ælfric apparently assembled a number of Latin texts, excerpted them, and then used the excerpts as the basis for translation and adaptation into Old English. A similar scholarly procedure may be discerned in a collection of hagiographical texts in a manuscript now in Paris.

ii. PARIS, BNF, LAT. 5362

Paris, BNF, lat. 5362 is a manuscript of 128 folios in small quarto format (240 × 150 mm.) containing a number of Lives of saints, many of them English.[21] The manuscript was written by three (Anglo-) Norman scribes at an undetermined centre, most likely in England (see pl. VI);[22] it subsequently belonged to the abbey of Fécamp in Normandy.[23] Its contents are as follows:

1. fos. 1r–51v: Bede, prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* (*BHL* no. 2021).[24]
2. fos. 51v–53v: excerpts from Bede, *HE* iv. 29–30 pertaining to St Cuthbert (inc. 'item ex libro hystorie ecclesiastice gentis Anglorum quarto, capitulo uicesimo nono').[25]
3. fos. 53v–54r: *Historia de S. Cuthberto*, c. 33.[26]
4. fos. 54v–68r: Abbo of Fleury, *Passio S. Eadmundi* (*BHL*, no. 2392).[27]
5. fos. 68v–70r: excerpts from Bede, *HE* iii. 9–10 pertaining to St Oswald, king and martyr.[28]

[18] *LS*, ed. Skeat, i. 10–24.

[19] See M. R. Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 271–98, at 298: 'it seems clear that the Boulogne Latin text . . . must have been written by Ælfric . . . I would suppose that at some early stage Ælfric made a Latin abridgement and adaptation of Alcuin's treatise . . . Subsequently Ælfric used this précis as the basis of LS, no. i.' Godden's conclusions (which represent accurately Ælfric's normal working methods) have been qualified by T. H. Leinbaugh, 'Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* I and the Boulogne Sermon: editorial, authorial and textual problems', in *The Editing of Old English*, ed. D. G. Scragg and P. E. Szarmach (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 191–211. See also the balanced assessment of Jones, '*Meatim sed et rustica*', pp. 45–51.

[20] Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-mer 63', pp. 68–72.

[21] The contents are described by the Bollandists, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum . . . qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, 3 vols. in 4, Subsidia Hagiographica, ii (Brussels, 1889–93), ii. 354–66; see also L. Delisle, *Bibliotheca Bigotiana Manuscripta* (Paris, 1877), p. 48 (no. 174).

[22] Scribe I wrote fos. 1–19v7; Scribe II took over in mid-sentence and wrote fos. 19v7–68v7; Scribe III wrote fos. 68v7–84v (thus completing the block of ten quires which contain the materials pertaining to Anglo-Saxon saints). The remainder of the manuscript (fo. 85r onwards) was then completed by Scribe II. The *Epitome* was copied by Scribe III.

[23] See G. Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Paris, 1971), p. 235.

[24] Ed. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 142–306; on the Paris manuscript, see p. 35.

[25] Ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 444–8.

[26] Ed. T. Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 2 vols., RS (London, 1882–5), i. 213–14, and more recently by T. Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, Anglo-Saxon Texts, iii (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 68–71, with commentary at 116–17. As Johnson South points out, the chapter is 'seriously out of chronological order within the *Historia*' (p. 117), and is the only case of such chronological dislocation in the entire text. Adverting to the occurrence of the chapter in BNF lat. 5362, he suggests that the chapter 'originated independently of the rest of the *Historia*', and 'is a later interpolation to the text' (ibid.). If so, its inclusion in a commonplace-book compiled by Ælfric a century earlier than the date of the Paris manuscript, becomes more readily understandable.

[27] Ed. M. Winterbottom, *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 67–87.

[28] Ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 240–4.

6. fo. 70r–v: excerpt from Bede, *HE* iii. 7 pertaining to St Birinus.[29]
7. fos. 70v–74r: *Epitome translationis et miraculorum beati Swithuni* (*BHL* no. 7498): printed below, pp. 564–73 (see pl. VI).
8. fos. 74r–81r: Ælfric, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (*BHL* no. 2646).[30]
9. fos. 81r–84v: excerpts from Bede, *HE* iv. 17–18 pertaining to St Æthelthryth.[31] The last part of fo. 84v is blank.
10. fos. 85r–92r: Ionas of Susa and Bobbio, *Vita S. Iohannis Reomaensis* (*BHL* no. 4424).[32]
11. fos. 92v–99r: *Passio S. Margaretae* (*BHL* no. 5306).[33]
12. fos. 99v–112v: *Vita S. Austrebertae* (*BHL* no. 832).[34]
13. fos. 112v–124v: *Miracula S. Austrebertae* (*BHL* no. 834).[35]

It will be seen that the first nine items, occupying fos. 1–84, are concerned with Anglo-Saxon saints. These folios form a discrete part of the manuscript, made up of the first ten quires.[36] The scribe of the last quire (K) apparently added an extra leaf in order to be sure of accommodating the material he was copying, and having made an accurate calculation ended up leaving only the last four lines of fo. 84v blank. (The remainder of the original manuscript, quires L-P, are all regular eights.) This scribal procedure implies that items 1–9 were being copied from a single exemplar, and it is with this hypothetical exemplar that we are concerned.

Two items immediately draw our attention to Ælfric: item 8, which is the unique surviving copy of Ælfric's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, and the immediately preceding item (no. 7), the *Epitome* which, as we will see, was a principal source of Ælfric's vernacular 'Life of St Swithun'. These facts prompt closer attention to the remaining contents of the Anglo-Saxon part (fos. 1–84) of BNF lat. 5362. Leaving aside St Æthelwold (Ælfric's authorship of item 8 is incontestable), Ælfric treated the remaining six saints—Cuthbert, Edmund, Oswald, Birinus, Swithun, and Æthelthryth—either in his *Catholic Homilies* (Cuthbert) or in his *Lives of Saints* (Edmund, Oswald, Swithun, Æthelthryth; an account of St Birinus is incorporated into his 'Life of St Oswald'). It was these six Anglo-Saxon saints, and only these saints, which Ælfric treated in his vernacular hagiography;[37] and one must bear in mind that for a hagiographer active in late-tenth-century Winchester, many more choices were available.[38] Why Ælfric should have privileged these six Anglo-Saxon saints is unknown, but their presence in BNF lat. 5362, alongside works certainly composed and used by Ælfric, is surely striking. That the collocation of these six saints is not fortuituous is confirmed by the fact that somewhere in his vernacular writings Ælfric made use of (most of) the hagiographical materials assembled in the

[29] Ibid. p. 232.

[30] Ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 70–80.

[31] Ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 390–6.

[32] Ed. MGH, SS rer. merov. iii. 505–17.

[33] There are many redactions of the Life of St Margaret; the present version (*BHL* 5306) does not seem to have been known in Anglo-Saxon England. Cf. M. Clayton and H. Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, CSASE ix (Cambridge, 1994), p. 19: 'This version [*scil. BHL* 5306] was a source for certain later vernacular renderings but had no influence upon the Anglo-Saxon writers.'

[34] On the cult of St Austraberta in Normandy and England, see A. Corrêa, 'St Austraberta of Pavilly in the Anglo-Saxon liturgy', *AB* cxv (1997), 77–112; on the various *vitae* of St Austraberta, see p. 80 n. 10.

[35] Following the end of the manuscript an extra quire of four leaves (fos. 125–8) was added at some point in the thirteenth century; the leaves contain two letters of Pope Innocent III to the archbishop of Rouen. Fos. 127v–128v are blank.

[36] Quire signatures are clearly marked in the lower righthand corner of the first folio of each quire. The collation of the first ten quires is: A^8-G^8, H^{10}, J^8, K^{10}.

[37] Ælfric also included a Life of St Alban in his *Lives of Saints* (*LS*, ed. Skeat, i. 414–24); but although he anachronistically situated Alban's martyrdom in *Engla lande* (lines 11, 135), he will have realized from his source, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* i. 7, that Alban was a martyr of *Britannia*, not England.

[38] See M. Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *sanctorale*', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1996), pp. 115–29, at 121–2.

Paris manuscript.[39] He consulted Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* for his homily on St Cuthbert in the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* (ii. 10).[40] His 'Life of St Edmund' is based on Abbo's *Passio S. Eadmundi*.[41] His 'Life of St Oswald' is based on the two chapters of Bede's *Historica ecclesiastica* (iii. 9–10) which are reproduced in the Paris manuscript as item no. 5.[42] Strikingly, Ælfric expanded his 'Life of St Oswald' by interpolating an account of St Birinus and the conversion of the West Saxons;[43] and the interpolation corresponds precisely to the two passages from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* iii. 7 which are excerpted in the Paris manuscript as no. 6, immediately following the excerpt concerning St Oswald. As we shall see, the *epitome* of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (item no. 7) was used by Ælfric as a source for his 'Life of St Swithun'.[44] Finally, Ælfric's 'Life of St Æthelthryth' is based almost entirely on the passages from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* iv. 17–18 which are excerpted in the Paris manuscript as no. 9.[45] In sum, the contents of fos. 1–84 of the Paris manuscript, when set alongside Ælfric's vernacular treatment of Anglo-Saxon saints, may be seen to provide the quarry from which he produced those vernacular accounts. When taken in combination with the fact that one of the items in the Paris manuscript (no. 8) is the unique copy of Ælfric's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, the most economical explanation is that the remaining excerpts of Anglo-Saxon hagiography in the manuscript were made by Ælfric for his own personal use, as a sort of hagiographical commonplace-book, and that this book was subsequently copied by several Anglo-Norman scribes.[46] The original was subsequently lost and the copy ended up in Fécamp. The use which Ælfric made of at least one item in the commonplace-book may be illustrated by the *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni* (item no. 7) which, like Ælfric's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, is preserved uniquely in the Paris manuscript.

[39] The exceptions are the Cuthbert materials listed as items 2 and 3. The fact that Ælfric did not use these two items has caused Godden to doubt that the materials in the Paris manuscript could have been assembled by Ælfric: 'The "hagiographical commonplace-book compiled by Ælfric himself", which Michael Lapidge thought he had identified in 1991, as Ælfric's own source-collection, turns out to have little connection with his sources' (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, p. xlv). Godden egregiously misrepresents my arguments of 1991 (in Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. cxlviii–cxlix), since his comments pertain only to the Cuthbert materials in items 2 and 3, not to the remaining seven items, the use of which by Ælfric is indisputable.

[40] See Godden, ibid. p. 413: 'there are definite borrowings from Bede's prose Life for the material that is not reproduced in the *Historia*.'

[41] *LS*, ed. Skeat, ii. 314–34 (no. xxxii). William of Malmesbury makes the interesting observation that Ælfric composed an 'abbreuiatio passionis sancti Edmundi' (WmMalm, *GP*, pp. 406–7). William's observation rings true insofar as it was Ælfric's characteristic scholarly method to produce an epitome of a longer Latin work and then translate that into the vernacular, but Ælfric's Latin *abbreuiatio* has yet to be identified. One abbreviated version of Abbo's *Passio S. Eadmundi* is found in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal 935 (Soissons, s. xiii), fos. 104v–106r, and is printed by J. Grant, 'A new *Passio beati Edmundi regis et martyris*', *MS* xl (1978), 81–95 (text at pp. 91–5). This text, however, is unlikely to be Ælfric's *abbreuiatio*. Ælfric's OE 'Life of St Edmund' includes many details from Abbo's *passio* which have been eliminated from the abbreviation in Arsénal 935: Hinguar and Hubba come together to Northumbria but Hubba subsequently remains there (lines 29–36; Arsénal 935 mentions only Hinguar); the extensive dialogue between King Edmund and his unnamed bishop, then that between Edmund and the Viking messenger (lines 64–93) are eliminated from Arsénal 935; Edmund stands in his hall when Hinguar comes, and throws away his weapons as Christ ordered Peter to do (lines 101–5, omitted from Arsénal 935), and so on.

[42] *LS*, ed. Skeat, ii. 124–42 (no. xxvi).

[43] Ibid. pp. 132–4 (lines 119–43).

[44] See below, p. 579.

[45] *LS*, ed. Skeat, i. 432–40 (no. xx). The exception to the use of Bede's *HE* is the passage at the end of the Life where Ælfric adds some words of general exhortation on the purity of Æthelthryth's virginity (lines 107–19), and then appends an account of a certain (unnamed) thegn who produced three sons and then lived continently with his wife for thirty years (lines 120–35). But the remainder of the 'Life of St Æthelthryth' is translated directly from *HE* iv. 17. See discussion by P. Jackson, 'Ælfric and the purpose of Christian marriage: a reconsideration of the *Life of Æthelthryth*, lines 120–30', *ASE* xxix (2000), 235–60.

[46] As we have seen (above, n. 26), a problem is posed by the inclusion of this chapter from the *Historia de S. Cuthberto*, an eleventh-century work: either the chapter is a later interpolation into Ælfric's commonplace-book; or the chapter was in existence in Ælfric's day, was copied by him, and was later incorporated into the *Historia*. That the latter is the more plausible explanation is argued by Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, p. 117.

iii. ÆLFRIC AND THE *EPITOME*

The *Epitome* is an abbreviation of the *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* by Lantfred of Winchester. It can be dated to the last decades of the tenth century. On the one hand, Æthelwold is described in c. 14 of the *Epitome* as being *beate memorie*, with the implication that the compilation was made after 984. On the other hand, the *Epitome* was used by Ælfric as one of the sources for his 'Life of St Swithun', which was completed before *c.* 998. At various points in the *Epitome*, the epitomator makes personal observations which reveal him to have been a member of the monastic *familia* of the Old Minster during these years, and indeed earlier. For example, he states that he was an eye-witness to the return of Eadsige to the Old Minster (some time after 971): *nam nos ipsi ita gestum uidimus* (c. 9). No such observation is found in Lantfred, the source which the epitomator was abbreviating. Ælfric was a monk of the Old Minster in these years; and that he had studied Lantfred's work is proved not only by the use which he made of it in his vernacular 'Life of St Swithun',[47] but by the fact that a number of Lantfred's more unusual words are glossed in Ælfric's *Glossary*.[48] These facts suggest that the epitomator was Ælfric himself, a suggestion which is confirmed by consideration of the way that Lantfred's work is abbreviated in the *Epitome*, and by the use which was subsequently made of the *Epitome* in Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun'.

The relationship between Lantfred's text and that of the *Epitome* may be illustrated by parallel passages from the two works (those words in Lantfred which were retained by the epitomator are printed in italics):

Lantfred, c. 10	*Epitome*, c. 14
Dum mundi Dominus ac *saluator* inclitus mirificaret sanctum suum prodigiis ac uirtutibus, presul uenerabilis *Aðeluuoldus* (qui Wintoniensi praeerat dyocesi) in illis diebus *imperauit fratribus ibidem commorantibus*, quod quandocumque *quispiam aeger per* uirtutem Domini et *meritum sancti* antistitis *medelam* corporis optatam per*ciperet, protinus omnes* illius loci fratres necessaria relin-querent queque in manibus tenerent, *ecclesiam* adirent, et condigne *Deum glorificarent. Accidit autem ut quidam* illecti demonum fraudibus *grauiter ferrent, quod* tam sepe *excitarentur* de nocturnis quietibus (scilicet *aliquando* tribus, *aliquando* quattuor in una nocte uicibus); ac *suaderent ceteros praue relinquere quod illis*	Igitur, dum tanta signa saluator mundi ad uenerabilis patris Suuithuni tumbam ostendere decreuisset, beate memorie Atheluuoldus episcopus imperauit fratribus ibidem commorantibus ut semper quando quispiam eger per meritum sancti uiri medelam reciperet, protinus omnes ad ecclesiam pergerent et Deum ymnis et laudibus glorificarent. Accidit autem ut quidam post aliquot dies grauiter ferrent quod excitarentur per noctem aliquando quater, aliquando ter; et suadere ceperunt ceteros praue relinquere quod imperatum fuerat pie illis a suo presule.

[47] See below, pp. 590–609. [48] See the *Epitome*, below, nn. 6, 12.

pie imperatum fuerat ab eorum pontifice. *Quod dum incaute foret pretermissum* ferme *per interuallum quindecim dierum*, condolens *sanctus* Dei famulus quod fratres praefati bonum paruipenderent opus et presulis illorum iussionibus non obtemperarent, nec debitas Deo laudes persoluerent, sed in perniciosas Satanae decipulas inciderent, in somnis *apparuit* quadam nocte *cuidam* uenerabili matronae, niuea indutus melote ac talari ueste, gerens coronam in capite auream gemmis decenter pretiosis ornatam, et Indicis pulchre margaretis comptam, necnon sandalibus pulcherrimis calciatus. Dixitque illi blandissimis sermonibus, 'Mox ut uideris Wintoniensem, dilecta Dei, antistitem, dic ei ut imperet monachis degentibus ibidem ne cessent glorificare Deum omnipotentem, quotiescumque quispiam egrotus ad Suuiðhuni tumbam presulis receperit curationem. Valde enim *displicet omnipotenti Deo* auctori miraculorum, quod *cotidie miracula facit* innumerabilia *coram* oculis eorum—*et ipsi tam iniuste agunt, quod* Deo *laudes non referunt, sed caduca* (maluml) *studia*—quod nefas est dictu! – *diuinis operibus praeponunt.* Ne sit illis, obsecro, graue per singulas omnicreantis regis uirtutes glorificare omnium auctorem uirtutum, ne sentiant iratum iudicem uiuorum atque mortuorum. Quid plura? Deinceps si quispiam cessauerit a laude, repletus neuo inuidiae, torporis ac superbiae, nisi commissum hoc deluerit penitudine, carebit minime uitiorum fraude. Nimirum idcirco Deus tot et tanta

Quod dum incaute foret pretermissum per interuallum quindecim dierum,

apparuit ipse sanctus Suuithunus cuidam fideli uiro per somnium,

dicens ad eum:

'Vade ad Monasterium Vetus et dic fratribus quod omnipotenti Deo nimium displicet murmuratio eorum, quoniam cotidie miracula multa coram illis facit, et ipsi tam iniuste agunt quod ei non referunt laudes, sed caduca studia diuinis operibus preponunt.

inaudita nouissimis temporibus mundo prebet mirabilia, ut mollescant hominum saxea ac resipiscant prauorum corda et festinent ad celestia bonis operibus gaudia; quoniam signa infidelibus populis sunt tribuenda, fidelibus autem nequaquam necessaria. Numquid Deo rerum conditori obediunt, qui eius beneficia floccipendunt? Nonne Deum ad iracundiam prouocant, qui silendo eius magnificentiam negant? *Adde etiam ad haec, quod si a laudibus cessauerint fratres, protinus cessabunt Dei* summi uirtutes. *Si uero non desiuerint* caelestem magnificare regem, *tot* et tanta Dominus omnium patrabit *ibidem* miracula, *quot* et quanta *a nemine recordantur uiuente* super terram *peracta* hactenus *uspiam*, postquam diuinitas—quae in unam Christi personam iunxit geminam potenter naturam, Deum et hominem, seruum et seniorem, creaturam et creatorem—uexit ad celos nostram humanitatem.'

Adde etiam ad hec: quod si a laudibus cessauerint, protinus cessabunt magnalia Dei; si uero non desiuerint glorificare Deum, tot mirabilia ibidem faciet quot a nemine uiuente recordantur uspiam peracta.'

There are several characteristic features of this act of abbreviation. The epitomator has eliminated substantial tracts of Lantfred's excessive verbosity, simply (as it were) by drawing a red pencil through it: for example, the description of Swithun's appearance in the vision (*niuea indutus . . . sandalibus pulcherrimis calciatus*), the tediously long account of what will happen to the malefactors if they continue in their bad ways (*ne sit illis obsecro . . . eius magnificentiam negant*), the definition of *diuinitas* (*quae in unam Christi personam . . . nostram humanitatem*), etc. Lantfred's baroque vocabulary is avoided throughout (*melote, paruipendo, floccipendo*). Lantfred's interjections are eliminated (*malum!, quod nefas est dictu*). Lantfredian phrases are frequently reworded to achieve more concise expression: thus the phrase (*desiuerint*) *caelestem magnificare regem* is simplified to (*desiuerint*) *glorificare Deum*, or *tot et tanta Dominus omnium patrabit ibidem miracula* is reduced to *tot ibidem mirabilia faciet*. In short, the technique of abbreviation witnessed in this brief chapter is characteristic of Ælfric's technique as witnessed in his other Latin writings, particularly the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and the 'Letter to the Monks of Eynsham'.[49]

In addition to the stylistic changes imported by the epitomator, there is one change of substance in the passages quoted above which points unmistakably to Ælfric. As Lantfred related the incident, St Swithun appeared in a dream to a 'certain respectable lady' (*cuidam uenerabili matronae*); in the

[49] See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. cli–cliii, and Jones, *'Meatim sed et rustica'*, pp. 37–41.

Epitome, however, the saint is said to have appeared to a 'certain trustworthy man' (*cuidam fideli uiro*). Given that the epitomator was a member of the *familia* of the Old Minster at the time these miracles were taking place, the alteration can only imply that the epitomator was better informed than Lantfred had been as to who had had the vision. And when Ælfric, in his 'Life of St Swithun', recorded the same incident (c. 17), he followed at this point the version in the *Epitome* rather than that in Lantfred, even though he was using both sources in this particular chapter. The fact that he followed the *Epitome* rather than Lantfred can be seen as confirmation that it was Ælfric himself who prepared the *Epitome*. But unless a new and early manuscript should come to light in which the *Epitome* is attributed *nominatim* to Ælfric, such suggestions must remain as hypotheses.

iv. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

The *Epitome* has been printed on two previous occasions. It was first printed in 1719 by the Bollandists (having been prepared for publication by the Bollandist Jean Pien) in *Acta Sanctorum*, Iulii i. 328–30. It was subsequently reprinted from the Bollandists' edition in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, clv. 61–6.

v. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

The unique manuscript which preserves the *Epitome* (P = Paris, BNF, lat. 5362) was written by (Anglo-) Norman scribes approximately a century later than the text was composed at Winchester, arguably by Ælfric. In spite of this time-span, the text of the *Epitome* in the Paris manuscript contains only a tiny amount of corruption, which probably indicates that it was infrequently copied, and indeed that the Paris manuscript may have been copied directly from Ælfric's autograph. Because of the overall correctness of the text as preserved in the Paris manuscript, only a few small editorial corrections have been necessary. Furthermore, the overall accuracy of the text raises the question of whether in its orthography, too, it is an accurate reproduction of Ælfric's autograph. Unfortunately, this is not an easy question to answer, because it is not possible to ascertain Ælfric's Latin orthographical practices. Given that Ælfric was a Latin grammarian, one might expect entirely consistent orthographical practice from him. But in the very few Latin texts composed by Ælfric which were copied under his supervision (if not in his own hand), the orthography is inconsistent. For example, in the two Latin prefaces to his homily collections (to *CH* i and *CH* ii respectively), both preserved uniquely in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28, a manuscript written *c.*1000 and thought to be 'either a product of Ælfric's own scriptorium or a remarkably faithful copy of such a manuscript',[50] there is notably inconsistent treatment of the Classical Latin digraph *ae*, which is sometimes rendered as such (*tuae auctoritati*, *utilitati nostrae*), sometimes as simple *e* (*presulis*), and sometimes as tagged-*e* (*ędificationem*, *nebulosę fallacię*).[51] This inconsistent treatment of *ae*, which may well reflect Ælfric's personal practice, is also found in the *Epitome* as preserved in the Paris

[50] Godden, in Ælfric, *CH* ii, p. xliii.
[51] Ed. Clemoes, *CH* i. 173–4, and Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, pp. 107–8.

manuscript. I have accordingly reproduced the text almost exactly as it is found in the Paris manuscript, with the exception that I print tagged-*e* simply as *e*. For ease of reference I have divided the text into chapters with an eye both to Lantfred and to Ælfric's vernacular 'Life of St Swithun'. Manuscript abbreviations have been expanded silently, and I have introduced modern punctuation and capitalization.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

⟨EPITOME TRANSLATIONIS ET MIRACVLORVM S. SWITHVNI⟩

INCIPIT LIBER TRANSLATIONIS ET MIRACVLORVM BEATI SWITHVNI.

1. Temporibus felicissimi Eadgari, regis Anglorum ac gloriosissimi totius Albionis insule imperatoris, anno incarnationis Domini nostri et saluatoris mundi Iesu Christi nongentesimo septuagesimo primo, indictione quartadecima, cunctipotens deitas dignata est ostendere Anglis-Saxonibus sanctum corpus beati Suuithuni antistitis, per cuius meritum tot languentes [a]Deo fauente[a] pristine sanitati sunt restituti, quot nemo uiuens umquam nec uulgante fama audiuit, nec corporeo uisu conspexit, nec legendo didicit, ad sancti alicuius tumulum curatos fuisse. Huius tamen mirabilis presulis uita et prisca conuersatio nobis incognita sunt, quia scripta minime habentur. Sed clementia omnipotentis Dei merita eius miraculis choruscantibus euidentissime manifestare dignata est.[1]

2. Triennio igitur antequam sancte predicti presulis exuuie de mausoleo (quo olim fuerant humate) a reuerentissimo eiusdem loci antistite Atheluuoldo fratribusque eius essent sublate, apparuit ipse sanctus in somno cuidam ueridico fabro, angelica[2] preclarus effigie, dicens ad eum: 'Numquid illum agnoscis canonicum qui cum ceteris praue uiuentibus nuper a Vetusto expulsus est Monasterio? Vt eum recognoscas dilucide, Eadsinus nuncupatur uocamine.' Faber respondit: 'Quondam illum noui, pater; modo tamen nescio ubi est.' Cui presul ait, 'Nunc Wincelcumbe degit', et adiecit: 'Ego te rogo tibique in nomine Christi precipio, ut ad illum propere pergas meaque iussa illi dicas—"hoc tibi, Eadzine, presul mandat Suuithunus, quatinus ad Wintoniensem festinanter pergas ciuitatem dicasque antistiti qui modo eandem regit diocesim (cui olim prefui),[3] ut corpus meum de sepulchro eleuet et in ecclesia collocet, quoniam quidem celitus illi est concessum quod tempore suo manifestandus sum".'

3. Faber uero ait ad sanctum: 'Domine, nullomodo uoluerit meis credere dictis.' Vir sanctus inquit, 'Vt tuis credat sermonibus, dic ei ad meum quo pergat tumulum, et trahat unum anulum ex bis ternis qui sunt fixi in[b4] mei cooperculo sarcofagi: si confestim subsecutus fuerit illum, hoc sit ei uere manifestum quoniam te misi ad illum; sin autem illum minime hinc poterit euellere, tunc nulla ratione tibi debet credere. Potes deinde illi indubitanter referre quod, si utriusque uite desiderat perfrui sospitate, debet mores et actus commutare in melius, et ad celestis patrie beatitudinem incessanter festinare. Quin etiam omnibus uaticinando prodas quod, mox ut meam aperuerint sepulturam, repperient[c] thesauros tam inestimabiles tamque preciosos, ut quicquid

[a–a] *written twice in P* [b] in *suppl. from Lantfred; om. P* [c] *corr. from* reppererint *P*

[1] Although most of c. 1 is drawn from the last paragraph of Lantfred's Praefatio ('Post cuius ergo . . . dinoscitur reddidisse'; above, p. 258), the statement that Swithun's life and discipline are unknown to us because no writings survive has no correlate here in Lantfred (cf., however, Lantfred's Epistola: 'Et quoniam perparum scimus . . . propter scriptorum inopiam'). Ælfric makes a similar statement in c. 1 of his OE 'Life of St Swithun': 'ne we ne fundon on bocum hu se bisceop leofode on þissere worulde' (below, p. 590).

[2] The epitomator has silently corrected the erroneous form of the adjective (*angelico*) found in all manuscripts of Lantfred (see above, p. 260, app. crit. n. *i* [line 8]).

[3] The epitomator has rightly altered *praefuit* of Lantfred's text (see above, p. 261 n. 47) to *praefui*, since it is Swithun himself who is speaking; he similarly alters *corpus suum* to *corpus meum* in the following clause.

⟨EPITOME OF THE TRANSLATION AND MIRACLES OF ST SWITHUN⟩

HERE BEGINS THE BOOK OF THE TRANSLATION AND MIRACLES OF THE BLESSED ST SWITHUN.

1 [Lantfred, Praefatio]. In the days of the blessed Edgar, king of the English and most glorious ruler of the entire island of Albion, in the year of our Lord and Saviour of the world Jesus Christ 971, at the fourteenth indiction, the omnipotent deity deigned to reveal to the Anglo-Saxons the holy body of the blessed bishop Swithun, through whose merit so many sick persons—through God's grace—were restored to their former health: so many, that no one living has either heard from popular report, or seen with his own eyes, or learned through reading, that a similar number had ever been cured at the tomb of any saint. Yet the admirable life and strict discipline of this bishop are unknown to us, since no writings are available. But the mercy of omnipotent God deemed it worthwhile to make his merits known most plainly through resplendent miracles.[1]

2 [Lantfred, c. 1]. Three years, therefore, before the holy remains of the aforementioned bishop were removed from the tomb (where they once had been buried) by the most reverend Æthelwold, bishop of this same place [Winchester] and his monks, the saint himself appeared, magnificent in angelic[2] likeness, in a dream to a certain trustworthy smith, saying to him: 'Do you know that canon who was recently expelled from the Old Minster together with others who were living sinfully? So that you may recognize him clearly, he is called by the name Eadsige.' The smith replied: 'I once knew him, father; now, however, I don't know where he is.' The bishop said to him, 'He is now living at Winchcombe', and added, 'I ask you, and order you in the name of Christ, that you go quickly to him and tell my orders to him—"this thing, Eadsige, Bishop Swithun commands you, namely that you go in haste to the city of Winchester and say to the bishop who now rules that same diocese (over which I once presided),[3] that he raise my body from the tomb and place it inside the church, since in fact it is divinely granted to him that I am to be revealed in his time".'

3 [Lantfred, c. 1]. But the smith said to the saint: 'My lord, in no way will Eadsige wish to believe my story.' The holy man said, 'In order that he trust your words, tell him to go to my tomb and to pull one ring from the six which are fixed in[4] the lid of my tomb: if it immediately comes up after him, let it be truly manifest to him that I sent you to him; if, however, he cannot pull it up, then on no account ought he to believe you. You can then say to him without hesitation that, if he wishes to enjoy salvation in this life and the next, he ought to change his habits and behaviour for the better, and to hasten without delay to the blessedness of the heavenly kingdom. In fact, by speaking out to everyone you may report that, as soon as they have opened my tomb, they will discover treasures so inestimable and so precious, that anything

[4] The scribe of the Paris manuscript apparently omitted the preposition *in*, since it is in the text of Lantfred, which at this point the epitomator is transcribing nearly verbatim.

usquam est auri et gemmarum uilescet in comparatione horum.' Postquam talia fabro edicta sanctus uates tradidit, celos subuolando[5] petiit.

4. Verum faber ille, primo metuens uideri falsidicus,[6] hanc uisionem prorsus nemini ausus est prima uice indicare uiuenti. Qui secundo commonitus ac tertio ab eodem sancto presule acriter increpatus cur nollet suis oboedire preceptis, tandem accessit ad tumbam almi pontificis; unum ex supradictis arripiens anulum, tali uoce inquit ad Dominum creatorem rerum: 'Domine Deus, uniuerse conditor creature, concede mihi peccatori ut—si sanctus iste qui hic quiescit corpore ter comparuit meis obtutibus in noctis sopore—hinc istam possim ferream euellere sperulam, sicut nuper in somnii uisione idem uir Dei meis auribus studuit resignare.' Qui statim ut traxit orbem calibis, ita subsecutus est illum ex lapidea mole quasi foret fixus in marino sabulone. Quem in propria reponens rimula, ita fixus permansit (paululum pressus calce) ut post hoc inde nequaquam possit auelli a nemine.

5. Eodem uero die, dum peragraret forum, repperit quendam clientulum predicti clerici, Wintoniam uenientem causa necessarie coemptionis. Cui intimauit ea que per somnia uiderat, et humiliter eum flagitabat ut talia suo domino narraret. Qui postquam ad proprium peruenit herum, per longinqui interuallum temporis illius rei inmemor siluit; sed postmodum, poenitentia motus, domino suo cuncta que a fabro audiuit diligenter narrauit. Qui clericus, eo tempore non solum antistitem Wintoniensis diocesis uerum etiam cunctos fratres ibidem commorantes pertesos habens (propter expulsionem canonicorum nefandis moribus ac spurcissimis utentium, pro quibus uenerabilis Atheluuoldus eos a predicto expulerat cenobio), magis quam sancti patris iussa implere studeret, audire rennuit.

6. Postea uero, expleto duorum curriculo annorum, fauente superni clementia conditoris—qui cunctos quos prescit in uineam laboraturos dominicam gratis ad suam deducit gratiam[7]—idem clericus qui nuper erat bioticus[8] factus est uenerabilis monachus. Nam nos ipsi ita gestum uidimus[9] quemadmodum presens demonstrat codicellus. Benedictus omnipotens Deus, qui peccatores iustificat,[10] qui in se sperantes saluat, qui superbos humiliat, qui humiles exaltat![11]

7. Igitur biennio ante sacri inuentionem corporis, uir quidam gybberosus[12] et propter ingentem strumam ualde incuruus, per somnium audiuit ut Wintoniam ueniret et ibi per sancti meritum Suuithuni sanitatem reciperet. Qui mane consurgens, sicut ualuit gybbum geminis sustentauit cambuttis et ad Wintoniam peruenit. Ibique diu mansitans, angelica

[5] The word *subuolando* is added by the epitomator to explain how St Swithun returned to the heavens. *Subuolo* is not a common word; the epitomator may have found it in either Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* ii. 126 ('ac lucidam usque ad aethram / pia subvolare vota'); in Jerome's *Epistulae* xcviii. 10: 'absque grauitate corporum ad caelum subuolare' (CSEL lv. 195), cxxx. 14: 'cum Christo ad caelestia subuolare' (CSEL lvi. 193); or in Prudentius, *Peristephanon* x. 533 ('caelo refusus subuolabit spiritus'). These three works were all available at Winchester in the late tenth century.

[6] The unusual word *falsidicus* is retained by the epitomator; cf. R. L. Thomson, 'Ælfric's Latin vocabulary', *Leeds Studies in English*, xii (1981), 155–61, at p. 157 (but note that Ælfric found the word in Lantfred, not in Plautus, as Thomson supposed). It is also interesting to note that the word is entered in Ælfric's *Glossary* (ed. Zupitza, p. 305), where it is glossed *unsoðsagul*. In his 'Life of St Swithun', c. 4, Ælfric translated *falsidicus* as *unsoðsagul* (below, p. 592)—a further indication, perhaps, that Ælfric was the author of the *Epitome*.

[7] Matt. 20: 1–16.

[8] The epitomator has (uncharacteristically) retained one of Lantfred's grecisms (and note that the word is not found in Ælfric's *Glossary*).

[9] The epitomator's alteration of Lantfred's sentence here is

anywhere made of gold or jewels becomes worthless in comparison with them.' After the holy saint conveyed these instructions to the smith, he sought the heavens in flight.[5]

4 [Lantfred, c. 1]. But the smith, afraid at first of appearing to be a liar,[6] did not dare in the first instance to disclose this vision directly to any living person. Having been warned a second time and reproached sharply a third time by the same holy bishop as to why he did not wish to obey his orders, he went at last to the tomb of the holy bishop; laying hold of one of the aforementioned rings, he said to the Lord the creator of all things in a speech of this sort: 'Lord my God, creator of every living creature, grant to me a sinner that—if that saint who reposes here in body three times appeared before my eyes in a dream in the night—I may be able to pull up this iron ring, just as the same man of God recently took pains to disclose to my listening ears in the dream-vision.' As soon as he pulled up the iron loop, it came towards him out of the block of stone as if it were fixed in seashore sand. Putting it back in its own groove it remained so fixed (pressed in a bit with his foot) that afterwards it could not be pulled out of there by anyone.

5 [Lantfred, c. 1]. On the very same day, however, while he was passing through the market-place, he came across a certain retainer of the above-mentioned cleric, who had come to Winchester for the sake of some necessary shopping. He revealed to him the things which he had seen in his dreams, and asked him in a humble manner that he retail these things to his lord and master. When he returned home to his master the retainer, having forgotten about the business, was silent for a long interval of time; but, afterwards, compelled by misgivings, he explained carefully to his lord all the things which he had heard from the smith. The cleric, at that time being disgusted not only with the bishop of the Winchester diocese but also with all the monks living there (as a result of the expulsion of the canons—who were indulging in evil and extremely wicked ways, on account of which the venerable Æthelwold had expelled them from the aforementioned monastery), so far from wishing to fulfil the orders of the holy father, refused to hear them.

6 [Lantfred, c. 1]. Afterwards, however, when the course of two years had been completed and the mercy of the heavenly creator—Who freely leads all those whom He knows beforehand will work in their lord's vineyard to His grace[7]—was kindly disposed, this same cleric, who recently had been secular,[8] was made a holy monk. For I myself saw it happen[9] just as the present little book explains. Blessed be the omnipotent God, Who pardons sinners,[10] Who redeems those who believe in Him, Who casts down the mighty, Who raises up the meek![11]

7 [Lantfred, c. 2]. Therefore, in the second year before the recovery of the holy body, a certain hump-backed[12] man who because of his huge tumour was extremely bent over, heard through a dream that he should come to Winchester and there would regain his health through the merit of St Swithun. The hunch-back, rising in the morning, supported his hump as best he was able on two crutches and arrived at Winchester. He remained there some time, and was again reminded by an

significant. Whereas Lantfred states that he had learned of Eadsige's return to Winchester from the smith (*narrante ipsoque opifice didicimus ita gestum*), the epitomator claims to have witnessed it with his own eyes: *nam nos ipsi ita gestum uidimus*. On Eadsige's return to the Old Minster community, see above, p. 260 n. 43.

[10] 1 Tim. 1: 15.

[11] Cf. Matt. 23: 12, Luke 14: 11, 18: 14.

[12] Cf. Ælfric's *Glossary*, ed. Zupitza, pp. 321–2: 'gibberosus uel strumosus. hoferede'. In his 'Life of St Swithun', c. 7, Ælfric translates *gybberosus* as *gehoferod* (below, p. 594).

uisitatione iterum ammonitus, ad tumulum sancti presulis Suuithuni perrexit; et, flexis genibus, rogauit Deum quatinus ibi sanaretur ipsius sancti meritis, quemadmodum in somnis audierat. Qui mox ut surrexit a precibus, ita curatus est diuinitus ut nusquam deformis gybbi locus appareret.[13]

8. Appropinquante uero sacratissime solennitatis die quo uenerabilis Dei antistes Suuithunus corporeis nexibus solutus de hoc mundo migrauit ad Dominum, uir quidam demonicis deceptionibus omnibus menbris miserabiliter debilitatus est.[14] Qui cum diu torqueretur, uicini illius et cognati ad sancti Dei tumulum eum perduxerunt, et illam noctem peruigilem cum amico languenti assiduis orationibus peregerunt. Languidus uero, mane oppressus somno, obdormiuit paululum; et uisum est illi quasi quidam ad eum accederent et alterum ei calciamentum de pede subtraherent.[15] Qui statim cum amicis domum sanus reuersus est; subtalaris tamen eius nimium quesitus est, sed nusquam repertus.

9. Curati sunt alii octo debiles ad sancti uiri mausoleum antequam ossa eius inde eleuarentur. Quibus transactis, Idus Iulii uenerabilis Atheluuoldus episcopus cum aliis coepiscopis[16] et abbatibus, cum pluribusque monachis, sanctas reliquias—imperante glorioso rege Eadgaro—de monumento subleuantes, in basilica apostolorum Petri et Pauli cum magna ueneratione collocauerunt, ubi beneficia prestantur omnibus uera fide petentibus.

10. Postea uero quattuor egri medelam receperunt ad eius tumulum per interuallum trium dierum. Deinde per quinque mensium spatia, raro fuit aliqua dies quo non sanarentur languidi ad ipsius sancti honorabiles reliquias: aliquando[17] autem tres, aliquando quinque, modo septem, modo decem, nunc duodecim, nunc uero quindecim! Vidimus namque plusquam ducentos in decem diebus egrotos per meritum sancti curatos—et in anni circulo, qui carent numero.[18] Quapropter increduli ad sanctum Dei ueniant ut beneficia conditoris agnoscant et creatorem laudent! Cognoscant denique fideles quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Dei unigenitus, qui in exordio huius etatis uelatus amictu carnis per semetipsum cecos illuminauit, claudis officium ambulandi prebuit, surdis auditum reddidit, paraliticos curauit, mortuos suscitauit, supra mare siccis uestigiis ambulauit: idem nostris temporibus, ad clarificandum[d] sue maiestatis omnipotentiam et ad manifestandum egregii sacerdotis Suuithuni meritum, confert sanitatis beneficium egrorum corporibus pre multitudine innumerabilibus—ut maris harene, quibus non est numerus. Benedictus omnipotens Deus, qui nostra tempestate dignatus est sanctum suum signis et uirtutibus mirificare, qui cum patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et dominatur Deus per cuncta secula! AMEN.[19]

[d] *read* clarificandam *as in Lantfred?*

[13] This chapter of Lantfred is drastically abbreviated by the epitomator, who omits the lengthy story of the hunchback's vision concerning his host's valuable knife.

[14] This chapter, too, is drastically abbreviated: it reduces the story of the man's encounter with the Furies to the bare fact that he was *demonicis deceptionibus debilitatus* (note the epitomator's use of alliteration here).

[15] The epitomator has inexplicably converted Lantfred's singular *quidam* (*accederet, traheret*) to plural (*accederent, subtraherent*).

[16] Lantfred mentions only the presence of Ælfstan and Æthelgar (both abbots) at the translation; the presence there of *coepiscopis* is the epitomator's unwarranted addition. However, given that the epitomator presumably knew that both Ælfstan and Æthelgar subsequently became bishops, his addition here is understandable.

[17] The epitomator replaces Lantfred's idiosyncratic usage, *quando . . . quando*, with *aliquando . . . aliquando*.

[18] In spite of the first-person reference (*Vidimus namque*), this sentence is copied verbatim from Lantfred. (The epitomator

angelic vision, so he proceeded to the tomb of St Swithun the bishop; and, on bended knees, he prayed to God that he would there be cured through the merits of the saint himself, just as he had heard in his dreams. As soon as he got up from his prayers, he was so divinely healed that the place of the misformed tumour was nowhere to be seen.[13]

8 [Lantfred, c. 3]. And as the day of most holy solemnity was approaching—on which Swithun the venerable bishop of God, released from his corporeal bonds, departed to God—a certain man was crippled disastrously in all his limbs by devilish demons.[14] When he had suffered intense pain for a long while, his neighbours and kinsmen led him to the tomb of God's saint, and they passed that night in vigil with their diseased friend by means of earnest prayers. The sick man, however, was overcome by sleep at dawn, and dozed off for a short time; and it appeared to him as if some people came up to him and took one shoe from his foot.[15] He was cured and returned home immediately with his friends; they looked anxiously for his shoe, but it was nowhere to be found.

9 [Lantfred, cc. 3, 4]. Eight other sick people were cured at the tomb of the holy man before his bones were exhumed from there. After these healings had taken place, the venerable bishop Æthelwold, together with other bishops[16] and abbots, and with many monks, raised—at the command of the glorious king Edgar—the holy remains from their tomb on the 15th of July, and relocated them with great veneration in the church of the apostles Peter and Paul, where aid is offered to all people who seek it in true faith.

10 [Lantfred, c. 4]. Afterwards, moreover, four sick people obtained their health at his new tomb within an interval of three days. Thereafter, for the space of five months, there was rarely a day on which sick people were not cured at the venerable relics of this saint: for sometimes[17] there were three, sometimes five, then seven, then ten, now twelve, now even fifteen! I myself saw more than two hundred sick people cured in ten days through the saint's merit—and in the space of a year, those healed were innumerable.[18] Therefore let disbelievers come to the tomb of God's saint, in order that they may recognize the bounties of God and praise their creator! And then let the faithful acknowledge that our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten son of God, Who at the very beginning of this present age while covered with the clothing of the flesh, restored sight to blind people through His own agency, granted the capacity for walking to lame persons, gave back hearing to the deaf, cured paralytics, resuscitated the dead, walked on the sea with dry footsteps: likewise in our times, in order to reveal the omnipotence of His majesty and to make manifest the merit of the distinguished bishop Swithun, He conferred the boon of health on the bodies of sick persons innumerable in their multitude—like the sands of the seashore, of which there is no reckoning. Blessed be the omnipotent God, Who in our time has deigned to glorify His saint through signs and miracles, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost lives and rules as God through all time! Amen.[19]

could, of course, have witnessed the same events which Lantfred witnessed.)

[19] The final sentence of c. 10 is adapted from the end of Lantfred, c. 3, with a differently-worded doxology: 'Benedictus omnipotens Deus, qui nostra tempestate dignatus est sanctum suum mirificare, cui est honor et gloria in sempiterna saecula.' Following AMEN, the scribe of P adds EXPLICIT LIBER SECVNDVS. It is difficult to envisage how the *Epitome* itself might have been divided into books, and one wonders whether the rubric refers to a physical division (between quires or booklets) in the exemplar.

11. In illo tempore quo Dominus rerum manifestabat hominibus sanctum suum Suuithunum, accidit ut uenissent Wintoniam in una die uiginti[20] sex egri causa recuperande sanitatis; ex quibus quidam erant ceci, quidam surdi, quidam muti, quidam etiam paralitici. Qui cum accessissent ad sancti presulis monumentum et preces coram Deo effudissent, per ipsius interuentionem omnes curati sunt in spatio trium dierum; sicque leti domum cum ingenti gaudio redierunt, magnificantes et laudantes Deum.

12. Nec multo post accesserunt ad eundem sanctum ex diuersis Anglorum-Saxonum finibus centum uiginti quattuor infirmi, multiplicibus constricti languoribus. Hii omnes per sancti presulis meritum a uariis egritudinibus, Deo uolente, curati sunt in duarum reuolutione ebdomadarum; et benedicentes Domino, reuersi sunt incolumes ad propria qui debiles conuenerunt.

13. Cecatus est quoque quidam uir in Letania Maiora, causa latrocinii; sed quia innocens cecatus erat, uenit in Epiphania Domini ad sancti Suuithuni mausoleum, preces humiliter effundens.[21] Et oculi eius, qui erant ferro extincti et omnino euulsi, inluminati sunt; et habebat postea claros oculos omni tempore uite sue. Ergo, quia cuncta miracula que Dominus per sanctum Suuithunum dignatus est operari nequaquam enumerare ualemus, rogemus illum sanctum presulem quatinus animarum nostrarum languoribus medere dignetur, pro nobis apud Deum intercedendo—cum quo pro bonis operibus sine fine permanere promeruit.

14. Igitur, dum tanta signa saluator mundi ad uenerabilis patris Suuithuni tumbam ostendere decreuisset, beate memorie Atheluuoldus episcopus imperauit fratribus ibidem commorantibus ut semper quando quispiam eger per meritum sancti uiri medelam reciperet, protinus omnes ad ecclesiam pergerent et Deum ymnis et laudibus glorificarent. Accidit autem ut quidam post aliquot dies grauiter ferrent quod excitarentur per noctem aliquando quater, aliquando ter; et suadere ceperunt ceteros praue relinquere quod imperatum fuerat pie illis a suo presule. Quod dum incaute foret pretermissum per interuallum quindecim dierum, apparuit ipse sanctus Suuithunus cuidam fideli uiro[22] per somnium, dicens ad eum: 'Vade ad Monasterium Vetus et dic fratribus quod omnipotenti Deo nimium displicet murmuratio eorum, quoniam cotidie miracula multa coram illis facit, et ipsi tam iniuste agunt quod ei non referunt laudes, sed caduca studia diuinis operibus preponunt. Adde etiam ad hec: quod si a laudibus cessauerint, protinus cessabunt magnalia Dei; si uero non desiuerint glorificare Deum, tot mirabilia ibidem faciet quot a nemine uiuente recordantur uspiam peracta.'[e] Vir uero prefatus, post sancti recessionem euigilans, ad episcopum Atheluuoldum festinabat et ipsi intimauit omnia que sanctus Dei imperauerat. Qui commotus animo cur fratres non egissent secundum illius preceptum, rursus mandauit monachis cum magna comminatione,[23] ut ad omnes sanitates que ad sancti tumbam

[e] pacta *P*

[20] For no apparent reason the epitomator has altered Lantfred's *triginta* to *uiginti*.

[21] The epitomator has misunderstood the sense of Lantfred's Latin here: in Lantfred, the man was blinded at Epiphany (6 Jan.). A woman then replaced one eye-ball in its socket, and the man remained that way until Litania Maior (25 Apr.), when he miraculously regained his sight ('muliercula reduxit [oculum] in orbem et sic permansit a Theophania Domini usque ad Letaniam Maiorem'). This chapter is exceptionally abbreviated: the narrative concerning King Edgar's law against theft, the man's octosyllabic prayer, etc., is all reduced to two bald sentences. The final sentence of c. 13 ('Ergo . . . promeruit') has no correlate in Lantfred.

[22] There is no obvious reason why the epitomator should

11 [Lantfred, c. 22]. In that time in which the Lord of all things was revealing to men Swithun his saint, it happened that twenty-six[20] sick people came to Winchester in one day for the sake of regaining their health; of these some were blind, some deaf, some dumb, some paralysed as well. When they had drawn near to the tomb of the holy bishop and had poured out their prayers in God's presence, through Swithun's intercession they were all cured in the space of three days; and accordingly they went home happy with immense joy, magnifying and praising God.

12 [Lantfred, c. 23]. Not long afterwards one hundred and twenty-four sick people, afflicted with manifold illnesses, came to the same saint from various provinces of the Anglo-Saxons. All these people, with God willing, were cured through the saint's merit of their various afflictions within the space of two weeks; and, praising the Lord, they who had come in sickness returned in health to their homes.

13 [Lantfred, c. 26]. Also, a certain man had his eyes put out at the time of Litania Major [25 Apr.], because of robberies he had committed; but because he had been blinded guiltlessly, he came the following Epiphany [6 Jan.] to the tomb of St Swithun, humbly pouring out prayers.[21] And his eyes, which had been put out by the sword and completely torn away, were restored to sight; and thereafter he had sound eyesight all the days of his life. Therefore, because I am in no way able to enumerate all the miracles which the Lord deigned to perform through St Swithun, let us beseech that holy bishop that he may deign to cure the illnesses of our spirit, by interceding for us in God's presence: with Whom he has deserved to remain forever as a result of his good works.

14 [Lantfred, c. 10]. Accordingly, while the Saviour of the world had determined to reveal such great miracles at the tomb of our venerable father Swithun, Bishop Æthelwold of blessed memory commanded the monks living there that, on every occasion when some sick person regained his health through the merit of the holy man, all of them would proceed at once to the church and would glorify God with hymns and praise. Now it happened after some days that certain monks bore it ill that they were being awakened during the night sometimes four times, sometimes three; and they began improperly to persuade the others to abandon that which had been duly enjoined on them by their bishop. When this had been unwisely neglected for the space of a fortnight, St Swithun himself appeared in a dream to a certain trustworthy man,[22] saying to him: 'Go to the Old Minster and say to the monks that their grumbling greatly displeases the omnipotent God, since He performs many miracles in their presence daily, and they behave so inappropriately that they do not return thanksgiving, but prefer transitory pursuits to divine works. Add also to these words: that if they shall cease from thanksgiving, God's mighty works shall cease forthwith; but if they do not desist from glorifying God, He shall perform so many wondrous deeds there that no one living will remember so many ever having been performed.' And the man in question, awakening after the saint's departure, went quickly to Bishop Æthelwold and retailed all the things which God's saint had commanded. Æthelwold, disturbed in his mind as to why the monks had not behaved in accordance with his orders, once again commanded the monks with a mighty threat,[23] that at all healings which took place at the

have altered Lantfred's *cuidam uenerabili matronae* to *cuidam fideli uiro*—unless he had personal knowledge of the event.

[23] The phrase *cum magna comminatione* is the epitomator's addition; in Lantfred's account, Æthelwold was only mildly

fierent, facto signo omnes simul ad ecclesiam pergerent et Deo omnipotenti laudes ymnidicis
125 uocibus canerent: quod ita deinceps hactenus obseruatum audiuimus.

15. Sit gloria et laus Deo omnipotenti, qui sic sanctum suum glorificare dignatus est, qui uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum! AMEN.

exercised—as befits a learned man (*ut decet sapientem uirum*)—by the monks' disobedience. But, like Lantfred, the epitomator knew Æthelwold personally, and there is plenty of independent evidence of Æthelwold's anger towards malefactors (see Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 28, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. 44). The final sentence of this chapter—that the epitomator has

saint's tomb, they would all go to the church as soon as the sign had been given, and would sing prayers of thanksgiving in harmonious voices. I have heard that this commandment has been kept from that time up to the present.

15. Glory and praise be to the omnipotent God, Who in this way deigned to glorify His saint, Who lives and reigns forever and ever! AMEN.

heard that Æthelwold's commands were now being obeyed—has no correlate in Lantfred, and is apparently a personal observation; the implication might be that, when the *Epitome* was compiled, Ælfric was no longer resident at the Old Minster, having taken up residence at Cerne Abbas *c.*987.

4. ÆLFRIC OF WINCHESTER 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'

THE next essay in the hagiography of St Swithun—and the first in the vernacular—was made by the Anglo-Saxon homilist and grammarian Ælfric, who included a 'Life of St Swithun' in his vernacular legendary known (by its editorial title) as *Lives of Saints*, against 2 July, the date of Swithun's deposition.[1] In compiling his 'Life of St Swithun', Ælfric drew both on Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (above, no. 1) and on the *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni* (above, no. 3), but he also added several miracles which were known to him personally, and, since he was an eye-witness to some of the events reported in Lantfred and the *Epitome*, he frequently provides valuable personal observations on the growth of the cult of St Swithun in late tenth-century Winchester.

i. ÆLFRIC AND HIS VERNACULAR HAGIOGRAPHY

Very little is known about Ælfric's life;[2] what details are known must be gleaned from the very substantial corpus of his writings.[3] He was conjecturally born *c.*955 and presumably delivered to the Old Minster as a child oblate, probably at some point in the early 960s. In any event, he remarks several times in his writings that he had been a student in the school of Æthelwold at Winchester.[4] While at Æthelwold's school he was taught Latin by a resident Welsh master, one Iorvert.[5] He subsequently was professed as a monk at Winchester, and then consecrated a priest; his name appears in the list of Old Minster monks as 'Ælfric sacerdos'.[6] In 987 he was seconded by his bishop,

[1] Listed R. Frank and A. Cameron, *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto and Buffalo, NY, 1973), no. B.1.3.22.

[2] There is no satisfactory monograph on Ælfric; those frequently cited include C. L. White, *Ælfric: a New Study of his Life and Writings*, rev. M. R. Godden (New York, 1974; originally published 1898), and J. Hurt, *Ælfric* (New York, 1972). One is better served by the introductions to *CH* ii and iii, taken together with the article cited below, n. 3. There is a valuable bibliography: L. M. Reinsma, *Ælfric: an Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1987), recently updated by A. Kleist, 'An annotated bibliography of Ælfrician studies: 1983–1996', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (New York, 2000), pp. 503–52; see also K. J. and K. P. Quinn, *A Manual of Old English Prose* (New York, 1990), nos. B001, B004, B007, G816, H004, H201.

[3] The starting-point for any serious study of Ælfric is the excellent study by Peter Clemoes, 'The chronology of Ælfric's works', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 212–47, repr. as *Old English Newsletter: Subsidia*, v (Binghamton, NY, 1980).

[4] Preface to the *Grammar*, ed. Zupitza, p. 1 ('sicut didicimus in scola Aðelwoldi, uenerabilis praesulis, qui multos ad bonum imbuit'); *LME*, ed. Jones, p. 110 ('in scola eius [*scil.* Æthelwoldi] multis annis degens'); *CH* i. 173 ('ego Ælfricus alumnus Aðeluuoldi beneuoli et uenerabilis praesulis'); *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 1: 'Ælfricus abbas, Wintoniensis alumnus' (ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 71).

[5] See M. Lapidge, 'Ælfric's schooldays', in *Early Medieval Texts and Interpretations: Studies presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. S. Rosser and E. M. Treharne (Tempe, AZ, 2003), pp. 301–9.

[6] *Liber uitae*, ed. Birch, p. 26 (no. lxxv); ed. Keynes, fo. 19r, and cf. the remarks of Keynes, ibid. p. 89.

Ælfheah (984–1006) to Cerne Abbas (Dorset), where he apparently served as chaplain to Æthelmær, son of the wealthy ealdorman of the southwestern shires, Æthelweard, and ultimately his successor in the ealdormanry.[7] However, Ælfric will presumably have remained in title a monk of the Old Minster, and will have continued to regard himself as a member of its *familia*.[8] He wrote much of the corpus of his vernacular writing, including the *Lives of Saints*, at the invitation of Æthelmær and his father Æthelweard. Ælfric continued to act as chaplain at Cerne until 1005, when, at the instigation of Æthelmær, he was appointed abbot of the newly-founded monastery of Eynsham.[9] The date of his death is unknown.

Ælfric's writings, in both Latin[10] and Old English, have been well studied, particularly those in Old English, and there is no need for anything more than cursory treatment here. Suffice it to say that he is probably best known to modern scholarship for his two series of *Catholic Homilies* (in Latin, *sermones catholici*). Each series consists of forty homilies intended principally (but not exclusively) for feasts of the *temporale*, that is, for the cycle of movable feasts, most of them Sundays, linked to Easter, such as Shrove Sunday (*Quinquagesima*), the first Sunday in Lent (*Quadragesima*), Palm Sunday, Easter itself, Ascension, Pentecost, and so on. However, the first two series also included various hagiographic texts specified for individual feasts of the *sanctorale*, that is, feasts which were celebrated on the same calendar day each year, such as Epiphany on 6 January, the Purification of the Virgin on 2 February, and all the saints' days which a particular church might celebrate.[11] The number of such hagiographical texts in the first two series of homilies is difficult to define precisely: some of the texts specified for a fixed feast in the *sanctorale* are manifestly not in the literary form of a saint's life.[12] In sum, however, about twenty-six texts in the two series might be regarded as hagiography.[13]

At some time soon after the completion of the first two series, and with the experience of having composed at least some hagiographical pieces for them, Ælfric composed a third series of reading-pieces, principally but not exclusively hagiographical in form and content, known as *Lives of Saints*.[14]

[7] See *CH* i. 174: 'ic Ælfric . . . wearð asend on Æþelredes dæge cyninges fram Ælfeage biscope Aðeluuoldes æftergengan to sumum mynstre ðe is Cernel gehaten þurh Æðelmæres bene ðæs þegenes.' This preface is also ed. J. Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces* (Durham, 1994), p. 108.

[8] In any event, Ælfric was not, as is often stated, the abbot of a monastery at Cerne. At the time of his appointment, Cerne was apparently no more than a minster church, and the belief that it was an abbey derives from a late and spurious foundation charter (S 1217 = KCD 656). There is discussion (none too discriminating) by G. D. Squibb, 'The foundation of Cerne Abbey', in *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures*, ed. K. Barker (Cerne Abbas, 1988), pp. 11–14.

[9] The date derives from the foundation charter of Eynsham (S 911 = KCD 714) which, although it is not preserved in original form—the earliest surviving copy is in the twelfth-century cartulary of Eynsham—is regarded by scholars as authentic.

[10] For the corpus of Ælfric's Latin writings, see above, pp. 553–5.

[11] See M. Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *sanctorale*', in *Holy Men and Holy Women. Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1996), pp. 115–29.

[12] See discussion by M. R. Godden, 'Experiments in genre: the saints' lives in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 261–87. Distinguishing (rightly) between *passiones* and *vitae*, Godden identifies five *passiones* in the First Series (SS Laurence, Bartholomew, Clement, Peter and Paul, and Andrew) and five in the Second Series (James the Greater, Alexander, James the Less, Simeon and Jude, and Matthew); of *vitae*, there are on Godden's reckoning, one in the First Series (John the Evangelist) and four in the Second Series (SS Gregory, Cuthbert, Benedict, and Martin). On the generic distinction between *passiones* and *vitae*, see (briefly) M. Lapidge, 'The saintly life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Godden and M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 243–63, at 252–3, and the fuller discussion in R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie. Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire*, with supplement by R. Godding, Subsidia hagiographica, lxxx (Brussels, 2000), pp. 125–70.

[13] Godden, 'Experiments in genre', p. 262.

[14] *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 2 vols. in 4 parts, EETS os lxxvi, lxxxii, xciv, cxiv (London, 1881–1900), repr. as 2 vols. (London, 1966). (I quote throughout from the two-volume reprint.) As Godden points out ('Experiments in genre', p. 261), the title is not wholly satisfactory, since the collection includes various treatises on doctrinal issues, including the nature of the soul, folklore and superstition, as well as narrative pieces from the biblical books of Kings and Maccabees (Skeat, nos. i, xii, xiii,

Unlike the case of the first two series of *Catholic Homilies*, where we have surviving manuscripts copied under Ælfric's personal supervision, and which therefore closely represent the collections as he intended them,[15] there is no authorial copy of the *Lives of Saints*: the earliest and most complete copy, now London, BL, Cotton Julius E. vii, of the very early eleventh century (described below: siglum W), contains four interpolated items which were demonstrably not composed by Ælfric;[16] furthermore, at least one authentic saint's Life by Ælfric—that for St Vincent—is not included in this manuscript, although it may well have formed part of the original collection as devised by Ælfric.[17] The bulk of the collection is made up of some twenty-seven saints' Lives by Ælfric. It is possible that Ælfric's intention was to compile a collection of forty hagiographical reading-pieces, commensurate with the contents of his first two series of *Catholic Homilies*, and he even seems to have envisaged a fourth collection of such reading pieces.[18] In any case, Ælfric apparently intended the collection as a set of hagiographical narratives, to be read by his two lay patrons Æthelweard and Æthelmær, to whom the collection is dedicated.[19]

The dedication enables us to establish the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Lives of Saints*: the existence of Ealdorman Æthelweard is last attested in 998, and it may be presumed that he died in that year.[20] On the other hand, it is clear from the preface of the *Lives of Saints* that the collection was assembled after the publication of the first two series of *Catholic Homilies*; of these, the First Series was dedicated to Archbishop Sigeric (990–4), with the Second Series being completed roughly a year later.[21] The implication is that the collection was made after 992 but before 998.[22]

What Ælfric was attempting in his *Lives of Saints* was to produce a breviate English legendary, to be used by laymen in the way that monks might use a Latin legendary.[23] The term 'legendary' is used to describe a collection, usually large and sometimes vast, of individual saints' *passiones* and *vitae*, usually arranged according to the liturgical year, and often beginning on 1 Jan.[24] Such books are attested from the ninth century onwards;[25] with the increase in literacy they become, by the twelfth century, vast and multi-volume works. One particular multi-volume legendary, which was copied at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century, is known as the 'Cotton-Corpus

xvi, xvii, xviii, xxv). But there is no doubt that these non-hagiographical pieces were integral to the so-called *Lives of Saints*: see J. Hill, 'The dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 235–59, at 237.

[15] See Clemoes, *CH* i. 64–134, and D. N. Dumville, '*Beowulf* come lately. Some notes on the palaeography of the Nowell Codex', *ASNSL* ccxxv (1988), 49–63, esp. pp. 58–62.

[16] These include the lives of Mary of Egypt (Skeat, no. xxiiiB), the Seven Sleepers (no. xxiii), Eustace (no. xxix) and Euphrosyne (no. xxxiii).

[17] The Life of St Vincent is ptd as Skeat no. xxxvii; see discussion by S. Irvine, 'Bones of contention: the context of Ælfric's homily on St Vincent', *ASE* xix (1990), 117–32, and A. Nicholls, 'Ælfric's "Life of St Vincent": the question of form and function', *Notes & Queries*, ccxxxvi (1991), 445–50.

[18] Cf. his otherwise inexplicable remark in the Latin preface to his *Lives of Saints* (*LS*, ed. Skeat i. 4): 'sed decreui modo quiescere post quartum librum a tali studio, ne superfluus iudicer'.

[19] See the Old English preface: 'Ælfric gret eadmodlice Æðelwerd ealdorman and ic secge þe, leof, þæt ic hæbbe nu gegaderod on þyssere bec þæra halgena þrowunga þe me to onhagode on englisc to awendene, for þan þe ðu, leof, swiðost and Æðelmær swylcera gewrita me bædon, and of handum gelæhton eowerne geleafan to getrymmenne, mid þære gerecednysse þe ge on eowrum gereorde næfdon ær' (*LS*, ed. Skeat, i. 4; also ptd Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, p. 120).

[20] See K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), p. 162; Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 192 and n. 139; cf. pp. 206 (with n. 193), 209; as well as Keynes, *Atlas*, table lxii.

[21] See the discussion by Godden, *CH* iii. xxix–xxxvi.

[22] Cf. Sisam, *Studies*, p. 171, who dates the *Lives of Saints* to the period 993 × 998, as well as Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 244, and Hill, 'The dissemination', p. 236, who date it more broadly to the decade 992–1002. The earlier *terminus* (Sisam: 993; Clemoes and Hill: 992) cannot be precisely established.

[23] See discussion by M. McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 48–9.

[24] On legendaries in general, see G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, xxiv–xxv (Turnhout, 1977).

[25] Ibid. pp. 27–50.

Legendary' from the manuscripts in which it is preserved (two volumes in the Cotton collection in the British Library, and a third volume in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge). The present 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary' is a copy of a much earlier compilation; to judge from its contents, the original compilation was produced in the diocese of Noyon-Tournai (archdiocese of Rheims) in the very late ninth or early tenth century. In its present (nearly complete) form, the 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary' consists of 165 saints' *passiones* and *vitae*, arranged according to the calendar year, beginning on 1 January.[26] The point is that this compilation was known in some form to Ælfric, for he based a majority of his *Lives of Saints* collection on it.[27] But even though the 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary' in some form provided the impetus for Ælfric, it was inadequate as a source for Anglo-Saxon worship, insofar as it included virtually no Anglo-Saxon saints.[28] Ælfric was therefore obliged to supplement the legendary by providing Lives of the most important Anglo-Saxon saints. To this end he included: SS Æthelthryth (no. xx), Swithun (no. xxi), Oswald king and martyr (no. xxvi), and Edmund king and martyr (no. xxxii). For his Lives of Æthelthryth[29] and Oswald, Ælfric drew on Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*; for Edmund, on Abbo's *Passio S. Eadmundi*. In order to facilitate his work on these English saints, Ælfric assembled the relevant source-materials in a single collection; and the collection is preserved in a late-eleventh-century copy of what appears to be a hagiographical commonplace-book compiled by Ælfric himself. It is likely that he followed a similar procedure in preparing his 'Life of St Swithun'.[30]

Finally, a few brief remarks on Ælfric's prose style, as it is seen in the 'Life of St Swithun'. All scholars who have studied Ælfric's vernacular prose have emphasized the clarity and ease of his expository style, whether the subject matter was biblical exegesis, scientific theory or hagiographic narrative, as here.[31] In the case of the *Lives of Saints*, the expository clarity is enhanced by the fact that Ælfric cast his sentences in what resembles rhythmical lines of Old English verse, each half-line linked, as in verse, by alliteration.[32] The properties of this 'rhythmical prose' can be illustrated from the first sentence of c. 1, rearranged as if it were verse (patterns of alliteration are indicated by bold type):

On Eadgares dagum **ðæs æðelan cyninges**
Þa ða se Cristendom wæs wel **ð**eonde
Þurh God on **A**ngelcynne under **ð**am **y**lcan **c**yninge,
Þa ge**s**wutelode God **Þ**one sanct **S**wi**ð**hun
mid manegum wundrum **Þ**æt he mære **i**s.

Although the passage, laid out thus, does resemble Old English verse in some respects, in that (for example) each half-line has two principal stresses and is linked with its correlate by alliteration,

[26] There is a complete description of its contents in P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, 'The contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 131–46; see also Love, *Three Lives*, pp. xi–xxix.

[27] The point was first made comprehensively by P. H. Zettel, 'Saints' lives in Old English: Latin manuscripts and vernacular accounts: Ælfric', *Peritia*, i (1982), 17–37. Zettel calculates that Ælfric drew from this legendary on some fifty occasions (p. 21).

[28] The sole exception is Felix, *Vita S. Guthlaci* (no. 43 in the list of Jackson and Lapidge, cited above, n. 26).

[29] The source for the Life of Æthelthryth was identified by J. H. Ott, *Über die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Ælfrics Lives of Saints* (Halle, 1892), pp. 46–7.

[30] See above, pp. 555–7.

[31] P. Clemoes, 'Ælfric', in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E. G. Stanley (London, 1966), pp. 176–209, at 177–8, where a passage from the 'Life of St Swithun', c. 23, is used to illustrate the clarity of Ælfric's hagiographical narrative.

[32] The best discussion of Ælfric's so-called 'rhythmical prose' is by Pope, in his edition of Ælfric, *Hom. Supp.* i. 105–36. As Pope remarks, 'so far as we know, Ælfric invented the form' (ibid. p. 105).

the 'rules' of which syllables were expected to participate in alliteration are not observed (the first stressed syllable in the second half-line, or b-verse, alliterated with one or other, or both, of the stressed syllables in the first half-line, or a-verse): in the second 'line', for example, it is the second stressed syllable in the b-verse (*ðeonde*) which participates in the alliteration with *þa* in the a-verse, whereas the first stressed syllable in the b-verse, here *wel*, should properly do so.[33] By the same token, the putative 'half-lines' frequently have intolerable numbers of unstressed syllables between the two principal stresses (sometimes as many as five to nine syllables). Also Ælfric's prose is (understandably) characterized by prosaic rather than poetic vocabulary. It is a nice question, therefore, whether Ælfric was attempting to write loose and attenuated verse, or poetically enhanced prose.[34] The crucial point is that his rhythmical prose was constructed in such a way that the verse-like 'lines' comprised self-contained syntactical units, so that the rhythmical structure contributes to the overall clarity of the prose. For the purposes of the present edition, I agree with John Pope, that the prose of the *Lives of Saints* is 'better regarded as a mildly ornamental, rhythmically ordered prose than as a debased, pedestrian poetry';[35] I have therefore printed the 'Life of St Swithun' as continuous prose. Another editor might well take a different view.[36]

ii. THE SOURCES OF THE 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'

Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun' is based on two sources: Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (no. 1) and the *Epitome* of Lantfred's work (no. 3).[37] The early part of Lantfred's *Translatio* (esp. cc. 1–3) will have been far too prolix for Ælfric's purposes; accordingly, in the first ten chapters of his 'Life', he followed the first ten chapters of the abbreviated *Epitome* fairly closely, only adding additional details from Lantfred. Thereafter he followed Lantfred in the main (cc. 11–13, 15–16, 22–3, 25), only occasionally reverting to the *Epitome* (cc. 14, 17–18, 21). He added two miracles not found in either Lantfred or the *Epitome* (cc. 19, 26), as well as some chapters of moral exhortation against festivities at funerals (c. 20) and against placing trust in dreams (c. 24).

iii. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'

Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun' is preserved in three manuscripts, one complete (W) and two fragmentary (GO);[38] I treat these in alphabetical order.

[33] See Pope, ibid. pp. 123–7.

[34] The classic discussion of this distinction is that of A. McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's prose', *PBA* xxxv (1949), 109–42, esp. pp. 111–14; but see also the important qualifications of H. Momma, *The Composition of Old English Poetry*, CSASE xx (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 8–15.

[35] *Hom. Supp.* i. 105.

[36] As did Skeat, who printed the *Lives of Saints* in verse lines. Surprisingly, perhaps, in view of his opinion quoted above, Pope did the same with his collection of Supplementary Homilies; see *Hom. Supp.* i. 135: 'Not everyone, I am sure, will be pleased with my decision to print this prose in metrical lines.' Pope justified his decision as follows: 'I find a prose printing of the rhythmical form disturbing. The form is too insistently regular to be disregarded and yet not quite clear enough to make its structure apparent at a glance without further guidance' (ibid.).

[37] These two sources were identified by G. H. Gerould, 'Ælfric's legend of St Swithin', *Anglia*, xxxii (1909), 347–57, though he drew untenable conclusions about the forms in which the two texts were available to Ælfric; see also Ott, *Über die Quellen*, pp. 47–54.

[38] Note also the following entry among a list of *libri saxonici* preserved in the handwriting of John Joscelyn (Sir Robert Cotton's secretary) in London, BL, Cotton Nero C. iii, fo. 208r: 'Vita Sj [deleted] depositio Swithuni per Lantfred [idem deleted] depositio eiusdem Anglice' (C. E. Wright, 'The dispersal of

G = Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35 (s. xi^{1}), fos. 1–3

These three leaves are fragments of a volume of saints' lives[39] which were recovered during the nineteenth century from the bindings of an abbatial register in the Cathedral Library.[40] All three leaves were reproduced in photozincographic facsimile by John Earle;[41] except in some trivial details (which have no bearing on the text),[42] Earle's facsimile is legible and reliable. The first two leaves contain cc. 1 (*oferworht syððan*)—11 (*þa sæde*); the third leaf contains cc. 23 (*hwæt þu*)—28 (*on sibbe*) of the present text. Ker has surmised that three leaves separated the first two leaves from the third.[43]

O = London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x (s. xi^{1}), fos. 37r–42v

O is a composite manuscript which was badly damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731. Its original first part (fos. 1–142, 166–94) consisted of twenty-four items, seventeen of which were saints' Lives by Ælfric, but which also included four anonymous saints' lives, and a homiletic piece drawn from homilies of Wulfstan the Homilist.[44] However, as a result of damage in the Cotton fire, only fragments of it, all separately mounted, now survive. The order of the charred fragments was established by reference to Thomas Smith's catalogue of the Cotton library (1696) which antedates the fire.[45] From Smith's catalogue it is evident that O once contained many of the saints' Lives found in W, although the order differed considerably from that in W. Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun' is one of the most completely preserved items in O, containing all of the present text except the first eight lines of ch. 1 (O begins with the words *him and Aðelwolde*). However, the leaves in question have been so badly damaged, particularly near the outer edges, that O is at best a very limited and partial witness to the text.

W = London, British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii (s. xi^{in}), fos. 96v–103r

W is the only complete (or nearly complete) surviving manuscript of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*.[46] It contains some thirty-three Lives of various saints, together with other reading material, all arranged in order of the liturgical year, beginning with Christmas; to the collection of saints' Lives have been added Ælfric's Latin preface and his letter in English dedicating the collection to Ealdorman Æthelweard (the manuscript also includes at its end various works by Ælfric which have nothing to do with the *Lives of Saints*, such as the *Interrogationes Sigwulfi presbiteri* and the homily *De falsis diis*). Several non-Ælfrician texts have been interpolated into the manuscript, and it has been demonstrated convincingly on philological grounds that the interpolated texts were copied into W from an exemplar which was distinct from that used for Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*.[47] The contents of

monastic libraries and the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon studies. Matthew Parker and his circle: a preliminary study', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, i (1949–53), 208–37, at p. 218).

[39] See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 154–5 (no. 117).

[40] A note on fo. 2r refers to the register of Abbots Thomas Braunche (1500–10) and John Newton (1510–14).

[41] *Gloucester Fragments*, pls. 1–3.

[42] Noted by Needham, *Ælfric: Lives*, p. 5 n. 7.

[43] *Catalogue*, p. 154.

[44] See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 224–7 (no. 177), as well as D. G. Scragg, 'The corpus of anonymous lives and their manuscript context', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 209–30, at 221, and Hill, 'The dissemination', p. 243.

[45] *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library 1696 (Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Cottonianae)*, ed. C. G. C. Tite (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 70–1.

[46] The siglum for the manuscript (W) is that adopted by Pope (Ælfric, *Hom. Supp.* i. 11).

[47] See R. Torkar, 'Zu den Vorlagen der ae. Handschrift Cotton Julius E. VII', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, lxxii (1971), 711–15, esp. 713–14.

W have been accurately described by N. R. Ker.[48] The large part of the manuscript[49] appears to be the work of one scribe,[50] but some of the interpolated material was copied by a second scribe, and after the manuscript had been assembled (and some of the interpolation incorporated), the first scribe added a binion at the beginning of the manuscript containing Ælfric's prefatory and dedicatory letters as well as the contents list. On palaeographical grounds W can be dated to the very beginning of the eleventh century; it has been surmised that it was written somewhere in southern England.[51] By the thirteenth century W was in possession of the abbey library of Bury St Edmunds, as can be seen from the *ex-libris* inscription on fo. 11 (*liber sancti Ædmundi regis et martyris*) and is probably identical with the item *magnus liber sermonum in Anglica lingua* listed in a Bury St Edmunds catalogue of *c.*1200.[52] Although a minster church of some kind existed at Bury St Edmunds from the mid-tenth century onwards, the minster was apparently refounded as a Benedictine house only in 1020.[53] There are therefore grounds for thinking that W—which had probably been written elsewhere in southern England by that date—was acquired shortly after the refoundation (see discussion of W^{1}, below).

In general the main scribe of W is careful and his text is free of substantial error. On rare occasions he omitted words or letters, but on such occasions he corrected his omission by placing a small caret-mark (like a comma) beneath the line and adding the missing letters above the line. It is important that these few corrections made by the main scribe be distinguished from the alterations made by a somewhat later corrector (designated W^{1}).[54] Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the main scribe is his unusual orthography.[55] For example, W frequently writes *æ* for *e* (c. 4: *swæfne* for *swefne*; c. 5; *geblætsod* for *gebletsod* and *ahæfð* for *ahefð* in the same chapter), *cg* for *g* after *n* (c. 1: *cynincges* for *cyninges*, etc.; c. 15: *læncg* for *leng*), simple *e* for the diphthong *ea* (c. 1: *towerdum* for *toweardum*; c. 9: *cyrcwerde* for *cyrcwearde*; c. 19 *inwerdre* for *inweardre*, etc.). There are numerous instances in W of orthographical variation in the final unstressed syllable of a word (c. 15 *arisan* for *arison*, but *gewunon* for *gewunan* in the same chapter; and *asmeagen* for *asmeagan* in c. 20); a similar tendency to replace *-a* with *-e* in a final syllable is frequently attested, although on most occasions these were corrected by W^{1}. The scribe also characteristically spells our saint's name as *Swiþun* or *Swyðun*, rather than *Swiðhun*. It is difficult to say which of these orthographical peculiarities represent a regional dialect on the part of W's scribe, or which are simply idiosyncratic and individual.[56]

At various places in the manuscript there are corrections and alterations made by a scribe who was slightly later than the main scribe (Ker dates this correcting hand to s. xi^{1}),[57] and who may be

[48] Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 206–10 (no. 162).

[49] Ibid.; the work of the main scribe includes quires II^{8}–XIV^{8}, XIX^{8}–XXXI^{8} (containing items nos. 4–19, 32–44).

[50] So Ker (ibid. p. 210): 'mainly in one good hand influenced by Anglo-Saxon minuscule'; see also Torkar, 'Zu den Vorlagen', p. 712.

[51] See Pope, in Ælfric, *Hom. Supp.* i. 83–5, as well as discussion by Dumville, '*Beowulf* come lately', pp. 60–2, and idem, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 78–9. There is a reproduction of fo. 203r in *The Benedictines in Britain*, ed. D. H. Turner (London, 1980), p. 68 (pl. 46).

[52] See M. R. James, *On the Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge, 1895), p. 30; Ker, *MLGB*, p. 20 (where the date 's. $xii^{in,}$' is an error for 's. $xi^{in,}$'), and R. M. Thomson, 'The library of Bury St Edmunds in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Speculum*, xlvii (1972), 617–45, at pp. 622 n. 23, 623 n. 27.

[53] See A. Gransden, 'The legends and traditions concerning the origins of the abbey of Bury St Edmunds', *EHR* c (1985), 1–24, and esp. Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 35–43.

[54] The following are the corrections made by the main scribe: *to* added before *Apelwolde* (c. 2), *him* added after *earfoðlice* (c. 9), *hi* added after *swinglum* (c. 10), *þæt* added after *þa cwæð he* (c. 11), *hleore* corrected from *hreore* (c. 16), *þa* added before *besargode* (c. 19), and *mæsse-* added to complete the word *mæssereafe* (c. 20).

[55] Needham, *Ælfric: Lives*, pp. 6–7.

[56] Ibid. p. 7 n. 4.

[57] Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 207. Corrections by W^{1} are found in Ker's items 5, 15–17, 21, 23–30 (including Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun', Ker's no. 27), 34–7, 41, 43.

designated as W^1. This corrector is recognizable both for the distinct form of his letters *a* and *e*, and for his consistent practice of marking insertions by means of one or two dots (arranged like a colon) below the line where the correction is to be inserted. This 'dotting hand' (or 'point corrector', as Needham calls him) is thus clearly distinguishable in most cases from the main scribe of W, who consistently uses a comma as caret-mark. On the basis of an alteration made to the 'Life of St Edmund', Needham convincingly suggested that the corrector (W^1) was working on W at Bury St Edmunds itself, hence in the period after 1020.[58] Because many of the corrections made by W^1 are significant, and raise the question of whether he was working from a separate exemplar (on which see below), I have recorded in the apparatus criticus those corrections which may throw light on the text.

iv. RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

It is obviously an extremely difficult undertaking to discover what relationship exists between three manuscripts in a situation where two of the three are only partial witnesses to the text, and where (due to the ravaged state of O) there are scarcely any complete sentences in common, but only scattered words here and there. Perhaps the only statement which can be made with conviction is that none of the three manuscripts appears to have been copied from another. Faced with this difficult situation, the last editor of the 'Life of St Swithun', G. I. Needham, came to the conclusion that each of the three manuscripts was an independent witness to the text, and consequently that there was no relationship whatsoever between them: 'inferior readings occur in all three MSS, but none is shared by any two of them.'[59] In support of his conclusion Needham drew attention to four variants in GO deemed to be of equal merit to those in W,[60] to two variants shared by OW against G,[61] and two variants shared by GW against O.[62] Needham accordingly chose W as his base text, and printed variants from the other two manuscripts at points where he suspected W to be in error, and where a plausible alternative was offered by G or O.

Given that G and O are mere fragments of the text, any editor must necessarily adopt W as the base text. The question is rather: how much confidence can there be that W preserves the text as Ælfric wrote it, when the witness of the other two manuscripts fails? The question cannot be answered simply by pointing to neutral variants shared variously by two of the three manuscripts. It is necessary to examine all the places where manuscripts share both error and correct readings, in addition to neutral variants. From such examination, it emerges that G and O are more closely related than has been suspected. Although the area of overlap between G and O is a very small one, they nonetheless share eight readings against W:

(a) þam *GO*, þære *W* (c. 5 n. *c*) [line 44]
(b) þa *GO*, þone *W* (c. 6 n. *b*) [line 47]
(c) þy *GO*, þe *W* (c. 24 n. *h*) [line 217]

[58] See G. I. Needham, 'Additions and alterations in Cotton MS. Julius E. VII', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. ix (1958), 160–4, and idem, *Ælfric: Lives*, p. 7 n. 4.

[59] Needham, *Ælfric: Lives*, p. 6.

[60] See cc. 5 n. *c* [line 44] (*þam* GO, *þære* W), 23 nn. *i–i* [200] (*swa cwæde* GO, *cwæde swa* W), *j–j* [205](*man þe bære* GO, *ðe man bære* W), 27 n. *e* [231] (*acweald* GO, *ofslagen* W).

[61] See c. 3 nn. *a–a* [line 22] (*nele he* G, *Eadsige nele* OW), *b* [23] (*gange he* G, *gange him* OW). I was unable to verify either of these readings in O.

[62] See cc. 10 n. *c–c* [line 80] (*ealle wurdon* GW, *wurdon ealle* O), 24 n. *d–d* [213] (*soðlice of Gode* GW, *of Gode soðlice* O).

(d) swa cwæde *GO*, cwæde swa *W* (c. 23 n. *i–i*) [line 200]
(e) man þe bære *GO*, þe man bære *W* (c. 23 n. *j–j*) [line 205]
(f) gehæftum *GO*, hæftum *W* (c. 27 n. *a*) [line 225]
(g) sceamelum *GO*, scamelum *W* (c. 27 n. *c*) [line 228]
(h) acweald *GO*, ofslagen *W* (c. 27 n. *e*) [line 231]

It would strain credulity to assume that these eight shared readings in GO arose randomly; they suggest rather that G and O may derive independently from a common exemplar. Of the eight readings, it might be argued that (g) is merely orthographical, an instance of W's idiosyncratic orthography. Furthermore, (a) and (h) do indeed appear to be neutral variants, as Needham alleged, and (c) should probably be regarded as neutral as well.[63] I am less certain that (d) and (e) are indeed 'neutral' variants: in each case G and O preserve a reading which seems more in accordance with normal Old English word order. However, the final two shared readings of G and O—(b) and (f)—are in no way neutral: in each case G and O preserve here a correct reading where W is clearly in error. Furthermore, there is no case where G and O share a reading which is manifestly, or even arguably, an error. In cases where G and O agree, therefore, one must ask if their shared reading ought not to be preferred to that of W.

Unfortunately, in view of the length of the text, the number of places (eight) where G and O agree against W is disappointingly small. However, given that when G and O are both extant, their readings are preferable to those of W, one must allow the possibility that when only one of G or O is a witness, it nonetheless preserves the reading of its exemplar (the hyparchetype α: see below), and is arguably a better witness to what Ælfric wrote than the corresponding reading in W. In the following cases G preserves a correct reading where W is apparently in error (and O is defective): *he* G, *him* W (c. 3 n. *b*) [23], *forhæle* G, *forhule* W (c. 5 n. *b*) [42], perhaps *hoppegende* G, *hoppende* W (c. 25 n. *b*) [220]. Similarly, there are several cases where G is defective but where O apparently preserves a correct reading against W: *geuntrumode* O, *geuntrume* W (c. 14 n. *b*) [99]; *gefran* O, *befran* W (c. 15 n. *a*) [104], *gegafspræcum* O, *gegafspræce* W (c. 20 n. *c*) [165], *gehulpe* O, *geheolpe* W (c. 22 n. *c*) [173], *gecwemednysse* O, *cwemednysse* W (c. 28 n. *b*) [244]. In each of these cases we may choose to believe that G or O preserves the reading of their common hyparchetype (α), and that it is consequently to be preferred against the reading of W. For obvious reasons, this assumption cannot be made in every case where G or O differs from W. The scribes of G and O—indeed any medieval scribes—were quite capable of introducing errors into their copies; the problem is that when one or the other is defective, we have no control by which to estimate their independent evidence. Consider, for example, two places where O offers a different reading from W: *his* O, *ðam* W (c. 8 n. *d*) [66]; *wurdon ealle* O, *ealle wurdon* W (c. 10, n. *c–c*) [80]; *of Gode soðlice* O, *soðlice of Gode W* (c. 24 n. *d–d*) [213]. In these cases we are able to exercise some control on O, because G also is extant at these points, and offers the same readings as W. The conclusion must be that O's exemplar (α) preserved the correct readings, as copied by G, but that the scribe of O independently imported transpositions into the text. Likewise, when either G or O offers a reading which is clearly in error (there are two such cases),[64] the blame is to be laid at the door of their respective scribes.

It remains to assess the significance of the corrections made in W by the 'dotting hand' (W^1).[65]

[63] The form *þe* (masc./neut. instrumental singular) alongside *þy* is attested in Ælfric; see *CH* iii. 760.

[64] See cc. 18 n. *c* (O in error) [150], 24 n. *e* (G in error) [214].

[65] See discussion by Needham, 'Additions and alterations', pp. 160–4. Needham estimates that there are some 300 corrections by the 'dotting hand' (which Needham calls the 'point corrector') in the manuscript as a whole.

The question is, in effect, the following: was the 'dotting hand' working from a copy of Ælfric's text (in which case his corrections would be another independent witness to it), or was he simply correcting *ad libitum* to the standards of his own sense of style and accuracy (in which case his corrections have no independent value in the reconstitution of Ælfric's text)? The 'dotting hand' makes twenty-six corrections to the text which I have recorded in the apparatus criticus. Of these, a number seem to have been made with the intention of bringing the text into better conformity with the late OE standard (and, accordingly, with Ælfric's own usage); that is to say, W^1 restores a correct OE form where W represents the levelling of vowels in unstressed syllables. Examples of such 'corrections' by W^1 are recorded at cc. 1 nn. *a* [line 4], *b* [8]; 8 nn. *c* [64] *f* [67]; 20 n. *b* [161];[66] and 23 nn. *c* [186], *k* [206].[67] In addition, on four occasions the 'dotting hand' alters the spelling of dative plural *him* to *heom*.[68] On other occasions W^1 has added single words which are acceptable to sense, but quite unnecessary: *sancte* on two occasions (cc. 1 n. *d* [8], 22 n. *d* [176]), *God* on two occasions following *se Ælmihtiga* (cc. 6 n. *a* [47], 21 n. *b* [169]), *his* on one occasion (c. 22 n. *a* [170]), and *þa* on one occasion (c. 17 n. *f* [133]). In short, there are five places where W^1 has made a necessary correction: cc. 2 n. *a* [11] (W^1 adds *se*), 21 n. *a* [167] (*þam* omitted by WO), 23 n. *d* [189] (the prefix *ge-* added by W^1 to W's *ðwærlæce*),[69] 23 n. *n* [209] (the prefix *Win-* added by W^1 to W's *ceastre*), and 27 n. *a* [225] (the prefix *ge-* added by W^1 to W's *hæftum*). Of these, two occur at places where both G and O are defective (cc. 2 n. *a* [11] 23 n. *d* [189]). One occurs where the text of O is extant (c. 21 n. *a* [167]), and O is here in agreement with W against the corrector, suggesting that the corrector's addition was not found in the archetype (*ω*). One occurs where the text of G is extant (23 n. *n* [209], the addition of *Win-* to *ceastre*), but here the evidence is extremely difficult to assess, because, as it seems to me, the syllable *Win-* may have been added not by the 'dotting hand' (W^1) but as a correction by the main scribe himself (W). We are left with one correction by the 'dotting hand' which may possibly have been taken independently from another manuscript of Ælfric: that at c. 27 n. *a* [line 225], where the correction *ge-* to *gehæftum* brings the text into agreement with the reading *gehæftum* attested in both G and O at this point. Here, conceivably, is evidence that the corrector was working from an exemplar, not from his head. Yet several considerations need to be borne in mind. First, the adjective *hæft* (pp. of *hæftan*) is not attested in OE, and the corrector need not have been working from an exemplar in order to bring the word into conformity with OE usage. A more serious problem is this: if the corrector *were* working from an independent exemplar, why did he make no correction at those places where W is clearly in error—at c. 23 n. *f–f* [lines 195–6], for example, where the scribe of W omitted an entire clause by homoeoteleuton? This argument from silence confirms the impression that the corrector was working on his own, without an exemplar before him. He was a scrupulous corrector, well trained in standard OE usage, and perhaps even familiar with Ælfrician usage.[70] But his corrections have no independent authority in reconstituting Ælfric's text.

[66] The variant here is: *plegað* W, *plegiað* W^1. There are two verbs: *plegan* (strong V) and *plegian* (weak 2). Ælfric seems to prefer *plegian*, but the evidence is difficult to assess, because in several attested forms the *i* which would be distinctive for weak 2 could have elided (between *eg* and *e*): e.g. *plegende* for *plegiende* (pres. part.), *to plegenne* for *to plegienne* (inflected infinitive), *ic plege* for *ic plegie* (1st sg. pres. indic.); see Campbell, *OEG* §§758–61. The implication is that in cases of elision, the forms of strong *plegan* and weak *plegian* would be identical; in any case, the correction by W^1 of *plegað* to *plegiað* is in accordance with Ælfric's usage.

[67] Ælfric apparently construed the noun *geearnunga* as plural (cf. *geearnungum* a few lines later in c. 23); for the acc. pl., the ending in *-a* would be correct. In other words, this correction by W^1 is in line with Ælfric's usage.

[68] See cc. 17 nn. *a*, *g*; 22 n. *b*; 23 *n*. a. See also Needham, 'Additions and alterations', p. 163.

[69] The variants are: *ðwærlæce* W, *geðwærlæce* W^1. Ælfric uses only the prefixed form (11× in *CH*): see *CH* iii. 779. Ælfric also used the prefixed form for etymologically related words (*gepwære*, *gepwærian*, *gepwærnyss*).

[70] It needs hardly to be stressed that a comprehensive assessment of the expertise of W^1 would need to be based on study of all his corrections throughout W (Cotton Julius E. vii), not merely those in Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun'.

The relationship between the manuscripts of Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun' may be summarized as follows: G and O share a large enough number of conjunctive and separative errors to indicate that they were copied from a different exemplar than was W. Furthermore, G and O together preserve enough correct readings at points where W is in error to suggest that the hyparchtype (α) from which they derive may be at least of equal, if not greater, authority than W in reconstituting Ælfric's text. Accordingly, although W is the only manuscript to preserve the text of Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun' in its entirety, its authority cannot be accepted unquestioningly at points where G and O are defective. By the same token, the corrections and alterations by the 'dotting hand' in W do not derive from an independent exemplar; they may safely be disregarded for text-critical purposes. The text of the 'Life of St Swithun' must necessarily be based on W, since it alone is complete, but careful attention must be paid to G and O whenever they offer a reading different from W. One final *caveat*: the conclusions reached here concerning the relationship of the three manuscripts are based on a relatively small section of the text where all three manuscripts are extant, and must therefore be regarded as tentative, until a full collation of the other fragmentary saints' Lives preserved in O has been made.[71]

v. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun' has been printed on three previous occasions.

The first appearance in print of any part of the Life was in the pages of John Earle's *Legends of Saint Swiðhun*;[72] the text, accompanied by a literal translation, is on pp. 2–13, followed by commentary on pp. 15–17. Earle's text was based solely on the Gloucester fragment (G), and is consequently incomplete. The value of Earle's edition, however, lies in the very clear facsimiles of the three Gloucester fragments, as well as in the wealth of illustrative material which Earle appended to his edition.

The first complete edition of the 'Life of St Swithun' appeared in 1885 as part of W. W. Skeat's edition of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*.[73] Skeat's is the first and only edition to date of the entire cycle of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* as they are contained in Cotton Julius E. vii (W). W was the basis of Skeat's edition, but he collated other manuscripts where possible. For the 'Life of St Swithun', he collated G from the facsimiles printed by Earle, but did not trouble to read those leaves of O containing the 'Life of St Swithun', since they are among the most badly damaged in the book.[74] Skeat was sensitive to the rhythmical nature of Ælfric's prose, and printed those Lives cast in rhythmical prose as if they were verse, a practice followed by subsequent editors of Ælfric such as John Pope. Skeat's edition of

[71] The only other text preserved (but fragmentarily) in G, O and W is the 'Life of St Mary of Egypt', a work not by Ælfric. Unfortunately, the proportion of text where all three witnesses are extant is even smaller than in the case of the 'Life of St Swithun': only lines 484–97 (in Skeat's edition) are common to all three manuscripts. Yet even in the brief compass of these thirteen lines, G and O share no less than twelve readings against W, and of these at least six are undoubtedly correct, and were rightly incorporated into the text by Skeat (486 *halgan*, 489 *þa*, 490 *for*, 491 *ða*, 494 *wiste*, 495 *towriðende*). This evidence corroborates the conclusions reached on the basis of the text of the 'Life of St Swithun', and suggests once again that the text of W occupies a position of importance in the tradition solely by virtue of its completeness.

[72] J. Earle, *Legends of Saint Swiðhun and Sancta Maria Ægyptiaca with Photozincographic Facsimiles* (London, 1861).

[73] *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 4 parts, EETS o.s. lxxvi, lxxxii, xciv, cxiv (Oxford, 1881–1900; repr. in two vols., 1966); the 'Life of St Swithun' is in vol. ii of the reprint, pp. 440–71, and is printed there as no. xxi.

[74] Ibid. i. 552: 'I have not given the various readings, as I could not at first find the mutilated remains of it [*scil.* the 'Life of St Swithun'] in the MS. as now rebound.'

the 'Life of St Swithun' is basically an accurate copy of W with variant readings from G noted in the apparatus criticus; Skeat also takes into his text many of the corrections of W^1. Accordingly, his edition reproduces the idiosyncratic orthography of W, as well as its frequent errors (notably the lacuna in W in c. 23 n. *f–f* [lines 195–6] = Skeat, line 372).[75] His edition is accompanied by a translation made for him by a certain Miss Gunning.

More recently, an edition of the 'Life of St Swithun' was printed by G. I. Needham as part of his *Ælfric: Lives of Three English Saints*.[76] Like that of Skeat, Needham's text is essentially a transcript of W, preserving its orthography and some of its error; only at places where W is flagrantly in error does Needham introduce a reading from either G or O. Needham's edition is provided with brief but detailed accounts of the language of the various manuscripts, a glossary, and some helpful discussion of Ælfric's sources and style. From the textual point of view, Needham's most important contribution was his attempt to provide as full a collation as possible of the charred fragments of O, as well as to report three minor details from a careful examination of G which are not apparent in Earle's facsimile.[77] But his apparatus criticus is cluttered with inessential information while crucial information, such as the distinction between W and W^1, is passed over in silence. The most serious defect of his edition, however, is his inaccurate—if entirely understandable—reporting of O. In its present charred state, O is one of the most abominably difficult manuscripts I have ever encountered. I mention Needham's inaccurate reporting not to chastize a scholar who evidently spent many joyless hours with this unpleasant relict of the Cotton fire, but so that his misreportings of O be not allowed to affect scholarly understanding of the relationships between the manuscripts.[78]

vi. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

It will be clear from the preceding discussion that, where they are extant, GO offer a text that is of at least equal value to W, and have the advantage of being free of the idiosyncratic errors and orthography which disfigure W's text throughout. Earlier editors have followed W simply because it provides a complete copy of the text, not because of its inherent textual merit. Accordingly, where G and O are both extant, I print them rather than W (in effect, the beginning and end of the work: cc. 1–11, 23–8, amounting to roughly 60 per cent of the text), for, as I hope to have shown, their text represents more nearly what Ælfric wrote. For the central portions of the text, where only W is extant, and only occasional words and phrases can be read in O, I have been obliged to follow W; but I have, where necessary, consistently corrected W's idiosyncratic spelling, in light of what we know of Ælfric's practice.[79]

[75] On rare occasions Skeat introduces errors of his own, such as in line 361 (*þa* for *þu*).

[76] *Ælfric: Lives of Three English Saints*, ed. G. I. Needham (London, 1966), pp. 60–81. There is an acute review of Needham's edition by P. Clemoes in *Anglia*, lxxxvi (1968), 191–2.

[77] See ibid. p. 5 n. 7. The three details have no textual significance.

[78] The most serious misreportings are as follows (I give the line number of Needham's edition, followed by the corresponding place in my own apparatus criticus; and note that his MS. A is my W): 191 = c. 17 [line 121]: *wurde gehæled* (Needham reports O's reading as *ðær w[urde]*, but *ðær* does not occur in O); 261 = c. 20 n. *c* [165] (Needham reports O's reading as *gafspræcum*, but O clearly reads *gegafspræcum*); 279 = c. 22 [176] (Needham reports the reading of O as *Swiðune*, but O clearly has *Swiðun*); 348 = c. 25 n. *b* [220] (Needham reports the reading of A as *hoppende*; but O cannot be invoked here, since the manuscript is destroyed, and no more than *hopp[. . .]* can be read); 374 = c. 28 [237] (for *heoldon* Needham reports O as reading *geheoldon*; but O clearly has *heoldon*); and in 375 = c. 28 [237] (the word *þe* following *cyningas* is reported by Needham as being omitted from O; but it is clearly legible in O).

[79] Students who prefer to read what W wrote, rather than what Ælfric wrote, may continue to consult the edition of Skeat.

It is surprising that previous editors of Ælfric have so rarely tried to establish Ælfric's practice in orthographical and morphological matters. Yet Ælfric is one author of Old English from whom consistent practice can be expected.[80] We have several first hand witnesses to this practice: from his *Grammar*, certainly, but more importantly from surviving manuscripts which were copied and corrected under his supervision, notably the Royal manuscript (BL, Royal 7. C. XII) of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*.[81] By recourse to the published facsimile of Royal 7. C. XII,[82] in conjunction with the excellent glossary to Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* recently published by Malcolm Godden,[83] it is possible to ascertain Ælfric's practice, at least in orthographical matters. In the following edition, therefore, I have attempted to represent Ælfric's orthography, as it can be known from Royal 7. C. XII, rather than the demonstrably idiosyncratic usage of W (and it should be added that, in many ways, Ælfric's orthography is carefully represented by G). The following spellings are in question:

bedreda not *bedryda*; *bliðe* not *blyðe*; *deore* not *dyre*; *hwilce / gehwilce* not *hwylce / gehwylce*; *hired* not *hyred*; *hlide* not *hlyde*; *mislice* not *myslice*; *sawul* not *sawol*; *scip* not *scyp*; *siþ* not *syþ*; *siððan* not *syððan*; *siðian* not *syðian*, *smið* not *smyð*; *swiðe / swiðor / swiðost* not *swyðe / swyðor / swyðost*; *þriddan* not *þryddan*; *þywde* not *þyde*

I also use the form *Swiðhun* throughout (as in GO), rather than W's *Suyðun*. In the case of demonstrative pronouns, I use the first (and most frequent) forms listed in the glossary to *CH*: hence *þissere* (gen. / d. sg. fem.) and *þysum* (d. sg. masc./neut., and d. pl.). In the case of the plural endings of subjunctives (originally *en* in both pres. and pret.), it is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, precisely to determine Ælfric's usage; I have therefore retained the forms found in G, where forms in *on* (e.g. *þingion* in c. 18 [150], *folgion* in c. 24 [217], etc., but cf. *beran* and *licgan* in c. 19 [154, 155],) are more frequently attested than equivalent forms in *an*. In one case I have perhaps gone beyond the warrant of the evidence, which is hugely complex: I have adopted the procedure of spelling the nominative form of the noun for 'person' as *mann*, and the indefinite pronoun as *man*. Even if this procedure was not followed in every respect by Ælfric himself, he will as a grammarian have understood my reasons for so doing.

Finally, I have divided the text into numbered paragraphs to facilitate comparision with the two Latin sources on which Ælfric drew (Lantfred and the *Epitome*). As elsewhere in the volume, punctuation and capitalization are modern.

SIGLA

G = Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35 (s. xi^{1}), fos. 1–3
O = London, BL, Cotton Otho B. x (s. xi^{1}), fos. 37r–42v
W = London, BL, Cotton Julius E. vii (s. xi^{in}), fos. 96v–103r

[80] It is on this principle that I have corrected the few grammatical errors transmitted by all manuscripts: see the apparatus criticus, cc. 2 nn. *b*, *c*; 9 n. *a*; 18 n. *d*.

[81] Again, it is disappointing that during the past century and a half so little has been done in the way of comprehensive analysis of the phonological and morphological forms which Ælfric used. An honorable exception is C. Eble, 'Noun inflection in Royal 7. C. XII: Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies', unpubl. Ph. D. dissertation, Univ. of North Carolina, 1970.

[82] *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies*, ed. N. Eliason and P. Clemoes, EEMF xiii (Copenhagen, 1966).

[83] *CH* iii. 671–794.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

⟨ÆLFRIC OF WINCHESTER, 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'⟩[1]

1. On Eadgares dagum ðæs æðelan cyninges, þa ða se Cristendom wæs wel ðeonde[2] þurh God on Angelcynne under ðam ylcan cyninge, þa geswutelode God þone sanct Swiðhun mid manegum wundrum[3] þæt he mære is.[4] His dæda næron cuðe ær ðan þe hi God sylf cydde; ne we ne fundon on bocum hu se bisceop leofode on þissere worulde, ær ðan þe he gewende to Criste.[5] þæt wæs þæra[a] gymeleast[6] (þe on life hine cuþon) þæt hi noldon awritan his weorc and drohtnunge þam toweardum mannum ðe his mihte ne cuðon; ac God hæfð swaþeah his lif geswutelod mid swutelum wundrum and syllicum tacnum. Ðes Swiðhun wæs bisceop on Winceastre (swaþeah ofer Hamtunscire), gesælig Godes þeowa; and eahta[b] bisceopas wæron betwux [c]him and[d] Aðelwolde.[7] Nu næs us his lif cuð (swa swa we ær cwædon) buton þæt he wæs bebyrged æt his bisceopstole bewestan þære cyrcan and [c]oferworht siððan, oþ þæt his wundra geswutelodon[f] his gesælða mid Gode.

2. þrym gearum ær ðan þe se[a] sanct into cyrcan wære gebroht of þære stænenan þryh (þe stent nu wiðinnan þam niwan geweorce),[8] com se arwurða Swiðhun to sumum gelyfedum[b] smiðe on swefne, æteowiende wurðlice geglenged, and ðas word him cwæð to: 'Canst þu ðone preost þe is gehaten Eadsige, þe wæs of Ealdan Mynstre mid ðam oðrum preostum adræfed for heora unþeawum þurh Aðelwold bisceop?' Se smið þa andwyrde þam arwurðan Swiðhune þus: 'Gefyrn ic hine cuðe, leof; ac he ferde heonon and ic nat to gewissan[9] hwær he wunað nu.' þa cwæð eft se halga wer to ðam ealdan smiðe: 'Witodlice he wunað nu on Wincelcumbe hamfæst; and ic ðe nu halsige on þæs Hælendes naman þæt ðu him min ærende ardlice abeode, and secge him to soþan þæt Swiðhun se bisceop hete[c] þæt he fare to Aþelwolde bisceope, and sege þæt he geopenige him sylf mine byrgene and mine ban gebringe binnan ðære cyrcan: for ðan þe him is getiþod þæt ic on his timan beo mannum geswutelod.'

3. And se smið him cwæð to: 'La, leof, [a]nele he[a] gelyfan minum wordum.' Ða cwæð se bisceop eft: 'Gange he[b][10] to minre byrgene and ateo ane hringan up of ðære þryh; and[c] gif seo hringe him

[c. 1] GOW] [a] *corr. from* þære *W*[1] [b] *corr. from* eahte *W*[1] [c] *O begins here* [d] *after* and *W*[1] *adds* sancte [e] *G begins here* [f] swutelodon *G*

[c. 2] GOW] [a] *om. W, add. W*[1] [b] gelyfedan *MSS* [c] het *MSS*

[c. 3] GOW] [a–a] Eadsige nele *W* [b] him *W* [c] *om. O*

[1] Ælfric specified his 'Life of St Swithun' for the feast of Swithun's deposition (2 July), as is clear from the rubrics in O ('Depositio sancti Suuithuni mitissimi episcopi') and W ('.VI. nonas Iulii. Natale Sancti Swyðuni episcopi'). G is acephalous.

[2] The phrase *wel þeonde* is a characteristically Ælfrician formulation; see also *CH* ii. 92 ('he [St Benedict] on wisdome wel ðeonde wæs'), 227 ('þurh geleafan and godum geearnungum wel ðeonde'), and *LS* ii. 426 ('he [St Vincent] . . . on Cristes lare wel þeonde wæs').

[3] The phrase *mid manegum wundrum* is also Ælfrician, occurring (outside the present example) only in *CH* i. 343 ('þone geleafan God hæfð mid manegum wundrum getrymmed and gefæstnod'), and *Hom. Supp.* ii. 704 ('Crist com to þisse weorulde . . . and mid manegum wundrum manna heortan onlihte').

[4] In this chapter Ælfric closely follows the *Epitome* (c. 1), but omits the statement that Swithun was revealed in 971, in the fourteenth indiction.

[5] Ælfric turns the impersonal statement in the *Epitome* (c. 1: 'scripta minime habentur') to the personal admission that he was unable to discover anything written about Swithun (except the episcopal list discussed below, n. 7).

[6] The word *gymeleast* ('negligence', 'neglect') is used frequently by Ælfric; of some seventy-three attestations of the late West Saxon form listed in the online COE, some thirty are by Ælfric. The word is not, however, listed among the vocabulary characteristic of Winchester usage by W. Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch* (Munich, 1987); but note that it is also frequent in Æthelwold's translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti*.

[7] Ælfric's statement that there were eight bishops between Swithun and Æthelwold is not found in the *Epitome* (nor in

⟨ÆLFRIC OF WINCHESTER, 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'⟩[1]

1 [*Epitome*, c. 1]. In the days of Edgar, the excellent king, when through God's agency Christianity was flourishing[2] among the English under this very king, God at that time revealed St Swithun by many miracles,[3] showing that He is glorious.[4] His deeds were not known before God himself made them known; nor have I found in any books how the bishop lived in this world before he departed to Christ.[5] It was negligence[6] on behalf of those who knew him during his lifetime, that they did not wish to write down his deeds and conduct for the benefit of future men who did not know his mighty works; but God nevertheless has revealed his life through manifest miracles and wonderful signs. This Swithun was bishop of Winchester (that is to say, over all Hampshire), a blessed servant of God. There were eight bishops between him and Æthelwold.[7] His life is now unknown to us (as I mentioned earlier), except that he was buried at his episcopal see to the west of the church and subsequently covered with a tomb, until his miracles made manifest his affinity with God.

2 [*Epitome*, c. 2]. Three years before the saint was brought into the church from the stone coffin (which now stands inside the new edifice),[8] the venerable Swithun came to a certain faithful smith, appearing in a vision splendidly adorned, and spoke these words to him: 'Do you know the priest who is named Eadsige, who with the other priests was expelled by Bishop Æthelwold from the Old Minster on account of their evil practices?' The smith then answered the venerable Swithun as follows: 'I knew him, dear sir, some time ago; but he departed from here, and I don't know for certain[9] where he is living now.' Then the saint said once again to the old smith: 'In fact he now makes his home in Winchcombe; and I now beseech you in the name of the Saviour that you deliver my message to him quickly, and say to him truly that Bishop Swithun has commanded him to go to Bishop Æthelwold, and say that he himself [*scil.* Æthelwold] should open my tomb and should bring my bones inside the church: for it is granted to him that I should be revealed to men in his time.'

3 [*Epitome*, c. 3]. And the smith said to him, 'Look, dear sir: he will not believe my words.' Then the bishop said once again: 'Let him go[10] to my tomb and lift up one ring from the coffin; and if the

Lantfred). Ælfric clearly derived it from an Anglo-Saxon episcopal list (see above, pp. 3–4). The surviving lists have been printed and discussed by R. I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, ix (1965), 71–95 [parts I, II], x (1966), 1–24 [part III]. Peter Clemoes, in his review of Needham, *Ælfric: Lives of Three English Saints* (*Anglia*, lxxxvi (1968), 191–2), notes that Ælfric's statement here tallies only with the list given in CCCC 140. However, although neither Page nor Clemoes refer to it, the list of Winchester bishops which most closely resembles the source used by Ælfric is that in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster, where in the list of 'Nomina episcoporum Occidentalium Saxonum' there are precisely eight bishops between Swithun and Æthelwold (ed. Birch, p. 18; ed. Keynes, fo. 16r). The manuscript of the *Liber uitae* is too late to have been used by Ælfric; he was presumably drawing on the same source as was subsequently used (in 1031) by the compiler of the *Liber uitae*. Cf. also the statement in the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (below, no. 6), c. 1, where Æthelwold is stated to have been Swithun's *tenth* successor, implying that the author of the *Miracula* based his calculations on a different episcopal list from that used by Ælfric.

[8] Ælfric's statement that Swithun's stone coffin 'now stands inside the new edifice' has no correlate in either Lantfred or the *Epitome*, and refers to the reconstruction of the Old Minster begun by Æthelwold (and dedicated on 20 Oct. 980) and completed at an uncertain date by Bishop Ælfheah (see above, comm. to Ep. spec. 213–40). Although the precise date of completion is unknown, Ælfric's statement provides a *terminus ante quem* of *c.*998.

[9] Of twelve occurrences of the phrase *to gewissan* in the COE, nine are found in Ælfric, usually, as here, in combination with the verb *witan*; cf. in particular *LS* i. 292 ('þonne wite we to gewissan þæt God wile foresceawian ure gesundfulnysse'), ii. 370 ('gif ic wiste to gewissan þæt eowre word wæron soþe').

[10] That Ælfric here wrote *gange he* rather than *gange him*, the

folgað æt þam forman tige, þonne wat he to soðan þæt ic þe sende to him. Gif seo hringe nele up þurh his anes tige, þonne ne sceal he nateshwon þinre sage gelyfan. Sege him eac siððan þæt he sylf gerihtlæce his dæda and þeawas to his Drihtnes willan, and efste anmodlice to þam ecan life. Sege eac eallum mannum þæt sona swa hi geopeniað mine byrgene, þæt hi magon ðær findan swa deorwurðne hord,[d 11] þæt heora deore gold ne bið nahte wurð wið þa foresædan maðmas.'

4. Se halga Swiðhun þa ferde fram þam smiðe up, and se smið ne dorste secgan þas gesihðe ænigum menn, nolde beon gesewen unsoðsagol[12] boda. Hwæt ða se halga wer hine eft gespræc, and git þriddan siðe, and swiðe hine þreade hwi he nolde gehyrsumian his hæsum mid weorce. Se smið þa æt nextan eode[a] to his byrgene, and genam ane hringan—earhlice swaðeah—and clypode to Gode, þus cweðende mid wordum: 'Eala, ðu Drihten God, ealra gesceafta Scyppend: getiða me synfullum þæt ic ateo þas hringan up of ðysum hlide, gif se lið her on innan se ðe [b]spræc to me[b] on swefne þriwa.' He teah ða þæt isen up swa eaðelice[c] of ðam stane swilce hit on sande stode, and he swiðe þæs wundrode. He ða hit eft sette on þæt ylce þyrl and þywde mid his fet; and hit swa fæste eft stod þæt nan mann ne mihte hit þanon ateon.

5. Þa eode se smið geegsod þanon and gemette on cypinge þæs Eadsiges mann, and sæde him gewislice hwæt Swiðhun him bebead, and bæd hine georne þæt he hit abude him. He cwæð þæt he [a]wolde hit[a] cyðan his hlaforde—and ne dorste swaðeah hit secgan æt fruman, ær þan ðe he beþohte þæt him ðearflic nære þæt he ðæs halgan hæse forhæle[b 13] his hlaforde: sæde þa be endebyrdnysse hwæt Swiðhun him bebead. Þa onscunode se Eadsige Aðelwold þone bisceop and ealle ða munecas þe on ðam mynstre wæron for þam[c] utdræfe[14] þe he gedyde wið hi, and nolde gehyran þæs halgan bebod (þeah ðe se sanct wære gesibb him for worulde).[15]

6. He gebeah swaþeah binnan twam gearum to þam ylcan mynstre and munuc wearð þurh God, and þær wunode oð þæt he gewat of life. Gebletsod is se Ælmihtiga,[a 16] þe geeadmet þa[b] modigan[17]

[d] goldhord *W*[1]

[c. 4] GOW] [a] after eode *W adds* swaðeah [b–b] me spræc to *W* [c] *after* eaðelice *W adds* up

[c. 5] GOW] [a–a] hit wolde *W* [b] forhule *W* [c] þære *W*

[c. 6] GOW] [a] *after* Ælmihtiga *W*[1] *adds* god [b] þone *W*

reading transmitted by W, is suggested by various parallel expressions in, for example, his supplementary homily for the fourth Sunday after Easter: 'gif he Godes Sunu is, gange he of þære rode' (*Hom. Supp.* i. 345), or the homily *De populo Israhel*, 'þe on God gelyfe, gange se to me' (*Hom. Supp.* ii. 643); cf. also the phrasing in two of Ælfric's *Pastoral Letters*: to Bishop Wulfsige, no. i, § 126: 'gange he to husle syððan' (ed. B. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, repr. with introduction by P. Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1966), p. 28), and to Bishop Wulfstan, no. ii, § 54: 'and gange he to husle and ealle þa gebroþru' (ibid. p. 166). These parallels suggest that the reading of GO should be preferred and that the scribe of W altered the phrase into a construction with a reflexive dative (on such constructions, see B. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), § 272).

[11] Ælfric's word *hord* is used here to render *thesaurus* (*Epitome*, c. 3). The corrector in W has altered *hord* to *goldhord*; but the fact that Ælfric intended *hord* and not *goldhord* is established from his gloss on *thesaurus* in his *Glossary*: '*thesaurus*. hord' (ed. Zupitza, p. 321). Interestingly, in other Anglo-Saxon glossaries and glossed manuscripts, *thesaurus* is glossed *goldhord*: WW 77.15 (glosses to Proverbs in London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D. vi), WW 164.29 (the 'Abingdon Glossary'). This usage was clearly known to Ælfric: cf. *CH* i. 208, 239; *CH* ii. 63, 233; *LS* ii. 258, 378. However, the fact that *thesaurus* is rendered *hord* in his own *Glossary* indicates that *hord* is the correct reading here.

[12] Ælfric renders *falsidicus* of the *Epitome* (c. 4) as *unsoðsagul*; cf. his *Glossary*, where the same word is also rendered *unsoðsagol* (ed. Zupitza, p. 305).

[13] The form *forhæle* is the regular 3rd sg. pret. subj. of *forhelan* (strong IV); *forhule* in W is apparently analogous to strong verbs of class III (e.g. *helpen*, pret. sg. subj. *hulpe*).

[14] In printing *þam*, the reading of GO, rather than *þære*, the

ring yields to him on the first pull, then he shall know for certain that I have sent you. If the ring will not come up with his own pull, then he should in no way believe your story. Say also to him afterwards that he himself should amend his deeds and behaviour according to the will of his Lord, and should hasten wholeheartedly to the eternal life. Say likewise to all men that, as soon as they open my tomb, they shall find there so precious a treasure[11] that their own costly gold will be worth nothing in comparison with the aforementioned valuables.'

4 [*Epitome*, c. 4]. St Swithun then departed upwards from the smith, and the smith dared not retail the vision to any man: he did not wish to be seen as a false[12] prophet. Well now, the saint spoke to him again, and yet a third time, and upbraided him sternly as to why he would not implement his requests with action. Then at last the smith went to his tomb, and took hold—albeit fearfully—of one ring, and called out to God, speaking as follows with these words: 'O Lord God, maker of all things, grant to me, a sinful man, that I may lift up this ring from this lid, if he who three times spoke to me in a dream lies within.' He then pulled up the iron ring from the stone as easily as if it were mounted in sand; and he marvelled greatly at this. He then set it back in the same hole and pressed it with his feet; and thereafter it stood so firmly-set that no-one could pull it out.

5 [*Epitome*, c. 5]. Then the smith went away terrified and met in the market-place a man from the household of this Eadsige, and told him exactly what Swithun had asked of him, and earnestly requested him to declare it to Eadsige. He said that he would make it known to his lord—however, he did not dare to tell it at first, until he reflected that it was not profitable for him to conceal[13] the saint's request from his lord: at that point he repeated in order what Swithun had asked of him. At that time this Eadsige detested Bishop Æthelwold and all the monks who were in the Old Minster because of the expulsion[14] which Æthelwold had enforced upon them; and he did not wish to obey the holy man's command, even though the saint was a kinsman of his in this world.[15]

6 [*Epitome*, c. 6]. Within two years, however, he went back to this same monastery [the Old Minster], and became a monk through God's grace, and remained there until he departed from this life. Blessed is the Almighty,[16] Who humbles the proud[17] and exalts the humble to lofty positions,

reading of W, I accept the implication that Ælfric construed the word *utdræf* ('expulsion') as masculine rather than feminine, but that the scribe of W thought differently, and corrected Ælfric's *þam* to *þære*. The compound noun *utdræf* is *hapax legomenon*, and its second component, the noun *dræf* ('expulsion') is also attested only once in OE, also in a passage where its gender cannot be verified; see G. Waxenberger, *Die Zuordnung der altenglischen Substantive zu den Flexionstypen untersucht am Buchstaben D* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. 262–3.

[15] This statement, which has no correlate in either Lantfred or the *Epitome*, is of crucial importance for understanding the politics of late tenth-century Winchester. According to Needham (*Ælfric: Lives*, p. 65, n. to line 72), 'it is not clear whether *se sanct* refers to Swithin or Athelwold.' But the words can hardly refer to Swithun, who had been dead for over a hundred years, and of whom virtually nothing was known at the time of his translation in 971; on the other hand, after the translation of Æthelwold in 996, he would conveniently have been known as a saint (Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun' was probably written within a year or two of Æthelwold's translation). Accordingly, if Eadsige was a kinsman of Æthelwold, we can understand both the bitterness which attended the expulsion of secular clerics from the Old Minster in 964, and Æthelwold's insistence on achieving a reconciliation between himself and Eadsige. The translation of Swithun's remains was the pretext for such a reconciliation: after returning to the Old Minster in 971—and taking monastic vows—Eadsige was made sacristan of St Swithun's shrine. See *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. l, 33 n. 3, as well as comm. to Lantfred (above, p. 260 n. 43) and Wulfstan, *Narratio*, ii. 134–50.

[16] Cf. Ælfric, *CH* ii. 340 ('Gebletsod sy se ælmihtiga God').

[17] Cf. Ælfric, *CH* ii. 254: 'Fela bysna we mihton eow gereccan be ðison andgite, hu se ælmihtiga foroft ða modigan geeadmette.' The plural form *þa modigan* preserved in GO is obviously correct here (against the singular form *þone modigan* in W): it corresponds to a Latin plural form in c. 6 of the *Epitome* (*superbos*), and is confirmed by parallel forms in the same sentence (*þa eadmodan, þa synfullan*).

and ða eadmodan ahefð to healicum geðingþum and gerihtlæcð[18] þa synfullan and symle hylt þa godan þe on hine hihtað,[c] for ðan þe he Hælend is!

7. Eft wæs sum earm ceorl egeslice gehoferod and ðearle gebiged þurh ðone bradan hofer; þam wearð geswutelod on swefne gewislice þæt he sceolde gefeccan æt Swiðhunes byrgene his lichaman hæle and þære alefednysse. He aras ða on mergen micclum fægnigende, and mid twam criccum creap him to Winceastre and gesohte ðone sanct (swa swa him gesæd wæs), biddende his hæle[19] gebigedum cneowum.[20] He wearð þa gehæled þurh þone halgan bisceop swa þæt næs gesyne siððan on his hricge hwær se hofer stode, þe hine gehefgode oð þæt. Þa nyston þa munecas be ðam mæran halgan and wendon þæt sum oðer halga gehælde þone mann; ac se ceorl sæde þæt Swiðhun hine gehælde, for ðan þe he sylf wiste gewissost be ðam.[21]

8. Sum wer wæs geuntrumod swiðe yfelum broce, swa þæt he earfoðlice þa eagan undyde and uneaðe mihte ænig word gecweðan, ac læg swa geangsumod, orwene his lifes.[22] Ða woldon his frynd ealle hine ferian to Niwan Mynstre to þam halgan Iudoce, þæt he him hæle forgeafe;[23] ac him sæde sum mann þæt him selre[a] wære þæt hi to Ealdan Mynstre þone adligan feredon, to Swiðhunes byrgene: and hi [b]swa dydon[b] sona.[24] Hi wacodon ða þa niht wið þa byrgene mid him, biddende þone ælmihtigan God þæt he ðam adligan menn his hæle forgeafe þurh þone halgan Swiðhun. Se untruma eac wacode oð þæt hit wolde dagian. þa wearð he on slæpe, and seo wurðfulle[c] byrgen—þæs ðe him eallum þuhte—eall bifigende wæs;[25] and þam adligan þuhte swilce man his ænne sco of ðam[d] fet him[e] atuge, and he færlice awoc. He wæs ða gehæled þurh ðone halgan Swiðhun; and man sohte þone sco swiðe geornlice, ac hine ne mihte nan mann gemetan[f] þær æfre; and hi gewendon[g] þa ham mid þam gehæledan menn.

9. þær wurdon gehælede æt ðære halgan byrgene eahta untrume menn ær ðan þe he of ðære byrgene up genumen wære wundorlice þurh God. Eadgar cyning þa—æfter ðysum tacnum—wolde þæt se halga wer wurde up gedon, and spræc hit to Aðelwolde þam arwurðan bisceope, þæt he hine up adyde mid arwurðnysse.[26] þa se bisceop Aðelwold, mid abbodum and munecum, dyde up þone sanct mid sange wurðlice, and bæron into cyrcan, Sancte Petres hus,[a 27] þær he stent mid wurðmynte and wundra gefremað.

[c] gehihtað *G* (*with* ge- *in a more recent hand*)
[c. 7] GOW] [no app. crit.]
[c. 8] GOW] [a] selra *W* [b–b] dydon swa *W* [c] wurðfulla *W, corr. to* wurðfulle W^1 [d] his *O* [e] *om. G*
[f] gemeten *W corr. to* gemetan W^1 [g] gewendan *W*
[c. 9] GOW] [a] huse *MSS*

[18] The verb *gerihtlæcan* is one of the characteristic 'Winchester' words discussed by Hofstetter, *Winchester*, pp. 84–5.

[19] Cf. Ælfric, *CH* i. 419 ('eac sum ymesene mann mid wope his fet gesohte biddende his hæle'), and cf. also below, cc. 14 ('heora hæle biddende'), 15 (his hæle biddan').

[20] Of seventeen occurrences of the phrase *gebig(e)dum cneowum* in combination with the verb *(ge)biddan*, ten occur in Ælfric, and the remainder are in works which were composed under his influence, such as the Life of Mary of Egypt; cf., for example, *LS* i. 112 [SS Julian and Basilissa]: 'þa bed Iulianus gebigedum cneowum mid his geferum þone heofonlican God'; i. 316 [St George]: 'þus biddende his Drihten gebigedum cneowum'.

[21] The final sentence of this chapter ('þa nyston . . . gewissost be ðam') has no correlate in the *Epitome*, but derives from the lengthy account in Lantfred (c. 2) of how, since the miracle had occurred on the feast of St Martin's translation (4 July), the monks first assumed that the divine agent was Martin, not Swithun.

[22] The detail of the man's suffering is derived from Lantfred, c. 3 (above, p. 278) rather than from the *Epitome* c. 8, which omits any such detail (Ælfric does not, however, include the story of how the man became paralysed through contact with the Furies). The phrase *orwene his lifes*, including its variant forms (e.g. *his / heora lifes orwene, orwena lifes* etc.) is not frequently attested

and corrects[18] the sinful and continually protects the virtuous who trust in Him, because He is the Saviour!

7 [*Epitome*, c. 7]. Thereafter, there was a certain unfortunate freeman, dreadfully hump-backed and exceedingly bent over as a result of a broad hump; it was clearly revealed to him in a dream that he would obtain his body's health and recovery from his infirmity at Swithun's tomb. He then got up in the morning, greatly rejoicing, and with his two crutches crept along to Winchester, and went to the saint (just as he had been advised), praying for his recovery[19] on bended knees.[20] He was then cured through the holy bishop, so that nothing could henceforth be seen on his back where the hump had stood, which had afflicted him up to that time. The monks at that time knew nothing concerning the glorious saint, and they thought that some other saint had healed the man; but the man said that Swithun had healed him, since he himself knew best of all about the matter.[21]

8 [*Epitome*, c. 8, Lantfred, c. 3]. A certain man was afflicted with a very severe disease, such that he could with difficulty open his eyes, and could hardly speak a word; but he lay thus afflicted, despairing of his life.[22] Then all his friends wished to carry him to the New Minster to the holy St Iudoc, in order that he might grant him a cure.[23] But someone said to them that it would be better that they carry the invalid to Swithun's tomb; and they did so at once.[24] They then passed the night with him in vigil at the tomb, beseeching the Almighty God to grant the sick man his cure through the holy St Swithun. The invalid also kept vigil until it began to grow light. Then he fell asleep, and the venerable tomb—so it seemed to all of them—was all trembling;[25] and it seemed to the invalid as though someone was pulling his one shoe off his foot, and he awoke suddenly. He was then healed through the holy Swithun; and they looked very diligently for the shoe, but no-one was ever able to find it there; and they then went home with the restored man.

9 [*Epitome*, c. 9]. Eight other sick men were miraculously cured through God's grace at the holy man's tomb before he was raised up from the grave. Then King Edgar—after these miracles—wanted the saint to be exhumed, and said this to Æthelwold the venerable bishop, that he should translate him with dignity.[26] Then Bishop Æthelwold, with other abbots and monks, exhumed the saint honourably with singing of hymns, and carried his remains into the cathedral (namely St Peter's minster)[27] where he remains in glory and performs miracles.

elsewhere, and Ælfric seems to have a particular liking for it: cf. below, c. 19 ('his lifes orwene'), as well as two occurrences in *CH* i, two in *LS* no. xxv (Maccabees), and once each in *LS* nos. iii (St Basil) and xxxvi (St Thomas). One parallel in *LS* no. xxv is particularly close, namely that in Ælfric's *passio* of the Maccabees, *LS* ii. 118 ('oð þæt he stille læg, orwene his lifes').

[23] The phrase *hæle forgeaf(e)* is typically Ælfrician. In addition to the two occurrences in the present passage, see *CH* ii. 15 ('and him ða ærran hæle forgeafe'), *LS* i. 124 [St Sebastian]: 'and herede þone hælend þe him his hæle forgeaf'; i. 186 [St Agnes]: 'to ðam mædene clypode . . . þæt heo hyre hæle forgeafe.' The phrase (including variant forms) is not frequently attested elsewhere in OE.

[24] Again, the friends' suggestion that the man be taken to the shrine of St Iudoc at the New Minster derives from Lantfred, c. 3 (above, p. 278) rather than from the *Epitome*.

[25] Although the sentence follows the *Epitome* fairly closely, the detail that the tomb was trembling ('seo wurðfulle byrgen . . . eall bifegende wæs') is taken from Lantfred, c. 3 (above, p. 282): 'contremuit totum sepulchri tugurium . . . in tantum ut putaret fieri terre motum.'

[26] Ælfric here alters the emphasis of Lantfred and the *Epitome* by making King Edgar the initiator of St Swithun's translation (the present sentence has no correlate in Ælfric's sources); in other sources the initiator is invariably Bishop Æthelwold. Ælfric's emphasis on the king is consonant with his extravagant praise of Edgar, below, c. 28. Ælfric's use of *arwurðnyss* squares interestingly with Æthelwold's use of it in his translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti* and the Royal Psalter gloss: see M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE xxv (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 203–5.

[27] The transmitted *huse* (d. sg.; *into* takes the accusative, which

10. Þær wurdon gehælede þurh ðone halgan wer feower wanhale menn binnan ðrym dagum; and geond fif monþas, feawa daga wæron þæt ðær næron gehælede huru ðry untrume, hwilon fif oððe syx, seofon oððe eahta, tyn oððe twelf, syxtyne oððe eahtatyne.[28] Binnan tyn dagum þær wurdon[a] twa hund manna gehælede, and swa fela binnan twelf monðum þæt man[b] hi getellan ne mihte. Se lictun læg afylled mid alefedum mannum, swa þæt man eaðe ne mihte þæt mynster gesecan; and þa [c]ealle wurdon[c] swa wundorlice gehælede binnan feawa dagum, þæt man þær findan ne mihte fif unhale menn of þam micclan heape.[29]

11. On þam dagum wæron on Wihtlande þreo wif: þa twa wæron blinde geond nigon geara fæc, and þæt þrydde ne geseah þære sunnan leoht næfre. Hi begeaton þa earfoðlice him ænne latteow, ænne dumbne cnapan, and comon to þam halgan; and ane niht þær wacodon and wurdon gehælede—ge ða blindan wif, ge se dumba latteow. Þa sæde[a] se cnapa þam cyrcwearde þæt, and cwæð þæt he næfre ær naht cweðan ne mihte, and bæd þæt hi sungon þone gesettan lofsang.

12. On þære ylcan tide wæs sum wyln gehæft to swinglum for swiðe lytlum gylte, and læg on hæftnedum þæt heo hetelice wære þæs on mergen beswungen. Þa wacode heo ealle ða niht and mid wope clypode to ðam halgan Swiðhune, þæt he hulpe hire earmre and fram þam reðum swinglum hi ahredde þurh God. Mid þam þe hit dagode and man Drihtnes lofsang ongan,[30] þa feollon ða fotcopsas færlice hire fram; and heo arn to cyrcan to þam arwurðan halgan gebundenum handum swa swa se halga wolde; and se hlaford com æfter and alysde hire handa and gefreode hi sona for Swiðhunes wurðmynte.

13. Sum þegn læg alefed lange on paralisyn and ne mihte of his bedde for manegum gearum. Þa cwæð he þæt he wolde to Winceastre siðian (huru on his[a] horsbære) and biddan his hæle. Mid þam þe he þis cwæð to his cnihtum and freondum, þa wearð he gehæled; and gewende swaþeah to þam halgan sancte, siðigende on fotum—fyrmest on þam flocce on ealre þære fare—and ðancode þam halgan his hæle geornlice.

14. Fif and twentig[31] manna mislice[a] geuntrumode[b][32] comon to þam halgan, heora hæle biddende: sume wæron blinde, sume wæron healte, sume eac deafe, and dumbe eac sume; and hi [c]ealle wurdon[c] anes dæges[33] gehælede þurh þæs halgan ðingunge, and him ham gewendon.

15. Sum þegn wæs on Engla lande, on æhtum swiðe welig, se wearð færlice blind. Þa ferde he to Rome: wolde his hæle biddan æt þam halgum apostolum. He wunode þa on Rome—and ne wearð

[c. 10] GOW] [a] wæron *O* [b] nan man *G* (*with* man *in a more recent hand*), *perhaps rightly* [c–c] wurdon ealle *O*
[c. 11] GOW] [a] *the first fragment of G ends here*
[c. 12] OW] [no app. crit.]
[c. 13] OW] [a] *om.* O, *perhaps rightly*
[c. 14] OW] [a] *om. O* [b] geuntrume *W* [c–c] wurdon ealle *O*

would be *hus*) is ungrammatical, and is most unlikely to represent what Ælfric wrote. Needham (*Ælfric: Lives*, p. 67 n. 116) proposed to solve the problem by supplying *on* before *sancte*; but the resulting syntax is awkward, and it is probably simpler to emend to *hus* (acc. sg., standing thus in apposition to *cyrcan*).

[28] Ælfric slightly alters the numbers of those cured from what was stated in his sources (Lantfred, c. 4; *Epitome*, c. 10).

[29] The final sentence of c. 10 ('Se lictun . . . micclan heape') is not from the *Epitome*, but nearly verbatim from Lantfred, c. 4 (above, p. 286). Note that Ælfric has rendered Lantfred's term *plateas* ('precincts') by *lictun*, which properly means 'cemetery':

10 [*Epitome*, c. 10, Lantfred, c. 4]. Through the saint's intercession four sick men were healed there within three days; and during the course of five months there were few days that there were not at least three sick people healed—sometimes five or six, seven or eight, ten or twelve, sixteen or eighteen.[28] Within ten days two hundred men were healed: and within twelve months so many that one couldn't count them. The cathedral precinct would be filled with disabled persons, such that one could not easily get to the minster: and then they would all be so miraculously healed within a few days that one could not find there five sick men from the great throng.[29]

11 [Lantfred, c. 5]. In those days there were three women on the Isle of Wight: two had been blind for the space of nine years, and the third had never seen the sun's light. They then availed themselves with difficulty of a guide, a mute lad, and they came to the saint's shrine, and spent one night there in vigils; and they were healed—both the blind women and the mute guide. Then the boy reported this to the sacrist, and said that he had never before been able to say anything, and requested that the monks sing the designated hymn of praise [*scil.* the 'Te Deum'].

12 [Lantfred, c. 6]. At the same time a certain slave-girl was imprisoned to be flogged for a very trivial crime, and she lay in custody so that she could be violently flogged for it in the morning. She was awake all night, and with lamentation cried out to St Swithun that he help her, a miserable wretch, and save her from the cruel flogging. As soon as daylight came and Lauds were being sung,[30] the foot-fetters suddenly fell from her; and she ran to the church to the venerable saint with her hands still bound, as the saint wished it; and her owner came after her and untied her hands and freed her at once, for the glory of St Swithun.

13 [Lantfred, c. 7]. A certain thegn lay disabled a long time by paralysis, and could not get up from his bed for many years. Then he said that he wished to travel (at least in his horsedrawn litter) to Winchester and to pray for his recovery. As soon as he said this to his servants and friends, he was healed; and he went nevertheless to the holy saint, travelling on foot—at the front of the company for the entire journey—and he gave thanks fervently to the saint for his recovery.

14 [*Epitome*, c. 11]. Twenty-five[31] men variously afflicted[32] came to the saint, praying for their cure: some were blind, some were lame, some also deaf and also some dumb; and they all were healed in one day[33] through the saint's intercession, and made their way home.

15 [Lantfred, c. 16]. There was a certain thegn in England, very rich in possessions, who was suddenly struck blind. He then went to Rome: he wished to pray for his health at the shrines of the

does Ælfric imply that the church was so crowded that the diseased folk spilled over into the monks' cemetery (which lay to the south and east of the Old Minster: see above, p. 273 n. 103)?

[30] The statement that the office of Lauds (or Mattins: Latin *laudes matutinales*) was just beginning at daybreak is an addition by Ælfric to Lantfred's narrative (c. 6), but is an unsurprising observation by a Benedictine monk. On the terminology of the Offices, see discussion by H. Gneuss, in *Anglia*, lxxvii (1959), 226–31, esp. pp. 227–8 (reviewing J. Ure, *The Benedictine Office*).

[31] Ælfric unaccountably alters the 'twenty-six', *uiginti sex*, of the *Epitome*, c. 11 (itself an alteration of Lantfred's *triginta sex*).

[32] The phrase *mislice geuntrumode* is also used below, c. 21. The phrase occurs in Ælfric's *Sermo de memoria sanctorum*: 'and man ferode untrume feorran and nean, myslice geuntrumode' (*LS* i. 346). An adjective *geuntrum* is not otherwise attested in OE. It is clear, therefore, that *geuntrume* is an error by the scribe of W.

[33] Again, Ælfric alters the 'three days' of his source (*Epitome*, c. 11: *in spatio trium dierum*) to one day.

gehæled—feower gear fullice;[34] and gefran[a 35] þa be Swiðhune hwilce wundra he worhte siððan he gewende þanon. He efste þa swiðe and to his earde gewende; and com to ðam halgan were and wearð gehæled þær, and ham gewende mid halre gesihðe.

16. Sum wer wæs eac blind wel seofon gear fulle, se hæfde ænne latteow þe hine lædde gehwider. Ða sume dæg eode he swa swa he oft dyde, and se latteow wearð gebolgen and þone blindan forlet: arn him aweg, and se oðer nyste hu he ham come; ac clypode to Gode mid inneweardre heortan[36] and mid angsumnysse cwæð:[37] 'Eala, þu mihtiga Drihten manna and engla, geseoh mine yrmðe: ic geseon ne mæg and min lyðra latteow forlet me þus ænne. Gemiltsa me, Drihten, þurh ðone mæran Swiðhun, and forgif me gesihðe for ðæs sanctes geearnungum!' Eft he clypode þus and cwæð to ðam halgan: 'Eala, þu milda bisceop, þe manega wundra of cumað þurh þone lifigendan God: leof, ic þe bidde þæt þu me geþingie to þam mihtigan Hælende—ic gelyfe þæt he wille gewislice[a] þe tiðian.' He wearð þa gehæled and hæfde his gesihðe, and ham eode bliðe buton latteowe ana—se ðe lytle ær þanon wæs gelæd þurh ðone[b] oþerne; and his magas ðancodon mycclum ðæs Gode.

17. Aþelwold þa, se arwurða and se eadiga bisceop, þe on ðam dagum wæs on Winceastre bisceop, bead his munecum eallum (þe on ðam mynstre wunodon) þæt hi ealle eodon endemes to cyrcan and mid sange heredon þæs sanctes mærða and God mærsodon swa on þam mæran halgan, swa oft swa ænig wanhal mann wurde gehæled. þa dydon hi sona swa, and sungon þone lofsang: oð þæt him[a] laðode eallum þæt hi swa oft arison—hwilon þrywa on niht, hwilon feower siðum—to singenne þone lofsang, þonne hi slapan sceoldon; and forleton þa[b] ealle endemes þone sang, for ðam þe se bisceop wæs bysig mid þam cyninge, and nyste buton hi sungon þone lofsang forð on. Hwæt ða se halga Swiðhun sylf com on swefne, wundorlice geglenged, to sumum godum menn[38] and cwæð: 'Gang nu to Ealdan Mynstre and þam munecum sege[39] þæt God swiðe oflicað heora ceorung and slæwð—þæt hi dæghwamlice geseoð Drihtnes wundra mid him, and hi nellað [c]herian þone Hælend mid sange, swa swa se bisceop bebead þam gebroðrum to donne; and sege, gif hi nellað[c] þone sang gelæstan, þonne geswicað eac sona ða wundra: and gif hi þone lofsang willað æt þam wundrum singan, swa oft swa wanhale menn þær wurðað gerihte, þonne wurðaþ mid him wundra swa fela þæt nan mann ne mæg gemunan on life þæt ænig mann gesawe swilce wundra ahwær. þa awæcnode[d 40] se wer of þam wynsuman slæpe [e]and swiðe besargode þæt he geseon ne moste, ne nan

[c. 15] OW] [a] befran *W*
[c. 16] OW] [a] *om. O* [b] *om. O*
[c. 17] OW] [a] him *W corr. to* heom *W*[1] [b] *om. W* [c–c] *om. O (by homoeoteleuton)* [d] awacode *O* [e–e] *om. O*

[34] Ælfric's source here (Lantfred, c. 16) specifies that the man remained in Rome 'for the space of nearly five years' (*ferme per interuallum quinque annorum*), which Ælfric renders as 'four full years'.

[35] The verb translates *audiuit*. The meanings attested for *befri(g)nan* are 'to question, ask'. For a hypothetical meaning 'to learn by inquiry', the Toronto *Dictionary of Old English* adduces only the present occurrence (s.v. *befrignan*, 4). Ælfric in *CH* uses *befrinan* much more frequently than *gefrinan*: *befrinan*, always in the sense 'to ask', 72×; *gefrinan*, 'to discover, learn', 1× (*CH* iii. 685, 715). The reading in O therefore arguably preserves—as a *lectio difficilior* – Ælfric's original wording. (The implication is that the meaning 'to learn by inquiry' for *befrignan* should be deleted from the *Dictionary of Old English.*)

[36] Cf. Ælfric's (supplementary) homilies on the seventh Sunday after Pentecost: 'gif we hine [*scil.* God] biddað mid inneweardre heortan' (*Supp. Hom.* ii. 533), and on 'The Servant's Failure to Forgive': 'swa swa ðe Hælend sæde be ðam ðe ge sylfe herdon, of inneweardre heortæ, þæt he us mildsige' (ed. S. Irvine, *Old English Homilies from MS Bodley 343*, EETS o.s. cccii (Oxford, 1993), p. 43). Cf. also the phrase *mid inweardre heortan*, below, c. 22.

[37] Cf. Ælfric, *De oratione Moysi*: 'and clypode to Gode and cwæð mid angsumnysse' (*LS* i. 302).

holy apostles. He then remained in Rome for four full years,[34] and he was not healed; and he learned[35] then about Swithun—about what miracles he had performed since he had gone from there [*scil.* from England]. He then made much haste and returned to his homeland and came to the holy man's shrine and was healed there; and he went home with his sight restored.

16 [Lantfred, c. 18]. Another man was blind as well for seven full years; he had a guide who led him everywhere. Then one day he went out just as he often did, and the guide became angry, and abandoned the blind man: he ran away from him, and the other man did not know how he could get home; but he called out to God with his innermost feelings,[36] and said with distress:[37] 'O you mighty Lord of men and angels, look upon my misery: I cannot see, and my wicked guide has abandoned me thus alone. Lord have mercy on me, through glorious St Swithun, and grant vision to me through the saint's merits.' Thereafter he called out as follows, and said to the saint: 'O you merciful bishop, from whom come many miracles through the living God—I beseech you, my lord, that you intercede for me with the mighty Saviour: I believe that He will truly grant your request.' Thereupon he was healed, and regained his sight, and joyfully went home on his own, without any guide—he who shortly before had been led by the other man; and his kinsmen gave thanks unstintingly to God for this.

17 [*Epitome*, c. 14, Lantfred, c. 10]. Then Æthelwold, the venerable and blessed bishop, who in those days was bishop of Winchester, required of all his monks (who lived in the Old Minster) that they all go together to church and that they praise in song the saint's wondrous deeds, and that in this way they glorify God in His glorious saint—as often as any sick person were healed. Then they did so in the first instance, and sang the 'Te Deum': until it became a nuisance to them all that they had to get up so often—sometimes three times a night, sometimes four times—to sing the 'Te Deum' when they would rather have been sleeping; and then they all of one accord abandoned the hymn-singing, because the bishop was occupied with the king, and knew not but that they were singing the 'Te Deum' continually. Well now, at that point the holy Swithun himself came in a dream, wondrously adorned, to a certain good man,[38] and said: 'Go now to the Old Minster and say[39] to the monks that their grumbling and laziness very much displeases God—in that they daily see the Lord's miracles in their presence, and they do not wish to praise the Saviour with hymn-singing, as the bishop commanded the brethren to do; and say that if they do not wish to perform the hymn-singing, then the miracles will likewise cease at once: and if they will sing the 'Te Deum' at the miracles as often as sick people there are restored to health, then so many miracles shall take place in their presence that no man in this life will be able to remember that anyone ever saw such miracles anywhere.' Then the man awakened[40] from the agreeable sleep and he very much regretted that he could not see, nor enjoy any longer, the

[38] In this chapter Ælfric has his eye both on Lantfred and on the *Epitome*; but he here follows the *Epitome* in making St Swithun appear 'to a certain good man' (cf. *Epitome*, c. 14: *cuidam fideli uiro*), rather than to 'a certain respectable lady' (*cuidam uenerabili matronae*), as Lantfred has it.

[39] In the *Epitome*, the man is commanded to go to tell the monks (*dic fratribus*); in Lantfred, the lady is told to go to Bishop Æthelwold ('mox ut uideris Wintoniensem . . . antistitem, dic ei'). But when the man awakes, he goes—in Ælfric's account—not to the monks but directly to Æthelwold.

[40] Ælfric does not use *awacian*, 'to awaken' (the variant offered by O); his verb is *awæcnian*, the reading preserved in W (see the *Dictionary of Old English*, s.vv. *awæcnian*, *awacnian*, as well as *awacian*, *awæccan*, and forms in the COE).

leng brucan, þæs beorhtan leohtes þe he mid Swiðhune hæfde[f] gesewen.[41] He aras swaðeah and swiðe hraðe ferde to Aþelwolde bisceope[e] and him eall þis sæde. Aþelwold þa asende sona to þam munecum of cyninges hirede and cwæð þæt hi sceoldon þone lofsang singan swa swa he geset hæfde; and se þe hit forsawe, sceolde hit mid fæstene seofon niht on an swærlice gebetan.[42] Hi hit heoldon þa siððan symle on gewunan, swa swa we gesawon sylfe foroft, and þone sang we sungon unseldon mid him.[g 43]

18. Sum wer wæs betogen þæt he wære on stale—wæs swaðeah unscyldig—and hine man sona gelæhte and, æfter worulddome, dydon him ut þa eagan and his earan forcurfon. þa arn him þæt blod into þam heafde þæt he gehyran ne mihte. þa wæs he seofon monðas wunigende[44] swa blind and his hlyst næfde, oþ þæt he mid geleafan ferde to þam halgan Swiðhune and gesohte his ban, biddende þone halgan þæt he his bene gehyrde[45] and him huru geearnode þæt he gehyran mihte (for þan ðe he ne gelyfde þæt he onliht wurde) and cwæð þæt he wurde wolice swa getucod. þa wearð Godes wundor geworht on þam menn þurh Swiðhunes þingunge—þæt he geseah beorhte ansundum eagum, þeah ðe hi ær wæron ut aðywde of þam eahhringum, and se oðer æppel [a]mid ealle[a] wæs geæmtigod, and se oðer hangode gehal æt his hleore.[46] Him wæs eac forgifen þæt he wel mihte gehyran, se ðe ær næfde ne eagan ne hlyst. Is swaðeah to witenne[b] þæt we ne moton us gebiddan swa to Godes halgum swa swa to Gode sylfum, for ðan þe he is ana God ofer ealle þing. Ac we sceolon biddan soðlice þa halgan þæt hi us þingion[c] to þam þrymwealdendan[d] Gode[47]—se þe is heora Hlaford—þæt he helpe us.[48]

19. Hwilon wacodon menn (swa swa hit gewunelic is) ofer an dead lic; and ðær wæs sum dysig mann plegol ungemetlice, and to ðam mannum cwæð—swilce for plegan—þæt he Swiðhun wære: 'Ge magon to soðum witan þæt ic Swiðhun eom, se þe wundra wyrcð; and ic wille þæt ge beran eower leoht to me and licgan[a] on cneowum, and ic eow forgife þæt þæt ge gyrnende beoð.' He ða woffode swa lange mid wordum dyslice oð þæt he feoll geswogen swilce he sawulleas wære; and hine man bær ham to his bedde sona, and he læg swa lange his lifes orwene. His magas ða æt nextan þone mann feredon to þam halgan Swiðhune, and he sylf andette his dyslican word þe he dyrstiglice[b] spræc and bæd him forgifnysse; and he wearð þa[c] gehæled swa þæt he hal eode ham mid his magum.[49]

[f] *after* hæfde *W*[1] *adds* þa [g] him *W*; heom *OW*[1]
[c. 18] OW] [a–a] *om. O* [b] witanne *O* [c] geðingian *O* [d] þrymwealdendum *MSS*
[c. 19] OW] [a] *corr. ed.*; licgað *W* [b] dyrstelice *O* [c] *om. O*

[41] This detail concerning the vision is taken from Lantfred ('coepit multum dolere quod carebat claritudine quam per somnium conspexerat ineffabile').

[42] These details, too, come from Lantfred: that Æthelwold issued his orders from the king's household (*de palatio regis*), and that he commanded a penance of seven days (*penitentiam septem dierum ageret*) from anyone who disobeyed his orders.

[43] Ælfric's personal statement here makes explicit what is said in the *Epitome* at this point ('quod ita deinceps hactenus obseruatum audiuimus').

[44] Although some of the detail in this chapter is taken from Lantfred (see below, n. 46), Ælfric follows the narrative structure of the *Epitome*, as is clear from his statement that the man remained blind for seven months (*seofon monðas*). This figure derives not from Lantfred, who says explicitly that the man remained blind from Epiphany to Litania Maior (6 Jan.–25 Apr.), that is, four months, but from an erroneous calculation based on the confused statement in the *Epitome*, where the man remains blind from Litania Maior to the following Epiphany (= eight months).

[45] Cf. Ælfric, *De oratione Moysi*: 'gif he ðonne nele his fultum us don, ne ure bene gehyran' (*LS* i. 284); *Sermo excerptus de libro Regum*: 'clypodon to Baal þæt he heora bene gehyrde' (*LS* i. 390); and 'Hwæt ða se Ælmihtiga God þas earman cynincges bene gehyrde' (*LS* i. 410).

[46] The gruesome detail of the eye hanging from its socket on

bright light which he had seen in Swithun's presence.[41] He got up nevertheless, and went very quickly to Bishop Æthelwold, and reported all this to him. Then Æthelwold immediately sent a message from the king's household to the monks, and stated that they ought to sing the 'Te Deum' just as he had required, and that he who neglected it should atone heavily for it with seven nights' continuous fasting.[42] They always maintained it regularly afterwards, as I myself have very often seen; and I frequently sang the hymn with them.[43]

18 [*Epitome*, c.13, Lantfred, c. 26]. A man was accused that he had been stealing—he was, however, innocent—and he was seized at once, and, in accordance with the sentence of the secular courts, they put out his eyes and cut off his ears. The blood consequently ran into his head so that he could not hear. He then remained blind in this way for seven months,[44] and did not have his hearing, until he went in faith to the holy Swithun and sought out his relics, asking the saint that he hear his prayer,[45] so that at least he might deserve to hear again (because he did not believe that his sight could be restored), and he said that he had been unjustly punished. Then God's miraculous power was effected in the man through Swithun's intercession—such that he could see clearly with restored eyes, even though they had previously been torn out of the sockets, and the one eye-ball was entirely put out and the other hung in a piece on his cheek.[46] It was also granted to him that he could hear properly—he who previously had neither eyes nor hearing. It is, however, to be understood that we must not pray the same way to God's saints as to God Himself, for He alone is God over all things. But we ought truly to pray to the saints so that they will intercede for us with the Omnipotent God[47]—who is their Lord—so that He may help us.[48]

19 [no source]. At one point some people were keeping vigil (as is customary) over a dead body; and there was a certain foolish man excessively given to jokes, and he said to the people—as it were in jest—that he was Swithun: 'You ought truly to know that I am Swithun who performs miracles; and I want you to bring your candles to me and to fall on your knees, and I shall grant you that which you are yearning for.' He then blasphemed this way in words uttered foolishly for a long time, until he fell in a swoon as if senseless; and he was carried home to his bed at once, and he lay thus for a long while in despair of his life. Then in the end his kinsmen carried the man to the holy Swithun, and he himself acknowledged his foolish words which he had uttered presumptuously, and begged forgiveness from him; and he was then healed so that he went home healthy with his kinsmen.[49]

the man's cheek is taken from Lantfred, c. 26 (above, p. 312).

[47] The phrase *þrymwealdend God* (*Scyppend*) is uniquely Ælfrician; in addition to the present instance, see *CH* i. 236 ('eft ða þa se þrymwealdenda scyppend mancyn geworhte'), *CH* ii. 181 ('seo halige ðrynyss ðe is ðrymwealdend God'), *Supp. Hom.* i. 201 ('eall seo halige Ðrynnys þe is þrymwealdend God'), i. 418 ('for ðan ðe hi ðry sind an þrymwealdend God on anre God-cundnysse æfre rixiende'), ii. 712 ('Nis nan oðer god, ne nan oðer scyppend, buton seo halige þrynnys, þe is þrymwealdend God'), *LS* ii. 154 ('mid þrym fingrum man sceall senian and bletsian for þære halgan þrynysse, þe is þrimwealdend God').

[48] There is a close parallel to this passage on the intercession of saints in Ælfric's homily for the First Sunday in Lent in the First Series of his *Catholic Homilies*: 'We biddað þingunga æt halgum mannum þæt hi sceolon us þingian to heora drihtne 7 to urum drihtne. Ne gebidde we na þeahhwæðere us to him swa swa we to Gode doð; ne hi þæt geþafian nellað' (*CH* i. 270).

[49] Note that this story in Ælfric is subsequently repeated in the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (below, no. 6), c. 41. There is also a late analogue to the story in the *Miracula S. Erkenwaldi* (*c.*1140), c. 10, where a drunk at a funeral wake claims to be St Erkenwald and is duly struck down for his blasphemy (ed. E. G. Whatley, *The Saint of London: the Life and Miracles of St Erkenwald* (Binghamton, NY, 1989), pp. 142–4). The source of the story in the *Miracula S. Erkenwaldi* might have been Ælfric or, more likely, the *Miracula S. Swithuni*.

20. Is eac to witenne[a 50] þæt menn unwislice doð, þa þe dwollice plegiað[b] æt deadra manna lice and ælce fulnysse þær forð teoð mid plegan, þonne hi sceoldon swiðor besargian þone deadan and ondrædan him sylfum þæs deaðes tocyme[51] and biddan for his sawle buton gewede georne. Sume menn eac drincað æt deadra manna lice ofer ealle þa niht swiðe unrihtlice, and gremiað God mid heora gegafspræcum,[c 52] þonne nan gebeorscipe ne gebyrað æt lice, ac halige gebedu þær gebyriað swiþor.[53]

21. Hwilon comon to ðam[a] halgan hundtwelftig manna mislice geuntrumode mid manegum brocum; and þa wurdon ealle wundorlice gehælede binnan þrym wucum,[54] and hi wendon ham þancigende þam Ælmihtigan[b] and þam arwurðan Swiðhune.

22. Sumes þegnes[55] cniht feoll færlice of[a] horse þæt him tobærst se earm and se oðer sceanca, and swiðe wearð gecwysed þæt hi sona wendon þæt he þærrihte sceolde sweltan him[b] ætforan. He wæs his hlaforde swiðe leof ær ðan, and se hlaford þa besargode swiðe þone cniht and bæd þone Ælmihtigan mid inweardre heortan þæt he þam menn gehulpe[c 56] þurh ðone mæran Swiðhun. He clypode eac to Swiðhune, þus secgende mid geomerunge:[57] 'Eala, ðu halga Swiðhun: bide þone Hælend þæt he lif forgife þysum licgendan cnihte, and ic beo þæs þe geleaffulra þam lifigendan Gode eallum minum dagum, gif he deð þis þurh þe.' Se cniht ða aras hal, gehæled þurh[d] Swiðhun; and se hlaford þæs fægnode and mid geleafan God herede.

23. Sum eald þegn wæs eac on Wihtlande untrum, swa þæt he læg bedreda sume nigon gear and of ðam bedde ne mihte buton hine man bære. Him comon þa on swefne to twegen scinende halgan and heton hine yrnan ardlice mid him. þa cwæð se adliga: 'Hu mæg ic yrnan mid eow, þonne ic ne aras of þysum bedde ana nu for nigon gearum buton oþres mannes fylste?' þa cwædon þa halgan: 'þu cymst to þære stowe—gif ðu færst mid us nu—ðær þær ðu underfehst þine hæle.' He wearð þa swiðe fægen and wolde faran mid him;[a] ac þa þa he ne mihte him[b] mid siðian, þa flugon hi geond þa lyft and feredon þone adligan oð þæt hi becomon to sumum ænlicum felda fægre geblowen; and þær wæs an cyrce of scinendum golde and of gymstanum standende on þam felda,[c] and se halga Swiðhun[58] on scinendum mæssereafe stod æt þam weofode, swilce he wolde mæssian. Swiðhun cwæð þa sona to þam seocan menn: 'Ic secge ðe, broðor, þu ne scealt heononforð nanum menn yfel don, ne nanne mann wyrian, ne nanne mann

[c. 20] OW] [a] g[-]canne *O* [b] **plegað** *W corr. to* plegiað *W*[1] [c] **gegafspræce** *W*
[c. 21] OW] [a] *om. OW; add. W*[1] [b] *after* Ælmihtigan *W*[1] *adds* **gode**
[c. 22] OW] [a] *after* of *W*[1] *adds* **his** [b] him *W*; heom *OW*[1] [c] **geheolpe** *W*

[50] The phrase and its variant forms are frequently attested in OE; the form in which it occurs here, however, is typically Ælfrician. In addition to the present instance, see *CH* i. 235, *Hom. Supp.* ii. 628, 790; *Glossary*, ed. Zupitza, pp. 31, 60, 118, 179 (*bis*).

[51] Cf. Ælfric, *Hom. Supp.* i. 318 ('ælc man ondræd him deaðes tocyme'), and his homily for the common of a confessor: 'we ne þurfon ondrædan us þæs deaðes tocyme, gif we on Godes bigengum beoð geendode' (ed. B. Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, repr. with introduction by P. Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1964), p. 54).

[52] The word *gegafspræc* ('foolish speech') is used only by Æthelwold, in his OE translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 6, and five times by Ælfric: see *CH* i. 367, 483, *LS* i. 288, and the Pastoral Letter to Bishop Wulfsige, § 107 (ed. Fehr, p. 24). The plural form preserved in O (*gegafspræcum*) would better fit the context than the singular form in W (*gegafspræce*).

[53] Ælfric's explicit condemnation of drunken revelry at funeral wakes is a theme found elsewhere in his writings, notably in cc. 111–13 of his First Pastoral Letter, addressed to Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne (993–1002) and composed shortly after 993: 'Ge ne scylan fægnian forðfarenra manna, ne þæt lic gesecan buton eow mann laðige þærto. þænne ge þærto gelaðode syn, þonne forbeode ge þa hæðenan sangas þæra læwedra manna

20 [no source]. It is accordingly to be understood[50] that those men behave unwisely who jest foolishly at the corpses of dead men and perpetrate there with their jesting every sort of wickedness, when they should rather mourn for the dead man and fear for themselves the advent of death,[51] and pray earnestly for his soul without any silliness. Moreover, some men most wrongfully drink all through the night at dead men's corpses and anger God with their buffoonery,[52] whereas no beer-drinking is proper at the corpse, but rather holy prayers are more appropriate there.[53]

21 [*Epitome*, c. 12]. Once one hundred and twelve men, variously afflicted with many diseases, came to the saint; and they were all miraculously healed within three weeks,[54] and they went home thanking the Almighty and the venerable Swithun.

22 [Lantfred, c. 31]. The servant of a certain thegn[55] fell so suddenly from a horse that his arm and leg were broken, and he was so badly shaken up that they thought at first that he would die straightway in their presence. He had previously been very dear to his lord, and the lord then greatly lamented the boy and asked the Almighty with his innermost heart that He help[56] the man through the glorious Swithun. He called out likewise to Swithun, thus saying with lamentation:[57] 'O you holy Swithun: beseech the Saviour that He grant life to this servant lying here, and for this I shall be the more devoted to the living God all my days, if He does this through you.' The boy then got up, safe and sound, healed through Swithun; and the lord rejoiced at this, and praised God with conviction.

23 [Lantfred, c. 35]. A certain elderly thegn on the Isle of Wight was also disabled so that he lay bed-ridden some nine years, and could not get up from bed unless someone carried him. Then in a dream two shining saints came to him, and commanded him to run swiftly with them. The sick man then said: 'How can I run with you when I haven't got up from this bed on my own now for nine years without the assistance of another person?' The saints then replied: 'You shall come to the place—if you travel with us now—where you shall receive your cure.' He thereupon became very glad, and wished to go with them; but, when he could not travel with them, they flew through the air and carried the sick man until they came to a magnificent field beautifully flowering; and there was a church of shining gold and jewels standing in the field, and St Swithun[58] stood in resplendent mass-vestments at the altar, as if he wished to begin mass. Then Swithun said at once to the sick man: 'I tell you, brother, that henceforth you shall not do evil to any man, nor curse any man, nor

7 heora hludan cheahchetunga. Ne ge sylfe ne eton ne ne drincon, þær þæt lic lið, þe læs þe ge syndon efenlæce þæs hæðenscypes þe hy þær begað' (*Councils & Synods*, i. 218; also ed. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 25). Cf. also Ælfric's homily *De oratione Moysi*: 'Nu doð menn swaþeah dyslice foroft, þæt hi willað wacian and wodlice drincan binnan Godes huse and bysmorlice plegan' (*LS* i. 288).

[54] In both Lantfred (c. 23) and the *Epitome* (c. 12), 124 sick people are said to have been cured within the space of two weeks; there is no apparent reason why Ælfric should have altered these figures to 112 and three weeks respectively.

[55] For no apparent reason, Ælfric has demoted the ealdorman (*consul*) in Lantfred's version of the story to a thegn. For the possible identity of the ealdorman in question, see comm. to Wulfstan, *Narratio*, ii. 787 (above, p. 533).

[56] The form transmitted by O (*gehulpe*) is correct for the 3rd sg. pret. subjunctive of *helpan* (strong III), and is presumably therefore what Ælfric wrote. W's form may be a late OE analogue to the preterite of strong verbs class VII.

[57] For other occurrences of the (Ælfrician) phrase *mid geomerunge*, see *LS* ii. 164 ('he beseah þa to heofenum, and sæde mid geomerunge'), ii. 330 ('behreowsode mid geomerunge'). The phrase is also used below, c. 25.

[58] In Lantfred's account (which Ælfric is here following closely) the identity of the saint is not stated, though it is easily guessed. Ælfric's naming of Swithun removes the mystery of Lantfred's narrative.

tælan, ne teonful beon, ne ðu manslagum ne geðwærlæce[d] ne manfullum reaferum, ne ðeofum þu ne olæce, ne yfeldædum ne geðwærlæce: ac swiðor gehelp swa þu selost mæge wanhafolum mannum mid þinum agenum spedum, and þu swa þurh Godes mihte sylf bist gehæled.' Se adliga þa ðohte þæt he yfel nolde don buton þam anum þe him ær yfel dyde, and þam wolde don wel þe him wel dyde ær. Þa wiste se halga Swiðhun hu his heorte smeade, and cwæð bliðelice him to: 'Broðor, ic þe secge, ne do þu swa þu smeadest þæt ðu derige ænigum, þeah ðe he derige ðe; ac þinum Drihtne geefenlæc, se ðe nolde wyrian þa ðe hine wyrigdon,[e] [f]and bæd for ða Iudeiscan þe hine[f] dydon to cwale,[59] and het his folgeras þæt hi for heora fynd[g] gebædon. Eac cwæð Paulus se apostol to eallum Cristenum mannum: "Gif ðinum fynd hingrige, fed hine mid mettum, oððe gif him ðyrste, ðu do him drincan".'[60] Þa cwæð se bedreda to ðam bisceope eft: 'La, leof, sege me [h]hwæt þu sy manna, nu ðu manna heortan miht swa asmeagan.' Þa cwæð se halga Swiðhun: 'Ic eom se þe nu niwan com'—swilce he [i]swa cwæde:[i] 'Ic wæs geswutelod nu niwan.' Þa cwæð se bedreda to ðam bisceope eft: 'Hu eart ðu gehaten?' And se halga him cwæð to: 'Þonne ðu cymst to Winceastre, þu wast minne naman.' Se mann wearð þa gebroht to his bedde eft sona, and awoc of slæpe, and sæde his wife ealle ða gesihðe þe he gesewen hæfde. Þa cwæð þæt wif him to, þæt hit wære Swiðhun se ðe hine lærde mid þære halgan lare, and þone ðe he geseah on ðære cyrcan swa fægerne. Heo cwæð ða to ðam were: 'Hit wære nu full god þæt [j]man þe bære[j] to cyrcan, and þu bæde þone halgan þæt he ðe gehælde þurh his halgan geearnunge.'[k] Hine man bær ða sona of ðam bedde to cyrcan binnan Wihtlande, and he wearð gehæled sona þurh þone ælmihtigan God for[l] Swiðhunes geearnungum, and eode him ða ham hal[m] on his fotum—se ðe ær wæs geboren on bære to cyrcan. He ferde eac siððan to Winceastre[n] forhraðe and cydde Aðelwolde þam arwurðan bisceope hu he wearð gehæled þurh þone halgan Swiðhun: and Landferð se ofersæwisca hit gesette on Leden.[61]

24. Nu is us[a] to witenne þæt we ne sceolon cepan ealles to swiðe be swefnum, for ðan þe hi ealle ne beoð of Gode. Sume swefna[b] syndon[c] [d]soðlice of Gode,[d] swa swa we on bocum rædað, and sume beoð of deofle to sumum swicdome, hu he ða sawle forpære;[e] ac his gedwimor ne mæg derian þam godum, gif hi hi bletsiað and hi gebiddað to Gode. Þa swefna[f] beoð wynsume þe gewurðaþ of Gode, and þa beoð egefulle[g] ðe of þam deofle cumað; and God sylf forbead þæt we swefnum ne folgion, þy[h] læs ðe se deofol us bedydrian mæge.[62]

25. Sum man on Winceastre wearð yrre his ðeowan menn for sumere gymeleaste, and gesette hine on fetera.[a] He sæt ða swa lange on ðam laðum bendum oð þæt he bestæl ut mid his stæfe

[d] *after* þurh *W*[1] *adds* sancte
[c. 23] GOW] [a] heom *W*[1] [b] heom *W*[1] [c] felde *WO, corr. to* felda *W*[1] [d] ðwærlæce *W, corr. to* geðwærlæce *W*[1] [e] *suppl. Needham; om. W (O is damaged here)* [f–f] *om. W* [g] fyondum *W* [h] *the second fragment of G begins here* [i–i] cwæde swa *W* [j–j] [.] þe bære *O*, ðe man bære *W* [k] geearnunga *W*[1] [l] *after* for *G adds* man [m] *om. O* [n] Winceastre *GW*[1]; ceastre *W*
[c. 24] GOW] [a] *om. W* [b] swefne *O* [c] beoð *O* [d–d] of gode soðlice *O* [e] forræde *G* [f] swefne *O* [g] eges fulle *G, in a more recent hand* [h] þe *W*
[c. 25] GOW] [a] feteran *O* [b] hopp[.] *O*; hoppende *W*

[59] Lantfred refers only vaguely to those who were afflicting him (*ledentibus*); Ælfric adds the specific reference to the Jews (on Ælfric and the Jews, see below, n. 65).

[60] Rom. 12: 20.

[61] Ælfric's mention of Lantfred here was presumably triggered by Lantfred's statement that he had learned the miracle from Æthelwold himself ('uenerabilis enim antistes ita hoc miraculum indicauit scriptori').

disparage any man, nor be slanderous, nor associate with murderers or wicked robbers, nor comply with thieves, nor be party to evil deeds: but rather help—as best you can—poor people with your own resources, and you yourself will be healed through God's might.' The sick man then thought to himself that he did not wish to do evil except to the man who had previously done evil to him and that he wished to do well by him who had previously done him a good turn. St Swithun then knew how he was pondering these things in his mind, and said gently to him: 'Brother, I say to you, do not—as you are thinking—do harm to anyone, even though he do harm to you; but imitate your Lord, who did not want to curse those who cursed Him, and prayed for the Jews who put Him to death,[59] and commanded His followers to pray for their enemies. Likewise St Paul the Apostle said to all Christian men: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him with meats, or if he thirst, give him to drink."'[60] Then the bed-ridden man said once again to the bishop: 'O sir, tell me what sort of man you are, since you are thus able to understand the hearts of men.' St Swithun then replied, 'I am he who now recently came'—as if he had said, 'I was now recently revealed.' Then the bed-ridden man said again to the bishop, 'What is your name?', and the saint said to him, 'When you come to Winchester, you will know my name.' The man was then brought back straightway to his bed, and awoke from sleep, and related to his wife all the vision which he had seen. The woman then said to him that it was Swithun who had instructed him with holy doctrine and whom he had seen looking so resplendent in the church. She then said to the man: 'It would now be highly appropriate that you be taken to church and that you ask the saint that he heal you through his holy merits.' Then they took him straightway from the bed to a church on the Isle of Wight, and he was immediately healed by the Almighty God as a result of Swithun's merits, and he then went home, cured, on his own two feet—he who previously had been carried on a litter to the church. He also subsequently went straight to Winchester, and related to Æthelwold the venerable bishop how he had been healed through the intercession of St Swithun; and Lantfred the foreigner set it down in Latin.[61]

24 [no source]. Now it should be understood that we ought not to put too much store by dreams, because they are not all from God. Some dreams truly are from God, just as we read in books, and some are from the devil, intended as a sort of deception whereby he may bring the soul to disaster; but his deception cannot injure good men if they cross themselves and pray to God. The dreams which come from God are delightful; and those which come from the devil are terrifying; and God himself forbade that we pay heed to dreams, lest the devil might delude us.[62]

25 [Lantfred, c. 39]. A man in Winchester became angry with his bondman because of some negligence, and set him in fetters. He then sat for a long time in the detestable bonds until he

[62] The veracity of dreams was a subject that frequently occupied Ælfric. It is possible that the written source to which he is here referring (*swa swa we on bocum rædaŏ*) is biblical: either 1 John 4: 1–3 ('Carissimi, nolite omni spiritui credere sed probate spiritus si ex Deo sint, quoniam multi pseudoprophetae exierunt in mundum. In hoc cognoscitur spiritus Dei: omnis spiritus qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne venisse ex Deo est; et omnis spiritus qui solvit Iesum ex Deo non est'), or Ier. 29: 8–9 ('non vos inducant prophetae vestri qui sunt in medio vestrum et divini vestri, et ne adtendatis ad somnia vestra quae vos somniatis, quia falso ipsi prophetant vobis in nomine meo et non misi eos'), to which the passage in 1 John is apparently referring. However, the *locus classicus* for what dreams portended was a lengthy passage in Isidore, *Sententiae* iii. 6. 1–14 (PL lxxxiii. 668–71), which was no doubt known to Ælfric. In Ælfric's understanding of the tradition, some dreams were undoubtedly from God (these are described here as *wynsume*), and include the dream of the Magi and Joseph's dream, in which he was warned to flee to Egypt (see *CH* i. 218, 222). Ælfric stresses that, in general, it is necessary to fast and pray in order to receive a true revelation in a dream, as in the case of the appearance of the archangel Michael to the bishop and parishioners seeking guidance regarding the church of St Michael (*CH* i. 468).

hoppigende,[b 63] and gesohte ðone sanct Swiðhun mid geomerunge. Se scyttels ða asceat sona of þære fetere, and se þeowa aras ahredd þurh ðone halgan.

26. Sum mann wæs gebunden onbutan þæt heafod for his hefigum gylte; se com to þam halgan and his swara heafodbend sona tobærst swa he hine gebæd.

27. Ne mage we awritan, ne mid wordum asecgan, ealle þa wundra þe se halga wer Swiðhun þurh God gefremode on ðæs folces gesihþe—ge on gehæftum[a] mannum,[b] ge on unhalum mannum[64]—mannum to swutelunge þæt hi sylfe magon Godes rice geearnian mid godum weorcum, swa swa Swiðhun dyde þe nu scinð þurh wundra. Seo ealde cyrce wæs eall behangen mid criccum and mid creopera sceamelum[c] fram ende oð oþerne on ægðerum wage, þe ðær wurdon gehælede: and man ne mihte swaðeah macian hi healfe up! Þyllice tacna cyþað þæt Crist is ælmihtig God, þe his halgan geswutelode þurh swilce weldæda, þeah ðe ða Iudeiscan[65]—þurh deofol beswicene—nellon gelyfan on þone lyfigendan Crist,[d] ær ðan þe Antecrist acweald[e] bið þurh God: þonne bugað þa earmingas on ende þissere worulde, ðe þær to lafe beoð, mid geleafan to Criste, and[f] ða ærran losiað þe ær noldon gelyfan.

28. We habbað nu gesæd be Swiðhune þus sceortlice, and we secgað to soðan þæt se tima wæs gesælig and wynsum on Angelcynne, þa ða Eadgar cyning þone Cristendom gefyrðrode and fela munuclifa arærde; and his cynerice wæs wunigende on sibbe[a] swa þæt man ne gehyrde gif ænig sciphere wære buton agenre leode þe ðis land heoldon;[66] and ealle ða cyningas þe on þysum iglande wæron (Cumera and Scotta) comon to Eadgare—hwilon anes dæges eahta cyningas[67]—and hi ealle gebugon to Eadgares wissunge. Þærtoeacan wæron swilce wundra gefremode þurh þone halgan Swiðhun (swa swa we sædon ær) and swa lange swa we leofodon, þær wurdon gelome wundra. On ðam timan wæron eac wurðfulle bisceopas—Dunstan se anræda æt ðam ercestole, and Aþelwold se arwurða, and oðre gehwilce; ac Dunstan and Aþelwold wæron Drihtne gecorene, and hi swiðost manodon menn to Godes willan, and ælc god arærdon Gode to gecwemednysse:[b 68] þæt geswuteliað þa wundra þe God wyrcð þurh hi.

[c. 26] GOW] [no app. crit.]
[c. 27] GOW] [a] gehæftum *GOW*[1]; hæftum *W* [b] *om. G* [c] sceamelum *GOW*[1]; scamelum *W* [d] god *G* [e] ofslagen *W* [f] þonne *O*
[c. 28] GOW] [a] G ends here [b] cwemednysse *W*

[63] Ælfric adds a realistic detail ('mid his stæfe hoppigende') to Lantfred's vague description of the man's locomotion ('quacumque quiuit ratione accessit'). The extremely rare verb *hoppian* (weak 2), 'to leap, jump' is also used by Ælfric at *CH* i. 287. The present participle of this verb would be *hoppiende* or *hoppigende*; G's form *hoppegende* thus has a better claim to represent the original than does W's *hoppende*.

[64] Cf. Lantfred, c. 39: 'mirum namque hoc est ualde quod sanctus iste . . . non solum meritis et orationibus medetur languentum doloribus, uerum etiam compeditos soluit multos.'

[65] At numerous points in his writings, Ælfric goes out of his way to attack the Jews in a way that can only be called anti-Semitic. For him, the Jews are detestable because they crucified Christ, but also murdered the apostles James the Great and James the Less, and stoned the first martyr Stephen, and thereafter remained impenitent and even increased their crimes: see his treatise 'On the Old and the New Testament', in *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, ed. S. J. Crawford, EETS o.s. clx (London, 1922), 72–4 (lines 1227–57); his First Series homily for the eleventh Sunday after Pentecost (ed. Clemoes, *CH* i. 410–11, lines 23–36); the 'Passio S. Eadmundi' from the *Lives of Saints* (*LS* ii. 334, lines 269–72); and several homilies ptd B. Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. with Supplement by P. Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1964), pp. 61–2 (lines 239–48), 68–9 (lines 67–95), 79–80 (lines 179–85). See discussion by A. P. Scheil, 'Anti-Judaism in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*', *ASE* xxviii (1999), 65–86.

[66] From the perspective of the turmoil in Æthelred's England caused by Viking attacks in the 990s, Ælfric looks back nostalgically to the reign of King Edgar (959–75). A similarly

sneaked out, hopping with his staff,[63] and went to St Swithun with much moaning. Then the bolt shot straight out of the fetter and the bondman got up, having been released by the saint.

26 [no source]. A certain man was bound up round the head for his serious crime; he came to the saint and his painful headband broke as soon as he prayed.

27 [no source]. I cannot write down, nor say in words, all the miracles which the holy St Swithun performed through God's agency in this people's sight—either in prisoners or in sick persons[64] – to provide evidence for these people that they themselves may earn God's kingdom with good works, just as Swithun did who now shines through miracles. The Old Minster was completely hung round, from one end to the other and on either wall, with crutches and with the stools of cripples who had been healed there: and nevertheless they couldn't hang half of them up! Signs of this sort indicate that Christ is the Almighty God, who made manifest His saint through such beneficial deeds, even though the Jews[65]—deluded by the devil—will not believe in the living Christ, before the time when Antichrist shall be destroyed by God: then the wretches, who are left there at the end of this world, shall bow down in faith to Christ; and those who lived in former times, who did not want to believe, shall perish.

28 [no source]. I have now spoken thus briefly about St Swithun. And I say in truth that the time was blessed and delightful in England when King Edgar advanced Christianity and established many monasteries; and his kingdom was flourishing in peace, so that one never heard of any Viking army, except for those of the people themselves who live permanently in this land;[66] and all the kings of the Welsh and Scots who were in this island came to Edgar—once, on one and the same day, eight kings together[67] – and they all submitted to Edgar's rule. Furthermore, many great miracles were accomplished through the holy St Swithun, as I have mentioned previously; and as long as I have lived, there have been abundant miracles. At that time there were also distinguished bishops—the steadfast Dunstan in the archbishopric, and the venerable Æthelwold, and others like them; but Dunstan and Æthelwold had been chosen by the Lord, and they most of all exhorted men to obey God's will, and established everything good, to the delight of God:[68] the miracles which God performs through them makes this clear.

nostalgic passage is found in the *De oratione Moysi*: 'wel we magon geðencan hu well hit ferde mid us þa ða þis igland was wunigende on sibbe, and munuclif wæron mid wurðscipe gehealdene, and ða woruldmenn wæron wære wið heora fynd, swa þæt ure word sprang wide geond þas eorðan: hu wæs hit ða siððan ða þa man towearp munuclif, and Godes biggengas to bysmore hæfde, buton þæt us com to cwealm and hunger, and siððan hæðen here us hæfde to bysmre' (*LS* i. 294). See discussion by Jones, *LME*, pp. 47–8, and, on Ælfric's attitude to the Viking attacks, M. R. Godden, 'Apocalypse and invasion in late Anglo-Saxon England', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English*, ed. M. R. Godden, D. Gray and T. Hoad (Oxford, 1994), pp. 130–62.

[67] The identity of these eight kings is a matter of conjecture. According to *ASC* s.a. 972 DE (trans. Whitelock, p. 77), six kings (not named) were in question. In the Anglo-Norman historians eight kings are specified and named, although there is some question about the identity particularly of the Welsh kings: see JW ii. 422 (s.a. 973), and William of Malmesbury, *GR* c. 148 (ed. Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, i. 238), who specify Kenneth king of the Scots, Malcolm king of Cumbria, and Magnus king of the Western Isles, as well as five Welsh kings: Iago king of Gwynedd, Hywel ab Idwal, Dyfnwal king of Strathclyde, and (probably) Gryfydd and Ithel ab Idwallon. See discussion by J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (London, 1912), i. 349–50; by Sir Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 369–70, and by Thomson and Winterbottom, WmMalm *GR* ii. 132–3.

[68] The phrase *Gode to gecwemednysse* is used only by Ælfric. In addition to the present passage, see *CH* i. 274 ('ac gif ðu fæstan wille Gode to gecwemednysse'), *LS* i. 302 ('he swyðe oft dyde . . . swyðe ænlice ðincg . . . Gode to gecwemednysse'), i. 352 ('þurh gode biggengas Gode to gecwemednysse'), *Hom. Supp.* ii. 711 ('and geheold wislice þone biscophad . . . Gode to gecwemednysse'). These parallels confirm that the reading *gecwemednysse* of

245 29. Sy wuldor and lof þam welwillendan Scyppende,[69] þe his halgan mærsað mihtiglice mid wundrum, se ðe ana[a] rixað on ecnysse! AMEN.[70]

[c. 29] OW] [a] a *W*

O, rather than W's *cwemednysse*, is what Ælfric wrote; moreover, a noun *cwemednyss*, *-ness*, is not otherwise attested in OE, according to COE.

[69] Ælfric frequently uses this form of doxology: cf. the ending of his Lives of St Alban (*LS* i. 424) and St Martin (*LS* ii. 312); cf. also the closely similar formulation, *Sy wuldor and lof ðam*

29 [no source]. Glory and praise be to the beneficent Creator,[69] Who mightily glorifies His saints with miracles, He who alone rules in eternity! AMEN.[70]

welwillendum Gode: *CH* ii. 203, and *LS* i. 50, 168, ii. 120, 158.

[70] The same phrase occurs at the end of Ælfric's homily for the common of a confessor (ed. Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, p. 64): 'se ðe ana rixað on ecnysse. Amen.' Note also that in MS W, fo. 103r–v, the 'Life of St Swithun' is followed by an account (described as ITEM ALIA) of a miracle performed by the Egyptian anchorite Macarius (*LS* i. 470–2; the account is drawn from the *Historia monachorum*, c. 28); but this appendix has no organic connection with the 'Life of St Swithun'.

5. *VITA S. SWITHVNI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS*

INTRODUCTION

By the time of the Norman Conquest, all hagiography pertaining to St Swithun had, following the lead of Lantfred, been devoted to the miracles accomplished after the translation of the saint's remains on 15 July 971. In all this hagiography no attention had been given to the life of the saint himself—to what he accomplished during his time on earth; and, indeed, the historical sources for that life are extremely exiguous. The first attempt to compose from these exiguous sources a *vita* or life proper of St Swithun was made by an anonymous author at some time at the very end of the eleventh century, at a point when the saint's cult had spread throughout England and beyond, and there was justifiable curiosity about the person of the saint whose miraculous efficacy was by then undoubted. The work in question, the *Vita S. Swithuni episcopi et confessoris*,[1] was immensely popular, and survives in a substantial number of manuscript copies, both English and continental. It consists of eight chapters, and so could be used—and was very probably designed—as lections for reading at the monastic night Office; it is accordingly preserved (with minor adaptation) in a number of late medieval breviaries. Furthermore, it served in its turn as the source of later redactions of the saint's *vita*, including that by John of Tynemouth. For these reasons, it deserves detailed attention.

i. THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE *VITA S. SWITHVNI*

Before it is possible to consider the authorship and date of the *Vita S. Swithuni*, a number of complex issues must be addressed; in particular, it is necessary to establish the relationship of this *vita* to the anonymous *Vita S. Birini* on one hand, and to the anonymous *Miracula S. Swithuni* (ptd below, no. 6) on the other.

The *Vita S. Birini*[2] is a prolix account, based principally on Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, of the so-called 'apostle of Wessex', an Italian missionary who, in the early seventh century, converted King Cynegils, and with him the people of Wessex. From the late tenth century, St Birinus's tomb was located in the Old Minster, Winchester,[3] and the *Vita S. Birini* is in some sense a product of that

[1] *BHL* no. 7943; see also Hardy, *Catalogue* i, pt 2, p. 513 (no. 1078).

[2] *BHL* no. 1361; see also Hardy, *Catalogue* i. 235–6 (no. 625); ed. Love, *Three Lives*, pp. 1–47.

[3] Wulfstan, *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, Ep. spec. 265–6; above, p. 392.

Winchester cult. The *vita* as preserved in manuscript is anonymous, and the only indication of its date is its mention of St Æthelwold's translation of the saint as an event well in the past. On the other hand, among the several manuscripts which preserve the *Vita S. Birini* are two which can be dated on palaeographical grounds to *c.*1100, and in any event to no later than the early years of the twelfth century: namely London, BL, Cotton Tiberius D. iv and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 112. It is striking that in both these manuscripts the *Vita S. Birini* lies adjacent to our *Vita S. Swithuni*.[4] Furthermore, it is clear from the first glance that the two works share closely similar diction. Compare, for example, the opening sentences of the two works:

Vita S. Swithuni, c. 1: Swithunus pater et pastor in ecclesia Dei futurus
Vita S. Birini, c. 1: Birinus, magnificus pater pastor egregius oritur Rome, futurus ciuis ciuitatis eterne.

The expression in the *Vita S. Birini* is more prolix, but the nuclear diction is identical. Verbal similarities of this sort pervade the two works.[5] For purposes of illustration, two further examples may be cited.

Vita S. Swithuni	*Vita S. Birini*
factum est ut opinionis	suauissime igitur opinionis
suauissime odor de prato	illius odor longe lateque . . .
sanctitatis ipsius emanans [c. 3]	cepit emanare [c. 4]
quem rex euocatum	quem multa et sapienti
multimoda indagatione	indagatione perlustrans
perlustrans [c. 3]	[c. 4]

The unmistakable implication of these similarities is that the two works are the production of one author. Unfortunately, the *Vita S. Birini* carries no indication of authorship, and it cannot be more closely dated than to the century between 984 (the date of Bishop Æthelwold's death) and *c.*1100. In order to achieve greater precision, it is necessary to consider a further work, the *Miracula S. Swithuni*.

The *Miracula S. Swithuni* are printed below (no. 6, pp. 647–97) for the first time. In five of the manuscripts which preserve the *Vita S. Swithuni*,[6] this work is immediately followed by a set of *Miracula S. Swithuni* consisting, in their fullest form, of fifty-six miracles which took place following the translation of St Swithun in 971 and continued to take place up to the time that the *Miracula* were composed. The content and sources of the *Miracula* will be treated more fully below; here it is necessary briefly to state that the first forty chapters (cc. 1–40) of the *Miracula* are a prose version of Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, whereas the remaining chapters (cc. 41–56) treat miracles which took place at Winchester and Sherborne during the eleventh century. Even a cursory reading of these *Miracula S. Swithuni* will indicate that they were composed by the author of the *Vita S. Swithuni* (see below, pp. 641–2), inasmuch as the two works share many features of diction and style. By the same token, the *Miracula S. Swithuni* share these same features with the *Vita S. Birini*.[7] In short, one author composed all three works: the *Vita S. Swithuni*, *Miracula S. Swithuni* and *Vita S. Birini*.

[4] Tiberius D. iv: *Vita S. Birini*, fos. 105v–110v; *Vita S. Swithuni*, fos. 111r–112r. Digby 112: *Vita S. Swithuni*, fos. 1r–4v; *Vita S. Birini*, fos. 5v–17r.

[5] See the detailed comparisons in Love, *Three Lives*, pp. liv–lv.

[6] MSS ACGLT; see below, pp. 622–6.

[7] See Love, *Three Lives*, pp. lv–lvi.

Although, as we have seen, neither the *Vita S. Swithuni* nor the *Vita S. Birini* contains any indication of where or when they were composed, there are numerous such indications in the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, and these help us to date and localize the anonymous hagiographer's activity. The chapters of the *Miracula* which were added to the material based on Wulfstan contain various references to identifiable persons: Ealdred, the monk of Winchester who became bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York, crowned William the Conqueror and died in 1069, is described in c. 43 as 'uenerande memorie'; Durand, a sheriff of Hampshire attested in various *regesta* during the period 1096 × 1100, is referred to in c. 56 as 'uir quidam probus nomine Durandus dudum uicecomitis officio [*scil.* the office of sheriff] functus'; and Walkelin, bishop of Winchester (1070–98) is referred to in c. 52 as 'uenerabilis memorie'. These references supply an absolute *terminus post quem* of 3 January 1098 (the date of Walkelin's death). On the other hand, one of the manuscripts which preserves the *Miracula* (including all fifty-six of its chapters), namely BL Cotton Tiberius D. iv (= T), was written *c.*1100 or in the first few years of the twelfth century. It is clear, therefore, that the anonymous hagiographer completed his *Miracula S. Swithuni c.*1100. Since the references to Durand and Walkelin occur in the latest chapters of the work (cc. 52, 56), it may be feasible to think that he had composed the *Vita S. Swithuni* and the earlier chapters of the *Miracula* (and perhaps the *Vita S. Birini*) at a somewhat earlier time. How much earlier is difficult to say; but it is worth recalling, as Rosalind Love has pointed out, that the dedication of Walkelin's new cathedral at Winchester took place on 8 April 1093,[8] and the composition of a *vita* and *miracula* would have made a fitting accompaniment to that dedication;[9] on the other hand, the new cathedral had been under construction since 1079, and the literary reflex of that construction may have been in preparation for a similar period. On balance, the anonymous hagiographer's activity may best be situated in the last decade (perhaps the last two decades) of the eleventh century, culminating in the completion of the last few chapters of the *Miracula* by *c.*1100.

Some indication of where the anonymous hagiographer was working may be derived from the localities in which the miracles added to the Wulfstanian core of the collection (namely cc. 41–56) are sited. A majority of these miracles takes place at Winchester, at the shrine of St Swithun, as we should expect (cc. 41–2, 47–52, 54–6), and one pertaining to Ealdred, a former monk of the Old Minster, takes place at sea (c. 43). Several, however, are said to have taken place at a statue of St Swithun which was erected in the church at Sherborne (cc. 44–6, 53);[10] the descriptions given in these miracles imply familiarity with Sherborne on the author's behalf. So the question arises: was the author working at Winchester or Sherborne? Arguments may be adduced in favour of either location. In favour of Winchester is the fact that the shrines of both Swithun and Birinus were housed in the Old Minster (though the force of this argument is weakened by the fact that by *c.*1100 the cults of both saints had spread outside Winchester, as the statue of St Swithun at Sherborne clearly illustrates). More importantly, the reference in the *Vita S. Swithuni* (c. 1) to Ecgberht being the eighth West Saxon king in succession to Cynegils implies that the author had consulted the New Minster *Liber uitae*, which implies in turn that his hagiographical activity took place at Winchester. But there are problems with siting the hagiographer in Winchester. Why, for example, did he go to the trouble of converting the hexameters of Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* into prose, when he could simply have abbreviated the prose of Lantfred's *Translatio*, assuming he

[8] See WS i. 308. [9] Love, *Three Lives*, p. lviii.
[10] On the statue and its dedication, see below, pp. 680–1.

had access to that work? If he was working in Winchester, he could have consulted Lantfred's work in the Royal manuscript (BL, Royal 15. C. VII) which was presumably kept on the altar of St Swithun's shrine in the Old Minster.[11] The fact that he began his task not with Lantfred but with Wulfstan implies that he was ignorant of the existence of Lantfred's work, an ignorance which would be difficult to achieve in Winchester. It is interesting to note, therefore, that there are two surviving copies of Wulfstan's *Narratio*: one of these is the aforementioned Royal manuscript, in which Wulfstan's poem follows Lantfred's prose; the other, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14, is a copy of Wulfstan's poem (made directly from the Royal manuscript) which was owned at Sherborne in the late eleventh century.[12] The simplest hypothesis may be that the author composed his *vitae* of Birinus and Swithun while he was in Winchester, but that by the time he began to work on the *Miracula* he was at Sherborne, where no copy of Lantfred's prose text was to be found, but where he had access to the copy of Wulfstan which survives as Auct. F. 2. 14. Working at Sherborne with this manuscript he composed the first forty miracles of his collection; that he continued to work there while compiling the remainder (cc. 41–56) is reflected in the pronounced Sherborne interest of cc. 44–6 and 53. In sum, the anonymous hagiographer worked at both Winchester and Sherborne during the last decade (or two) of the eleventh century.

Is it possible to identify this anonymous hagiographer? The *Vita S. Swithuni* has long been associated with the name of one distinguished hagiographer who was active in England during the second half of the eleventh century: Goscelin of Saint-Bertin. It is not necessary here to give a full account of Goscelin's life and writings,[13] but a very brief summary may be pertinent. Goscelin came to England shortly after 1062 under the patronage of Herman, the Lotharingian bishop of Sherborne (1062–78);[14] he spent the first period of his residence in England at Sherborne, Herman's see, but was also at some point during this period appointed chaplain to the (aristocratic) nuns at Wilton Abbey, and also probably spent some time at nearby Winchester, inasmuch as he was later remembered in the prayers of both the Old and New Minsters.[15] After the death of his patron Herman in 1078, he was forced, through conflict with Herman's successor Osmund, to leave Sherborne; perhaps as a result of his Winchester contacts he found asylum first at Peterborough (*c.*1080) and then at other East Anglian and Essex houses (including Ramsey, Ely and Barking), where he composed *vitae* of many local saints. The final period of his life was spent at St Augustine's, Canterbury, whose community he joined in or soon after 1089, and where in an extended hagiographical campaign he composed *vitae* of the principal Canterbury saints, from St Augustine onwards.[16] His latest datable work is from 1099; he is known to have been alive in 1107, but the date of his death is unknown.

Even from so brief an account, it will be seen that there are many points of similarity between the career of our anonymous hagiographer, who worked at Sherborne and Winchester, and that of Goscelin, who began his English career at Sherborne, and had close contact with Winchester. There is, however, an apparent discrepancy: the anonymous hagiographer was at work in Wessex in the

[11] See above, pp. 239–40.

[12] See above, p. 364.

[13] There is an excellent account in F. Barlow, *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*, 2nd edn. (OMT, 1992), pp. xlviii–lii, 133–49 ('Appendix C: Goscelin of Saint-Bertin and his Works'); see also Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 151–4 (no. 395).

[14] The date conventionally given for Herman's appointment to Sherborne, namely 1058, must be rejected, since his predecessor, Ælfwold, was still occupying the bishopric in 1062, as Simon Keynes has shown: 'Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, x (1988), 185–222, at pp. 202–3 n. 102.

[15] See *Liber uitae*, ed. Birch, p. 30; ed. Keynes, fo. 20r, and discussion by Barlow, *The Life of King Edward*, p. 140 n. 62.

[16] On this period, see R. Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth: hagiography and liturgy in context', *JTS* xli (1990), 502–16.

1090s, whereas Goscelin spent his time in Wessex before 1078 and by the 1090s was at St Augustine's, Canterbury. Whether the discrepancy is real or only apparent depends on the strength of the evidence for attributing the *Vita S. Swithuni* to Goscelin, to which we may now turn.

The story begins with the great English antiquary, John Leland (1506–52), who in his *Collectanea* recorded the contents of a hagiographical manuscript that included both the *Vita S. Swithuni* and the *Miracula S. Swithuni*. Leland listed the contents as follows: *Vita S. Grimbaldi*; Osbern of Canterbury, *Vita S. Ælphegi*; *Vita S. Erkenwaldi*; *Libellus de miraculis S. Erkenwaldi*; *Vita S. Ethelburgae*; *Libellus de uita S. Etheldrædæ*; *Vita S. Swithuni*; and *Miracula S. Swithuni*.[17] To judge solely from this list of contents, Leland's manuscript has not survived, inasmuch as no surviving manuscript contains all these works. The latest datable work is the *Libellus de miraculis S. Erkenwaldi*, which contains—as Leland himself noticed—a reference to Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London (1128–34);[18] more recent research has shown that the work in question can be dated precisely to the years 1140–1 (see below, p. 644). The implication is that the manuscript, apparently a legendary of some sort, can have been written no earlier than the mid-twelfth century. We have no means of knowing where Leland saw the manuscript or where it was written. In any case, wherever he found it, Leland apparently purloined the manuscript for his own use, for the next time we find a reference to it is in the notebook of John Bale (1495–1563), where it is described as being *ex bibliotheca Ioannis Lelandi*. Between the years 1548 and 1552 Bale compiled extensive notes on all learned books by British authors; this notebook, which survives in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Selden supra 64) and is known by the editorial title *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, was first published at the beginning of the twentieth century.[19] At two points in this notebook Bale refers to the distinctive contents of Leland's hagiographical manuscript. On the first occasion, Bale lists four items (with their incipits) from the manuscript in Leland's library (*ex bibliotheca Ioan. Lelandi*) as being anonymous works: *Vita S. Swithuni* (inc. 'Glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto'), *Vita S. Grimbaldi* (inc. 'Vrbs Morinorum quondam ampla'), *Vita S. Erkenwaldi* (inc. 'Post passionem et resurrectionem') and *Vita S. Wulstani episcopi* (inc. 'Temporibus Edwardi piissimi regis').[20] On a second occasion in his notebook, however, Bale lists three of these four items, again from a manuscript *ex bibliotheca Ioannis Lelandi*, under the rubric 'Gotcellinus monachus Cantuariensis';[21] this time, according to Bale, Goscelin 'is said to have written' *vitae* of Swithun, Grimbald and Erkenwald:

> Fertur quoque scripsisse vitam S. Swithuni episcopi li. i. 'Glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto regnante' etc. Vitam Grimbaldi li. i. 'Vrbs Morinorum quondam ampla'. Vitam Erkenwaldi li. i. 'Post passionem ac resurrectionem'.[22]

As we shall see, this brief notice from Bale's notebook was subsequently used by him in compiling his great *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae . . . Catalogus* which was published in two volumes at Basel in 1557–9.

Before attempting to trace the later history and influence of Bale's conjectural attribution (*fertur scripsisse*) of the *Vita S. Swithuni* and the other works to Goscelin, it is necessary to establish, if

[17] Leland, *Collectanea*, i. 18–22. Leland does not list the *Miracula S. Swithuni* under a separate heading, but he does include one-line summaries of cc. 4, 20, and 30 (see below, p. 644), so the inclusion of the *Miracula* in the manuscript is not in doubt.

[18] Ibid. i. 21.

[19] R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum. John Bale's Index of British and other Writers* (Oxford, 1902; repr. with addenda by C. Brett and J. P. Carley, Woodbridge, 1990).

[20] Ibid. p. 482. The *Vita S. Wulstani* is apparently unknown and has not survived; no such incipit is listed in *BHL*.

[21] Ibid. p. 97.

[22] Ibid. p. 98.

possible, the source of that conjecture. Recall that Bale's starting-point was a manuscript, now lost, belonging to John Leland which contained a number of saints' *vitae* (listed above, p. 615), including—in addition to the *vitae* of Swithun, Grimbald and Erkenwald which are here at issue—Osbern of Canterbury's *Vita S. Ælphegi*, a *Vita S. Ethelburgae* and a *Libellus de uita S. Etheldrædæ*. Although Bale appropriately listed the *Vita S. Ælphegi* under Osbern's name,[23] he found no occasion to list the two anonymous *vitae*. It is interesting to note, therefore, that these two *vitae*—of St Æthelburh of Barking and St Æthelthryth of Ely—are regarded by modern scholars as genuine works of Goscelin, though neither is extant.[24] And if Leland's lost manuscript contained two genuine works of Goscelin, it may possibly have contained more; more to the point, it may have contained some notice which led Bale to ascribe the *vitae* of Swithun, Grimbald and Erkenwald hesitantly to Goscelin.

In the case of the *Vita S. Swithuni*, although the text is preserved in ten manuscripts, not one of these carries an ascription to Goscelin.[25] The case for Goscelin's authorship of the *Vita S. Grimbaldi* has been treated comprehensively by Philip Grierson, who showed convincingly that the excerpts from this lost work as preserved by Leland[26] incorporate various details drawn from John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury.[27] On chronological grounds, therefore, Leland's lost *Vita S. Grimbaldi* could not have been composed by Goscelin, the date of whose death is unknown, but who is last attested in 1107.[28] A similar situation obtains with respect to the *Vita S. Erkenwaldi*. Gordon Whatley has recently shown that although this work was composed between 1087 and *c.*1124, hence during Goscelin's lifetime, it could not on stylistic grounds have been written by him, inasmuch as it is composed in a plain and unadorned style utterly distinct from the cultivated prose of Goscelin.[29]

In light of this evidence, it would appear that Bale's conjecture—*fertur scripsisse*—was nothing more than a guess. Yet it has enjoyed a long career in scholarly literature. Later in the sixteenth century the German scholar Lorenz Surius (1522–78)[30] compiled his massive, six-volume collection of saints' *vitae* entitled *De probatis historiis sanctorum*, arranged according to the calendar year, with each of the six volumes containing *vitae* for two months.[31] As part of vol. iv (1579), Surius included a *vita* of St Swithun against 2 July.[32] Collation shows that the text in question was drawn from a copy of the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, which had been printed in London in 1506 by Wynkyn de Worde. As we shall see (below, pp. 751–2), the *Nova Legenda Anglie* was based in its turn on John of Tynemouth's massive *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae*, but with the *vitae* arranged in alphabetical rather than calendrical order, as had been the case in John of Tynemouth's work. For his entry for St Swithun, John of Tynemouth included a drastically abbreviated version of the anonymous *Vita* and *Miracula* of St Swithun (John's 'Vita S. Swithuni' is printed as no. 9, below, pp. 755–61), and this is the text that was printed in the *Nova Legenda Anglie* by Wynkyn de Worde. In making his

[23] Ibid. p. 315.

[24] See M. L. Colker, 'Texts of Jocelyn of Canterbury which relate to the history of Barking Abbey', *Studia Monastica*, vii (1965), 383–460, at pp. 392–5, and Barlow, *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 146–7.

[25] But note that in one of these, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 112, fo. 11, there is the following annotation: 'Vita S. Swythuni per Goscelinum Bertinianum'. However, this annotation is a late addition in the hand (unknown to me) of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century antiquary; the likelihood is that the annotation derives from Bale rather than vice versa.

[26] *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, i. 18–19.

[27] P. Grierson, 'Grimbald of St. Bertin's', *EHR* lv (1940), 529–61, at pp. 529, 535–7.

[28] See Grierson (ibid. pp. 539–40), who demonstrates convincingly that the ascription of the *Vita S. Grimbaldi* to Goscelin depends solely on the conjecture by Bale.

[29] E. G. Whatley, *The Saint of London. The Life and Miracles of St Erkenwald* (Binghamton, NY, 1989), pp. 13–23.

[30] On Surius, see *DACL* xv. 1736–7, as well as below, pp. 751–2.

[31] L. Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis partim ex tomis Aloysii Lipomani*, 6 vols. (Cologne, 1571–80).

[32] Ibid., iv. 45–7.

abbreviation, John of Tynemouth by chance preserved the very wording of the opening sentence of his anonymous source, so that John's abbreviation begins, as does the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni*, with the words 'Glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto regnante'. Accordingly, when Surius came upon the *Vita S. Swithuni* in his copy of the *Nova Legenda Anglie*—which, like most of the 156 *vitae* in that collection, bore no indication of authorship—he happened to remember the description of Goscelin's literary estate which had been given by Bale in his *Catalogus* some twenty years earlier; in particular, he noticed Bale's specification that Goscelin's *Vita S. Swithuni* began with the words 'Glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto'.[33] Bale had stated (wrongly) that Goscelin came to England at Archbishop Anselm's invitation and flourished *c.*1110:

> Gotcelinus Bertinianus, natione Gallus, et patria Morinensis, monachus ad Bertini Fanum inter Belgicas gentes uersus mare Brytannicum fuit . . . Vnde in Angliam uocatus ab Anselmo archiepiscopo et alijs multis, non moriturum nomen docendo et scribendo apud illos obtinuit . . . Claruit Gotcelinus anno a diuini uerbi incarnatione 1110, regnante in ipsa Anglia Henrico eius nominis primo.[34]

Faced with this notice by Bale, Surius drew the (false) inference that the *Vita S. Swithuni* in his copy of the *Nova Legenda Anglie* was in fact by Goscelin. He accordingly prefaced his text of the *Vita S. Swithuni* with the statement that it was by Goscelin, a native of the Morigny, who flourished in 1110: 'Vita S. Swithuni episcopi Wintoniensis, authore Gotzelino Morinen. qui claruit anno Christi 1110'.[35] In fact, as we have seen, the text printed by Surius is that by John of Tynemouth; but since John's name is not mentioned anywhere in the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, his authorship has been displaced, on Bale's cognizance, by that of Goscelin. Surius's attribution of John's *Vita S. Swithuni* to Goscelin was perpetuated by the Bollandists, who simply reprinted Surius's text together with his rubric.[36] The Bollandists' text was in turn reprinted by Migne in his Patrologia Latina, once again with the rubric ascribing John's work to Goscelin,[37] whence it has achieved wide circulation in modern scholarly literature. Thus Bale's unfounded conjecture, combined with Surius's false inference, have misled scholarship for more than four hundred years.

And there one might leave the matter. Yet there will always be a residual suspicion that Bale's conjecture concerning Goscelin's authorship of our *Vita S. Swithuni*, whether unfounded or not, might nevertheless contain some truth. After all, Goscelin was, during the first period of his hagiographical activity, resident in Sherborne and Winchester, as was our anonymous hagiographer. Before leaving the question of authorship, therefore, it is necessary to ask whether on stylistic grounds the *Vita S. Swithuni* (and with it, the *Miracula S. Swithuni* and the *Vita S. Birini*) might be attributable to Goscelin. Unfortunately, the canon of Goscelin's writing has never been authoritatively defined, and those writings which are undeniably his have never been the subject of a thorough-going stylistic analysis. Such an analysis lies beyond the scope of the present book; but it might be appropriate to conduct a limited analysis of those works of Goscelin which are associated with Wessex. These works form a definable group, and were written either when Goscelin was still resident in Wessex, or shortly after he left; they date, in other words, from the late 1070s and early

[33] J. Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant: Catalogus*, 2 vols. (Basel, 1557–9), ii. 128. Bale's printed *Catalogus* is based on his notebook (the so-called *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*), discussed above.

[34] Ibid.

[35] *De probatis historiis sanctorum*, iv. 45. To his credit, Surius also expressed the suspicion that the text in question was an epitome of Goscelin's work ('quanquam suspicor hanc non nisi Epitomen esse vitae ab illo conscriptae').

[36] *ActaSS*, Iulii I (Antwerp, 1719), pp. 327–8.

[37] PL clv. 57–62.

1080s. It is entirely possible that stylistic features identifiable in these early works are also to be found in works composed at Canterbury during the 1090s; but a full analysis of even a few stylistic features in the full corpus of Goscelin's writings would be an immense undertaking; furthermore, it is the Wessex writings which are most obviously pertinent to the hagiography of SS Swithun and Birinus. Four works are in question, three of which are certainly by Goscelin (insofar as they carry his name in their prologues) and one of which is very probably to be attributed to him:

(a) *Vita S. Wulfsini*,[38] the life of St Wulfsige of Sherborne (993–1002). Certainly by Goscelin (the rubric to the prologue describes it as the *vita* 'quam edidit uenerabilis sacerdos et monachus Iocelinus'); composed 1077–9.

(b) *Vita S. Edithae* and *Translatio S. Edithae*,[39] an account of the life of St Edith of Wilton (d. 984?), daughter of King Edgar, together with the miracles which accompanied her translation in 997 (?). Certainly by Goscelin (the rubric to the prologue reads 'Incipit prologus Gocelini monachi in Vitam sancte Edithe virginis'); composed *c.*1080.

(c) *Liber confortatorius*,[40] a powerful and moving work in the medieval genre of the *consolatio*, addressed to a young nun named Eva whose chaplain and spiritual adviser Goscelin had been while she was at Wilton; her sudden and unannounced departure from Wilton to a hermitage near Angers caused Goscelin great personal anguish and prompted the *liber confortatorius*, written as much to console the author as the addressee. Certainly by Goscelin (its rubric reads 'Incipit confortatorius liber Goscelini monachi'); composed soon after Goscelin's departure from Wessex, probably *c.*1080–2, while he was resident at Peterborough.

(d) the *Vita S. Kenelmi*,[41] the life of St Kenelm of Winchcombe, a royal prince murdered in *c.*811. The *vita* contains no prologue (unusually for a work by Goscelin) and no ascription of authorship, but it may be convincingly be attributed to Goscelin on stylistic grounds.[42] The dating is uncertain, but it probably belongs to the period 1066 × 1075,[43] in which case it would be the earliest surviving work of Goscelin thus far identified.

In the brief analysis which follows, I have limited my discussion to Goscelin's vocabulary;[44] a full stylistic analysis would of course embrace syntax, deployment of rhetorical devices, rhyme and cursus. Even within the restricted scope of the present analysis, however, certain tendencies emerge. I analyze Goscelin's vocabulary under five separate headings: (1) words used idiosyncratically by Goscelin; (2) compound adjectives in *-dicus*, *-ferus*, *-gerus*, *-ficus*, *-fluus*, *-genus*, and *-sonus*, of a sort characteristic of Latin poetry; (3) unusual agentive nouns in *-or*;[45] (4) corresponding feminine agentive nouns in *-rix*; and (5) grecizing verbs terminating in *-izo*.

[38] Ed. C. H. Talbot, 'The Life of Saint Wulsin of Sherborne by Goscelin', *RB* lxix (1959), 68–85 (cited here by lection number).

[39] Ed. A. Wilmart, 'La Légende de Ste Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', *AB* lvi (1938), 5–101 (*Vita*) and 265–307 (*Translatio*), cited here by page no. of Wilmart's edition.

[40] Ed. C. H. Talbot, 'The *Liber Confortatorius* of Goscelin of Saint Bertin', *Studia Anselmiana* 37 (1955), 1–117, cited here by page no. of Talbot's edition. See also the important discussion by A. Wilmart, 'Eve et Goscelin', *RB* xlvi (1934), 414–38, and I (1938), 42–83.

[41] Ed. Love, *Three Lives*, pp. 50–89, cited here by chapter no.

[42] Ibid. pp. xc–ci.

[43] Ibid. p. xcvii.

[44] Cf. the brief remarks on Goscelin's vocabulary by Talbot, 'The *Liber Confortatorius*', p. 15, and D. Rollason, 'Goscelin of Canterbury's account of the translation and miracles of St Mildrith', *Mediaeval Studies*, xlviii (1986), 139–210, at pp. 142–3.

[45] I omit common agentive nouns such as *peccator*, *confessor*, *rector*, etc.

(1) Words used idiosyncratically

In the four works in question, Goscelin uses the following words idiosyncratically: *gleba* ('sod, lump of earth') to mean the human remains or relics of a saint;[46] *pignus* ('a pledge') to mean the relics of a saint;[47] *prelatio* ('a preference'), used by Goscelin to mean (ecclesiastical) preferment;[48] and *requietio*, a Vulgate word meaning 'rest' (for example on the Sabbath), used by Goscelin to mean peace in death or burial.[49]

(2) Compound adjectives

Vita S. Wulsini: *almifluus* (xxv), *almisonus* (xxiii), *beneficus* (xi), *clauigerus* (i), *fructiferus* (iv), *laudisonus* (v), *mellifluus* (xvii), *omnigenus* (xii), *salutiferus* (x, xii, xv, xxiii), *signiferus* (xii, xxiii, xxv), *ueridicus* (xv); *Vita S. Edithae*: *almifluus* (281), *castificus* (59), *clarificus* (89), *clarisonus* (40), *deiferus* (268), *dulcisonus* (57), *florigerus* (87), *fructiferus* (59, 89), *laetificus* (96), *laudisonus* (101, 298), *luciferus* (89, 100, 287), *mellifluus* (36), *mirificus* (268, 280), *mirriferus* (268), *multimodus* (68), *odoriferus* (59, 89), *oleiferus* (91), *omnigenus* (89), *opiferus* (292), *palmigerus* (270), *regificus* (51), *salutiferus* (63, 73, 74, 88, 295), *sanctificus* (57, 75), *sceptrigerus* (40), *sensificus* (90), *signiferus* (40, 269), *sygniferus* [= *cygniferus*] (285), *turrigerus* (89), *uiuificus* (60, 88, 91, 281); *Liber confortatorius*: *almifluus* (77), *deificus* (33), *dulcifluus* (81), *hymnidicus* (68), *lactifluus* (37), *legiferus* (47), *luciferus* (83, 115), *magniloquus* (111), *mellifluus* (37), *mortiferus* (94), *psalmidicus* (82), *salutiferus* (84, 115), *signiferus* (39), *ueneniferus* (115), *ueridicus* (57), *uiuificus* (90), *uociferus* (83), *uulniferus* (101); *Vita S. Kenelmi*: *almifluus* (13),[50] *altisonus* (17), *salutiferus* (prol.), *terrificus* (10), *ueneficus* (16), *ueridicus* (7).

(3) Agentive nouns in *-or*

Vita S. Wulsini: *assertor* (xii), *astipulator* (ix), *auditor* (xvii), *contemplator* (viii, xvii), *certator* (v), *defensor* (xx), *dispensator* (vi), *ianitor* (xxv), *interuentor* (xi), *oblator* (xviii), *retributor* (xxv), *susceptor* (viii); *Vita S. Edithae*: *consolator* (81), *contemtor* (282), *coronator* (299), *dilector* (299), *dispensator* (278, 300), *diuisor* (42), *dominator* (56), *eruditor* (51), *exhortator* (57), *explorator* (38), *habitator* (70), *incentor* (73), *indultor* (297), *interuentor* (53), *inuasor* (281, 282), *persequutor* (273), *plasmator* (48), *possessor* (266), *preceptor* (58, 76), *presumtor* (271), *procurator* (300), *propugnator* (58), *regnator* (286), *speculator* (267), *uenerator* (299), *uinitor* (48), *uisitator* (296); *Liber confortatorius*: *acceptor* (102), *accusator* (112), *adiutor* (64, 99), *affectator* (81), *bellator* (49, 55, 57, 71, 72, 111), *cachinnator* (26), *concionator* (39, 40), *confabulator* (67), *contemptor* (40), *conturbator* (112), *corruptor* (98, 105), *deceptor* (52, 67), *defensor* (89), *desiderator* (31), *dilector* (30, 33), *direptor* (91), *discretor* (100), *diuisor* (94), *effusor* (33), *emulator* (72), *examinator* (101), *exhortator* (46), *explanator* (86), *gladiator* (51), *incentor* (56, 104), *insultator* (91), *interfector* (33, 40), *lapidator* (111), *machinator* (99), *mediator* (82, 99), *monitor* (95), *negator* (94, 95), *occisor* (33), *operator* (103), *percussor* (53, 64, 98, 105), *persequutor* (51, 92, 95, 98), *ponderator* (45), *preliator* (62), *presumptor* (94), *preuaricator* (54,

[46] *Vita S. Wulsini* (ix *bis*); *Vita S. Edithae* (266, 268, 274, 276, 284, 296, 299); *Vita S. Kenelmi* (13, 15 *bis*). The word used in this sense is not unique to Goscelin (cf. *DMLBS*, s.v., 5a); it is used, for example, by Wulfstan, *Narratio*, i. 709, ii. 817: 'fulgida sanctorum glebis quae mille coruscas'). No Insular Latin author uses it so insistently as Goscelin, however.

[47] *Vita S. Wulsini* (ix, xiii, xv, xx); *Vita S. Edithae* (97, 269 *bis*, 275, 294); *Liber confortatorius* (31).

[48] *Vita S. Wulsini* (iii); *Vita S. Edithae* (77, 295); *Liber confortatorius* (114).

[49] *Vita S. Wulsini* (xi); *Vita S. Edithae* (48, 87, 96, 286).

[50] Cf. Love's note, *Three Lives*, p. 68 n. 1.

104), *proditor* (104), *propagator* (113), *propositor* (72), *raptor* (115), *receptor* (70), *retributor* (73), *scortator* (63, 99), *seductor* (53, 70, 104, 112), *speculator* (49), *spiculator* (98), *stuprator* (99), *suasor* (67), *subsannator* (91), *suggestor* (56), *susceptor* (35, 101), *tortor* (98, 99), *triumphator* (52, 110), *uentilator* (26), *zelator* (81); *Vita S. Kenelmi*: *altor* (23), *approbator* (prol.), *fraudator* (19), *imitator* (5), *percussor* (8), *procurator* (2), *proditor* (5), *sanator* (31).[51]

(4) Agentive nouns in *-rix*

Vita S. Edithae: *adiutrix* (100, 282), *bellatrix* (274), *consolatrix* (294), *contemplatrix* (299), *cultrix* (55), *dictatrix* (39), *edificatrix* (274), *imitatrix* (55, 58), *interuentrix* (63, 279, 293), *liberatrix* (293), *opitulatrix* (297), *peccatrix* (74), *percunctatrix* (299), *presumptrix* (271), *propiciatrix* (291), *redemptrix* (90), *remediatrix* (295), *suffragatrix* (279), *ultrix* (282); *Liber confortatorius*: *altrix* (29), *amatrix* (31), *contemplatrix* (44), *debetrix* (103), *dilectrix* (81), *interuentrix* (34), *liberatrix* (98), *mediatrix* (54), *meretrix* (93, 95, 101), *peccatrix* (101, 106), *redemptrix* (103, 110), *susceptrix* (103); *Vita S. Kenelmi*: *rebellatrix* (prol.).

(5) Verbs in *-izo*

Vita S. Wulsini: *euangelizo* (v), *intronizo* (iv); *Vita S. Edithae*: *agonizo* (94), *aromatizo* (95), *chorizo* (289, 298), *odizo* (39), *scandalizo* (64), *sollemnizo* (90), *thesaurizo* (96, 101, 275), *ymnizo* (67); *Liber confortatorius*: *agonizo* (68), *anachorizo* (104), *preconizo* (63), *solemnizo* (42, 84), *thesaurizo* (35, 37), *timpanizo* (93), *ymnizo* (75).

We may now apply these same five criteria to the writings of our anonymous hagiographer, noting occurrences in the *Vita S. Swithuni*, *Miracula S. Swithuni* and *Vita S. Birini*.

(1) words used idiosyncratically by Goscelin: no examples.[52]

(2) compound adjectives. *Vita S. Swithuni*: *multimodus* (3); *Miracula S. Swithuni*: *pestiferus* (3), *salutiferus* (54); *Vita S. Birini*: *fructiferus* (1), *mortiferus* (14).

(3) agentive nouns in *-or*. *Vita S. Swithuni*: *adiutor* (5), *altor* (4), *amator* (5, 7), *cultor* (7), *eruditor* (8); *Miracula S. Swithuni*: *adiutor* (34), *amator* (20), *cognitor* (55), *conuiator* (55), *curator* (8), *executor* (43, 56), *glorificator* (54), *habitator* (55), *inquisitor* (27, 55), *largitor* (28), *liberator* (28), *mediator* (54), *miserator* (6), *peruasor* (35, 41), *prereptor* (55), *procurator* (54), *raptor* (42), *suffragator* (54); *Vita S. Birini*: *cultor* (12), *curator* (16), *habitator* (20), *operator* (16), *predicator* (19), *seruitor* (10), *successor* (21), *uector* (12).

(4) agentive nouns in *-rix*: no example.

(5) grecizing verbs in *-izo*: *Vita S. Birini*: *euangelizo* (13), *thesaurizo* (2).

The differences between the style of Goscelin and that of the anonymous hagiographer, even on the basis of these five limited criteria, are striking.[53] The anonymous hagiographer uses none of the

[51] Two of the words in this list are not technically agentive nouns, insofar as they are not formed on the basis of the past participle of a verb: *ianitor* (which ultimately derives from *ianum* + *ire*), and *uinitor* (which is formed—from *uinum* + *ire*?—on the analogy of nouns such as *ianitor*).

[52] It is worth noting that, although there is no example of the word *requietio* in the anonymous hagiographer, the noun *requiescio* is used in the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, c. 4: 'factum est autem hoc anno dormitionis et requiescionis sue centesimo decimo' (but note that one manuscript, T, here reads *requietionis*). The use of this different word in itself suggests a different author.

[53] By the same token it would be possible to state cat-

words which Goscelin uses idiosyncratically. The anonymous hagiographer uses no agentive nouns in *-rix*, a field of neologism in which Goscelin was particularly creative. The anonymous hagiographer's use of compound adjectives and grecizing verbs in *-izo* is minimal, in contrast with Goscelin. Only in the case of agentive nouns in *-or* would there seem to be any similarity between the two authors; but even here there is a pronounced difference in the nature of the words which are used. The agentive nouns used by the anonymous hagiographer are plain, common words—*altor, amator, cultor*—with few exceptions (such as the word *conuiator*). For the most part there is no overlap between the agentive nouns used by Goscelin and by the anonymous hagiographer.[54] Some of the words used by Goscelin appear to have been coined by him for special effect (*cachinnator* and *desiderator*,[55] for example); most of them are in any case exceptionally rare. Goscelin evidently delighted in the deployment of such nouns (and in their corresponding feminine forms in *-rix*);[56] and although the anonymous hagiographer did not avoid such usage entirely, it would be misleading to describe this usage as a stylistic preference. In short, on the evidence of this one criterion—that of vocabulary—the style of Goscelin is palpably different from that of the anonymous hagiographer. They inhabited the same parts of England, they may even have known each other: but they were not identical.

Although the anonymous author of the *Vita S. Swithuni* did not employ the flamboyant (and idiosyncratic) diction of Goscelin, his prose is by no means artless. He was able to control sentences of considerable length by employing constructions based on simple parallelism of various kinds. Thus, for example, a string of infinitives is made to depend upon a single finite verb, such as *curabat* or *contigit*.[57] Sometimes the finite verb is omitted, so as to yield the construction known as the 'historic' infinitive;[58] sometimes sentences are constructed around a sequence of future participles.[59] Sometimes parallel phrases are linked by simple coordination,[60] but the author also uses asyndeton (that is, words or phrases joined without a coordinating conjunction) for rhetorical effect.[61] When words in parallel are linked together by coordinating conjunctions, the author sometimes uses chiastic constructions,[62] sometimes simple antitheses of the sort *non* x *sed* y.[63] None of these techniques or devices is particularly difficult to deploy, but their deployment enables an author to expand and pad out a simple statement to considerable length. The same techniques and devices are found in the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (as we shall see) and—on a much more extensive scale—in the *Vita S. Birini*.[64]

Although the prose of the *Vita S. Swithuni* is not highly sophisticated,[65] there is no doubt that its

egorically that the anonymous *Passio S. Eadwardi regis et martyris* (ed. C. E. Fell, *Edward King and Martyr* (Leeds, 1971), pp. 1–16) is not by Goscelin: the author of that work uses none of the vocabulary in the five categories listed here.

[54] They use the following words in common: ***eruditor, habitator***, *mediator, operator*, and *procurator*.

[55] Goscelin's use of *desiderator* antedates the example from Anselm (1093) cited in *DMLBS*.

[56] It is clearly a propensity which he took with him to Canterbury; consider one randomly-chosen example from the *Historia minor* (ed. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 60): 'cujus designatores Patriarchae, cujus mensores Prophetae, cujus aedificatores Apostolici Patres, cujus illustratores et politores gemmarii Martyres, cujus instructissimi ditores Confessores . . .' etc.

[57] E.g. c. 2: *curabat seipsum . . . offerre . . . exhibere . . . tractare . . . declinare . . . inseruire . . . exercere . . . exturbare . . . increpare . . . ministrare*; c. 5: *curabat . . . existere . . . respondere . . . porrigere . . . assistere . . . deposcere*; c. 6: *contigit . . . uenire . . . deferre . . . apprehendi . . . non eripi sed confringi*.

[58] E.g. c. 4: *Voluntati . . . non decere . . . non debere diffidere*; c. 6: *Mirari omnes . . . gaudere . . . resipiscere et stupere*.

[59] E.g. c. 4: *ingressurum . . . habiturum . . . facturum*.

[60] E.g. c. 6: *Huius oratione et exhortatione clementissimus et serenissimus . . . rex*.

[61] E.g. c. 7: *quod utile quod honestum quod pium quod sanctum . . . exequendum est*; or again in c. 7: *post multas uigilias post multos labores*.

[62] E.g. c. 1: *in bona simplicitate et simplici bonitate*.

[63] E.g. c. 7: *non ad impletionem sed ad sustentationem*; *non cum locupletibus sed cum egenis*.

[64] Cf. the remarks of Love, *Three Lives*, pp. l–lii.

[65] Note that there is no use of rhyme in the *Vita S. Swithuni*

author was a scholar of some accomplishment. The work is perhaps too brief to allow much scope for quotation of sources other than the Bible,[66] but it contains abundant evidence of scholarly research. In order to compose an account of Swithun's life on earth, the author was obliged to locate a substantial number of historical sources. Thus he evidently consulted Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* for the account of the conversion of Wessex, and the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster for the (abbreviated) regnal list, which allowed him to situate King Ecgberht (and hence St Swithun) in a chronological framework. In reconstructing the period of Swithun's episcopacy during the reign of King Æthelwulf, he evidently had access to one of Æthelwulf's so-called 'Second Decimation' charters, and he apparently also knew the existence of correspondence between Pope Leo IV and Æthelwulf. He deduced something of Swithun's activities as a builder from a metrical inscription on (or pertaining to) a bridge at the East Gate of Winchester, and may have derived the miracle of the broken eggs from an exactly contemporary rhythmical poem. In addition to these sources, he mentions other writings relevant to Swithun and Æthelwulf which he had succeeded in discovering,[67] but which have apparently not survived. In short, his reconstruction of Swithun's life, though it cannot be verified at all points and is likely to contain some hagiographical licence, represents a very respectable piece of research.

ii. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *VITA S. SWITHVNI*

The anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* is preserved in ten manuscripts, ranging in date from the early years of the twelfth century to the fifteenth. The manuscripts are described in the alphabetical sequence of the sigla which they have here been assigned.

A = London, BL, Arundel 169 (northern England, s. xii^{med}), fos. 29v–31r.

A single volume, consisting of 103 folios in large format (335 × 225 mm.) and written in two columns, of what was once a substantial, multi-volume legendary; the present volume contains *uitae* of saints whose feasts fall between 29 June and 2 Aug.[68] The *Vita S. Swithuni* is included against the feast of Swithun's deposition on 2 July (the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, edited as no. 6 below, are included later in the manuscript against the feast of the translation on 15 July). The fact that the manuscript includes these two works pertaining to Swithun, as well as a copy of Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (fos. 88r–95r), but omits *uitae* of various other English saints whose feasts fall in July (such as Mildrith, Kenelm, Eadburh and Neot), suggests that the manuscript was written at the Old Minster in Winchester;[69] palaeographical evidence, however, points to an origin in northern England or the north midlands, perhaps Kirkham (Yorks.).[70] Why a Yorkshire house of

(yet another point of contrast with the prose of Goscelin), except in sentences which are constructed on a string of infinitives.

[66] Cf. the remarks of Love, *Three Lives*, p. liv, who describes the author of *Vita S. Birini* as 'a widely read man', and points to familiarity in that text with Vergil, Horace and Lucan.

[67] See c. 4: '. . . ut in quibusdam scriptis ipsius regis reperimus'.

[68] For a full description of the contents of Arundel 169, see Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. clxviii–clxxi.

[69] Ibid. p. clxxi.

[70] I owe this information to the kindness of Michael Gullick, whose suggestion of an origin in Kirkham is based on the similarity of the script to that in BL, Arundel 36, Cotton Vespasian B. xi, fos. 84–125, and Royal 13. A. XXI (see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964), p. 106, and *Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1987), p. 41); to these manuscripts listed by Ker, Gullick would add BL, Burney 216.

Augustinian canons should have produced a legendary based on Winchester use is a matter requiring further investigation.[71]

B = London, BL, Lansdowne 436 (Romsey, s. xiv^{med}), fos. 91v–92r.

A collection originally containing some forty-seven *uitae* of English saints in large format (335 × 215 mm.), consisting of 127 folios written in two columns, at or for the Benedictine nunnery of Romsey (Hants.) sometime in the mid-fourteenth century.[72] It is a characteristic feature of this collection that the saints' *uitae* are abbreviated and redacted in various ways. In the case of *Vita S. Swithuni*, and perhaps as a result of its brevity, the compiler produced a faithful copy of the first six chapters of the text, but then went on to produce a unique redaction of cc. 7–8, followed by a uniquely worded account of miracles accomplished by St Swithun (based, however, on the *Miracula S. Swithuni* and on the *Gesta pontificum* of William of Malmesbury).[73] Accordingly, Lansdowne 436 is a witness to the first six chapters only.

C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 161 (Kent [?St Augustine's, Canterbury; ?Faversham], s. xii^{ex}), fos. 45v–47v.

A compact collection of seventeen (mostly English) saints' *uitae* written in large format (300 × 200 mm.) in two columns, consisting of 153 folios.[74] The precise origin of the manuscript is uncertain (although, since it includes a *uita* of St Ithamar, an origin in the diocese of Rochester is likely):[75] some indicators point to St Augustine's, Canterbury,[76] others to Faversham.[77] Many of the *uitae* in C have been drastically abbreviated; but in the case of *Vita S. Swithuni*, once again, its text has been reproduced faithfully, with only a few minor omissions.

D = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 112 (S.C. 1713) (?Winchester, ?Glastonbury, s. xii^{in}), fos. 1r–4v.

Digby 112 is a composite manuscript, consisting of two parts; our concern is solely with part I (quires I-XI: fos. 1–103). Part I is a collection of saints' *uitae* in small format (230 × 115 mm.), laid out in a single column, and written at the very beginning of the twelfth century. The saints' *uitae* in question are largely, but not wholly, devoted to Insular saints, and include Bede's *Historia abbatum*,

[71] On the possibility that the manuscript was used by the Wallingford chronicler, see above, p. 158.

[72] The forty-seven *uitae* are listed by Horstman, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, i, p. ix n 2, from the late fourteenth-century index of contents on fo. 1v; see also the more detailed list by P. Grosjean, 'Vita S. Roberti Novi Monasterii in Anglia abbatis', *AB* lvi (1938), 334–60, at pp. 335–9. There are also brief accounts of the manuscript in Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. clxxxi, and Love, *Three Lives*, p. lxxxii.

[73] See above, pp. 140–2.

[74] The manuscript is described, and its contents listed, by M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912), i. 358–63.

[75] Ithamar was the first native English bishop following the conversion: see D. Bethel, 'The miracles of St Ithamar', *AB* lxxxix (1971), 428–37.

[76] See my remarks in *The Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. D. Dumville and M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1985), pp. lxxxi–lxxxii; note in particular the rubric in this manuscript (fo. 49r) which is prefixed to c. 13 of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (below, p. 658): 'De diuitis podagriti curatione quam beatus Augustinus sancto Swithuno reseruauit', a qualification unthinkable in the ambit of Winchester, in combination with the fact that it was later owned by John Twyne, a well-known collector of St Augustine's manuscripts.

[77] See N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, I. 1190–1250* (London, 1982), p. 52 (no. 5), who associates the manuscript with the Cluniac house of Faversham on the evidence of its inclusion of *uitae* of the four Cluniac abbots Odo, Maieul, Odilo and Hugh.

the anonymous *Vita S. Ceolfridi*, a distinctive recension of the *Vita S. Ecgwini*,[78] and the anonymous *Passio S. Indracti*.[79] Interestingly, the copy of *Vita S. Swithuni* is followed by an abbreviated redaction of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (see below, pp. 699–700), and then immediately the *Vita S. Birini*,[80] which, as we have seen, is very likely another composition by the author of the *Vita S. Swithuni*. The fact that these two *uitae* of Winchester saints are placed prominently at the beginning of the manuscript might suggest that it originated at the Old Minster, Winchester; and such a suggestion is corroborated by the fact that the breviate version or epitome of the life and miracles of St Swithun in D (the 'Royal-Digby epitome', printed below, no. 7 (i)) appears to have been copied from the text of Lantfred in London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII, a Winchester manuscript (on which see above, pp. 239–40). On the other hand, the texts of two of its contents (Bede's *Historia abbatum* and the anonymous *Vita S. Ceolfrithi*) are known to have been copied from an exemplar which survives as London, BL Harley 3020 (s. x/xi), a manuscript which was very likely written and owned at Glastonbury.[81] This ownership would imply that some at least of the contents of Digby 112 were copied at Glastonbury. In the present state of our knowledge, the evidence for either Winchester or Glastonbury is inconclusive.

E = Evreux, Bibliothèque municipale, 110 (Evreux, s. xiv^{med}), fos. 194r–200r.

Evreux 101 is a legendary compiled and written for the cathedral of Evreux, in very large format (380 × 245 mm.), written in two columns and consisting of 202 folios.[82] The earlier part of the manuscript (fos. 1–110) is of twelfth-century date; the remainder is of mid-fourteenth-century date, the upper limit being fixed by the addition of financial accounts pertaining to the cathedral of Evreux and bearing the date 1364 (fo. 201r–v). The *Vita S. Swithuni* (which is the last item in the legendary) is set out in nine liturgical lections.[83]

F = Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 150 (English, s. xii^{med}), fos. 14r–15v.

A volume containing fifty-three saints' *uitae* in large format (370 × 280 mm.) written in two columns. The *uitae* are arranged in the calendrical order of the saints' feasts, and extend from 19 June to 16 Sept., thus covering approximately one third of the liturgical year.[84] It is possible that Lincoln 150 formed part of a three-volume legendary, of which the other two volumes survive as Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 149 (s. xii^{2}) (30 Nov. to 21 June) and Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 1 (s. xiii^{in}) (17 Sept. to 1 Dec., with some additions),[85] but note that Lincoln 150 may be as much as fifty years older than its two companions. The *Vita S. Swithuni* is included in Lincoln 150 against 2 July. The origin of the manuscript(s) is unknown, although Leominster, a cell of Reading, has

[78] Ed. M. Lapidge, 'The Digby-Gotha recension of the Life of St Ecgwine', *Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Papers*, vii (1979), 39–55.

[79] Ed. M. Lapidge, 'The cult of St Indract at Glastonbury', in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. D. Whitelock, D. Dumville and R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 179–212, repr. *ALL* ii. 419–52.

[80] See Love, *Three Lives*, p. lxxvi.

[81] See J. P. Carley, 'More pre-Conquest manuscripts from Glastonbury Abbey', *ASE* xxiii (1994), 265–81, at pp. 274–6.

[82] For the contents, see *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements II*, ed. H. Omont (Paris, 1888), pp. 451–2.

[83] On the cult of St Swithun at Evreux, see above, pp. 60–1.

[84] See R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 117–20.

[85] On the former, see Thomson, ibid. pp. 115–17; for the latter, see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, II. Abbotsford–Keele* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 934–9.

been suggested;[86] Lincoln 149 + 150 were in the ownership of Lincoln Cathedral by the sixteenth century.

G = Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, I.81 (English, s. xiv^2), fos. 122v–124r.

Gotha I.81 is an important and well-known collection of some sixty-four *uitae* of British and English saints, consisting of 230 folios, in large format (315 × 230 mm.) written in two columns.[87] It is not known where in England the manuscript was written, nor how it found its way to Germany. The dating given above is based solely on palaeographical considerations. The *uitae* are arranged in the order martyrs (nos. 1–20), confessors (21–49), and female saints (50–64). The *Vita S. Swithuni* occurs among the confessors (no. 36).

L = Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 7 (English, s. xii^2), fos. 65v–67v.

Lincoln 7 is composite, consisting of two originally separate manuscripts: Part I (fos. 1–43, of s. xii^1) and Part II (fos. 44–83, of s. xii^2).[88] The two parts were together at Lincoln by the end of the twelfth century. We are concerned with Part II, which is a manuscript in large format (365 × 265 mm.), written in two columns, and containing a number of *uitae* of saints for the period 21 Mar.–15 July. These include *uitae* of SS Augustine of Canterbury, Alban, Dunstan and Botuulf, in addition to the *Vita* and *Miracula* of St Swithun. The contents suggest a southern English origin.[89]

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 815 (Evreux, s. xv), fos. 150v–155v.

BN lat. 815 is a fifteenth-century Office lectionary which was written for the use of Evreux cathedral.[90] It is in large format (330 × 240 mm.), consisting of 255 folios, written in double columns. The manuscript contains eighteen saints' *uitae*, among them the *Vita S. Swithuni*, which is included against 2 July (*in natali sancti Swithini*).

T = London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius D. iv (?Winchester, s. xi/xii), part II, fos. 111r–112r.

A large collection of forty-five saints' *uitae*, in large format (345 × 240 mm.), written in two columns and now bound in two volumes. Tiberius D. iv is evidently an English copy of a Frankish legendary, since most of its contents pertain to Frankish saints, the majority of them confessors (including Remigius, Vedastus, Amandus, Audoenus, Medardus, Richarius, and so on), arranged in no particular order.[91] At the end of the collection (that is, at the end of the present Part II), four *uitae* of English saints were added: *Vita S. Birini* (fos. 105v–110v), the *Vita* and *Miracula S. Swithuni*

[86] By Ker, ibid. p. 939.

[87] See P. Grosjean, 'De codice hagiographico Gothano', *AB* lviii (1940), 90–103; see also Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. clxxv, and Love, *Three Lives*, p. lxxvii.

[88] Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln*, pp. 6–9.

[89] On the basis of the contents, Thomson (ibid. p. 9) suggests a 'Wessex, perhaps Winchester origin', but the inclusion of Botuulf suggests otherwise.

[90] See *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins I (nos. 1–1438)*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1939), p. 283, and [Bollandists], *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1889–93), iii. 577–8.

[91] See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. clxxvii–clxxix, and Love, *Three Lives*, pp. lxxviii–lxxix; for the contents, see T. Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cotton Library 1696*, ed. C. G. C. Tite (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 27–8.

(fos. 111r–121v), Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (fos. 121v–130v) and Osbern's *Vita S. Dunstani* (fos. 130v–153r). The manuscript appears to have been written over a period of some years, probably beginning in the later eleventh century and continuing into the early twelfth, so that a date of *c.*1100 (s. xi/xii) seems appropriate for the book as a whole. The fact that SS Birinus, Swithun and Æthelwold were culted principally at Winchester, and that the manuscript was subsequently bound up with a separate manuscript consisting of leaves (now Part II, fos. 158–66) of probable Winchester origin, suggests—but cannot prove—that Tiberius D. iv originated in Winchester. It was very badly damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731, although the damage does not greatly affect the text of *Vita S. Swithuni.*

iii. RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The ten manuscript copies of the *Vita S. Swithuni* range in date from the beginnings of the twelfth century—from a time, that is, very shortly after the composition of the work—to the fifteenth century. Although the text preserved by these manuscripts is stable on the whole (there is no identifiable corruption that is shared by all manuscripts), and the variants relatively few in number,[92] it is possible to perceive certain affiliations between the manuscripts, but not to demonstrate a direct dependency of one on another.

Before treating affiliations, it is necessary to eliminate the possibility of direct dependence between surviving manuscripts.[93] It is appropriate to begin with the five earliest manuscripts: D and T of the very beginning of the twelfth century, A and F of the mid-twelfth century, and L of the second half of the twelfth century. D has a small number of eccentric readings which recur in no later manuscript:[94] slight evidence, but enough to indicate that D was not the exemplar of any of the others. T has a somewhat larger number of unique (indeed eccentric) readings, including a different version of the first sentence of the work,[95] which shows clearly that T has an isolated place in the tradition (at no point does T share a variant with any other witness). Similarly, of the mid-twelfth-century manuscripts, A has a substantial number of unique errors which show that it cannot have been the exemplar of any later manuscript,[96] as do F[97] and L.[98]

In spite of the fact that there are no direct links between the surviving witnesses, it is nonetheless possible to discern certain affiliations. Three groupings suggest themselves. The first of these is the link between B and C: in c. 4 they share a transposition against all other witnesses,[99] and an erroneous reading (*uasa* (abl.) against *uase* in all other witnesses).[100] On the other hand, B and C each have individual features which indicate that C, the earlier of the two, cannot have been the exemplar of B,[101] while B has several errors of its own which it shares with no other manuscript.[102] A second pairing is that between A and P, which are linked by sharing an omission caused by

[92] As is clear from the *apparatus criticus*, most variants are recorded in one manuscript only; a tiny proportion of variants is attested in two or more manuscripts.

[93] Two of the manuscripts (EP) were copied by French scribes; not surprisingly, Anglo-Saxon names were mangled by these scribes, and no reliance can be placed on shared agreements

[94] See cc. 4 n. *y*, 5 n. *e*, 6 n. *j*.

[95] See cc. 1 n. *a–a*, 2 n. *e*, 3 n. *b*, 5 n. *n*, 8 n. *r*.

[96] See cc. 3 n. *c*, 5 nn. *b–b*, *l*, 6 nn. *d*, *k*, 7 nn. *a–a*, *b*, 8 nn. *g*, *k*.

[97] See cc. 3 n. *o*, 4 n. *t*, 6 n. *h*.

[98] See cc. 1 nn. *e*, *g*, *i–i*, 2 n. *c–c*, 4 n. *l*, 7 n. *m–m*.

[99] See c. 4 n. *p–p*.

[100] See c. 6 n. *g*. The word *uas*, *uasis* is neuter, not feminine.

[101] For example, in c. 4, C is alone in omitting nine words from the opening sentence (n. *e–e*), the sort of omission which characterizes the redaction of saints' *uitae* throughout C: see my remarks in *The Annals of St Neots with Vita Sancti Neoti*, p. lxxxii, and apparatus criticus to *Vita I S. Neoti*, ibid. pp. 111–42.

[102] See cc. 4 nn. *g*, *w*, 5 n. *k*, and recall that B is a witness for cc. 1–6 only.

homoeoteleuton.[103] AP are also apparently linked by their transposition—against all other witnesses except one (G)—of the words *fidelis fuisti* in c. 8;[104] but since the text at this point is a quotation from the Vulgate (which here reads *fuisti fidelis*), the possibility that the transposition was made independently as a result of scribal familiarity with the Vulgate cannot be ruled out. The third pairing is that of E and G, which share the apparently erroneous reading *familiariores* for *familiares* in c. 3;[105] they also share one trivial omission with two other manuscripts.[106] Both E and G are late in the tradition (fourteenth century) and were written in different countries (E at Evreux in France, G at an unidentified centre in England), so it is difficult to hypothesize any relationship between them.

If we attempt now to classify these manuscripts, we are faced with several acute difficulties, caused by the paucity of shared errors and variants, and by the ambiguous role of D—arguably the earliest surviving manuscript—in the transmission. At one point in c. 2, D agrees with AP in the reading *ualebat*, whereas all other manuscripts here have *preualebat*,[107] a form consistently preferred by this author, to judge from the evidence of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* and *Vita S. Birini*.[108] On the other hand, D in c. 3 shares a minor omission and an eccentric reading with EG against all other manuscripts.[109] As we have seen, D has several individual errors which are not repeated in any later manuscript. It is not possible, on the basis of the slender textual evidence, to explain why on one occasion D should agree with AP, and on two others with EG; there is simply not enough evidence to argue (for example) a case for contamination.

Of all the Latin hagiography pertaining to St Swithun, the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* is the work which enjoyed the widest circulation up to the invention of printing, to judge solely by the number of surviving manuscripts (ten), which exceeds that of any work on St Swithun. Furthermore, the fact that there are only broad and occasional affiliations between the surviving manuscripts suggests the existence of many more manuscripts which have not survived. For example, there are two surviving manuscripts from Evreux, E and P (of the mid-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively), yet it is clear that P was not copied from E, and that E and P are representatives of different groups: which implies the existence of not one but two further (now lost) manuscripts of the work at Evreux. A similar situation may have existed at many English houses. In these circumstances it is not, I think, possible to construct a *stemma codicum*. Finally, it is worth noting that a precisely parallel conclusion must be drawn from textual evidence of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (see below, pp. 644–6), the text of which is much longer than the present *Vita*, and is preserved in five of the ten manuscripts which transmit the *Vita* (ACGLT), but where—as in the present case—it is not possible to classify manuscripts into groups or to construct a *stemma codicum*.

iv. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

The *Vita S. Swithuni* has been printed on two previous occasions, in each case from a single manuscript. In 1861 Earle printed the *editio princeps* from A.[110] Some years later the text was printed by E. P. Sauvage (who was apparently unaware of Earle's earlier edition) from E.[111]

[103] See c. 7 n. *e–e*.

[104] See c. 8 n. *f–f*.

[105] See c. 3 n. *e*.

[106] See c. 3 n. *a* (the word *Vnde* omitted at the beginning of the sentence). The omission is likely to be scribal, since the author elsewhere uses the phrase *unde factum est ut* (c. 6).

[107] See c. 2 n. *f*.

[108] See below, p. 631 n. 15.

[109] See c. 3 nn. *a*, *e*.

[110] Earle, *Gloucester Fragments*, pp. 67–72, right-hand column (the text in Earle's left-hand column is John of Tynemouth's abbreviated version (ptd below as no. 9) of the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni*.

[111] E. P. Sauvage, 'Vita Sancti Swithuni Wintoniensis episcopi

v. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

As we have seen, the textual transmission of the *Vita S. Swithuni* is stable, inasmuch as there is no obvious case of corruption shared by all manuscripts. The editor's task is that of identifying individual departures from a common base. On the whole this is a relatively straightforward procedure; only in a few cases is the editor faced with a choice between variants attested in significant numbers of manuscripts.[112] In these few cases I have been guided by my sense of the author's style and by the reading of the majority of witnesses. But given the nature of the transmission, it is not possible to be entirely certain in these few cases that what has been printed is the author's precise wording. As elsewhere in the volume, the capitalization, punctuation and numbering of chapters is editorial.

SIGLA

A = London, BL, Arundel 169 (northern England, s. xii^{med}), fos. 29v–31r
B = London, BL, Lansdowne 436 (Romsey, s. xiv^{med}), fos. 91v–92r
C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 161 (Kent [?Faversham, ?St Augustine's, Canterbury], s. xii^{ex}), fos. 45v–47v
D = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 112 (?Winchester, ?Glastonbury, s. xii^{in}), fos. 1r–4v
E = Evreux, Bibliothèque municipale, 101 (Evreux, s. xiv^{med}), fos.. 194r–200r
F = Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 150 (English, s. xii^{med}), fos. 14r–15v
G = Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, I.81 (English, s. xiv^{2}), fos. 122v–124r
L = Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 7 (English, s. xii^{2}), fos. 65v–67v
P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 815 (Evreux, s. xv), fos. 150v–155v
T = London, BL, Cotton Tiberius D. iv (?Winchester, s. xi/xii), part II, fos. 111r–112r

auctore Goscelino monacho Sithiensi ex Ebroicensi codice', *AB* vii (1888), 373–80.

[112] These are: c. 2 n. *f* (*preualebat* BCEFGLT; *ualebat* ADP), c. 3 nn. *a* (*unde* om. DEGP), *e* (*familiariores* DEG).

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. [a]Glorioso rege Anglorum Ecgberto[b] regnante,[a][1] qui regi Kynegilso[c][2] de idolatria per beatum Birinum Occidentalium Anglorum apostolum ad fidem conuerso[3] octauus successit in regnum,[4] beatus Swithunus, pater et pastor[5] in ecclesia Dei [d]futurus cursus[e] sui in stadio mundi[d] huius, diuina misericordia ordinante, accepit exordium.[6] Qui, sicut scriptum est quia 'filius sapiens gloria patris est',[7] honor parentum, cognatorum gloria, letitia propinquorum bene et sapienter uiuendo factus est. Nam annis puerilibus in bona simplicitate et simplici bonitate transactis, secundum beati Hieremie sermonem qui dicit 'beatus homo qui portauerit iugum ab adolescentia sua',[8] iugum dominice seruitutis arripere festinauit;[f] susceptum humiliter uiriliterque portauit,[9] sciens secundum apostolum[g] disciplinam in presenti quidem[h] 'non esse gaudii sed meroris',[10] postea uero pacatissimum fructum iustitie exercitatis per eam retribui, recognoscens 'quod in presenti [i]est momentaneum[i] et leue passionis, supra modum in[j] sullimitate eternum glorie pondus operari.'[11]

2. Suscepto denique clericatus officio, de gradu in gradum, de uirtute in uirtutem gressus eius Deo per omnia dirigente conscendens, sub Helmstano[a] uenerabili[b] Wentane ciuitatis episcopo[12] [c]ad honorem sacerdotii prouectus est.[c] Ministerii autem huius perceptione sollicitus, curabat seipsum ministrum probabilem [d]Deo semper[d] offerre, 'operarium inconfusibilem'[13] se non remisse exhibere, uerbum ueritatis catholice et recte tractare, omnia que de puteo heretice prauitatis oriuntur caute et sedule declinare, benignitati et mansuetudini admodum[e] inseruire, opera pietatis inter omnia et super omnia exercere, sciens quia 'pietas ad omnia utilis est, promissionem habens uite que nunc est et future',[14] scurrilitatem et uaniloquium prout preualebat[f][15] omnimodis exturbare, stulte et inordinate uiuentes uirga correctionis increpare, diuina et seculari scientia preditus ordinem morum magisterium uite pro capacitate audientium ualenter et humiliter omnibus ministrare.

[c. 1] [a–a] regnante magnifico rege Anglorum Eghberto *T* [b] Egberto *BCGL*; Eghberto *DF*; Egelberto *E*: Egebeltho *P* [c] Kynegillo *P* [d–d] *om. P* [e] *after* cursus *L adds* in [f] *om. P* [g] apostoli *L* [h] quidam *E* [i–i] momentaneum est *L* [j] *om. P*

[c. 2] [a] Helmestano *AF*; Helinstano *EP* [b] *om. P* [c–c] sacerdotii prouectus est ad honorem *L* [d–d] semper Deo *E* [e] *after* admodum *T adds* cepit [f] ualebat *ADP*

[1] Ecgberht was king of Wessex, 802–39 (*ASC* s.aa. 802, 839; *HBC*, p. 23).

[2] Cynegils was king of Wessex, 611–42 (*ASC* s.a. 611; *HBC*, p. 22); note also the role played by King Cynegils in the *Vita S. Birini*, c. 17 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 34).

[3] This statement derives ultimately from Bede, *HE* iii. 7 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 232): 'Eo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum, qui antiquitus Geuissae uocabantur, regnante Cynigislo fidem Christi suscepit, praedicante illis uerbum Birino episcopo'; cf. *ASC* s.aa. 634, 635. The author certainly knew Bede's passage on Birinus, if (as I have argued) he was also the author of the *Vita S. Birini* (see above, p. 612). There is a lengthy account of the conversion of Wessex in *Vita S. Birini*, cc. 17–19 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, pp. 34–40).

[4] This statement apparently derives from a copy of the West Saxon genealogical regnal list, which catalogues the kings from Cerdic to Alfred (ed. by D. N. Dumville, 'The West Saxon genealogical regnal list: manuscripts and texts', *Anglia*, civ (1986), 1–32). However, in the text as preserved in the seven (or six: one is incomplete) manuscripts edited by Dumville, the rulers from Cynegils to Ecgberht are given as: Cynegils, Cenwalh, Seaxburh, Æscwine, Centwine, Ceadwalla, Ine Æthelheard, Cuthred, Sigeberht, Cynewulf, Beorhtric and Ecgberht (ibid. pp. 22–4). If one counts from Cynegils and omits the name of Seaxburh (Cenwalh's queen, who ruled for one year after her husband's death), then Ecgberht is the eleventh, not the eighth, king after Cynegils. On this evidence, none of the manuscripts of the West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List could have been our author's source, and it is therefore interesting to note that the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster (London, BL, Stowe 944) contains on fo. 14r a list of 'Nomina regum Occidentalium Saxonum', who are enumerated as follows (ed. Birch, p. 12; ed. Keynes, fo. 14r):

i. Cynegils rex qui a sancto Byrino baptizatus est
ii. Cenpalh rex
iii. Ceadpall rex
iv. Ine rex
v. Cuþred rex
vi. Cynepulf rex
vii. Beorhtric rex
viii. Ecgbyrht rex.

It will be seen that this list omits several names (Seaxburh,

1. St Swithun, the future father and shepherd[5] in God's church, started the beginning of his course[6] in the stadium of this world through God's mercy during the reign of Ecgberht,[1] the glorious king of the English who was the eighth in succession[4] to Cynegils,[2] the king who was converted[3] from idol-worship to Christianity through Birinus, the apostle of Wessex. Swithun, by living well and wisely, became the glory of his parents, the grace of his kinfolk and the joy of his neighbours, just as it is written that 'a wise son is his father's glory'.[7] For, having spent the years of his childhood in good earnest and earnest goodness, he hurried to take up the yoke of his Lord's service, in accordance with the words of the blessed Jeremiah, who says, 'it is good for a man, when he hath borne the yoke from his youth';[8] once having taken up this yoke, he bore it humbly and manfully,[9] realizing with the Apostle that the task of self-discipline in the present world 'is not one of joy but of sorrow',[10] but that in the afterlife the most pleasing fruit of justice is repaid to those well versed in it, and also recognizing that 'that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory.'[11]

2. Having become a cleric in minor orders, advancing from grade to grade and from strength to strength with God guiding his footsteps in every respect, he was promoted to the distinction of the priesthood under Helmstan, the venerable bishop of Winchester.[12] Being duly concerned about the responsibility of this office, he took care always to present himself to God as a worthy minister, to reveal himself unflinchingly as 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed',[13] to practise the words of scriptural truth with thorough and appropriate application, scrupulously and cautiously to avoid all things which arise from the pit of heretical depravity, to pursue kindliness and gentleness wherever possible, to perform deeds of mercy in every way possible and above all else—knowing that 'godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come',[14] to drive away buffoonery and boastfulness as best he could,[15] to rebuke those people living foolishly and irresponsibly with the rod of correction, and, being gifted both with divine and human understanding, to commend to all his listeners—forcefully, but modestly and to the best of his ability—orderly behaviour as a rule of life.

Æscwine, Centwine, Æthelheard and Sigeberht); with these omissions, Ecgberht becomes the eighth West Saxon king (here actually numbered 'viii') after Cynegils. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the hagiographer derived his statement from the New Minster *Liber uitae* (see also below, p. 648 n. 1).

[5] The phrase *pater et pastor* is repeated in cc. 4, 8; cf. *Vita S. Birini*, c. 20 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 42): 'Iste est, Britannia, propugnaculum tuum, pater et pastor tuus . . .' Cf. Augustine, *Serm.* xlvii. 21: 'ecce pastor est Christus, pastor est et pater' (CCSL xli. 594); Jerome, *Aduersus Iouinianum*, ii. 31: 'loquitur pastor et pater' (PL xxiii. 343).

[6] No contemporary source specifies the date of Swithun's birth, and the statement here is probably no more than a (reasonable) conjecture. Later medieval historians were not satisfied with so vague a date, however, and it is interesting that John of Worcester placed Swithun's birth in 827 (JW ii. 246; see above, p. 144), and was followed in this respect by Ranulf Higden (above, p. 161).

[7] Cf. Prov. 13: 1.

[8] Cf. Lam. 3: 27.

[9] Cf. *Vita S. Birini*, c. 4 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 8): 'uidebat illum humiliter suscipere fideliterque complecti.'

[10] Hebr. 12: 11.

[11] 2 Cor. 4: 17.

[12] Helmstan was Swithun's predecessor as bishop of Winchester; the exact dates of his episcopacy are unknown, but fell during the years 838 × 839–844 × 852. See O'Donovan, 'Episcopal dates, ii', pp. 107–8.

[13] 2 Tim. 2: 15: 'sollicite cura teipsum probabilem exhibere Deo, operarium inconfusibilem recte tractantem uerbum ueritatis'; also quoted in *Vita S. Birini*, c. 20 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 42): 'curabat sollicite seipsum probabilem exhibere Deo operarium inconfusibilem, recte tractantem uerbum ueritatis.'

[14] 1 Tim. 4: 8.

[15] On lexical grounds there is little to choose between the readings *preualebat* and *ualebat* (ADP); but elsewhere the author prefers the uerb *preualere*: cf. *Miracula S. Swithuni*, cc. 2, 5, 18, 22, 28, 35, 37, 42, 52, 54 (but note the occurrence of *ualebat* in c. 8), and *Vita S. Birini*, cc. 7, 8, 9, 13, 15.

3. Vnde[a] factum est ut opinionis suauissime odor de prato[b] sanctitatis ipsius emanans[16] regi supradicto[c] innotuerit; quem rex euocatum multimoda indagatione perlustrans,[17] probatum et cognitum in sinum amicitie recepit, receptum inter[d] amicos et familiares[e] precipuum—sicut et[f] prudentiorem consilio[g] et fideliorem obsequio reppererat[h]—habere iam cepit. Sanctus uero Swithunus non illecebre secularis, non terreni honoris gratia regi assistens seruiebat, sed quia sullimioribus potestatibus obediendum esse secundum apostolum et legebat et sciebat,[18] et quia—si sepius a latere regis esset—indigentibus opem subuentionis regi consilia[i] suggerendo citius et ualentius prestare potuisset.[19] Commendauit autem ei rex filium suum [j]nomine Athulfum[j,k] et documentis litteralibus edocendum et sanctis moribus instruendum,[20] tunc temporis quidem in ecclesia Dei Wintonie clericatus officio[l] militantem, postea[m] [n]uero succedente[n] tempore in decessu patris de ordine et gradu subdiaconi[o] acceptum—permittente et annuente summo pontifice beato papa Leone (eo quod rex supradictus absque herede preter ipsum solum obierit)[21]—genti Anglorum benigne et prouide imperantem.

4. Euoluto igitur aliquanto tempore,[22] supradictus episcopus[a] Helmstanus,[b] morti[c] debitum soluens, uitam[d] finiuit [e]et cathedram episcopalem ciuitatis Wintonie superuenturo pontifici uacuam[f] dereliquit.[e23] Disponente autem Dei misericordia—qui non deserit sperantes in se, qui uota supplicantium sibi quando uult miseratus exaudit[g]—omnis etas, omnis sexus, uniuersa conditio, clerus ac populus Wentane ciuitatis,[24] eadem uoluntate, pari consilio[h] petierunt a rege Athulfo[i] beatum Swithunum sibi[j] donari in patrem et pastorem, scientia uidelicet clarum, ornatum sapientia, omni morum referentes dignitate pollentem. Felicem et[k] ciuitatem et populum esse cui tam pius, tam sanctus, tam sapiens in regimen[l] daretur ecclesie! [m]Nec mora[m] rex Athulfus[n] omnium[o] petitioni assentiens et adgaudens, beatum Swithunum [p]altorem[q] et doctorem[p] suum (ita enim eum[r] solitus erat nominare, ut in quibusdam scriptis ipsius regis reperimus)[25] ad se euocauit;[s] petitionem omnium refert,[t] quam canonice, quam ecclesiastice, quam desideranter[u] ab omnibus petatur ostendit.[v] Voluntati et petitioni tam deuote tam sancte resistere non decere;[w] de suo consilio[x] et auxilio[y] non debere diffidere. Se[z] paratum esse ad omnia facienda que iusserit; nulla se ingressurum

[c. 3] [a] *om. DEGP* [b] **parte** *T* [c] **supradito** *A* [d] *om. L* [e] **familiariores** *DEG* [f] **concilio** *G* [g] *om. DEP* [h] reperierat *E* [i] concilia *G* [j–j] **Athulfum nomine** *E* [k] Athulphum *P* [l] *om. P* [m] *om. P* [n–n] succedente uero *P* [o] subdiaconii *F*

[c. 4] [a] *om. AF* [b] Helmestanus *A*; Helynstanus *B*; Helinstanus *P* [c] **morte** *P* [d] *om. P* [e–e] *om. C* [f] uenturam *P* [g] exaudiuit *B* [h] concilio *G* [i] Athulpho *P* [j] *om. L* [k] *om. EP* [l] regnum *L*; regimine *P* [m–m] non post **multum** uero tempus *P* [n] Athulphus *P* [o] hominum *L* [p–p] doctorem et altorem *BC* [q] alitorem *P* [r] *om. L*; ei *P* [s] reuocauit *FP* [t] infert *F* [u] **desiderabiliter** *P* [v] *om. P* [w] docere *B* [x] concilio *G* [y] **ausilio** *D* [z] **sed** *GP*

[16] Cf. *Vita S. Birini*, c. 4 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 8): 'Suauissime igitur opinionis illius odor longe lateque uiritim et publice Deo ordinante cepit emanare.'

[17] Cf. *Vita S. Birini*, c. 4 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 8): '. . . quem multa et sapienti indagatione perlustrans.'

[18] Titus 3: 1; cf. *Vita S. Birini*, c. 6 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 12): 'Birinus, quia sciebat ex precepto apostoli omnem animam potestatibus sullimioribus esse subdendam.'

[19] There is no reliable historical evidence that Swithun was ever a member of King Ecgberht's *witan*. He appears in the witness-list of a charter of Wiglaf, king of Mercia, dated 833 (S 189 = BCS 409), allegedly in favour of Crowland Abbey ('Ego Swithinus [*sic*] præsbiter regis Egberti præsens fui'), but this charter is a late medieval forgery. He also attests a grant by Ecgberht dated 838 (S 281 = BCS 423) as 'Swithunus diaconus'; but his appearance as 'Swithunus episcopus' in a confirmation of this same charter dated 839 casts doubt on the attestation as *diaconus*, and indeed on the authenticity of the document as a whole (see Brooks, *Canterbury*, p. 200, and S. Keynes, 'The West Saxon charters of King Æthelwulf and his sons', *EHR* cix (1994), 1109–48, at p. 1114 n. 3).

[20] Æthelwulf was son of King Ecgberht; he succeeded his father as king of Wessex in 839 and died in 858. There is no independent evidence to support the hagiographer's claim that

3. Accordingly it happened that the aroma of Swithun's gentle reputation, wafting up from the meadow of his holiness,[16] impressed itself upon the aforementioned King Ecgberht. Once summoned, the king examined him with thorough inspection,[17] and having tested and approved him, received him into the bosom of his friendship, and then proceeded to treat him as preeminent among his friends and household, inasmuch as he had found him to be wiser in counsel and more loyal in his service. St Swithun served the king attentively, not for the sake of worldly pleasure or for earthly advancement, but because he knew and had read in the Apostle that higher authorities were to be obeyed,[18] and that, if he was frequently at the king's side, he would be able more swiftly and effectively to offer assistance to the needy by making appropriate suggestions to the king.[19] The king entrusted to him his son, who was named Æthelwulf, to be taught how to read and write and to be instructed in holy behaviour;[20] Æthelwulf at that time was actively fulfilling the office of a cleric in minor orders in God's church at Winchester, but at a later time, when his father had died and he had advanced to the order and grade of subdeacon, he began kindly and wisely to rule the English people—this with the permission and assent of the blessed Pope Leo—because the aforementioned King Ecgberht had died without any heir except Æthelwulf alone.[21]

4. After some time had passed[22] the aforementioned Bishop Helmstan came to the end of his life, thus paying his debt to death, and left the episcopal see of Winchester vacant, awaiting a successor.[23] At the instigation of God's mercy—Who does not abandon those who place their trust in Him, Who mercifully hears the prayers of those beseeching Him when He wishes—people of all ages, of either sex, of all stations of life, both the clergy and the populace of Winchester,[24] were of the same will and similar opinion in petitioning King Æthelwulf to appoint Swithun as their father and shepherd, arguing that he was distinguished in learning, endowed with wisdom, and outstanding in every aspect of his behaviour. Blessed be the town and people to whom so merciful, holy and wise a man be given for the governance of their church! Without delay King Æthelwulf, consenting to and rejoicing in their request, summoned to him his former tutor and instructor (for he was in the habit of describing him thus, as I have discovered in certain writings of this same king).[25] He reports to Swithun everyone's request, and reveals how canonically, how ecclesiastically, how eagerly Swithun is sought by all. It was not befitting to oppose so devout and holy a wish and request; there was no need to be distrustful of the king's verdict and support. The king pledged himself ready to do everything which Swithun commanded, to undertake nothing which Swithun expressly forbade, to

Æthelwulf was a cleric before his accession; in fact he was sub-king of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Surrey from *c.*825 onwards. See S 286 = BCS 419, S 323 = BCS 407, and *HBC*, p. 23, together with discussion by S. Keynes, 'The control of Kent in the ninth century', *Early Medieval Europe*, ii (1993), 111–31, at pp. 121–2.

[21] The pope in question is presumably Pope Leo IV (847–55). The hagiographer's account is anachronistic, however, since Æthelwulf became king in 839, eight years before Leo became pope. The germ of the report here is apparently the story that Pope Leo IV wrote in 853 to King Æthelwulf, recording that he [the pope] had received and anointed Æthelwulf's son Alfred, then aged four (*EHD*, pp. 879–80 (no. 219)). The letter in question is ed. MGH, Epist. iii. 602 (the relevant excerpts are printed by Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. 180). It has been argued that the letter is an eleventh-century forgery (J. L. Nelson, 'The problem of King Alfred's royal anointing', *JEH* xviii (1967), 145–63); but in any case the letter, or at least some notice of the epistolary link between King Æthelwulf and Pope Leo, must underlie the hagiographer's notice.

[22] Cf. *Miracula S. Swithuni* c. 21, 'Euoluto igitur aliquanto tempore', and *Vita S. Birini*, c. 21 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 44): 'Euoluto autem multo tempore, beatus Athelwoldus . . .'.

[23] The precise date of Helmstan's death is unknown; it fell between 844 and 852, the date of Swithun's ordination (see above, p. 00, and cf. *HBC*, p. 223).

[24] Cf. *Vita S. Birini*, c. 19 (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 38): 'Omnis etas, uterque sexus, uniuersa conditio, Dei corripiunt militiam . . .'; but cf. also Goscelin, *Liber confortatorius* (ed. Talbot, p. 55): 'Nulla sexui, nulli etati, nulli conditioni negatur in Christo palma.'

[25] The identity of these 'certain writings' is unknown. For the similar phrase *altor et doctor*, cf. Wulfstan, *Narratio* i. 789. No occurrence of the phrase *altor et doctor* is listed in CLCLT4.

que ille operari uetuerit; illum sicut prius et modo magistrum et consiliarium habiturum; se totum de consilio[a] eius pendere et omnia pro ipsius[b] ordinatissima dispositione facturum.[c]

5. Annuit itaque humilis et Deo deuotus sacerdos regi petenti et iubenti; facere quod ab eo et ab omnibus rogatur intendit, tantum si rex adiutor [a]Dei et[a] sui sicut pollicebatur uelit existere, si ecclesiam Dei et populum uniuersum qui in manu eius erat secundum consilium Dei et suum sustentare aggrediatur et regere. Suscepta denique benedictione, [b]manum ei[b] Dorobernensium archiepiscopo [c]magne auctoritatis[c] et religionis uiro nomine Celnodo[26] cum omni gaudio totius cleri et populi secundum institutionem canonicam imponente, honore pontificali honorifice sullimatus,[27] de miti mitior, [d]humilior[e] de humili,[d] de deuoto deuotior curabat existere: pauperibus non superbe [f]sed pie et humiliter respondere,[f] petentibus et pulsantibus consilii[g] [h]et auxilii[h] manum non inuitus porrigere, regi ut populum suum iuste et benigne regat sedulus et officiosus assistere, Deum[i] ut regem et gentem Anglorum in seruitute sua pace et prosperitate bona conseruet sine intermissione deposcere.[j] Vere in eo impletum[k] est quod scriptum reperitur: 'Iste homo in populo suo mitissimus apparuit; ipse[l] est qui assidue orat pro fratribus et amator fratrum suorum commodans[m] miseretur.'[n][28]

6. Huius[a] oratione et exhortatione clementissimus [b]et serenissimus[b] iam dictus rex Athulfus ecclesiis Dei uniuersam decimam terre regni sui[c] munificentissima donatione[d] donauit; et quod liberaliter dedit, libere possidere concessit.[29] Speculationi uero et contemplationi diuine[e] interno dilectionis ardore cum assidue et intense[f] inhiaret, actiue tamen discipline operibus non minus insudabat: pro opportunitate rei et temporis utriusque exercitii opera uariatione decentissima commutabat. Vnde factum est ut, necessitate exigente, de spiritualibus ad forinseca exiens, utilitati communi ciuium sicut semper et aliquando prouideret, pontemque ad orientalem portam ciuitatis arcubus lapideis opere non leuiter ruituro construeret.[30] Huic ergo operi cum sollicite et laboriose

[a] concilio *G* [b] illius *E* [c] *after* facturum *B adds* dicebat
[c. 5] [a–a] *om. GP* [b–b] manu Dei *A*; manum eius *C* [c–c] auctoritatis magne *P* [d–d] de humili humilior *G* [e] humior *D* [f–f] *om. P* [g] concilii *G* [h–h] *om. P* [i] deinde *P* [j] *after* deposcere *a later hand in A adds* non cessabat [k] completum *B* [l] iste *A* [m] commodus *A, corrected from* commodans; commodus *C* [n] misereatur *T*
[c. 6] [a] cuius *G* [b–b] *om. P* [c] *om. P* [d] deuotione *A* [e] diuino *E* [f] inten[.]e *A, with second* t *erased*; intente *FP*; intense *T with* uel intente *added interlineally*

[26] Ceolnoth was archbishop of Canterbury 833–70; see Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 143–9. For Swithun's profession to Ceolnoth, a version of which survives, see above, p. 5.

[27] The date of Swithun's ordination can be fixed fairly securely as 30 Oct. 852 (see above, p. 4). His earliest attestation as bishop in a reliable document occurs in 854 (S 308 = BCS 469); see Keynes, 'The West Saxon charters of King Æthelwulf', p. 1121 n. 3.

[28] Not a biblical quotation; but cf. Num. 12: 3 ('erat enim Moses uir mitissimus super omnes homines'), Ps. 111 (112): 5 ('iucundus homo qui miseretur et commodat'), and 2 Macc. 15: 14 ('hic est fratrum amator').

[29] King Æthelwulf's famous 'decimation' is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* against the year 855 (ADE): 'And the same year King Æthelwulf conveyed by charter the tenth part of his land throughout all his kingdom to the praise of God and his own eternal salvation' (*ASC*, trans. Whitelock, p. 43). A slightly embellished version of this event is given by Asser, *Vita Ælfredi*, c. 11 (ed. Stevenson, p. 9), whose wording shares minor details (italicized) with that of the hagiographer: 'venerabilis rex *decimam* totius *regni sui* partem ab omni regali servitio et tributo liberavit.' The resemblances are probably too slight to establish that Asser was the hagiographer's source; in any case, neither *ASC* nor Asser mentions Swithun's role in the process. Some understanding of what the 'decimation' involved is gained from a number of charters in Æthelwulf's name, known generally as the 'First Decimation' and 'Second Decimation' charters. The 'First Decimation' charters (S 294, 314 [294a], 322 [294b]) claim to have been issued after a meeting in Winchester on 5 Nov. 844, but are probably spurious; they contain no mention of Swithun (who did not become bishop until eight years later). The 'Second Decimation' charters (S 302–5, 307–8) were issued after a meeting in Wilton on Easter Sunday [22 Apr.] 854. They have a greater claim to authenticity; what is particularly interesting is that Bishop Swithun's role in their promulgation is specifically stated: 'Placuit autem Alhstano episcopo Sciribur-

retain him now as before as his teacher and counsellor, and to depend entirely on his advice and do everything according to his excellent counsel.

5. The humble and godly priest assented to the king's petition and command; he undertakes to do what is requested by the king and everyone else only if the king should wish to be God's supporter and his own, as he promised, and if he should undertake to sustain and rule the church of God and the entire populace which was in his hands, according to God's counsel and that of Swithun himself. When he had been blessed and consecrated through the imposition of hands by the archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great authority and piety named Ceolnoth,[26] to the joy of the entire clergy and populace and according to correct canonical procedure, Swithun was raised honourably to the dignity of the episcopacy;[27] he took care to be more gentle, more humble and more devout than he had previously been: to speak not proudly but affectionately and humbly to the poor, to extend the hand of advice and support not unwillingly to those beseeching and petitioning him; to assist the king diligently and effectively so that he could rule his people justly and kindly; to beseech God without interruption that He preserve the king and the English people in their obedience through His peace and bountiful prosperity. Truly in him was fulfilled what is found in scripture: 'This man appeared most gentle to his people; it is he who prays intently for his brothers and as the kindly friend of his brothers has mercy on them.'[28]

6. Through Swithun's prayers and exhortations, Æthelwulf, the aforementioned merciful and peaceful king, granted by means of a most generous donation the tithe of all his kingdom to the churches of God; and what he freely bestowed, he granted the free possession of.[29] Swithun, although with burning inner love he diligently and eagerly sought divine meditation and contemplation, laboured no less diligently on works of active undertaking: with appropriate variation he used to conduct his activities in both fields, depending on the exigencies of opportunity and time. Whence it happened that when he turned from spiritual matters to those of the outside world under constraint of necessity, he attended to the common welfare of the townspeople, as he did always and at any time, and built a bridge at the East Gate of the town, constructed of stone arches so that it would not easily collapse.[30] As he was giving his attention to this work carefully and

nensis ecclesie et Suuithun Wentanae ciuitatis ecclesie episcopo cum omnibus Deo seruientibus. ut in unaquaque ebdomada die sabbato unanimis congregatio famulorum famularumque Dei .l. psalmos cantet, et unusquisque presbiter duas missas, unam pro Aðeluulfo rege et alteram pro episcopis et ducibus' (S 304 = BCS 468; also quoted above, p. 6); the text goes on to specify the prayers in question. On the arguable authenticity of the 'Second Decimation' charters, see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 232–3, and esp. Keynes, 'The West Saxon charters of King Æthelwulf', pp. 1119–22. It is possible, therefore, that the hagiographer had before him the text of a 'Second Decimation' charter, and that this supplied him with the detail of Swithun's involvement.

[30] For the location of the East Gate, and Swithun's stone bridge over the Itchen (which does not survive), see fig. 2 with discussion in WS i. 260–1, 271–2 (with fig. 32). The main road from London entered Winchester by the East Gate, so the site of Swithun's bridge was a conspicuous one. There is a ten-line poem (*inc.* 'Hanc portam presens cernis quicumque uiator', ptd and discussed below, no. 12 (i), pp. 782–3) which purports to be an inscription taken from the bridge, dating its construction to the year 859: 'Sol octingentos cum rite reuolueret annos / Quinquaginta nouem replicaret et insuper annos.' However, since the poem also speaks of Swithun as *antistes quondam*, it may have been composed some time after Swithun's death in 863, on the basis of an inscription (now lost) which was to be seen on the bridge itself. The implication may be that the hagiographer knew the poem. Swithun's construction of the bridge is also mentioned in a late-eleventh-century rhythmical poem (inc. 'Inter signa gloriosi', printed and discussed below, no. 12 (vi)), where the additional information that the bridge was connected to 'twin gates' (*geminasque ianuas*) is given. The relationship between this rhythmical poem and the precisely contemporary *Vita S. Swithuni* is difficult to determine: see below, pp. 793–4.

operam daret et incepto difficili consummationis finem addere festinaret, contigit—residente illo ad opus—quadam die pauperculam mulierem usque ad locum operis uenire, oua uenalia in uase[g] deferre, ab operariis lasciuientibus et ludentibus[h] miseram apprehendi, oua uniuersa non eripi sed confringi. Que cum ab eis qui sanioris intelligentie erant flens et eiulans pro dampno et illata sibi iniuria in presentiam[i] domni episcopi sisteretur, motus pietate et misericordia, beatus antistes uas in quo erant oua reposita sumit; dexteram leuans, signum[j] crucis super oua componit;[k] signando celeri redintegratione[l] incorrupta restituit.[31] Mirari omnes qui aderant pro uirtute;[m] pauper illa recuperato quod perdiderat uehementer gaudere; qui autem dampnum intulerant resipiscere et stupere.[n]

7. Ipse amator et cultor sancte uniuersalis ecclesie ecclesias quibus in locis non erant studio ardentissimo pecuniis large contraditis fabricabat; que uero semirutis et infractis parietibus destructe iacebant, dominicis cultibus desiderantissime reparabat.[32] Quando autem opportunitas sibi dedicandi ecclesiam [a]aliquam imminebat,[a] sicut semper et tunc ipse[b] in se humilitatis[c] et deuotionis argumentum probabile omnibus[d] proponebat. Nam neque muli uel equi alicuius [e]uehiculum neque alicuius[e] secularis pompe sibi adhibens dignitatem, clericis ac familiaribus suis comitantibus tantum, nudis pedibus ad ecclesiam quam dedicaturus erat pro consuetudine sua humiliter properabat.[33] Sed et hoc non[f] die sed in[g] nocte faciebat, laudes et humane adulationis fauores sapienter declinans, nolens[h] esse cum eis uel inter eos de quibus dicitur quia amantes laudes hominum 'receperunt mercedem suam'.[34] Conuiuia sua[i] non cum locupletibus sed cum egenis et pauperibus erant.[j] Os suum semper apertum habebat[35] ut inuitaret peccatores ad penitentiam, stantes in statu bono ne cadere appetant, lapsos ut resurgere adiciant,[k36] suppellectile[l37] sui uariata sermonis exhortans. Cibum non ad impletionem sed ad sustentationem sui parce et moderate sumebat; somnum, ut ad seruitium Dei reparatus assurgeret, [m]post multas uigilias[m] post multos labores ne deficeret, paululum admittebat; psalmis et canticis spiritualibus semper intentus, uigorem orationis continue nunquam deserebat; proximo semper tanquam sibi quod utile, quod honestum, quod pium, quod sanctum in sanctionibus ecclesiasticis exequendum est, humili et modesto sermone referebat.

8. Vixit igitur [a]beatissimus Dei seruus[a] Swithunus a primitiis pubertatis sue usque ad exitum uite in obseruatione uera mandatorum Dei, omni custodia conseruans cor suum in omni munditia et puritate spirituali, catholice et apostolice doctrine custos integer, filiorum spiritualiter regeneratorum in sancte conuersationis studio eruditor peruigil et magister. Et cum nulla fere uirtus haberetur cuius apicem ipse[b] non attigisset, humilitati tamen et mansuetudini curiosius[c]

[g] uasa *BC* [h] laudantibus *over erasure F* [i] presencia *G* [j] singnum *D* [k] composuit *A* [l] reintegratione *EP* [m] *after* uirtute *a later hand in A adds* ceperunt [n] *at this point B ceases to be a witness to the text (see below, pp. 700–3)*

[c. 7] [a–a] aliqua ministrabat *A* [b] *om. A* [c] humilitas *E* [d] *om. P* [e–e] *om. AP* [f] *after* non *C adds* in [g] *om. P* [h] uolens *E* [i] *after* sua *G adds* sanctus Swithunus [j] faciebat *G* [k] adiscant *P* [l] semper lectione *P* [m–m] *om. L*

[c. 8] [a–a] Dei seruus beatissimus *C* [b] ille *G* [c] *om. P*

[31] The story of the broken eggs became one of the best known of St Swithun's miracles. It is recorded in a late-eleventh-century rhythmical poem (below, no. 12 (vi)), which may be the source of the present account, and is depicted in a later twelfth-century fresco in the chancel of the church at Corhampton (Hants.); see discussion by E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1950), pp. 188–9, 533–4 with pls. 60–1, and esp. R. E. Deshman, above, pp. 185–9 with pls. VIII–X.

[32] It is unfortunately not possible to verify the hagiographer's statement: no record of Swithun's building activity survives in contemporary charters. However, the late-eleventh-century rhythmical poem (below, no. 12 (vi))—which may possibly be the source of the present account—records that he was a *prouisor strenuus* who was at work on the bridge and its twin gates when the miracle occurred (below, p. 795).

strenuously, and was hurrying to add the finishing touches to this difficult undertaking, it happened one day that a certain poor old woman, carrying some saleable eggs in a dish, came to the building site while Swithun was there superintending the work, and the wretched woman was grabbed by the wantonly playful workmen, and all the eggs were not so much snatched away as broken. When she was brought, weeping and wailing for her loss and for the insult she had suffered, into the presence of the lord bishop by those who were in fuller possession of their wits, the holy bishop, moved by consideration and mercy, picked up the dish in which the eggs had been placed; raising his right hand he made the sign of the cross over the eggs, and by making the sign he restored the eggs to their pristine state through a swift reconstitution.[31] All those who were present marvelled at this miracle; the poor woman rejoiced exceedingly at the restoration of what she had lost; and those who inflicted this loss came to their senses and were duly aghast.

7. St Swithun, the patron and supporter of the Holy Catholic Church, was possessed of the burning desire to construct churches by the generous provision of funding in those places where they previously did not exist; and where churches lay in ruins, their walls collapsed and delapidated, he very eagerly restored them to the service of the Lord.[32] When the opportunity fell to him of consecrating some such church, on that occasion just as always he provided an attractive example for everyone of his humility and devoutness. For he did not employ any mule- or horse-drawn vehicle, nor did he make any display of worldly ceremony, but accompanied only by his own clergy and household he humbly—as was his custom—walked barefoot to the church he was to consecrate.[33] But he did this not by day but by night, wisely avoiding the acclamation and praise of human adulation, not wishing to be considered with or among those of whom it is said that, since they loved men's praise they 'received their reward'.[34] He took his meals not with the rich but with the poor and needy. He always kept his mouth open in readiness[35] to invite sinners to penitence, and urged, through the varied store of his discourse,[37] those standing in a secure situation to avoid a fall, and the fallen moreover that they make an effort to get up.[36] He took food sparingly and moderately, not to stuff but to sustain himself; he allowed himself only a little sleep, so that he could rise refreshed for God's service, and so that he would not expire after so many vigils and other exertions; he was always intent on psalmody and plain-chant, and never relinquished his fervour for ceaseless prayer; he always spoke to his neighbour as if to himself, in humble and modest speech, about what useful, virtuous, devout or holy course is to be followed in matters of ecclesiastical law.

8. St Swithun, God's holy servant, lived therefore for the true fulfilment of God's commandments from the beginnings of his youth up to his departure from this life, preserving his heart with every vigilance in spiritual cleanness and purity, remaining an irreproachable guardian of catholic and apostolic doctrine, and a watchful instructor and teacher of all his sons who were spiritually reborn in the pursuit of the religious vocation. And although there was virtually no moral excellence whose summit he had not himself attained, he nevertheless remained especially zealous

[33] The humble saint who went everywhere on foot is a familiar topos in early Insular hagiography (see *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 323, 344). A striking example is Bede's description of Bishop Aidan, who '[d]iscurrere per cuncta et urbana et rustica loca non equorum dorso sed pedum incessu uectus . . . solebat' (*HE* iii. 5, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 226); but there are no verbal links between Bede's account and the hagiographer's.

[34] Matt. 6: 2.

[35] Cf. Matt. 5: 2, 13: 35.

[36] Cf. Ps. 40 (41): 9, Amos 5: 1.

[37] The word *sup(p)ellectilis* (f.) is a Late Latin (and medieval) form of *supellex*, here given correctly in the ablative.

inherebat; pacem et sanctimoniam sequens, fontem uite et beatitudinis eterne sitiebat; ad brauium superne uocationis anhelans uitam in pace finire cupiebat. Bene igitur et sancte domo et ecclesia Dei, cui ipse pater et pastor piissimus preerat, secundum ritus ecclesiasticos ordinata et ordinatissime confirmata, uictor carnis, mundi perfuga, de corona securus, de incolatu huius[d] seculi exiens—regnante in tertio anno[e] Anglorum rege Athelberto[38] gloriosi regis Athulfi filio—feliciter migrauit, exultans et gaudens quia a Domino Deo dictum est sibi, 'Euge, serue bone et fidelis, quia super pauca [f]fidelis fuisti,[fg] intra in gaudium Domini tui.'[39] Quod uero uitium exaltationis[h] in uita sua omnimodis declinauerit, et uirtutem uilitatis et humiliationis bone potissimum coluerit et colens amauerit, in fine[i] uite sue de sepultura sua precipiens aperto indicio ad exemplum subditorum indicare curauit. [j]Nam neque intra ecclesie septa neque in preeminentiori parte cimeterii, sed extra ecclesiam in indigniori, que in plebe[k] uilioribus patebat equaliter, se tumulari precepit,[40] sciens a Domino dictum quia, 'Qui[l] se exaltauerit[m] humiliabitur et qui se humiliauerit[n] exaltabitur.'[j][41] Exiuit autem de ergastulo huius seculi anno ab incarnatione dominica octingentesimo sexagesimo[o] secundo, indictione[p] decima,[42] regnante eodem[q] Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui est honor et gloria cum Deo patre[r] et spiritu sancto per omnia secula seculorum. AMEN.

[d] huiusmodi *P* [e] regno *L* [f–f] fuisti fidelis *AGP (cf. Matt. 25: 21)* [g] *after* fidelis *A adds* supra multa te constituam [h] *after* exaltationis *L adds* et [i] finem *L* [j–j] *om. P* [k] plebes *A* [l] *om. G* [m] exaltat *C* [n] humiliat *C* [o] *om. C* [p] inditione *LP* [q] *om. P* [r] *T ends here*

[38] Æthelberht succeeded his father Æthelwulf as king in Kent, Essex and Surrey in 858, while his brother Æthelbald became king of Wessex; he then succeeded Æthelbald as king of Wessex in 860 (*HBC*, p. 23). The 'third year' of Æthelberht's reign would be 862 or 863; see below, n. 42.

[39] Matt. 25: 21.

[40] This description of Swithun's tomb is somewhat disingenuous: in fact his tomb was placed in a prominent position between the west door of the Old Minster and St Martin's tower. See above, p. 274 n. 106.

[41] Matt. 23: 12.

[42] It is known from liturgical calendars that Swithun died on 2 July; this fact, in combination with the hagiographer's present statement, has led to the widely accepted view that Swithun died

in his attachment to humility and gentleness; pursuing peace and holiness he thirsted for the fountain of life and eternal beatitude; aspiring to the prize of his heavenly calling he sought to end his life in peace. When, therefore, he had disposed and properly arranged—according to ecclesiastical ceremony—the house and church of God, over which he had presided as holy patron and pastor, this victor of the flesh and fugitive of the world, secure in his crown, departed blessedly from his habitation in this world, in the third year of the reign of Æthelberht,[38] king of the English and the son of glorious King Æthelwulf; he departed exulting and rejoicing, because it was said to him by the Lord God, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou has been faithful over a few things, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'[39] At the end of his life, when giving orders concerning his burial, he took care to show by a clear token—as an example for his charges—that during his lifetime he had utterly rejected the sin of pride and had especially cherished the virtue of self-abasement and humiliation. For he gave orders for himself to be buried[40] not within the precincts of the church nor in an eminent part of the cemetery, but rather outside the church in an inconspicuous place which was equally accessible to the more lowly of the people, for he knew the Lord's saying: 'Whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled, and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.'[41] He departed from the prison of this world in the year of our Lord's incarnation 862, in the tenth indiction,[42] in the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom is honour and glory with God the Father and the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. AMEN.

on 2 July 862 (the indiction is correct for that year). Unfortunately, we do not know the source of the hagiographer's information: although it is explicit, it is not necessarily reliable. As we have seen (above, n. 38), his earlier statement that Swithun died in the third year of Æthelberht's reign could imply 862 or 863 (cf. O'Donovan, 'Episcopal dates, ii', p. 108). However, as Keynes notes ('The West Saxon charters of King Æthelwulf', p. 1130 n. 2), an arguably authentic charter of King Æthelred (S 336 = BCS 508) dated 863 and witnessed by Swithun, shows that he was still alive in that year, whereas his absence from the witness-list of S 333 = BCS 510 'suggests that he was dead by the end of the year', in other words that he died on 2 July 863 (see also above, p. 4). Interestingly, the same calculation appears to have been made, correctly, by William of Malmesbury, who in other respects was following the *Vita S. Swithuni* closely: see *GP*, p. 162; see above, p. 141 n. 20.

6. *MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI*

INTRODUCTION

At some time near the end of the eleventh century, probably in the very last years of its last decade, an extensive prose collection of posthumous miracles of St Swithun was compiled, possibly at Winchester or perhaps at Sherborne. This collection, which has never been printed in its entirety, is here referred to as the *Miracula S. Swithuni*.[1] The *Miracula* seem to have been intended to accompany the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* (no. 5, above), for the collection occurs alongside that work in half the manuscripts which preserve it (five out of ten); furthermore, there is reason to think that both works are the production of one author. The *Miracula* consist of fifty-six chapters; of these, the first forty are based closely on Wulfstan of Winchester's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, and consequently contribute no independent information on the cult of the saint;[2] however, the remaining sixteen chapters (cc. 41–56) were composed afresh and are evidently based on the anonymous author's personal knowledge of events at Winchester and Sherborne. Some of the miracles concern prominent persons of the second half of the eleventh century, such as Ealdred, the Winchester monk who became archbishop of York and who presided at the coronation of William the Conqueror, or Walkelin, the bishop of Winchester who undertook reconstruction of the cathedral there, or Durand, a well-attested sheriff of Hampshire. For these reasons, the *Miracula S. Swithuni* are a valuable source not only for the cult of St Swithun, but also for the history of Wessex in the late eleventh century.

i. THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE *MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI*

The date of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* may be determined fairly accurately from the facts that (on one hand) they describe Walkelin, bishop of Winchester who died on 3 Jan. 1098 as being *uenerabilis memorie* and (on the other hand) they are preserved in a manuscript—London, BL, Cotton Tiberius

[1] Listed in Hardy, *Catalogue*, i/2. 514 (no. 1079); the text is not listed in *BHL*. Some few miracles from the collection (those preserved in MS. G) have been printed by Grosjean (see below, p. 646 n. 34).

[2] The prose *miracula* thus constitute a *contrafactum* to the verse account of the miracles which is Wulfstan's *Narratio*. As Wulfstan, in rendering Lantfred's prose account into verse, was following a scholarly practice which was particularly in vogue at tenth-century Winchester (see above, p. 342), so the author of the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, in rendering Wulfstan's verse back into prose, was following a practice which is well attested in the later Middle Ages: for a brief introduction to the practice, see P. G. Schmidt, 'Prosaauflösung im lateinischen Mittelalter', in *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft. Festschrift für Karl Stackmann* (Göttingen, 1987), pp. 38–44.

D. iv—that was written within a few years of 1100; in other words, a date of *c.*1100 is as precise as may be achieved on present evidence.

Concerning the author of the *Miracula*, less certainty is attainable but, as we have seen, the *Vita S. Swithuni* and *Vita S. Birini* are almost certainly products of the same author. The certainty is based on stylistic considerations. Many words and phrases used in the two *uitae* are also found in the *Miracula*: preference for the verb *preualeo* over the simplex *ualeo*;[3] the verb *superuenio* to describe the passage of time;[4] the adverbs *omnimodis*[5] and *honorificentius*;[6] the phrase *euoluto autem tempore*;[7] and others. The stylistic tendencies which we have noted on a small scale in the *Vita S. Swithuni*[8] are found abundantly in the *Miracula*: strings of infinitives dependent on a single finite verb;[9] use of the 'historic' infinitive;[10] and use of sequences of future participles.[11] So, too, are rhetorical devices such as asyndeton,[12] chiasmus,[13] polyptoton,[14] and epanaphora.[15] Another device used frequently by this author is what might be called 'partial climax', where a finite verb in one phrase is picked up as a past participle in the following phrase.[16] None of these devices is particularly difficult to deploy, but in sum they reveal an author who had (modest) stylistic pretensions.

Unfortunately, as in the case of the *Vita S. Swithuni*, it is not possible to identify the author of the present *Miracula*. Various (small) indications suggest that he may have been Francophone: thus in c. 7 he represents the Old English name *Teoðic* (spelled thus in Wulfstan) as *Theodoricus*, apparently substituting a familiar Frankish name (cf. modern French *Thierry*) for an unfamiliar English one. He uses several Latin constructions which have analogues in the Romance languages.[17] On the other hand, he was able to read Old English, because in c. 41 he provides a Latin translation of a miracle which occurs uniquely in Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun' (c. 9). Whatever his native language, therefore, he is representative of the bilingual situation which existed in England in the years following the Norman Conquest.

[3] See above, p. 631 n. 15. Very frequently the author uses the word in alliterative collocations: *Vita S. Swithuni* c. 2 (*prout preualebat*); *Vita S. Birini* cc. 7 (*potentia preualuit*), 8 (*prestare preualuit*), 9 (*preualebant a predicando*), 13 (*preualent preconiorum*); *Miracula S. Swithuni*, cc. 18 (*impetrare preualeat*), 28 (*preualeret pro modulo*), 13 (*proferens agere preualebat*), 37 (*petebat non preualebat*).

[4] See *Vita S. Swithuni* c. 4; *Miracula S. Swithuni* cc. 3, 10, 16, 26, 37, 42, 48, 55.

[5] See *Vita S. Swithuni* cc. 2, 8; *Miracula S. Swithuni* cc. 9, 25, 44, 54, 56.

[6] See *Vita S. Birini* c. 21; *Miracula S. Swithuni* cc. 1, 4.

[7] See *Vita S. Swithuni* c. 4; *Vita S. Birini* c. 21; *Miracula S. Swithuni* c. 21.

[8] See above, pp. 620–1.

[9] See, for example, *Miracula S. Swithuni* cc. 30, 36, 45, 46, 48.

[10] See, for example, *Miracula S. Swithuni* c. 9.

[11] See *Miracula S. Swithuni* cc. 1 (*relicturam . . . reuersuram; exiturum . . . rediturum*), 7 (*redditura; contristaturus*), 8 (*reperturus; redditurus*), 10 (*dicturi, moritura, delaturum, itura . . . scansura; emendaturam*), 11, 13, 16, 22, 25 (*uisurus, rogaturus*), 27, 30, 34, 36, 40, 55; cf. *Vita S. Birini* cc. 1, 5, 7 (*regnaturus . . . pugnaturus*), 9, 13, 15, 18.

[12] For asyndeton, see LHS ii. 828–31; for examples in the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, see cc. 7 ('orauit; exaudita est; compedes franguntur; rumpuntur uincula'; and note the chiasmus in the last pair), 34 ('quam obnixius **quam deuotius**'), 54 ('**uentre**, femoribus, pectore, poplitibus'), etc.

[13] For chiasmus, see LHS ii. 696–8, and below, p. 651 n. 10. A clear example of chiasmus is found at the end of c. 3: 'omnes qui audiebant et cum **leticia** **mira**bantur et cum am**mira**tione **leta**bantur', where *leticia* is picked up by *letabantur*, and *mirabantur* by *ammiratione*.

[14] For polyptoton, see LHS ii. 707–8, and below, p. 651 n. 9. A clear example of polyptoton is found in c. 3: 'quod factum est **mira**nda ad**mira**tione **mira**tur'. See also my discussion of polyptoton in the *Narratio* of Wulfstan, above, pp. 354–5 (with further references).

[15] For example, *Miracula S. Swithuni* cc. 14 ('alii . . . alii . . . alii . . . alii . . . alii'), 54 ('testes . . . testes . . . testes'); on epanaphora in the *Vita S. Birini*, see Love, *Three Lives*, p. lii.

[16] For example, *Vita S. Swithuni* c. 3 ('in sinum amicitie *recepit, receptum* . . . habere cepit'); *Miracula S. Swithuni* cc. 21 ('capitur ilico misera, capta uinculatur, uinculata tamen . . .'), 32 ('per omnia . . . membra . . . *confringitur, confractus* . . .'), 38 ('se in oratione *strauit, stratus* orauit . . .'), 39 ('grauissime *uerberatur, uerberata* manicis stringitur'), 41 ('sine omni dilatione *peruaditur, peruasus* collidi-tur'), etc. An example of tripartite climax is found in c. 55: 'prereptorem suum comprehendit, comprehensum detinet, detentum seruat'. There is no example in the *Vita S. Birini*.

[17] See below, p. 650 n. 6.

ii. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI*

As we have seen, five of the ten manuscripts which preserve the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* (above, no. 5) also preserve the *Miracula S. Swithuni*. Since these five manuscripts have been described in some detail above, only cursory notice will be given here, regarding in particular which chapters of the work are preserved in each manuscript.

A = London, BL, Arundel 169 (northern England, s. xii^{med}), fos. 53r–60v.

The Arundel volume is the sole remnant of what must once have been a very large, multi-volume legendary. Whereas the *Vita S. Swithuni* was included in this manuscript against the feast of St Swithun's deposition (2 July), the *Miracula* are included some twenty folios later against the feast of the translation on 15 July. The text of the *Miracula* in A includes only cc. 1–52.

C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 161 (Kent [?Faversham, ?StAugustine's Canterbury], s. xii^{ex}), fos. 47v–54v.

In the Corpus manuscript the text of the *Miracula* follows immediately on that of the *Vita S. Swithuni*. Corpus 161 includes all fifty-six chapters of the *Miracula* but, as is characteristic of the other hagiographical texts in this manuscript, the text of the *Miracula* has been drastically abbreviated, so that the value of its witness—particularly in the three final chapters, which are preserved only in C and T (see below)—is much reduced.

G = Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, I. 81 (English, s. xiv^{2}), fos. 124r–127r.

The text of the *Miracula* in the Gotha manuscript represents a bizarre rearrangement of the contents of the work. First, as a sort of appendix to the *Vita S. Swithuni*, the compiler included on fos. 124r–125r a sequence of (apparently randomly chosen) chapters from the *Miracula*, in the following order: cc. 15, 7, 9, 11, 19, 25, 31, 23, 24. At the end of these randomly chosen miracles there is on fo. 125r the rubric *Translatio beati Swithuni*; then follows another sequence of randomly ordered miracles drawn again from the *Miracula* (fos. 125r–127r): cc. 1, 2, 4, 6, 27, 8, 12, 14, 36, 26, 52. There is no apparent reason for this rearrangement of chapters: certainly there is no physical dislocation in the arrangement of quires and leaves at this point in the manuscript, and the idiosyncratic presentation must therefore be attributed to the compiler/scribe of G.

L = Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 7 (English, s. xii^{2}), fos. 69r–79v.

Following the text of the *Vita S. Swithuni*, the compiler of the Lincoln manuscript included nine lections for St Swithun's deposition;[18] then immediately following these, a text of cc. 1–53 of the *Miracula S. Swithuni*.

[18] See R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 6–9; the nine lections are discussed and ptd above, pp. 105–7.

T = London, BL, Cotton Tiberius D. iv (?Winchester, s. xi/xii), part II, fos. 112r–121v.

The copy of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* in Tiberius D. iv contains all fifty-six chapters of the text. Unfortunately, however, the manuscript was badly damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731, and there are several passages in the last three chapters of the work where T is the sole witness (the relevant passages having been omitted by the scribe of C, the only other manuscript to contain all fifty-six chapters); in a few such cases it is necessary to reconstruct the damaged text conjecturally (see below).

In addition to these five manuscripts, it is worth recalling that the antiquary John Leland recorded in his *Collectanea* a manuscript containing the *Vita S. Swithuni*,[19] followed immediately by the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, whose content he recorded as follows:

> Translatio reliquiarum Swithuni facta 110. anno ab ejus obitu, & anno D. 971
> Feretrum pretiosum ab Eadgaro rege reliquiis Swithuni consecratum.
> Crux nomine regis Petra distans 3. pass. mill. ab Wintonia.[20]

These descriptions evidently correspond to cc. 4, 20 and 30 of the *Miracula*. From other items in this same manuscript (which include Osbern of Canterbury's *Vita S. Ælphegi* and the anonymous *Libellus de miraculis S. Erkenwaldi*, which contains a reference to Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London 1128–34), it is possible to deduce that it can have been written no earlier than the mid-twelfth century. Since no surviving manuscript contains precisely the contents listed by Leland, it must be presumed lost.

In addition to these manuscript witnesses, there survive several breviate versions of the text. One such version, consisting solely of cc. 1, 2 and 4, is preserved in manuscripts in London and Oxford; this version is printed below (pp. 699–700). Another manuscript (London, BL, Lansdowne 436) contains a redaction of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* in which various chapters of that text (cc. 3, 5, 22, 23, 24, 25, 19, 12, 27, 32, in that order) have been combined with a narrative of St Swithun's miracles drawn from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum* (this Lansdowne redaction is printed below, pp. 700–3). A third such manuscript, the 'Pembroke Legendary', contains an epitome of cc. 1, 2, and 4 of the *Miracula*. It is the nature of the redaction in these breviate versions that they can throw no light on the text of the *Miracula*; and the same may be said for the various liturgical lections drawn from the *Vita* and *Miracula* which survive in late medieval breviaries.[21]

iii. RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

Given that the five manuscripts of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* also preserve the *Vita*, one might expect that the pattern of their transmission would be similar; and there is in fact a broad similarity. As we saw in the case of the *Vita*, there were many variants preserved in individual manuscripts, but only rare cases of shared variation. So, too, in the case of the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, there is a large amount of individual variation, but relatively little shared variation, with the result that the five manuscript witnesses do not fall obviously into groups. The three earliest manuscripts appear to be independent of each other. We may begin with them.

[19] See above, p. 615.

[20] Leland, *Collectanea*, i. 22.

[21] See above, pp. 104–15. The lections for St Swithun's deposition in one of these breviaries, from St Swithun's priory in Winchester (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 489) appear to have been drawn from our present MS. G (see above, p. 111).

The earliest of the manuscripts is T, datable to *c.*1100. T was very badly damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731, and its text is illegible at many places (a major inconvenience, given that T is one of only two manuscripts which preserve all fifty-six chapters of the work). But even discounting the damaged passages of text, it is clear that T has so many individual errors that it cannot have been the exemplar of any of the later manuscripts of the *Miracula*.[22] The scribe of T was far from being a competent Latinist, and he frequently reduces the text to gibberish, as when in c. 38 he renders the unfamiliar word *struma* as the nonsensical *saturma*. Such carelessness reduces the value of T's witness; and in any case there is apparently no place where T preserves a correct reading when the other witnesses are in error; nor does T agree with any other manuscript in any but an accidental way.

The next oldest manuscript, A, dates from the mid-twelfth century. The situation respecting A is somewhat different from that of T. On the one hand, A has a substantial number of errors which show clearly that no other manuscript can be derived from it;[23] furthermore, it is clear that the scribe of A frequently made simple verbal transpositions.[24] On the other hand, there are at least two places where A preserves the correct reading against all other witnesses,[25] which raises the possibility that in other cases where A uniquely preserves a reading as plausible as that found in the remaining witnesses, A may have some claim to the truth.[26] Occasionally A shares a reading with one or another witness, but on examination most (if not all) of these agreements may be seen to be accidental.[27] In short, the witness of A is independent of other manuscripts and has occasional claim to the truth.

A similar situation obtains with respect to L. On five occasions, L preserves a correct reading where all others are in error,[28] and this raises the possibility that on several other occasions where L stands against all other witnesses, its reading may be the correct one.[29] However, like A and T, L also independently preserves numerous readings which are manifestly errors,[30] so that its witness cannot be accepted without careful evaluation.

Finally, there is the question of the two latest manuscripts, C (s. xii^{ex}) and G (s. xiv^{2}). The compilers of each of these two manuscripts characteristically redacted the text while copying it, C by making many omissions,[31] G by making omissions, transpositions and substitutions. Their evidential value is slight, therefore, and there is little point in recording all the instances where they independently depart from the common stock witnessed by ALT. On several occasions, however, C

[22] Such errors include: cc. 1 nn. *l*, *m*; 6 nn. *e*, *h*, *m*; 8 n. *g*; 10 nn. *g*, *j*; 11 nn. *p–p*, *t–t*; 17 n. *c*; 18 n. *c*; 21 n. *g2*; 27 n. *e*; 28 n. *j–j*; 29 n. *h*; 30 n. *g*; 32 n. *d*; 34 n. *c*; 35 n. *r*; 36 n. *m*; 38 n. *b*; 39 n. *d*; 40 n. *j*; 41 nn. *f–f*, *h–h*; 43 nn. *r*, *u*; 47 nn. *e*, *m–m*; 52 nn. *e*, *a2–a2*, *b2*.

[23] See, for example, the following: cc. 1 n. *j*; 10 n. *i*; 15 n. *d*; 18 nn. *h*, *k*; 21 nn. *j*, *m*, *b2*; 30 n. *f*; 39 n. *j*; 43 nn. *d*, *g*, *c2*; 44 n. *n*; 47 n. *k–k*; 49 nn. *h*, *n*; 50 n. *e*; 51 n. *c*.

[24] For example, cc. 3 n. *i–i*; 4 nn. *j–j*, *m–m*; 43 n. *a2–a2*.

[25] Thus cc. 46 n. *f* (*grossescere* A, *grossescens* CLT) and 52 n. *i* (*coniugauerat* A, *coniurauerat* GLT).

[26] For example, in cc. 21 n. *p* (*irreuocabiliter* A, *irremediabiliter* cett.), 25 n. *d* (*demoniaco* A, *demonico* cett.; but cf. *Vita S. Birini* c. 19: *demonico*), 44 n. *j* (*introeuntibus* A, *intrantibus* cett.) and 45 n. *i* (*minantem* A, *minitantem* C, *manantem* L, *minante* T).

[27] For example, cc. 5 n. *b–b* (an omission shared with C—*sicut iam retulimus*—which could have been made independently); 7 n. *d–d* (a transposition shared with G, but of the sort made frequently elsewhere by both scribes), 8 n. *i* (*portaretur* AG, *deportaretur* cett.), 25 n. *g* (the addition of *ergo* shared with C, but scarcely a distinctive reading), 31 n. *f* (an omission shared with C, but almost certainly made independently), 48 n. *c* (*suisque* AT wrongly, *quisque* L rightly), and 52 n. *n–n* (another transposition shared with C, probably made independently).

[28] See cc. 7 n. *g* (*clementiam* L, *clementia* ACGT), 14 n. *h–h* (*alii surdi* L, *surdi alii* ACT), 32 nn. *p* (*pre* L, *pro* ACT), *q* (*propere* L, *prospere* ACT) and 48 n. *c* (*quisque* L, *suisque* AT).

[29] See cc. 10 n. *q–q*, 21 n. *f2*, 29 n. *i–i*, 36 n. *d–d*, 38 n. *e*, 42 n. *u*, 44 n. *c*, 46 n. *r–r*, 52 n. *f–f*.

[30] For example, at cc. 21 nn. *d–d* (an omission through homoeoteleuton), *h–h*, *i*, 26 n. *k*, 27 n. *f*, 28 nn. *c*, *f*, 32 n. *q* (cf. Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 808), 36 n. *d–d*, 45 n. *i*, 52 nn. *y*, *z*, *f2*, and 53 n. *c*.

[31] The scribe of C was alone in supplying rubrics for each chapter of the work.

and G agree in an unusual variant reading,[32] which may suggest—though it can scarcely prove—that C and G derive independently from a shared exemplar.

There is perhaps no need to illustrate these relationships by means of a stemma: ALT must derive independently from the archetype; CG possibly derive from a common hyparchetype which, in its turn, derived—independently of ALT—from the archetype.

iv. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

No integral edition of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* has ever been published. However, in 1940 the Bollandist Paul Grosjean appended to his description of the Gotha manuscript (our G)[33] an edition of various chapters of the *Miracula* as contained in that manuscript.[34] Because of the eccentric nature of the text in the Gotha manuscript, it is quite impossible to form any opinion of the entire work from Grosjean's edition.

v. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

For the first fifty-two chapters of the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, the text printed here is based principally on the agreement of AL and, where it is legible, T. There is no occasion where T independently offers a correct reading. Individual variants in A or L, however, may have some claim to the truth, and need to be adjudicated individually. For c. 53—a very brief chapter—the only extant witnesses are CLT; I have here allowed the agreement of C and T to weigh against the testimony of L. For cc. 54–6 the only witnesses are CT. Each is problematic: C because of its scribe's propensity for abbreviation, T because it is badly damaged. In passages omitted by C where T is damaged or illegible (such passages are marked with square brackets), resort must perforce be made to conjecture as to what the author may have written. But it will be clear that the text of cc. 54–6 is less securely based than that of the preceding chapters, where the (frequently serious) errors of T can be controlled by the evidence of AL. As elsewhere in the volume, capitalization, punctuation and chapter-numbering are editorial.

SIGLA

A = London, BL, Arundel 169 (northern England, s. xii^{med}), fos. 53r–60v
C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 161 (Kent [?Faversham, ?St Augustine's, Canterbury), s. xii^{ex}), fos. 47v–54v
G = Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, I.81 (English, s. xiv^{2}), fos. 124r–127r
L = Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 7 (English, s. xii^{2}), fos. 69r–79v
T = London, BL, Cotton Tiberius D. iv (?Winchester, s. xi/xii), part II, fos. 112r–121v

[32] See cc. 7 n. *j–j* (a lengthy omission at the end of a chapter which might have occurred independently), 15 n. *h–h* (a similar sort of omission) and 23 n. *c* (*afflicti* ALT, *afflicta* CG, agreeing with the antecedent *multitudo*, perhaps rightly).

[33] See above, p. 625 n. 87.

[34] P. Grosjean, 'Codicis Gothani appendix', *AB* lviii (1940), 177–204, at pp. 187–96 (= cc. 15, 7, 9, 11, 19, 25, 31, 23, 24, 1, 2, 4, 6, 27, 8, 12, 14, 36, 26, 52 respectively).

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1.[a] Temporibus religiosissimi ac serenissimi regis Anglorum Eadgari[b] (qui a rege Athelberto nonus in regno est),[1] apparuit beatissimus antistes Swithunus cuidam nocte quiescenti in lecto suo, uiro siquidem bene timorato et [c]bono timore deuoto[c] sed multiplici et incredibili infirmitate per omnia membra percusso. Ammonuit autem eum ut ecclesiam que Vetus nominatur Cenobium celeriter adeat, domnum[d] Athelwoldum[e] episcopum (qui sibi decimo loco successit)[2] fideliter pro mandatis suis conueniat, referens diuina miseratione prouisum se [f]de[g] ubi iacebat[f] debere leuari intra ecclesiam loco digniori honorificentius tumulandum.[3] Si diffidat, si hesitet, signum pro testimonio habiturum molestiam infirmitatis corporee qua[h] hactenus detinebatur ipsa eadem hora illum relicturam, [i]salutis letitiam qua diu caruerat integerrime et perfectissime reuersuram.[i,j] Addidit etiam ut ad locum sepulture sue ueniat, ueniens[k] unum de anulis ferreis qui lapidi adhuc infixi uidentur si abstrahat cum omni facilitate et absque omni lapidis illius[l] lesione exiturum, ac deinceps eadem facilitate eodem[m] integritatis tenore seruato, in locum[n] unde abstraheretur rediturum. Surgit itaque eger, [o]non iam[o] eger sed plenissime redditus sanitati; sicut predicta et ostensa sunt omnia repperit. Dicta [p]et reperta[p] (prout iussum est) domno[q] pontifici intimare contendit.[4]

2.[a] Ammonitus est autem per uisum nocte et alius languidus [b]uocabulo Athelsinus[b] a duobus iuuenibus (sicut ipse referebat) uultu pariter et ueste prefulgentibus, ut[c] si sanitatem recuperare cupiat, sepulturam predicti pontificis sollicite requirat: inde sibi prouenturam citissimam et ualentissimam medicinam—[d]pro egritudine sanitatem et pro dolore leticiam.[d] Hunc enim quem diximus languidum miseranda gibbi congeries adeo comprimens inclinabat [e]et inclinans incuruabat[e] ut genarum genuumque una fere eademque uideretur esse iunctura. [f]Non celum,[f] non ea que sursum sunt aspiciebat: terram tantum et propinqua terre pro more bestiali attendere preualebat.[g] Adducitur ergo ad locum de quo diximus; [h]adductus orat. Post orationem in soporem resoluitur:

[c. 1] [a] INCIPIT REVELATIO SIVE TRANSLATIO SANCTI ET BEATISSIMI PATRIS NOSTRI CONFESSORIS CHRISTI ATQVE PONTIFICIS SWITHVNI CVM MIRACVLIS AD SEPVLCHRVM EIVS PARATIS *rubric in A*; QVALITER BEATVS SWITHVNVS CVIDAM APPARENS DATO DVPLICIS MIRACVLI SIGNO SESE TRANSFERRI MANDAVIT *rubric in C*; INCIPIVNT MIRACVLA IN TRANSLATIONE SANCTI SWITHVNI CONFESSORIS *rubric in L* [b] Edgari *ALT* [c–c] *om. C* [d] dominum *L* [e] Athelwaldum *L* [f–f] *om. C* [g] *after* de *G adds* humo *and a corrector in T adds* loco [h] quam *C* [i–i] *om. C* [j] reuersurum *A* [k] *om. C* [l] ipsius *T* [m] eadem *T* [n] loco *G* [o–o] iam non *C* [p–p] *om. T* [q] domino *L*

[c. 2] [a] DE QVODAM PRODIGIOSE CONTRACTO CELESTIVM PERSONARVM HORTATV IBIDEM ERECTO *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c] *om. L* [d–d] *om. C* [e–e] *om. C* [f–f] *added by a corrector in A* [g] ualebat *C* [h–h] *destroyed in T*

[1] The information that Edgar was the ninth (West Saxon) king after Æthelberht (860–5; Æthelberht was the son of King Æthelwulf, brother of Alfred the Great: see *HBC*, p. 23), is not found in Wulfstan, and was presumably added by the author from consultation of a West Saxon regnal list. There is a very similar calculation with respect to King Ecgberht in the *Vita S. Swithuni* (c. 4), where Ecgberht is said to have *octauus successit in regnum* to King Cynegils; in that case, the calculation was seen to derive from the list of 'Nomina regum Occidentalium Saxonum' in the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (ed. Birch, p. 12; ed. Keynes, fo. 14r). The present calculation cannot derive from that list, since it contains no mention of King Æthelberht (who may have been omitted because he exercised his authority in Kent). However, elsewhere in the *Liber uitae* is found a second list of 'Nomina regum' (ed. Birch, pp. 94–6; ed. Keynes, fo. 39r–v); this list does contain the name of Æthelberht, and although the individual kings are not numbered in the manuscript, if one counts from Æthelberht and includes his name, Edgar is indeed the ninth in succession to Æthelberht. This evidence may suggest that the author of the *Miracula* had consulted the *Liber uitae* at Winchester; cf., however, the following note.

[2] Again, the information that Æthelwold was Swithun's tenth successor is not found in Wulfstan. On this occasion the information does not appear to derive from the *Liber uitae* of the New Minster, where in the list of 'Nomina episcoporum Occidentalium Saxonum' (ed. Birch, pp. 17–18; ed. Keynes, fos. 15v–16r) Æthelwold is Swithun's ninth successor (counting Swithun himself), not the tenth. Interestingly, if one were to include Byrhthelm, who may briefly have been bishop of Winchester sometime after 959 and before Æthelwold was appointed in 963 (see *HBC*, p. 223), but who is omitted from the list in the *Liber uitae*, then Æthelwold would indeed be the

1 [Wulfstan i. 1–198]. In the days of that most holy and peaceful king of the English, Edgar, who was the ninth king after Æthelberht to occupy the throne,[1] the blessed bishop Swithun appeared at night to a certain man asleep in his bed, a man who was very reverential indeed and devout in his religious awe, but who was crippled with multiple and unbelievable disease in all his limbs. Swithun urged him to go swiftly to the church called the Old Minster and firmly to petition Lord Bishop Æthelwold (who was his tenth successor)[2] concerning his commands, stating it to have been revealed through divine mercy that he [Swithun] was to be exhumed from where he was presently lying and to be lavishly entombed in a more fitting place within the church.[3] If he had any hesitation or doubt, he was to take it as a sign of proof that his bodily illness, by which he had hitherto been confined, would leave him that very hour and that the joy of sound health, which he had for so long lacked, would return fully and comprehensively. Swithun added that he was to go to the place of his entombment and when he got there, if he would pull up one of the iron rings which seem to be fixed in the stone, it would come out with ease and without any damage to the stone, and then with the same ease and keeping its same rigid fixity, it would go back into the place whence it had been withdrawn. The sick man gets up, no longer sick but fully restored to health; he finds all these things to be as they had been foretold and revealed. He undertakes to report the things he had been told and discovered to the lord bishop, just as he had been ordered.[4]

2 [Wulfstan i. 199–485]. Another sick man by the name of Æthelsige was advised in a nocturnal vision—as he himself used to recall—by two youths resplendent in visage and apparel, that, if he should wish to recover his health, he should eagerly seek the tomb of the aforementioned bishop: then would a swift and powerful medicine come to him—health in lieu of illness and joy in lieu of pain. The pitiful swelling of a hump so greatly oppressed and crippled this sick man whom we mentioned that there seemed to be almost one ligature between his cheeks and knees. He did not gaze upon the sky nor on those things up above: like an animal he was only able to see the earth and things near to the earth. He is brought therefore to the place which we mentioned; once brought there he prays. After this prayer he is given over to sleep: all

tenth successor to Swithun. This implies in turn that the author of the *Miracula* was working from an episcopal list different from that in the *Liber uitae*. Several collections of episcopal lists survive in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: see R. I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, ix (1965), 71–95, x (1966), 2–24. Of these, four can be ruled out: BL, Cotton Vespasian B. vi, fos. 108r–109r (too early); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 183, fos. 61–4 (too early); BL, Cotton Tiberius B. v, fos. 211–22r (omits Tunberht and Byrhthelm, so that Æthelwold appears as Swithun's eighth successor); and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, fo. 55r–v (which also omits Byrhthelm). A fifth list, however, includes both Tunberht and Byrhthelm: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140. This manuscript contains the 'West Saxon Gospels'; and into blank space at the end of the gospel of Luke, a later hand added *c.*1100 various episcopal lists (fo. 115r–v); these included the following list of Winchester bishops after Swithun: 'Swithun, Ealhferð, Tunbereht, Denewulf, Frythestan, Byrnstan, Ælfeah, Ælfsi, Brihthelm, Æthelwald' (ed. Page, p. 19). According to a colophon in CCCC 140, the manuscript was written at Bath by a scribe named Ælfric, and other items in the manuscript similarly pertain to Bath (see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 49–50; R. M. Liuzza, *The Old English Version of the Gospels I*, EETS ccciv (London, 1994), pp. xxv–xxxiii). This manuscript is unlikely to have been consulted by the author of the *Miracula* who (as we have seen) was working at either Winchester or Sherborne; he must nevertheless have had access to a list like that in the Bath manuscript, which apparently preserves an earlier form of the list, before it was 'edited' to produce the form now preserved in the *Liber uitae*. Note also the calculation in the *Vita S. Birini*, c. 21, that Æthelwold was the twenty-sixth bishop of Winchester (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, pp. 44–6, esp. p. 46 n. 1), which presumably derives from a similar episcopal list.

[3] For the wording here, cf. *Vita S. Birini*, c. 21: 'de loco ubi positum fuerat illud corpus sanctissimum eleuauit, et in eadem ecclesia iuxta maius altare honorificentius collocauit' (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 46); cf. also below, c. 4 ('intra ecclesiam honorificentius apponitur collocatum').

[4] With the phrase *intimare contendit*, cf. below, cc. 31 ('redire contendit'), 34 ('reuerti contendit'), and examples in the *Vita S. Birini*, cc. 14, 15, 17, listed by Love, *Three Lives*, p. lvi.

fugit omnis dolor egritudinis quam[h] habebat. Recuperatur in eo festina [i]et firma[i] sanitas quam petebat. Ruit [j]omnis ciuitas[j] uidere miraculum; stupent factum, uirtutem[k] mirantur; Deum qui in sanctis suis semper est mirabilis[5] multa laudum uociferatione attollunt.[l]

3.[a] Erat in ciuitate Wintonia homo haud ignobilis et de diuitibus unus,[6] cuius equi in [b]locis compascuis[b] super flumen pro suburbio[7] sepissime pascebantur. Ad quos reuisendos [c]die quadam tempore meridiano[c] egrediens, dum per loca pratensia [d]huc et illuc[d] deambularet [e]et deambulando uim a se soporis exturbare satageret,[e] apparuerunt ei subito [f]et inopinate[f] tres supra modum horrende quasi mulieres, quarum uultus et habitus, magnitudo et incessus in tantum stupenda uidebantur ut merito ille poetice Eumenides que apud inferos leguntur esse crederentur.[8] Que cum fugientem apprehendissent [g]et apprehensum tenuissent,[g] multiplici eum angustia afflixerunt; illum pene suo flatu suffocantes pestifero, horrore incredibili similem reddiderunt insano. Ille iacens in terra tandem reperitur. Portatur domi: dolent parentes, familia tota conturbata tristatur, uniuersa ciuitas [h]quod factum est miranda admiratione[h] miratur.[9] Superueniente uero nocte obtulit [i]se ei[i] supradictus antistes episcopali more uestitus; precipit ut ad locum sepulture sue deportetur, Deo annuente sanitatem inibi recepturus. Nec mora [j]sicut iussum est[j] deportatur ad locum; sopore correptus uidet quem uiderat; [k]et sicut uiderat[k] sibi assistere beatum Swithunum, cuius presenti[l] miseratione, dolore excusso, redditur sanitati. Furore uacuato sensum recepit; [m]sanus et[m] incolumis, facta elemosinarum distributione, domum reuertitur. Parentes, cognati,[n] omnes qui audiebant [o]et cum leticia mirabantur et[o] cum ammiratione letabantur.[10]

4.[a] His et aliis huiuscemodi signis et uirtutibus ammonitus et animatus, beatissimus pater [b]et episcopus[b] Athelwoldus [c]cogitabat et cogitans [d]sepe in animo[d] reuoluebat non decere ut uilitas [e]et humilitas[e] loci humiliaret quem tanta [f]a Deo signorum[f] ac uirtutum sullimitas exaltaret. Letabatur[g] magnopere[h] et ex toto corde gaudebat et, quia temporibus suis reuelatio tante iocunditatis facta[i] est,

[h–h] *destroyed in T* [j–j] *destroyed in T* [k] *destroyed in T* [l] *destroyed in T*

[c. 3] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE QVODAM VIRO INFERNALIVM PERSONARVM INVASIONE EXAMINATO ET SANCTI VISITACIONE ET HORTACIONE IBIDEM RECVPERATO *rubric in C* [b] pascuis *C* [c–c] meridie *C* [d–d] *om. C* [e–e] *om. C* [f–f] *om. C* [g–g] *om. C* [h–h] factum *C* [i–i] **ei se** *A* [j–j] *om. C* [k–k] *om. C* [l] *om. C* [m–m] *om. C* [n] cognatique *C* [o–o] *om. C*

[c. 4] [a] DE SACRI CORPORIS EIVS ELEVATIONE MIRACVLIS INSIGNITA *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C; destroyed in T* [c–c] *om. C* [d–d] *destroyed in T* [e–e] *destroyed in T* [f–f] *destroyed in T* [g] *destroyed in T* [h] magno opere *GL* [i] futura *G*

[5] Cf. Ps. 67: 36 ('mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis').

[6] The construction *de diuitibus unus* (which has no precise correlate in Wulfstan) is unusual in Latin, where one would expect *quidam diues* (cf. Wulfstan i. 494: 'uir quidam locuples'). However, in Vulgar Latin partitive constructions involving *de* are attested from the earliest period: see J.-B. Hofmann, *La lingua d'uso latina*, rev. and trans. L. Ricottilli, 2nd edn. (Bologna, 1985), p. 243 (§ 97), and V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1967), p. 121 (§ 250); they are also frequent in Jerome's Vulgate, as, for example, in Rev. 5: 5, 7: 3 (*unus de senioribus*): see W. C. Plater and H. J. White, *A Grammar of the Vulgate* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 68 (§ 94*g*: *unus* for *quidam*), 79 (§ 107), whence the construction is found in Medieval Latin as well (see Stotz, *Lateinische Sprache*, iv. 291–2). From Vulgar Latin, constructions of this sort become characteristic of the Romance languages: see W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, trans. E. Rabiet, 4 vols. (Geneva, 1974), iii. 274–8 (§§ 235–9); they are attested in Old French (see L. Jordan, *Altfranzösisches Elementarbuch* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1923), pp. 306–7) and survive in modern French in a construction such as *un des riches*. The use of such a construction in the *Miracula*, therefore, raises the question whether the author's native language was Norman French; cf. also c. 21 (*unum de ciuibus*). However, the occurrence of such expressions in Jerome's Vulgate shows that such indications must be judged cautiously, and there is independent evidence that the author could read Old English (see below, n. 30), an unlikely accomplishment for a Norman ecclesiastic.

[7] The author's use of the word *suburbium* here is not wholly clear. On the one hand, he might simply be following Classical Latin usage and referring to the suburbs of Winchester, which are attested outside each of the city's five principal gates, in

the pain of his illness is expelled. The sound and constant health which he was seeking is restored in him. The entire town rushes to see this miracle; they are astonished at what happened and marvel at the miraculous power; through much utterance of praises they extol God Who is always wondrous in His saints.[5]

3 [Wulfstan i. 486–788]. In the town of Winchester there was a man of no mean status who was one of the town's rich men[6] and whose horses were frequently put out to pasture in pasturelands above the river by the suburbs [or: in front of the town walls].[7] As he was setting out to see them one day at about noon and, while walking here and there in the meadowlands, tried by walking to drive from himself the urge to sleep, three exceptionally terrifying women-creatures appeared to him suddenly and unexpectedly; their visage and deportment, size and motion seemed so astonishing that rightly were they thought to be those Eumenides who in poetry are read to inhabit the underworld.[8] When they caught the fleeing man and held him in their grasp they tortured him with manifold affliction; nearly suffocating him with their poisonous breath, they reduced him to the semblance of a lunatic, given over to terrible trembling. He was discovered in due course lying on the ground. He is carried home: his kinsfolk grieve, all his family is shaken with sadness, the entire town marvels with astonished wonderment at what has happened.[9] When night arrived the aforementioned bishop, dressed in episcopal attire, presented himself before him; he ordered that the man be carried to the place of his [Swithun's] entombment and there, with God's will, he would receive his health. Without delay he is carried there, just as ordered; given over to sleep he sees the saint he had previously seen; and—just as he had previously seen—St Swithun stands before him, through whose present mercy he is restored to health, the illness expelled. Once the madness is gone he regains his senses; sane and sound he returns home, having made a charitable donation. Kinsfolk, relatives, all who heard of it, both marvelled in joy and rejoiced in admiration.[10]

4 [Wulfstan i. 789–1046]. Urged and inspired by these and other such signs and miracles, the blessed father Æthelwold reflected, and turning it over in his mind realized that it was not fitting that the baseness and insignificance of the [present burial-] place should debase him [St Swithun] whom such lofty splendour of signs and miracles sent from God was exalting. He rejoiced greatly and thrilled with all his heart and, because this revelation of such mighty joy had been made in his

particular—what is in question here (see discussion of the corresponding passage in Lantfred, above, p. 274 n. 113)—outside the southern wall: see WS i. 260–8, and M. Biddle, 'Early Norman Winchester', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 311–31, at p. 323. However, *suburbium* came in Medieval Latin to refer to the walls or fortifications of a city, and this may be what the author of the *Miracula* intended by the unusual expression *pro suburbio* = 'in front of the walls', corresponding to Wulfstan i. 497: 'qui muros alluit urbis'.

[8] The Eumenides are 'read to inhabit the underworld' in Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 481–3:

> Quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima leti
> Tartara, caeruleosque implexae crinibus angues
> Eumenides . . .

Cf. also *Georg.* i. 277–80, Horace, *Carm.* ii. 13. 33–6, and Lucan, *Bellum ciuile*, vi. 693–6.

[9] Note the ostentatious use of the rhetorical device of polyptoton, whereby a part or parts of a word are repeated in different but similar forms of the same word: '**mira**nda ad**mira**tione **mira**tur'. The device is frequently employed by the author of the *Miracula*: cc. 6 ('**miseri**cors et **miserator** Dominus', 'ad**duc**ens **duc**em qui regat illas et **duc**at'), 13 ('**grau**issime **grau**abantur'), 20 ('homines **uid**entes illam **uid**ere de illius **uisione** mirantur'), 21 ('**dom**um reducit **domino domus**'; '**mira**tur **mira**ntes ad aspectum omnium **mira**biliter stupet'), 41 ('**preces pre**cantium se **audit** et ex**audit**'), 47 ('**dolore dole**bant'), 54 ('**dolenti** con**dolens**, **patienti** com**patiens**').

[10] A fine example of the use of the rhetorical device known as chiasmus, whereby in the final clause *leticia* is picked up—or 'crossed over by' (cf. Greek *chiasmos*)—*letabantur* and *mirabantur* by *ammiratione*. Other examples occur in cc. 18 ('ira commotus et graui commotione iratus'), 19 ('**uenerationе** mirantibus et con**grua** admiratione **uenerantibus**').

gratias Domino Deo suo quam altius poterat exhibebat. Nec defuit [j]sibi[k] bonum[j] a Deo consilium: regi uidelicet Eadgaro,[l] maxime [m]quia et[m] summe religiosus erat ac de tanto magnifice exultaret[n] euentu, huius tante reuelationis intimare prouentum. Quid plura?[c] Annuente rege, die statuto, indicto ieiunio, religiosis et sullimibus personis euocatis, congregata multitudine totius cleri et populi, [o]ipse domnus episcopus beatus uidelicet Athelwoldus, monachorum cateruis circumquaque uallatus,[o] ad locum sepulchri, crucibus paratis et cereis ritu ecclesiastico, uadit; [p]fodit, et subinde quibus[q] est licentia tradita fodiendi.[p] Cumque apertum esset sepulchrum illud et ille thesaurus super aurum et topazion preciosus—[r]corpus uidelicet patris et episcopi nostri beatissimi Swithuni[r]—fuisset inuentum,[s][11] omnes qui aderant odoris fragrantia ubique predicanda perfudit. Mulier ceca uisum recepit; multi alii infirmi [t]a sua sunt infirmitate[t] curati. Ita cum ymnis et canticis spiritualibus deportatum,[u] loco eminentissimo[v][12] intra ecclesiam [w]honorificentius apponitur collocatum.[w,x] Factum est autem hoc anno dormitionis [y]et requiescionis[y] sue centesimo decimo, [z]anno uero[z] incarnationis[a] dominice nongentesimo septuagesimo primo, [b]ad gloriam et laudem eiusdem[c] Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto [d]uiuit et regnat in[e] secula seculorum. AMEN.[b,d]

5.[a] Die eadem qua eleuatio gloriosi confessoris [b]sicut iam retulimus[b] celebrata est, mulier quedam paupercula[c] uenit ad locum adducens filium [d]suum[e] secum,[d] etate quidem paruum sed debilitatis[f] incommodo a natiuitate correptum. Nam digitis in manum conuersis et pene ad ulteriora traductis, utraque manus miserabiliter[g] clausa, [h]potius offendere quam aliquid capere preualebat.[h] Quem mater, [i]et fide et desiderio recuperande salutis accensa,[i] in specum unde sepulchrum erat abstractum repente[j] proiecit. Ille[k] proiectus redintegrationem manuum remota omnium uulnerum cicatrice cum omni festinatione recepit. [l]Quod sibi ita euenisse cum omni gaudio totius populi euidenter ostendit cum forte in manu matris fructum cerasorum aspiciens letabundus exiliit, et non tam de salute reddita quam de fructu quem cupiebat exultans, coram omnibus de manu ipsius accepit.[l]

6.[a] Erant tres in insula Vecta muliercule quas[b] [c]et calamitas miserande paupertatis urgebat et infortunium cecitatis[c]—alteram a natiuitate, duas iam per annos nouem—solari[d] luce priuabat.[e] Que [f]cum de uirtutibus et miraculis beati Swithuni a multis audissent,[f] rogauerunt affines et notos [g]ut propter Deum et gratiam suam sese[g] uersus Wintoniam ultra mare transueherent.[h] Illi,[i] eodem in facto crudeles et pii,[13] secundum preces earum naui impositas nauigantes exposuerunt, sed expositas solas et absque duce in littore reliquerunt. [j]Dolebant ille et flebant amarissime, sicut que neque uiam attendebant neque unde unius refectionis cibum mercarentur habebant.[j] Sed misericors [k]et miserator[k] Dominus [l]gemitum et dolorem[m] earum respexit, adducens ducem qui regat illas et

[f-f] bonum sibi *A* [k] *om. G* [l] Edgaro *AG* [m-m] et quia *A* [n] exultare *T* [o-o] *om. C* [p-p] *om. C* [q] ciuibus *G* [r-r] *om. C* [s] inuentus *C* [t-t] sunt *C* [u] deportatus *C* [v] eminentissime *T* [w-w] honorifice est collocatus *C* [x] collatum *G* [y-y] *om. C*; et requietionis *T* [z-z] *om. C* [a] *after* incarnationis *C adds* uero [b-b] *om. C* [c] eiusdem *written twice in G* [d-d] *om. LT* [e] Deus per omnia *G*

[c. 5] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE PVERO MANIBVS CONTRACTO IN PRISTINO EIVS SPECV REFORMATO *rubric in C* [b-b] *om. AC* [c] *om. C* [d-d] *om. C* [e] *om. LT* [f] dibilitatis *T* [g] *after* miserabiliter *C adds* erat [h-h] *om. C* [i-i] *om. C* [j] *om. C* [k] *om. C* [l-l] *om. C*

[c. 6] [a] DE TRIBVS CECIS ET VNO MVTO *rubric in C* [b] quesumus *L* [c-c] cecitas *C* [d] *om. C* [e] priuata *T* [f-f] *om. C* [g-g] se *C* [h] transuerent *T* [i] ibi *G* [j-j] *om. C* [k-k] *om. C* [l-l] adduxit eis ducem *C* [m] dolorum *T*

time, he gave thanks to his Lord God as profoundly as he could. Nor was he lacking good advice sent from God: that is, he was prompted to reveal this great revelation to King Edgar, especially because he was devoutly religious and because he would rejoice greatly over so important an event. Why say more? With the king's favour, on the appointed day, a fast having been decreed and all religious and important dignitaries summoned, and a multitude of clergy and populace having been assembled, the lord bishop himself—namely Æthelwold—surrounded on all sides by throngs of monks, proceeded to the place of Swithun's burial accompanied by crosses and candles according to ecclesiastical custom; he dug first, and then permission to dig was handed over to those whose business it was. And when the tomb had been opened and that treasure more precious than gold and topaz had been found[11]—namely the body of our patron and bishop, Swithun—a fragrance of perfume worthy to be reported everywhere suffused all those who were present. A blind woman received her sight; many other sick persons were cured of their infirmity. Thus exhumed with hymns and antiphons the body was translated splendidly to a lofty position[12] within the church. This took place in the hundred-and-tenth year after Swithun's death, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 971, to the glory and honour of our same Lord Jesus Christ, Who lives and reigns with the Father and Holy Ghost forever and ever. Amen.

5 [Wulfstan i. 1047–78]. On the same day on which the translation of the glorious confessor was celebrated—as we recorded above—a certain poor woman came to that place bringing her son with her, who was young in years and crippled from birth by an unfortunate debility. For, with the fingers on each hand curled and almost twisted outwards, and with each hand wretchedly closed up, he was able to strike something rather than to clasp it. His mother, inflamed with the hope and desire of recovering his health, threw him suddenly into the pit whence the saint's coffin had been exhumed. Cast thus into the pit, the boy received with all haste the restitution of his hands, and all the scars of his handicap were removed. He demonstrated clearly what had happened—to the joy of the entire populace—when, spying by chance some cherries in his mother's hand, he jumped out of the pit and, rejoicing not so much in his restored health as in the fruit he was after, he took them from her hand in everyone's presence.

6 [Wulfstan i. 1127–70]. There were three women on the Isle of Wight whom the distress of miserable poverty oppressed and the misfortune of blindness deprived of sunlight—one since birth, the other two for nine years. When they had heard from many people about the signs and miracles of St Swithun, they asked their neighbours and acquaintances to transport them across the sea towards Winchester for God and His mercy's sake. The neighbours, acting at once both cruelly and devoutly,[13] put them in a boat and set sail according to their wishes, but left them alone and without a guide on the seashore [of the mainland]. The blind women grieved and wept bitterly, inasmuch as they did not know the way and did not have enough money to purchase even a single meal. But the merciful and kindly Lord heard their wailing and grief, by bringing them a guide who

[11] The antecedent of *inuentum* is properly *thesaurus* (whence one would expect *inuentus* (m.)); but the author evidently had his eye on *corpus* (n.). The scribe of C corrected silently to *inuentus* because he had omitted the clause containing *corpus*.

[12] The detail concerning the 'lofty position within the church' has no correlate in Wulfstan; the author presumably had in mind the location of the shrine of St Swithun in Walkelin's newly-built Norman cathedral.

[13] The phrase *eodem in facto crudeles et pii* has no correlate in Wulfstan; the exact phrase cannot be located in the BTL database, but may be based on Ovid, *Met.* iii. 5: 'facto pius et sceleratus eodem.'

ducat,[l] qui usu loquendi amisso et ipse ut cum eis ad medicum pergat pariter indigebat. Veniunt [n]sicut desiderabant[n] ad sepulchrum; [o]rogant Deum et seruum ipsius beatum Swithunum.[o] Mulieribus sine omni dilatione reparatur uisus optatus;[p] ductor earum, tanquam remuneratus pro seruitio, loquendi redintegratur officio.

7.[a] Erat cuidam ciuitatensi[b] in[c] Wintonia [d]Theoderico[14] nomine[d] quedam ancilla, que ab eodem pro culpa sua uinculis et compedibus grauissime tenebatur astricta. Que cum audisset sequenti die flagris[e] taureis miserrime se esse torquendam, noctem illam ducens insomnem, seruum Dei beatum Swithunum cum lacrimis obnixius[f] orabat, quatinus ipsius dignaretur prestare clementiam,[g] ne in ea[h] perficeretur tam grauiter[i] dictata sententia. Orauit; exaudita est; compedes franguntur; rumpuntur uincula.[15] Fugit ad ecclesiam, Deo et liberatori suo gratias redditura. [j]Interea homo ille surgens mane ad ecclesiam uadit; audit de ancilla; culpam ignoscit; ueniam prestat; domum reducit cum pace et gratia, nulla eam deinceps pro culpa quam fecerat contristaturus iniuria.[j]

8.[a] Per multos annos paraliticus quidam, iacens in lecto, nullo membrorum ad sustentacionem sui fungebatur officio. [b]Numquam a die qua hoc sibi euenit surgere, numquam se in aliud latus commutare, morbi necessitate prohibente, ualebat.[b16] Qui, [c]suauissima opinione de uirtutibus beatissimi[d] confessoris audita, cognatos amicos humiliter rogat[c] ut ad sepulchrum ipsius[e] se portare festinent, [f]se credere quia si nocte una illo in loco orans uigilauerit, perditam reperturus[g] est sanitatem.[f] Parabant illi [h]equos suos et ad opus infirmi aliquod quo deportaretur[h,i] uehiculum; mirum dictu, surgit sanus de lecto; festinus preoccupat iter, precedens et exiliens, sequente comitatu. Properat ad ecclesiam letus, curatori suo pro recepto[j] beneficio gratias redditurus.

9.[a] Erat in prouincia matrona quedam nobilitate et maxima dignitate honorabilis, que inopinato euentu [b](sicut sepe contigit) uisum amittens[b] cecitatem incurrit. Propter quod factum parentes eius flere, [c]dolere cognati;[c] familia ipsius tota tristabatur. Medicis, si eam curare potuissent, magna et maxima pollicentur; [d]uellent[e] se et ipsam, diuitias suas honores suos omnimodis non habere, tantum ut ipsa honorem uidendi recipere potuisset et receptum quoad[f] uiueret possidere.[d] Illa diuine misericordie se totam subiciens et de nullis medicamentis preter diuina presumens, cum multo comitatu Wintoniam uenit. Ducitur ad ecclesiam; sistitur ante altare; Deum et Dei[g] confessorem [h]beatissimum Swithunum[h] cum lacrimis deprecatur; oblatis muneribus, depulso cecitatis obprobrio, uisione[i] donatur.[j] Tantaque fuit recuperate sanitatis [k]subitatio, ut[k] eiusdem hore momento et munerum appositorum[l] esset oblatio et uisionis quam perdiderat [l]leta receptio.[m]

[n–n] *om. C* [o–o] *om. C* [p] *om. C*

[c. 7] [a] DE VINCTA SOLVTA *rubric in C* [b] *om. C*; ciui *L (with* tatensi *deleted by points)* [c] *om. G* [d–d] nomine Theodorico *AG*; *om. C* [e] *after* flagris *ACGT add* et [f] enixius *G* [g] clementia *ACGT* [h] eam *GL* [i] crudeliter *G* [j–j] *om. CG*

[c. 8] [a] DE PARALITICO CVM AD SANCTVM SE FERRI PARARET SALVTE PREVENTO *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c–c] cognatos rogat *C* [d] beatissimis *L* [e] sancti *C*; illius *G* [f–f] *om. C* [g] repertus *T* [h–h] *om. C* [i] portaretur *AG* [j] percepto *G*

[c. 9] [a] DE NOBILI MATRONA CECA ET REPENTINA LVCE DONATA *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c–c] *added over an erasure by a later hand in T* [d–d] *om. G* [e] mellent *C* [f] quod *L* [g] Domini *C* [h–h] *om. C* [i] uisioni *G* [j] *destroyed in T* [k–k] *destroyed in T* [l] *destroyed in T* [m–m] *destroyed in T*

[14] The name *Teoðic* in Wulfstan (i. 1173) has been corrupted to *Theodoric*, presumably because that name was more familiar in (Norman) French (cf. modern French *Thierry*).

[15] The author of the *Miracula* frequently uses asyndeton, a

would direct and lead them—a guide who, having lost the function of speech needed himself to go with them to the [miraculous] physician. They arrive at the tomb just as they wished; they petition God and His servant St Swithun. The longed-for sight is restored to the women without delay; their guide—being paid as it were for his service—has his speech restored.

7 [Wulfstan i. 1171–1201]. There was a certain slave-girl belonging to a citizen in Winchester by the name of Theodoric;[14] for an offence she was bound up tightly by him in chains and fetters. When she heard that on the following day she was to be lashed severely with oxhide whips, she spent a sleepless night, petitioning God's servant St Swithun insistently with tears that he deign to grant his mercy, so that the sentence which had been passed on her would not be carried out. She prayed; she was heard; the fetters are shattered; the chains are broken.[15] She flies to the church to give thanks to God and to her liberator. Meanwhile her owner, rising at dawn, proceeds to the church; he hears about his slave-girl; he acknowledges his guilt; he grants his forgiveness; he takes her back home in peace and charity, not intending to afflict her with punishement for the offence she had committed.

8 [Wulfstan i. 1202–24]. For many years a certain paralytic, lying in bed, had no use of his limbs to support himself. Since the day when he was paralysed he was never able to get up, never able to shift himself onto his other side, because of the restrictive nature of his illness.[16] Having heard the delightful report of the miracles of the blessed confessor, he humbly asks his kinsfolk and friends that they hasten to carry him to his [St Swithun's] tomb, believing that if he spends one night in that place in prayer, he is to regain his lost health. They were busy preparing their horses and a sick man's litter for him, by which he might be transported; marvellous to report, he gets up cured from his bed; swiftly he takes to the road, leading the way and bounding onwards, with the retinue following on behind. He hastens gladly to the church to give thanks to his healer for the bounty he had received.

9 [Wulfstan i. 1225–42]. There was in the province a certain lady distinguished by her nobility and great reputation who through an unforeseen event—as often happens—lost her sight and became blind. Because of this event her kinsmen wept, her relatives grieved; her entire family was saddened. Great and excellent gifts are promised to physicians, if they could cure her; the kinsfolk wish only for her well-being, not in any way to retain their wealth and honours, if only she could receive the blessing of sight and possess it for as long as she should live. She, subjecting herself entirely to divine mercy and presuming on no medication except that which is from heaven, comes to Winchester with a great retinue. She is led to the church; she halts before the altar; with tears she beseeches God and God's confessor St Swithun; with gifts having been offered and the dishonour of blindness having been expelled, she is endowed with vision. So great was the swiftness of restoration of her health that within the very same hour there occurred the offering of the gifts and the joyous recovery of the sight which she had lost.

rhetorical device whereby words or clauses are strung together without connectives, as here: 'orauit / exaudita est / compedes franguntur / rumpuntur uincula'. Uses of this device in the *Miracula* are too frequent to list.

[16] Given this author's preference for the use of *preualeo* over *ualeo*, particularly in situations involving alliteration (see above, p. 642 n. 3), one wonders whether he here wrote *prohibente preualebat*.

10.[a] Matrona alia copula maritali secundum seculi[b] fastum adprime leuata,[c] genere, [d]successione, thesauris, mancipiis, prediis,[d] possessionibusque ditata[17] superueniente infirmitatis angustia adeo breui in tempore percussa est, ut nichil aliud[e] quam mortem iam sibi imminere cogitaret. [f]Cuius thoro cum amici sui uale ultimum dicturi assisterent et ut ipsa anime et domui sue sicut iam moritura prouideret pia ammonitione insisterent, illa, adhuc bene animi compos,[f] ad auxilium beati Swithuni se totam conuertens, uouit[g] si sanctissimis eius[h] meritis de lecto egritudinis surgere meruisset, se ad ecclesiam eius uenturam et que haberet preciosiora et cariora secum fideliter et humiliter delaturum. Orauit; uouit; sana et incolumis in tantum ilico inuenitur[i] acsi antea[j] nullius morbi molestia tangeretur. [k]Superueniente uero tempore[k] prosperitatis et iocunditatis lenocinio male illecta et a diuitiis et illecebris quibus cotidie fungebatur grauiter[l] suffocata, derepente[m] fuit sue promissionis oblita. Quadam autem[n] die, dum itinere disposito, parato[o] multo comitatu cum uiro suo esset itura, [p]iam equum super quem [q]deberet sedere[q] scansura,[p] inter manus leuantium subito dolore percussa ruit. Deportatur ad lectum; se ream promissionis [r]fuisse uociferata respondit, se uero omnia emendaturam[r] si gratiam beati Swithuni [s]recuperare ualeret[s] [t]fideli promissione promisit.[t] Sed piissimus "et misericordissimus" antistes Swithunus, solita miseratione commotus, [v]ad preces illius et uota respexit; languore sublato saluti restituit.[v] [w]Restituta et sanata Wintoniam uadit; uota que superbie spiritu prius inflata non soluit, ui doloris correcta et humiliata persoluit.[w]

11.[a] Eo tempore [b]quidam adolescens cum parentibus suis Lundonie degebat quem[b] grauissima ualitudo longo [c]tempore detentum intolerabiliter[c] perurgebat. Nam pedes [d]retrouersos et ad[d] posteriora suspensos mirum in modum habebat;[e] manus eius grauiter distorte [f]manuum[g] carebant officio,[f] reliqua membra [h]paralysis miseranda[h] torquebat. [i]Videres omnes amicos [j]suos magno[j] dolore turbatos quia et infirmitatem [k]eius indesinenter[k] aspicerent nec umquam [l]remedium illius futurum[l] attenderent.[i] Deducitur [m]itaque [n]a parentibus[m,n] ad sancti Swithuni limina rogaturus. Pedes,[o] crura, manus ab omni distortione soluuntur; [p]reliqua omnia membra [q]que paralysis destituerat[q] ad usum reparantur,[p] [r]et qui de sua prius misera[s] confusione tristabantur [t]postea de salutis eius restauratione letabantur.[r,t]

12.[a] Crescebant[b] de die in diem curationes infirmorum: misericordias Domini et merita beati Swithuni ubiuis gentium[18] celeberrima fama dispergit. Sepulchrum illius ab omnibus predicatur miraculis gloriosum. Infirmi omnes quibuscunque languoribus detinebantur aduenient, fontem querentes qui exhauriri non poterat,[19] medicum expetentes cuius nunquam deficeret medicina.

[c. 10] [a] *this chapter omitted in G*; DE ALIA MATRONA ILLVSTRI A REPENTINA DEFECTIONE RECVPERATA ET PROPTER VOTI PREVARICATIONEM EADEM INVALITVDINE REPERCVSSA ITERVMQVE RESIPISCENDO REPARATA *rubric in C* [b] Dei *C* [c] *destroyed in T* [d–d] *om. C* [e] *om. A* [f–f] que *C* [g] *om. T* [h] *om. L* [i] inuenit *A* [j] ante *T* [k–k] tempore uero *C* [l] *om. C* [m] repente *C* [n] *om. C* [o] *om. C* [p–p] equum scandens *C* [q–q] sedere deberet *L (perhaps rightly)* [r–r] uociferatur emendaturum se omnia *C* [s–s] recuperaret *C* [t–t] *om. C* [u–u] *om. C* [v–v] *om. C* [w–w] saluti eam restituit sanata uota resoluit *C*

[c. 11] [a] DE CONTRACTO ERECTO *rubric in C* [b–b] quendam adolescentem *C* [c–c] *destroyed in T* [d–d] *destroyed in T except for* retro [e] *destroyed in T* [f–f] *om. C* [g] *destroyed in T* [h–h] *only* para[. . .]anda *now legible in T* [i–i] *om. C* [j–j] *destroyed in T* [k–k] *destroyed in T* [l–l] *only* reme[. . .]um *now legible in T* [m–m] *om. C* [n–n] *destroyed in T* [o] *destroyed in T* [p–p] *om. T (which is legible here)* [q–q] *om. C* [r–r] *om. C* [s–s] *om. T; a later hand in T adds* reddita plena sanitate gratulabantur *after* tristabantur

[c. 12] [a] DE IPSIVS FAMA ET LANGVIDORVM CONFLVENTIA ET DE CECIS QVATER QVATERNIS OMNIBVS FERE VNO DIE VISV DITATIS *rubric in C* [b] *after* crescebant *G adds* autem

[17] The lengthy elaboration of the woman's wealth has no correlate in Wulfstan (cf. i. 1243–4). For the phrase *secundum*

10 [Wulfstan i. 1243–1304]. Another lady who through her marital union was highly placed in respect of worldly status, and was enriched by birth, inheritance, treasures, slaves, estates and possessions,[17] with the onset of illness was struck down in so brief a time that she considered there to be nothing other than death awaiting her. When her friends were gathered at her bedside to say their last farewell and were concerned with devout insistence that she on her deathbed had taken care of her soul and her household, she, at this stage still in possession of her wits, turned herself entirely to the assistance of St Swithun and vowed that if she should deserve to get up from her sick bed through his holy merits, she would come to his church and would faithfully and humbly donate whatever she had in the way of treasures and valuables. She prayed; she made her vow; she is immediately found sound and healthy as if previously no onslaught of illness had touched her. With the advent of a period of well-being and joy, she, being badly seduced by wanton pleasure and severely overwhelmed by the riches and allurements with which she was daily involved, suddenly became forgetful of her vow. Now on a certain day when she was about to set out with her husband—the trip had been arranged and the retinue had been assembled—and was about to mount the horse on which she was to sit, she fell, stricken with sudden illness, into the hands of those who were lifting her. She is carried to her bed; she states loudly that she has been guilty of neglecting her promise, and promises in a solemn vow that she will make all amends if she is able to recover her health through the grace of St Swithun. And the holy and merciful bishop Swithun, moved by his customary clemency, pays heed to her prayers and vows; removing her illness he restores her to health. Restored and cured she goes to Winchester; reproved and humbled by the force of her illness she fulfils the promises which, swollen by the spirit of pride, she had earlier neglected.

11 [Wulfstan i. 1418–39]. At that time a certain youth was living with his parents in London; a serious illness had oppressed him intolerably for a long time. For he had his feet turned backwards and pointed towards the rear in an astonishing manner; his hands were seriously crippled and lacked the normal functioning of hands; and a wretched paralysis tortured his remaining limbs. You could see all his friends in a state of great anguish, since they observed his deformity continually, nor could they expect any future remedy for him. Accordingly he is brought by his kinsfolk to seek a cure at the shrine of St Swithun. His feet, legs and hands were all freed of deformity; all his remaining limbs which the paralysis had ravaged were returned to use, and those kinsfolk who previously were saddened by his wretched handicap were afterwards overjoyed by the restoration of his health.

12 [Wulfstan i. 1440–51]. From day to day the cures of sick persons increased: this excellent news publicized the Lord's mercy and the merits of St Swithun everywhere in the world.[18] His tomb is proclaimed by everyone to be glorious in miracles. All sick persons, no matter what their afflictions, arrive, seeking the fountain which could not be exhausted, searching for the physician whose medicine would never fail.[19] Accordingly, on one day sixteen blind persons from London

seculi fastum, cf. the exactly contemporary usage by Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i. 3 (ed. Lapidge, p. 79): 'postposita secularis fastus ambitione'. The word *mancipia* probably refers here to 'slaves' rather than simply property; cf. Horace, *Ep.* i. 6. 39 ('mancipiis locuples').

[18] The phrase *ubiuis gentium* is ultimately from Terence, *Hecyra* ii. 1. 4 [= line 284], which is the only source cited in *TLL* s.v. 'gens', or by the BTL database. However, the phrase was later used, though rarely, by Christian authors such as Augustine, *Contra Academicos* i. 2 (CCSL xxix. 6), so its occurrence here is not certain evidence for the author's knowledge of Terence.

[19] Cf. Is. 58: 11 ('fons aquarum cuius non deficient aquae').

Vnde quadam die ceci numero sedecim[c] de Lundonia uenientes ad sepulchrum illius deducti sunt. De quibus quindecim illa[d] ipsa die uisum receperunt;[e] qui supererat[f] alterum diem fecit de sua uisione festiuum.

13.[a] In ipsa[b] eadem Lundonia erat quidam opinione preclarus, diuitiis opulentus, cuius pedes tumore podagrico grauissime[c] grauabantur. Hic cum omnia fere bona sua medicis erogaret—nec ab eis aliquam spem recuperande salutis expectaret—inuectus equo[20] Cantiam[d] Anglorum metropolim uenit; ad ecclesiam beatissimi antistitis Augustini deprecaturus accedit, a quo liberationem unius pedis[e] sicut Dominus annuebat[e] accepit. Reuersus itaque domum, cum audiret ipse uirtutes et signa beatissimi patris nostri Swithuni, uenit usque[f] Wintoniam. [g]Ad ecclesiam ductus, quam magno desiderio cupiebat inuenit medicinam, et qui prius cum magno dolore aduenerat, hilaris, incolumis absque omni dolore domum remeabat.[g21]

14.[a] [b]Non est autumandum[c] silentio debere preteriri[d] quod[b] uiginti quinque infirmos de suis[e] uariis[f] infirmitatibus pietas superna per merita sacerdotis sui una die de diuersis regionibus uenientes pariter liberauerit.[g] Ex ipsis quidem alii erant ceci, alii muti, [h]alii[i] surdi,[h] alii[j] claudi, alii aliis modis debilitati; [k]quibus, quia simul est ablata[l] infirmitas, communicata in omnibus amplior est reperta iocunditas.[k] Fit letus ab omni plebe concursus et gaudiosum spectaculum, dum iam non unus tantum eger sed sanus inspicitur[m] cuneus infirmorum.

15.[a] [b]Prediues[c] quidam et ingenuus habebat puerum quem, quia sibi unicus erat, affectu predulcissimo dilegebat. Iste itaque puer, cum prius per quinquennium uidendi potitus esset officio, repentino cecatus euentu aliud quinquennium continuum duxit, non recuperato aliquo uidendi[d] remedio.[b] Delatus[e] igitur[f] a parentibus sanctissimo confessori Swithuno, est ad altare oblatus. Vigilatur et oratur pro eo. Recedente nocte cecitas pariter[g] fugit; die illucescente clarus in eo reparatur intuitus. [h]Letantur admodum qui eum adduxerant; gratias Deo et sancto agunt; oblatis muneribus cum gaudio repetunt domum.[h]

16.[a] Ante eleuationem corporis beati Swithuni (quam supra retulimus), erat homo parentibus ingenuis ortus, possessionibus et pecuniis[b] opulentus. Cui cum [c]fortuitu inopinate cecitatis superueniret opprobrium,[c] [d]decreuit Romam ire,[e] deprecaturus ut meritis apostolorum uidendi sibi redderetur officium.[d] Venit igitur[f] Romam; frequentat ecclesias; preces, lacrimas, uota assidue fundit. Mansit per quinquennium, sed quod prestolabatur non impetrauit auxilium. Interea multis de gente Anglorum causa orationis Romam uenientibus audit[g] de reuelatione beati pontificis; audit

[c] sexdecim *L* [d] *om. C* [e] *after* receperunt *G adds* et [f] superaret *G*

[c. 13] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE DIVITIS PODAGRITI CVRATIONE QVAM BEATVS AVGVSTINVS SANCTO SWITHVNO RESERVAVIT *rubric in C* [b] *om. C* [c] grauissimo *C* [d] Cantuariam *C*; Cantuam *L*; Cantiam *corrected to* Cantuariam *by a later hand in T* [e–e] *om. C* [f] *om. C* [g–g] quam cupiebat inuenit medicinam *C*

[c. 14] [a] DE .XXV. DEBILIBVS VNA DIE SANATIS *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c] intimandum *G* [d] preterire *A* [e] *om. C* [f] *destroyed in T* [g] liberauit *C* [h–h] surdi alii *ACT* [i] *om. G* [j] *om. T* [k–k] *om. C* [l] oblata *G* [m] aspicitur *G*

[c. 15] [a] DE FILIO DIVITIS CECO LVCE DONATO *rubric in C* [b–b] prediuitis cuiusdam filius cecus *C* [c] *after* prediues *G adds* uir [d] uiuendi *A* [e] dilatus *GL* [f] *om. C* [g] *om. G* [h–h] *om. CG*

[c. 16] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE ALIO CECO CITO ILLVMINATO *rubric in C* [b] pe *L* [c–c] cecitas superuenisset *C* [d–d] *om. C* [e] uenire *A* [f] *om. C* [g] audiuit *A*

were brought to his tomb. Of these, fifteen received their sight on that very same day; the remaining one made the following day a festival by receiving his sight.

13 [Wulfstan i. 1452–69]. In this same city of London there was a certain distinguished man, abundantly wealthy, whose feet were very seriously impaired by the swelling of gout. This man, when he had paid out nearly all his wealth on physicians—nor did he expect from them any chance of regaining his health—came to Canterbury, the archiepiscopal seat of England, riding on a horse;[20] he proceeded to the church of St Augustine in order to pray, and he received from St Augustine a cure in one foot, as the Lord willed. After returning home he heard about the miracles and signs of our blessed patron St Swithun and came to Winchester. Brought to the church he found the medicine which he greatly desired, and he who previously had come in great distress returned home sound and happy, without any pain.[21]

14 [Wulfstan i. 1470–8]. I do not think it should be passed over in silence that heavenly mercy, through the merits of its priest, released twenty-five sick persons, arriving from diverse regions, from their various illnesses. Of these, some were blind, some mute, some deaf, some lame, others handicapped in other ways; because their illnesses were cured at the same time, their joy was found to be greater since it was shared by all. A happy assembly and joyous spectacle for all the people takes place, since not one sick person is seen, but rather a healthy crowd of the infirm.

15 [Wulfstan i. 1479–94]. A certain rich and free-born man had a son whom, because he was his only son, he loved with intense affection. Although this boy had been blessed with the gift of sight for the first five years of his life, he suddenly became blind by a sudden turn of events and spent a second whole quinquennium without having recovered any of his vision. Taken by his parents to St Swithun the holy confessor, therefore, he was presented at the altar. Vigils and prayers are offered for him. As night recedes, his blindness likewise departs; with the bright light of day his vision is found to be restored. Those who had brought him there rejoice exceedingly; they give thanks to God and the saint; having made donations they return home in joy.

16 [Wulfstan i. 1495–1545]. Before the translation of St Swithun (which we described earlier) there was a man born of noble parents, wealthy in terms of possessions and riches. When by chance the misfortune of unexpected blindness had afflicted him he decided to go to Rome in order to pray that through the merits of the apostles the gift of sight might be restored to him. He comes accordingly to Rome; he frequents the churches; he duly pours out prayers, tears, vows. He remains there for five years, but does not obtain the assistance which he anticipated. Meanwhile, from the many English people coming to Rome in order to pray he hears about the revelation of the blessed

[20] Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* v. 571 ('Sidonio est inuectus equo'); other works listed for *inuectus / equo* by BTL (Livy, Silius Italicus) are unlikely to have been known in England *c.*1100.

[21] Goscelin adverts to this miracle in his own *Miracula S. Augustini* (*BHL* no. 779; ptd *Acta SS.*, Maii vi. 397–411), composed while he was a member of the community at St Augustine's, hence after 1089 but before his death *post* 1107: 'Denique Augustinus podagricum pede sanat uno, alterum nimium summo amico Swithuno incuratum relinquendo, et quasi ipso sancto curandum destinando. Itaque aeger semisanus reductus ad sua, audit uberrima, quae superna fundebat affluentia, beati presulis Swithuni miracula. Illuc uelut ab Augustino directus uenit, ipsoque die residui pedis sanitate recepta imparem gressum aequauit, et plene sospitatis cum pleno gaudio gratias agens rediit' (ibid. col. 402). The likelihood is that Goscelin's source was the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (his account contains no verbal debts whatsoever to either Lantfred or Wulfstan).

de uirtutibus et miraculis. Reuertitur quam citius potest. Wintoniam ueniens, ecclesiam petit; [h]Deum orans et seruum illius,[h] recepit[i] uisum nocte qua uenit; [j]reuisit parentes uisione recepta[k] quos iens[l] Roma tentus cecitate reliquerat.[j]

17.[a] In ciuitate Hrofensi[b] erat cecus quem postmodum corripiens miseranda paralysis omnium[c] membrorum priuauit auxiliis. Defertur [d]ab amicis et notis[d] Wintoniam; positus in ecclesia, [e]culpam profitetur,[f] ueniam rogat; omnes qui aderant pro eo deprecantur. Quid multa?[e] Fugata cecitate clarissimo uisu donatur; paralysi soporata motum operandi omnia membra recipiunt. [g]Qui cum uehiculo uenit infirmus, contentus seipso domum reuertitur sanus.[g]

18.[a] Erat et alius cecus longe ab urbe Wintonia [b]qui ad regendos pedes ducem et famulum sibi adquisierat, uolens uidelicet quod non poterat suo alieno[c] supplere presidio. Quadam autem die, cum uni sue necessitati[d] satisfacere disponens locum quem cupiebat adiret, minister eius, ira commotus et graui commotione iratus, omnes eius preces uilipendens, solum eum[b] in itinere dereliquit. [e]Quid faceret ille omnino ignorans? Diuini memor auxilii, sese ad Deum ex toto conuertit: lacrimatur et lacrimans[e] orat[f] ut, meritis beati Swithuni [g]patrocinantibus, noctem cecitatis euadere[h] et[g] lucem uisionis[i] impetrare preualeat. Nec mora: [j]quia in omni loco dominationes Dei sunt[22] et ubi et quando uult suis bonum prestat[k] auditum, meritis predicti pontificis ilico[j] exauditus cecus recuperat uisum. [l]Recuperato uisu gaudet et exultat uidens, et deinceps[l] ductoris non egens reuertitur domum. [m]Mirantur parentes illum reuersum incolumem, quem paulo ante emiserant cecum.[m]

19.[a] Assistentibus quadam die tam clero quam populo beatissimi [b]patris nostri[b] Swithuni sepulchro, uirtutesque que crebro—immo quasi omni fere hora!—inibi contingebant digna ueneratione mirantibus [c]et congrua admiratione uenerantibus,[c] ecce [d]duo quos[d] diutissime cecitas detinebat adueniunt,[e] associatis sibi duabus aniculis. Que et ipse grauissime distortionis[f] morbo [g]pedum et manuum iam[g] per multum tempus[h] non habebant officium. Datur eis locus;[i] iacent ad sepulchrum; [j]gloriosum pontificem[j] oratione mouent. Surgentes [k]de oratione,[k] illi uidentes, iste de sua [l]distortione liberate[l] inuente sunt.

20.[a] Interea [b]pietatis et pacis [c]amator[b] rex[c] Eadgarus[d] [e]uerissimam et[e] [f]suauissimam opinionem[f] de miraculis beatissimi Swithuni[g] leto auditu concipiens, [h]feretrum tam materia[h] quam compositione mirandum ab aurificibus[i] [j]optimis et[j] peritissimis precepit fabricari,[k] in quo reliquie predicti pontificis honestius possent reponi [l]et reposite conseruari.[l] Fabricatum itaque et bene preparatum,

[h–h] *om. C* [i] recipit *C* [j–j] *om. C* [k] *destroyed in T* [l] gens *L*

[c. 17] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE CECO ILLVSTRI ET PARALITICO AB VTRAQVE PESTE REPARATO *rubric in C* [b] Rofensi *C* [c] ominum *T* [d–d] *om. C* [e–e] *om. C* [f] confitetur *A* [g–g] *om. C*

[c. 18] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE CECO QVI A DVCTORE DERELICTVS DVCTORE NON EGVIT *rubric in C* [b–b] quem ductor suus *C* [c] aliene *T* [d] necessitate *A* [e–e] *om. C* [f] *after* orat *C adds* igitur [g–g] *om. C* [h] euaderet *A* [i] *om. C* [j–j] *om. C* [k] patrare *A* [l–l] *om. C* [m–m] *om. C*

[c. 19] [a] DE ASSIDVITATE VIRTVTVM EIVS ET DVOBVS CECIS AC DVABVS DISTORTIS CITO RESTAVRATIS *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c–c] *om. C* [d–d] *destroyed in T* [e] *destroyed in T* [f] distordicionis *G* [g–g] *destroyed in T* [h] *destroyed in T* [i] *destroyed in T* [j–j] *destroyed in T* [k–k] *destroyed in T* [l–l] *destroyed in T*

[c. 20] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE PVELLA CECA ILLVMINATA *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c–c] *destroyed in T* [d] Edgarus *A*; Ædgarus *C* [e–e] *om. C* [f–f] *destroyed in T* [g] *destroyed in T* [h–h] *destroyed in T* [i] *destroyed in T* [j–j] *om. C* [k] *destroyed in T* [l–l] *om. C*

bishop: he hears about his signs and miracles. He returns as quickly as he can. Coming to Winchester he seeks the church; praying to God and His servant he receives his sight on the night he arrives; having regained his sight he sees once again his kinsmen whom he had left, still blind, when going to Rome.

17 [Wulfstan i. 1546–53]. There was a blind man in the town of Rochester whom a crippling paralysis subsequently deprived of all use of his limbs. He is taken by friends and acquaintances to Winchester; placed in the church he openly confesses his sin; he seeks forgiveness; all those present pray for him. Why say more? With his blindness expelled he is gifted with clear vision; all his limbs which were numbed with paralysis receive the power of movement. He who had come as a sick man in a litter returns home cured, relying on his own resources.

18 [Wulfstan i. 1554–95]. There was another blind man far from the town of Winchester who in order to guide his steps had acquired a guide and servant for himself, wishing to supply by means of external support what he could not supply by himself. When on a certain day, deciding to satisfy his one need, he was going to the place he desired, his servant, moved to rage and angered by a serious upset, scorned all his entreaties and abandoned him alone in the midst of his journey. What was that man to do, being entirely ignorant of the locale? Thinking of divine assistance he turns himself entirely to God: he weeps and prays in tears that, St Swithun's merits assisting, he might be able to escape the darkness of the blindness and obtain the light of vision. There was no delay: because God's powers are present everywhere,[22] and because He vouchsafes His good audience to His followers wherever and whenever He wishes, the blind man was heard and received his sight immediately through the merits of the aforementioned bishop. He rejoices in his restored vision and exults at being able to see, and straightway returns home, having no further need of a guide. His kinsmen marvel at the safe return of him whom they had sent off blind a short time before.

19 [Wulfstan i. 1596–1619]. One day when there was a crowd at the tomb of St Swithun, consisting as much of clergy as of lay people, and they were admiring with due veneration and venerating with equal admiration the miracles which were frequently taking place there—indeed almost every hour!—two men arrived whom blindness had long oppressed, and with them two old women. These two women likewise, through the disease of a crippling disability, had not had the use of their feet and hands now for a long time. Space is made for them; they lie at the tomb; they petition the glorious bishop in prayer. Arising from their prayer, the men have their sight and the women are found to be free of their disability.

20 [Wulfstan ii. 1–77]. Meanwhile that lover of holiness and peace, King Edgar, hearing through joyous report of the true and delightful reputation of the miracles of St Swithun, ordered that a feretory be made by excellent and experienced goldsmiths, which would be a marvel as much for its materials as for its construction; in it the relics of the aforementioned bishop could suitably be placed and, once placed there, could be kept safely. Once it was constructed and made ready, and

[22] Cf. Ps. 102 (103): 22 ('Benedicite Domino omnia opera eius in omni loco dominationis ipsius').

cum ex iussu regis Wintoniam portaretur, ad huiusmodi uisum tota cucurrit ciuitas. Pueri, senes, sexus uterque obuiam eunt. Munificentia regis, qui tam gloriosum opus parauerat,[m] ab omnibus predicatur; meritum et gloria beati Swithuni, cui[n] tantus honor exhibebatur, ore cunctorum letissime personatur. [o]Ecce ad nomen beati antistitis—tam sepe dictus, tam sepe repetitus[o]—puella[p] ceca accurrit: orat [q]et precatur[q] quem audit nominari; [r]redintegrari se uisu efflagitans,[r] a cecitate se postulat[s] liberari. Nec mora: [t]audita est et[t] exaudita; cecitatem euadens uisum recuperat.[n] [v]Illa homines uidens, homines[v] admiratur; homines uidentes illam uidere, [w]de illius uisione[w] mirantur. Gratias reddentes altissimo, [x]iocundantes et gaudentes[x] ad propria reuertuntur.

21.[a] Homo[b] quidam diues longe ab urbe Wintonia [c]in seruitio suo[c] habebat ancillam, inter alias [d]quidem—quia fideliter et humiliter famulabatur[d]—sibi precipue pretiosam. Hanc [e]male dolositate deceptam et[e] iniqua deceptione surreptam [f]qui furatus est[f] Wintoniam secum[g] abduxit, abductam apud unum de ciuibus pretio comparato[h] distraxit. [i]Euoluto igitur aliquanto tempore,[23] cum ille (suus dominus prior), nichil quidem huius rei suspicans, necessariam tamen causam[j] habens[k] ad urbem deuenisset, [l]fortuitu illam[l] repperit; quo consilio sese dereliquerit[m] blande percunctatus [n]inquirit. Illa non[n] aliqua fraude sua sed cuiusdam [o]hominis deceptione[o] discessisse se dicit, a quodam ciuitatensium comparatam, dolentem et tristem addictam seruitio inremeabiliter[p] retineri. Illam adhuc loquentem domino suo et de fuga aliqua audientem consilia, missus minister apprehensam et correptam domum reducit domino domus qui eam emerat; quomodo fugam adornaret (quoniam nequius[q] sciebat) ostendit. Capitur ilico misera, capta uinculatur, uinculata tamen debitum pensum cum magna exactione cotidie operatur. Factum est autem ut cum quadam die exeuntibus omnibus ad sua quibusque negotia, illa in domo sola remaneret, ligata compedibus limen exiret,[r] ad ecclesiam beati Swithuni [r]de quo tot uirtutes audiebat[r] oculis[s] et corde conuersa, [t]flens et eiulans obnixe et humiliter[t] Dominum precabatur, ut se per meritum supradicti pontificis [u]de huiusmodi ligamentis[u] absoluere dignaretur. Nondum finierat preces—[v]adhuc in ore nomen piissimi et misericordissimi confessoris quem precabatur habebat[v]—et ecce idem sanctissimus pater, caput aspersus canicie, secundum consuetudinem episcopalem indutus adest, dextera manu apprehensam uno momento [w]in ictu oculi[w] nemine uidente in ecclesiam quam intuebatur deportauit, et intra sacellum[x] sepulchri sui depositam, de tam celeri quidem transportacione mirantem relinquens abscessit. Mirantur omnes qui aderant illam sedere intra cancellum, cuius ostium paulo ante nemine ibi remanente [y]ab edituo ecclesie[y] uiderant obseratum. Percunctantur et diligenter inquirunt quis eam adduxerit[z] et aduectam introduxerit. [a]Stupet illa, et quid respondeat nescit. Respicit ad omnes, nec a quo sit adducta cognoscit. Dum autem multis interrogationibus urgeretur, et quid responderet non haberet, intuens clericum quendam in multitudine populi consistentem, seque inter alios grauius compellantem, de sua aduectione eum impetiit. Sed ille (sicut uerum fuerat) cum iuramento unde impetebatur abdicit. Tum illa in contionem populi[b] adducta

[m] preparauerat *A* [n] cum *C* [o–o] *om. C* [p] *after* puella *C adds* etiam [q–q] *om. C* [r–r] *om. C* [s] *om. C* [t–t] *om. C* [u–u] *om. C* [v–v] *om. C* [w–w] *om. C* [x–x] *om. C*

[c. 21] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; QVALITER ANCILLAM VINCTAM QVAM IPSE SANCTVS INVISIBILITER VISITANS IN CLAVSVM CANCELLVM MISTICE TRANSTVLIT *rubric in C* [b] *om. C* [c–c] *om. C* [d–d] *om. C* [e–e] quidem *C* [f–f] *om. C* [g] *om. C* [h] *om. C* [i–i] *om. C* [j] curam *A* [k] *destroyed in T* [l–l] *destroyed in T* [m] deliquerit *A*; *destroyed in T* [n–n] *destroyed in T* [o–o] *destroyed in T* [p] irreuocabiliter *A* [q] nequis *T* [r–r] *om. C* [s] oculi *T* [t–t] *om. C* [u–u] *om. C* [v–v] *om. C* [w–w] *om. C* [x] sacellum *corrected to* cancellum *A*; cancellum *C* [y–y] *om. C* [z] inuexerit *CT* [a–a] *om. C* [b] *om. A*

was carried at the king's command to Winchester, the entire town ran out for a glimpse of such an artifact. Both young and old of either sex go to meet it. The wealthy patronage of the king, who had commissioned so glorious an artifact, is proclaimed by all; the merit and esteem of St Swithun, to whom such honour was being shown, is joyously sounded on the lips of everyone. At the name of the blessed bishop—so often spoken, so often repeated—a blind girl runs up; she prays and petitions him whom she hears named; beseeching that she be endowed with sight, she asks to be delivered from her blindness. There is no delay: she is listened to and heard; escaping her blindness she recovers her sight. Seeing the men around her she marvels at them; the men, seeing her seeing, marvel at her vision. Rendering thanks to the Almighty, they return home exulting and rejoicing.

21 [Wulfstan ii. 78–204]. A certain rich man living far from the town of Winchester had in his service a slave-girl who among his others was particularly dear to him, since she served him loyally and humbly. Another man, having tricked her with evil deceit and snatched her away with wicked deception, stole her and took her to Winchester with him, and for a ready fee he sold her to one of the citizens of Winchester. After some time had passed,[23] therefore, when her former owner, suspecting nothing of the affair, had come to Winchester for the sake of some necessary business, he discovered her by accident. He gently asks her on what grounds she had abandoned him. She says that she did not leave by any deceit of her own, but through the deception of a certain man, that she had been bought by a citizen of Winchester and been detained in service there sad and grieving, with no chance of escape. A retainer of the present owner, hearing her speaking to her former master and listening to their discussion concerning a projected escape, seizes and captures her and takes her back home to the householder who had purchased her; he reveals how she was making plans to escape (since he knew the matter only imperfectly). That wretched girl is seized on the spot, placed in chains, and thus chained is daily occupied in paying off the due debt with increased tribute. It so happened that on a certain day everyone in the household went out each to his own business and she remained at home alone; still bound in chains she made for the doorway and turned with her eyes and soul towards the church of St Swithun, concerning whom she had heard so many miraculous stories; weeping and wailing she prayed to the Lord intently and humbly that through the merit of the aforesaid bishop He would deign to release her from her bonds. She had not quite finished her prayers—she still had on her lips the name of the most holy and merciful confessor whom she was petitioning—when suddenly this same holy father appears, his head sprinkled with white hair and dressed in episcopal vestment; seizing her in his right hand he takes her in the twinkling of an eye into the church which she was gazing on, though no-one saw this, and places her within the shrine of his own tomb, and then departs, leaving her marvelling at the swiftness of her transportation. All those present were astonished to see her sitting within the shrine, the door of which they had seen closed by the sacristan a short while ago, with no-one left inside. They ask and earnestly inquire about who had brought her and taken her inside. She was astounded and did not know what to say. She looks at them all and does not recognize the one who had brought her. While she is being assailed by many questions and has no ready answer in reply, she notices a certain cleric standing amid the throng of people and pressing forward among them, and she charges him with having brought her there. But he (as indeed was true!) denied with an oath the charge imputed to him. Then she, taken among the throng of people, marvels at them marvelling at

[23] Cf. *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 4 ('Euoluto igitur aliquanto tempore').

miratur[c] mirantes, ad aspectum omnium mirabiliter [d]stupet, stupens miserabiliter[d] formidat et timet.[a] Dicit tamen[e] a quodam sicut sacerdote cuius[f] caput et uestes inmenso albore lucebant se de proforibus domus ubi steterat arreptam, in locum ubi eam reppererant subita[g] [h]et inopinabili[h] transportatione uenisse delatam.[i] Ilico clamor uniuersorum in altum porrigitur; leto laudum applausu beatissimus pater [j]et antistes[j] Swithunus attollitur; nomen Domini benedictum in secula ab omnibus undique predicatur; misera illa compedibus liberata libertate[k] donatur.

22.[a] [b]Erant in occidentali regione Anglorum[b] due uidue[c] mulieres, [d]iam diu quidem unum[e] paupertatis infortunium tolerantes sed diuerse infirmitatis angustia laborantes. Vna enim earum continue noctis tenebras nullo medicorum iuuante portabat,[f] altera que corde concipiebat nemini aperire per lingue officium preualebat. Audientes igitur et ipse quantas uirtutes Deus per famulum suum beatum Swithunum dignaretur operari,[d] associate simul diuersis[g] uicarie sibi seruiebant obsequiis: cumque loqui non poterat, non uidenti ducatum prestaret, et ceca non loquenti per ea que requirenda erant per uerbum sedula ministraret. Veniunt itaque ambe Wintoniam; [h]orature ecclesiam intrant;[h] orantes exaudiuntur; [i]impetrato quod petierant,[i] de salute gaudentes in patriam[j] reuertuntur.

23.[a] Tempore illo multitudo infirmorum numerosa (triginta et sex uidelicet) tam diuersis partibus quam[b] uariis afflicti[c] doloribus—ceci, claudi, surdi et muti, paralisi et [d]multiplici alio[d,e] languore detenti—Wintoniam conueniunt. Beati pontificis mausoleum [f]piis orationum obsequiis[f] frequentantes, intra spacium trium dierum uniuersi [g]a sua infirmitate curati,[g] sanitatem Deo [h]annuente recipere meruerunt.[h]

24.[a] Nec diu subsequente tempore centum uiginti quattuor de diuersis similiter partibus, ualitudinibus occupati diuersis, simul urbem predictam deueniunt. Deum et beatum Swithunum pro sua sanitate humiliter appellant, [b]orantes et in oratione persistentes;[b] et[c] intra numerum quatuordecim dierum a suis infirmitatibus omnes [d]liberati sunt.[d] Tanta autem in ciuitate Wentana erat cotidie confluentia infirmorum, ut iam non sanorum diceretur ciuitas sed egrorum.

25.[a] Quidam[b] [c]demonico[d] exagitatus instinctu parricidium incurrit;[c] occiso parente, [e]in laqueum mortis male peccando decidisse se uidens, se reum et peccatorem contestans ad episcopum parrochie uenit.[e] Penitentiale mandatum recipiens, ferreis se fecit anulis uinculari. [f]Arripiens ergo iter profectionis sue,[f] adiit[g] Romam, oratoria uisurus apostolorum; loca sanctorum quos nominatissimos audiebat cum multa corporis angustia [h]circuiens, nouem annos[h] [i]ad huiusmodi percurrit officium.[i] Tandem uirtutum[j] et miraculorum[j] que a beato Swithuno fiebant letum auditum percipiens, longis

[c] *om. T* [d–d] *om. L* [e] *om. C* [f] *after* cuius *L adds* et *(perhaps rightly)* [g] subito *T* [h–h] *om. C*; et inpinabi *L* [i] adlatam *L* [j–j] *om. C* [k] liberate *T*

[c. 22] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE DVABVS MVLIERIBVS VNA CECA ET ALTERA MVTA VTRAQVE RESTITVTA *rubric in C* [b] *om. C* [c] *om. C* [d–d] *om. C* [e] *om. A* [f] *om. T* [g] diuerse *T* [h–h] *om. C* [i–i] *om. C* [j] patria *T*

[c. 23] [a] DE TRIGINTA SEX SESE DESTITVTIS SALVTI REFORMATIS *rubric in C* [b] *after* quam *G adds* partibus [c] afflicta *CG (rightly?)* [d–d] alio multiplici *C* [e] *om. T* [f–f] *om. C* [g–g] *om. C* [h–h] recipiunt *C*

[c. 24] [a] DE CENTVM VIGINTI QVATTVOR INVALIDIS SIMVL PRESENTANS CVNCTIS RESTAVRATIS ET EGRORVM CONFLVENTIA *rubric in C* [b] *om. C* [c] *om. LT (perhaps rightly)* [d–d] liberantur *C*

[c. 25] [a] DE PENITENTE POST MAXIMORVM PERAGRATIONEM SANCTORVM TANDEM APVD ISTVM TAM

her, is marvellously astonished at their appearance, and in her astonishment fears and trembles miserably. She says that she was lifted up by a certain priest, as it were, whose head and garments shone with immense brilliance, from the porch of the house where she had been standing, and was taken by a swift and incomprehensible movement to the place where they had found her. Immediately the clamour of everyone present is raised aloft; the blessed father and bishop, Swithun, is venerated in praise with joyous approbation; the blessed name of the Lord is proclaimed forever by everyone everywhere; and that miserable wretch, freed from her chains, is granted her liberty.

22 [Wulfstan ii. 205–17]. There were two widowed women in the western part of England, who for a long time had suffered the one and same misfortune of poverty, but struggled under the affliction of different diseases. One of them continually carried with her the shadows of night, which none of the physicians could cure; the other was unable through the use of her tongue to express to anyone the thoughts she conceived in her mind. Accordingly, when these two women heard of the mighty miracles which God deigned to perform through his servant St Swithun, they got together in order to supply each other's needs: although the one could not speak, she offered guidance to the blind one; and the blind one administered attentively to the one who could not speak in respect of matters requiring speech. They both duly come to Winchester; they enter the church in order to pray; while praying their prayers are heard; having achieved what they had sought they return to their homeland rejoicing in their health.

23 [Wulfstan ii. 218–25]. At that time a numerous multitude of sick people (thirty-six to be precise), afflicted as much in different places as with different afflictions—blind people, deaf people, mutes, those afflicted with paralysis and manifold other disease—come together at Winchester. Frequenting the tomb of the blessed bishop with the holy attentions of their prayers, they are all cured of their illness within the space of three days, deserving of God's assent to receive their health.

24 [Wulfstan ii. 226–31]. At a time not much later 124 people, likewise from various regions and afflicted with various illnesses, arrive together at the aforementioned town. They humbly petition God and St Swithun for their health, praying and remaining long in prayer; and within the space of a fortnight they are all liberated from their illnesses. There was such a daily confluence of sick people in Winchester that it would best described not as a town of the healthy but of the diseased.

25 [Wulfstan ii. 266–98]. A certain man, possessed by a devilish impulse, committed parricide; having killed his kinsman and seeing himself to have fallen under the threat of death through this sin, he came to the bishop of the diocese, confessing himself guilty and a sinner. Receiving a commandment to do penance, he had himself bound up in iron rings. Setting out on his penitential journey, he went to Rome in order to see the apostles' places of prayer; with extreme bodily discomfort he visits the places of the saints whom he had heard to be most renowned, spending nine years in this sort of duty. At length, hearing the joyous report of the signs and miracles which took place through St Swithun, he comes to Winchester after long journeys. He

PECCATIS QVAM VINCVLIS ABSOLVTO *rubric in C* [b] *after* quidam *G adds* homo [c–c] *om. C* [d] demoniaco *A* [e–e] *om. C* [f–f] *om. C* [g] *after* adiit *AC add* ergo [h–h] circuit nouem annos *C* [i–i] *om. C* [j–j] *om. C*

itineribus uenit Wintoniam. De suo crimine ueniam rogaturus, intrat ecclesiam; et quia sit omnimodis a peccato quod fecerat absolutus, ligamina ferrea quibus erat ligatus rupta et exilientia[k] suo exitu testabantur.

26.[a] Ciuis[b] quidam[c] [d]uocabulo Flotholdus habebat seruum sibi precipue carum, quia circa se eius fidele et humile semper inueniebat obsequium. Iste pro aliqua[d] culpa captus, [e]ante tribunal prefecti ciuitatis nomine Eadrici ducitur.[24] Intenditur crimen in eum; ille intensum crimen qua potest refragatione refellit. Iudicatum est ut quod infitiando[g] pernegabat,[h] ferri candentis examine an[i] uerum sit probatum ostendat. Orabat diues ille pro seruo; preces eius abdicantur. Offert munera; nec curantur.[e] Portauit[j] itaque seruus ille[j] ferrum (secundum quod a lege dictatum est) ignitum[k] et benedictum. [l]Sigillatur pro consuetudine manus. Die superueniente tercio, assunt amici et aduersarii illius. Manus in publico ab omnibus diligenter inspicitur. 'Erat autem cor eius fiduciam habens in Domino'[25] et[l] tam ipse quam omnes qui illum adiuuabant beatissimum confessorem orabant ut eum suis sanctis meritis tueretur, [m]scientes quia si aliqua lesio in manu ipsius appareret, capite ilico plecteretur.[m] Quid plura? Exaudiuit Dominus miserum illum, intercedente pro eo[n] sanctissimo patre nostro Swithuno. Fit inauditum [o]et inusitatum[o] miraculum: dum coram oculis aduersariorum manus ipsius illesa, et coram oculis amicorum mirabiliter uideretur adusta.

27.[a] [b]Rex Eadgarus,[c] de pace et securitate regni sui per cuncta sollicitus, inter alias sibi et imperio suo necessarias hanc legem posuit et positam[d] qua[e] potuit preceptione firmauit ut, si[f] quando aliquis in furto uel depredatione fuisset inuentus, oculis (ocius dato iudicio) priuaretur, auribus et naribus, manibus pedibusque[g] precisis, cute capitis exueretur, et hac pena multatus, feris et auibus laniandus traderetur. Explorabant igitur (quibus preceptum hoc datum est) itinerum deuia, opaca siluarum, si forte repperire potuissent de quibus predictum posset exerceri iudicium. Inuentus est quidam ab huiusmodi inquisitoribus;[b] captus, [h]cum esset[h] absque culpa, festino tamen preiudicio pena pro lege suscepta damnatur. Effodiuntur ei oculi; manus et nares amputantur; auribus excisis similiter, foramina audiendi cruor propemodum obstruxit infusus. [i]Cui cum parentes pro recuperando auditu persuaderent ut ad beatum debeat properare[j] oraturus antistitem,[i] uenit ut sibi meliusculus[k] redderetur auditus. Orauit; quod petierat meritis gloriosi pontificis citissime impetrauit. Sed impetrato quod rogauerat—etiam[l] quod non deprecabatur—inuenit: dum oculis, qui sibi effossi

[k] exilentia *G*

[c. 26] [a] DE QVODAM AB IGNITI FERRI ADVSTIONE MIRE LIBERATO *rubric in C* [b] ciues *A*; *om. C*; cuius *G* [c] quidem *G* [d–d] *om. C* [e–e] *om. C* [f] Edrici *A*; Eadra *G* [g] inficiendo *A* [h] pernegebat *G* [i] ut *G* [j–j] *om. C* [k] *after* ignitum *L adds* Dei [l–l] qui *C* [m–m] *om. C* [n] illo *T* [o–o] *om. C*

[c. 27] [a] DE QVODAM OCVLIS ET AVRIBVS EXCISO INSOLITO MIRACVLO AVDITV ET OCVLIS REPARATO *rubric in C* [b–b] quidam *C* [c] Edgarus *A* [d] posita *G* [e] quam *T* [f] sibi *L* [g] pedibus *G* [h–h] *om. C* [i–i] ad beatum antistitem *C* [j] properaret *G* [k] *om. C* [l] *om. T*

[24] In referring to Eadric as *prefectus ciuitatis*, the author of the *Miracula* has slightly misrepresented the description of this officer in Wulfstan, perhaps in light of his understanding of contemporary institutions. In Wulfstan (ii. 306–7), as in Lantfred before him (c. 25), Eadric was described as a 'royal reeve'; Wulfstan describes the officer as *praeses*. There was a variety of terminology in use *c.*1100 to describe officers of this sort: cf. the *Leges Henrici Primi* (1114 × 1118), which describes the lay officers who might participate in a judicial hearing of the sort as 'comites, uicedomini, uiciarii, centenarii, aldermanni, prefecti, prepositi, barones, uauasores, tungreuii et ceteri terrarum domini' (ed. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 553; ed. L. J. Downer, *Leges Henrici Primi* (Oxford, 1972), p. 98, with discussion at pp. 314–15). The terms in this list used normally to describe the 'reeve' (OE *gerefa*) are *prefectus and prepositus*; the Latin term *tungreuius* corresponds to OE *tun-gerefa*, 'town-reeve'. The term 'reeve', however, as James Campbell has observed, 'is a pretty general sort of word, used for administrative agents at very different levels of importance' ('Some agencies of the late Anglo-Saxon state', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge,

enters the church to seek forgiveness for his sin; and as a sign that he was entirely absolved from the sin he had committed, the iron bands by which he was bound burst and sprang apart, and on his departure were kept there as evidence.

26 [Wulfstan ii. 299–434]. A certain townsman named Flothold had a slave who was particularly dear to him, since he always found his service to be reliable and found him humble in his presence. This slave is captured for some crime and brought to judgement before the prefect of the town, who was named Eadric.[24] He is charged with his crime; he refutes the charge as alleged with whatever defence he can muster. Judgement is passed to the effect that what he was denying by contradiction he should demonstrate through trial by the ordeal of burning metal, as to whether it could be proved to be true. The rich man appealed on his slave's behalf; his appeals were refused. He offers gifts, but they are not accepted. Accordingly the slave carries the metal after it has been heated and blessed according to what is decreed by law. His hand is sealed in the normal way. On the third day his friends and enemies assemble. The hand is carefully inspected in public by everyone present. 'His heart had confidence in the Lord',[25] and both he himself as well as all those who were supporting him prayed to the blessed confessor that he protect him through his holy merits, for they knew that if any wound were to appear on his hand, he would be beheaded on the spot. Why say more? The Lord heard this miserable wretch, with our patron St Swithun interceding on his behalf. An unheard of and unusual miracle occurs: while to the eyes of his adversaries his hand seemed unscathed, to the eyes of his friends it seemed astonishingly seared.

27 [Wulfstan ii. 435–511]. King Edgar, who was concerned in every respect for the peace and security of his kingdom, promulgated among others a law necessary to himself and his government (and having passed it, strengthened it with whatever injunction he could), namely that, if someone is caught in the act of theft or plunder—judgement having quickly been passed—his eyes should be plucked out, his ears and nostrils and hands and feet be amputated, and the skin of his head be scraped off; and, having been punished by this torture, he should be given over to wild beasts and birds to be torn apart. Accordingly, those men to whom the commission of executing this law had been given, scoured the byways and the depths of the forests to see if they could find someone to whom they could administer the aforementioned sentence. A certain man is found by these so-called inquisitors; he is taken captive, and although he is guiltless nevertheless with swift sentencing he is condemned to punishment in accordance with the law. His eyes are plucked out; his hands and nose are amputated; his ears were similarly cut off and the flow of blood virtually blocked the aural passages. When his kinsmen had persuaded him that he ought to go quickly to pray to the saint in order to recover his hearing, he came in order that his hearing might be made slightly better. He prayed; he swiftly obtained what he sought through the merits of the glorious bishop. But having obtained what he had requested, he received even what he had not sought: for his eyes, which had

1987), pp. 201–18, at 205). The evidence of Domesday Book suggests that there was in every town and village an officer called a reeve (Campbell, ibid. p. 206; cf. R. V. Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135: a Study of Social and Agrarian Conditions* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 271–6); but whether this 'reeve' was a public official, or simply an estate administrator on his lord's behalf, is unclear. From evidence of a later period, it seems clear that town reeves were not subordinate to sheriffs ('shire-reeves'), and that 'some of them enjoyed positions of considerable authority and . . . emolument' (Campbell, ibid. p. 209, basing his argument on J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough. Studies on its Origins and Constitutional History* (Manchester, 1936), pp. 143–4). The author of the *Miracula* appears to have had such an officer in mind.

[25] Dan. 13: 35.

fuerant, restitutis, uisum Domino miserante recepit. Fit subitus[m] et admirandus populi totius concursus; miraculum insolitum "inaudita uirtus" ab omnibus letissime[o] predicatur; Deo omnipotenti grates altissime persoluuntur.

28.[a] Homo quidam pauperculus, uictum queritans[b] ostiatim tempore quo segetes metebantur, multa tentus inopia cepit aliquos a messoribus regionis manipulos postulare, unde se preualeret pro modulo paruitatis sue subsequenti tempore sustentare. Dederunt ei aliquos secundum quod deprecabatur; quos dum uellet domi deferre, captus a preposito regis a quibus illos haberet interrogatur. Nolens prodere largitores suos, intensa in eum latrocinii culpa, in carcerem trusus, in cippo grauissime coartatur, futurum ut pro nulla sua culpa uerberibus cesus, gladio ad ultimum feriretur. Multa igitur uallatus angustia, non attendens[c] repperire terrenum, diuinum operiebatur auxilium; rogat [d]quam humilius et quam deuotius potest benignissimum et[d] clementissimum sibi adesse Swithunum [e]ut aliquod uidelicet pie sue subuentionis sibi dignaretur commodare[f] subsidium.[e] Arripiens itaque[g] breuissimum [h](quem ab uno de custodibus quesierat sibi)[h] cultellum, [i]custodibus [j]difficillimo sompno sepultis, prima noctis uigilia[i] cippum non[j] difficulter incidit quasi ligni duritia in naturam cere mollioris Deo operante conuersa. Qui uidens Deum et seruum Dei se paratos iuuare, de cippo letus exiuit; custodes diuinitus soporatos spe et timore correptus citissime pertransiuit; seram, repagula, ostium ipsum sine claue nullo sonitu subaudito aperiens, nemine persequente liber aufugit. [k]Venit Wintoniam; suo liberatori gratias reddens, magnam clero et populo nuntiauit leticiam.[k]

29.[a] Abbandonensis ecclesie prepositus,[b] [c]decore uisionis amisso, cecitatem admisit quam[c] per annorum[d] quindecim [e]interuallum miserabiliter sustinendo defleuit. Vniuersa que habere poterat expendit in medicos; uniuersam medicinalis discipline subuentionem exercentes in eum,[e] nullo eum[f] medici leuare potuerunt auxilio. [g]Audiens autem et ipse quia meritis gloriosi pontificis multe[h] [i]fiebant miraculorum[i] uirtutes[g] Wintoniae,[j] uenit ad altare orans [k]et deprecans; pernoctauit;[k] quod humillime[l] petebat plenissime impetrauit; [m]impetrato quod desiderauerat, domum reuersus amicis et parentibus gaudium reportauit.[m]

30.[a] De remotioribus Anglie partibus cecus quidam ueniebat Wintoniam, per beatum Swithunum rogaturus sibi [b]affuturam subuentionis diuine presentiam.[b] Peruenies itaque ad illam lapideam crucem (que tribus milibus ab urbe distans Regis Petra uocabulo Anglico[c] nominatur), [d]difficultate itineris lassabundus, assedit, et inter manus ducentis se, curis affectus et doloribus obdormiuit. Aliquantisper igitur quiete soporis recreatus, paupertatem et miseriam suam circumspiciens et ad sustentationem[e] sui se non sufficere uicio cecitatis attendens, cepit dolere[f] et mestus esse, manibus in celum leuatis Dominum deprecari et suppliciter exorare, ut per merita beati Swithuni cecitate depulsa uisum sibi restituat, hoc sibi futurum pro thesauro et pro collata[g]

[m] subditus *G* [m–m] *om. C* [o] *om. C*

[c. 28] [a] *this chapter is omitted in* G; DE VINCTO VICTA RERVM NATVRA POTENTER EREPTO *rubric in C* [b] quesitans *A* [c] atten *L* [d–d] *om. C* [e–e] *om. C* [f] commendare *L* [g] *om. C* [h–h] *om. C* [i–i] *om. C* [j–j] *om. T* [k–k] *om. C*

[c. 29] [a] *this chapter is omitted in* G; DE PREPOSITO CECO LVCE DITATO *rubric in C* [b] prepositum *C* [c–c] *om. C* [d] annos *C* [e–e] cecum *C* [f] *om. C* [g–g] *om. C* [h] multi *T* [i–i] miraculorum fiebant *L (perhaps rightly)* [j] Wintoniam *C* [k–k] lumen *C* [l] *om. C* [m–m] *om. C*

been plucked out, were restored, and he received his eyesight through the Lord's mercy. A sudden and astonished assembly of people gathered; this unusual miracle, this unheard-of power, is joyfully proclaimed by everyone; profound thanks are given to Almighty God.

28 [Wulfstan ii. 512–679]. A certain poor man, seeking food from door to door at the time when the crops were being harvested, was so oppressed by poverty that he began to beg from the reapers of the region a few sheaves by which he would be able to sustain himself at his own modest level in the coming winter. They gave him some sheaves in accordance with his request; as he was making to take them home he was seized by the king's reeve who asked him from whom he had got them. Not wishing to betray his benefactors, he attracted the crime of theft to himself, was thrust into prison and cruelly bound into stocks, soon to be lashed with whips—even though his guilt was as nothing—and in the end to be executed by sword. Assailed, therefore, by great distress, and not expecting any earthly help, he was counting on divine assistance. He asks as humbly and devoutly as he can for the kindly and merciful St Swithun to be present so as to deign to grant him some assistance through his holy intervention. Accordingly, he took a small knife (which he had requested from one of the guards) and, while the guards were sunk in deep sleep, he cut through the log at the first watch of night—as if the hardness of the wood had been turned to the natural softness of wax through God's operation. Seeing that God and His servant were ready to help him, he joyfully leaves the stocks; seized by hope and fear he swiftly passes by the guards who, through divine agency, were sound asleep. Opening the lock, the bolts, and the door itself without a key and without making any sound, he escapes scot-free with no-one following him. He comes to Winchester; giving thanks to his liberator he announces his great joy to the clergy and populace.

29 [Wulfstan ii. 680–705]. The prior of the church of Abingdon, having lost the glory of his vision, accepted the blindness which for an interval of fifteen years he wretchedly bewailed. He paid out to physicians everything which he could avail himself of; exercising on him all the assistance afforded by medical expertise, they were unable to alleviate his suffering in any way. When he heard that through the merits of the glorious bishop many miracles were taking place at Winchester, he came to the altar praying and petitioning; he spent the night there in vigil; he fully obtained what he was seeking humbly; having obtained what he desired, he returned home, reporting his joy to his kinsmen and friends.

30 [Wulfstan ii. 706–73]. From the remoter parts of England a certain blind man came to Winchester in order to ask, through St Swithun, for the presence of divine assistance to aid him. Arriving at that stone cross (which stands three miles from the town and is called 'King's Stone' in English) and worn out from the rigours of the journey, he sat down and, overcome by cares and pains, fell asleep in the hands of his guide. He was restored a little by the refreshment of sleep; looking to his poverty and misery and not expecting anything to help him to overcome his lack of vision, he began to grieve and become sad and, with his hands raised to the heavens, to implore and earnestly beseech the Lord that, having expelled his blindness, He should through the merits of St Swithun restore to him his sight—all this to take place in return for his treasure and proffered

[c. 30] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE CECO PRIVSQVAM AD SANCTVM PERVENIRET LVCE PREVENTO *rubric in C* [b–b] subuentionem diuinam *C* [c] angelico *C* [d–d] *om. C* [e] *after* sustentationem *T adds* suam [f] dolore *A* [g] collocata *T*

pecunia.[d] Exauditus est ilico: [h]fit presentia uirtutis et leticia miraculi circa eum uisu diutius carens.[h] Sine mora recuperat uisum; qui cecus adibat Wintoniam, uidens et sanus intrauit; [i]ueniens ad ecclesiam gratias Deo et beato Swithuno coram omnibus cum magna exultatione persoluit.[i]

31.[a] [b]Homo[c] quidam utriusque pedis officio destitutus, sed et dorsi incuruatione usque ad genua inclinatus, [d]adiutorio amicorum[d] in gestatorio Wintonie[e] delatus est. Positus est[f] ante sepulchrum beati antistitis; [g]orauit et oratum[h] est pro eo. Homo etatis adulte,[g] uestigiorum basibus solidatis, de recenti didicit ambulare. Et qui pedibus uenerat alienis, suis domum [i]gaudens et[i] exultans [j]redire contendit.[j26]

32.[a] Eadem[b] tempestate[c] quidam opibus[d] secularibus, gloria consulari, consilio et familiaritate regis Eadgari[e] inter palatinos gloriosissime sullimatus, [f]pro consuetudine sua[g] sue necessitatis causa locum[f] quadam die [h]quo proposuerat ire tendebat. Erat circa eum multitudo[h] permaxima militaris comitatus; [i]et dum[i] unus ex pueris, indolis uidelicet eximie et precipue sibi dilectus,[j] admisso equo eum sequeretur,[k] repente labitur. Lapsus,[l] crure et humero dissolutus, per omnia etiam membra fere confringitur, confractus[m] et quassatus[n] usque ad mortis extrema nimio dolore urgente perducitur. [o]Quod ut domino suo nuntiatum est, repentina conturbatione correptus, ad locum ubi puer quassatus iacebat festinus accurrit; illum pre[p] dolore et angustia fere sicut exanimem inuenit. Ipse et omnes qui aderant uouent pro eo; rogant Deum cum magno et multo eiulatu ut, intercedentibus meritis gloriosi pontificis, dolore fugato sanitas illi redderetur.[o] Quid multa? Lugentibus omnibus et nomen beatissimi Swithuni magna uociferatione clamantibus, surgit puer incolumis; nullam sentiens lesionem, propositum iter cum reliquo comitatu—mirantibus omnibus et gaudio magno gaudentibus—propere[q] et integre sanatus incedit.

33.[a] Erat mulier de gente Francorum, nobilis quidem prosapia sed nobilior religione et gratia, que grauissima infirmitate nimia subitatione correpta, ui doloris usum loquendi amisit; et in spacio dierum uiginti in lecto iacens, nullamque cibi uel poculi sustentationem accipiens, anhelitu solo poterat quod uiueret deprehendi. Interea sacerdos quidam de Anglia ueniens, uenit ad eundem locum; [b]cognitus a marito mulieris rogatur ut, si aliquid de medicina cognosceret, pro amore Dei et suo curam illius haberet. Qui nullam medicinam se scire respondens, de beato Swithuno—cuius uirtutes ubique predicabantur—sermonem intrauit,[b] [c]monens et exhortans[c] maritum pro uxore in ecclesia aliqua cum[d] lumine oblato debere uigilare, Deum et sanctum Swithunum ut sanitas in ea recuperetur humiliter exorare. Quod ut factum est, lucescente iam die, ueniens domum repperit coniugem de [e]salute sua[e] letantem, quam nocte reliquerat dura ualitudine laborantem.

[h–h] *om. C* [i–i] *om. C*

[c. 31] [a] DE CONTRACTO ERECTO *rubric in C* [b] *G adds* item *before* homo [c] *om. C* [d–d] *om. C* [e] Wintoniam *ACG* [f] *om. AC* [g–g] *om. C* [h] oratus *G* [i–i] *om. C* [j–j] rediit *C*

[c. 32] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE QVODAM RVINA EXAMINATO STATIM RESTAVRATO *rubric in C* [b] ea *G* [c] *after* tempestate *G adds* cum [d] operibus *T* [e] Edgari *AC* [f–f] *om. C* [g] illa *T* [h–h] iret cum multitudine *C* [i–i] *om. C* [j] *after* dilectus *C adds* dum [k] sequitur *C* [l] *om. C* [m] *om. C* [n] *om. C* [o–o] *om. C* [p] pro *ACT* [q] prospere *ACT*

[c. 33] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE NOBILI MATRONA FRANCIE MORIBVNDA SALVTI REDONATA *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c–c] monuit *C* [d] *om. C* [e–e] sua salute *C*

monies. He is heard on the spot: the presence of divine power and the joy of a miracle overcomes him who long lacked vision. Without delay he recovers his vision; he who was coming as a blind man to Winchester enters the town sighted and healthy; coming to the church he gives thanks with great exultation to God and to St Swithun in the presence of everyone.

31 [Wulfstan ii. 774–82]. A certain man, who was deprived of the use of both feet and who through curvature of the spine was bent over as far as his knees, was brought with the help of friends to Winchester in a litter. He was placed before the tomb of the holy bishop; he prayed and prayers were offered for him. A man of mature years, with his feet now planted firmly on the ground he learned to walk anew. And so the man who had come on the feet of others undertakes to return home on his own feet, rejoicing and exulting.[26]

32 [Wulfstan ii. 783–812]. At that same time a certain man of thoroughly exalted status among members of the witan because of his worldly wealth, his position as ealdorman, and his close familiarity with King Edgar, was one day setting off on business in the normal way towards a place to which he had decided to go. Gathered around him was a great throng of military retainers; and as one of the boys, a lad of excellent family and particularly dear to the ealdorman, was about to follow him, having given rein to his horse, he suddenly fell off. Having fallen and having broken his leg and arm, he was shaken in all limbs; thus shattered and shaken he is brought in excessive pain to death's doorstep. When this is announced to his lord, he, deeply upset with sudden remorse, hastens quickly to the place where the injured boy was lying; and he finds him virtually lifeless with pain and anguish. He and all those present pray for the lad; they beseech God with great and frequent lamentation that through the intervening merits of the glorious bishop the boy be returned to health and his pain expelled. Why say more? With the entire company grieving and calling upon the name of St Swithun with great acclamation, the boy gets up safe and sound; feeling no pain he sets out, swiftly and fully restored to health, on the proposed journey, with everyone marvelling and rejoicing with great happiness.

33 [Wulfstan ii. 813–63]. There was a certain woman among the people of France, noble indeed by birth but nobler still by her religion and piety, who was struck down with extreme swiftness by a very serious illness, and through the intensity of the pain lost her power of speech; lying in bed for the space of twenty days and taking no sustenance in the way of food or drink, she could be perceived to be living only by her breathing. Meanwhile a certain priest from England comes to this same place; being an acquaintance of the woman's husband he is asked that, if he knows anything about medicine, he provide a remedy for the love of God and himself. The priest, replying that he knew nothing about medicine, launched into an account of St Swithun, whose miracles were being proclaimed everywhere; he urged and exhorted the husband to keep vigil for his wife's sake with a lighted candle in any church, and humbly to beseech God and St Swithun that health be restored in her. When this had been done, and dawn had broken, he came home to find his wife rejoicing in good health—she whom he had left the previous night struggling in the throes of a severe illness.

[26] The author of the *Miracula* has altered this story for no apparent reason: whereas in Wulfstan (ii. 774–82) the man flees as soon as he is cured and is never seen again (though his crutches remain in the church as evidence of the miracle), here the man simply returns home in the company of his friends.

34.[a] Quidam de gente Francorum [b]latrociniis deditus, captus pro culpa sua deductus est ante potestatem; iudicio dato, manibus[c] et pedibus[b] uinculatus truditur in carcerem, mortem facto mane cum omni deiectione passurus. [d]Timore igitur mortis anxie misereque correptus, tota nocte flens et eiulans uigilauit; Deum adiutorem sibi et propitium fore quam obnixius quam deuotius poterat postulauit.[d] Recordatur interim quia in Anglia quidam sanctus nuperrime inuentus erat qui et infirmis ad se confluentibus reddebat sanitatem, et [e]compeditos ligatosque a compedibus et nexibus[e] potentissime liberabat. Tunc sanctum illum—cuius quidem non nomen sed potentiam et uirtutem a multis audierat—humiliter orans, uoto facto se deinceps nichil furto rapturum, festinanter absoluitur. Venit ad ostium carceris; citissime aperitur; arrepto itinere fugiens liber et securus ad sua [f]reuerti contendit.[f27]

35.[a] In eadem gente Francorum quedam extitit[b] muliercula [c]que stulte negligenterque nocte quadam,[c] urgente segnitia, oscitare incipiens signaculum crucis apponere ori oblita, ab[d] humani generis inimico [e](qui sue immemor malitie numquam est) diro assultu[e] apprehensa, genis dissolutis admodum[f] et dissutis,[f] rabidi canis insaniam hiatu horribili omnibus assignabat. Cibum, mandibulis [g]ab officio suo destitutis,[g] terere [h]non poterat;[h] uolebat[i] loqui, [j]sed hoc confuse et non intelligibiliter[j] mugitum potius quam uocem proferens agere[k] preualebat. Audientes igitur amici et cognati ipsius [l]uirtutes et[l] miracula que a beato Swithuno [m]Domino operante[m] fiebant in Anglia, illam trans mare [n]festinanter exponunt; expositam[n] Wintoniam usque deducunt; ad[o] ecclesiam gloriosi confessoris cum oblatione adducunt. Nec fuit difficile quod petebant:[p] liberata a peruasore, genarum restitutionem [q]recepit;[r] hiatu pro more contracto,[q] edendi et loquendi consuetum recuperauit officium. [s]Sanata et redintegrata terram unde uenerat repetiit;[s] stuporem[t] omnibus parentibus autem suis cum ammiratione leticiam reportauit.

36.[a] Erat in insula Vecta [b](que a regione[c] australi uicina Anglie et contermina est)[b] uir [d]multarum diuiciarum[d] et multe generositatis, sed [e]urgente infirmitate[e] paralysi, per annos nouem omni membrorum ministerio pene priuatus. Qui cum[f] nocte quadam[g] [h]aliquo soporis remedio corporis angustiam declinare satageret,[h] duos iuuenes habitu uultuque prefulgidos uidet[i] uisione sibi assistere, monere[j] et hortari surgere eum et se quo ituri essent sequi debere, se deducturos[k] illum [l](si uellet)[l] ad episcopum, ad medicum spiritualem, a quo—si monita salutis audiret—integerrimam reciperet sanitatem. Videbantur[m] autem[n] ei per somnium [o]eo ordine quo dixerant et[o] de domo sua preeuntibus[p] illis exisse, et post accepta illius sancti pontificis mandata, salutem corporis ex integro recepisse. Quod[q] cum excussus a somno [r]uxori sue retulisset, illa sagaciter rem intuens bonum a Deo consilium[s] sibi inspiratum asseruit, se credere beatum Swithunum illum esse pontificem a quo per uisionem uidebatur se recipere sanitatem, debere

[c. 34] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G;* DE LATRONE IN GALLIA FACTO VOTO A CARCERE ET VINCVLIS SOLVTO *rubric in C* [b–b] *in* latrociniis captus *C* [c] manibus *written twice in T* [d–d] *om. C* [e–e] ligatos *C* [f–f] reuertitur *C*

[c. 35] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G;* QVO EVENTV MVLIER IN FRANCIA A DEMONE INVASA ORIS OFFICIIS RESTITVTA *rubric in C* [b] *om. C* [c–c] *om. C* [d] ad *L* [e–e] *om. C* [f–f] *om. C* [g–g] *om. C* [h–h] *om. C* [i] uel *C* [j–j] *om. C* [k] non *C* [l–l] *om. C* [m–m] *om. C* [n–n] *om. C* [o] in *L* [p] *after* petebant *C adds* ubi [q–q] *om. C* [r] accepit *T* [s–s] *om. C* [t] stuporemque *C*

[c. 36] [a] DE DIVITE PARALITICO SECVNDVM VISIONEM REPARATO *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c] regioni *G* [d–d] diuiciarum multarum *L (perhaps rightly)* [e–e] *om. C* [f] *om. C* [g] quidam *G* [h–h] *om. C* [i] *after* uidet *C adds* in [j] *om. C* [k] deductores *G* [l–l] *om. C* [m] uidebanturque *C;* uidebat *T* [n] *om. C* [o–o] *om. C* [p] pretereuntibus *C* [q] qui *C* [r–r] *om. C* [s] concilium *G*

34 [Wulfstan ii. 886–914]. A certain man among the people of France, who was much given to thievery, was caught and led before the judicial authority in respect of his crime; after sentence was passed he was chained hand and foot and thrust into prison, in order to be executed in a degrading manner at dawn on the following day. Shaken deeply and bitterly by fear of death, he was awake all night weeping and wailing; he petitioned God, as insistently and devoutly as he could, to assist him and to be merciful to him. Meanwhile he recalls that a certain saint had recently been discovered in England who was both restoring health to the diseased persons flocking to him and was successfully freeing those chained and bound from their chains and shackles. Praying then in a humble manner to that saint—whose name he had not heard, but whose miraculous power he knew of from many people—and vowing that henceforth he would take nothing in theft, he is speedily released. He arrives at the door of the prison; it opens quickly; taking to flight he sets off for home scot-free and safe.[27]

35 [Wulfstan ii. 864–85]. Among the same people of France there was a certain woman who, behaving stupidly and carelessly as a result of laziness, began one night to yawn and forgot to make the sign of the Cross over her mouth; she is immediately attacked in savage onslaught by the Enemy of mankind, who is never forgetful of evil practice, and, with her cheeks dislocated and virtually unattached, she presented everyone with the insane likeness of a rabid dog, its jaws gaping horribly. She could not chew her food because her jaws were unable to perform their function; she wished to speak, but was only able to produce confused and unintelligible mooing rather than speech. Her friends and relations, hearing of the signs and miracles by St Swithun which were taking place in England through the Lord's agency, take her quickly overseas; having got her there they take her to Winchester; they lead her to the church of the glorious confessor and make a donation there. What they sought presented no difficulty: liberated from the demon which attacked her, the woman regained the constitution of her jaws; with the gaping reduced she recovered her normal capacity for eating and speaking. Cured and restored to health she sought the country whence she had come; to the astonishment and surprise of all her kinsfolk she retailed her joy.

36 [Wulfstan ii. 915–1061]. On the Isle of Wight—which is adjacent and parallel to England along its southern coast—there was a man of great wealth and noble birth who, because of the oppressive affliction of paralysis, had been virtually deprived of all use of his limbs for nine years. One particular night, when he was trying to relieve the pain of his body by the remedy of a little sleep, he saw in a vision two youths standing before him, resplendent in vestment and appearance, admonishing and urging him to arise and to follow them where they were about to go and saying that they were to take him, if he wished, to a bishop, a spiritual physician from whom he would regain his full health, if he would listen to his salutary admonitions. It seemed to him in his dream that things took place in the order they said and that he left his house with them going in front, and after he had received the commands of that holy bishop, he recovered fully the health of his body. When, having awakened from his dream, he retailed this to his wife, she, reflecting wisely on the matter, declared it to be a piece of sound advice sent to him from God, and that she thought that St Swithun was the bishop from whom he had seemed to receive his health in the dream, and that he

[27] Note that this and the following chapter (c. 35) are here given in reverse order from that found in Wulfstan.

quam citius posset Wintoniam adire, sepulchrum beati Swithuni multis uirtutibus et miraculis gloriosum cum precibus et oblationibus uisitare. Sed quia hoc ex facili[t] propter nimietatem angustie effectui mancipare non ualuit,[r] ad ecclesiam que sibi uicinior in eadem insula erat deferri se fecit. "Orationibus et uigiliis se suosque contradens," Deo et beato Swithuno uota humillime[v] uouens, diuinum [w]quem humiliter operiebatur[x] in sui reparatione[w] meruit impetrare subuentum. [y]Sanus igitur et incolumis factus, Wintoniam propere uenit; que circa se gesta sunt, letissima omnium susceptione fideliter retulit; que uouerat Deo et sancto Swithuno qua poterat deuotione persoluens, letus ad propria remeauit.[y]

37.[a] Per idem tempus uir quidam die sanctissimo[b] Pasche, luce priuatus, [c]suo et amicorum consilio[c] circuibat loca [d]et ecclesias[d] de quibus auditum habebat, quia in eis sepe fiebant meritis sanctorum gloriosa[e] miracula. Sed quod petebat[f] non preualebat accipere, quia diuina misericordia iam prouiderat per quem [g]quando sibi placeret manum subuentionis deberet ei porrigere.[g] Deinde [h]superueniente tempore,[h] malo cecitatis et aliud malum [i]difficilius et[i] grauius superaccessit, cum gibbus non modice granditatis uni oculorum cum magno dolore et angustia nulli medicorum curandus assedit. Infirmitatis[j] igitur duplicata miseria, Wintoniam usque deducitur; uenit [k]cum magno eiulatu[k] ad ecclesiam ubi pater requiescit egregius.[l] Antequam sepulchrum eius oraturus[m] adiret,[n] et gibbus ille omnino minuitur et uisio reparatur.

38.[a] Eodem tempore iuuenis quidam multe grossitudinis struma[b] laborans a puero, baculis innitens non pedibus uenit Wintoniam. [c]Necessitati et paupertati sue prout poterat satisfacere uolens, ab omnibus sustentationis precabatur alimoniam. Hic ad ecclesiam deductus,[c] ante sepulchrum beati pontificis [d]se in oratione[e] strauit; stratus[d] orauit; [f]orans et eiulans tota nocte illa uigilias agens, in precibus pernoctauit.[f] Transacta igitur nocte, [g]crescente aurora,[g] struma decrescit.[h] [i]Infirmitate deiecta, recepta sospitate, iam non prece sed manu uictum queritans sibi parentibusque pro modulo suo gaudium reportauit.[i]

39.[a] Muliercula quedam in eadem ciuitate uestimenta domini sui lauanda ad aquam tulit; que a furibus surrepta cum[b] studio abluendi insistit, amittit. Veniens itaque domum, [c]cum quid acciderat nunciaret,[c,d] a domino suo comprehensa grauissime uerberatur, uerberata[e] manicis stringitur et artatur, ligata et artata ut acrius cederetur in crastinum reseruatur. Mane autem facto, [f]uidens dominum suum ad forensia opera egressum, egressa et ipsa de domo sicut erat[f] ligata ad ecclesiam quam occultius poterat uenit: rogat[g] Deum[h] ut per merita sancti Swithuni [i]ab illis quibus ligata est manicis mereatur absolui. Oratur, et Deo subueniente momento eodem orationem[j] illius effectum orationis assequitur.[i]

[t] facile *G* [u–u] *om. C* [v] *om. C* [w–w] *om. C* [x] optabat *G* [y–y] *om. C*

[c. 37] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE VIRO VISV MALE PRIVATO APVD HOC SOLVM SANCTVM SALVTE REPARATO *rubric in C* [b] *om. C* [c–c] *om. C* [d–d] *om. C* [e] *om. C* [f] petebant *T* [g–g] ei subueniret *C* [h–h] *om. C* [i–i] *om. C* [j] *om. C* [k–k] *om. C* [l] *after* egregius *C adds* et [m] *om. C* [n] adierit *T*

[c. 38] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE STRVMOSO REFORMATO *rubric in C* [b] saturma *T* [c–c] *om. C* [d–d] *om. C* [e] orationem *L (rightly?)* [f–f] *om. C* [g–g] *om. C* [h] decrescente *C* [i–i] recepit sospitatem *C*

[c. 39] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE VINCTA STATIM ABSOLVTA *rubric in C* [b] tum *C* [c–c] *om. C* [d] nunaret *T* [e] *om. C* [f–f] *om. C* [g] rogauitque *C* [h] Dominum *C* [i–i] absolueretur eodemque momento orationem illius effectus assequitur *C* [j] oratio *A*

ought to go as quickly as he could to Winchester, to visit with prayers and donations the tomb of St Swithun, glorious through many signs and miracles. But because he was not able easily to accomplish this because of the intensity of his pain, he had himself taken to a church which was nearer to him on the same island. Giving himself and his retinue over to prayers and vigils and making humble vows to God and to St Swithun, he was found worthy to obtain the divine assistance which he was humbly awaiting in respect of his recovery. Made sound and healthy, therefore, he hastened to Winchester; there he faithfully retailed everything which had happened to him, to the joyous approbation of everyone; fulfilling those promises which he had made to God and St Swithun with what piety he could, he went home happy.

37 [Wulfstan ii. 1062–1101]. At this same time a certain man, who had been deprived of his sight on the holy festival of Easter, followed the advice of his friends and his own inclinations and went around various holy places and churches which he had heard about, since glorious miracles often take place there through the merits of the saints. But he was unable to achieve what he was seeking, since divine mercy had already foreordained the saint through whom it should extend the hand of assistance when the time was right. Then as time passed, another more troublesome and irritating misfortune was added to the misfortune of blindness, namely that a lump of no small magnitude grew on one of his eyes, causing great pain and distress and which could not be treated by any physician. With this twofold complaint, therefore, he is taken to Winchester; with great wailing he comes to the church where the excellent father lies in peace. Before he had even approached his tomb in order to pray, the lump decreases all over in size and his sight is restored.

38 [Wulfstan ii. 1102–22]. At the same time a certain young man who had been suffering since boyhood from a hump of immense magnitude, arrives at Winchester supporting himself on crutches, not on his feet. Seeking as best he could some alleviation for his condition and his poverty, he begs from everyone some food by way of sustenance. He was taken to the church; he prostrated himself in prayer before the tomb of the holy bishop; while prostrate he prayed; praying and wailing he spends all that night in vigil; he passes the night in prayer. When the night had passed, therefore, and dawn was breaking, his hump decreased. With his illness gone and his health restored, he now seeks food for himself with his hand rather than with prayer; and he retails his joy to his kinsmen to the best of his modest ability.

39 [Wulfstan ii. 1123–46]. A certain woman in that same town took the clothing of her master to the water to be washed; while she was intent on the washing, she lost the clothing, which was stolen by thieves. When she arrived back home and reported what had happened to her, she was seized by her master and cruelly beaten, bound and tied up tightly in manacles, and thus bound and tied she was detained for the morrow, so that she might be more severely beaten still. When the day arrived, seeing her master set out to do business in the market, she herself set out from the house and went to the church as stealthily as possible, inasmuch as she was still tied up: she asks God that through the merits of St Swithun she deserve to be freed from those manacles with which she was bound. The prayer is said, and at the same moment through God's assistance the outcome of the prayer follows close on the prayer itself.

40.[a] In urbe prefata [b]habebat quidam seruum suum dictante culpa compedibus nimis anxie uinculatum, qui in illa uinculatione[b] per multos dies cruciatus mortis expectabat euentum. [c]Videns uero[c] quadam die aliis exeuntibus [d]domi remansisse se solum, opportunitatem[e] temporis preterire non sinens,[d] quomodo potest[f] iter[g] ad ecclesiam occulte arripiens[h] fugit, [i]oraturus ante sanctissimi patris tumbam[j] genibus flexis se sternit; orat attente et meretur audiri; solutus a compedibus, Deo et beato Swithuno in conspectu omnium gratias reddit.[i28]

41.[a] Eiusdem ciuitatis hominibus tempore quodam defuncti cuiusdam exequiis pro more uulgari assistentibus ludorumque funebrium nenias[b] stulte [c]et lasciue ritu bachantium[c29] celebrantibus, unus ex illis subito[d] garrullitatis [e]et presumptionis[e] furore correptus, 'ego sum', inquit, 'sanctus ille Swithunus qui pro uirtutibus et miraculis suis ubique diffamatur—paratus si cum muneribus [f]et orationibus[f] mihi uolueritis supplicare, tam corporum quam animarum uestrarum salutem [g]Deo per me uobis propitio[g] ministrare.'[30] [h]Quam uocem[h] temeritatis [i]et insanie[i] ilico uindicta subsequitur[j] ab inimico, cuius instinctu in tantam deciderat proteruie audaciam; sine omni dilatione peruaditur, peruasus[k] tribus diebus continuis miserabili tortione colliditur. Parentes autem eius—[l]licet ei pro uerbo blasphemie haud facile essent irati, angustiam tamen illius intolerabilem intuentes[m] misericordia et pietate sedantur[l]—eum ad ecclesiam ducentes, pro misero falsoque Swithuno beatum et uerum Swithunum [n]cum multo et magno cordis affectu[n] deprecantur. Quid multa? Serenissimus [o]et piissimus[o] antistes, [p]cuius opera omnia pietas semper comitata est,[p] pietate solita[q] [r]motus, preces precantium se audit et exaudit,[r] miserum illum glorie et nominis sui peruasorem stultissimum liberatum a demonio sanitati restituit.

42.[a] In uilla quadam contermina ciuitati muliercula longeua [b]iam senectute permarcida pro modulo paupertatis et paruitatis sue tugurium habebat in quo absque omni consolationis uel cohabitationis[c] remedio tam noctibus omnibus quam diebus sola pausabat.[b] Quodam[d] itaque [e]tempore dum nocte superueniente ad lectum dormitura descenderet, ostium domuncule sue super se[e] claudere oblita est. Contigit autem interim lupum [f]de silua egressum non satis quidem conuenientem hospitem ubique peruagando[f] domum illius deuenire, eamque[g] in lectulo [h]quiescentem non de huiusmodi euentu sollicitam fortuitu repperire; quam ilico[h] correptam per brachium quod extra grabatum sopore[i] soporata pendulum[j] extenderat, non multum sibi reluctantem[k] secum in siluam abducit semiuiuam et iam prope defunctam tam lassitudine quam pauore deponit; ad ululatum eius [l]omne nemus[l] circumiacens[m] aliis respondentibus multiplici [n]et miserabili[n,o] ululatu [p]personante contremuit.[p] Illa quid faceret? Etate et inedia debilis erat: cruentus hostis, [q]raptor immanis;[q] illa sola, hostes plures adesse festinabant. Deprecatur[r] itaque [s]Deum et[s]

[c. 40] [a] *this chapter is omitted in* G; DE ALIO LIGATO SIMILITER SOLVTO *rubric in C* [b–b] alius quoque uinctus *C* [c–c] *om. C* [d–d] *om. C* [e] opportunitate *T* [f] potuit *C* [g] *om. C* [h] *om. C* [i–i] ibique et ipse solutus est a compedibus *C* [j] turbam *T*

[c. 41] [a] *this chapter is omitted in* G; DE IOCVLATORE QVI SE SANCTVM SWITHVNVM ESSE DICEBAT A DEMONE ARREPTO ET PER IPSVM EREPTO *rubric in C* [b] uenias *C* [c–c] *om. C* [d] *om. C* [e–e] *om. C* [f–f] *om. T* [g–g] *om. C* [h–h] qua uoce *T* [i–i] *om. C* [j] *after* subsequitur *C adds* et [k] *om. C* [l–l] *om. C* [m] *destroyed in T* [n–n] *om. C* [o–o] *om. C* [p–p] *om. C* [q] *om. T* [r–r] *om. C*

[c. 42] [a] *this chapter is omitted in* G; QVALITER ANVS A LVPO MIRIFICE RAPTA PER NOMEN SANCTI MIRIFICENTIVS EST EREPTA *rubric in C* [b–b] in tugurio sola manebat *C* [c] choabitacionis *L* [d] quadam *C* [e–e] nocte hostium suum *C* [f–f] *om. C* [g] *om. C* [h–h] *om. C* [i] *om. C* [j] *om. C* [k] reluctante *T* [l–l] nemus omne *C* [m] *om. C* [n–n] *om. C* [o] mirabili *T* [p–p] personuit *C* [q–q] *om. C* [r] *om. C* [s–s] *om. C*

40 [Wulfstan ii. 1147–66]. In the aforementioned town a certain man had his slave chained up very tightly in fetters on the pretext of some crime; the slave, tortured thus in the enchainment, awaited for many days the onset of death. One day, seeing that he was left alone at home when the others had gone out, and not allowing this timely opportunity to pass by, he takes stealthily to flight in the direction of the church by whatever means he can; in order to pray before the tomb of the holy father he prostrates himself on bended knee; he prays assiduously and is found worthy to be heard; released from his chains he gives thanks to God and St Swithun in sight of everyone.[28]

41. One time when some men of the same town were, in accordance with popular fashion, attending the funeral rites of some dead man, and were performing the incantations of the funeral games foolishly and wantonly after the manner of Bacchantes,[29] one of them, possessed by a sudden madness of garrulity and presumption, said, 'I am that St Swithun who is renowned everywhere for his signs and miracles; and I am prepared, if you should wish to placate me with gifts and prayers, to attend to the health both of your bodies and souls, with God acting mercifully through me on you.'[30] Punishment from the Enemy—through whose prompting he had fallen into such audacity of wantonness—straightway follows these words of rashness and lunacy; without any delay at all he is struck down, and once struck down he is ravaged for three whole days by a wretched torment. His kinsfolk, though angered to no small degree by his words of blasphemy, are nevertheless soothed by mercy and pity at seeing his intolerable anguish; taking him to the church they petition the holy and true Swithun with much heartfelt emotion on behalf of the wretched and false Swithun. Why say more? The kindly and merciful bishop, whose works are always accompanied by mercy, moved by his customary pity, attends the prayers of those addressing him and hears them, and restores that foolish wretch, the purveyor of his name and glory, to health, releasing him from the demon.

42. In a certain village bordering on the town, a little old lady, already withered with age, had a tiny cottage in keeping with her poverty and lowly status, in which she lived alone by day and night, without even the alleviation of comfort or companionship. One one occasion, as night was falling and she got down to her bed to go to sleep, she forgot to close the door of her house behind her. Meanwhile, it happens that a wolf—not an entirely satisfactory guest!—coming out of the forest and wandering about everywhere, arrives at her house and finds her by chance lying in her bed, not suspecting an incident of this sort; snatching her immediately by the arm which, overcome with sleep, she had let dangle outside her cot, it drags her barely alive and near to death—as much through exhaustion as through fear—into the forest. The entire grove shook with the sound of its howls, other wolves replying with much mournful howling as well. What was she to do? She was weak with age and hunger; her assailant was bloodthirsty, a savage abductor; she was alone, and several other wolves were rushing to the scene. Accordingly, she prays to God and invokes his

[28] From this point onwards the *Miracula* cease to depend on Wulfstan's *Narratio*.

[29] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* vii. 257–8: 'passis Medea capillis / bacchantum ritu flagrantes circuit aras.' No other occurrence of the phrase *bacchantum / ritu* is listed in BTL.

[30] The source of this miracle is Ælfric, 'Life of St Swithun', c. 19 (above, p. 600). Since the miracle in question does not occur in Ælfric's immediate Latin source, the *Epitome* (above, no. 3), the author of the *Miracula* must have derived it directly from Ælfric, with the implication that he could read Old English, whether or not it was his native language (cf. above, n. 6). Note also that a similar story occurs in c. 10 of Arcoid's *Miracula S. Erkenwaldi* (composed *c.*1140), where a drunken silversmith climbs into the saint's wooden shrine and claims that he is St Erkenwald: 'Ego sum Erkenwaldus sanctissimus: mihi munera deferte', etc. (ed. E. G. Whatley, *The Saint of London: the Life and Miracles of St Erkenwald* (Binghamton, NY, 1989), p. 142). The *Miracula S. Swithuni* could have been the source of Arcoid's later story.

subuentorem citissimum beatum inuocat Swithunum; [t]nomine cuius[t] audito, lupus obdormiuit.[u] Fugit illa [v]et a loco declinare festinat;[v] currit non[w] pedibus humanis, sed leuamine [x]et auxilio[x] diuine subuentionis. Lupus euigilans, illam cum magno clamore insequitur; omnes qui accurrerant [y]e uestigio sequuntur,[z] sed nullus[a] illorum [b]misere illi mulieri[y,b] nocere preualuit, [c]quam Dei et beati[c] pontificis misericordia liberare disposuit.

43.[a] Venerande memorie Aldredus[b] ex monacho Wintoniensi Eboracensis archiepiscopus[31] gloriosi regis Eadwardi[c] legationem[d] ad regem Alemannie[e] tulit;[32] a quo honorifice susceptus et multorum munerum liberali largitione donatus, negotio [f]gratia cuius[f] ierat[g] [h]pro iussione mittentis sapienter et[h] bene composito, [i]nauigio letus et hilaris[i] in Angliam remeabat. Decurso igitur interuallo maris aliquantulo, [j]inopinata et[j] periculosa tempestas oboritur;[k] [l]nautice artis magistros timor inuadit insolitus;[l] pecunie damno salutem corporum redimentes, equos, equorum[m] phaleras, omnes[n] pecunias suas [o]et earum repositoria certatim[o] in mare conuellunt, futurum sperantes ut etiam ipsi absque [p]omni more dispendio[p] cum naui descenderent in profundum. Interim discus argenteus [q]artificiosa compositione[q] compositus, quem inter alia dona ab imperatore acceperat, in mare iactandus affertur. Archiepiscopus supradictus non tam de pretio uasis quam de dono donantis ammonitus,[r] beatissimum Swithunum cuius se monachum profitebatur ualido [s]cordis[s] et oris[s] clamore compellans fideliter uouet,[u] quod si sedata tempestate sanus et incolumis posset exire, uas illud in ecclesia Wintonie cum aliis quoque muneribus ueniens non differret offerre. Tunc ad nomen beati Swithuni [w]auditum libenter et gratanter acceptum[w] omnes qui aderant illum acclamantes, [x]illum corde et uoce deprecantes,[x] tempestatem clamore et prece debellant; tempestate fugata facies celi reuertitur grata [y]pro desiderio suo[y] portum usque secura, sine omni lesura nauis inuecta est. Veniens itaque Wintoniam domnus archiepiscopus [z]promissionis sue desiderantissimus executor[z] solennem donationem [a]ad ecclesiam facit;[a] suscepta a fratribus pecunia, [b]statue et[b] imagini beati Swithuni ornande[c] [d]sicut hodie monstratur cernentibus destinata et[d] apposita est.[33]

[t–t] cuius nomine *C* [u] obdormit *L (perhaps rightly)* [v–v] *om. C* [w] enim *A* [x–x] *om. C* [y–y] *destroyed in T* [z] subsequuntur *CL* [a] nemo *L* [b–b] ei *C* [c–c] *destroyed in T*

[c. 43] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE ARCHIEPISCOPO TEMPESTATE PER SANCTI INVOCATIONEM ET VOTI PROMISSIONEM PACATA CVM SOCIIS CONSERVATO *rubric in C* [b] aluredus *C* [c] Eawardi *A* [d] legatione *A* [e] Almannie *A* [f–f] cuius gratia *C* [g] erat *A* [h–h] *om. C* [i–i] *om. C* [j–j] *om. C* [k] aboritur *L* [l–l] *om. C* [m] equorumque *C* [n] omnesque *C* [o–o] *om. C* [p–p] mora *C* [q–q] artificiose *C* [r] amnitus *T* [s–s] *om. C* [t] corde *L* [u] uouit *T* [v–v] *om. C* [w–x] *om. C* [y–y] *om. C* [z–z] *om. C* [a–a] facit ad ecclesiam *A* [b–b] *om. C* [c] orande *A* [d–d] *om. C*

[31] Ealdred was originally a monk of the Old Minster, Winchester, who became abbot of Tavistock (*c.*1027–*c.*1043) and then bishop of Worcester in 1047. While bishop of Worcester he served as ambassador for Edward the Confessor, making two trips to Rome (1050, 1061) on royal business, as well as an important embassy to Emperor Henry III in Cologne in 1054 (see below, n. 32). While on a further diplomatic mission to Hungary in 1058 he continued on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land. He was appointed archbishop of York in 1061, and was active in endowing and reconstructing churches in his archdioese (including Beverley and York Minster itself). It was Ealdred who crowned William the Conqueror (25 Dec. 1066). He died 11 Sept. 1069. For his life, and especially his archbishopric, see J. M. Cooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Bishops of York* (York, 1970), pp. 23–9, and F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd edn. (London, 1979), pp. 86–90.

[32] In 1054 Ealdred, then bishop of Worcester (see above, n. 31) conducted on behalf of Edward the Confessor an important and lengthy embassy (here called a *legatio*) to Emperor Henry III (1039–56) in Cologne, in order to negotiate the return to England of prince Edward 'the Exile'; cf. *ASE* 1054D: 'Ðæs ilcan geres for Aldred biscop to Colne ofer sæ, þæs kynges ærende, 7 wearð þær underfangen mid mycclan weorðscipe fram þan Casere. 7 þær he wunode wel neh an ger, 7 him geaf ægðer þeneste ge se biscop on Colone 7 se Casere' (ed. G. P. Cubbin, *MS. D*, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vi (Cambridge, 1996),

speedy assistant, St Swithun; having heard his name, the wolf fell asleep. She takes to flight and hastens to leave that place; she runs not on human feet, but with the uplift and assistance of divine intervention. The wolf on awakening follows her with a great outcry; all the other wolves who had hastened there follow her footsteps, but none of them was able to harm that poor woman, whom the mercy of God and the blessed bishop had determined to set free.

43. Ealdred of blessed memory, formerly a monk of Winchester and latterly archbishop of York,[31] took an embassy of the excellent King Edward to the king of Germany;[32] he was honourably received by him and was presented with the generous bequest of many gifts, and when the business (for the sake of which he had gone) was well and wisely concluded in accordance with the request of the king who had sent him, he set sail for England happy and contented. When they have covered some small distance of their sea journey, an unexpected and menacing storm arises; an unwonted fear overcomes those skilled in the art of sailing; redeeming the safety of their bodies at the expense of their property, they eagerly cast their horses, horse-trappings, and all their treasures together with the treasure-chests, into the sea, thinking it inevitable that they themselves were about to sink with the ship to the depths of the sea before much time had passed. At this time a silver dish, made with skilful composition, which Ealdred had received among other things from the German emperor, was about to be tossed into the sea. The aforementioned archbishop, concerned not so much with the value of the dish as with the fact that it was a gift from the emperor, prays trustingly with a mighty outburst of heart and voice to St Swithun, to whom he had professed as monk, to the effect that if the storm were to be calmed and he were to escape safe and sound, he would not hesitate to deposit that dish together with the other gifts on his arrival in the church of Winchester. Then having heard the name of St Swithun, which was taken up most willingly and joyously, all those present acclaimed him, beseeching him with heart and voice: and thus they combat the storm with their outcry and prayer; with the storm routed the welcome face of heaven reappeared in accordance with their wishes, remaining calm as far as the port, and the ship was borne along without any harm. Coming duly to Winchester the lord archbishop, eagerly keeping to his promise, makes a solemn donation to the church; the money was received by the monks and put to the purpose of adorning a statue in the likeness of St Swithun—as is still today to be seen by onlookers.[33]

74). The archbishop of Cologne in question was Herimann II (1036–56); it is likely that, during his stay in Cologne, Ealdred learned from Herimann the use of the Romano-German Pontifical, and that he brought back with him to England the copy of that work which survives as London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xii: see M. Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E. XII', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, lv (1983), 11–25 (repr. in *ALL* ii. 453–67). It is also possible that from this same trip Ealdred brought back the exemplar of the famous collection of Latin lyrics known as the 'Cambridge Songs': see P. Dronke, M. Lapidge and P. Stotz, 'Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte der Cambridger Liederhandschrift (CUL Gg. 5. 35)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, xvii (1982), 54–95, esp. pp. 58–9.

[33] The pontifical mentioned in the previous note, BL Cotton Vitellius E. xii—which is very possibly a book brought to England by Ealdred—contains a number of additions in English script, which constitute a single quire (fos. 153–60), among them a blessing for a statue of St Swithun (fo. 154r–v); the same blessing is contained in a closely related manuscript, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 163, pp. 283–5 (see M. Lapidge, 'The origin of CCCC 163', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, viii (1981–5), 18–28; on the Worcester origin of the manuscript, see now M. Gullick, 'The origin and date of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 163', ibid. xi (1996–9), 89–91, who suggests a date in the third quarter of the eleventh century). The blessing is printed and discussed above, pp. 137–8; it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that it was either composed or commissioned by Ealdred himself to commemorate the statue which he donated to the Old Minster on his safe return from Germany.

44.[a] Statuam aliam beatissimi antistitis Swithuni Scireburnensis episcopus a fratribus acquisitam honorifice locauit in ecclesia sua, ubi creberrima fieri solent meritis predicti patris gloriosa miracula.[34] Ad hanc inter alios infirmos quidam elefantie morbo percussus uenire consueuerat, non ut [b]a Deo uel a[c] seruo ipsius corporis sui[b] curationem [d]uellet exposcere[d]—uidebatur enim ei infirmitas [e]irremediabilis et[e] incurabilis esse[f]—sed ut ab aduenientibus et ante statuam orantibus stipem alimonie sibi[g] posset acquirere. Quadam igitur[h] die dum, [i]elemosina ab intrantibus[j] accepta iam de diario securus effectus,[i] paululum obdormiret, uisum est ilico sibi benignissimum [k]et piissimum[k] pontificem adesse illum,[l] lepram [m]qua miserabiliter urgebatur[m] manu sancta[n] detergere, [o]infirmitate seposita[o] se salutem integerrimam [p]quam omnimodis desperauerat[p] derepente[q] recipere. Euigilans itaque letus a somno, sentiens[r] circa se Dei uirtutem operatam, [s]conuocans omnes, coram omnibus soluit cingulum; quo soluto, sinu laxato, sub oculis omnium letum et ubique predicandum apparet miraculum, quia elephantine pruriginis scabies ad pedes ipsius tanquam interioris interule decidit indumentum.[s]

45.[a] Mulier quedam pedibus retro suspensis et ceruicem usque[b] fere tangentibus neruorum contractione distorta, [c]ad illam eandem statuam iacere consueuerat, elemosinam ab introeuntibus quam humillime poterat sedulo precabatur. Quadam igitur die[c] dum illic[d] accubans[e] paululum obdormiret, uidet [f](sicut postea referebat) tanquam[f] sacerdotem florentem canicie, splendidissima ueste fulgentem coram assistere, intento baculo, cur tam diu ibi iaceret minari et quasi eam uelle[g] percutere. Euigilans autem et de uisione attonita, uidet sacerdotem ebdomadarium cum incenso ad altare ubi iacebat deuenisse, rata esse[h] illum quem dormiendo sibi minantem[i] audierat, meritis beati Swithuni iam sana cepit per ecclesiam fugiendo discurrere, neruis uiolenter extensis, [j]sanguis effluere;[35] omnes qui aderant mirari ceperunt et pre gaudio flere, nomen Domini et serui ipsius multimodo laudis applausu attollere.[j,k]

46.[a] Homo quidam, dum in agro [b]contra preceptum[b] die dominica sentes et tribulos [c]uitio cupiditatis illectus[c] [d]certasset euellere,[d] diuina urgente uindicta punctione spine digiti manus[e] illius stupendo ceperunt tumore turgescere, ipsa manus tota cum brachio supra modum grossescere,[f] uultum[g] manus amittere, miser anguste[h] torqueri et[i] pene ad mortem[j] laboriose intendere, parentes, affines turbati et tristati de salute illius[l] desperare.[j] Medici uero[m] si apponerent aliqua ad

[c. 44] [a] *this chapter is omitted in* G; DE SANCTI SWITHVNI YMAGINE CREBRIS VIRTVTIBVS INSIGNITA *rubric in* C [b–b] *om.* C [c] *om.* L *(perhaps rightly)* [d–d] exposceret C [e–e] *om.* C [f] *om.* C [g] *om.* C [h] autem A [i–i] *om.* C [j] introeuntibus A [k–k] *om.* C [l] *om.* C [m–m] *om.* C [n] sua A [o–o] *om.* C [p–p] *om.* C [q] repente C [r] sensit C [s–s] *om.* C

[c. 45] [a] *this chapter is omitted in* G; DE MVLIERE CONTRACTA SANCTO VISITANTE DIRECTA *rubric in* C [b] *om.* C [c–c] *om.* C [d] ante eandem statuam C [e] accumbans T [f–f] *om.* C [g] uellet A [h] *om.* C [i] minitantem C; manantem L; minante T [j–j] *om.* C [k] extollere T

[c. 46] [a] *this chapter is omitted in* G; DE RVSTICO OB INTEMPESTIVVM OPVS PVNITO ET ANTE SANCTI IMAGINEM SANATO *rubric in* C [b–b] *om.* C [c–c] *om.* C [d–d] euelleret C [e] *om.* C [f] grossescens CLT [g] speciem C [h] *om.* C; angustie T [i] *om.* C [j–j] *om.* C [l] ipsius L [m] *om.* CLT

[34] This and the following two chapters (cc. 45–6; also c. 53) are concerned with miracles accomplished by another statue of St Swithun in the cathedral at Sherborne. According to William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum* ii. 82 (ed. Hamilton, p. 179), this statue was acquired and erected by Ælfwold, bishop of Sherborne (1045–62), who had previously been a monk at Winchester (an 'Alfwold puer' is listed among the monks of the Old Minster in the *Liber vitae* of the New Minster: ed. Birch, p. 28 (no. xxviii); ed. Keynes, fo. 19v). William describes the acquisition as follows: 'Alfwoldus . . . ex monacho Wintoniensi episcopus, qui apud Scireburniam imaginem sanctissimi Swithuni collocavit, facem venerationis extulit.'

44. The bishop of Sherborne reverently set up in his church another statue of the blessed bishop Swithun which had been acquired from the monks of Winchester; here too many glorious miracles customarily occur through the merits of the aforementioned father.[34] A certain man, assailed by the disease of leprosy, used to come to the statue with other diseased persons, not so that he could seek a cure for his body from God or from His servant—indeed his illness seemed to the man to be irremediable and incurable—but so that he might beg some money for food from those arriving and praying before the statue. One day, therefore, when he had acquired some alms from those entering the church and his daily sustenance was assured, he fell asleep for a little while; it seemed to him that the kind and merciful bishop stood immediately before him, and that he wiped away with his holy hand the leprosy by which the man was wretchedly afflicted, and having shed his illness he was restored to the full health which he had despaired ever of receiving so quickly. Waking up happily from his dream and feeling that a miracle from God had been accomplished in him, he calls everyone and in their presence undoes his belt; when it was undone and the clothing on his chest was loosened, in everyone's sight a joyous miracle to be proclaimed everywhere occurs, for the scab of leprous scurf fell to his feet just like a piece of underwear.

45. A certain woman, crippled through muscular contortion, with her feet twisted backwards and nearly touching her neck, used to lie at that same statue, where she used diligently to beg alms from those entering the church in the most humble manner possible. One day, therefore, when lying there she fell asleep for a short while, she saw as it were (as she used later to tell) a priest with flowery white hair, resplendent in brilliant vestment, stand near her, and with his crozier pointed towards her as if about to strike her with it, asked her threateningly why she was lying there. Awakening in astonishment from her vision, she sees the hebdomadary priest coming with incense to the altar where she was lying, and thinking it was he whom she had heard threatening her while she was asleep, she started—through the merits of St Swithun—to run in flight through the church, her muscles violently outstretched, and her blood started to pour out;[35] all who were present began to marvel and to weep with joy, and to exalt the name of the Lord and His servant through the manifold acclamation of praise.

46. While a certain man, inspired by the sin of avarice, was attempting, against the law on the Lord's day, to pull up brambles and thorns in a field, through divine vengeance the fingers of his hand began to swell up in an astounding manner, having been pricked by a thorn. His whole hand together with the arm began to swell up larger than normal, the hand lost its normal shape; the poor wretch was tortured miserably and was struggling nearly on the point of death; his kinsmen and neighbours, shaken and saddened, began to despair of his life. When the physicians tried to apply

One of the ways in which Ælfwold raised high the torch of veneration was by rebuilding the cathedral at Sherborne on the model of the Old Minster, Winchester: see J. H. P. Gibb, 'The Anglo-Saxon cathedral at Sherborne', *ArchJ* cxxxii (1975), 71–110 [with an appendix by R. D. H. Gem, pp. 105–10], esp. pp. 101–2, 109. It is possible that the statue of St Swithun was acquired by Ælfwold to coincide with the completion of the building-works; in any case, it is possible that it was this same statue which at the time of the Dissolution was sold off to two citizens of Sherborne: see Gibb, ibid. p. 102, and J. Fowler, *Medieval Sherborne* (Dorchester, 1951), p. 299.

[35] This apparently incoherent sentence ('sana cepit . . . discurrere . . . sanguis effluere') where the subject governing the infinitives changes in mid-phrase, is probably an intentional use of the rhetorical device anacoluthon (on which see above, pp. 229–30), for the author uses it again in c. 46 ('digiti . . . ceperunt turgescere, ipsa manus . . . grossescere, uultum manus amittere, miser anguste torqueri'); cf. also below, c. 54: 'sanguis ubertim cepit effluere'.

imminuendum illum tumorem medicamenta, non solum non[n] imminuebatur, sed [o](ut uerius dicatur)[o] de ipsa[p] magis [q]ac magis medicina[q] crescebat. Ductus [r]est itaque[r] miser ille[g] ad illam imaginem de qua superius diximus; Deum et seruum illius beatum uidelicet[t] Swithunum orans deprecatur. Leuans ad imaginem manum quam sanam habebat, nesciens et alteram leuat: uidet[u] eam [v]non iam illa prima grossitudine turgere, sed secundum similitudinem alterius[v] in [w]tenuitatem et[w] macilentiam redisse.

47.[a] Nec pretereundum est puerum [b]allatum[c] fuisse Wintonie[b] a natiuitate cecum quinquennem etate; [d]quem parentes multo affectu diligebant, sed quia infortunium ei cecitatis obuenerat, uehementi pro eo dolore[e] dolebant. Consilio igitur[f] accepto, adducunt illum ad ecclesiam; statuunt eum[d] ante illam[g] beatissimi confessoris sepulturam; [h]orant pro eo; fit [i]communis omnium ploratus et pia supplicatio;[i] mouent precibus [j]benignissimum illum[j] patrem et episcopum. Fluit ilico ex oculis cruor cecitatis; [k]cadit caligo et depulsa [l]macula cecitatis[k,l] creatur in eo[h]—quam numquam [m]habuerat [n]prius[m]—claritas[n] uisionis.

48.[a] Homo quidam multa distortione contractus Wintoniam de Normannia uenit quem, quia generis nobilitas adprime extulerat, regina uenerabilis Emma domo et uictu fouendum benigna liberalitate suscepit.[36] Die igitur transitus beati patris [b]superueniente, cum multa languidorum turba conflueret et sepulchro illius pro se quisque[c] rogaturus assisteret, inter alios et ille transmarinus[b] affuit. Orauit; oratum sine dilatione impetrauit; regina gaudii festiuitatem cum omni[d] familia sua leta celebrauit; illum suum compatriotam equis et uestibus ditauit et ornauit; ornatum[e] et ditatum[f] in curia sua honorifice longo tempore pro illius uoluntate retinuit. Contigit autem die quadam uolentem illum reuerti in patriam, ciuitatem exire, [g]uiam que ducit ad[h] mare[37] cum suis intrare;[g] sed dum ad ecclesiam beati Swithuni a quo forsitan non acceperat licentiam respicit, labitur non minori quam prius distortione contractus. [i]Refertur regina iubente[i] ad ecclesiam; sistitur sicut prius ante predicti patris medicinalem sepulturam. Fit magnus sexus utriusque concursus;[j] orat ipse pro se et omnes pro eo deprecantur;[j] fit illius et omnium in commune leticia, quando infirmitate supplosa,[38] sanitas ei redditur copiosa.

49.[a] [b]Francigena quidam nomine Fulchardus[c][39] in ciuitate habebat ancillam, quam ob culpam posuit in carcere compedibus uinculatam.[b,d] [e]Hec itaque[e] cum [f]nocte angustia et merore confecta[f]

[n] *om. A* [o–o] *om. C* [p] ipsis *C* [q–q] *om. C* [r–r] itaque est *L (perhaps rightly)* [s] *om. C* [t] *om. C* [u] uidetque *C* [v–v] *om. C* [w–w] *om. C*

[c. 47] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE CECO NATO LVCE DONATO *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c] illatum *A* [d–d] *om. C* [e] *om. T* [f] autem *L* [g] *om. C* [h–h] *om. C* [i–i] *destroyed in T* [j–j] *destroyed in T* [k–k] *om. A* [l–l] *destroyed in T* [m–m] prius habuerat *T* [n–n] accepisse claritatem *C*

[c. 48] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; QVA DE CAVSA NOBILIS ALIENIGENA CONTRACTVS BIS EST ERECTVS *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c] suisque *AT* [d] *om. L* [e] *om. C* [f] *om. C* [g–g] *om. C* [h] in *L* [i–i] regina iubente refertur *C* [j–j] *om. C*

[c. 49] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE CARCERE AD INTROITVM SANCTI RESERATO ET VINCTA SOLVTA *rubric in C* [b] ancilla quedam ob culpam in carcere compedibus uinculata *C* [c] Fulcardus *L* [d] uinculata *T* [e–e] *om. C* [f–f] *om. C*

[36] It is unfortunately not possible to identify the Norman aristocrat, but Queen Emma was the widow of both King Æthelred 'the Unready' (d. 1016) and subsequently of King Cnut (d. 1035). Following Cnut's death she clung to power for several years, but finally fell from grace in 1043; see S. Keynes, 'Queen Emma and the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell, rev. S. Keynes, Camden Classic Reprints, iv (Cambridge, 1998), xiii–lxxx, esp. pp. lxxiii–lxxv, and idem, *Liber vitae*, pp. 39–40. From that time until her death on 7 Mar. 1052, she resided in Winchester, and the miracle can thus

some medication to reduce the swelling, not only did it not decrease but rather—to speak more truthfully—it grew more and more from the medicine itself. Accordingly the wretch is taken to the statue about which we were speaking earlier; in prayer he petitions God and His servant, namely St Swithun. While attempting to raise the uninjured hand before the statue, he unwittingly raises the other: he does not see it swell with its earlier swelling, but rather it returns to its original thin and slender shape.

47. Nor should the fact be overlooked that a five-year-old boy who had been blind from birth was brought to Winchester; his parents loved the boy with very great affection, but because the misfortune of blindness afflicted him, they grieved for him with intense suffering. Acting therefore on advice, they bring him to the church; they place him before the tomb of the holy confessor; they pray for him; there is universal lamentation and holy supplication; they affect that kindly father with their prayers. Suddenly the obstacle of his blindness flows from his eyes; his blindness departs and, with the stain of blindness gone, the brilliance of sight is created in him, who had never previously experienced it.

48. A certain man crippled with a very great disfigurement came to Winchester from Normandy, a man whom the venerable queen Emma with kindly generosity took in to be cared for with lodging and food because of his exalted social rank.[36] When the day of St Swithun's translation arrived, and a great crowd of diseased persons flocked there and each diseased person was present at his tomb in order to pray for himself, that foreign man was present there among the others. He prayed; he obtained what he prayed for without delay; the queen joyously celebrated this happy event with all her family; she enriched and adorned this compatriot of hers with horses and garments; and at her own wish she retained him, thus splendidly enriched and adorned, at her court for a long time. It happened one day when he was wishing to return home that he had left the town and was setting out with his retinue on the road which leads to the sea;[37] but as he gazes on the church of St Swithun—from whom he had not perhaps obtained leave—he suddenly falls, afflicted with a disfigurement no less serious than before. He is brought to the church at the queen's command; he is placed as before at the restorative tomb of the aforementioned father; he prays for himself and everyone else prays for him; there is great joy for him and everyone else when health in abundance is restored to him, his illness having been expelled.[38]

49. A Frenchman by the name of Fulcard[39] had in the town a slave-girl, whom he placed, chained in fetters, in confinement, as a result of some crime. Accordingly when, consumed with

be dated to the decade 1043 × 1052. Her house in Winchester, which formed part of the 'Godbegot tenement' and is here referred to simply as *domo*, was located towards the west end of the north side of High Street at the junction with Fleshmonger or *Alwarnestret*, according to the Winton Domesday (WS i. 37–8 (no. 23), 46 (no. 75), 158–9, 340–2 (identification of the tenement), 553 (the name 'Godbegot'); see also above, fig. 2. The property had been granted to Emma by King Æthelred (S 925); on Emma's death, it was bequeathed to the cathedral priory. For the history of the property, see A. W. Goodman, *The Manor of Goodbegot in the City of Winchester* (Winchester, 1923), as well as discussion by D. Keene in WS ii. 486–92, with figs. 52, 54, and by Keynes, *Liber vitae*, p. 34.

[37] In the Middle Ages the road from Southampton followed the Roman road (known in the tenth century as *stræte*: S 418) and approached Winchester on the west side of the river Itchen and entered the city through the South Gate: see WS i. 263, and fig. 1 above.

[38] For the unusual expression *supplosa* (here deployed to rhyme with *copiosa*), cf. *Vita S. Birini*, c. 19: 'demonica seruitute supplosa' (ed. Love, *Three Lives*, p. 38).

[39] It is not possible to identify this Frenchman named Fulcard, but according to Winton Domesday, he owned a house in Winchester outside the West Gate; cf. WS i. 48 (no. 91): 'et ibi iuxta est .i. venella [*scil.* a minor lane in the area to the north of, or on the north side of, *Wodestret* = Romsey Road] in qua manebant Fulcardus et Elfegus tornator', and i. 49 (no. 101): 'Domus Fulcardi reddebat consuetudines T. R. E.' On the name Fulcard, see WS i. 157.

paululum dormire cepisset, adest ei in uisione beatissimus antistes; pie cum ea confabulans, querit cur non exiret. Refert ad introitum suum ostium carceris fuisse [g]reclusum, eam[h] ecclesiam[g] properanter adire debere, compedes frangendas ante sanctum[i] ipsius altare. Illa [j]consiliis credit auditis;[j] surgens festina, neminem qui repugnat[k] inuenit; ueniens ad ecclesiam secundum promissionem sibi factam a compedibus [l]meruit liberari.[l] [m]Mittitur a custode monasterii nomine Kenrico,[40] qui hoc illius nuntiaret domino. Properans ille, repperit ante altare[n] solutam quam putabat in carcere paulo ante ligatam.[m]

50.[a] [b]Ante ianuam Eadwardi uicecomitis[b][41] contractus quidam [c]ad elemosinam iacere consuetus,[c] imminente festiuitatis die [d]que de transitu beati Swithuni apud Anglos celebris habetur, uidit cum multo comitatu euntes ad solennitatem. Rogat cum multo affectu predictum uicecomitem quatinus pro Dei misericordia sibi aliquod quo posset deferri prepararet uehiculum, se credere contestans quia per merita[e] sancti Swithuni citissimum inueniret de sua tribulatione remedium. Motus precibus eius, facit illum[d] Wintoniam in gestatorio portari.[f g]Veniens accipit locum cum aliis circa[h] sepulturam infirmis. Rogat deuote et obnixe sanctum ad quem uenit. Fit ilico uniuersorum inmensa iocunditas dum, reuertente sanitate, illius propulsatur infirmitas.[g]

51.[a] [b]Seruiens cuiusdam Ricardi[42] inopino[c] et non oportuno euentu correptus amittens auditum,[b] multorum annorum [d]interuallo sustinens illud opprobrium, uenit et ipse cum multis multiplici infirmitate laborantibus[d] die solemnitatis[e] ad locum. Orat; offert munera; [f]uouet uota; surditate destructa cum magno gaudio sui et omnium[f] eadem[g] hora [h]quem amiserat[h] recepit auditum.

52.[a] Puer quidam pauperculus,[b] surditatis infortunio a natiuitate multatus,[c] loquendi carebat officio, [d]signo et gestu loquens, a quibus poterat sustentando sibi alimoniam petens.[e] Hic ab elemosinario in domo pauperum[43] [f]receptus, cotidie[f] ab omnibus[d] quod reuera[g] surdus existeret aperto indicio probabatur, cum post tergum illius lapidibus uel lignis cum impetu multo simul collisis, remota omni animaduersione permaneret immotus. Numquam aliquem sonum screandi,[h] numquam, dum percutiebatur a multis, eiulandi uel gemendi aliquis ab illo audiebat; [i]consuetudinem

[g–g] *destroyed in T* [h] eius *A* [i] *destroyed in T* [j–j] *om. C* [k] repugnaret *C* [l–l] liberari meruit *C* [m–m] *om. C* [n] *om. A*

[c. 50] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE CONTRACTO ERECTO *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c–c] *om. C* [d–d] *om. C* [e] miracula *A* [f] portatus *C* [g–g] ante ipsius sepulturam ilico adeptus est sanitatem *C* [h] *om. T*

[c. 51] [a] *this chapter is omitted in G*; DE SVRDO SANATO *rubric in C* [b–b] surdus quidam *C* [c] in oppido *A* [d–d] *om. C* [e] *after* solemnitatis *C adds* eius [f–f] *om. C* [g] eademque *C* [h–h] *om. C*

[c. 52] [a] DE PVERO PENITVS SVRDO ET MVTO PERFECTISSIMO AVDITV ET OMNIVM LINGVARVM PERITIA PREDITO *rubric in C* [b] *om. C* [c] mutatus *L*; *after* multatus *C adds* etiam [d–d] *om. C* [e] potens *T* [f–f] cotidie receptus *L (perhaps rightly)* [g] autem omnino *C* [h] citandi *L* [i–i] *om. C*

[40] *Kenricus* (OE Cynric), inasmuch as he was *custos*—presumably master (*magister*) of the oblates—at the Old Minster, could be expected to figure in the list of Old Minster monks included in the *Liber vitae* of the New Minster. In fact there are two persons of that name (which is not common in Old English): the first, a *Cynric sacerdos* (ed. Birch, p. 27; ed. Keynes, fo. 19v) is probably too early, to judge from the identifiable monks in whose company he is listed; but the second, a *Cynric leuita* (ed. Birch, p. 29; ed. Keynes, fo. 20r) is possibly identical with our *Kenricus custos monasterii*.

[41] The only sheriff (*uicecomes*) named Edward who is attested in the late eleventh century is Edward of Salisbury, who was sheriff of Wiltshire at some time between 1070 and 1097: see *Regesta* i, nos. 135 (dated 1081), 149 (dated 1082), 267 (1070 × 1087); *Regesta* ii, nos. 136a, 137 (dated 1081); see also J. A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London, 1990), p. 85. There is a later grant (1111 × 1118) by Walter Giffard, bishop of Winchester, to Walter, sheriff of Wiltshire, who is said to be the son of one

anguish and sadness, she began to doze a little, the holy bishop appeared before her in a dream-vision; speaking kindly to her, he asks her why she does not leave. He observes that, at his entry, the door of her prison was shut, but that she is to go quickly to the church, and that her fetters will be broken before his holy altar. She trusts in this advice once she has heard it; setting off quickly she finds no-one who bars her way; arriving at the church she was found worthy to be freed from the fetters, according to the promise which had been made to her. A message is sent by the *custos* of the monastery, named Cynric,[40] who undertook to announce it to her owner. Her owner, hastening there, found her before the altar, free—whom he thought a short while earlier was chained in prison.

50. A certain cripple was accustomed to lie, for the sake of begging alms, before the door of Edward the sheriff;[41] as the day approached on which the feast of the translation is celebrated throughout England, he sees the sheriff setting off for the feast together with a large retinue. He asks the aforementioned sheriff with great passion that he prepare some litter on which he could be transported, declaring himself to believe that through the merits of St Swithun he would receive some remedy for his affliction. Moved by his prayers, the sheriff has him transported to Winchester in a litter. Arriving there he takes up position with other sick persons around the tomb. Devoutly and intently he petitions the saint whom he came to visit. Immediately there is great happiness for all concerned when his illness is expelled, his health returning.

51. The servant of a certain Richard,[42] losing his hearing by an unexpected and unhappy turn of events and tolerating this handicap for a period of many years, came himself in the company of many others suffering from manifold infirmities to the shrine on the saint's feast day. He prays; he offers donations; he makes vows; his deafness is overcome to his own great joy and that of all others, and he regains the hearing which he had lost at that same time.

52. A certain poverty-stricken boy, afflicted since birth by the misfortune of being deaf and lacking any means of speaking, communicated by signs and gestures, from which he was able to sustain himself by seeking food through begging. He was received into the poor-house[43] by the almoner, and the fact that he was truly deaf was proved every day to everyone's satisfaction, since when stones or timber were crashed together in great collision behind his back, he remained motionless, not taking any notice at all. No-one ever heard any sound of hawking from him, nor, when he was beaten by people, any sound of wailing or moaning; in his silence he possessed the

Edward, presumably the same Edward of Salisbury who on this evidence will have passed on the office of sheriff to his son: see M. J. Franklin, *English Episcopal Acta, VIII. Winchester 1070–1204* (London, 1993), p. 10 (no. 18): 'Willelmus Gyffard' dei gratia episcopus Wyntonie Waltero filio Edwardi vicecomiti . . .'.

[42] The name *Ricardus* is a common one after the Norman Conquest, and there are various landholders of this name recorded in the Winton Domesday (I omit Richard de Courcy, a tenant-in-chief in Oxfordshire and justiciar in Normandy, as being too important to be qualified as merely *quidam Ricardus*): a blacksmith (WS i. 53; no. 127), a reeve (WS i. 51, 59, 61; nos. 113, 189, 204), and a tailor (WS i. 40; no. 36).

[43] This passage provides valuable evidence for the existence of an almonry (*domo pauperum*) at the Old Minster in the mid-to-late eleventh century. Whereas the *Regularis concordia* (c. 10) stipulated that every monastery should provide for the poor and sick, Lanfranc's *Constitutions* stipulate that the almoner is not to receive the poor within the monastic precincts but to travel out to visit them in their homes (*The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. D. Knowles and C. N. L. Brooke, 2nd edn. (OMT, 2001), pp. 132–3). Nevertheless, the Anglo-Saxon custom prevailed, as evidence from Abingdon and Evesham—in combination with the present passage—indicates: see D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 482–6, and B. F. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100–1540: the Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 9–33, esp. 19–20.

et[i] naturam[j] piscium [k](pro testimonio eorum qui eum nouerant)[k] tacendo referebat. Iste[l] itaque [m]iam in domo et curia[n] fratrum diu conuersatus et diuturna conuersatione probatus,[m] die festo[o] post annos plures[p] [q]redeunte,[44] ex precepto prioris[q] ducitur ad ecclesiam;[r] sistitur inter alios infirmos cum cereo[s] ad sepulturam. Nocturnali officio usque ad duodecimam lectionem pro consuetudine celebrato,[r] dum[t] a domno episcopo uenerabilis memorie Walchelino[45] hymnus[u] Dominice laudis[46] inciperetur[v] et a fratribus [w]pro more festiuo decentissima[x] cantatione[y] diceretur, meritis beatissimi patris Swithuni misericordia Dei facta est super illum: ponens pro signo digitum ad aures, satisfaciebat astantibus se recepisse quem prius non habebat auditum. Interim uenientibus et orantibus ad sepulchrum uiris et mulieribus secundum uerba eorum et iste ad loquendum et orandum informabatur,[z] tacentibus illis [a]tacens, loquentibus[a] idem quod audiebat referens loquebatur. Comperto igitur et probato quoniam uere loqueretur et audiret, prior et fratres adducunt illum ante sanctum altare, ubi mediante die domnus pontifex cum multo cleri apparatu quam deuotius[b] preualebat missarum satagebat solennia celebrare. Interrogatus a domno episcopo si audiret, si loqueretur, se et audire et loqui manifestissime confitetur, non modo fabulandi[c] pro consuetudine uariato, sed eadem uerba interrogantis interrogatiue[d] respondendo. Qui enim de recenti audiens nuperrime loqui didicerat[e] in responsione casus[f] uel personas uariare non poterat! Loquebatur[w] omnibus linguis ad omnem que sibi fiebat interrogationem, Latine uidelicet interrogationi per Latinam, per Anglicam Anglice et per Romanam Romane respondens. Loquebatur etiam omnem equaliter linguam, non distinctius, non apertius alteram quam alteram—[g]utpote qui prius non [h]coniugauerat[i] per usum familiariorem in alteram![g,h] Letatur[j] et exultat pro magnitudine sue dignitatis domnus[j] episcopus; [k]iocundatur et gaudet summa congratulatione[k] clerus et populus; [l]nomen Domini [m]in secula benedictum[m] [n]benedicitur ab omnibus;[n] beatissimi patris[o] uirtus et meritum [p]communi preconio multe laudationis[p] attollitur.[l]

53.[a] Ad illam (de qua supradictum est)[47] Scireburnensem imaginem contractus quidam [b]sedere consueuerat, mendicitatis sue miseriam releuare desiderans elemosina[c] quam petebat.[d] Hic die quadam loco quo iacebat[b] paulisper obdormiens, uidet cum splendidissimis uestibus assistere sacerdotem, sociis suis pauperibus elemosinam distribuere, caseum quem ab illo accipiebat de manu elapsum per pauimentum ecclesie uolui, se sequi currendo et [e]illum uoluendo[e] diffugere. Euigilans itaque a somno,

[j] naturamque *C* [k–k] *om. C* [l] hic *C* [m–m] *om. C* [n] cura *G* [o] *after* festo *C adds* ipsius [p] plurimos *G* [q–q] *om. C* [r–r] *om. C* [s] sereo *G* [t] dumque *C* [u] ymnis *G* [v] inceptus *C* [w–w] cantaretur auditum eloquiumque consecutus est ita ut loqueretur *C* [x] *after* decentissima *G adds* et altissima [y] cantione *L* [z] infirmabatur *L* [a–a] a ta *T (which is legible here)* [b] deuotis *T* [c] famulandi *A* [d] interrogatione *G* [e] didiscerat *L* [f] casum *L* [g–g] *om. C* [h–h] cognoscebat alteram per usum familiariorem *G* [i] coniurauerat *GLT* [j–j] *om. C* [k–k] *om. C* [l–l] beatissimi patris Swithuni uirtus et meritum communi preconio multe laudationis attollitur, nomen Domini in secula benedictum benedicitur ab omnibus, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. *G* [m–m] *om. C* [n–n] ab omnibus benedicitur *AC* [o] *after* patris *CT add* Swithuni [p–p] *om. C*

[c. 53] [a] *this chapter is omitted in AG*; DE CONTRACTO SANCTO VISITANTE DIRECTO *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c] elemosinam *L* [d] querebat *L* [e–e] uoluendo illum *L*

[44] The syntax here is unclear. If, as seems most likely, the author is using an unusual word-order (the rhetorical device of hyperbaton), it could mean that the boy 'stayed with the monks for several years and then, on the day of the saint's feast . . .'. If, however, the syntax is read literally, it states that the saint's feast 'returned after several years' (*post annos plures redeunte*). Does this imply that the commemoration of St Swithun had been temporarily suspended, perhaps in the aftermath of the Conquest, when the authenticity and efficacity of certain Anglo-Saxon saints was questioned by certain Norman prelates such as Lanfranc? See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 118–19; S. J. Ridyard, '*Condigna veneratio:* post-Conquest attitudes to the saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, ix (1987), 179–206, and D. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 223–8. It is nevertheless extremely unlikely that the cult of a prestigious saint such as Swithun should ever have been suspended.

[45] Walkelin was bishop of Winchester from 30 May 1070 to

habits and nature of a fish, according to the witness of those who knew him. This boy, then, who lived for a long time in the house and courtyard of the monks and through his daily presence was accepted by them, is taken to the church on the prior's orders when, after several years, the holy feast day returned;[44] he is stationed among other diseased persons with a candle at the tomb. When the Night Office had been celebrated as usual as far as the twelfth lesson, and when the 'Te Deum'[46] was being begun by the Lord Bishop Walkelin[45] of venerable memory and was being sung by the monks in exquisite chant after the manner normal on special feasts, through the merits of the blessed St Swithun God's mercy operated on the boy: putting his finger to his ears by way of a sign he indicated to those standing near him that he had received the hearing which he previously lacked. Meanwhile, this boy was learning how to speak and pray from the men and women coming and praying at the tomb—he keeping silent when they were silent, and he likewise repeating what he heard them saying. Having discovered and established that he could truly speak and hear, therefore, the prior and monks lead him before the holy altar where, now that it was daytime, the lord bishop was getting ready to celebrate mass as devoutly as he could, together with the entire assembly of clergy. Asked by the lord bishop if he could hear and speak, he confesses himself clearly able to hear and speak, not in the varied manner of customary speech, but by repeating the same questioning words of the bishop back to him as a question—he who, hearing virtually for the first time and having learned only then to speak, was unable to vary the grammatical cases and persons so as to form a reply! He replied in all languages to every question which was put to him: to a question in Latin he replied in Latin, to one in English in English, and to one in French in French. He spoke every language in the same way, not pronouncing one more distinctly or clearly than the other—as you would expect from someone who before then had not combined words in any of them in normal speech! The lord bishop rejoices and exults for the magnitude of this honour; the clergy and people are delighted and rejoice with great approbation; the name of the Lord, blessed forever, is blessed by everyone; the miraculous power and merit of the holy father is raised on high through the universal celebration of great praise.

53. A certain cripple was accustomed to sit at that statue in Sherborne (which was mentioned earlier),[47] trying to relieve the misery of his poverty through the alms which he was begging. Falling asleep one day in the place where he was lying, he sees a bishop standing before him in brilliant vestments, distributing alms to his poor companions, and a piece of cheese which he received from the bishop fall from his hand and roll on the pavement of the church, and himself run after it, and, as it is rolling along, disappear. Awakening from his sleep, and made healthy by

3 Jan. 1098; the fact that he is here described as *uenerabilis memorie* provides a terminus post quem for the composition of the *Miracula*. On Walkelin in general, see F. Barlow, *The English Church 1066–1154* (London, 1979), p. 62; idem, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), pp. 204–9; and Franklin, *English Episcopal Acta VIII. Winchester 1070–1204*, pp. xxx–xxxii. From various sources it is known that Walkelin was in origin a canon of Rouen (see D. S. Spear, 'Les chanoines de la cathédrale de Rouen pendant la période ducale', *Annales de Normandie*, xli (1991), 135–74, at p. 137); he subsequently became a royal chaplain, and after 1092 was a principal adviser to William Rufus. His principal achievements are the establishment of St Giles' Fair, which contributed largely to the economic growth of Winchester in the twelfth century, and, most importantly, to the construction of the new cathedral at Winchester which was consecrated on 8 Apr. 1093: see C. Brooke, 'Bishop Walkelin and his inheritance', in *Winchester Cathedral*, ed. Crook, pp. 1–12; B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Old Minster, St Swithun's day 1093', ibid. pp. 13–20, and J. Crook, 'Bishop Walkelin's cathedral', ibid. pp. 21–36.

[46] The *hymnus dominice laudis* is the *Te Deum*, which was sung at the conclusion of Nocturns (Matins) in monastic services with twelve lections (as here: *usque ad duodecimam lectionem*): see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 93, 95; the text of the *Te Deum* is conveniently printed ibid. pp. 270–1.

[47] Above, cc. 44–6.

beatissimi patris meritis iam sanus effectus, simili modo cepit per ecclesiam currere et caseum quem dormiendo acceperat ab omnibus iterata uoce repetere.[f] Vniuersis qui aderant super hoc facto mirantibus et ipse rediens in se mirabatur et stupebat; et qui de amissione casei quem nunquam habuit ante dolebat, gratias reddens Deo de recepta sanitate postmodum gaudebat.

54.[a] Cum beatissimus pater Swithunus suorum prerogatiuam meritorum multis et miris miraculorum indiciis longe lateque propalare uideatur, precipue tamen in incolis Vecte insule [b]quanta apud supernum glorificatorem suum uirtutum gratia prepol[lebat],[b,c] [d]sepius atque[d] mirabilius ostendere comprobatur. In his partibus quidam [e]presbi[terii][f] gradu preditus morabatur, uir pro [modulo][g] sue mediocritatis prudenter se agens omnibusque insulanis optime notus. Hic, uni domesticorum totius domus cunctarumque rerum suarum cura delegata, omnium ad se pertinentium procuratorem effecerat atque custodem. Quo ille ministerio cum iam bis duobus circiter annis functus fuisset et ea ipsa occasione pluribus notior factus,[e] misero atque miserando infirmitatis genere ex insperato correptus est—siquidem a superiori sui corporis medietate lacrimabili contractione ad inferiora in modum globi unius[h] incuruatus, uentre femoribus pectore poplitibus ita inherere uidebatur ut caput quod more bestiali terram uersus pendulum gerebat, non solum erigere sed nec in quamlibet partem saltem ad aliquid conspiciendum ullatenus reflectere preualeret. Accessit ad augmentum miserie eius [i]atque laboris[i] etiam diuturnitas temporis, qua eum contigit [j]continuato iugi[ter][k] quadriennio tanto[j] tanti languoris incommodo detineri, nimirum diuina per hoc prouidentia id procurante, ut quanto manifestior [l]atque probatior[l] innotuisset hominibus [m]que eum premebat[m] abundans miseria, tanto [n]certior atque[n] mirabilior appareret [o]que eum liberaret[o] Dei superabundans misericordia. [p]Igitur supramemoratus presbiter, pio animi affectu dolenti condolens, patienti compatiens, exceptum in sua toto illo temporis spatio secum habuit et pia sollicitudine prompta liberalitate curam illius egit.[p] Interea [q]hoc eodem dierum numero paulatim decedente,[q] cum iam appropinquaret tempus miserendi eius,[48] [r]presbiter parrochianus, superioris illius prouicarius,[49] acsi diuinitus sibi inspiratum,[s] suggessit ei certissimum salutis recu[perande remedium, uidelicet ut ad][t] solleni[tatem beatissimi patris Swithuni Wintoniam adiret],[u] sub nomine [a]gende[v] penitentie simulque exhibende Deo obedientie. Iniunxit ei laborem peregrinationis huiusmodi, quatinus pro sui restitutione talis tantique suffragatoris auxilium non detrectaret expetere, se nequaquam ambigere nec illum dubitare deberet quasi diuine subuentionis opere, illo mediatore, sibi affuturum; debite deuotionis imploraret affectu, cleri prorsus consequeretur effectu. Quid ad hec ille? Profitetur promptissimam uoluntatem obsequendi, si non impediretur tanta tamque euidenti impossibilitate id efficiendi—quia uidelicet pauper, quia languidus, quia uie simulque loci penitus esset ignarus, precipue autem quia et mare transeundum interiaceret et sibi nulla uis, nullum esset consilium transfretandi. Spondet tamen quia si alicuius

[f] requirere *L*

[c. 54] [a] *this chapter is omitted in AGL*; DE QVODAM PESSIME CONTRACTO PLENISSIME ERECTO *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c] *destroyed in T; only the letters* prepol *are legible* [d–d] *destroyed in T* [e–e] *om. C* [f] *destroyed in T; only the letters* presbi *are legible* [g] *destroyed in T; the word in brackets is supplied by conjecture* [h] *om. C* [i–i] *om. C* [j–j] *om. C* [k] *destroyed in T; only the letters* iugi *are legible* [l–l] *om. C* [m–m] *om. C* [n–n] *om. C* [o–o] *om. C* [p–p] *om. C* [q–q] *om. C* [r–r] *om. C* [s] insperatum *T* [t] *one line of text here destroyed in T; words within brackets are supplied by conjecture* [u] *one line of text here destroyed in T; words within brackets are supplied by conjecture* [v] a- *illegible in T*

[48] For the phrase *tempus miserendi*, cf. the *Vita Eadwardi* i. 1 (ed. F. Barlow, *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*, 2nd edn. (OMT, 1992), p. 12): 'imminebat iam diu exoptatum tempus miserendi'.

the merits of the holy father, he started to rush about the church in the same way and to demand from everyone with repeated insistence the cheese which he had received when sleeping. Everyone present was marvelling over this event and he, too, returning to his senses, marvelled in astonishment; and he who had in the first instance mourned the loss of a piece of cheese which he had never had, subsequently rejoiced in his recovered health, giving thanks to God.

54. Although the most blessed St Swithun is seen to manifest the excellence of his merits through the many and marvellous signs of his miracles far and wide, yet it is particularly among the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight that he is proved to reveal, frequently and wondrously, by what great privilege of powers he is honoured by his heavenly sponsor. There was dwelling in these regions a certain man endowed with the rank of priest, a man conducting himself wisely within the limits of his humble station and very well known to all the island-dwellers. This priest, having entrusted the care of all his household and property to one of his domestic servants, made him the steward and guardian of all his possessions. When that servant had performed this office for some four years and on that account was well known to many people, he was unexpectedly afflicted with a wretched and pitiable form of illness—namely that with the upper half of his body he is bent over onto the lower half through a lamentable contraction, in the manner of a ball; he seemed with his stomach to stick to his thighs and with his chest to his knees, so that he carried his head hanging down towards the ground in the manner of an animal, and was unable, not only to hold it up, but even to turn it in any direction for the sake of looking at something. The passage of time further increased his misery and affliction, in that it fell to him to be kept in the unfortunate state of such intense pain for an unrelenting period of four years, with divine providence bringing this about, so that the more evidently and unmistakeably the great misery which afflicted him was published abroad, so much the more certain and miraculous would appear the abundant mercy of God which would eventually release him. Therefore the aforementioned priest, grieving with kindly spiritual affection over the stricken man, pitying his suffering, kept him in his house for all that period of time, and arranged for his care with kindly concern and ready generosity. Meanwhile, as he was gradually wasting away over this period of time and the time of his merciful release was at hand,[48] a parish priest, the prouicar[49] of his master, suggested to him the surest means of recovering his health—which had been as it were divinely inspired in him—namely that on the feast of the blessed father St Swithun he should go to Winchester for the sake of doing penance and at the same time of manifesting his obedience to God. He enjoined on the man the undertaking of a pilgrimage of this sort, so that for his recovery he should not refuse to seek the assistance of such a great patron as St Swithun, that he should not hesitate or doubt that he [Swithun] would help him, as it were by the operation of divine assistance mediated through him; that if he were to beseech with the love of due devotion, he would straightway achieve success by the operation of religion. What does he say to all this? He professes a most ready willingness to obey, if he were not prevented by the great and obvious impossibility of doing so—since he was poor, ill, entirely ignorant both of the way and the place, and above all because the intervening sea had to be crossed and he had neither means nor plans for crossing it. He promises, nevertheless,

[49] The word *prouicarius* is apparently rarely attested before *c.*1100; it need not describe a specific ecclesiastical officer here (cf. *OED* s.v. 'pro-vicar'), and may simply describe the unofficial role of a parish priest (here: *presbiter parrochianus*), acting as it were as adviser in lieu of the man's regular benefactor.

consilio uel auxilio disponeretur, reliquum uie suo licet perdifficili labore omnimodis percurrendum. Tum presbiter, hac illius uotiua sponsione accepta, haud multos post dies naui impositum [atque][w] nauigantibus coniunctum et commendatum, ad ulteriorem maris ripam transduci, transductum in litore de naue fecit exponi. Hinc egrotus indicte sibi peregrinationis laborem aggressus,[r] uix diurnum peditis unius[x] iter quattuordecim numero[y] diebus confecit,[z] sicque[a] cum multo corporis[b] labore [c]pariterque animi merore[c] Wintoniam ciuitatem[d] [e]ingressus est.[e] Iamque aduenerat uigilia uespertina future in crastinum solennitatis, et ipse [f]nequaquam sui oblitus[f] ad ecclesiam ueniens [g]inter alios complures qui similis negotii gratia conuenerant,[g] ante [h]salutiferum sepulchrum[h] sese prosternit. Vbi dum [i]continuis et deuotis precibus Deum et[i] Dei confessorem pro restauratione sua interpellaret, ecce circa medium noctis quasi in excessu mentis positum circumdedit eum stupor quidam horrorque mirabilis, adeo ut [j](sicut ipse postmodum referebat)[j] ubi esset, quid ageret uel qualiter se haberet penitus ignoraret. Cepit interea uariis motibus agitare et misera uertigine per pauimentum ecclesie uolutari. Dehinc cum iam pre nimia fatigatione lassabundus uix ad punctum temporis requieuisse uideretur, ecce quasi a duobus quibusdam cepit hinc atque illinc trahi et, ueluti uiolenta eorum distractione, extendi in tantum ut resolutorum fragorem neruorum [k]siue membrorum[k] patulo auditu plerique circumstancium se perhiberent audisse, cum ille interim ualido clamore conqueri, gemere, uociferari et pre angustia spiritus ut putabatur pene deficere. Tandem ita defatigato atque ex[l] ipsa extensione directo, rursus successit nec ipsa in longum duratura quies. Subito namque ex ore illius et naribus sanguis ubertim cepit effluere, qui tam ipsum quam etiam pauimentum ecclesie larga infusione madefecit. Ita demum [m]interuenientibus meritis sanctissimi Deoque digni sacerdotis tantorum finem malorum siccato illo sanguinis fluxu consecutus,[m] intra dies paucissimos plenissimam totius corporis sanitatem Deo miserante adeptus est. [n]Quod uidelicet diuine operationis insigne miraculum eo quo digestum est ordine fuisse completum, testes sunt cum tota domo sua supramemorati duo presbiteri; testes quique eorum uicini, amici et noti; testes numerose plebis homines innumeri, qui et prius egrotum uidendo, audiendo, tangendo precognouerunt et postmodum pro eo sanato debitas in commune retulerunt diuine magnificentie laudes.[n]

55.[a] Inter confluentes e diuersis partibus hominum[b] turbas ad annuam[c] beatissimi Swithuni sollempnitatem, pauper[d] quidam puerulus[e] [f]etate ut uidebatur decennis nuper aduenit. Iste[f] de hac[g] eadem Vecta insula oriundus, [h]dum aliquando cum quodam coetaneo sibi puero lusui indulgeret, repente ludendi uanitatem in latrocinandi conuertens iniquitatem, eidem suo compari (illo fortasse aliorsum intento), quoddam uestium eius occulta fraude surripuit, surreptum celeri fuga sibi tollere maturauit. Ille ad sese rediens dampnumque sibi illatum iam pene sero animaduertens, auctorem dampni—eo argumento, quia secum uidelicet solus cum solo fuisset, quia sic clam aufugeret, quia fugiens iterato post se respectaret—deprehendit. Itaque celeri cursu iam abeuntem iam fugientem iamque pene elapsum insequitur, et licet etate iunior ocius aduolans, prereptorem suum comprehendit, comprehensum detinet, detentum seruat. Dumque inter eos huiusmodi questio

[w] *destroyed in T; the word within brackets is supplied by conjecture* [x] *om. C* [y] *om. C* [z] conficiens *C* [a] *om. C* [b] *om. C* [c–c] *om. C* [d] *om. C* [e–e] uenit *C* [f–f] *om. C* [g–g] *om. C* [h–h] sepulchrum salutiferum *C* [i–i] *om. C* [j–j] *om. C* [l] *om. T (perhaps rightly)* [m–m] *om. C* [n–n] *om. C*

[c. 55] [a] *this chapter is omitted in AGL*; DE OCVLO ERVTO MIRIFICE PERSOLVTO *rubric in C* [b] *om. C* [c] *om. C* [d] *om. C* [e] puer *C* [f–f] *om. C* [g] *om. C* [h–h] ob furtum patratum oculi unius priuatione multatus ad beatissimi patris Swithuni festiuitatem uenit *C*

that if he were granted someone else's advice or assistance, the remainder of the journey, even though by superhuman effort, would be accomplished to the bitter end. Having accepted his promised undertaking, the priest not many days later had him placed in a ship, joined with and entrusted to some other seafarers, and had him ferried to the opposite shore of the sea and, once across, deposited on the land. From here the sick man, setting out on the labour of his self-imposed pilgrimage, made the journey—scarcely a day's journey for a normal walker—in the space of a fortnight, and thus with great physical exertion and equal mental suffering he entered the town of Winchester. Now he had arrived in time for the evening vigil before the following day's feast [i.e. St Swithun's translation on 15 July], and, being in no way forgetful of himself and arriving at the church along with many others who had come on a similar errand, he prostrates himself before the health-giving tomb. And when he had petitioned God and God's confessor for his recovery with relentless and devout prayers, behold at about midnight a certain stupefaction and mighty dread overcame him, plunged as it were into mental confusion, to such an extent that (as he subsequently reported) he simply did not know where he was, what he was doing, or how he was feeling. He began meanwhile to shake with different movements and to roll about on the pavement of the church with pitiable gyrations. Then, when, exhausted by excessive fatigue he seemed to have rested for a moment, suddenly he began to be pulled this way and that as if by two different people and, as if by their violent tugging, to be stretched to such a degree that many of those standing there claimed to have heard with plain audibility the cracking of his sinews or limbs as they were pulled apart; he in the meanwhile started with a mighty outcry to wail, moan, shout and virtually to expire, so it was thought, from his mental anguish. At length, exhausted and straightened out by the very stretching, repose once more came upon him—but it was not to last very long either. For suddenly from his mouth and nostrils blood began to flow in abundance, which soaked not only him but even the pavement of the church through its copious discharge. Thus, reaching at least—through the interceding merits of the holy bishop worthy of God—the end of his great troubles once the flow of blood had dried up, within a few days he obtained through God's mercy the complete health of his whole body. That this outstanding miracle of divine operation took place in the manner here recorded, the two aforementioned priests together with their entire household are witnesses; witnesses, too, are their neighbours, friends and acquaintances; witnesses, too, are the countless multitudes of numerous people who previously knew the sick man by sight, hearing and touch; and afterwards all together rendered due praise to the divine magnanimity for his healing.

55. Among the crowds of people flocking from various regions to the annual feast of the blessed Swithun, there recently arrived a certain poverty-stricken young lad ten years old (as it seemed). He was born in that same Isle of Wight; once, while he was playing a game with a boy of his own age, suddenly changing the frivolity of play into the wickedness of theft, he snatched one of his playmate's garments by hidden stealth (while his attention, perhaps, was elsewhere); and having snatched it up, he hastened to abscond with it in swift flight. The other boy, coming to his senses and realizing nearly too late the injury done to him, detected the author of his loss—on the grounds that he had been quite alone with him, that he had stolen away secretly in this way, that in flight he repeatedly looked back. So he follows him with swift pursuit as he recedes—as he makes his run for it—and has now nearly escaped; and running more swiftly even though he was younger, he catches his thief, lays hold of him once caught, and hangs on to him once he is held. While this dispute is

agitur—qua ille repetit suum, iste abnegat alienum—superueniunt quidam habitatorum loci ipsius; qui dum et ipsi inquisitores rei que acciderat fiunt et cognitores, per eos quoque usque ad presentiam iudiciarie potestatis uterque perducitur. Vbi facta examinatione miser ille tam rei ueritate quam irrefragabili ratione quantum uidebatur conuictus, maxime uero quia et iam antea similis ei calumpnie notam fama intulerat, amissioni oculi unius adiudicatus est. Factumque est, et iudicialis illa decreti sententia per officiales ministros opere consummatur.[i] Hinc gemino pudoris genere—et infamia uidelicet admissi criminis et deformitate pene—tam notabilis actus, patriam mutare compulsus exilio patrios fines nauigio excedit, habitaturus interim ubicumque sibi commodum reperire potuisset. Igitur elapso aliquanti temporis spatio, cum ad annuam beatissimi patris Swithuni festiuitatem (sicut predictum est) plerique conuocarent, contigit et hunc inter alios ciuitatem Wintoniam adire, ecclesiam intrare.[h j] Nulli quidem spe[j]—non dico [k]impetrande, sed nec expetende—sospitatis[k] aduenerat, quin potius [l]occasione tantum[l] itineris et quelibet sibi insueta uidenti optentu[m] (ut se habet humana curiositas) aliis itinerantibus conuiator effectus. Sed Deus omnipotens qui sicut aliquando per nescientes ita plerumque in nescientibus gratie sue beneficia misericorditer prerogare dignatur, quantum rei exitus docuit, ad hoc eum illo perduxerat ut ad declaranda merita beati antistitis, gloria Dei et eiusdem sancti sui mirabiliter manifestaretur in illo. Denique ipsa nocte solennitatis instantis pernoctans in ecclesia, cum iam facto mane egredi deliberaret, diuina inspiratione admonitus ad imaginem beati pontificis que sepulture eius prefixa uidetur[50] humiliter accessit, orauit, pedes deuoto affectu osculatus est, et eadem hora eodemque momento insperato Dei munere oculum[n] se recepisse gauisus est. [o]Inde conuersus ad [circumastan]tes[p] misericordiam sibi a Deo inpensam gratulabundus exponit et predicat. Ita res uiritim innotuit donec tandem ad aures prioris et reliquorum fratrum ibidem Deo famulantium noticiam peruenit. Quid plura? Dies ille solempnis solempnibus ut assolet percelebratur officiis. Sequenti uero die prior et maiores quique ecclesie conueniunt in unum, de re que acciderat diligentius tractaturi. Mittitur interea pro puero; adduc[tus][q] astat in presenti.[o] Cerneres (mirabile dictu!) in sede oculi prioris adhuc miserabiliter hianti et lacero pupillulam nouam instar[r] oculi passeris siue columbe exortam, et inaudita Dei gratia miraculo insolito eodem sicut et altero puerum clare omnia contueri. Quod cum plerisque astancium minus credibile uideretur, in argumentum experiende fidei alterum ei oculum manibus oppositis penitus occludentes, quid illo nouo et recenti ocello [s]uideret interrogant.[s] At ille omnia coram posita [t]digito singillatim[t] demonstrare, ore nominatim designare adiecit diuine magnificentie gratia. Et aliud quiddam non pretereundum ad dignitatem miraculi quod utique non minus mirari debeas ac uenerari: siquidem ex[u] qua primum die hoc prodigioso oculo puer donatus est, magis ac magis augmentari non desiit donec infra dies [v]numero circiter[v] quindecim et quantitate conformis et qualitate redderetur alteri pene consimilis, adeo ut

[i] *my correction*; comsummantur *T* [j–j] *destroyed in T* [k–k] *destroyed in T; only the letters* impet[. . .]pitatis *are legible* [l–l] *destroyed in T; only the letters* [. . .]tum *are legible* [m] optente *T* [n] osculum *C* [o–o] *om. C* [p] *destroyed in T; only the letters* [. . .]tes *are legible* [q] *destroyed in T; only the letters* adduc[. . .] *are legible* [r] instat *T* [s–s] *destroyed in T* [t–t] *destroyed in T; only the letters* dig[. . .]llatim *are legible* [u] *om. T* [v–v] *om. C*

[50] It is an interesting architectural detail that an image or icon (*imago*) of St Swithun was attached to the front of his tomb. Note also that what is being described here is the site of St Swithun's original tomb (*sepultura*), which in Walkelin's new cathedral was marked by a chapel enclosing a monument of some sort, rather than the shrine itself, which was placed in the retrochoir behind the high altar and was accessible only to the monks of the cathedral priory: see discussion by J. Crook, 'St Swithun of Winchester', in *Winchester Cathedral*, ed. Crook, pp. 57–68, at 59. As Crook rightly notes, the site of the tomb was more easily accessible for pilgrims, and was therefore the principal focus of the popular cult after the construction of Walkelin's cathedral. A fragment of the monument at the tomb-site has been identified by J. Crook, 'The typology of early medieval shrines—a previously misidentified "tomb-shrine" panel from Winchester Cathedral', *AntJ* lxx (1990), 49–64.

taking place between them—whereby the one reclaims what is his, the other denies that it belongs to anyone but himself—certain inhabitants of that place arrived on the scene; and as they start to investigate what had happened, they become familiar with the situation; and both boys are led by them into the presence of the judiciary authority. When the investigation was complete, that wretched lad was found guilty—both by the truth of the case and by what seemed to be irrefutable evidence; and above all, because report had previously brought against him the stigma of a similar charge, judgement was passed that he was to be blinded in one eye. It was carried out, and that judicial sentence of law is executed in deed by official agents. Hence, through the double disgrace of so notorious a sentence—both the infamy, that is, of the acknowledged crime and the appalling nature of the punishment—he was compelled to change country by going into exile, and left his native shores by ship, ready to live for the time being wherever he could discover somewhere suitable. Accordingly, when a period of some time has passed, and many people were assembling for the annual feast of the blessed father Swithun (as was mentioned above), it happened that the lad too went to the town of Winchester among others, and entered the church. He came there, to be sure, with no hope of—I do not say achieving, but not even seeking—his healing; rather, he had become a travelling companion of other pilgrims, for the sake of the journey alone and with the aim of seeing things unfamiliar to him (as is the way with human curiosity). But Almighty God Who, just as sometimes through the ignorant, so more often in the ignorant, deigns mercifully to reveal the bounties of His grace, as the outcome of the affair showed, had led him there so that the glory of God and of His same saint would miraculously be made manifest in the lad. And so, as he was passing that same night before the approaching feast in the church, and was planning to leave once day came, prompted by divine inspiration he went humbly to the icon of the holy bishop which is to be seen stationed before [the site of] his tomb;[50] he prayed; he kissed its feet in holy devotion, and at that very hour and that very same moment he rejoiced in the recovery of his eye through the unexpected gift of God. Then, turning to the bystanders, he joyfully reveals and proclaims the mercy that God has bestowed upon him. Thus the event was vigorously publicised until at length it reached the ears of the prior and came to the notice of the other monks serving God in that place. Why say more? That holy day was passed, as is the custom, in the celebration of solemn ritual. But on the following day, the prior and the elders of the church assemble in order thoroughly to investigate what had happened. Meanwhile the boy is sent for; he is brought and stands in their presence. You could see (marvellous to say!) in the socket of the previous eye—which hitherto was wretchedly gaping and torn—that a tiny new pupil had grown in the likeness of the eye of a sparrow or dove, and through the unexampled grace of God in this extraordinary miracle the boy saw everything clearly with the one eye just as with the other. Since this seemed incredible to many of those standing there, as a test to establish his good faith they blocked out his other eye entirely by putting their hands in front of it, and asked him what he saw with that new and fresh-grown eye. But he, through the grace of the divine majesty, pointed with his finger at everything that was placed before him one by one, and even identified it by name out loud. And there is another feature pertaining to the excellence of this miracle which ought to be mentioned, and which you ought surely to admire and venerate no less, namely that from the day on which the boy was first endowed with this miraculous eye, it never stopped growing more and more, until within the space of about fifteen days it was rendered similar in size and almost identical in condition to the other, so that the

nichil utilitatis, nichil decoris in illo minus haberet is oculus quem nunc reformauit gratia eo quem formarat ante natura. [w]Igitur a priore et fratribus euentum rei ex ordine iussus exponere, quibusdam uerborum diuerticulis gradiens, nonnulla (sicut postea patuit) causa dissimulandi criminis falso confinxit; de euulso autem sibi oculo rei ueritatem sicut acciderat persecutus est. Iterum interrogatus nomina aliquorum qui huius sue assertionis conscii suo testimonio uerbis illius certiorem fidem facere possent, nominat ille unum quendam suum iure terreno dominum, uirum profecto notissime probitatis; nominat et alios tres eiusdem in se pene ministros atque executores. Missum est e uestigio pro eisdem sicut propriis fuerant nominibus designati et, ut libentius atque celerius eis uenire libeat, pariter mandatur et causa. Quid plura? Veniunt simul Wintoniam et iureiurando coram inmensa populi multitudine perspicue ueritati testimonium reddunt, ueraci prorsus relatu eodemque quo supra digessimus ordine referentes et quam puer commiserat culpam et quam uel huius testimonio uel illorum ingrato officio passus fuerat penam. Ita totius rei ueritate diligentissime inuestigata, certissime cognita, Deum in sanctis suis semper et ubique mirabilem omnimodo laudum genere collaudare, beatissimi patris uirtutem et merita mirari ac predicare uenerari ac magnificare, uniuersi qui conuenerant summa atque communi deuotione ceperunt.[w]

56.[a] [b]In uico quodam non longe ab urbe Wintonia sito[b] adolescens [c]aliquis degebat qui[c] iampridem tam genuum quam pedum officio destitutus, [d]haut paruo temporis interuallo omnimodis claudus perseuerauit. Et quoniam nec re familiari que sibi nulla erat nec erat aliqua quam exercere uel nesciebat uel nequibat, ad sustentationem sui ipse nequaquam adesse ualebat, aliorum ope atque elemosinis sicut interim poterat inopiam suam utcumque sustentando uictitabat. Quem ita duplicis infortunii genere—et paupertatis uidelicet inopia et debilitatis angustia—laborantem, uir quidam probus nomine Durandus[51] dudum uicecomitis officio functus, pia mentis compassione miseratus, sub nomine elemosine fouendum in sua suscepit, et (sicut idem ipse postmodum attestatus est) susceptum continuato iugi triennio quibusque necessariis uictualibus releuare curauit. Interea, sicut se habet uolubilis temporum cursus, annua beati Swithuni solennitas suo dierum ordine inminebat, et hic ipse de quo agitur claudus amicorum consilio et auxilio ad eius patrocinium expetendum Wintoniam aduectus, ecclesie intromissus et[d] ante medicinalem illius sepulturam [e]sua suorumque fide ac deuotione[e] [f]est expositus.[f] Quo in loco, [g]dum attentius expetit et expectat sibi affore diuine subuentionis auxilium[g] interuenientibus meritis gloriosi confessoris, [h]egit etiam tunc in illo quod et in aliis innumeris iam sepius egerat superna clementia. Is etenim qui antea nullo modo poterat non dico pedibus incedere sed nec pedem mouere quippe[h] qui poplite curuato genua retrorsum inconuertibiliter reflexa quasi onus quoddam informe post se trahere uidebatur, repente soluto

[w–w] *om. C*

[c. 56] [a] *this chapter is omitted in AGL*; DE CONTRACTO ERECTO *rubric in C* [b–b] *om. C* [c–c] *om. C* [d–d] ad beati Swithuni solennitatem aduectus *C* [e–e] *om. C* [f–f] expositus est *C* [g–g] *om. C* [h–h] *om. C*

[51] Durandus was the sheriff (*uicecomes*) of Hampshire in the late eleventh century. He is first attested in this position in Domesday Book (1086) as owner of lands worth between £50 and £100: see J. [A.] Green, 'The sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, v (1983), 129–45, at pp. 140–1, and idem, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, p. 44. He is subsequently attested in various documents of William Rufus: in a notification dated Sept. 1096 by the king to Walkelin, bishop of Winchester and Durandus the sheriff concerning a fair to be held at St Giles (*Regesta* i. 96 (no. 377); also listed Goodman, *Chartulary*, p. 8 (no. 16)), and in two further notifications, one dated Sept. 1096, the other 1096 × 1100, addressed to Durand concerning lands owned by the bishopric of Winchester (*Regesta* ii. 403, 407–8 (nos. 377, 483a respectively)). Since Durand is described as still living in the present chapter (which must have been composed after the death of Bishop Walkelin on 3 Jan. 1098), and since his successor as sheriff of Hampshire (Henry de Port) is not recorded before 1101 (see *Regesta* ii. 426), the implication is that Durand died in 1100 or 1101. The Winton Domesday (1110) contains a record of a property on the north side of High Street owned by one Robert, son of Durand (WS i. 45 (no. 71)), which possibly had belonged to the father.

new eye which grace now recreated should have nothing less in the way of usefulness and comeliness than that which nature had created previously. Accordingly, being ordered by the prior and the monks to relate the whole story in order, he, proceeding by certain verbal circumlocutions, falsely represented certain details for the sake of concealing his crime (as afterwards became clear); concerning the eye which had been torn out, however, he recounted the truth of the incident exactly as it had happened. Being asked again for the names of some people who, being familiar with what he was alleging, could furnish a fuller corroboration of his account by their testimony, he names a certain man who was his lord by earthly jurisdiction, a man of truly well-known probity; he also names another three men who were the agents and executors of the penalty inflicted on him. These men were immediately sent for, exactly as they had been specified by their proper names and, in order that it might please them to come more willingly and speedily, the cause was also communicated to them. Why say more? Together they come to Winchester and, in the presence of great multitudes of people, give testimony under oath as to the unvarnished truth, explaining by means of a thoroughly reliable account and in the very same order as that which we set out above, both the crime which the boy had committed and the punishment he had endured, either through his own testimony on the one hand and through their own thankless task on the other. Thus, when the truth of the whole affair had been most carefully examined and established with full certainty, all those who had assembled there began with great and general devotion to extol God, always and everywhere marvellous through His saints, with every sort of praise, and to admire, proclaim, venerate and magnify the miraculous power and merits of the blessed father.

56. On a certain estate located not far from the town of Winchester there lived a certain youth who, having long ago lost the use both of his knees and feet, had lived completely lame for no small period of time. And since he was quite unable to sustain himself either by means of any private property, of which there was none in his case, or by means of any craft, which he was either ignorant of or unable to perform, he supported his poverty in the meanwhile as best he could by any sustenance whatsoever, by what sustenance he derived from the generosity of others and from alms. A certain good man named Durand[51] who for a long time had performed the office of sheriff, took pity on this man, afflicted by two kinds of disability—that is, by the penury of his poverty and by the torment of his illness—and took him into his household, in the name of charity, in order to look after him; and (as he himself subsequently confirmed) he took care to comfort his protégé with whatever food was necessary for an uninterrupted period of three years. Meanwhile, as the year rolls round with the mutable passage of time, the annual feast of St Swithun was approaching at its appointed time; and the lame youth himself, who is the subject of this narrative, was taken with the advice and assistance of friends to Winchester to seek St Swithun's protection, was admitted to the church, and was stationed before the saint's health-giving tomb with the faith and devotion of himself and his friends. While in this place he eagerly seeks and awaits the aid of divine assistance from the interceding merits of the glorious confessor, heavenly mercy accomplished in him what it had often accomplished in countless others. For this youth, who beforehand had been unable (I do not say walk on his feet, but even) to move his foot—indeed who, with his knee-joints twisted so that his knees were bent irremediably backwards, seemed to drag them like some ugly weight along after him—suddenly stood up on his own feet, the fetter of his former infirmity being

pristine infirmitatis compede in proprios sese pedes erexit et paulatim perficiente gratia diuina ceptum in eo sue misericordie munus, intra breue tempus plenissime est redditus sanitati. De cuius miraculi fide ⁱac certitudine cum nonnulli cepissent ambigere, predictus quondam uicecomes in testimonium rei que acciderat uocatus, fideli sue prosecutionisⁱ attestatione dubietati certitudinem, certitudini credulitatem, credulitati diuinam magnifice fecit succedere laudem. EXPLICIVNT MIRACVLA SANCTI SWITHVNI EPISCOPI.

ⁱ⁻ⁱ **uicecomes pristine eius inualitudinis concius fideli** *C*

released, and little by little, with heavenly grace bringing to completion the work of mercy begun in him, he was restored to full health within a short time. When certain people began to doubt the reliability and indubitability of this miracle, the sheriff mentioned heretofore was summoned as witness to the event which had occurred, and through the trustworthy testimony of his account he splendidly made doubt give way to certainty, certainty to belief, and belief to heavenly praise. HERE END THE MIRACLES OF ST SWITHUN THE BISHOP.

7. BREVIATE VERSIONS OF THE *VITA ET MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI*

THE *Vita S. Swithuni* together with the *Miracula S. Swithuni* very quickly established themselves as authoritative sources for the life and sanctity of St Swithun, and comprehensively supplanted earlier accounts of the saint by Lantfred, Wulfstan, and Ælfric, with the result that, from the early twelfth century onwards, no further copies of the earlier hagiographies were made. It is probable that this situation is the reflex of a change in taste on behalf of the increased reading public which hagiography enjoyed from the twelfth century onwards.[1] In any event, copies of the *Vita* and *Miracula* multiplied throughout the twelfth century and beyond, and these texts served as sources for all later hagiography of the saint, both in Latin (for example, John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium*: below, no. 9) and the vernacular (*The South English Legendary*: below, no. 8); they also served as the source for liturgical lections for St Swithun which are found in later medieval breviaries (see above, pp. 104–15). However, the *Miracula* in particular were a very cumbersome collection, and it is not surprising that redactors should have attempted to abbreviate them so as to constitute a more manageable text. I print here three particular breviate versions of the *Vita* and *Miracula*:[2] the Royal-Digby epitome; the Lansdowne redaction; and the Life from the Pembroke Legendary. The first of these is simply a drastically abbreviated version of the first few chapters of the *Miracula*; in the others the story of Swithun's life is combined with a brief account of the earliest miracles recorded at his tomb. Because in each case the diction is derived nearly verbatim from the earlier texts, I have not thought it necessary to provide translations.

i. THE ROYAL-DIGBY EPITOME

That the process of redaction got underway within a few years of the completion of the *Vita* and *Miracula* is shown by the occurrence of a breviate version in two manuscripts written in the very early years of the twelfth century: R = London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII, fos. 125v–126v (where the epitome is a later addition, datable on palaeographical grounds to s. xii^{in}, to a manuscript written *c.*1000 at the Old Minster, Winchester); and D = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 112 (Winchester [or Glastonbury?], s. xii^{in}), fos. 4v–5r. Both manuscripts have been discussed in detail above.[3] The epitome of the *Miracula* in D follows immediately on the text of the *Vita S. Swithuni* which has been

[1] See M. Lapidge and R. C. Love, 'The Latin hagiography of England and Wales (600–1550)', *Hagiographies*, iii. 203–325, at pp. 279–84.

[2] It is possible that further breviate versions remain to be discovered in uncatalogued manuscript collections. One such collection which does *not*, however, contain an account of St Swithun, is the massive *Liber reuelationum* of Peter of Cornwall, prior of St Aldate's (see Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1174), preserved in London, Lambeth Palace Library, 51 (s. xii/xiii).

[3] See above, pp. 239–40, 623–4; for R, see also below, p. 793.

collated above (pp. 630–8); that in R has been copied as an independent item into a book pertaining solely to St Swithun. The texts in R and D are very similar, but there is some slight evidence to suggest that D was copied from R rather than *vice versa*: in c. 4 of the Royal-Digby epitome, the wording of R—*nec solum ubi ipse sanctus quiescit corpore uerum etiam ubicumque eius memoria agitur*—appears to have been abbreviated in D to *nec solum ibi sed etiam ubicumque eius memoria agitur* (n. *d–d*), and this relationship also seems clear from D's erroneous reading *multitudini* (n. *c*) where R correctly has *multitudine*. If this interpretation of their relationship is correct, the implication is that D was copied from R at Winchester itself.

1. Anno igitur centesimo decimo post transitum beatissimi antistitis Swithuni, apparuit isdem Christi confessor cuidam nocte quiescenti in lecto suo, uiro siquidem multiplici infirmitate[a] per omnia membra percusso. Admonuit autem eum ut ecclesiam que Vetus nominatur Cenobium celeriter adeat, domnum Athelwoldum episcopum fideliter pro mandatis suis conueniat, referens diuina miseratione prouisum se de ubi iacebat debere leuari et intra ecclesiam honorificentius tumulari. Si diffidat, si hesitet, signum pro testimonio habiturum molestiam infirmitatis corporee qua hactenus[b] detinebatur ipsa eadem hora illum relicturam et salutis letitiam qua diu caruerat integerrime reuersuram. Surgit itaque eger iam plenissime redditus sanitati, et que sibi dicta et ostensa sunt prout iussum est predicto pontifici intimare contendit [*Miracula*, c. 1].

2. Fuit et alius languidus quem gibbi congeries miserabiliter comprimens inclinabat. Qui admonitus in somnis, adducitur ad predictum sancti pontificis mausoleum. Adductus orat; post orationem in soporem resoluitur. Fugit omnis dolor egritudinis quam habebat; recuperatur in eo firma sanitas quam petebat [*Miracula*, c. 2].

3. His et aliis huiuscemodi signis et uirtutibus admonitus beatus pater et episcopus Athelwoldus, indicto ieiunio triduano, religiosis et sullimibus personis euocatis, congregata multitudine[c] totius cleri et populi monachorum cateruis circumquaque uallatus, reliquias corporis sanctissimi patris Swithuni cum ymnis et canticis spiritualibus idus Iulii transtulit et loco eminentissimo intra ecclesiam honorificentius collocauit. In qua translatione omnes qui aderant odoris fraglantia ubique predicanda perfudit, multique infirmi a sua sunt infirmitate curati. Sed et usque hodie ad eiusdem patris tumbam curationes infirmorum patrari non desinunt [*Miracula*, c. 4].

4. Nam ibidem ceci illuminantur, leprosi mundantur, claudi gressibus restaurantur, demoniaci curantur ac diuersorum morborum ualitudines depelluntur. Nec solum [d]ubi ipse sanctus quiescit corpore, uerum[d] etiam ubicumque eius memoria agitur, illo[e] interueniente diuina prestantur beneficia, ad laudem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cui est cum patre et spiritu sancto honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

[a] imfirmitate *D* [b] actenus *D* [c] multitudini *D* [d–d] ibi sed *D* [e] ipso *D*

ii. THE LANSDOWNE REDACTION

London, BL, Lansdowne 436 is a Latin legendary made at (or for) the nunnery of SS Mary and Ethelfleda at Romsey (Hants.).[4] The manuscript contains the *uitae* of some forty-seven mostly English saints and, on palaeographical grounds, appears to have been written sometime in the mid-fourteenth century. It is a characteristic feature of this legendary that the *uitae* which it contains are normally abbreviated and recast, sometimes drastically. In the case of St Swithun (whose life and miracles are recorded on fos. 91v–95r), the treatment is various. The first part of the redaction

[4] See above, p. 623 (with further references).

(cc. 1–3) is taken nearly verbatim from the *Gesta pontificum* of William of Malmesbury;[5] the remainder (cc. 4–14) is a drastically abbreviated version of the *Miracula*, with the exception of c. 6, which is apparently an original composition, corresponding to nothing in the *Miracula* (and providing valuable evidence for the cult of St Swithun in Denmark).[6] The Lansdowne redaction is thus an important witness to local intereset in Swithun in Hampshire, but especially to the transmission of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* in that area. The latter part of the Lansdowne redaction is drawn from *Miracula* cc. 3, 5, 22, 23, 24, 25, 19, 12, 27, and 32, in that order.[7]

1. Erat quidem[a] uirtutum omnium promtuarium, sed aggaudebat maxime clemencia et humilitate. Quando nouam aliquam ecclesiam consecrare deberet, eo, quamlibet longum esset, non equo uel uehiculo sed pede impiger contendebat; et ne daretur ab imperitis ridiculo uel a superbis iactantie notaretur elogio, uisibus hominum abditus nocturnus uiator totum iter conficiebat. Solitarie sanctitatis amator nulla pompa bona sua prostituebat. Hinc sanctum opinor ut, celo tantum teste[b] fruitus, omnium pene miraculorum suorum noticia posterorum fraudaret conscientiam [WmMalm, *GP* ii. 75, ed. Hamilton, pp. 161–2].

2. Iam uero uite presenti ualefacturus precepit astantibus ut extra ecclesiam cadauer suum humarent, ubi et pedibus pretereuncium et stillicidiis ex alto rorantibus esset obnoxium. Excessit anno ab incarnatione Domini octingentesimo sexagesimo tertio, post mortem Athulfi sexto [WmMalm, *GP* ii. 75, ed. Hamilton, p. 162].

3. Preteriere multa tempora et margarita Dei latebat ingloria, annis ferme centum et decem usque ad tempus sancti Athelwoldi episcopi. Tunc enim antique uite humilitatem tenens, non alicui inflaciori persone sed homuncioni pauperculo per uisionem talia proferre uisus est: 'Vade Wyntoniam ad Vetus Monasterium, requisitoque loci ministro, precipe ut dicat episcopo Athelwoldo quatinus Swithuni olim episcopi mausoleum aperiens efferat reliquias. Respexit enim tempora eius omnipotens Deus, ut per me illustrentur celestibus prodigiis. Et ne cuncteris, hoc habe signum: anulos ferreos uiolenter cum plumbo lapidi sepulchro affixos, leui anisu cum uoles extrahes, cum uoles appones. Ceteri si idem temptauerint, frustra erit.' Iuit ille et rem intrepide prosecutus; fidem dictorum habuit [WmMalm, *GP* ii. 75, ed. Hamilton, p. 167].

4. Erat in ciuitate Wiltonia[8] homo haut dignobilis[9] et de diuitibus unus, cuius equi in locis compascuis super flumen pro suburbio sepissime pascebantur. Ad quos reuisendos die quadam tempore meridiano egrediens, dum per loca pratensia huc et illuc deambularet, et deambulando uim a se soporis exturbare satageret, apparuerunt ei subito et inopinate tres supramodum horrende quasi mulieres, quarum uultus et habitus, magnitudo et incessus in tantum stupenda uidebantur, ut merito ille poetice Eumenides que apud inferos leguntur esse crederentur. Que cum fugientem apprehendissent et apprehensum tenuissent, multiplici cum angustia afflixerunt, illum pene suo flatu suffocantes pestifero, horrore incredibili similem reddiderunt insano. Ille iacens in terra tandem reperitur, portatur domi; dolent parentes, familia tota conturbata tristatur, uniuersa ciuitas quod factum est miranda ammiracione miratur. Superueniente uero nocte optulit se ei supradictus antistes episcopali more uestitus; precepit ut ad locum sepulture sue deportetur, Deo annuente sanitatem inibi recepturus. Nec mora, sicut iussum est deportatur ad locum et sopore correptus uidet quem uiderat et sicut uiderat—sibi assistere beatum Swithunum; cuius presenti miseracione dolore excusso redditur sanitati et furore uacuato sensum recepit. Sanus et incolumis, facta elemosinarum distribucione, domum reuertitur. Parentes, cognati, omnes qui audiebant et cum leticia mirabantur et cum ammiracione letabantur [*Miracula*, c. 3].

[5] The relevant parts of the *Gesta pontificum* (ed. Hamilton, pp. 160–2, 167–8) are quoted and discussed above, pp. 140–4.

[6] For the cult of St Swithun in Scandinavia, and particularly in Denmark, see above, p. 58.

[7] Note that this random sequence of miracles does not correspond to the (equally but differently random) sequence found in the Gotha manuscript of the *Miracula* (see above, p. 643).

[8] An error for *Wintonia*.

[9] A nonce form: from *dignus* + *nobilis*? Cf. *Miracula S. Swithuni*, c. 3 (above, p. 650): *homo haud ignobilis*.

5. Hiis et aliis huisucemodi signis et uirtutibus ammonitus et animatus, beatissimus pater et episcopus Athelwoldus cogitabat et cogitans sepe in animo reuoluebat non decere ut uilitas et humilitas loci humiliaret quem tanta a Deo signorum ac uirtutum sullimitas exaltaret. Letabatur magnopere et ex toto corde gaudebat, et quia temporibus suis reuelacio tante iocunditatis facta est, gracias Domino Deo suo quam alcius poterat exhibebat. Nec defuit bonum a Deo consilium: regi uidelicet Eadgaro, maxime quia et summe religionis erat ac de tanto magnifice exultaret euentu, huius tante reuelacionis intimare prouentum. Quid plura? Annuente rege, die statuto, indicto ieiunio religiosis et sullimibus personis euocatis, congregata multitudine tocius cleri et populi ipse dompnus episcopus, beatus uidelicet Athelwoldus, monachorum cateruis circumquaque uallatus, ad locum sepulchri crucibus paratis et cereis ritu ecclesiastico uadit; fodit, et subinde quibus est licencia tradita fodiendi. Cumque apertum esset sepulchrum illud et ille thesaurus super aurum et topazion preciosus—corpus uidelicet patris et episcopi nostri beatissimi Swithuni—fuisset inuentum, omnes qui aderant odoris fragrantia ubique predicanda perfudit. Mulier ceca uisum recepit; multi alii infirmi a sua sunt infirmitate curati. Ita cum ympnis et canticis spiritualibus deportatum, loco eminentissimo intra ecclesiam honorificentius apponitur collocatum. Factum est autem hoc anno dormitionis et requiescionis sue centesimo decimo, anno uero incarnacionis dominice nongentesimo septuagesimo primo [*Miracula*, c. 5].

6. Tanta deinde illuc miraculorum copia in omni genere ualitudinum exhibita est, quantam nulla memoria hominis ante illud tempus alibi factam attingere potest. Nec solum ibi ob sancti sui merita diuina fiebant miracula, immo in Dacia quo pars reliquiarum eius a rege Cnutone est translata,[10] et in Schirburnia ubi ymago eius extitit erecta[11]—ubicumque etiam eius suffragia pie fuerunt innotata, optata sequebantur remedia. De quibus—quamuis multa in libro translacionis et miraculorum eius contineantur—breuitatis causa pauca hic subnectantur [no source].

7. Erant in occidentali regione Anglorum due uidue mulieres, iam diu quidem unum paupertatis infortunium tolerantes, sed diuerse infirmitatis angustia laborantes. Vna enim earum continue noctis tenebras nullo medicorum iuuante portabat, alter que corde concipiebat nemini aperire per lingue officium preualebat. Audientes igitur et ipse quantas uirtutes Deus per famulum suum beatum Swithunum dignaretur operari, associate simul diuersis uicarie sibi seruiebant obsequiis, cum que loqui non poterat, non uidenti ducatum prestaret, et ceca non loquenti per ea que requirenda erant per uerbum sedula ministraret. Veniunt itaque ambe Wintoniam; orature ecclesiam intrant; orantes exaudiuntur; impetrato quod pecierant, de salute gaudentes in patriam reuertuntur [*Miracula*, c. 22].

8. Tempore illo multitudo infirmorum numerosa (triginta uidelicet et sex) tam de diuersis partibus quam uariis afflicti doloribus—ceci, claudi, surdi et muti, paralisi et multiplici alio languore detenti—Wyntoniam conueniunt. Beati pontificis mausoleum piis orationum obsequiis frequentantes intra spacium trium dierum uniuersi a sua infirmitate curati, sanitatem Deo annuente recipere meruerunt [*Miracula*, c. 23]

9. Nec diu subsequente tempore centum uiginti quattuor de diuersis similiter partibus, ualitudinibus occupati diuersis, simul urbem predictam deueniunt. Deum et beatum Swithunum pro sua sanitate humiliter appellant, orantes et in oracione persistentes, intra numerum quatuordecim dierum a suis infirmitatibus omnes liberati sunt. Tanta autem in ciuitate Wentana erat cotidie confluentia infirmorum, ut iam non sanorum diceretur ciuitas, sed egrorum [*Miracula*, c. 24].

10. Quidam demoniaco exagitatus instinctu parricidium incurrit; occiso parente, in laqueum mortis male peccando decidisse se uidens, se reum et peccatorem contestans ad episcopum parrochie uenit. Penitentiale mandatum recipiens, ferreis se fecit anulis uinculari. Arripiens ergo iter profectionis sue, adiit Romam, oratoria uisurus apostolorum; loca sanctorum quos nominatissimos audiebat cum multa corporis angustia circuiens, nouem annos ad huiusmodi percurrit officium. Tandem uirtutum et miraculorum que a beato

[10] No other source mentions Cnut's translation of Swithun's relics to Denmark. The statement in this chapter is therefore a crucial piece of evidence for the cult of St Swithun in Scandinavia.

[11] On the statue of St Swithun in Sherborne cathedral, see above, pp. 613, 680–3.

Swithuno fiebant letum auditum suscipiens, longis itineribus uenit Wyntoniam. De suo crimine ueniam rogaturus, intrat ecclesiam; et quia sit omnimodis a peccato quod fecerat absolutus, ligamina ferrea quibus erat ligatus rupta et exiliencia suo exitu testabantur [*Miracula*, c. 25].

11. Assistentibus quadam die tam clero quam populo beatissimi patris nostri Swithuni sepulchro, uirtutesque que crebro—immo quasi omni fere hora!—inibi contingebant digna ueneracione mirantibus et congrua admiracione uenerantibus, ecce duo quos diutissime cecitas detinebat adueniunt, associatis sibi duabus aniculis. Que et ipse grauissime distorcionis morbo pedum et manuum iam per multum tempus officium non habebant. Datur eis[c] locus; iacent ad sepulchrum; gloriosum pontificem oracione mouent; surgentes de oracione, illi uidentes, iste de sua distorcione liberate inuente sunt [*Miracula*, c. 19].

12. Crescebant de die in diem curaciones infirmorum: misericordias et merita beati Swithuni ubiuis gentium celeberrima fama dispergit. Sepulchrum illius ab omnibus predicatur gloriosum. Infirmi omnes quibuscumque languoribus detinebantur adueniunt, fontem querentes qui exhauriri non poterat, medicum expetentes cuius nunquam deficeret medicina. Vnde quadam die ceci numero sedecim de Londonia uenientes, ad sepulchrum illius deducti sunt. De quibus quindecim illa ipsa die uisum receperunt; qui superat alterum diem fecit de sua uisione festiuum [*Miracula*, c. 12].

13. Rex Edgarus, de pace et securitate regni sui per cuncta sollicitus, inter alias sibi et imperio suo necessarias hanc legem posuit, ut si quando aliquis in furto uel depredacione fuisset inuentus, oculis (ocius[d] dato iudicio) priuaretur, auribus et naribus pedibusque precisis, cute capitis exueretur, et hac pena multatus, feris et auibus laniandus traderetur. Explorabant igitur (quibus preceptum hoc datum est) itinerum deuia, opaca siluarum, si forte repperire potuissent de quibus predictum posset exerceri iudicium. Inuentus est quidam ab huiusmodi inquisitoribus; captus, cum esset absque culpa, festino tamen preiudicio pena pro lege suscepta dampnatur. Effodiuntur ei oculi; manus et nares amputantur; auribus excisis similiter, foramina audiendi cruor propemodum obstruxit infusus. Cui cum parentes pro recuperando auditu persuaderent ut ad beatum debeat properare oraturus antistitem, uenit ut sibi meliusculus redderetur auditus. Orauit; quod pecierat meritis gloriosi pontificis citissime impetrauit. Sed impetrato quod rogauerat, etiam quod non deprecabatur inuenit: dum oculis, qui sibi effossi fuerant, restitutis, uisum Domino miserante recepit. Fit subitus et admirandus tocius populi concursus; miraculum insolitum, inaudita uirtus ab omnibus letissime predicatur; Deo omnipotenti grates altissime persoluuntur [*Miracula*, c. 27].

14. Eadem tempestate quidam opibus[e] secularibus, gloria consulari, consilio et familiaritate regis Eadgari inter palatinos gloriosissime sullimatus, pro consuetudine sua sue necessitatis causa ad locum quadam die quo proposuerat ire tendebat. Erat circa eum multitudo permaxima militaris comitatus; et dum unus ex pueris, indolis uidelicet eximie et precipue sibi dilectus, admisso equo eum sequeretur, repente labitur. Lapsus, crure et humero dissolutus, per omnia etiam membra fere confringitur, confractus et quassatus usque ad mortis extrema nimio dolore urgente perducitur. Quod ut domino suo nunciatum est, repentina conturbacione correptus, ad locum ubi puer quassatus iacebat festinus accurrit; illum pre[f] dolore et angustia fere sicut exanimem inuenit. Ipse et omnes qui aderant uouent pro eo; rogant Deum cum magno et multo eiulatu ut, intercedentibus meritis gloriosi pontificis, dolore fugato sanitas illi redderetur. Quid multa? Lugentibus omnibus et nomen beatissimi Swithuni magna uociferacione clamantibus, surgit puer incolumis; nullam senciens lesionem, propositum iter cum reliquo comitatu—mirantibus omnibus et gaudio magno gaudentibus—propere et integre sanatus incedit [*Miracula*, c. 32], omnipotentem Deum in sancto suo glorificans et laudans, cui sit laus et gloria per infinita secula. Amen.

[a] quidam *MS* [b] test *MS* [c] ei *MS* [d] eius *MS* [e] opidus *MS* [f] pro *MS*

iii. THE PEMBROKE LEGENDARY

Cambridge, Pembroke College 277,[12] is an English copy—one of the earliest English copies—of the *Legenda aurea* of Iacopo da Varazze (*c.*1230–*c.*1298).[13] On palaeographical grounds, the manuscript was apparently written in England at the beginning of the fourteenth century; the origin of the manuscript is unknown (various indications suggest that its later provenance might be the church of St Michael-at-Thorne in Conisford, in the diocese of Norwich). It is in octavo format (185 × 125 mm.) and consists of 350 folios, of which the first 314 contain the *Legenda aurea*. At the end of the *Legenda aurea*, and in the same hand, a number of saints' *vitae* have been added, including those of Dunstan, Aldhelm, Augustine of Canterbury, Botuulf, Edward king and martyr, Alban, Æthelthryth, and Kenelm (the additions also include *vitae* of St Antony of Padua and Arsenius). Among these largely English additions is a brief *vita* of St Swithun on fos. 343r–344v, based on both the *Vita* and *Miracula*. The text has been carelessly copied and contains many errors, but it corresponds to no other redaction of these works.

1. Rege Anglorum Edelberto[14] regnante qui regi Kinegilso ydolatre octauus successit [*Vita*, c. 1], Swithunus sub Helmestagio[15] Wentano episcopo effectus est sacerdos [*Vita*, c. 2]. Opinio autem eius ad regem peruenit. Cui rex commendauit filium suum Athulphum, ut ipsum litteris et moribus instrueret. Qui quidem Athulphus in ecclesia Wentana clericatu militauit, postea uero de gradu subdiaconi acceptus permittente beato papa Leone, eo quod rex predictus absque herede preter ipsum solum obierit, genti Anglorum imperauit [*Vita*, c. 3]. Supradicto autem episcopo defuncto, per consilium omnium Swithunus ad ecclesie Wentane regimen a rege Athulfo petitur. Quorum peticioni rex assentiens, eum conuocauit ut desiderium illorum intimauit [*Vita*, c. 4]. Pontifex igitur efficitur Celnodo Dorobernensium archiepiscopo ipsum consecrante [*Vita*, c. 5]. Huius exhortacione idem rex ecclesiis Dei uniuersam decimam terre regni sui donauit uel libere possidere concessit. Hic episcopus pontem ad orientalem partem ciuitatis arcubus lapideis construxit. Contigit autem tunc temporis quaedam paupercula ad locum operis uenire et oua uenalia in uase deferre ac ab operariis ludentibus oua uniuersa confringi. Que cum flens et eiulans pro illata iniuria in presencia episcopi sisteret, ille uas in quo oua erant sumpsit, signum crucis super oua composuit, sicque celeriter incorrupta restituit [*Vita*, c. 6]. Quotiens ecclesiam aliquam dedicare debueret, non muli uel equi uehiculum uel alicuius secularis pompe sibi dignitatem adhibebat, sed clericis suis cantantibus[16] nudis pedibus humiliter properabat. Et hoc non die sed nocte faciebat, quia laudes humanas minime affectabat [*Vita*, c. 7]. Migrauit autem a seculo sub Edelberto predicti regis Athulfi filio anno incarnationis octingesimo sexagesimo secundo.

2. Tempore regis Edgari apparuit beatus Swithunus cuidam egro uiro religioso nocte in lecto quiescenti, monuitque eum ut adeat Æthelwoldum episcopum qui sibi decimo[17] loco successit, referens diuina miseratione prouisum se de loco ubi iacebat debere leuari et intra ecclesiam loco digniori tumulari. Et si diffideret, signum pro testimonio haberet quod eadem hora sanitas integerrima ei restitueretur. Addidit etiam ut si ad sepulchrum suum ueniret et unum de anulis ferreis qui lapidi adhuc infixi uidentur abstraheret, cum omni facilitate et absque omni lapidis illius lesione exierit ac deinceps eadem facilitate eodem integritatis tenore seruato in locum unde abstractus erat reduceret. Surgit itaque eger plenissime redditus sanitati, sicut

[12] See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 252–3.

[13] On Iacopo and the *Legenda aurea*, see below, pp. 763–4. On Pembroke 277, see B. Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Aurea*, Subsidia Hagiographica, lxxii (Brussels, 1991), 88–9 (no. LA 123).

[14] Sic MS, for *Ecgberto*.

[15] Sic MS, for *Helmestano*.

[16] Sic MS, for *comitantibus* (?).

[17] The scribe misunderstood the abbreviation for *decimo* (*xo*) and wrote *xpo* (= *Christo*).

predicta sunt et ostensa omnia reperit, eaque domino pontifici intimauit [*Miracula*, c. 1]. Admonitus est per uisum nocte et alius languidus nomine Edelsinus a duobus iuuenibus uultu et ueste prefulgentibus, ut ⟨si⟩[a] sanitatem uellet recipere, sepulcrum predicti pontificis requireret. Hic enim uir gibbosus[b] erat ut genarum genuumque una fere eademque uideretur esse iunctura. Non celum sed terram more bestiali respiciebat. Cumque adductus fuisset ad locum, post orationem obdormiuit, fugitque omnis dolor egritudinis et recuperauit integram sospitatem. Ruitque omnis ciuitas uidere miraculum nimisque stupuerunt [*Miracula*, c. 2]. Beatus uero Ethelwoldus hiis auditis intimauit hec regi Edgaro qui summe de hoc gratulabatur. Indicto igitur ieiunio, die statuto ibidem ueniunt, et cum apertum esset sepulcrum mira odoris fragrancia omnes qui aderant ibi perfudit. Mulier ceca uisum recepit et multi infirmi ab infirmitatibus suis sunt curati. Sicque cum ympnis corpus eius deportatum intra ecclesiam loco eminentiori honorifice est collocatum, idibus Iulii anno a dormitione sua .cx., anno uero Domini nongentesimo septuagesimo primo [*Miracula*, c. 4].

[a] *om. MS* [b] *sic MS, for* gibberosus

8. THE 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN' FROM THE *SOUTH ENGLISH LEGENDARY*

INTRODUCTION

THE *South English Legendary* (hereafter *SEL*) is the name given[1] to a large collection of approximately one hundred saints' Lives and biblical narratives in Middle English verse, arranged in calendar order (beginning 1 January) after the model of a Latin legendary, and composed in septenary rhyming couplets, probably in the diocese of Worcester, some time in the late thirteenth century.[2] The individual Lives vary in length between fifty and 400 lines, although on rare occasions a Life may extend to nearly 2,500 lines, as in the case of Thomas Becket. In sum, the hundred or so Lives constitute a poem of some 20,000 verses. Although very little is known for certain of the original author(s) of *SEL* or its intended audience, the work very rapidly achieved popularity, especially in the West and Southwest Midlands (Worcestershire, Gloucesterschire, Wiltshire), and is represented by a large number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts (some twenty-six complete manuscripts, with a further nineteen fragmentary copies).[3] As is often the case with vernacular texts, the original collection of saints' Lives underwent substantial redaction and adaptation at the hands of later scribes, who both added texts of (probably) their own composition—the metrical form is very easily imitated—and deleted others which were not thought relevant to the immediate context in which a manuscript was being produced. Since no manuscript earlier than *c.*1300 survives, the process by which the collection was transmitted and

[1] Although excerpts from what we now call the *South English Legendary* were printed by F. J. Furnivall as early as 1862 (see below, section vi), the collection was first so named, in German, by K. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge* (Heilbronn, 1881), p. xliv ('Die südenglische Legendensammlung'), and then re-used by him, in English this time, in his EETS edition of 1887 (*The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints. I. MS. Laud, 108, in the Bodleian Library*, ed. C. Horstmann, EETS o.s. lxxxvii (London, 1887)).

[2] The best brief introduction to the *SEL* is by M. Görlach, 'Middle English Legends, 1220–1530', *Hagiographies* i. 429–85, at pp. 448–58; this article is a judicious summary of his monumental study, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, vi (Leeds, 1974). This monograph is the indispensable starting point for any study of the *SEL*. There is a useful bibliography of work on *SEL* in *The South English Legendary: a Critical Assessment*, ed. K. P. Jankofsky (Tübingen, 1992), pp. 177–82; and see also the earlier discussion by T. Wolpers, *Die englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters* (Tübingen, 1964), pp. 209–58. In what follows, all quotations from *SEL*—with the exception of the 'Life of St Swithun'—are taken from the edition of C. D'Evelyn and A. J. Mill, *The South English Legendary*, 3 vols., EETS ccxxxv–ccxxxvi, ccxliv (London, 1956–9). For the date of *SEL*, see below, p. 708.

[3] See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 70–130; to the list of complete copies should be added the Takamiya manuscript discussed below, p. 721. Two fragments have also come to light recently (though they do not bear on the 'Life of St Swithun'): London, BL, Harley 874, fo. 31v (discussed by S. Horrall in *N&Q* xxxii (1985), 302–3), and Takamiya 45 (acquired from Christies, 25 November 1992, lot 18).

redacted must often be a matter of conjecture, particularly as regards the (hypothetical) original. Because the question of whether the 'Life of St Swithun' formed part of the original design, or was simply an accretion from a later phase of redaction, is pertinent to our enquiry, it is necessary to outline briefly the genesis and early development of *SEL*, as these are currently understood by scholars.[4]

i. THE GENESIS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF *SEL*

Evidence of various kinds suggests that the hypothetical original—which Manfred Görlach referred to as "Z" but which I shall refer to as ω—was begun in Worcester or its vicinity in the years shortly after 1270. The original intention seems to have been that of producing a vernacular collection of (brief) saints' Lives[5] which would follow the liturgical *sanctorale* and would correspond broadly to the lections for individual saints' days as represented in Latin legendaries and/or breviaries.[6] There can be no certainty as to the precise contents of ω; I shall argue that the original contents included Lives of Anglo-Saxon saints venerated at Worcester (see below).

Uncertainty about the contents of the original ω- (Görlach's "Z"-) recension is reflected in uncertainty about its precise date of composition. A rough terminus *ante quem* is furnished by the date (determined on palaeographical evidence) of the earliest surviving manuscript of *SEL*, namely Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 108 (S.C. 1486), which is dated to *c.*1300.[7] However, this manuscript was written far from the home of the original collection and preserves a late redaction of the text, so that the collection must have originated well before this date. The terminus *a quo* is established by references to the (second) translation of Edward the Confessor (which took place on 13 October 1269) in the 'Life of St Edward, king and martyr' (lines 258–60),[8] and again in the 'Life of St Eadburg' (line 9).[9] The following line in the 'Life of St Eadburg' (line 10) also contains a reference to the advent of Edward I, who was crowned after returning from Sicily in August 1274, two years after the death of Henry III (16 November 1272).[10] Although the evidence of these references is not beyond cavil, they point in combination to a date of composition for ω (Görlach's "Z") in the mid-1270s. It is unfortunately not possible to be more precise.[11]

[4] The most recent scholarly statements concerning the genesis and early development of the text are those by Görlach, *Hagiographies* i. 448–56, and O. S. Pickering, 'The *South English Legendary*: teaching or preaching?', *Poetica*, xlv (1996), 1–14, esp. p. 2.

[5] Cf. Pickering, ibid. p. 2: 'A rudimentary collection of short saints' lives, probably dependent on liturgical Latin models, and now hardly recoverable.'

[6] See Görlach, in *Hagiographies* i. 450 and idem, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 8–17. The hypothesis, though apparently compelling and consonant with the evidence of saints culted at Worcester (see below), cannot be proved beyond doubt because no Worcester breviary containing lections for the *sanctorale* survives. The breviaries which happen to survive represent the uses of Sarum, Hereford, Exeter and York (see above, pp. 109–14), and can therefore provide only limited evidence as *comparanda*.

[7] See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 88–90. Laud misc. 108 was printed integrally (or nearly so) by Horstmann, *The Early South-English Legendary*. On the relationship of Laud 108 to the original collection, see the important study by T. R. Liszka, 'MS Laud Misc. 108 and the early history of the *South English Legendary*', *Manuscripta*, xxxiii (1989), 75–91. Note that Laud 108 omits the 'Life of St Swithun'.

[8] Ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 118. Görlach (*Textual Tradition*, p. 38) rightly points out that, since no mention of Edward the Confessor's translation is found in the Latin source of the 'Life of St Edward king and martyr' at this point, the possibility exists that the lines in question represent a later (i.e. *post*-1269) interpolation into a pre-existing work; however, this possibility is reduced by the fact of another reference to the same event in the 'Life of St Eadburg'.

[9] See Braswell, 'St Edburga of Winchester', p. 323.

[10] Henry III is referred to in the 'Life of Edward the Confessor' (line 506) as 'king henri þat was þo', similarly implying a date of composition after 1272, perhaps considerably after (ed. Horstmann, *The Early South-English Legendary*, p. 445). However, the 'Life of Edward the Confessor' was fairly certainly not part of the original design of the *SEL*, and must be regarded as a later addition: see Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 134–5.

[11] An attempt at greater precision was made by T. J.

Soon after the original collection was underway—perhaps after a first draft was complete—the compiler(s) acquired a copy of the massive *Legenda aurea* of Iacopo da Varazze.[12] This acquisition apparently prompted fundamental rethinking of the project's scope,[13] and led to the incorporation of various *temporale* texts (including, for example, the legends referred to as 'Old Testament History', the 'Life of Christ', etc.),[14] as well as some twenty-four legends based on the *Legenda aurea* itself.[15] This redaction may be designated as α and is known to scholars of the *SEL* as "A". Again, no manuscript of α (or "A") in its original form is known to exist,[16] but there is reason to think that it must have been in existence before the end of the thirteenth century, probably by the decade 1280 × 1290, since it forms the basis of an individual and idiosyncratic redaction produced somewhere in East Anglia, which is preserved in what is probably the earliest surviving manuscript of *SEL*, the aforementioned Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 108, which has been dated to *c.*1300.

From the α- (or "A")-recension derive further independent redactions (see below).[17] For the purposes of the present discussion, the two most important may be described as the γ- (Görlach's "C") and ϵ- (Görlach's "E") redactions. Of these, the γ-redaction has associations with Gloucester, and contains the interventions of the redactor who has been described as 'outspoken', insofar as he adds comments of vigorous moral tenor to the text before him;[18] it has recently been argued that this 'outspoken' redactor is none other than the well-known chronicler Robert of Gloucester, whose *Chronicle* is composed in a verse-form identical to that of the *SEL*.[19] The ϵ-redaction represents free handling of a different sort (the septenary lines of the original, for example, are frequently reduced to lines of six stressed syllables), but it is remarkable for its preservation of many of the contents of the original ω-redaction. The merits of the γ- and ϵ- redactions are discussed further below (pp. 722–7). The *SEL* then continued, through the fourteenth and

Heffernan, 'Additional evidence for a more precise date of the "South English Legendary"', *Traditio*, xxxv (1979), 345–51. Heffernan points to liturgical references in a passage in Laud misc. 108 implying that Septuagesima Sunday was the third Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany in the year of composition, which, in Heffernan's opinion, would point to either 1276 or 1279. But this evidence would pertain only to the redaction of *SEL* in the Laud misc. manuscript, not to ω.

[12] On the *Legenda aurea*, see below, pp. 710, 763–4. It is interesting to note that there is one complete copy of the *Legenda aurea*, but not including supplementary Lives, in Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 45 (Worcester, s. xiv^{in}); on the manuscript, see B. Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Aurea*, Subsidia Hagiographica, lxxii (Brussels, 1991), p. 323 (no. LA 1017).

[13] Pickering ('The *South English Legendary*: teaching or preaching?', p. 2) describes this second phase of redaction as follows: 'expansion into a cycle of longer lives clearly arranged in the order of the calendar year. This stage is additionally characterised by having a preceding group of short poems on the church's principal feasts and fasts; by having associated with it a number of *temporale* narratives centered around [*sic*] the life of Christ and Mary; and—either at this stage or the next—in showing, selectively, the strong influence of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*.'

[14] There are several fundamental studies on this (the earliest) redaction of *SEL* by O. S. Pickering: 'The Temporale narratives in the *South English Legendary*', *Anglia*, xci (1973), 425–55; *The South English Nativity of Mary and Christ*, ed. O. S. Pickering, Middle English Texts, i (Heidelberg, 1975), esp. pp. 8–44; 'Three *South English Legendary* nativity poems', *Leeds Studies in English*, viii (1975), 105–19; and 'The expository Temporale poems of the *South English Legendary*', *Leeds Studies in English*, x (1978), 1–17.

[15] Görlach, in *Hagiographies* i. 450–1; *Textual Tradition*, pp. 21–31.

[16] See T. R. Liszka, 'The first "A" redaction of the *South English Legendary*: information from the "Prologue"', *Modern Philology*, lxxxii (1985), 407–13, and idem, 'Manuscript G (Lambeth Palace 223) and the early *South English Legendary*', in *The South English Legendary*, ed. Jankofsky, pp. 91–101.

[17] The complex relationships between redactions of *SEL* are helpfully illustrated by Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, p. 304.

[18] On the evidence of full collation of the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun' (see below, p. 723), it seems clear that the redactor of the γ- (or "C"-) redaction was that identified by O. S. Pickering as the 'outspoken poet': 'The outspoken *South English Legendary* poet', in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. A. J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 21–37.

[19] On Robert of Gloucester, see above, p. 160; for arguments that Robert of Gloucester and the 'outspoken' redactor of *SEL* are one and the same, see O. S. Pickering, '*South English Legendary* style in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*', *Medium Ævum*, lxx (2001), 1–18.

fifteenth centuries, to be subject to redaction and rearrangement; but these later redactions need not concern us here.[20]

Before turning to the individual Lives, and to that of St Swithun in particular, it is worth asking what audience was envisaged by the original author(s). Over the years various hypotheses have been mooted, and these are summarized judiciously by Manfred Görlach: that the audience consisted of Benedictine monks; of Benedictine nuns; of Cistercian monks; of friars (Dominicans or Franciscans); of Augustinian canons; of secular clergy; and of laity—in short, every possible conceivable audience.[21] Several considerations need to be borne in mind, however: that the original envisaged audience was not necessarily identical with subsequent users of the collection; that the Lives which point most strongly to, say, the mendicant orders are likely to be the result of phases of redaction subsequent to the original design (perceived Dominican influence, for example, is probably the reflex of the use of the Dominican Iacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea* after the original composition was underway); the Lives are of widely different lengths (from *c.*50 to *c.*2,500 lines), so that it is difficult to imagine a regular occasion for their oral delivery, whether or not the language of the collection occasionally reflects that of vernacular preaching. It is perhaps most reasonable, therefore, to envisage an original audience of secular clergy or lay persons (landed gentry)[22] in Worcester or its near vicinity, and to imagine that the work was intended for private reading which would enable lay persons, or religious who could not read Latin, to follow in their own language the content of the (Latin) lections of the daily monastic Office as represented in legendaries and/or breviaries. As the work was disseminated, from Worcester in the first instance, then in due course to Gloucester and further afield in the west and southwest midlands, it was redacted to suit the purposes of the various communities—monastic and lay—into which it was received.

ii. THE *SEL* 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'

Our particular concern is with the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun'.[23] The first question to be asked is whether the 'Life of St Swithun' formed part of the original design of *SEL*: whether, that is, it was contained in what I have called ω (and what Görlach called "Z").[24] Because the existence and content of ω are matters of hypothesis only,[25] there can be no final answer to this question, but various kinds of evidence need to be considered: the substantial number of Lives of Anglo-Saxon saints contained in *SEL*; the fact that many of these Anglo-Saxon saints were culted at Worcester; the fact that there was in thirteenth-century Worcester an active antiquarian spirit which looked back to the Anglo-Saxon past, in particular to the efforts of the tenth-century monastic reformers; and the fact that the

[20] One such later redaction, known to editors as "U" (as preserved in Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3039), is ed. (partially) by M. Görlach, *An East Midland Revision of the South English Legendary*, Middle English Texts, iv (Heidelberg, 1976).

[21] *Textual Tradition*, pp. 46–50; see also Wolpers, *Heiligenlegenden*, pp. 237–46.

[22] Cf. the sensible discussion by A. Samson, 'The *South English Legendary*: constructing a context', *Thirteenth-Century England*, i (1986), 185–95.

[23] The 'Life of St Swithun' is listed by Charlotte D'Evelyn, 'Saints' legends', in J. B. Severs, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, ii (Hamden, CT, 1970), p. 626 (no. 264 = Brown-Robbins, no. 3060); there is also an earlier (and incomplete) listing in Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, i/2. 519 (no. 1088).

[24] Cf. Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, p. 15.

[25] It is unfortunate that at no point in *Textual Tradition* does Manfred Görlach state explicitly which Lives, in his opinion, formed part of the "Z" -redaction. The inclusion of the Lives of the Anglo-Saxon saints is, therefore, a matter of reasoned inference on my part, based on similarities of theme (such as concern with the activities of the tenth-century Benedictine reformers) and diction.

'Life of St Swithun' shares many features of style and diction with other Lives of Anglo-Saxon saints. Let us examine these various classes of evidence in turn.

In addition to St Swithun, *SEL* includes Lives of the following Anglo-Saxon saints: Ælfheah, Æthelberht, Æthelthryth, Æthelwold, Alban, Aldhelm, Augustine of Canterbury, Birinus, Botuulf, Chad, Cuthbert, Dunstan, Eadburg, Ecgwine, Edmund (king and martyr), Edward (king and martyr), Frithuswith, Guthlac, Kenelm, Mildrith, Oswald (bishop of Worcester), Oswald (king and martyr), and Wulfstan II of Worcester.[26]

The first question to be asked, on the hypothesis of an origin in Worcester or its immediate environs, is: which Anglo-Saxon saints were being actively commemorated in late thirteenth-century Worcester? The question may be answered by recourse to five liturgical calendars from Worcester, dating from the late eleventh to the late thirteenth century.[27] The calendars are as follows:

M = Oxford, Magdalen College 100 (s. xiii^{in}), fos. 15–20[28]
P = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 (the 'Portiforium of St Wulstan') (s. xi^{2}), pp. 3–14[29]
Q = Cambridge, Queens' College 17 (s. xiii^{2}), fos. i-xii
U = Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 2. 6 (s. xiii^{1}), fos. 1–6
W = Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160 (s. xiii), fos. 152–7[30]

The Anglo-Saxon saints commemorated in these five Worcester calendars are as follows (in calendrical order):

19 Jan. Bishop Wulfstan: M, [not P], Q, U, W
28 Feb. Archbishop Oswald: M, P, Q, U, W
2 Mar. Chad: M, P, Q, U, W
18 Mar. Edward king and martyr: M, P, Q, U, W
20 Mar. Cuthbert: M, P, Q, U, W
11 Apr. Guthlac: M, P, Q, U, W
19 Apr. Ælfheah: M, P, Q, U, W
19 May. Dunstan: M, P, Q, U, W

[26] Lives of the following Anglo-Saxon saints are included in the edition of D'Evelyn and Mill: Ælfheah (i. 148–55), Alban (i. 238–41), Aldhelm (i. 211–14), Augustine of Canterbury (i. 214–17), Chad (i. 78–81), Cuthbert (i. 118–21), Dunstan (i. 204–11), Edmund king and martyr (ii. 511–15), Edward king and martyr (i. 110–18), Kenelm (i. 279–91), Oswald bishop of Worcester (i. 71–8), Oswald king and martyr (ii. 357–8), and Wulfstan II of Worcester (i. 8–15). The 'Life of St Æthelwold' is ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, pp. 87–92. For an edition of the 'Life of St Eadburg', see L. Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester: a study of her cult, A.D. 950–1500, with an edition of the fourteenth-century Middle English and Latin lives', *MS* xxxiii (1971), 292–333, at pp. 325–9; for the 'Life of St Mildrith', see P. Acker, 'Saint Mildred in the *South English Legendary*', in *The South English Legendary*, ed. Jankofsky, pp. 140–53. The following Lives, because they were omitted from the recension which is represented in the edition of D'Evelyn and Mill (based on MSS C and H, both of which are representatives of the γ- or "C"-redaction), have not yet been printed: Æthelberht, Æthelthryth, Birinus, Botuulf, Ecgwine, Frithuswith, and Guthlac. On the *SEL* 'Life of St Frithuswith', see A. B. Thompson, 'Shaping a saint's Life: Frideswide of Oxford', *Medium Ævum*, lxiii (1994), 34–52.

[27] These calendars are discussed by N. Morgan, 'Psalter illustration for the diocese of Worcester in the thirteenth century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral = The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, i (1978), 91–104.

[28] See C. H. Turner, *Early Worcester MSS* (Oxford, 1916), p. lxiii.

[29] The calendar is ptd Wormald, *Kalendars*, pp. 212–23 (no. 17).

[30] *Antiphonaire monastique. XIIIe siècle. Codex F. 160 de la Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale de Worcester*, Paléographie musicale, xii (Tournai, 1922); the calendar (which is dated 1220 × 1263) is ptd at pp. 29–40, with discussion of the Worcester feasts at pp. 41–6.

20 May. Æthelberht: M, P, Q, [not U], [not W]
26 May. Augustine of Canterbury: M, P, [not Q], U, W
15 June. Eadburg: M, P, Q, U, W
17 June. Botuulf: [not M], [not P], [not Q], U, [not W]
22 June. Alban: M, P, [not Q], U, W
23 June. Æthelthryth: M, P, Q, U, W
2 July. deposition of Swithun: M, P, Q, U, W
13 July. Mildrith: M, P [add. s. xii], [not Q], [not U], W
15 July. translation of Swithun: [not M], P, [not Q], U, [not W]
17 July. Kenelm: M, P, Q, U, W
2 Aug. Æthelwold: [not M], [not P], [not Q], [not U], W [1 Aug.]
5 Aug. Oswald king and martyr: M, P, Q, U, W
8 Oct. translation of Archbishop Oswald: M, [not P], [not Q], U, W
19 Oct. Frithuswith: M, [not P], [not Q], [not U], W
20 Nov. Edmund king and martyr: M, P, Q, U, W
3 Dec. Birinus: M, P, [not Q], [not U], W
30 Dec. Ecgwine: M, [not P], Q, [not U], W

We shall consider in a moment how these commemorations square with the contents of *SEL*, but another consideration needs to be taken into account. In thirteenth-century Worcester there was a heightened awareness of Worcester's Anglo-Saxon heritage. The last surviving Anglo-Saxon bishop following the Norman Conquest was Wulfstan II (1062–95). Wulfstan was canonized in 1203, and in 1218 the cathedral at Worcester was rededicated to SS Mary, Oswald and Wulfstan. At approximately this time Senatus (d. 1207), sometime precentor and later prior of Worcester, composed *vitae* of both Oswald and Wulfstan.[31] At approximately this time, too, there was active at Worcester the remarkable scholar whose so-called 'tremulous hand' is seen in some twenty manuscripts, and who apparently taught himself to read Old English by studying and glossing, in Latin and Middle English, a substantial number of Old English texts.[32] Now among the texts copied by the 'tremulous hand' is a poem (?) called by editors the 'First Worcester Fragment', preserved in Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 174, fo. 63r.[33] To judge by the language of the text, it cannot have been composed much before the late twelfth century; the copy made by the 'tremulous hand' contains several errors which show that he is unlikely to have been its author. What is interesting is that the poem looks back to the glory days of the Anglo-Saxon church, and commemorates the saintly churchmen who instructed the people:

[31] On Senatus, see M. G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester 1164–1179* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 58–66. The two *vitae* by Senatus are listed in Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1608. The *Vita S. Oswaldi* (*BHL* no. 6377) is ed. Raine, *HCY* ii. 60–97; the *Vita S. Wulfstani*, a redaction of the earlier *vita* of the saint by William of Malmesbury, is apparently unprinted.

[32] See the fundamental study by C. Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester. A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991). There is also some discussion (mostly philological) in D. Moffat, *The Soul's Address to the Body: the Worcester Fragments* (East Lansing, MI, 1987).

[33] The 'First Worcester Fragment' has been edited by J. Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English, 1130–1250*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1920), i. 1, ii. 223–8, by B. Dickins and R. M. Wilson, *Early Middle English Texts* (New York, 1951), pp. 1–2, and most recently by S. K. Brehe, 'Reassembling the *First Worcester Fragment*', *Speculum* lxv (1990), 521–36 (Brehe does not seem to be aware that the scribe of the poem was the 'tremulous hand'). The text as copied by the 'tremulous hand' is illustrated in Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand*, pl. 10 (Franzen refers to the text as 'Bede's Lament').

Þet weren þeos biscopes Þe bodeden Cristendom,
Wilfrid of Ripum, Iohan of Beoferlai,
Cuþbert of Dunholme, Oswald of Wireceastre,
Egwin of Heoueshame, Ældelm of Malmesburi,
Swiþþun, Æþelwold, Aidan, Biern of Wincæstre,
Paulin of Rofecæstre, Dunston and Ælfeih of Cantoreburi.[34]

Of the Anglo-Saxon saints mentioned here, the following are commemorated with Lives in *SEL*: Ælfheah, Æthelwold, Aldhelm, Birinus, Cuthbert, Dunstan, Ecgwine, [Hæddi], Oswald, and Swithun. The correspondence is strikingly close, therefore. Whether the poem was composed at Worcester or elsewhere, its nostalgic portrayal of saintly Anglo-Saxon bishops is of a piece with the hagiography of SS Oswald and Wulfstan by Prior Senatus, and with the programme of Old English studies carried out by the 'tremulous' scribe. The commemoration of Anglo-Saxon saints in *SEL*, though dating from a later point in the thirteenth century, is probably to be understood in this same context.

We may now return to the saints commemorated in the five Worcester calendars. Those Anglo-Saxon saints who are conspicuously commemorated in these calendars are the following: Ælfheah, Æthelthryth, Alban, Augustine of Canterbury, Chad, Cuthbert, Dunstan, Eadburg, Edmund king and martyr, Edward king and martyr, Guthlac, Kenelm, Oswald the bishop, Oswald king and martyr, Swithun, and Wulfstan II. Each of these Anglo-Saxon saints is represented by a Life in *SEL*, and might in itself be thought to throw light on the original design of *SEL*.[35] Then there is a further group of saints who are commemorated in some, but not all, of the five Worcester calendars, and who might by this token have also formed part of the original design: Æthelberht, Æthelwold, Birinus, Botuulf, Ecgwine, Frithuswith, and Mildrith. Finally, it is interesting that Aldhelm is not commemorated in any of the five Worcester calendars, which may make it doubtful that the 'Life of St Aldhelm' formed part of the original *SEL*. In any event, it would seem probable that the original compiler(s) of *SEL* began the work of translation by using a Latin legendary (arguably even a breviary containing extensive lections for the relevant feasts) with the aim of producing vernacular Lives of those Anglo-Saxon saints who were still being actively venerated at thirteenth-century Worcester; but that aim was expanded when a copy of the *Legenda aurea* became available at Worcester, and when the decision was taken to incorporate material from the Temporale pertaining in particular to the life of Christ. Given the nature of the manuscript transmission, any conjectures of this sort concerning the content of ω (Görlach's "Z") must remain hypothetical. But it is a fact that the Anglo-Saxon saints who are represented in *SEL* are almost precisely those who were being venerated at thirteenth-century Worcester; and the fact that these Lives are all, with two exceptions,[36] represented in the ϵ- (Görlach's "E"-) recension goes far towards confirming that they formed part of the original design for *SEL*.

[34] Ed. Brehe, 'Reassembling the *First Worcester Fragment*', p. 530. The form *Biern* is a spelling mistake for *Biren* (Birinus). There is no evidence that Aidan of Lindisfarne was ever culted at Winchester, and the simplest explanation is that the 'tremulous' scribe mistook in his exemplar a spelling of Hæddi (the seventh-century bishop of the West Saxons whose remains were translated into the Old Minster by Æthelwold).

[35] Such assertions have always to be correlated with the evidence of manuscript transmission, of course. For example, the 'Life of St Guthlac' is found only in Görlach's MS J, with variant versions in MSS B and C, a pattern of distribution which makes it highly unlikely that the 'Life of St Guthlac' formed part of the original *SEL*.

[36] The exceptions are the 'Life of St Edmund, king and martyr', and the 'Life of St Edward, king and martyr'.

In any event, the substantial number of Anglo-Saxon saints included in *SEL* shows clearly that the original compiler was interested in pre-Conquest England.[37] He appears to have been particularly interested in the activities of the tenth-century monastic reformers Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald, as is clear from an extensive passage in the *SEL* 'Life of St Oswald' (lines 119–30) which appears in slightly different guise in the Lives of Dunstan and Æthelwold.[38] St Swithun, whose relics were translated by Æthelwold and who was later venerated at Worcester, fits well into this hypothesis, and the 'Life of St Swithun' may therefore reasonably be considered a component of the original design.

Furthermore, various features of its diction link the 'Life of St Swithun' with those of other Anglo-Saxon saints which, on the liturgical evidence presented above, arguably formed part of the original ω- (Görlach's "Z"-) redaction. Consider, for example, the formulation of the opening of the 'Life of St Swithun':

> Seint Swiþhan þe confessour · was here of Engelonde;
> biside Winchestre he was bore · as ich understonde.

With these lines, compare the openings of the *SEL* Lives of seven other Anglo-Saxon saints:

> [Wulfstan II of Worcester]
> Sein Wolston bissop of Wircetre · was her in Engelonde
> Swuþe holyman al is lif [he] was · as ich vnderstonde.
> [Oswald of Worcester]
> Seint Oswold þe bissop · was ibore here in Engelonde
> Of heie men he was icome · as ich vnderstonde.
> [Chad]
> Sein Chadde þe godeman · was of Engelonde
> Bisop he was of Leccesfeld · as ich vnderstonde.
> [Cuthbert]
> Sein Cuþbert was ibore · here in Engelonde
> God dude for him vair miracle · as ȝe ssolleþ vnderstonde.
> [Augustine of Canterbury]
> Seint Austin þat Cristendom · broȝte into Engelonde
> Riȝt is among oþer iwis · þat he beo vnderstonde.
> [Alban]
> Seint Albon þe holyman · was her of Engelonde
> Imarked he was for Godes loue . and þoru oure Louerdes sonde.[39]
> [Eadburg]
> Seint Eadborw, þat holi maide · was her of Engelonde
> þe King Edward hir fader was · as ic understound.[40]

[37] This interest is explicitly expressed, for example, in a passage in the 'Life of St Kenelm' (lines 10–38), based ultimately on Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* i. 1: ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 280.

[38] Ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 75; cf. i. 208 (Dunstan) and *Wulfstan of Winchester*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 88–9 ('Life of St Æthelwold', lines 39–64). Cf. also discussion by Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 9–10, 146.

[39] With the formulation of these lines from the 'Life of St Alban', cf. the 'Life of St Swithun', lines 159–60; cf. also the 'Life of St Kenelm', lines 73–4: 'þus many kinges þere were · wile in Engelonde / And hore londes departed were · þus ic vnderstonde' (ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 281).

[40] Ed. Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester', p. 325. Note also that the 'Life of St Eadburg' contains a cross-reference to the 'Life of St Æthelwold' (lines 103–4): 'Hit bifel þer afterward · þat Seint Aþelwold / Bischop was of Winchestre · as þe bok us haþ told.'

There are many stylistic features such as these which link together the *SEL* Lives of Anglo-Saxon saints, and their inclusion in the original ω- (Görlach's "Z"-) redaction is consonant with the hypothesis that the original compiler(s) began the collection by using as model a legendary or breviary of Worcester use which arguably contained the *vitae* of the Anglo-Saxon saints commemorated in *SEL*. But this argument verges on circularity, and it must be admitted that the doggerel-like verse of *SEL* is easily imitated, so that stylistic similarity is insufficient evidence in itself on which to base arguments for identity of authorship. Nevertheless, taken in combination with the compiler's evident interest in the achievements of the tenth-century Benedictine reform movement, there is no reason to doubt that the 'Life of St Swithun' formed part of the original design.[41]

iii. SOURCES OF THE *SEL* 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'

The ultimate source(s) on which the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun' is based can be stated unambiguously: the *Vita S. Swithuni* (above, no. 5) and the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (above, no. 6). The Middle English poet drew material from all eight chapters of the *Vita*, and from cc. 1 and 4 of the *Miracula* (see notes accompanying the *SEL* text, below). Both these Latin works survive in substantial numbers of manuscripts (ten for the *Vita*, five for the *Miracula*), and there is no difficulty in supposing that the Middle English poet could have had access to them, particularly if, as has been supposed, he was working in a centre such as Worcester, where the cathedral library was well stocked with Latin legendaries.[42] However, such a supposition cannot be considered in isolation: as we have seen, the *SEL* includes approximately 100 Lives of saints, among which are some twenty-five Lives of Anglo-Saxon saints,[43] and there would be grounds for supposing that all these Lives were found by the *SEL*-poet in a single legendary, rather than in a collection of isolated *libelli* of individual saints.[44] Furthermore, the fact that the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun' includes material from only cc. 1 and 4 of the fifty-six chapters of the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, raises the possibility that the intermediate source may have been a breviate version of the *Vita* and *Miracula*, such as those printed above (no. 7). As we have seen (above, pp. 699–700), the Royal-Digby epitome contains material drawn from *Miracula* cc. 1–4, but, like the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun', from no later chapter. The Lansdowne redaction likewise contains material from these chapters (and from a number of later chapters as well); and the

[41] Another feature of *SEL* which helps to establish that the 'Life of St Swithun' formed part of the original design is what Laurel Braswell called its 'Edwardianism', that is to say, its manifest support for King Edward I (1272–1307) ('Saint Edburga of Winchester', pp. 323–4). King Edward visited Winchester in 1276 and renewed royal patronage of St Swithun's Priory, that is, the former Old Minster (see *Ann. Wint.*, p. 120: '[MCCLXXVI] rex Edwardus . . . causa orationis et reuerentia sanctorum adiuit monasterium Sancti Swithuni ubi ab episcopo loci et toto conuentu cum solemni processione honorifice fuit admissus'). As a reflex of his 'Edwardianism', the *SEL*-poet mentions in the 'Life of St Eadburg' that Edward I's ancestors were buried at the Old Minster, Winchester, including King Alfred (lines 21–2: 'At Winchestre he is iburied · þe wise king iwis / In þe minstre of Seint Swithan · þer þe priori is'). The inclusion of a 'Life of St Swithun' is thus consonant with the poet's 'Edwardianism'.

[42] These include Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 + London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i, pts 1 and 2 (Worcester, s. xi^2: see P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, 'The contents of the Cotton-Corpus legendary', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1996), pp. 131–46); two leaves from an otherwise lost legendary which survive as flyleaves to CCCC 9 (s. xii/xiii); some remnants of what must have been a massive legendary of ten or twelve volumes, of thirteenth-century date, now bound up with the earlier legendary in Cotton Nero E. i, pt. 2, fos. 189–222 (see Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. clxxvi–clxxvii); and a (presumably lost) legendary recorded by Patrick Young in 1622–3: 'Fragmentum passionum quorundam sanctorum. quyte spoyled' (I. Atkins and N. Ker, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis made in 1622–1623 by Patrick Young* (Cambridge, 1944), p. 56 (no. 316)).

[43] See above, p. 711, and Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. vii–viii.

[44] Cf. Görlach, ibid. p. 29.

'Life of St Swithun' in the Pembroke Legendary also includes material from *Miracula* cc. 1–4, but from no later chapter. A further consideration is that the lections for St Swithun found in late medieval breviaries also draw (broadly) on the earliest chapters of the *Miracula* (see above, pp. 105–15), and this fact has led to the hypothesis that, in composing the 'Life of St Swithun', the Middle English poet of *SEL* had access to a series of lections like those in Bishop Grandisson's Exeter Ordinal (ptd above, pp. 109–10).[45] The hypothesis may be tested by reference to various historical details from the *Vita* and *Miracula* which are preserved in the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun', for the reason that details of this sort are characteristically rejected by compilers of breviary lections. Seven such details are in question:

(a) King Ecgberht is eighth in succession after Cynewulf (lines 5, 12)
(b) Swithun dies in the third year of King Æthelberht (line 73)
(c) Swithun dies in the year 862 (line 79)
(d) Swithun lies in the grave 109 years and a fortnight (lines 83–4)
(e) King Edgar is ninth in succession to Æthelberht (line 89)
(f) Bishop Æthelwold is tenth in succession to St Swithun (line 93)
(g) the translation of St Swithun took place in 971 (line 157).

Of these historical details, items (a)–(c) are ultimately from the *Vita S. Swithuni*, items (d)–(g) from the *Miracula*. Of the breviate versions (printed above as no. 7), the Royal-Digby epitome, since it is based solely on the *Miracula*, has none of items (a)–(c) and, incidentally, none of items (d)–(g) either. The Lansdowne redaction—which, being of mid-fourteenth-century date, is probably too late to be considered a source of *SEL*—lacks (a)–(b) and has a different date (863) for (c); it similarly lacks all of (d)–(g). The Pembroke Legendary has (a), lacks (b), has (c), lacks (d)–(e), and has (f) and (g); its omission of (b) and (d)–(e) rules it out as a source for *SEL*, therefore, and in any event the manuscript is somewhat later in date than the composition of the first ω- (or "Z"-) redaction of *SEL*.

A similar picture emerges with respect to the later medieval breviaries. Of monastic breviaries, the Hyde Breviary presents material from the *Vita S. Swithuni* only; in any case, the compiler(s) of the Hyde Breviary, in their attempt to emphasize the spiritual nature of Swithun's earthly mission, rigorously suppressed historical data of any kind, with the result that none of the relevant items (a)–(g) are found in the lections for St Swithun in the Hyde Abbey breviary. The 'Chertsey Breviary' has lections based solely on the *Miracula S. Swithuni*; its lections omit every single item (a)–(g). Of breviaries for secular use, those of Sarum and Hereford lack lections of any kind for St Swithun, and commemorate his feast(s) solely with a *memoria* and prayers drawn from the common of a confessor. This leaves the York Breviary and the Exeter Ordinal of Bishop Grandisson. Of these, York has (a)–(c), but lacks (d)–(g). Exeter lacks (a), has (b)–(c), lacks (d) and has (e)–(g). In sum, no surviving breviary, whether of monastic or secular use, could have served the *SEL*-poet as a source for his 'Life of St Swithun'. All things considered, the simplest hypothesis is that he had direct access to the *Vita* and *Miracula S. Swithuni*.

Such a hypothesis would imply that the poet of *SEL* was learned enough in hagiography to have

[45] See Görlach, ibid. p. 179: 'The selection and the order of the episodes and often the wording of *sw* [*scil.* the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun'] agree very closely with the lessons in the *ExO* [*scil.* the Exeter Ordinal] (a similar text in *NLA*).' Görlach's reference to *NLA* [= *Nova Legenda Anglie*] should properly be to the *Vita S. Swithuni* in John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium* (below, no. 9) which, as we shall see, was composed in the mid-fourteenth century—too late, that is, to have been the *SEL*-poet's source.

sought out individual sources for at least the Lives of Anglo-Saxon saints in the collection, and that he was not simply translating mechanically from a breviary in which the selection of saints and readings had already been made. We know that the Worcester library was well stocked with legendaries,[46] and it would appear that the *SEL*-author was well versed in their contents.[47] Further work on the sources of *SEL* Lives should help to clarify this picture.

iv. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *SEL* 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'

As we have seen, the *SEL* enjoyed widespread diffusion in the west and southwest midlands during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and is preserved in some twenty-six principal manuscripts (and a large number of fragments). Of these, some twelve preserve the 'Life of St Swithun'; a further extant manuscript can be assumed once to have contained it, but the text has been lost through physical damage.[48] The twelve manuscripts in question are as follows.[49]

A = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 43 (S.C. 6924), fos. 98v–100r.

A manuscript in small octavo format (200 × 135 mm.) written in single column format by one scribe in an Anglicana bookhand, consisting of 265 fos. and containing only *SEL*.[50] The dialect suggests that the manuscript originated in Gloucestershire;[51] the script suggests that it was written in the early fourteenth century (s. xiv^{1}), and not in any case after 1330.[52] The manuscript was subsequently owned by the Taylor family of Bristol, and may possibly have remained in Gloucestershire during the Middle Ages.

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 779 (S.C. 2567), fos. 93r–94v.

A manuscript in modest quarto format (290 × 200 mm.), written by one scribe in cursive Anglicana script, consisting of 307 paper folios and containing only *SEL*.[53] The dialect suggests that the manuscript was written somewhere in (northern) Hampshire;[54] the script implies a mid-fifteenth-century date.[55] The scribe of B imposed his own dialect on the texts he was copying; as a copyist he was not accurate, and he was apparently copying the *SEL* texts from various sources, and assembling

[46] See above, p. 715 n. 42.

[47] Cf. the remarks of Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester', p. 311: 'The Middle English [*scil. SEL*] life of Saint Edburga shows no conclusive relation to nor derivation from any of the extant lives, historical notices, or liturgies discussed above. This elusive nature is characteristic of most of the legends in *SEL*, a fact which suggests that the individuality of the work has been greatly underestimated.'

[48] N = London, BL, Egerton 2891 (s. xiv^{in}; dialectal origin: Berkshire); the omission of the 'Life of St Swithun' results from the loss of a quire. See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 92–3. Those *SEL* Lives which are preserved in Egerton 2891 are intimately related to the text in C, described below: which suggests, in the opinion of Manfred Görlach, that it 'was most certainly written in the same scriptorium as C' (ibid. p. 92).

[49] I use the sigla established by previous students of *SEL*, notably the edition by D'Evelyn and Mill, and by Görlach, *Textual Tradition*.

[50] See *The South English Legendary*, ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, iii. 5–6, and Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 73–5, as well as Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. vii–x.

[51] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 146 (LP 7170).

[52] This is the opinion of M. B. Parkes, as reported by Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, p. 243 n. 13.

[53] See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 75–7; see also the earlier descriptions by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. xxxiv–xxxviii, idem, *The Early South English Legendary*, pp. xxii–xxiii, and Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester', pp. 321–2.

[54] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 154 (LP 5470).

[55] Braswell ('Saint Edburga of Winchester', p. 321) notes that the watermarks of the paper resemble some from France and the Netherlands (datable 1380 × 1410); she describes the manuscript as 'very early fifteenth-century and non-professional in appearance' (ibid. p. 322).

the manuscript as material came to hand. He absent-mindedly copied the 'Life of St Swithun' twice (first on fos. 93r–94v, then the first fifty-four lines again on fos. 223v–224r), but subsequently deleted the second copy by crossing it out.

C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 145, fos. 102v–104v.

A manuscript in large quarto format (310 × 195 mm.) written by one scribe in a careful and practised Anglicana bookhand, now consisting of 218 folios (four quires of twelve have been lost after fo. 168) and containing only the *SEL*.[56] The dialect suggests that the manuscript was written in (western) Berkshire,[57] and the competent quality of the script suggests that it was executed in a large scriptorium some time in the mid-fourteenth century.[58] The manuscript was owned in the early fifteenth century by Southwick Priory (Hants.), whence it came into the possession of Matthew Parker, who subsequently bequeathed it to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

D = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 463 (S.C. 1596), fos. 63r–64r.

A manuscript in large quarto format (340 × 230 mm.), written by one scribe, perhaps in several stints, in a fluent Anglicana bookhand, consisting of 164 folios written in two columns, containing principally the *SEL* (three homiletic pieces were added at the end of the manuscript by the main scribe).[59] The dialect suggests that the manuscript originated in (central) Worcestershire,[60] and on palaeographical grounds it may be dated to *c.*1400. The scribe of D took considerable liberties with the text, omitting many lines and recasting others. The medieval provenance of D is unknown.

E = London, BL, Egerton 1993, fos. 174r–176r.

A manuscript in large quarto format (315 × 190 mm.) written carefully by one scribe in three stints, in a ponderous script which in its formality resembles Gothic textura; it consists of 238 folios written with long lines in a single column, and contains only the *SEL*.[61] The dialect suggests that the manuscript originated in (northern) Gloucestershire,[62] and on palaeographical grounds it may be dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.[63] Its medieval provenance is unknown, but it came at some point into the possession of James Ussher (1581–1656), the celebrated Irish antiquary and bishop of Armagh (from 1625).

[56] See *The South English Legendary*, ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i, pp. vii–x, iii. 5–6; Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 77–9; and the earlier brief description by M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1909–12), i. 331.

[57] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 11–12 (LP 6810).

[58] The dating is that of M. B. Parkes, as reported by Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, p. 244 n. 28; a plate of fo. 80v serves as the frontispiece to *The South English Legendary*, ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, vol. i. Görlach tentatively suggests that the scriptorium in question was at Osney: *Textual Tradition*, p. 244 n. 29.

[59] See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 79–80, together with the earlier description by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. xxxi–xxxiv.

[60] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 559–60 (LP 7750).

[61] See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 80–1 (with p. 242 n. 7), together with Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. xiii–xvi, idem, *The Early South-English Legendary*, pp. ix, xviii, and Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester', pp. 319–20.

[62] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 144 (LP 7130).

[63] Cf. also Horstmann, *The Early South English Legendary*, p. xviii, and Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester', p. 320.

H = London, BL, Harley 2277, fos. 78r–80r.

A manuscript in modest octavo format (240 × 150 mm.) written by one scribe in Anglicana bookhand, consisting of 232 folios laid out in single-column format, and containing only *SEL*.[64] The dialect suggests an origin in Somerset,[65] and the script suggests that the manuscript was written *c.*1300,[66] making it the earliest of the surviving manuscripts which preserve the 'Life of St Swithun'. The medieval provenance of H is unknown.

O = Oxford, Trinity College 57, fos. 65r–66v.

A manuscript in modest quarto format (290 × 190 mm.), written by one scribe in a compressed and untidy cursive Anglicana script, consisting of 169 folios laid out in single-column format, and containing an incomplete copy of *SEL* together with three miscellaneous poems at the end of the manuscript.[67] The dialect suggests an origin in (east) Sussex,[68] and a reference to the year 1375 in one of the poems at the end of the manuscript (the *Canticum de creatione*, fos. 164v–165r) indicates that the manuscript was written shortly thereafter, hence 1380 × 1400. The medieval provenance of O is unknown.

P = Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2344, pp. 329–31.

A manuscript in large quarto format (310 × 200 mm.), written by a professional scribe in fluent Anglicana bookhand, consisting of 528 pp. laid out in single-column format, and containing only *SEL*.[69] The dialect suggests an origin in Gloucestershire,[70] and the upright Anglicana script suggests a date in the second half of the fourteenth century, possibly after 1378.[71] The medieval provenance of the manuscript is uncertain (East Midlands?); it was in the possession of an Aylesbury family in the sixteenth century, but how it came to be acquired by Pepys is unknown. The text of the 'Life of St Swithun' is acephalous in P (lines 1–49 are lacking) through physical loss of the innermost bifolium from the centre of the quire in question.

Q = London, BL, Add. 10301, fos. 119r–121r.

A manuscript in modest octavo format (255 × 180 mm.), once consisting of 218 folios laid out in single-column format, but now broken up into three parts: Add. 10301 consists of 170 folios; London, BL, Add. 10626 consists of 16 folios (= two quires); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. C.220 (S.C. 29430) consists of a further thirty-two folios (= four quires). The manuscript contains

[64] See *The South English Legendary*, ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, iii. 3–4 and Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 84–5, together with the earlier brief descriptions by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, p. iv, and idem, *The Early South-English Legendary*, pp. viii–ix.

[65] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 441 (LP 5130).

[66] A plate of fo. 227r serves as the frontispiece to *The South English Legendary*, ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, vol. ii.

[67] Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 93–4; Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. xxx–xxxi. The miscellaneous poems are printed by Horstmann, ibid. pp. 124–38.

[68] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 505–6 (LP 5850).

[69] See Görlach, *Textual Trdition*, pp. 94–5, as well as M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys* (London, 1923), pp. 88–9, and R. McKitterick and R. Beadle, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library of Magdalene College Cambridge V. Manuscripts, Part i. Medieval* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 66–74.

[70] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 136–7 (LP 6990).

[71] See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, p. 252 n. 125, and McKitterick and Beadle, *Catalogue*, p. 74. A plate of p. 221 serves as the frontispiece of *The Southern Passion*, ed. B. D. Brown, EETS clxix (London, 1927).

SEL and the *Speculum Guy of Warwick*; to judge from the contents of *SEL*, a further six quires (containing legends for September to December) have been lost.[72] The dialect suggests an origin in (northern) Wiltshire;[73] the script is a compressed Anglicana bookhand, datable to *c.*1400. The medieval provenance of the manuscript is unknown, but it must have been broken up by *c.*1530, when Add. 10301 was rebound by John Reynes so as to accommodate on its cover a fourteenth-century ivory crucifix.

R = Cambridge, Trinity College R. 3. 25 (605), fos. 233v–235r.

A manuscript in modest octavo format (250 × 160 mm.), written in single-column format by a professional scribe in fluent Anglicana bookhand, consisting of 275 folios and containing principally the *SEL*, but including some interpolated miracles of the Virgin.[74] The scribe drew his *SEL* texts from various sources, and apparently did not notice (for example) that he copied the 'Life of St Æthelwold' twice (fos. 136v–137v, 235r–236r). The dialect suggests an origin in (central) Wiltshire;[75] the script suggests a date *c.*1400. The medieval provenance of R is unknown.

V = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1 (S.C. 3938–42) (the 'Vernon Manuscript'), fo. 39ra-va.

A massive manuscript in giant folio format (545 × 390 mm.), consisting of 350 fos. (of an original 422 or 426), written in two (as for *SEL*) or three columns, and weighing nearly 50 pounds, V is an anthology of Middle English verse (as well as a small amount of Latin and Anglo-Norman) containing the complete *SEL* (fos. 1–80), the *Northern Homily Cycle*, the *Pricke of Conscience*, *Piers Plowman* (A-text), and many other poems.[76] The manuscript is the work of two scribes of whom one, the principal scribe (B), wrote the bulk of the manuscript in a clear Anglicana bookhand; from internal references (to the earthquake of 1382, to the Carmelite friars in 1384), which provide *termini post quem*, the writing can be assigned to the early 1390s.[77] This scribe was also responsible for writing the closely related 'Simeon Manuscript' (London, BL, Add. 22283),[78] and it has been calculated that the production of these two massive manuscripts will have occupied the scribe continuously for four years.[79] The scribe apparently used a number of exemplars for the *SEL* Lives. A second scribe (A), who appears to belong to a younger generation of scribes, added an additional quire (fos. A–E) containing the Index to the beginning of the manuscript. The dialect of the principal scribe (B) is northern Worcestershire;[80] that of scribe A is either

[72] The structure of the original manuscript has been worked out by Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 95–7; see also Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. xxviii–xxx.

[73] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 549 (LP 5440).

[74] See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 97–8; See also Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. xlix–l, and M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900–5), ii. 97–101.

[75] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 544–5 (LP 5320).

[76] The principal resource for the study of this manuscript is the magnificent facsimile edition, *The Vernon Manuscript. A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. Poet. a. 1*, with Introduction by A. I. Doyle (Cambridge, 1987); see also Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 102–4, and *Piers Plowman: the A-Version*, ed. G. Kane (London, 1960), p. 17. The contents are listed and described by M. Serjeantson, 'The index of the Vernon Manuscript', *Modern Language Review*, xxxii (1937), 222–61, and G. Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Middle English Romances*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie, iv (Munich, 1976), 269–79. See also the earlier account by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, pp. xix–xxv.

[77] See Doyle's Introduction to the facsimile edition, p. 11.

[78] See K. Sajavaara, 'The relationship of the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, lxviii (1967), 428–39, and A. I. Doyle, 'The shaping of the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts', in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. B. Rowland (London, 1974), pp. 328–41, reptd with corrections in *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript*, ed. D. Pearsall (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 1–13.

[79] Doyle, Introduction to the facsimile edition, pp. 5–6.

[80] *Linguistic Atlas*, iii. 553 (LP 7630).

Worcestershire[81] or, as some have thought, Staffordshire.[82] The medieval provenance of the Vernon manuscript is unknown; the family of Colonel Edward Vernon, who donated the manuscript to the Bodleian Library in 1677, had connections with Staffordshire.[83]

Z = Tokyo, private collection of T. Takamiya, fos. 101v–103v.[84]

A manuscript in large quarto format (300 × 200 mm.) written by two scribes in a single column, consisting of 194 folios and containing only the *SEL*.[85] Both scribes appear to have been professionals, and both wrote legible and regular cursive Anglicana bookhands: the first (scribe A) wrote the first two quires (fos. 1–16), the second (scribe B) wrote the remainder of the book. The dialectal forms of scribe A suggest an underlying Sussex dialect; those of scribe B are an unlocalizable koine.[86] The script implies a date sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century. Nothing is known of the medieval provenance of Z.

v. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The classification of *SEL* manuscripts poses many problems which have scarcely been encountered in the case of the Latin texts printed above. In the first place, the *SEL* was a text which, as we have seen, was subject to frequent (and often thorough-going) redaction at the hands of later scribes, with the result that the contents, to say nothing of the precise wording, of the hypothetical original (ω or "Z") can at best be a matter of conjecture. Such redaction involved not only major structural change—the addition and deletion of individual Lives, the interpolation of originally separate poems (for example, the *Southern Passion*), the rearrangement of Lives according to the redactor's sense of what constituted either the calendar or the liturgical *sanctorale*—but also the recasting of individual lines and passages according to the redactor's sense of the narrative. Unlike the scribes who copied Latin texts, which remained more or less fixed from copy to copy, the scribes of Middle English texts, copying a work in their own language, characteristically took the liberty of imposing their own dialect on the text in question, and often of revising the text to bring it into line with their own sense of style.[87] In these circumstances, it is often exceptionally difficult to identify an original reading.

We may begin by reviewing what textual critics refer to as 'external' evidence for classifying manuscripts:[88] in the case of *SEL*, such features as the ordering of the individual Lives within each

[81] Ibid. iii. 555.

[82] So Serjeantson, 'The index'.

[83] Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, p. 104. Sajavaara ('The relationship', p. 439) suggested that the original home of V may have been Bordesley Abbey (Worcs.). More recently, Doyle (Introduction to the facsimile, pp. 12–13) has observed that Scribe A was also responsible for writing the *Leger Book* of the Cistercian abbey of Stoneleigh (War.) in the early years of the fifteenth century.

[84] Note that the siglum for the Takamiya manuscript—Z—does not imply any relationship to Görlach's original "Z" redaction of *SEL*. (It is to avoid confusion of this sort that I adopt the practice of editors of classical texts and refer to the hypothetical archetype of *SEL* as ω.)

[85] See O. S. Pickering and M. Görlach, 'A newly-discovered manuscript of the South English Legendary', *Anglia*, c (1982), 109–23. I am very grateful to Toshi Takamiya for providing me with excellent digitized images of the folios containing the 'Life of St Swithun'.

[86] So M. L. Samuels, quoted in Pickering and Görlach, ibid. p. 111.

[87] Cf. the remarks of G. Kane, *Piers Plowman: the A-Version* (London, 1960), p. 128: 'In general scribes set out to produce what seemed to them a more correct, or a more easily intelligible, or a more emphatic, or a more elegant text . . . their substitutions seem designed to make the meaning clearer, or to express it more forcibly, or to embellish the form of its expression.'

[88] For the distinction between 'external' and 'internal' evidence, see (e.g.) M. Bévenot, *The Tradition of Manuscripts. A Study*

manuscript, the presence or absence of interpolated poems such as the *Southern Passion*, and so on. From consideration of external evidence of this sort, Manfred Görlach was able to identify a number of distinct redactions of *SEL*,[89] and it is in the context of these broad redactions that the manuscripts of the 'Life of St Swithun' should first be situated. Two principal redactions are relevant to our present inquiry:

(a) the ϵ- (or "E"-) redaction, represented by our manuscripts E and V and, for some of its content, R.[90] Of these, E's dialect is that of North Gloucestershire, V's that of Worcestershire. The redaction is characterized by the inclusion of Anglo-Saxon saints who were culted at Worcester, and who are represented sporadically, if at all, in other redactions. The saints include: Æthelberht, Æthelthryth, Botuulf, Eadburg, Ecgwine, Mildrith.[91]

(b) the γ- (or "C"-) redaction is a collection arguably made at Gloucester,[92] and it is the parent of several further redactions (see below) designated respectively as "H", "P", and "Q". Some texts preserved in our manuscripts A and B (including the 'Life of St Swithun') belong to this redaction, as do the following subgroups:

(1) the "H"-redaction, represented by our manuscripts HO and, for some of its contents (saints for June–November), D. The dialects of these manuscripts originate somewhat farther away from the putative origin (of the ω- or "Z"-redaction) of *SEL* than do those of the ϵ- or "E"-redaction: H is from Somerset and O from Sussex (D, however, is from Worcestershire). The "H"-redaction is characterized by its incorporation of the *Southern Passion*, and by a substantial amount of error, including the frequent omission of individual lines.[93] Görlach has posited that, of the "H" manuscripts, D and O derive from a common ancestor.[94]

(2) the "P"-redaction is represented principally by MS. P, and is characterized by the redactor's interest in the correction of what seemed to be harsh rhymes and the replacement of difficult words.[95]

(3) the "Q"-redaction, represented by our MSS. C and Q (and, had its copy of the 'Life of St Swithun' not been lost through physical damage, N).[96] This redaction is characterized by the stability of the text: C, N and Q were apparently all copied from one exemplar[97] at a large scriptorium with a high standard of accuracy.[98]

The sum of the external evidence suggests that the ϵ- (or "E"-) redaction stands against the γ- (or "C"-) redaction and its various subgroups ("H", "P", and "Q"). In terms of the manuscripts themselves, therefore, we should expect the evidence of MSS. EV (and sometimes R) to range itself

in the Transmission of St Cyprian's Treatises (Oxford, 1961), pp. 2–5.

[89] See *Textual Tradition*, pp. 51–62, with diagrams at p. 304. It should be added that Görlach also carried out a substantial amount of trial collation.

[90] Ibid. p. 55. The contents in which R is thought by Görlach to belong to the ϵ- (or "E"-) redaction include the 'Life of St Swithun'.

[91] See Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 17, 33.

[92] Görlach (ibid. p. 57) has tentatively assigned the redaction to the Augustinian canons of Gloucester; more recently, Pickering ('*South English Legendary* style') has adduced compelling evidence for associating this phase of recensional activity with the chronicler Robert of Gloucester, whom he identifies as the 'outspoken' redactor.

[93] Ibid. pp. 57–8.

[94] Ibid. p. 94.

[95] Ibid. pp. 58–9.

[96] Ibid. p. 57.

[97] Ibid. p. 78.

[98] Görlach suggests a large Augustinian house such as Cirencester or Oseney (ibid. p. 57). Note, however, that the dialect of C suggests an origin (for its scribe) in Berkshire, that of Q in Wiltshire.

against that of ABCDHOPQ, with individual groupings often being detectable among the latter (γ- or "C"-redaction) manuscripts.[99]

When we turn from external to internal evidence, we find that the same broad classification is sustained by variant readings. Consider the following examples from the 'Life of St Swithun':

24 wissen *ERV*: norissi *ABCDHOQ(Z)*
55 auisement nome *EV*: stode *ABCDHOPQRZ*
56 for her nede come *ERV*: com mid muchele gode *ABCDHOPQZ*
64 serwe *EPRV*: deol *ABCDHOQZ*
78 in alle wise *EPRV*: in alle manere *ABCDHOQ*
88 of þat stude *ERV*: of þulke place *ABCDHOPQ(Z)*
105 þing *EPV*: point *ABCDHOQRZ*
131 ordeineden *EV*: assygneden *ABCDHOPQ*

It will be seen that in these examples the ϵ- ("E"-) redaction (represented best by EV) stands against the γ- ("C"-) redaction (best represented by ABCDHOQ); and that MSS. P and R associate themselves now with one, now with the other redaction. Within the γ-redaction, two sub-groupings emerge: DHO (see lines 14, 20, 21, 40, 93–4, 96, 120 128, 137, 151, 156, 159) and CQ (see lines 16, 19, 25, 46, 50, 97, 108, 114, 120, 131). Within the ϵ-redaction it is clear that E and V must be independent copies of a hypothetical hyparchetype, since E has a number of unique errors and lacunae avoided by V (lines 12, 28, 29, 30, 34, 43, 65, 115–16, 122, 128, 143, 148), whereas V—which in any case is too late to have served as the exemplar of E—has unique transpositions (lines 90–4) and lacunae (lines 147–8).

How is the testimony of the two redactions—ϵ and γ—to be evaluated? Several criteria of varying merit may be applied. First, the transmitted variants may be measured against the Latin source (the *Vita* and *Miracula S. Swithuni*); secondly, the direction of error can sometimes be determined from the transmitted variants; and thirdly, an understanding of the metre may sometimes help to eliminate unmetrical variants.

We may begin by considering four cases where the Latin source helps to identify the original reading.

(a) line 53: 'for he let þe stronge brugge wiþoute · þe est 3ate arere'
Here the poet is rendering the description of Swithun's construction of the bridge at East Gate, as described in the *Vita* c. 6: 'pontem ad orientalem portam ciuitatis . . . construeret.' In this case the reading of ACDHOPQ is incontestably original, whereas that of ERV—'wiþoute þe toun'—is clearly wrong.

(b) line 83: 'And he lay an hondred 3er . and nyne 3er also'
In this case, the poet is not translating a single sentence from either the *Vita* or the *Miracula*; rather,

[99] Because MS. Z came to light relatively recently, it was not classified among the redactions discussed by Görlach in *Textual Tradition*, though, given its late (fifteenth-century) date, it would presumably fall among the unclassifiable manuscripts testifying to 'the decline of the *SEL*' (ibid. p. 60). Cf. the remarks of Görlach in Pickering and Görlach, 'A newly-discovered manuscript', p. 116: 'The lateness of the MS, and consequently the probability that its immediate predecessors exhibited conflation from various *SEL* traditions . . . make it unlikely that Z preserves any readings important for the elucidation of the early forms of the *SEL*.' My own collations (as reported in the app. crit.) show that Z belongs broadly to the "C"- (or γ-) redaction, but that its scribe very frequently recast lines so as to produce unique readings.

he has made a reasonable deduction from statements in *Vita* c. 8 ('exiuit autem de ergastulo huius seculi anno ab incarnatione dominica octingentesimo sexagesimo secundo') and *Miracula* c. 4 (the translation took place 'anno uero incarnationis dominice nongentesimo septuagesimo primo'): 971–862 = 109. Accordingly, the reading here of MSS. ERV—*fyue*—is clearly wrong, whereas that of the remaining ("C"-redaction) manuscripts—*nyne* (with variant spellings, and some corruption)—is undoubtedly original.[100]

(c) line 89: 'Edgar was þe niþe king · þat after Aþelbert com'.
The *SEL* poet is once again rendering a statement from the *Miracula* c. 1: 'Eadgari (qui a rege Athelberto nonus in regno est)'. In this case EV have what is clearly an error—'in 3ouþe'—whereas the remaining manuscripts (excepting R, which has the incomprehensible *in neyt*) have the correct ordinal numeral *niþe* (variously spelled).

(d) line 157: 'Schrined he was nyne hondred 3er · and in þe on and seuenteþe 3ere'
This line renders a sentence in the *Miracula* c. 4: 'Factum est . . . anno uero incarnationis dominice nongentesimo septuagesimo primo'. Here the numeral preserved in E is incontestably correct (R and V have *seuenteþe* but omit *on and*), whereas the reading of ABCDHOPQ—'in þe on and twentiþe' (yielding a date for Swithun's translation of A.D. 921) is incontestably wrong.

On the basis of these four examples, it is clear that sometimes the manuscripts of the ϵ- (or "E"-) redaction (EV, and sometimes R) preserve the original reading, sometimes those of the γ- (or "C"-) redaction.

Secondly, it is sometimes (rarely, however) possible to determine the direction of variation, and thereby to identify the original reading. As George Kane has noted, the original reading can be established 'by identification of the variant likeliest to have given rise to the others'.[101] Characteristic tendencies may normally be seen in the sort of variation and substitution which is witnessed in Middle English texts; as Kane says, 'the change is in the direction of flat statement, simplifying not only language, but also connotation, and sometimes losing or altering denotation. It favours the obvious and the colourless, and rejects language pregnant, or mannered, or fanciful.'[102] By way of illustration, consider lines 45–6:

> Aʒen him ne kepte he no ryggynge · no bobaunce ne no prute,
> hoste of hors ne of squiers · he tolde þerof lute.

The text quoted here is (approximately) that transmitted in R. The lines are based on a sentence in the *Vita* c. 7: 'neque muli uel equi alicuius uehiculum neque alicuius secularis pompe adhibens dignitatem.' It is possible here to observe two distinct (though equally hypothetical) lines of corruption. On the one hand, the scribes of EV (that is, of their hypothetical exemplar) were mildly puzzled by the phrase *ne kepte he no ryggynge* in line 45—which I take to be a metaphorical application of a nautical term and to mean 'trappings' *vel sim.*[103]—and substituted the banal word *noþer* for *he no ryggynge*; in line 46, they were puzzled by the phrase *host of hors*, and substituted the dull equivalent *of grete hors*. Scribes of the "C"-redaction were less prosaic but equally

[100] The corruption here probably has a palaeographical explanation: the original reading *nyne* was miscopied (minim confusion of *n* and *u*) as *uyue*, and with voicing of *u* as *f* (common in southwestern dialects), the original *nyne* was reproduced as *fyue*.

[101] *Piers Plowman: the A-Version*, p. 115.

[102] Ibid. p. 134.

[103] See below, comm. to line 45.

uncomprehending. For the phrase *no ryggynge* in line 45, C (and later Z) wrote *no ridynge*; another stab at a solution is found in BDHOQ (*no ryngynge*), closely paralleled in A (*none ringinge*). In line 46, the scribes of BDHOZ, seemingly challenged by the poetical alliterating phrase *hoste of hors*, substituted *bost of hors*, which the scribes of ACQ—with the previous line still ringing in their ears—transformed into the repetitive *bobaunce of hors* (*boban of hors*, CQ). Consideration of the direction of corruption suggests that, in this one case at least, R alone preserves the original reading. Unfortunately, however, R is an extremely corrupt witness, and cannot be trusted unsupported to provide evidence of the archetype (ω or "Z"); it contains a very high proportion of independent and idiosyncratic errors of its own.[104] Nevertheless, the principle of identifying direction of error can sometimes helpfully be applied to *SEL* variants.[105]

We come finally to the question of metre. If we consider a brief passage where all witnesses are in substantial (if not total) agreement and where there are no variants affecting the number of syllables or stresses in any line, the metrical structure stands out clearly, as for example in the first four lines of the 'Life of St Swithun' (I have marked those syllables which bear stress):

> Séint Swiþhán þe cónfessóur · was hére of Éngelónde;
> bisíde Wínchestre hé was bóre · ás ich únderstónde.
> Bí þe kínges dáiȝe Egbért · þis góde mán was bóre,
> þat þó was kíng of Éngelónde · and sómdel éke biföre.

The metrical structure is that each line of a rhyming couplet consists of two components, separated by a medial pause, with the first component having four stresses and the second having three. This structure, which is descended ultimately from Old English metre, is frequently used in Middle English metrical romances,[106] and is later widely attested as a ballad metre. As practised by the *SEL*-poet, the metre is somewhat irregular:[107] it is not clear whether the poet aimed at a regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, or whether any number of unstressed syllables could be tolerated between stresses, whether final vowels were elided with initial vowels of following words, or whether the stress-pattern of a word might vary in a different metrical position (*Wínchestre* or *Winchéstre*).[108] Nevertheless, metre provides a (rough, admittedly) criterion for evaluating variant readings transmitted by the ϵ- and γ- redactions.

[104] E.g. lines 3 (*Edberd*), 12 (*ȝer*), 27 (*Adberd*), 56 (*wardes rode*), 59 (*harde*), 75 (R reduces Swithun's command to nonsense), 77 (repetition of *in a stede* from line 76), 79 (*fourty*), 92 (*hoten*), 105 (*dost*), and 122, where R has an individually fashioned couplet which appears nowhere else in the tradition.

[105] Cf. also lines 77, 119, as well as the addition made by the 'outspoken' redactor following line 68, as preserved in MSS. ABCHOPQ.

[106] For example, 'Gamelyn' and 'Chevelere Assigne', both ptd in *Middle English Metrical Romances*, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale, 2 vols. (New York, 1930), i. 209–35 ('Gamelyn'), ii. 859–73 ('Chevelere Assigne'). The Metre of 'Gamelyn' in particular is very similar to that of *SEL*. The metre is also used in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester who, as we have seen (above, p. 709 n. 19) was very probably the poet of the γ-redaction of *SEL*.

[107] Cf. Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, p. 11: 'The early texts must have been of rather irregular metre . . . Since the original texts were probably never intended to conform with a strict metrical pattern, and later scribes did not care much about the metre, this aspect does not seem to contribute to a more reliable definition of the unity and scope of the original collection.'

[108] There is helpful discussion of permitted variance in stress patterns by M. Halle and S. J. Keyser, *English Stress. Its Form, its Growth and its Role in Verse* (New York, 1971), pp. 164–80; see also D. L. Hascall, 'Some contributions to the Halle-Keyser theory of prosody', *College English*, xxx (1968), 357–65, who draws attention to a prosodic phenomenon which has bearing on the *SEL*, namely the conditions under which two vowels may constitute a single position provided that they are separated by a liquid or nasal.

18 γ: cléne líf he ládde and gód · and ⟨to⟩ gret penaunce ⟨he⟩ nom
ϵ: cléne lífe he ládde · and gret penaunce he nom

37 γ: Bíschop hé was mílde inów · and alle god he wrouȝte
ϵ: Bíschop hé was mílde · and alle god he wrouȝte

68 γ: Glád was þó þis sély wómmon · and þonkede him wel faste
ϵ: Glád was þó þis wómmon · and þonkede him wel faste

In these examples, the a-verses in the ϵ-redaction have only three stressed syllables and, by comparison with those transmitted in γ, may all be judged metrically deficient. More examples of this sort can be cited.[109] It is, in fact, a characteristic feature of the ϵ-redaction to achieve greater concision of expression by omitting words which, from a lexical point of view, might be thought superfluous but which are nevertheless essential to the 4 + 3 stress pattern; in many cases such omission has the effect of reducing lines to a 3 + 3 stress pattern.[110] In cases such as these, therefore, variants in the γ-tradition having the more regular (4 + 3) stress pattern are to be preferred as representing the original metrical structure.

But this preference cannot be exercised uncritically. There are several points in the text where manuscripts of the γ-redaction have added words—for emphasis or for clarity—which alter the metre unnecessarily.

80 ϵ: after þat oure Lord aliȝte · ín his móder hére
γ: after þat oure Lord aliȝte · in his moder wombe here

158 ϵ: after þat oure Lord aliȝte · ín his móder hére
γ: after þat oure Lord aliȝte · in his moder on eorþe here

The original scribe of the γ-redaction hyparchetype was evidently unhappy with *in* as a stress-bearing syllable in the b-verse, and felt at the same time that *here* needed clarification; he accordingly must have scanned *in his* as anacrusis, and then supplied a stress-bearing noun—on the first occasion *wombe*, on the second *eorþe*—in order to create a line that more closely matched his own sense of the metre. But the fact that the ϵ-redaction preserves identical versions of lines 80 and 150 suggests that it here is the original.[111]

The sum of this evidence suggests that, where one or other of the three criteria can be applied, it is possible to evaluate the variants offered by the γ- and ϵ- redactions and to arrive at the reading of the hypothetical original. Unfortunately, however, there are many cases where none of the criteria apply, and where the editor is forced to choose between equally possible alternatives.

24 ϵ: to wissen and to warden wel · þat he to gode toke
γ: to wissen and to norissi wel · þat he to gode toke

The alliterative pattern *wissen—warden—wel* in the ϵ-redaction seems to be an intentional poetic effect and is therefore probably original.

55 ϵ: Aday as þe werkmen aboute þe werk · auisement nome
γ: Aday as þe werkmen · aboute þe werk stode

[109] See the *apparatus criticus* to lines 21, 29, 71, 91, 98, 99, 115, 120, 129, 139, 141, 144, 149, 153.

[110] Görlach, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 55–6, 81; cf. also the earlier comments by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, p. xiii and *Early South-English Legendary*, p. ix.

[111] Similar alterations in the γ-redaction, all apparently motivated by dissatisfaction with stress falling on a preposition, are found in lines 88, 126, 149, 150.

This strikes me as a case where the principle of *lectio difficilior potior* can be applied: whereas it is possible to imagine a scribe substituting the plain term *stode* (thereby requiring the a-verse to be scanned quite differently), it is more difficult to imagine a scribe, faced with *stode* in his exemplar, inventing the unusual expression *auisement nome*—and bear in mind that the characteristic tendency of the ϵ-redaction is elsewhere to simplify complex expressions (as in lines 45–6 discussed above), not to create them. This much suggests that *auisement nome* is the original reading.

But there are, finally, several cases where—in my opinion—it is not possible to judge between variants which are metrically and lexically equivalent:

64 ϵ: Seint Swiþhan com [þo] þer forþ · and þis **serwe** iseiȝ
γ: Seint Swiþhan com þo þer forþ . and þis **deol** iseiȝ

78 ϵ: in alle **wise** þis holi man
γ: in alle **manere** þis holi man

105 ϵ: ȝif þou doutest in ani **þing**
γ: ȝif þou doutest in ani **point**

181 ϵ: Hi **ordeineden** a day þerto
γ: Hi **assygnede** a day þerto

In each of these cases I have followed the ϵ-redaction. Another editor might decide differently.

vi. PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF THE *SEL* 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'

Although the 'Life of St Swithun' has been published on several occasions, previous editions have tended to be based on a single manuscript witness. The earliest edition was that of John Earle in his *Gloucester Fragments* of 1861.[112] Earle's edition was a transcript of the text as it is preserved in our MS. D. He subsequently realized that the text in D is defective, so he printed collations from another Oxford manuscript—our O—thereby supplying some of the lines which had been omitted from D.[113] In the following year, F. J. Furnivall printed the 'Life of St Swithun' with several other Lives preserved in our MS. H.[114] Nearly a century later, in 1956, the 'Life of St Swithun' was printed by C. D'Evelyn and A. J. Mill as part of their complete edition of the *SEL*; their edition is principally a transcription of our MS. C, with sporadic collation of MSS. A and H.[115] Finally, the text of the 'Life of St Swithun' may be seen in the splendid facsimile of the 'Vernon Manuscript' (= our MS. V).[116]

vii. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

As we have seen, the text of the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun' is represented by two distinct recensions, γ and ϵ, both of them derived from an anterior (and hypothetical) stage in the transmission signified by the hyparchetype α. In reconstituting the hyparchetype, neither γ nor ϵ can be followed

[112] *Gloucester Fragments. I. Facsimile of some Leaves in Saxon Handwriting on Saint Swiðhun copied by Photozincography* (London, 1861), pp. 78–81.

[113] Ibid. pp. 82–3.

[114] F. J. Furnivall, *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints* (Berlin, 1862), pp. 43–7.

[115] *The South English Legendary*, ed. C. D'Evelyn and A. J. Mill, 3 vols., EETS ccxxxv–ccxxxvi, ccxliv (London, 1956–9); the 'Life of St Swithun' is at i. 274–9.

[116] *The Vernon Manuscript. A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. Poet. a. 1*, with Introduction by A. I. Doyle (Cambridge, 1987); the 'Life of St Swithun' is on fo. 391ra–va.

unquestioningly, since γ preserves the interventions of the 'outspoken' redactor and ϵ preserves metrical revisions of a poet who attempted to reduce the original septenary lines (of α and presumably ω) to lines of six stresses. In cases where these two redactions preserve substantive variant readings, therefore, each variant must be judged on its own merits. In this way it is possible to reconstruct the substance of the hyparchetype α (and, with a leap of faith, perhaps that of the archetype ω). I say: 'substantive' variants. The transmission also preserves countless numbers of what are called 'non-substantive' dialectal and orthographical variants, since scribes of Middle English texts characteristically reproduced their copy-text in terms of their own dialectal and orthographical preferences.[117] The transmission therefore abounds in variants such as *vor / for*, or *isei / iseyȝ / sey*, and so on. While such spellings may help in identifying the dialect (and hence place of origin) of the scribe of an individual manuscript, they obviously throw no light on the orthography of α, to say nothing of ω. In theory, on the assumption that ω was written at Worcester *c.* 1270, one might think it possible to reconstruct the text in Worcester dialect of that date; in practice, however, such reconstruction is impossible, since, even if it were possible to know with certainty the dialectal features of Middle English from Worcester *c.*1270, the dialectal and orthographical preferences of the original poet (ω) are simply unknowable. Because the purpose of the present edition is not linguistic, I have recorded in the *apparatus criticus* only (what I judge to be) 'substantive' variants.[118] As far as the printed text is concerned, I have followed the orthography of E and V, since these two manuscripts were written in the near vicinity of Worcester. But it cannot be assumed that they preserve linguistic features (dialectal or orthographical) of ω: such features are irrecoverable.[119] For the rest, manuscript suspensions and contractions have been expanded silently. Capitalization and punctuation are modern. The placement of the medial pause (·) is editorial (the manuscripts are frustratingly inconsistent in this respect).

SIGLA

A = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 43 (S.C. 6924), fos. 98v–100r
B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 779 (S.C. 2567), fos. 93r–94v
C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 145, fos. 102v–104v
D = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 463 (S.C. 1596), fos. 63r–64r
E = London, BL, Egerton 1993, fos. 174r–176r
H = London, BL, Harley 2277, fos. 78r–80r
O = Oxford, Trinity College 57, fos. 65r–66v
P = Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2344, pp. 329–31
Q = London, BL, Add. 10301, fos. 119r–121r
R = Cambridge, Trinity College R. 3. 25 (605), fos. 233v–235r
V = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1 (S.C. 3938–42), fo. 39ra-va
Z = Tokyo, private collection of T. Takamiya, fos. 101v–103v

[117] For the distinction between 'substantive' and 'non-substantive' variants, see *Linguistic Atlas*, i. 24.

[118] Cf. the sane remarks of J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Old English Exodus*, ed. J. Turville-Petre (Oxford, 1981), p. 36: 'because the object of the edition is not linguistic . . . we are concerned with the *identity* of the word only.'

[119] Cf. Kane, *Piers Plowman: the A-Version*, p. 169: 'in ignorance of the author's linguistic habits the best course is to publish his poem in an authentic Middle English form', and discussion in *Linguistic Atlas*, i. 24–5 (on the impossibility of recovering 'archetypal' spellings).

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Seint Swiþhan þe confessour · was here of Engelonde;
biside Winchestre he was bore · as ich understonde.
Bi þe kinges daiȝe Egbert · þis gode man was bore,
þat þo was king of Engelonde · and somdel eke bifore.
þe eiȝteþe king he was þat com · aftur Kinewolf þe kinge
þat Seint Beryn dude to Cristendom · in Engelond furst bringe;
ac Seint Austin hadde bifore · to Cristendom ibrouȝt
Aþelbriȝt þe gode king · ac al þe lond nouȝt.
Ac suþþe it was þat Seint Berin · here bi weste wende;
he tornde þe kyng Kynewolf · as our Lord him grace sende,
so þat Egbert was king · þo Seint Swiþhan was bore;
þe eiȝteþe was after Kinewolf · þat so longe was bifore.
Seint Swiþhan þe gode man · swiþe ȝong bigan
forto serui Iesu Crist · and to ben a holi man.
Elmeston þe bischop het · of Winchester þat was þo;
Seint Swiþhan he made prest · as he dude oþer mo,
so þat from on ordre to oþer · Seint Swiþhan prest bicom.
Clene lif he ladde and god · and gret penaunce he nom.
His godnesse was wide couþ · aboute in eche side,
so þat hit com to þe king to ere · hit sprong aboute so wide.
þe king him louede swiþe wel · and honourede him inow,
and made him is conseiler · and after is conseil drow.
Adulf is sone and eke is eir · he tok him to loke,
to wissen and to warden wel · þat he to gode toke,
þat he him tauȝte such porture · as to such child bicom.
Wel him wuste þis holi mon · and god warde to him nom.

lines 1–49 are lost from P 1 here] *om. A* of] in *DOZ* 2 he was bore] boren *R* *lines 3–12 are omitted from D* 3 Egbert] Ekberd *CHQ*, Egberd *BEHOZ*, Edberd *R* gode man] child *Z* 4 of] in *O* somdel] somwhat *HO* eke] *om. R* bifore] to fore *Z* 5 eiȝteþe] eiȝteteoþe *H* king] *om. ERV* he] *om. R* þe eiȝteþe . . . aftur] þe eyȝtende ȝer kynge he was þat com after *O* Kinewolf] Kenewold *HO*, Kenulf *Z* 6 dude] *om. RZ* in] to *O* furst] dude *R* *after* furst *Z adds* did 7 ac] *om. DERV*, but *Z* bifore] to fore *OZ* 8 Aþelbriȝt] Aþelberd *B*, Egbert *Z* (!) ac] but *Z* 9 ac] and *O*, but *Z* suþþe it] seþþe *AV*, suþ *R* 10 he] and *ABCDHOQZ* Kynewolf] Kenewold *HO*, Kenulf *Z* our Lord] Iesus *Z* him] *om. DEV*, þe *R* as . . . sende] as god him grace sende *A* 11 *before* Egbert *H adds* seint (!) *after* Egbert *HOQ add* þat was] þe *Z* was king] kyng was *A* þo] to *BZ*, þo þat *V* 12 eiȝteþe] eiȝteteoþe *H*, eyȝtende *O* *before* was[1] *H adds* he was[1]] ȝer *R* (!) after] *om. E* Kinewolf] Kenolf *B*, Kenewold *HO* þat] *om. Z* was[2]] þerto *Z* 13 þe] þis *DOQZ* gode] ȝonge *BCHQR*, holy *DO* swiþe] wel *D*, right *Z* 14 to ben a holi] bicome cristen *DHO* *before* ben *R adds* fort be a] *om.* Q holi] good *DERV* 15 þe] þat *A* het] *om. D*, ek *HO* of] þat at *A* of Winchester þat was] þat was of Winchester *B* 16 dude] hede *A*, hadde *CQ* *lines 17–18 are omitted from D* 17 So þat from . . . to oþer] wiþinne a litel stounde *Z* þat] *om. EV* Seint] þis *B* 18 and god] *om. EV* *after* and[2] *ABCHOQZ add* to he] him *ABCHQZ*, *om. OR* 19 wide] *om. ERV* aboute] alonde *B*, oueral *D*, wide *EVR* in] by *R* eche] euerich *CQ*, euery *Z* side] asyde *V* 20 so] þo *H* þat] *om. R* to[1]] *om. O* to[2]] *om. Z* to þe king] þe king of hym *B* to ere] *om. ABERV* hit] and *DO* so[2]] wel *B*, *om. DHO* 21 him louede] him honored *DHO* swiþe] *om. EV* right *Z* honourede] loued *B*, louede *DHO*, worshiped *Z* *after* him[2] *B adds* euer 22 *after* is *CDHQZ add* chief after] to *CHOQ* *after* conseil *A adds* him, *CHOQR add* mest after . . . drow] mest to his conseil drouȝ *BD*, and to hym most drowe *Z* 23 Adulf] Aldulf *D*, Adulp *V* eke] *om. DEORVZ* 24 wissen] norissi *ABCDHOQ*; *for the first half-line Z has* to kepe and norissi wel *lines 25–6 are omitted from D* 25 þat he him tauȝte] forto tech *Z* him tauȝte] him teiȝte *A* as] þat *H* to] *om. CQ* *after* to *H adds* a to such child] soche a child *BOZ* 26 wuste] tauȝte *V* *Z gives the first half line as* þis holy man him kepte wel and] þat *BCH* god warde . . . him] to him god ȝeme *O*

St Swithun the confessor was from England;
he was born near Winchester, as I understand.
This good man was born in the time of King Ecgberht
who was king of England then, and had been for some time.
He was the eighth king in succession after King Cynewulf
whom St Birinus first brought to Christianity in England.
However, St Augustine had previously converted to Christianity
Æthelberht the good king, but not all the rest of the land.
And subsequently it happened that St Birinus came westward here;
he converted King Cynewulf, as our Lord's grace granted to him,
so that Ecgberht was the king when St Swithun was born;
he was the eighth after Cynewulf, who lived so long before.
St Swithun, the good man, began at a very young age
to serve Christ, and to be a saintly man.
Helmstan was the name of the bishop of Winchester at that time;
he made St Swithun a priest, as he did others as well,
such that, progressing from one order to another, St Swithun became a priest.
He led a pure and good life, and endured much hardship.
His goodness was widely known in every locale,
so that it reached the king's hearing, so widely was it known.
The king [Ecgberht] loved him very much, and honoured him greatly,
and made him his counsellor, and followed his advice.
He gave him Adulf [Æthelwulf], his son and also his heir, to look after,
to guide him and protect him well, so that he pursued goodness,
in that he taught him such behaviour as was becoming to such a child.
This holy man guided him well, and took good care of him.

1–2 There are numerous verbal parallels to these opening lines in the opening lines of other *SEL* lives, particularly those of Anglo-Saxon origin, including Wulfstan II of Worcester, Oswald of Worcester, Chad, Cuthbert, Augustine of Canterbury, Alban and Eadburg; see above, p. 714.

2 *biside Winchestre.* The information that Swithun was born near Winchester is found in no other source. The *SEL*-poet may be adverting to oral tradition (*as ich understonde*), though note that he uses the formula *as ich understonde* particularly in reference to pre-Conquest times (see previous note). Here he may simply have drawn the inference from Swithun's later activity at Winchester.

3 *Egbert.* Ecgberht was king of Wessex, 802–39 (*ASC* s.aa. 802, 839; *HBC*, p. 23). The poet derived this information from *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 1 (above, p. 630).

5 *Kinewolf.* The line is a corrupt rendition of *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 1: '[Ecgberht] . . . qui regi Kynegilso . . . octauus successit in regnum.' No manuscript of the *Vita S. Swithuni* has the reading *Kynewulfo* for *Kynegilso* (nor does any epitome or breviary dependent upon the *Vita*), and no manuscript of the *SEL* preserves any form resembling 'Cynegils', so the error must lie with the original author of the *ω*-redaction of *SEL*.

6 The *Vita S. Swithuni* (c. 1) says rightly that Birinus converted the 'western English'—correctly the 'West Saxons'—to Christianity ('de idolatria per beatum Birinum Occidentalium Anglorum apostolum ad fidem conuerso'), not England, as here. In lines 9–10 the *SEL*-poet adverts to Birinus's conversion of the West Saxons, however.

7–8 The statement that Augustine converted King Æthelberht is not found in the *Vita S. Swithuni*, and was interpolated by the *SEL*-poet, presumably (and ultimately) from Bede, *HE* i. 25–6; but cf. also the *SEL* 'Life of St Augustine (of Canterbury)', ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 214–17, esp. lines 23–82.

9 It is worth asking whether there is any significance in the wording *here bi weste*—'out west here'—for localizing the poet of *SEL*; presumably an origin in Worcester or Worcestershire (or even Gloucester or Gloucestershire) would be 'out west' from Winchester.

15–16 From *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 2 (p. 630): 'sub Helmstano uenerabili Wentane ciuitatis episcopo ad honorem sacerdotii prouectus est' [lines 13–14].

19–22 From *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 3 (p. 632): 'Vnde factum est ut opinionis suauissime odor de prato sanctitatis ipsius emanans regi supradicto innotuerit . . . receptum inter amicos et familiares precipuum—sicut et prudentiorem consilio et fideliorem obsequio reppererat—habere iam cepit' [lines 23–6].

23–8 From *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 3 (p. 632): 'Commendauit autem ei rex filium suum nomine Athulfum, et documentis litteralibus

Þo þe kyng Egbert was ded · þis child Adulf is sone
after him was kyng ymad · as lawe was and wone.
Þis 3onge kyng was god inow · as Seint Swiþhan him gan rede,
after is conseil al he drou · and dude goud dede.
Engelond was þo wel wust · for þe king was god inow,
and Seint Swiþhan is conseiler · after wham he drow.
Elmeston þe bischop suþþe · of Winchestre was ded;
þe king and oþer hei3e men · þerof nomen red.
Þis holi mon Seint Swiþhan · bischop hi maden þere:
alle men þat him knewe · glade þerof were.
Bischop he was milde inow · and alle god he wrou3te;
þe king also to alle gode · to holi chirche he brou3te,
so þat þorw heste of þe king · and þorw wissyng also,
ech mon wolde in þe lond · is ri3te teþinge do.
Broke churchen oueral · Seint Swiþhan let arere,
and newe chirchen in manie stede · þer er none nere.
Whanne he halewede ani chirche · host ne kepte he non;
bi ni3te afote mildeliche · þider he wolde gon.
A3en him ne kepte he no ryggynge · no bobaunce ne no prute,
hoste of hors ne of squiers · he tolde þerof lute.
He þou3te on þat þe gospel sei þ · þat me take þ of lute hede,
þat whoso de þ his dedes wi þ bost · him tid non o þer mede,

27 þo] *om. EO*, whan *Z* Egbert] Egeberd *B*, Adberd *R* þis] þat *O* Adulf] Aldulf *D*, Adelph *V* 28 king ymad] mad king *EV* as law was] as it was lawe *Z* was²] *om. E*, is *O* 29 þis 3onge ... inow] þe kyng was good man inouh *V* þis] þat *R* 3onge] *om. E* inow] *om. ERV* him gan] gan him *A* him] *om. Z* gan] *om. B* rede] lede *V* 30 al] alle *B*, *om. ERV* drow] dude *EV* and dude ... dede] and dude al (alle *B*, *om. H*) bi (*H adds* him) is dede *ABCHQZ*, and bi him dide al his dede *DO*, and al after is dede *E* dede] rede *V* 31 wust] ykept *OZ* *after* was² *A adds* þo god] *om. D* 32 Seint] *om. HO* wham] wan *ACQR*, whan *BO*, him *D* 33 suþþe] *om. EV*, suþ *R*, sith *Z* 34 hei3e] good *Z*; þerof nomen red] þerof hem (hore *A*) nom to red *AB*, þerof nome hore red *CDHOQ*, þeroffen nomen red *E* nomen] toke *Z* 35 hi] him *C* 36 him knewe] þerof come *O* glade] ioies *A*, ioyous *CH*, ioyful *DOQ* glade þerof were] ful glad þerfore hi were *B* 37 *before* Bischop *V adds* þe *before* milde *V adds* ful milde] god *DHO* inow] *om. ERV* alle] al þe *R* god] goudnesse *RZ* 38 to alle gode] *om. EV*, to al goud *R*, in alle goodnes *Z* to] *om. DO* he] *om. DHO*; *B gives line 38 as* þe kyng also to holy cherche alle gode he brou3te 39 *after* þorw¹ *HOV add* þe þorw²] *om. DO*, his *Z*; *after* þorw² *ABCDHQ add* (h)is 40 in] þoru all *ABCQ*, þorw *DHOZ* þe] þat *AB* is ri3te teþinge do] wel is teþing do *A*, his teþing ful wel do *B*, is teþing wel do *CHOQZ*, his teching wel do *D* 41 *after* churchen *D adds* also let arere] let up (*om. O*) rere *ACHOQ* 42 and newe chirchen] and made hem newe *Z* in] *om. ERV* stede] *om. ERV*; *after* þer *BCDHOQZ add* neuere er] *om. HO* er none] byfore *B* 43 *after* he *D adds* hadde ani] holy *B* host] bost *O* host ... non] bost nolde he non *D* ne] *om. Z* he] *om. E* 44 afote] ofte *R*; *after* afote *BD add* wel þider ... gon] he wolde þider gon *H* *Z gives line 44 as* On þe nyght þidere myldely · on fote he wold gon 45 he no ryggynge] he no ridynge *CZ*, he none ringinge *A*, he no ryngynge *BDHOQ*, noþer *EV* no bobaunce ne no prute] ne no bobance ne prute *ACQ*, no bobaunce ne no prite *B*, ne bobaunce ne pride *DO*, bobaunce ne pruide *ERV*, neiþer bobance ne prite *Z* 46 hoste of hors] ne bobaunce of hors *A*, ne boban of hors *CQ*, ne bost of hors *BDHOZ*, of grete hors *EV* ne] and *R* *before* he *ABCDHOQ add* for þerof] wel *R*, þeron *V* 47 þat¹] *om. ERV* on þat] howe *Z* sei þ] *om. ERV* of] *om. DO* 48 whoso ... wi þ bost] hose dey is dede wi þ bobaunce *A*, woso de þ his dede myd (for *D*) bobaunce *BDO*, woso do þ is dede mid boban (bobance *H*) *CHQ* *after* him *ABCHOQ add* ne him tid] tit he *D*, tyt him *O*, he gete þ *Z*

edocendum et sanctis moribus instruendum ... postea uero succedente tempore in decessu patris ... genti Anglorum benigne et prouide imperantem' [lines 30–5]. The *SEL*-poet omits the statement in the source that Æthelwulf at the time of his accession was a cleric in minor orders at Winchester.

27–8 Cf. *SEL* 'Life of Edward, king and martyr', lines 13–14: 'þo þe king Edgar was ded · Seint Edward is sone / After him was king ymad · as lawe was and wone' (ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 110).

29–32 These lines have no correlate in the *Vita S. Swithuni*

When King Ecgberht was dead, this youth Adulf [Æthelwulf], his son,
was made king after him, as was the law and custom.
This young king was exceedingly good; according as St Swithun advised him,
he followed his advice entirely, and performed good deeds.
England was well governed at that time, for the king was very good,
and St Swithun his counsellor, whom he followed.
Thereafter Helmstan the bishop of Winchester died;
the king and other noblemen took counsel about this:
they made this holy man, St Swithun, bishop there:
all men who knew him were glad about that.
As bishop he was very gentle, and accomplished all things good;
he also brought the king to good works in the church's service,
so that through the command of the king, and through [Swithun's] guidance as well,
each man in the land wished to pay his due tithe.
St Swithun had ruined churches reconstructed everywhere,
and new churches in many places where there were none before.
When he consecrated any church, he did not travel with a retinue;
at night-time he went there humbly on foot.
He cared for no trappings, no pomp nor proud display, to meet him,
a company of horses or squires —he put little store on that.
He reflected on what the gospel says, which men take little heed of,
that whosoever does his work with boasting receives no other reward,

and represent the *SEL*-poet's embellishment.

33–6 From *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 4 (p. 632): 'Euoluto igitur aliquanto tempore, supradictus episcopus Helmstanus, morti debitum soluens, uitam finiuit et cathedram episcopalem ciuitatis Wintonie . . . uacuum dereliquit . . . pari consilio petierunt a rege Athulfo beatum Swithunum sibi donari in patrem et pastorem' [lines 36–41]. The *SEL*-poet slightly alters the emphasis: whereas in the *Vita S. Swithuni* it is all the populace of Winchester ('omnis etas, omnis sexus, uniuersa conditio, clerus ac populus Wentane ciuitatis') who seek Swithun's election, in the Middle English poem the decision is taken by 'the king and other noblemen'. With the wording of lines 34–5, cf. the *SEL* 'Life of St Dunstan', lines 118–19: 'þe kyng and þe erchebissop Ode · þerof nome hore red / and þe holy abbot sein Donston · bissop hy made þere' (ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 208); with that of line 36, cf. the 'Life of St Dunstan', line 136: 'Godemen þat him iknewe wel · glade þerof were' (ibid. p. 208).

37 A condensation of a long passage in the *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 5, describing Swithun's virtuous behaviour (p. 634: 'de miti mitior, humilior de humili, de deuoto deuotior curabat existere' etc. [lines 57–61]).

39–40 The *SEL*-poet here significantly alters the emphasis of his source: whereas the *Vita S. Swithuni* c. 6 (p. 634) states that King Æthelwulf donated fully one tenth of his revenues to the church ('rex Athulfus ecclesiis Dei uniuersam decimam terre regni sui munificentissima donatione donauit' [lines 64–5]), in the *SEL*-poet's account, the king and bishop act in concert to compel the populace at large to pay their tithes. Such a change in emphasis may reflect the interests of a lay audience.

41–2 From *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 7 (p. 636): 'Ipse amator et cultor sancte uniuersalis ecclesie ecclesias quibus in locis non erant studio ardentissimo pecuniis large contraditis fabricabat; que uero semirutis et infractis parietibus destructe iacebant, dominicis cultibus desiderantissime reparabat' [lines 80–2].

43–50 From *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 7 (p. 636): 'Quando autem opportunitas sibi dedicandi ecclesiam aliquam imminebat . . . ipse in se humilitatis . . . argumentum probabile omnibus proponebat. Nam neque muli uel equi alicuius uehiculum neque alicuius secularis pompe sibi adhibens dignitatem . . . nudis pedibus ad ecclesiam quam dedicaturus erat pro consuetudine sua humiliter properabat. Sed et hoc non die sed in nocte faciebat . . . nolens esse cum eis . . . de quibus dicitur quia amantes laudes hominum "receperunt mercedem suam" ' [lines 82–9]. The biblical quotation is from Matt. 6: 2 (which the *SEL*-poet clearly recognized as being from the gospels: the source is not specified in the *Vita*); the statement in line 50 is the *SEL*-poet's personal observation.

45 The ME word *rigging(e)* properly refers to the fittings of a ship (see *MED*, s.v.), but, on my understanding of the line, is used here by the poet in a metaphorical sense, not otherwise attested in the *MED*, to mean 'trappings' *vel sim.* Of the transmitted variants, a case could also be made for *ridynge* (CZ), in the sense of 'riding with pomp or display' (*MED*, *s.v.*), and perhaps even for *ringynge* (ABDHOQ), implying the ringing of bells which would normally, perhaps, have greeted the arrival of a bishop for the consecration of a local church.

for he afongeþ here is mede · wiþ þe dede anon.
þat word is now forȝete among · þe heiȝe men echon.

Seint Swiþhan his bischopriche · to alle godnesse drow.
þe toun also of Winchestre · he amendede inow:
for he let þe stronge brugge wiþoute · þe est ȝate arere,
and fond þerto lym and ston · and þe werkmen þat þer were.
Aday as þe werkmen aboute þe werk · auisement nome
and þe contrei men to chepynge · for her nede come;
mid a bagge fol of eiren · a wommon þer com.
A mason þis wommon sone · in his folye nom,
and biclupte hir in ribaudie · as foles doþ ȝet ofte;
he brak hir eiren echone · he ne hanlede hure not softe.
þo þe wommon þat iseiȝ · reuliche heo gan bigynne,
for heo hem hedde igadered longe · som seluer þer to wynne.
Heo wep and made gret deol inow · and cried also an heiȝ.
Seint Swiþhan com þo þer forþ · and þis serwe iseiȝ.
Of þis wommon he hadde reuþe · he nom up is hond anon,
and blessede þe eiren þat were tobroke · hi bicome hole echon,
as sound as heo euer were · hi bicome atte laste.
Glad was þo þis sely wommon · and þonkede him wel faste.

þe king Adulf deiȝede seþþe · þe kinges sone Egbert;
his sone was king after him · þe king Aþelbert.
Hit nas nouȝt longe after · þat he was mad king,
þat Seint Swiþhan þe holi man · drow toward ending,
for he deiȝede þe þridde ȝer · þat he was king mad.
And þo he scholde henne wende · hise men faste he bad

49 afongeþ] takiþ *Q* here] *om. ERV* þe] his *B* 50 þat] And *V* þat word is now forȝete] þat word hi (*add. AB*) habbeþ (haue *D*, han *Z*) nou forgete *ABCDHOPQZ* þe heiȝe men echon] þis heie men echon *ABDP*, þis heie men manion *CQ*, þis heȝe menyon *H*; þes hey men echon *R*, þise grete men euerichon *Z* 51 to alle] al to *Z* godnesse] gode *HO* 52 *after* amendede *P adds* riȝt 53 *after* let *P adds* make stronge] grete *Z* est ȝate] toun *BERV* arere] þere *P* 54 þe] *om. DOZ*, to *H* þer] þerto *P* 55 þe[1]] þese *BZ*, þis *ACHO*, his *P* þe[2]] þis *ABCQ*, here *DHO* auisement nome] stode *ABCDHOPQRZ* 56 þe] *om. HO* þe contrei men] men of þe cuntreye *PV*, into cuntrey *Z* for her nede come] come mid muchele (grete *Q*) gode *ABCDHOPQZ* wardes rode *R* 57 *after* a[2] *P adds* pore; *after* wommon *B adds* so 58 A mason ... sone] A mason sone þis womman *CDHOQ*, And a man sone in his folye *P*, On of þe masons *R*, A mason in his folye *V* in] to *H* in is folye nom] þis womman to him nom *P*, þis wymman sone nome *R*, sone þe wommon nom *V* *after* folie *B adds* he 59 biclypte] clupte *P* in ribaudie] harde *R*, wiþ ribaudye *V* doþ ȝet] ȝet doþ *DPV* ȝet] *om. O* 60 he] and *DOPQRZ* *after* eiren *ABCDHOQZ add* nei echone] euerichon *ABP*, alle *R* ne] *om. DV* hure] *om. ERV* 61 þo] and *Q*, whan *Z* þat] hure harm *ABCDHOPQ*, hure eyren *Z* reuliche] kenliche *D*, weopen *V*; *after* gan *A adds* to bigynne] to gynne *P* 62 hem] is *C*, it *Q* hem hadde] had hem *Z* igadered longe] longe gadered *EV*, gadred *R* som seluer] selue þer mide *EV* þer] *om. OR* 63 Heo ... inow] hy made del ynoȝ *O* wep and] *om. DH* gret] *om. R*, muche *Z* inow] *om. ERVZ* also] al *EV*, algate *Z* 64 þo] *om. ERVZ* *after* and *BP add* alle þis serwe] þis (þe *DH*) deol *ABCDHOQZ*, þis dede *R*, hire serewe *PV* 65 þis] þe *DOZ* he hadde reuþe] him rewede *E* he nom ... anon] his honde he name anon *R*, he toke his honde anon *Z* 66 þe eiren ... tobroke] þe broken eiren *EVZ*, þe eiren tobroke *CHOQ*, þe eiren *R* hi ... echon] and bicome hol anon *A*, and (*om. Z*) he (þei *DZ*) become (were *Z*) hol echon (anon *H*) *BCDHOQRZ* 67 *before* as[1] *P adds* and heo euer] euere hy *Q* bicome] were *Z* 68 þo þis sely womman] þe wommon þo *EV*, þis sely wymman *R* him] gost *H*, god *O* wel] *om. EOV*, riȝt *P*, ful *Z* *after line 68 ABCHOPQ add two lines*: miȝte eirmangars fare nou so (so nou *AP*) · þe baldeloker hi miȝte / huppe (lepe *O*) ouer diches ware hi wolde · and boþe wraxli (wrastli *ABOPQ*) and fiȝte; *R adds a slightly different two lines*: wold eyren fare now so · þe baldeloker men myȝt / huppen ouer dyches · wralsen and fyȝt 69 Adulf] Aþulf *ABCHPQ*, Aldulf *D*, Adulp *V* Egbert] Ekberd *C*

for he receives his reward here with the deed straightway.
This advice is now forgotten among all important men.

St Swithun guided his bishopric towards goodness.
He improved the town of Winchester greatly,
for he had a strong bridge built outside the East Gate,
and provided for it the cement and stone and the workmen who were there.
One day, as the workmen were inspecting the work
and people from the countryside came to the market for necessities,
a woman with a basket full of eggs came there.
A stonemason in a foolish jest quickly seized the woman
and embraced her ribaldly, as fools still often do.
He broke every one of her eggs: he did not handle her gently.
When the woman saw that, she was distraught,
for she had taken a long time gathering them, in order to earn herself some money.
She wept and made a great lamentation, and cried out aloud.
St Swithun then came there and saw this sorrow.
He had pity on this woman; he raised up his hand at once
and blessed the eggs that were broken: they were each restored,
and became in the end as sound as they ever were.
This poor woman was happy then, and thanked him vigorously.

King Adulf [Æthelwulf], the son of King Ecgberht, subsequently died;
his son Æthelberht was king after him.
It was not long after he was made king
that St Swithun, the holy man, drew towards his end,
for he died in the third year that he [Æthelberht] was made king.
And when he was about to depart hence, he asked his men earnestly

Egberd *HQZ* 70 *before* his *ABCDHOPQ add* and his sone was king] king was *R* king after him] after hym kyng *B* þe king] þat het *DO*, þat hight *Z* Aþelbert] Eþelbert *A*, Aþelberd *HQ*, Adulpbert *V* 71 nouȝt] *om. AD* þere *om. DRZ* after] afterward (aftir *B*) *ABCDHOQRZ*, afterward longe *P* 72 þe] þis *ACHOPQZ* þat Seint . . . man] þat þis holy man Seint Swithin *DHO* *before* drow *ABCDQV add* ne toward] to his *DOZ*, to *H* *after* toward *PR add* his 73 *after* deiȝede *D adds* in king mad] ymad kyng *P* 74 þo] whan *Z* henne wende] hennes *D*, wende hennys *Z* men] folk *D* hise men . . . bad] his men he bad at bygunnyng *P*

52–4 From *Vita S. Swithuni* c. 6 (p. 634): 'Vnde factum est ut . . . pontemque ad orientalem portam ciuitatis arcubus lapideis opere non leuiter ruituro construeret' [lines 69–71]. The specific reference to the East Gate in the *SEL*-poet's source confirms that at this point the reading of MSS BERV (*toun*) is an error. Note also that the *SEL*-poet has rearranged the sequence of the narrative found in the *Vita*.

55–68 The story of the poor woman and her reconstituted eggs is from the *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 6 (pp. 634–6).

61 For the ME construction *reuliche biginne*, cf. *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, ed. J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers (Oxford, 1966), pp. 70 ('The Fox and the Wolf', line 107: 'þe vox wep and reuliche bigan'), and 90 ('Dame Sirith', line 302: 'swiþe reuliche hoe bigon').

68 The two lines added after line 68 in MSS. *ABCHOPQ* (that is, in the γ- or "C"- redaction) are clearly an interpolation by the redactor described by Pickering as the 'Outspoken Poet': see O. S. Pickering, 'The outspoken *South English Legendary* poet', in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission*, ed. A. J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 21–37, with discussion of this passsage at 33; cf. also above, p. 709.

69–73 From *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 8 (p. 638): 'regnante in tertio anno Anglorum rege Athelberto gloriosi regis Athulfi filio feliciter migrauit' [lines 106–7].

74–8 From *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 8 (p. 638): 'in fine uite sue de sepultura sua precipiens aperto indicio ad exemplum subditorum indicare curauit. Nam neque intra ecclesie septa neque in preeminentiori parte cimiterii, sed extra ecclesiam in indigniori, que in plebe uilioribus patebat equaliter, se tumulari precepit' [lines 110–13].

Þat hi ne scholden him not burie · in chirche mid no prute
ac somware wiþoute in a stude · þat me tolde of lute,
in a stude þat me lest of tolde · and lest ȝeme of tok:
in alle wise þis holi man · bobaunce and prute forsok.
He deiȝede eiȝte hundred ȝer · and in þe to and sixtiþe ȝere
after þat oure Lord aliȝte · in his moder here.
In a stude wiþoute þe churche · þis holi bodi þei leide,
þat me tolde of lute inow · as he himself seide.
And he lay an hondred ȝer · and nyne ȝer also,
and almest þerto fourtene niȝt · ar he were þenne ido.
Bi þe kinges daiȝe Edgar · þat god man was inow
þat Seint Edwardes fader was · þat is owne stepmoder slow,
þis holi mon Seint Swiþhan schewede · him bi tokeninge
þat me him scholde of þat stude · in to herre bringe.
Edgar was þe niþe king · þat after Aþelbert com,
þat king was þulke time þat · Seint Swiþhan þe deþ nom.
þe bischop þat was of Winchestre · þo king Edgar was king
þo Seint Aþelwold was · holde god þorw alle þing,
þe teþe bischop he was þere · þat after Swiþhan com;
þe king of Seint Donston and of him · muche is rede nom.
Seint Swiþhan þis holi mon · a god time gan biseo
þo god king was and god bischop · schrined forte beo.

Aniȝt he com to an holi mon · as he in bedes lay
in siknesse and in serwe inow · as hedde do mani a day:

75 hi ne scholden . . . burie] hi bured him noȝt *R* **not burie**] burie noȝt *ABCHOPQ* not] *om. DO* no] *om. H; for line 75 Z has* þat þei ne scholde him in churche · burye wiþ no prite 76 ac] but *Z* somware] *om. EVZ* wiþoute] *om. R* a] some *Z* *after* of *B adds* wel, *Z adds* but *lines 77–8 are omitted from DP* 77 in a stude] *om. ERV* þat me lest of tolde] þat me tolde of lest *O*, in a stede þat men *R* of[1]] *om. A* ȝeme] hede *Z* of[2]] *om. HQ*, to *O* 78 wise] manere *ABCDHOQ*, þing *Z* bobaunce] boban *C*, bobance *H*, pompe *Z* 79 eiȝte] eiȝteþe *B* hundred] *om. Z* ȝer] *om. P*; þe] *om. CHQ* to and] *om. DHOPZ* sixtiþe] fourty *R*, sixti *V* to] *om. H* 80 oure Lord] Iesu Crist *Z* aliȝte] light *Z* *after* moder *ABCHQ add* wombe 81 þe] *om. CDQ* þis] þat *D*, þe *P* 82 of lute inow] wel lute of *R* as] þat *BC* he] *om. R; for line 82 DO have* in a stede þat men told of lite · as himself seide **as . . .** seide] ay him sulf so seyde *P* 83 And] þer *Z* nyne] nie *C*, neoȝe *H*, neghen *O*, nye *Q*, fyue *ERV* also] þerto *AD* 84 þerto] *om. AEHOP* niȝt] *om. D* *after* niȝt *A adds* also 85 Edgar] Eggar *A* man] *om. H* 86 fader] broþer *A* (!) owne] *om. DHORZ* slow] aslouȝ *H* 87 him] *om. DHOP* bi] in *Z* 88 him] *om. DR* of þat stude] of þulke (þat *Q*) place *ABCDHOPQ*, in hier place *Z* *before* in *A adds* him, *B adds* to to] *om. ABCDHQ* herre] hey *D* *after* herre *ABCDHOPQR add* stude *HO add* him *before* bringe; *for the b-verse Z has* from þat stede bringe *lines 89–90 are omitted from D* 89 *before* Edgar *ABCHOPQZ add* þis; þe niþe] þe nywe *A*, in ȝouþe *EV* (!), þe neoȝþe *H*, þe nyeþe *P*, neyt *R* after] *om. R* Aþelbert] Eþelbert *A*, Aþelberd *Q*, Adulpberd *V* *lines 90–4 are given in V in the order 91, 93, 94, 92, 90* 90 þat[1]] þe *RV* þulke] þat *DEVZ*, þat ilke *B* þe] þen *ACQ*, *om. H*, to *R* 91 þe[1]] þo *D* þat was] *om. EV* of] at *H*, atte *R* þo] þe *ERV*, whan *Z* Edgar] Edward *D* *after* was *P adds* þe goede 92 þo] *om. ABCDQRZ*, þat *V*; *for this half line DH read* þat was seint Athelwold holde] þe (þo *Q*) gode man and *ABCPQ*, holy man *DO*, hoten *R* god] holy *ABCPQR*, holy man *D*, god and holy *H* *for line 92 Z has* Seint Aþelwold was a good man . and holy þorw al þing *lines 93–4 are omitted from DHO* 93 þere] *om. EV* þat] and *ACD* *before* Swiþhan *Z adds* seint 94 of[2]] *om. Q* *after* muche *ABCDPQ add* del 95 þis] þe *ADHORV* holi] good *Z* a] in *DO* *after* time *ABCHPR add* him, *Q adds* he gan] gan him *D*, wolde *P*, bigon *V* biseo] to seo *OV*, se *Z* 96 þo] wanne *BCDHOQZ*, þat *AV* *after* bischop *A adds* were schrined] ychosen *D* forte] he wold *Z* þo god . . . bischop] whanne bischop and kyng were boþe goede *P* 97 as he . . . lay] on his bede þer he lay *BO*, inis bedes he lay *CQ*, in his bedd (beddes *H*) as he lay *DHPZ* 98 *for the first half line R reads* þat was in grete **sykeness** **inow**] *om. EV* **as hedde . . . day**] as he hadde beo (ido *HOP*) **many** (*HOP add* a) day *DHP*, as he had mony day *Z*

that they should not bury him in the church with pomp
but somewhere outside it in a place which men took little notice of,
in a place that men accounted least and took least heed of:
in every way this holy man rejected pomp and pride.
He died in the eight-hundred and sixty-second year
after our Lord was made incarnate in His mother.
They laid this holy body in a place outside the church
of which men took little enough note, as he himself asked.
He lay there for a hundred years, and nine as well,
and almost a fortnight, before he was translated from there.
In the days of King Edgar, who was a very good man—
he was the father of St Edward, whom his own stepmother slew—
St Swithun the holy man revealed through a vision
that men were to bring him from that place into a more exalted one.
Edgar was the ninth king in succession after Æthelberht,
who was king when St Swithun died.
The bishop of Winchester, when King Edgar was king,
was then St Æthelwold, held to be a good man in every respect;
he was the tenth bishop of Winchester in succession to St Swithun.
The king took much advice from him and from St Dunstan.
St Swithun the holy man picked a good time,
when there was a good king and good bishop, to be translated.

By night he came to a holy man as he lay in bed
in sickness and great sorrow, as he had done for many a day.

79–80 From *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 8 (p. 638): 'Exiuit autem de ergastulo huius seculi anno ab incarnatione dominica octingentesimo sexagesimo secundo . . .' [lines 114–15].

81–4 The content of these lines has been deduced by the *SEL*-poet from the narrative of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (see following notes); the 109 years are those from 862 to 971; the 'almost a fortnight' is the two weeks between the feast of the deposition of St Swithun on 2 July, and the translation on 15 July. Cf. also the wording of the Royal-Digby epitome (above, p. 700): 'anno igitur centesimo decimo post transitum beatissimi antistitis Swithuni'. No such specific statement is found either in the *Vita* or *Miracula S. Swithuni*, and the *SEL*-poet may be assumed to have made the calculation independently, by subtracting 862 from 971: see above, p. 724.

85–90 The *SEL*-poet now turns to the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (printed above, no. 6) for the source of his narrative. Line 85 is from *Miracula*, c. 1 ('temporibus religiosissimi ac serenissimi regis Anglorum Eadgari'), but the additional remark that Edgar was the father of St Edward the Martyr who was killed by his stepmother, is not found in that source, and may have been taken by the poet from one of the Anglo-Norman historians, either William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum* ii. 162 (ed. Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, p. 264–6) or John of Worcester, *Chronicon* s.a. 978 (ed. Darlington and McGurk, JW ii. 428–30), or an intermediary source dependent on one of these. Note also that the martyrdom of Edward is treated at length in the *SEL* 'Life of St Edward, king and martyr', esp. lines 1–92 (ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 110–13). The statement in line 89, that Edgar was the ninth king after Æthelberht, is from the *Miracula*, c. 1 (p. 648): 'Eadgari (qui a rege Athelberto nonus in regno est)' [lines 1–2].

91–3 This information is also apparently from the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, c. 1 (p. 648), in particular the statement in line 93 that Æthelwold was the tenth bishop of Winchester after Swithun ('Athelwoldum episcopum (qui sibi decimo loco successit)') [line 5].

94 The statement that Edgar drew on the advice of Dunstan as well as Æthelwold is not found in the *Miracula* and may have been taken by the *SEL*-poet from a historical source, perhaps either William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum* ii. 148–9 or John of Worcester, *Chronicon*, s.aa. 969, 973.

97–116 The vision of the smith is narrated (but very succinctly) in *Miracula* c. 1, from whence the *SEL*-poet may well have drawn it. However, note that the extensive dialogue between Swithun and the smith is not found in the *Miracula* and may either have been invented independently by the *SEL*-poet, or prompted by his reading of Lantfred, Wulfstan, the *Epitome* (or even perhaps Ælfric's OE 'Life of St Swithun'). However, in these earlier Winchester sources the smith is instructed by Swithun to go to Eadsige at Winchcombe, not—as here and in the *Miracula*—directly to Bishop Æthelwold: which implies that the dialogue in *SEL* is the Middle English poet's invention.

'Aris up', he seide, 'to morwe · and bilef nou3t bihinde;
to Winchestre go to þe Olde Munstre · þer þou schalt ifinde
þe gode Bischop Aþelwold · þat þe teþe is after me.
And sei þat ich him grete wel · and sende word bi þe
þat our Lord it haþ biconsidered · þat mi bodi schal beo do
in churche and in herre stude · and na more liggen so.
3if þou doutest in ani þing · þat þis beo dwelsinge
and no3t soþ þat ich telle · ichul þe sende tokninge.
For as sone as þou wolt arise · forte do min heste
þe euel þat þou hast ihad · ne schal namore leste,
ac þou schalt beo hol and sound · euer wiþouten ende.
3if þe bischop leueþ þe nou3t · signe ischul him sende;
for whanne 3e comeþ to þat stude · þeras ich ligge 3ute
anowarde me liþ a ston · ac oþer bobaunce bote lute.
Ringes of yren beþ þeron · nailed þerto faste;
ac þer nis non so strong · þat a3en ow schal laste,
þat 3e ne schullen li3tliche · drawen hem of þe ston
wiþouten wem, and eft a3en · setten hem þeron.'

þis gode mon of þis tokninge · ioifol was inow.
Wel in time he aros · and toward is wei3e drow.
Anon as he dude him in þe wei · hol and sound he was;
of þe euel þat he hadde · neuer greued he nas.
To þe bischop he wende Aþelwold · and tolde of þis cas.
þo þe bischop herde þis · fol wel was him þas.
þe ringes þat wer on þe ston · faste as heo sat er
he nom up wiþoute wem · and eft sette hem on þer.

99 up] *om. DHOR* *after* tomorwe *ABCHOQ add* anon, *D adds* sone bilef] ne bilef *BC*, leue *DHRZ* *after* (bi)lef *ABCDHOQ add* þou, *P adds* hit, *Z adds* it 100 *after* Winchester *B adds* þou go] *om. DHP* *before* þer *OPQZ add* and schalt] *om. C* *after* schalt *B adds* so 101 þat] *om. Z* teþe] tende *O* is] *om. Z* 102 and] *om. EV* him grette] grette him *PZ* *after* sende *BCDHQZ add* him 103 our Lord] Iesu Crist *Z* it] *om. AR* *after* bodi *B adds* so 104 and in] in an *BCDHOPQZ* herre] heye *D*, he3 *H* 105 *before* 3if *ABCDHOPQ add* and 3if] *om. A* doutest] dost *R* þing] point *ABCDHOQRZ* beo] is *V* dwelsinge] dwellinge *C*, metinge *O* 106 soþ] ne leuest *B*; *after* ich *PZ add* þe; *after* telle *ABCHOQ add* nou, *D adds* þe þe] him *Z* þe sende] sende þe *BCHQ* tokninge] to þe kynge *H* (!) *for the second half-line D has* i wile þe take toknynge 107 as] also *HO* wolt] *om. ERV* arise] rise *D*, arist *EV*, ryst *R* 108 þe] þat *ABCDHPQ* þou hast ihad] þou hast iheued *AH*, þou ihaued hast *B*, þou so longe hast *CQ*, þou hast long had *D*, þu hast so longe ihad *HOP*, on þe ys *R*, þou haddest longe *Z* namore] no longer *DO*, ne leng *H*, no longe *R* ne schal . . . leste] it shal no lenger laste *Z* 109 ac] but *Z* schalt beo] worst þerof (þere *D*, *om. P*) *ABCDHOPQ*, werst *R* hol] hele *R* euer] and þat *A*, world *CDQ*, wordle *H*, wiþ godes help *P* 110 *before* 3if *APR add* and þe[1]] þat *Z*; þe[2]] hit *H* leueþ þe nou3t] ne lufþ (leued *A*, leueþ *B*) no3t þat *ABCPQ* *before* signe *ABCDHOPQ add* oþer, *R adds* þat oþer signe] a tokene *V* schul] ich wole *B*, I wile *D*, wole *H*, y wole *Q* him] þe *P* signe . . . sende] oþer I wil him sende *Z* 111 whanne] *om. D* þat] þulke *ABCHO*; þeras] as *ABCQ*, þer *DH*, þat *O* 112 anowarde] upon *P*, above *Z* *after* anowarde *V adds* on me] þer *H* ac] wiþ *ACQ*, wiþ oþer *H* bobaunce] boban *C*, pride *DO*, prute *H*, pompe *Z* bote] wel *DHQ*, *om. PR* 113 beþ þeron] þer beoþ on *ABCDHOPQ*, þer ben *Z* þerto] þeron *Z* *after* þerto *BD add* wel 114 ac] and *A*, þat *P*, but *Z* *after* strong *ABCHZ add* of hem ow] *om. CQ* þat a3en . . . laste] þat shal a3eins 3ou ylaste *DZ* *lines 115–16 are omitted from D* 115 þat] and *P* *before* li3tliche *ACDHQ add* riht, *B adds* wel, *R*

'Rise up', he said, 'tomorrow, and do not stay behind;
go to Winchester to the Old Minster, where you will find
the good bishop Æthelwold, who is the tenth after me.
And say that I greet him well, and send word by you
that the Lord has ordained that my body is to be translated
into the church, to a more exalted place, and to lie here no more.
If you have doubts of any kind that this is a delusion
and not truth which I speak, I shall send you a sign.
For as soon as you shall arise to do my bidding,
the illness that you have had will last no longer,
but you will be whole and sound, forever without end.
If the bishop does not believe you, I shall send him a sign:
for when you come to that place where I am lying yet,
a stone is lying upon me, but little in the way of additional extravagance.
There are rings of iron on it, fixed fast to it,
but there is none so strong which shall withstand you,
and prevent you easily drawing them from the stone,
without damage, and placing them back again.'

This good man was exceedingly joyous because of this sign.
In good time he arose and went along his way.
As soon as he set out on his way he was well and sound;
he was not at all troubled from the illness which he had had.
He went to Bishop Æthelwold and explained the situation.
When the bishop heard this, he was extremely glad of it.
The rings that were on the stone, though previously they were firmly in place,
he lifted up without damage, and set them back again.

adds al drawen hem of þe ston] drawe up þe ston *HOP*, drawe from þe ston *Z* 115–16 drawen hem . . . eft aʒen] *om. E* 116 *before* wem *ABCDQ add* ech and eft aʒen] faste *HO* setten hem þeron] hom sette (sette hem *AHO*) on *ABCDHOPQ*, setten on anon *R*, sette ham fast on *Z* 117 þis[1]] þe *PR* þis[2]] þat *R* ioifol] glad *Z* 118 wel] right *Z* in time] bi time *ABCDHOQVZ*, tymeliche *P* toward] in *P* is] þis *ACQ*, þe *D*, þane *H* weiʒe] biscop *A*; *after* weiʒe *P adds* forþ 119 *before* anon *Z adds* And dude him in þe wei] wende forþ *EV*, aros *R*, was in þe way *Z* 120 þat he hadde] þat he so longe bar *A*, þat he bar er so long *B*, þat he bar so longe *CQ*, þat he hadde so long *DHO*, he hadde so longe *Z* *after* neuer *ABCHPQZ add* eft neuer . . . nas] ygreued neuer he nas *D*; *this line is entirely omitted from R* 121 To þe . . . wende Aþelwold] he wende to þe bischop Aþelwold *P* Aþelwold] *om. ERV* of] him al *ACPQ* þis] þat *D*; *for line 121 Z has* to þe bisshop Aþelwold · he went and tolde þat cas 122 þo] *om. E*, whan *Z* þo þe bischop] þe bissop þo he *ABCDHOPQ* þis] wel þat *P* fol] swiþe *A*, *om. BCDHOQ* wel was him þas] wel glad was of þat cas *B*, joyeful þerof was *D*, ful joyful he was *V* *in lieu of line 122 R has* þo þe byschop þat yherd · Seint Aþelwold þat þo was / he was glad of þat tyþyng · and neuer þe wore hym nas; *for the b-verse P has* glad ynow ywis he was, *and Z has* him þought riʒt wel he was 123 ringes] ring *ABCHOPQR*, lok *Z* þat were on þe ston] in sein Swiþines ston *A*, þat was ek on is ston *BCHQ*, þat was (*P adds* eke) in þe ston *PR*, þat was on þat ston *Z* on] in *D* sat] sede *ABCDQ*, seide *HZ*, seyde *OR* 124 *before* he *ABCDHOPQRZ add* liʒtliche nom] tok *D*, com *Z* up] *om. B*, out *Z* eft] as faste *ABCHOQZ* sette hem on þer] sette it (*P adds* aʒen) þer *ABCDHOPQ*, sette hit on þer *R*

117–24 From *Miracula*, c. 1 (p. 648): 'Surgit itaque eger, non iam eger sed plenissime redditus sanitati; sicut predicta et ostensa sunt omnia repperit. Dicta et reperta (prout iussum est) domno pontifici intimare contendit' [lines 13–15].

Lord þe ioie þat made þo · þe bischop Aþelwold!
þis miracle was sone couþ · and sone wide told.
Seint Aþelwold sone wende · to Edgar þe gode kinge
and tolde him as was riȝt · of þis holi tokeninge.
þe gode king was þo glad inow · hi nomen hem to rede
how heo miȝten mid most honour · do þis holi dede.
Hi ordeineden a day þerto · as her conseil bisay
bifore heruest in þe monþe · of Jul þe fifteþe day.
Heo somneden to þis day · heiȝe men inow þerto,
bischopes and abbotes · þis holi dede to do.
þo hi come to Winchestre · þeras þe bodi lay,
in fastinge and in orisons · hi weren niȝt and day,
þat our Lord hem sende grace · þat dede wel to ende.
þo þe day was icome · to þe minstre hi gonnen wende.
Heo reuestede hem faire inow · mid god deuocioun,
wiþ tapres ytend and wiþ crois · and feir processioun.

To þe toumbe heo wenden sone · þeras þe bodi lay,
ase fel in þe monþe of Jul · þe fifteþe day.
þis holi bischop Aþelwold · as riȝt was for to do
let delue to þis holi bodi · and þo hi come þerto,
þer com out suche a swete breþ · among þe men echon
so gret swetnesse as hem þouȝte · heo smelden neuer non:
Lord muche is þi miȝte · and soþ it is ised
þat a bodi scholde so swete smelle · þat so longe hedde be ded.
Ȝe witeþ bi oþer dede men · hit was aȝen riȝt.
A blind wommon mid þat dede · hedde þer hir siȝt,

125 Lord] muche was *AP*, **wel was** *B*, wel *CDHOQR* þat] *om. V* **Lord . . . þat]** gret joie *Z* þo] *om. D* þe bischop Aþelwold] þis holy Aþelwolde *D* 126 *B adds* and *before* þis; þis] and þat faire *Z* sone couþ] *om. Z* sone wide] wide aboute (*P adds* þerof) *ACHOPQ*, wide sone *B*, sone aboute *D* 127 sone] *om. DEV* sone wende] went sone *DOZ* gode] *om. R* 128 And tolde . . . riȝt] And tolde as riȝt was to him *P*; *after* as *ABH add* wel riȝt] soþ riht *V* was riȝt] right was *OZ* of] *om. D*; þis] þe *E* tokeninge] tiþing *DHO*, þing *Z* 129 þe] þis *DH* þo] *om. DOZ* inow] *om. ERV* nomen] toke *Z* *after* hem *ACPQRZ add* sone 130 *after* miȝten *P adds* and *before* do *B adds* to þis] þat *D* 131 ordeineden] asigned *ABD*, ensignede *CQ*, assignede *HOP* as] and *Z* as her conseil] hore conseil so it *A*, her consayle hem *B* bisay] ysay *CH*, hysay Q 132 *this line is omitted from P* in þe monþe] monþe uel *A*, mone uol *CQ* of Jul] ful Q fifteþe] eiȝteteoþe *H*, fiftende *O*, fyfteþ *R*, fifteneþe *V* 133–6 *P gives these lines in the order 136, 134, 133, 135* 133 somneden] let somnen *BZ* to] aȝen *ABCDHOPQZ*, ȝe *R* þis] þilke *D*, þat *Z* heiȝe] *om. Z* men] *om. A* 134 *for the a-verse Z has* bishopes, abbotes and good men þis] þat *D*, þe *H* *after* dede *B adds* for 135 þo] whan *Z* to Winchestre] togadere at Winchestre *ABCHQ*, at Wynchester togader *Z*, togader *R*; þeras] þer *DHOZ* *after* þe *BDR add* holi *in lieu of 136–7 P has* Faste he bede oure swote lord · boþe niȝt and day / þat he ham geue his grace · þulke dede wel to ende 136 *for the a-verse Z has* In priers and in fasting in[2]] *om. DH* 137 hem sende] hem geue *ABCHQ*, sende hem *V*, gaue him *Z*; þat] þulke *ACR*, þat ilke *BZ*, þis *H* *after* þat *DHO add* holy to] *om. ABCDHQ* 138 *before* þo *P adds* and þo] whan *Z* *after* day *CH add* him hi gonnen] gan þei *Z* 139 reuestede] cloþed *Z* hem] *om. HO* inow] *om. ERV* faire inow] wiþ her uestimentis *Z* *before* mid *ABCPQR add* and god] gret *DHO*, *om. V* 140 wiþ tapres ytend and wiþ crois] wiþ taperes and þe (wiþ *A*) crois *ABC*, wiþ tapers ytend and cros *DO*, wiþ taperes ytende and þe (wiþ *P*) cros *HOPQ*, wiþ crois and wiþ tapres *EV* ytend] ylight *Z* feir] gret *H* 141 sone] *om. ERVZ* þeras] as *ABCHQ*, þer *DRZ* þe] þat *ABCDHOQ*, þis *R* *after* þis *O adds* holy 142 ase] as it *ABCDHOPQZ* **þe[1]]** *om. D* *before* þe fifteþe *P adds* riȝt on fifteþe] fiftende *O*, fyfteþ *R* 143 þis] þe *D* **holi]** *om. EO*, goede *P* for] *om.*

O Lord, the joy that Bishop Æthelwold then experienced!
This miracle was soon well known, and soon widely reported.
St Æthelwold went at once to Edgar, the good king,
and told him about this holy miracle, as was only right.
The good king was extremely glad about this; they took counsel
as to how they might do this holy deed with the greatest honour.
They assigned a day in accordance with the advice they received,
before harvest in the month of July, the fifteenth day.
On this day they summoned many exalted persons,
bishops and abbots, to perform the holy task.
When they came to Winchester where the body lay,
they were engaged night and day in fasting and prayer,
so that our Lord would send them grace to bring the task to a good end.
When the day arrived they made their way to the Old Minster.
They vested themselves decorously, with devotion,
with lighted candles and with crucifixes, and in a fair procession.

They made their way directly to the tomb where the body lay,
as happened in the month of July, the fifteenth day.
This holy bishop Æthelwold, as was appropriate to do,
had them dig down to the holy body, and when they got there,
there came out such a sweet scent among all the men,
such great sweetness it seemed to them, as they had never smelled.
Lord, truly it is said that great is Thy might
when a body should smell so sweet that had been dead for so long.
You know through comparison with other dead men that it was unnatural.
At this event a blind woman regained her sight there,

DEHOVZ 144 þis holy] þe *ERV* þo] whan *Z* 145 com out . . . breþ] smyte a swote breþ out *A*, com smite out a swote (good *B*) breþ *BCDHOQ* suche] *om. Z* swete] *om. EV* þe men] þis gode men *ABCHQ*, þis men *PZ*, hem *R* 146 *before* so *ABCDHPQ add* þat, *O adds* ac gret swetnesse] swete smelle *Z* as] *om. D* þou3te] yhu3te *V* heo smelden] ne smelde hi *ABCHOPQ*, hi ne smelled *R* *lines 147–8 are omitted from V* 147 and] *om. BCDHOQ*, þat *P* 148 so[1]] *om. E* swete] *om. ER* smelle] beo *P* þat so longe . . . ded] after þat hit is ded *P*, so longe lay deyde *Z* 149 *after* witeþ *A adds* wel *after* was *ABCDHOQ add* muche 150 wommon] man *Z* (!) *after* wommon *ABCDHOPQ add* anon mid . . . dede] in þat place *Z* þat] þe *H* hedde þer hir si3t] in þe place hadde hire si3t *ABCDHOPQR*, anon had his si3t *Z*

125–6 From *Miracula*, c. 4 (pp. 650–2): 'Letabatur [*scil.* Æthelwold] magnopere et ex toto corde gaudebat et, quia temporibus suis reuelatio tante iocunditatis facta est, gratias Domino Deo suo quam altius poterat exhibebat' [lines 45–7]. In lieu of the three miracles leading up to the translation (told in *Miracula*, cc. 1–3), the *SEL*-poet has reported only the first.

127–40 A somewhat embellished version of *Miracula*, c. 4 (p. 652): 'Annuente rege, die statuto, indicto ieiunio, religiosis et sullimibus personis euocatis, congregata multitudine totius cleri et populi, ipse domnus episcopus . . . ad locum sepulchri, crucibus paratis et cereis ritu ecclesiastico, uadit' [lines 49–52]. Cf. also the account of the translation of Edward in the *SEL* 'Life of Edward, king and martyr', lines 169–74 (ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 115): 'So þat bissopes and abbotes · and here men manyon . . . and þo hi þerto come'.

141 The b-verse is repeated from line 135.

143–9 The translation, and especially the reported fragrance of Swithun's body, is an embellishment of *Miracula*, c. 4 (p. 652): 'Cumque apertum esset sepulchrum illud et ille thesaurus . . .—corpus uidelicet patris et episcopi nostri beatissimi Swithuni—fuisset inuentum, omnes qui aderant odoris fragrantia ubique predicanda perfudit' [lines 53–5]

150–1 From *Miracula*, c. 4 (p. 652): 'Mulier ceca uisum recepit; multi alii infirmi a sua sunt infirmitate curati' [lines 55–6].

and manie oþer þer botneden · eke of muchele wo:
ȝe wiþinne ten dawes · to hondred and mo.
Þis holi bodi was up nome · and mid honour iwis
into Seint Petres churche ibore · þat þe heiȝe munstre is
and ido in noble schrine faire · þer hit liþ ȝute.
Þe miracles þat ofte comeþ · for him ne beþ nouȝt lute.
Schrined he was nyne hondred ȝer · and in þe on and seuenteþe ȝere
after þat our Lord aliȝte · in his moder here.
Seint Swiþhan þat oure bischop was · here in Engelonde,
bring us to þe ioie of heuene · þorw our Lordes sonde.

151 *after* oþer *P adds* ek were eke of muchele wo] ek of strong euil and wo *ABCPQ*, eke of pine (euel *HO*) and of wo *DHO*, of strong euel and wo *Z* muchele] wel muche *C*, ful muche *V* 152 ȝe] and *DHO*, *om. Z* *after* wiþinne *ABCH add* an (a *B*) ten] þe tuey *H*, þe ten *O* *before* to hundred *R adds* and 153 honour] honour gret *A*, gret honur *BCDHOPQ* 154 *before* into *HO add* and into] and to *D*; þat] þer *D*, as *O* þe] *om. R*; *for line 154 Z has* and born to seint Petres church · þer þe mynster is 155 *after* ido *Q adds* þer ido] laide þer *Z* noble] *om. A*, fair *BCHQ* ido . . . schrine] don in a noble *D*, ydo in schryne þer wel nobliche *P* faire] wel (and *H*) noble *ABCHQ*, as hit *P* þer hit] and *B*, þeras *D*, as *H* liþ] is *A* 156 ofte] of him *DHO*, þerof *R* for him . . . lute] for soþ (*O adds* ne) beoth not lite *DHO*, ne were nouȝt lute *P*, ne beþ noȝt forȝut *R*; *for line 156 Z has* ther ben oft miracles ydo · mo þan I can write 157 schrined he] this *Z* nyne] an *A*, neoȝene and twenti *H*, many *R*, .vi. *Z* hondred] *om. H*; *after* hondred *Z adds* and two þe on and seuenteþe] on and twentiþe *ABCDHOPQ*, þe seuenteþe *R*, þe seuenteneþe *V*, thirty *Z* 158 *after* Lord *ACDHOPQ add* an eorþe 159 *before* Seint *ACDHOPQR add* nou oure] *om. DHOR* bischop was] was bisshop *DHO*, bischop were *P* 160 bring . . . heuene] help us bring to þe ioye of heuene *P* sonde] londe *Q* *in lieu of lines 158–60 B has the following lines*: After þat oure swete Lord Jesus in his moder alyȝt / and wente to the grete ioye þat he is wiþoute ende, / Iesus grant us alle her so to don þat we mot þeder wende, / and for þe loue of Seint Swiþþin þat bysschop was her in Ingelonde / þou bring us to þe joye of heuene þoruȝ oure Lordes sonde.

152 The statement that 200 were cured within ten days is not found at this point in the *Miracula*; it was either fabricated by the *SEL*-poet, or adapted from a statement later in the *Miracula* (c. 24: that 124 were cured in two weeks).

153–5 From *Miracula*, c. 4 (p. 652): 'loco eminentissimo intra ecclesiam honorificentius apponitur collocatum' [line 57]. The statement that the shrine of St Swithun still lies in the cathedral at Winchester may be based on personal knowledge; on the lavish reliquary-shrine fashioned at King Edgar's expense which remained in use until the mid-fifteenth century, see above,

and many others too were cured there of great illness:
indeed within ten days two hundred or more were cured.
This holy body was exhumed, and with honour, to be sure,
was carried into the church of St Peter which is the Old Minster,
and placed appropriately in a noble shrine, where it still lies.
The miracles which often take place through him are not insignificant.
He was enshrined in the nine-hundred and seventy-first year
after our Lord was made incarnate in His mother.
St Swithun, you who were our bishop here in England,
bring us to the joy of heaven through our Lord's grace.

pp. 18–19, 492–3 (note to Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 8), as well as discussion by John Crook in *Winchester Cathedral*, ed. Crook, pp. 59–61.

157–8 From *Miracula*, c. 4 (p. 652): 'Factum est autem hoc anno dormitionis et requiescionis sue centesimo decimo, anno uero incarnationis dominice nongentesimo septuagesimo primo' [lines 58–9]. The fact that the *SEL*-poet was closely following the *Miracula* here as elsewhere confirms that the readings of MSS ABCDHOPQ (that is, the γ- or "C"- redaction) are false, and that EV (that is, the ϵ- redaction) alone preserve what the Middle English poet of the original poem (ω) may have written. It is striking that the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester (on which see above, p. 160) preserves a version of these two lines in which the date 971 is correctly represented (as it is not in MSS. ABCDHOPQ):

> Yssryned he was nyn hondred · & on & seuentiþe 3ere
> After þat vre louerd ali3te · in is moder here
> (5730–1)

If the poet of the γ-redaction was identical with Robert of Gloucester, as has plausibly been suggested by O. J. Pickering ('*South English Legendary* style in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*', *Medium Ævum*, lxx (2001), 1–18), then it is problematic that Robert apparently presented the date of Swithun's translation correctly in his *Chronicle* (as quoted above), but incorrectly in his revision of the *SEL* 'Life of St Swithun', as it is represented in MSS. ABCDHOPQ. Problems such as this will remain insoluble until more of the Lives in *SEL* have been edited on the basis of thorough collation of all surviving manuscripts, as I have tried to do here for the 'Life of St Swithun'. It is clear that judgements concerning the transmission of *SEL* as a whole cannot be based solely on full collation of a single Life.

158 A repetition of line 80.

159–60 Cf. *SEL* 'Life of St Dunstan', lines 205–6: 'Nou swete louerd sein Donston · þat oure erchebisshop were / Bring us to þe ioie of heuene · as angles þine soule bere' (ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, i. 211); cf. the 'Life of St Alban', lines 1–2: 'Seint Albon þe holyman · was here of Engelonde / Imartred he was for Godes loue · and þoru oure Louerdes sonde' (ibid. i. 238).

9. JOHN OF TYNEMOUTH 'VITA ET MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI' FROM THE *SANCTILOGIVM ANGLIAE, WALLIAE, SCOTIAE ET HIBERNIAE*

INTRODUCTION

At some point in the middle of the fourteenth century, John, vicar of Tynemouth (a cell of St Albans) compiled his massive *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae*, a collection of some 156 prose saints' *vitae* pertaining to England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Among these saints' *vitae* is an account of the life and miracles of St Swithun, which may for convenience be referred to as the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni'.[1]

i. JOHN OF TYNEMOUTH AND HIS *SANCTILOGIVM*

Very little is known of the life of John of Tynemouth.[2] He is known principally for two massive works, the *Sanctilogium* and the *Historia aurea*, a universal history extending from the Creation to the siege of Calais in 1347. From the chronological span of the *Historia aurea* it has been conjectured that John died soon after 1347, perhaps as a victim of the Black Death in 1348 or 1349;[3] on the other hand, Henry of Kirkstede, the late-fourteenth-century author of a *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae*, gave John's floruit as 1366.[4] Henry of Kirkstede also provided a list of John's writings, which includes the aforementioned *Historia aurea* and *Sanctilogium*, as well as a *Martirologium*,[5] a *Lectionarium* and

[1] *BHL* no. 7949, where it is described as 'Vitae, translationis et miraculorum epitome'. The title which I use is purely editorial; in manuscripts of the work it has no title, but is prefaced by a rubric *De S. Swithuno* [*episcopo et confessore*].

[2] The fullest account of his life and works is that by C. Horstman, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901) [*NLA*], i, pp. xxxiii–liii; see also the concise but useful remarks in A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 257–8, as well as Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 333–4 (no. 949).

[3] Horstman, *NLA* i, p. liii.

[4] Quoted in Horstman, *NLA* i, p. xxxiv. On the identity of Henry of Kirkstede, a monk of Bury St Edmunds, see R. H. Rouse, 'Bostonus Buriensis and the author of the *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae*', *Speculum*, xli (1966), 471–99. A new edition of Henry's *Catalogus* by R. H. Rouse is forthcoming in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.

[5] Unlike the *Sanctilogium*, the scope of which is limited to the British Isles, the *Martirologium* apparently contained brief accounts of saints of the universal Church.

commentaries on the Octateuch and Revelation, but of these only the *Historia aurea* and *Sanctilogium* have survived (or been identified).[6] The *Historia aurea* is a huge historical compilation which survives in three manuscripts, but, presumably because of its size and derivative nature, has never been printed.[7] Horstman attempted to situate the work in the context of historiographical activity at fourteenth-century St Albans,[8] with the implications that John was a monk of that house and hence had access to its well-stocked library; but these implications have been questioned, and it is now thought that John was a secular cleric whose focus of interest was Tynemouth and Durham rather than St Albans (as is reflected in the fact that one of the manuscripts of the *Historia aurea*, Lambeth Palace Library 10–12, is a Durham manuscript).[9] Whether he was a monk or a secular cleric, it is clear that John was at liberty to travel, for his *Sanctilogium* reveals that he had consulted manuscripts in many libraries in England and Wales during his search for saints' *vitae*.[10]

John's *Sanctilogium* contains 156 saints' *vitae*, embracing saints from England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The earliest in date are the martyrs St Alban and St Amphibalus (the priest whom St Alban was protecting at the time of his arrest); the most recent are St Thomas of Hales, a monk of Dover who was killed by the French in 1295, and St Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford, who died in 1282 and was formally canonized in 1320. John drew his *vitae* from a wide range of sources: the earlier saints are drawn principally from Bede, but later sources include Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, Eadmer and Osbern of Canterbury, Aelred of Rievaulx, William of Malmesbury, Reginald of Coldingham, and others. In every case John was concerned principally to excerpt and epitomize his predecessors' work; his *vitae* are characteristically brief (normally two or three printed pages, as in the case of St Swithun). He introduced very few changes of fact or detail, although in recasting and abbreviating earlier works he characteristically excised verbose and difficult expressions. At the end of his 'Vita S. Patricii' he describes his compilatorial activity as that of a *relator simplex*:

> Ego uero in prescriptis et dubiis, et in sequentibus nonnullis, auctoritatem discutiendi et diffiniendi mihi non presumo, sed tanquam relator simplex, que in diuersis libris et locis cum labore et difficultate sedulus indagator reperire potui, ardua peritis uentilanda relinquens sine inuidia, communico.[11]

This description is fully borne out by the nature of the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni'.

In the original form of his *Sanctilogium*, as it has been transmitted uniquely in London, BL, Cotton Tiberius E. i (see below), John arranged his 156 abbreviated *vitae* by saints' feast days, in the order of the liturgical calendar, beginning with St Edward the Confessor on 5 January, and ending

[6] Some excerpts from the *Martirologium* are contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 240: see Horstman, *NLA*, i, p. liv; see also M. Lapidge and R. C. Love, 'The Latin hagiography of England and Wales (600–1550)', in *Hagiographies*, iii. 283–4. Furthermore, some *vitae* from this manuscript, which do not form part of the *Sanctilogium* but may have been intended as additions to it, are printed in Horstman's Appendix II (ibid. ii. 538–688).

[7] The manuscripts are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 5–6; London, Lambeth Palace Library, 10–12; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 240; other abbreviated versions are listed by Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 334.

[8] *NLA* i, pp. xlv–li.

[9] V. H. Galbraith, 'The *Historia aurea* of John, vicar of Tynemouth, and the sources of the St Albans Chronicle (1327–77)', *Essays in History presented to R. L. Poole*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1927), pp. 379–98; idem, 'Extracts from the *Historia aurea* and a French "Brut"', *EHR* xlii (1928), 203–17. See also Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 333, Gransden, *Historical Writing* ii. 56–7, and J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 60, 103–5.

[10] Horstman, *NLA* i, pp. li–lii; John specifies Ely, Canterbury, London, Glastonbury, Hereford, and Wales.

[11] Horstman, *NLA* ii. 292: 'In the preceding and doubtful texts, and in some of those which follow, I do not arrogate to myself the authority of elaborating or defining, but like a simple reporter I transmit those things which as a careful researcher I was able to discover in various books and places with effort and with difficulty, leaving to other experts the business of elaborating the complexities.'

with St Ecgwine on 30 December.[12] With each saint's *vita*, John includes an antiphon and a collect, which suggests that the *Sanctilogium* was intended for liturgical use, perhaps for reading at chapter. He also includes with most *vitae* what he calls *narrationes* or *incidentiae*. These consist of brief anecdotes or moral exhortations, usually wholly unrelated to the *vita* at hand. The *Sanctilogium* contains 177 such *narrationes*, drawn from various sources, including the *Vitas patrum*, Cassian's *Conlationes*, Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, Bede, and especially the *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais (d. *c.*1264).[13]

The 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' are included in the *Sanctilogium* against 2 July, the feast of St Swithun's deposition (rather than the more common feast of the translation on 15 July). The work is based on the earlier anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* (printed above, no. 5) and *Miracula S. Swithuni* (above, no. 6). It represents a drastic abbreviation of these two works: cc. 1–7 are based on the *Vita S. Swithuni*, and cc. 8–16 on the *Miracula*, cc. 1–9, 14, 16, 19, 23–4, 27, 42, and 44. Sometimes John's abbreviation is so drastic that his narrative loses all definition, as when c. 8 of the *Miracula* is reduced to the telegraphic statement, 'he cured a paralytic' (*paraliticum sanauit*); at other times he reports miracles at considerable length (cc. 14–16 = *Miracula*, cc. 27, 42, 44), presumably because he was attracted by their content: this would explain, for example, his inclusion of the bizarre story (*Miracula*, c. 42) concerning the old woman who was dragged from her bed by a wolf.

Given that John drew on both the anonymous *Vita* and *Miracula*, it is a reasonable assumption that he found the two works together in one volume. It is worth asking if this volume can be identified among surviving manuscripts. Five manuscripts are in question (see above, pp. 643–4): London, BL, Arundel 169 (A); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 161 (C); Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, I. 81 (G); Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 7 (L); and London, BL, Cotton Tiberius D. iv (T). Of these, G can be eliminated at once: it dates (on palaeographical grounds) from the second half of the fourteenth century and is thus probably too late to have been used by John; but it can be eliminated in any case because it omits from the *Miracula* the entirety of cc. 10 and 15, both of which were excerpted by John. Similarly, C can be eliminated, inasmuch as it is itself an abbreviated version of the *Vita* and *Miracula*, and omits many sentences which were included by John.[14] With regard to the remaining three manuscripts, two more can probably be eliminated, though on less decisive grounds. T has a number of individual readings which are not followed by John,[15] and there is one distinctive variant in A which is not found in the other manuscripts and is not repeated by John.[16] This leaves only L, which—on the evidence of the *Miracula* alone—could arguably have served as John's exemplar. However, L also contains a text of the *Vita S. Swithuni*, and this text

[12] The contents of the *Sanctilogium* are listed by Horstman, *NLA* i, pp. xii–xiv, and also by Lapidge and Love, 'The Latin hagiography', in *Hagiographies*, iii. 307–8 (with *BHL* numbers and identifications). Five *vitae*—those of SS Finan, Eata, Walburga, Ithamar, and Christina—are added at the end of the collection, following the *vita* of St Ecgwine. These *vitae* are not in calendrical order, and may perhaps represent later additions which John failed to integrate into the structure of the whole work.

[13] See Horstman, *NLA* i, pp. xxxi–xxxii, who suggests that the custom of including diverting anecdotes or *narrationes* was initiated by the friars as a feature of their preaching technique.

[14] For example, in c. 8 the words *ubi iacebat* and *salutisque leticiam perfecte reuersuram* (*Miracula*, c. 1, nn. *f–f*, *i–i*) are omitted from C; in c. 15, the words *quiescentem fortuitu reperire* (*Miracula*, c. 42, n. *h–h*) are similarly omitted from C.

[15] For example, in c. 8 in the phrase *illius lesione exiturum*, T has *ipsius* where all the other manuscripts and John have *illius* (*Miracula*, c. 1, n. *l*); in the same chapter, in the phrase *eodem integritatis tenore seruato* all manuscripts and John correctly read *eodem*, whereas T mistakenly has *eadem* (*Miracula*, c. 1, n. *m*). More significantly, in c. 15 John's text has *multiplici et miserabili ululatu* with the majority of manuscripts, whereas T here has *mirabili* rather than *miserabili* (*Miracula*, c. 42, n. *o*).

[16] In c. 8, in the phrase *salutisque leticiam perfecte reuersuram*, A uniquely reads *reuersurum* (*Miracula*, c. 1, n. *j*).

preserves one variant reading which suggests that it was not John's exemplar.[17] The sum of this evidence suggests that none of the five surviving manuscripts which contain the *Vita* and *Miracula* can have been John's exemplar.

Once John had completed his redaction of the *Vita* and *Miracula*, he supplied his text with an antiphon, a collect, and a brief *narratio*. The antiphon is the brief six-line poem in elegiacs (*inc.* 'O Swithune pater, presul mitissime noster') which is printed and discussed below (pp. 792–3); the collect is that proper beginning 'Deus qui hodiernam diem' which is printed and discussed above in the context of St Swithun and the liturgy (pp. 84–5).[18] At the conclusion of his 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni', John added a *narratio* drawn from the *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais;[19] the *narratio* concerns St Dorothea of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and is as follows:

[Cum] autem Dorothea uirgo apud Cesa[ream Cappadoci]e a preside tradita esset duabus sororibus [que apos]tatauerant, iterum eas conuertit. Et cum ad decollandum duceretur, Theophilus [scolasti]cus ait, 'Eia tu, sponsa Christi, mitte michi rosas et mala de paradis[o] sponsi tui'. Que respondit: 'Plane sic faciam'. Cumque orasset, ecce puer ante eam apparuit ferens tria mala optima et tres rosas. Cui illa: 'Obsecro te', inquit, 'ut haec Theophilo scolastico deferas'. Cum ergo Theophilus narraret circumstantibus promissionem uirginis irridens, ecce puer ante eum stetit [et ait: 'Ecce tibi] petenti mittit Dorothea uirgo sacratissima quod promisit.' Qui accipiens, statim conuersus est ad fidem. Eratque mensis Februarius quando rose ille misse sunt, et totam Cappadociam glaciale frigus tegebat.[20]

And in Caesarea in Cappadocia, when the virgin Dorothea was committed by the magistrate to two sisters who had apostasized, she reconverted them. And when she was being led away to be beheaded, Theophilus the scholar said, "Come then, bride of Christ, send me some roses and apples from the paradise of your bridegroom." She replied: "Of course I will." And when she had prayed, a boy appeared before her bearing three fine apples and three roses. She said to him: "I beg you to take these to Theophilus the scholar." When Theophilus was explaining scornfully to bystanders the virgin's promise, the boy stood before him and said: "Look, the holy virgin Dorothea sends at your request that which she promised." Taking the apples, he was immediatedly converted to the faith. It was the month of February when the roses were sent, and a glacial frost covered all Cappadocia.

The anecdote is charming, but it cannot be thought to have any thematic link with the life and miracles of St Swithun.

Note finally that in the early sixteenth century, Richard Pynson printed (in 1516) an English translation of John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium*. The translation included the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni', and is ptd below (no. 11).

[17] In c. 2, John writes that Swithun *ad honorem sacerdocii prouectus est*, following the wording of nine manuscripts of the *Vita*; the tenth, L, at this point reads *sacerdotii prouectus est ad honorem* (*Vita*, c. 2, n. *c–c*), a verbal transposition which is not repeated by John.

[18] The antiphon and collect are preserved uniquely in BL, Cotton Tiberius E. i (see below), the antiphon ('O Swithune pater') being found in the lower margin of fo. 26ra, the collect ('Deus qui hodiernam diem') in the lower margin of fo. 26rb. None of the other manuscripts of the *Sanctilogium* preserves these two prayers.

[19] *Bibliotheca mundi seu Speculi maioris Vincentii Burgundi Praesulis Bellovacensis*, 4 vols. (Douai, 1624), iv. 471 (vol. iv of this edition contains the *Speculum historiale*; the story of St Dorothea is in book xii, c. 47).

[20] Cotton Tiberius E. i, fo. 26rb; ptd Horstman, *NLA* ii. 361.

ii. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *SANCTILOGIUM*

As we have seen, John of Tynemouth arranged the *vitae* in his *Sanctilogium* in the order of saints' feast days in the liturgical calendar. Only one manuscript of the *Sanctilogium* preserves this arrangement, and it is *ipso facto* the principal witness to John's great work.

T = London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E. i (? St Albans, s. xiv^{med})

T is a manuscript in large format (320 × 190 mm.) now bound in two volumes. It is largely the work of one scribe, written in two columns (43 or 44 lines to the column) and datable on palaeographical grounds to the mid-fourteenth century. The ascription of T's origin to St Albans depends on what attitude one adopts to the quality of its text[21] and to Horstman's arguments concerning John's activity at St Albans:[22] if the text is deemed to be impeccable or nearly so, then, given its date, it is arguably an idiograph made under John's supervision. Whether or not it was actually written at St Albans, the manuscript came at some point early in its career into the possession of Thomas de la Mare, abbot of St Albans (1349–96), for an inscription originally placed at the end of the manuscript recorded that Abbot Thomas had subsequently bequeathed the manuscript to Redbourn (Herts.), a nearby cell of St Albans.[23] In any event, T preserves the *Sanctilogium* in its complete—if not completed—form, and contains 156 *vitae*.[24] The 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' is in vol. ii, fos. 25rb-26rb [previous foliation: 198r–199r]. Unfortunately, the manuscript was severely damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731, with the result that parts of it are now destroyed or illegible (particularly in the outer margins). This destruction affects the text of the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni'; but fortunately there are two other manuscript witnesses to a later recension of the text.

At some point between the mid-fourteenth century (the date assignable to T) and 1454, an anonymous redactor took the text of John's *Sanctilogium* and rearranged its contents in alphabetical, rather than calendrical, order. The contents in this rearranged redaction now begin with St Adrian [= Hadrian] and end with St Wlstan [= Wulfstan]. The identity of the redactor is unknown,[25] but his redaction is preserved in two fifteenth-century manuscripts.

O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 15 (S.C. 9835) (A.D. 1499)

A manuscript in large format (360 × 265 mm.), written in double columns, and consisting of iv + 605 + iv pp. According to an inscription on p. 581, the manuscript was written in 1499 for Thomas Goldston II, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, by one Jacobus Neel of Rouen.[26] The manuscript is

[21] See below, pp. 750–1.

[22] See *NLA* i, pp. xi–xii, and cf. above, n. 8.

[23] Quoted by Horstman, *NLA* i, p. xi: 'Hunc librum dedit Dominus Thomas de la Mare abbas monasterii S. Albani Anglorum protomartyris, Deo et ecclesiae B. Amphibali de Redburn . . .'. See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964), pp. 158, 296. The inscription was destroyed in the Cotton fire of 1731.

[24] The contents are listed by Horstman, *NLA* i, pp. xii–xiv; see also T. Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cotton Library 1696*, ed. C. G. C. Tite (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 28–9.

[25] The work of redaction was formerly attributed to John Capgrave, O. E. S. A. (1393–1464), but this attribution has been comprehensively and convincingly rejected by P. J. Lucas, 'John Capgrave and the *Nova Legenda Anglie*; a survey', *The Library*, 5th ser., xxv (1970), 1–10.

[26] A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.435–1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1984), i. 116 (no. 704); the inscription is illustrated in vol. ii, pl. 804.

richly decorated in French style, which squares with the origin of its scribe;[27] but since it is not listed in later Canterbury catalogues, there is some doubt that it ever reached its destination. The 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' are on pp. 499a–500b.

Y = York, Minster Library, XVI. G. 23 (English, A.D. 1454)

A manuscript in huge format (465 × 335 mm.), consisting of 197 fos., written in two columns.[28] The scribe (who names himself on fos. 107r and 192v) is Henry Mere, a professional scribe possibly of German origin, whose work is known from a number of other manuscripts.[29] The manuscript was in the possession of York Minster no later than *c.*1500, to judge from the *ex-libris* inscriptions on fos. 193v and 194r. The 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' are on fo. 181v.

Mention may also be made of another fifteenth-century manuscript which preserved the alphabetical redaction of John's *Sanctilogium*, namely London, BL, Cotton Otho D. ix. The manuscript was in small format (230 × 140 mm.), written in two columns in compressed script. However, the manuscript was almost wholly destroyed by the Cotton fire in 1731. What leaves remain have been mounted. The 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' are on fos. 235vb–236va.[30] However, nothing survives but two small snippets of each leaf, and I am not confident that a single word can be read. It is certain, however, that the manuscript belonged to the alphabetical redaction, since the *vita* of St Teilo follows that of St Swithun.[31]

iii. RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

It is convenient to begin with the two legible manuscripts of the alphabetical redaction, namely O and Y. These two manuscripts are evidently closely related: they agree in the omission of cc. 13–14, and in a significant number of verbal variants, transpositions and omissions.[32] Of the two, Y was written in 1454, O in 1499; Y cannot therefore be a copy of O. On the other hand, O cannot be a copy of Y, which has a number of distinctive errors and omissions.[33] The simplest conclusion is that OY descend from a common exemplar.

How was this exemplar related to T? (It is obvious that the exemplar in question cannot have been T itself, given that both O and Y preserve the alphabetical redaction which must have been accomplished in an ancestor.) The exemplar in question apparently diverged from T in various respects, for on certain occasions T has erroneous readings where OY have the correct reading in company with the anonymous *Vita* and *Miracula*, John of Tynemouth's sources. In c. 2, T reads *curabat enim seipsum ministrum probabile Deo semper offerre*, whereas OY correctly read *probabilem* (*minister* is masc.), as does the *Vita S. Swithuni* (c. 2), John's source. In c. 15, T reads *lauamine* [*et*

[27] See O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, I. German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools* (Oxford, 1966), p. 62 (no. 796), where the manuscript is listed as an example of 'French' illumination.

[28] N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, IV. *Paisley–York* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 705–6.

[29] M. B. Parkes, 'A fifteenth-century scribe: Henry Mere', *Bodleian Library Record*, iv (1961), 654–9, repr. with addenda in his *Scribes, Scripts and Readers. Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London and Rio Grande, OH, 1991), pp. 249–56.

[30] Note that fo. 236 has been mounted wrongly, so that what is now the verso of fo. 236 should be the recto; if rearranged, the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' would begin on fo. 235vb, continue on 236[r] and end at the bottom of col. a on 236[v].

[31] Cf. the list of contents in Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, ed. Tite, pp. 76–7.

[32] For example, cc. 6 n. *u–u*, 7 nn. *e–e* and *m–m*, and 8 n. *b–b*.

[33] For example, cc. 11 n. *a–a* (caused by homoeoteleuton), 12 n. *a*, 15 n. *k–k* and 16 n. *j–j*.

auxi]lio diuine subuencionis, whereas OY correctly have *leuamine*, as do the anonymous *Miracula S. Swithuni* (c. 42), John's source. That fact that OY in these two places agree with John's sources rather than T indicates that in certain slight details their lost exemplar preserved a more accurate text of the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' than does T; and this observation in turn has some bearing on whether or not T can be regarded as John's idiograph.

It will be understood that the relationship of manuscripts here deduced pertains only to John's 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni'. In order to establish this relationship securely, it would be necessary to collate the entirety of the *Sanctilogium*, a task which lies far beyond the scope of the present book.

iv. PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF THE 'VITA ET MIRACVLA S. SWITHVNI'

Some few years after Jacobus Neel had written our MS. O for the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, a well-known London printer, Wynkyn de Worde, printed in 1516 the alphabetical redaction of John's *Sanctilogium* under the title *Nova Legenda Anglie*.[34] The 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' are on fos. 278v–279v. To judge solely from the evidence of the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni', the source of this edition cannot have been either of the two surviving manuscripts of the alphabetical redaction (OY), since it contains the text of cc. 13–14 which they omit. Furthermore, the text printed by Wynkyn de Worde contains various errors which are found in no surviving manuscript.[35]

The next edition of John's 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' formed part of *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, edited by Lorenz Surius (1522–78)[36] and printed in Cologne in 1571–80. This massive work is bound in six volumes and its contents are arranged according to the liturgical year, so that each volume contains the *vitae* of two months; the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' is printed in vol. iv (1579), pp. 45–7. For various reasons it is not clear what was the manuscript source of Surius's text. He attributed the work to Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (an attribution which is found in no surviving manuscript of the *Sanctilogium*); furthermore, Surius frequently altered the wording of his exemplar in line with his own notions of style.[37] Some impression of Surius's stylistic interventions may be gleaned from his version of c. 1 of the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' (alterations to John's text are given in italics):

Glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto regnante, qui regi Kinegilpho, *ab* idolatria per beatum Birinum *conuerso*, octauus *in regni administratione* successit, beatus Suuithunus, pater et pastor in Ecclesia Dei futurus, cursus sui in stadio mundi huius *exigendi*, diuina ordinante misericordia, accepit exordium. Annis *uero* puerilibus, *pia*

[34] STC 4601. The title derives from the last sentence of the preface of Wynkyn de Worde's edition (Preface, fo. 5r; also ptd Horstman, *NLA* i. 9): 'et quia similiter predicte terre Hibernie, Scotie, et Wallie de iure subici debent et obedientes esse tenentur huic regno Anglie, presens volumen istud (ut uidetur) non incongrue vocari potest "Nova legenda Anglie".' Although this edition has often been attributed to John Capgrave, who died in 1464 (some fifty years before the preface was written), there is no mention of his name anywhere in it, and no grounds whatsoever for the attribution; see above, n. 25.

[35] For example, in c. 2, for the word *clericatus* in the phrase *suscepto clericatus officio*, Wynkyn de Worde's text has the nonsensical *claritatis*; by the same token, at the end of c. 7, Wynkyn de Worde's text reads *se cumulari precepit*, where the surviving manuscripts correctly read *tumulari*.

[36] See H. Leclercq, 'Surius', in *DACL*, xv. 1736–7.

[37] In his prefatory note to the text of the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' (*De probatis sanctorum historiis*, iv. 45), Surius remarked: 'Stylum modice hinc inde correxi'. On Surius's stylistic revision of earlier saints' *vitae*, see P. Holt, 'Die Sammlung von Heiligenleben des Laurentius Surius', *Neues Archiv*, xliv (1922), 341–64.

simplicitate transactis, iugum Dominicae seruitutis *suis humeris imponi uoluit*, susceptumque humiliter uiriliterque portauit.

Surius's revised text was reprinted verbatim in 1719 by the Bollandists in the first July-volume of *Acta Sanctorum*,[38] whence it was reprinted both in Migne's Patrologia Latina[39] and in Earle's *Gloucester Fragments*.[40]

Finally, Carl Horstman included a text of the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni' in his edition of the *Nova Legenda Anglie*.[41] To Horstman belongs the great credit of having elucidated John of Tynemouth's role in the creation of the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, and in particular in his production of the *Sanctilogium*. It was Horstman who drew attention to the importance of Cotton Tiberius E. i, and his edition, which adopts the title and follows the alphabetical arrangement of Wynkyn de Worde's edition, is enriched by collation with Tiberius E. i. Horstman also printed the antiphons, collects and *narrationes* found in that manuscript, and identified the sources of John's various *vitae*.

v. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

The following edition is based principally on T (BL, Cotton Tiberius E. i), where that manuscript is legible; where it is illegible through fire damage, or has been destroyed entirely, I have supplied wording from OY. However, I have in all cases noted the extent of the damage in T. Otherwise, I have only departed from a reading of T in cases where OY agree with either the *Vita S. Swithuni* or the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, the sources on which John drew.

SIGLA

O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 15 (S.C. 9835), pp. 499a–500b
T = London, BL, Cotton Tiberius E. i, vol. ii, fos. 251b–261b
Y = York, Minster Library, XVI. G. 23, fo. 181v

[38] *Acta SS*, Iulii i (Antwerp, 1719), pp. 327–8. The Bollandists claim to have collated Surius's text with that printed by Wynkyn de Worde ('Vita Auctore Gotzelino apud Surium collata cum ea, quae est apud Capgravium'), but there is no sign of such collation in the 'Vita et miracula S. Swithuni'.

[39] PL clv. 57–62.

[40] J. Earle, *Gloucester Fragments* (London, 1861), pp. 67–74 (John of Tynemouth's text is that given by Earle in italics).

[41] Horstman, *NLA* ii. 358–61.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Glorioso rege Anglorum[a] Egberto [b]regnante, qui regi[c] Kinegilso[b] de idolatria [d]reuerso[1] per beatum[d] Birinum octauus successit[e f]in regnum, beatus[f] Swithunus, pater [g]et pastor in[g] [h]ecclesia Dei futurus,[h] cursus sui [i]in stadio mundi huius, diuina[i] misericordia ordinante, [j]accepit exordium. Nam[j] annis puerilibus in bona [k]simplicitate transactis,[k] iugum seruitutis dominice [l]accipere festinauit,[l] susceptumque humiliter [m]uiriliterque portauit.[m]

2. Itaque suscepto[a] clericatus [b]officio, de gradu[b] in gradum, de uirtute in [c]uirtutem, gressus[c] eius Deo per omnia dirigente, [d]conscendens, sub[d] Helmstano Wentano[e] episcopo ad [f]honorem sacerdocii[f] prouectus est. Curabat enim [g]seipsum ministrum[g] probabilem[h] [i]Deo semper offerre,[i] [j]uerbum ueritatis[j] catholice et recte [k]tractare,[l] benignitati[k] et mansuetudini inseruire, [m]opera pietatis[m] super omnia exercere,[n] [o]inordinate uiuentes[o] uirga correptionis[2] increpare, humiliterque omnibus ministrare.

3. Cuius famam rex audiens, eum accerciuit,[a] et inter precipuos[b] amicos[c] eum esse constituit; commendauitque [d]ei[e] filium suum[d] nomine Adulphum liberalibus [f]disciplinis erudiendum[f] et sanctis moribus [g]instruendum; quem postea in subdiaconum ordinauit. Sed quia pater suus sine herede preter illum decessit, ordinauit Leo papa ut in[g] regno [h]succederet, uxorem duceret et liberos[h] procrearet.

4. Defuncto [a]tandem Helmstano episcopo,[a] uoto omnium Swithunus [b]electus est.[b] Huius enim oratione et exhortatione [c]rex Adulphus[c] ecclesiis Dei uniuersam [d]decimam terre[d,e] regni sui benigne donauit et [f]libere possidere[f] concessit.

5. Hic etiam sanctus pontem[a] ad orientem[3] Wintonie construxit. [b]Cuius operi[b] cum sollicite operam daret, [c]residente illo ad[c] opus quadam die, contigit pauperculam[d] mulierem illuc uenire, oua [e]uenalia in uase[e] deferre, et ab operariis[f] lasciuientibus et ludentibus[f] miseram apprehendi, oua [g]uniuersa non eripi[g] sed confringi. Que cum [h]pro illata iniuria[h] et dampno flens et [i]eiulans in presentia[i] episcopi conquereretur, ille [j]pietate motus, uas[j] in quo erant oua [k]reposita sumit, dexteram[k] leuans signum crucis [l]edidit, et incorrupta et[l] integra restituit.

6. Sanctus [a]ille ecclesias in locis[a] in quibus non erant [b]studiose fabricauit,[b] dirutas et fractas [c]reparauit. Dedicaturus[c] enim ecclesiam, nullius equi [d]uehiculum, neque secularis[d] pompe sibi dignitatem [e]adhibuit, sed clericis[e] ac familiaribus suis [f]comitantibus, nudis[f] pedibus humiliter [g]incedebat. Conuiuia[g] sua non cum locupletibus, [h]sed cum egenis et pauperibus[h] erant; os suum semper [i]apertum habebat ut[i] inuitaret peccatores ad [j]penitentiam; stantes[j] ne caderent,

[c. 1] [a] *T destroyed here* [b–b] regn[. . .]gilso *T* [c] rege *OY* [d–d] [. . .]tum *T* [e] *T illegible* [f–f] *T destroyed here* [g–g] *T illegible* [h–h] [. . .]rus *T* [i–i] [. . .]na *T* [j–j] *T destroyed here* [k–k] [. . .]actis *T* [l–l] domini[. . .]uit *T* [m–m] [. . .]uit *T*

[c. 2] [a] suceptus *O* [b–b] [. . .]du *T* [c–c] *T destroyed here* [d–d] *T destroyed here* [e] Wintano *OY* [f–f] [. . .]cii *T* [g–g] [. . .]trum *T* [h] probabile *T* [i–i] Deo offerre semper *O*; offerre Deo semper *Y* [j–j] [. . .]tatis *T* [k–k] [. . .]tati *T* [l] tractari *Y* [m–m] [. . .]tis *T* [n] excercere *O* [o–o] inordina[. . .]tes *T*

[c. 3] [a] *thus all MSS, a spelling for* accersiuit [b] precipus *corr. to* precipuos *T* [c] *T destroyed here* [d–d] *T destroyed here* [e] *om. OY* [f–f] discip[. . .]diendum *T* [g–g] instru[. . .] *T* [h–h] *T destroyed here*

[c. 4] [a–a] tan[. . .] *T* [b–b] *T destroyed here* [c–c] [. . .]dulphus *T* [d–d] deci[. . .] *T* [e] *om. OY* [f–f] li[. . .]idere *T*

[c. 5] [a] *T destroyed here* [b–b] Cu[. . .] *T* [c–c] residen[. . .] *T* [d] pau[. . .]lam *T* [e–e] uena[. . .] *T* [f–f] lasci[. . .] *T*

1. St Swithun, the future father and shepherd in God's church, started the beginning of his course in the stadium of this world through God's mercy during the reign of Ecgberht, the glorious king of the English, who was the eighth in succession to Cynegils, the king who was converted[1] from idol-worship by St Birinus. For, having spent the years of his childhood in good earnest, he hurried to take up the yoke of his Lord's service; and once having taken up this yoke, he bore it humbly and manfully [*Vita*, c. 1].

2. Accordingly, having become a cleric in minor orders, advancing from grade to grade and from strength to strength with God guiding his footsteps in every respect, he was promoted to the dignity of the priesthood under Helmstan, the bishop of Winchester. He took care always to present himself as a minister worthy of God, to practise the words of scriptural truth with thorough and appropriate application, to pursue kindliness and gentleness, to perform deeds of mercy above all else, to rebuke those people living irresponsibly with the rod of correction,[2] and to serve all people humbly [*Vita*, c. 2].

3. The king, hearing of his reputation, summoned him, and established him among his principal advisers; and he entrusted to him his son named Æthelwulf to be taught in liberal arts and to be instructed in holy behaviour. Swithun subsequently ordained Æthelwulf a deacon. But because his father died leaving no heir but Æthelwulf, Pope Leo arranged it that he would succeed him on the throne, would take a wife and would produce children [*Vita*, c. 3].

4. When Helmstan died Swithun was elected bishop at the behest of everyone [*Vita*, c. 4]. Through Swithun's prayers and exhortations King Æthelwulf kindly donated the tithe of the lands of his kingdom to God's churches, and he granted them in free possession [*Vita*, c. 6].

5. The saint also built a bridge to the east[3] of Winchester. As he was attending carefully to this work, and was present there overseeing it one day, it happened that a poor old woman came there carrying some eggs for sale in a dish, and the wretched woman was grabbed by the wantonly playful workmen, and all the eggs were not so much snatched away as broken. When in the bishop's presence she complained, weeping and wailing, of the loss she had suffered, he, moved by mercy, picked up the dish in which the eggs had been placed; raising his right hand he made the sign of the cross and reconstituted all the eggs to their pristine unbroken condition [*Vita*, c. 6].

6. That saint energetically built churches in places where they previously did not exist, and he repaired dilapidated and ruined churches. When setting out to consecrate a church, he made use of no horse-drawn transportation and made no display of worldly ceremony, but accompanied by his clergy and household he proceeded humbly on his bare feet. He took his meals not with the rich but with the poor and needy; he always kept his mouth open in readiness to invite sinners to repentance; he

[a–a] [. . .]ripi *T* [h–h] *T destroyed here* [i–i] eiu[. . .] *T* [j–j] pieta[. . .] *T* [k–k] reposi[. . .] *T* [l–l] edi[. . .] *T* [c. 6] [c–c] *T destroyed here* [b–b] studi[. . .] *T* [c–c] repara[. . .]us *T* [d–d] ue[. . .]ris *T* [e–e] [. . .]lericis *T* [f–f] [. . .]s *T* [g–g] ince[. . .] *T* [h–h] [. . .]auperibus *T* [i–i] *T destroyed here* [j–j] pe[. . .] *T*

[1] John's source, the *Vita S. Swithuni*, here reads *conuerso*; here as elsewhere it is not clear whether the different wording is to be charged to John or to the exemplar he was using.

[2] The *Vita S. Swithuni* here reads *correctionis*.

[3] The *Vita S. Swithuni* here reads *ad orientalem portam*; John's alteration represents a significant change in meaning.

lapsos ut [k]resurgerent admonebat.[k] Cibos non ad [l]implecionem sed ad sustentationem[l] sui parce et [m]moderate sumebat.[m] Post multas uigilias, post [n]multos[o] labores[n] ne deficeret sompni [p]paululum admittebat;[p] psalmis et canticis [q]spiritualibus semper[q] intentus.[r] Proximo semper [s]tanquam sibi[s] quod[t] utile, "quod honestum, pium, sanctum est," modesto et[v] humili sermone referebat.

7. Vixit autem beatus[a] Dei seruus Swithunus usque ad exitum uite[b] in obseruatione uera mandatorum Dei, omni custodia[c] conseruans cor suum in omni munditia [d]et [e]puritate[d] spirituali,[e] catholice et apostolice [f]doctrine custos[f] integer,[g] filiorum spiritualiter [h]regeneratorum[i] in sancte[h] conuersationis studio [j]eruditor peruigil et[j] magister. Humilitati enim [k]et mansuetudini[k] curiosius inherebat; pacem et sanctimoniam[l] sequens, fontem uite et [m]beatitudinis eterne[m] sitiebat. Migrauit ab hoc seculo ad sidereas mansiones sexto nonas Iulii, anno Domini octingentesimo sexagesimo secundo. Non enim intra ecclesie septa, sed extra ecclesiam in[n] indigno loco et uili se tumulari precepit.

8. Post obitum suum multis miraculis choruscauit. Inter que apparuit cuidam[a] uiro, incredibili infirmitate per omnia membra percusso, admonens ut Ethelwoldum Wintonie episcopum adiret, referens, diuina miseracione prouisum, ipsum a loco ubi iacebat debere leuari et intra ecclesiam loco digniori honorificencius tumulandum. Si diffidat, si hesitet, signum pro testimonio habiturum, molestiam infirmitatis sue qua hactenus detinebatur, ipsa eadem hora illum relicturam, salutisque leticiam perfecte reuersuram. Addidit etiam ut ad locum sepulture ueniat, et unum de ferreis anulis, qui lapidi adhuc infixi uidentur, si abstrahat, cum omni facilitate [b]et absque omni lapidis illius lesione exiturum, ac iterum eadem facilitate,[b] eodem integritatis tenore seruato, in locum unde abstrahebatur rediturum. Surgit itaque perfecte sanitati redditus; sicut predicta sunt omnia repperit, et cuncta ex ordine pontifici intimauit.

9. Curuatum[a] et bestiali more in terram respicientem, sanum et incolumem reddidit.

10. Quidam[a] nobilis et diues cum tempore meridiano iuxta ripam fluminis deambularet, apparuerunt ei subito tres supra modum horrende quasi mulieres, et altitudinis immense. Que cum fugientem apprehendissent et multiplici angustia afflixissent, et pene suo flatu suffocantes pestifero, horrore incredibili similem insano reddiderunt. Cui ad ecclesiam adducto nocte apparuit sanctus Swithunus, et omni dolore excusso eum sanitati restituit.

11. Cum autem Ethelwoldus episcopus corpus eius de terra leuaret, mira odoris fragrancia omnes perfudit. Mulier ceca uisum recepit et multi diuersis infirmitatibus oppressi sancti

[k–k] [. . .]onebat *T* [l–l] im[. . .]stentationem *T* [m–m] mo[. . .]bat *T* [n–n] [. . .]bores *T* [o] multas *Y*; *after* multos *O adds* et [p–p] pau[. . .] *T* [r] *after* intentus *OY add* et [s–s] *om. OY* [t] *T destroyed here* [u–u] et pium et honestum erat *OY* [v] *T destroyed here*

[c. 7] [a] [. . .]tus *T* [b] *T destroyed here* [c] *T destroyed here* [d–d] *T destroyed here* [e–e] spirituali puritate *OY* [f–f] doc[. . .] *T* [g] iugiter *Y* [h–h] rege[. . .] *T* [i] regenerator *OY* [j–j] eru[. . .] *T* [k–k] [. . .]udini *T* [l] [. . .]timoniam *T* [m–m] eterne beatitudinis *OY* [n] *om. OY*

[c. 8] [a] quidem *O* [b–b] *om. OY*

[c. 9] [a] *after* curuatum *OY add* quendam (quemdam *Y*), *perhaps rightly*

[c. 10] [a] quidem *O*

admonished those standing not to fall, and those fallen to get back up. He took food sparingly and moderately, not to stuff but to sustain himself. He allowed himself a little sleep so that he would not expire after so many vigils and so many other exertions; he was always intent on psalmody and plain-chant. He always spoke to his neighbour as if to himself, in humble and modest speech, about what was useful, virtuous, devout or holy [*Vita*, c. 7].

7. St Swithun, God's holy servant, lived to the end of his life for the true fulfilment of God's commandments, preserving his heart with every vigilance in spiritual cleanness and purity, remaining an irreproachable guardian of catholic and apostolic doctrine, and a watchful instructor and teacher of all his sons who were spiritually reborn in the pursuit of the religious vocation. He remained zealous in his attachment to humility and gentleness; pursuing peace and holiness he thirsted for the fountain of life and eternal beatitude. He passed from this world to the starry mansions on 2 July, in the year of Our Lord 862. He gave orders for himself to be buried not within the precincts of the church, but outside the church in an inconspicuous and humble place [*Vita*, c. 8].

8. After his death he was resplendent through many miracles. Among such miracles, he appeared to a certain man who was crippled with unbelievable disease in all his limbs, and urged him to go to Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, stating it to have been revealed through divine mercy that he was to be exhumed from the place where he was lying and to be more lavishly entombed in a more fitting place within the church. If he had any hesitation or doubt, he was to take it as a sign of proof that his bodily illness, by which he had hitherto been constrained, would leave him that very hour, and the joy of sound health would return fully. Swithun added that he should go to the place of his entombment, and if he would pull up one of the iron rings which seem to be fixed in the stone, it would come out with ease and without any damage to the stone, and then would go back into the place whence it had been removed with the same ease and keeping its same rigid fixity. The sick man gets up fully restored to health; he found everything as it had been foretold, and he reports all of this to the bishop in the order it had happened [*Miracula*, c. 1].

9. Swithun restored to health and well-being a hunchback who gazed on the ground in the manner of a beast [*Miracula*, c. 2].

10. When a certain rich nobleman was walking at midday next to the river bank, three exceptionally terrifying women-creatures of immense height suddenly appeared to him. When they caught the fleeing man and tortured him with manifold affliction, nearly suffocating him with their poisonous breath, they reduced him to the likeness of a lunatic, shaking incredibly. When he was brought to the church, St Swithun appeared to him by night and, expelling his sickness, restored him to health [*Miracula*, c. 3].

11. When Bishop Æthelwold raised up Swithun's body from the ground, a wondrous fragrance of perfume suffused everyone. A blind woman received her sight; many others, oppressed with various

meritis curati sunt. Facta est autem translacio corporis eius anno a dormicione sua centesimo [a]decimo, et incarnationis dominice nongentesimo[a] septuagesimo primo, Idus Iulii.[4]

12. Eadem die puerum a natiuitate mirabiliter contractum curauit; tribus mulieribus oculorum lumine priuatis uisum reddidit; nexibus ferreis mulierem in carcere compeditam, ruptis uinculis liberauit; paraliticum sanauit; matronam nobilem cecitate percussam illuminauit; uiginti quinque infirmos uariis morbis uexatos, diuersis e locis uenientes,[a] una die perfecte ualitudini reddidit.

13.[a] Cecus quidam sanitatis gratia apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina uisitauit, quam cum assequi non ualeret, rediit, et prima aduentus sui nocte in ecclesia sancti Swithuni lumen oculorum recepit. Mulieres duas cecas[5] duasque contractas una die curauit. Triginta et sex, tam de diuersis partibus quam uariis afflicti doloribus, infra spacium trium dierum sancti uiri meritis salutem optatam consequuti sunt. Nec multo post centum uiginti quatuor infra dies quatuordecim a suis infirmitatibus liberati sunt.

14.[a] Rex Edgarus ad arcendum latrocinia sollicitus, legem statuit ut in furto deprehensus oculis priuaretur, auribus, manibus pedibusque precisis,[b] cute capitis exueretur, et hac pena multatus feris et auibus laniandus traderetur. Cumque innocens quidam eodem iudicio dampnaretur, effodiuntur eius oculi, manus et nares amputantur, auribus excisis[c] foramina audiendi cruor fere obstruxit infusus. Dum autem a parentibus ad oratorium sancti Swithuni delatus fuisset, ut sibi melius solus redderetur auditus, et statim quod peciit optinere meruit, set et quod non rogauit optinuit, dum, oculis qui sibi effossi fuerant restitutis et naribus recuperatis, uisum Domino miserante recepit.

15. In uilla quadam ciuitati Wintonie contermina mulier quedam longeua, iam senectute confecta, dum nocte quadam ad lectum dormitura descenderet, hostium domuncule sue super se claudere oblita est. Contigit autem lupum de silua egressum domum illius ingredientem [a]ubique lustrando peruagare, eamque in lecto[a] quiescentem fortuitu [b]reperire. Quam illico correptam[b] per brachium quod [c]extra lectum sopore depressa[c] pendulum extenderat,[6] [d]non multum reluctantem[d] secum in siluam semiuiuam [e]abduxit, et[e] iam prope defunctam tam lassitudine [f]quam pauore,[f] deposuit. Ad ululatum eius[g] nemus omne circumiacens,[h] aliis respondentibus, [i]multiplici et[i] miserabili ululatu personante contremuit. [j]Illa quid[j] faceret? Inedia et etate [k]debilis erat,[k] cruentus[l] hostis, raptor immanis, illa sola, hostes[m] plures adesse festinant. Cumque ad Deum et [n]sanctum Swithunum[n] preces deuote fudisset, audito nomine[o] Swithuni lupus dormire cepit. Fugit[p] illa et a loco [q]declinare festinat,[q] currit[r] non pedibus humanis sed leuamine[s] [t]et auxilio[t] diuine subuencionis. Lupus [u]uero euigilans,[u] cum aliis suis

[c. 11] [a–a] *om. Y*
[c. 12] [a] *om. Y*
[c. 13] [a] *this chapter is omitted by OY*
[c. 14] [a] *this chapter is omitted by OY* [b] prescisis *T* [c] exscisis *T*
[c. 15] [a–a] [. . .]to *T* [b–b] [. . .]reptam *T* [c–c] [. . .]pressa *T* [d–d] [. . .]tantem *T* [e–e] *T destroyed here* [f–f] [. . .]re *T* [g] *om. O* [h] [. . .]iacens *T* [i–i] multi[. . .] *T* [j–j] *T destroyed here* [k–k] *om. Y* [l] [. . .]tus *T* [m] *T destroyed here* [n–n] *T destroyed here* [o] [.]mine *T* [p] [.]git *T* [q–q] festinare declinat *Y* [r] *T destroyed here* [s] lauamine *T* [t–t] [. .]lio *T* [u–u] *T destroyed here*

[4] The date (*Idus Iulii* = 15 July) is not found in the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, and has been supplied by John.

[5] In John's source, the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (c. 19), it is two men who are cured by the saint ('duo quos diutissime cecitas

illnesses, were cured through the saint's merits. The translation of his body took place 110 years after his death, in the year of Our Lord's incarnation 971, on 15 July [*Miracula*, c. 4].[4]

12. On the same day St Swithun cured a boy who had been astonishingly crippled [*Miracula*, c. 5]; he restored the vision of five women who were deprived of their eyesight [*Miracula*, c. 6]; he freed a woman who was bound in iron fetters in a prison by breaking the chains [*Miracula*, c. 7]; he cured a paralytic [*Miracula*, c. 8]; he restored the eyesight of a noble woman who was afflicted with blindness [*Miracula*, c. 9]; he restored twenty-five people afflicted with various diseases, arriving from diverse regions, to perfect health on the same day [*Miracula*, c. 14].

13. A certain man visited the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul for the sake of his health; when he could not achieve it he returned, and on the first night after his arrival he received his eyesight in the church of St Swithun [*Miracula*, c. 16]. The saint cured two blind women[5] and two crippled women on one day [*Miracula*, c. 19]. Thirty-six people, from various parts and afflicted with various diseases, achieved the health they desired within the space of five days [*Miracula*, c. 23]. Not long afterwards 124 people were liberated from their illnesses within a fortnight [*Miracula*, c. 24].

14. King Edgar, being concerned with the prevention of theft, promulgated a law whereby anyone caught in the act of stealing would be deprived of his eyes, would have his ears, hands and feet cut off, would be scalped, and, having been punished by this torture, would be given over to wild beasts and birds to be torn apart. When a certain innocent man is condemned to this punishment, his eyes are torn out, his hands and nose are amputated, and, with his ears having been cut off, the flow of blood virtually blocked the aural passages. When he had been taken by his kinsmen to St Swithun's oratory so that his hearing alone might be made slightly better, he was swiftly found worthy to obtain what he sought; but he also obtained what he had not sought, for his eyes which had been torn out were restored and his nose repaired, and through the Lord's mercy he received his eyesight [*Miracula*, c. 27].

15. In a certain village bordering on the town of Winchester there was an old woman, already withered with age. When one night she got down to her bed to go to sleep she forgot to close the door of her house behind her. Meanwhile, it happens that a wolf, coming out of the forest and entering her house, while wandering about everywhere finds her by chance lying in her bed. Seizing her immediately by the arm which, overcome with sleep, she had let dangle outside her cot,[6] he drags her—barely alive and putting up no great struggle—with him into the forest, and deposits her there, nearly dead as much with fatigue as with fear. At the wolf's howl all the nearby grove shook with much mournful howling, as other wolves replied in turn. What was she to do? She was weak with age and hunger; her assailant was bloodthirsty, a savage abductor; she was alone, and several other wolves were rushing to the scene. When she poured out her prayers devoutly to God and to St Swithun the wolf, hearing Swithun's name, fell asleep. She takes to flight and hastens to leave that place; she runs not on human feet but with the uplift and assistance of divine intervention. The wolf on awakening follows with several of his colleagues,

detinebat'); John's alteration may possibly be the result of haste.

[6] This passage provides a clear illustration of John's simplification of the pompous wording of his sources (cf. the *Miracula S. Swithuni*, c. 42, above, pp. 676–8).

sociis magnum clamorem emittens insequitur; set nullus eorum mulieri nocere potuit, quam Dei et beati pontificis misericordia[v] liberare curauit.

16. Statuam quandam sancti Swithuni episcopus Schirburnensis a fratribus acquisitam honorifice in ecclesia sua locauit, ubi[a] gloriosa miracula crebro fieri solebant. [b]Ad hanc[b] quidam[c] elephancie morbo percussus, [d]non curationis[d] gratia sed ut ab orantibus in loco [e]elemosinam acciperet,[e] deuenit. Cumque illic[f] paululum obdormiret,[g] uisum est ei sanctum Swithunum adesse [h]et lepram[h] suam manu detergere, et infirmitate seposita integre salutis beneficium repente se recipere. Euigilans autem letus a sompno, [i]coram omnibus[i] cingulum [j]soluit et[j] sanatum se ostendit.[k]

[v] *om. Y*
[c. 16] [a] *T destroyed here* [b–b] *T destroyed here* [c] quidem *O* [d–d] *T destroyed here* [e–e] elemo[. . .]peret *T*
[f] illuc *T* [g] [. . .]ret *T* [h–h] *T destroyed here* [i–i] *T destroyed here* [j–j] soluitur *Y* [k] *a* narratio *from Vincent of*

emitting a great outcry; but none of them was able to harm the woman, whom the mercy of God and St Swithun had been concerned to set free [*Miracula*, c. 42].

16. The bishop of Sherborne placed honourably in his church a certain statue which had been acquired from the monks of Winchester, and many glorious miracles were accustomed to occur there. A certain man, afflicted by the disease of elephantiasis [leprosy], came to the statue, not for the sake of a cure but so that he might acquire alms from the people praying there. When he fell asleep there for a little while, it seemed to him that St Swithun was before him, and that he wiped away the man's leprosy with his hand, and that the man suddenly received the benefit of restored health, having shed his illness. Waking up joyously from his dream, he undid his belt in everyone's presence and revealed that he had been cured [*Miracula*, c. 44].

*Beauvais (*Speculum historiale xii. 47*) concerning St Dorothea is added here in T; see above, p. 748*

10. THE 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN' FROM *THE GILTE LEGENDE*

INTRODUCTION

In 1438 an anonymous Englishman, perhaps a monk at St Albans, who described himself simply as a 'sinful wretch', made an English prose translation, called by editors *The Gilte Legende* (*GiL*), of the French *Légende dorée*; at a subsequent point, perhaps near the middle of the fifteenth century, an anonymous author added a number of prose lives mostly of English saints (some twenty-one) to the original text of *The Gilte Legende*. Among the additional lives was the 'Life of St Swithun' printed here.

i. THE GENESIS OF *THE GILTE LEGENDE*

The ancestry of *The Gilte Legende* is extremely interesting, for it is a reflex of one of the most widespread hagiographical phenomena, attested in many forms and languages, of the entire Middle Ages. The ultimate ancestor of this phenomenon is the *Legenda aurea*, composed by the Dominican scholar and sometime archbishop of Genoa, Iacopo da Varazze (*c.*1230–*c.*1298), whose name is often given in Latinized form as *Iacobus de Voragine*.[1] The *Legenda aurea* enjoyed vast diffusion during the Middle Ages and beyond:[2] some 1,100 manuscripts of the work survive,[3] and from *c.*1469 onwards, the work was frequently printed. Recent research has established that Iacopo issued his great work in two distinct recensions, an earlier form (LgA_1) composed probably 1260 × 1263, and a second, augmented, recension (LgA_2), reflecting revision carried out in Bologna while Iacopo was provincial

[1] The fullest account of Iacopo da Varazze is that by G. Monleone, *Iacopo da Varagine e la sua Cronaca di Genova dalle origine al MCCXCVII*, 2 vols., Fonti per la storia d'Italia, lxxxiv–lxxxvi (Rome, 1941), esp. i. 1–96 (on Iacopo's life); see also G. Airaldi, *Jacopo da Varagine. Tra santi e mercanti* (Milan, 1988), who attempts to situate Iacopo's activity in the mercantile world of late thirteenth-century Genoa. There is a recent account of Iacopo's work as preacher and author of sermons by S. B. Guidetti, *I Sermones di Iacopo da Varazze: Il potere delle immagini nel Duecento*, Millennio Medievale, viii (Florence, 1998). A recent collection of essays deriving from a conference on Iacopo held at Varazze in 1998 helps to illuminate many aspects of his work: *Il Paradiso e la terra: Iacopo da Varazze e il suo tempo*, ed. S. B. Guidetti, Millennio Medievale, xxv (Florence, 2001).

[2] The edition most widely in use is that by T. Graesse, *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea* (Leipzig, 1846; 3rd edn. 1890); Graesse's text is trans. W. G. Ryan, *Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1993), and selected Lives are found in *Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend: Selections*, trans. C. Stace with introduction by R. Hamer (Harmondsworth, 1998). However, Graesse's edition (and its dependent translations) has been comprehensively superseded by the edition of G. P. Maggioni, cited below, n. 5.

[3] See B. Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Aurea*, Subsidia Hagiographica, lxxii (Brussels, 1991).

of the Dominican order there (1267–77), and then finalized while he was archbishop of Genoa (1292–8).[4] In any case, the final, augmented recension consists of 178 chapters or individual lives, and may now be read in a monumental new edition by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni.[5]

With its engaging, anecdotal style and fantastic stories, the *Legenda aurea* was destined to appeal to a lay audience wider than the (Latin-speaking) audience of Dominican preachers for which it was apparently intended.[6] Not surprisingly, it exercised a profound influence on later medieval literature,[7] and soon appeared in vernacular translations—Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, Czech, Occitan, but especially French.[8] From the perspective of *The Gilte Legende*, which is our principal concern here, the most important French translation was the *Légende dorée*, produced in the years after 1333, by Jean de Vignay (*c.*1282–*c.*1340).[9] The translation is literal and not wholly accurate, but like its Latin predecessor, it enjoyed a wide diffusion both in manuscript and early printings,[10] and underwent various redactions and acquired various accretions.[11] In spite of its popularity, the *Légende dorée* awaits a modern critical edition.[12]

Among the various reflexes of the *Légende dorée* was the English prose translation known as *The Gilte Legende*.[13] The colophon to a copy of the work (in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 372) states that the translation was 'drawen out of Frensshe into Englisshe the yere of oure Lorde .mccc. and .xxxviii. by a synfulle wrecche whos name I beseche Ihesu . . . mai be written in the boke of

[4] See G. P. Maggioni, 'Diverse redazioni della "Legenda Aurea": Particolarità e problemi testuali', in *La critica del testo mediolatino*, ed. C. Leonardi (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 365–80, and esp. idem, *Ricerche sulla composizione e sulla trasmissione della "Legenda Aurea"*, Biblioteca di "Medioevo Latino", viii (Spoleto, 1995). Maggioni collated the seventy oldest manuscripts of the *Legenda aurea*, and from this collation was able to establish that the final, revised version of Iacopo's work is best represented in two very early manuscripts (neither of which is autograph, however): Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 240 sup. (Bologna, 1272–6) [= A] and M. 76 sup. (Genoa, 1292–8) [= C]. These two manuscripts (and three others closely related to them) were then collated against a manuscript of the first recension: Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1229 (s. xiii^2) [= V].

[5] *Iacopo da Varazze, Legenda Aurea*, ed. G. P. Maggioni, 2 vols., Millennio Medievale, vi (Florence, 1998).

[6] On the narrative technique of the *Legenda aurea*, see the interesting study by A. Boureau, *La légende dorée. Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine (†1298)* (Paris, 1984), which treats *inter alia* paradigms of the saintly life represented in the *Legenda aurea*, and Iacopo's attitude to his sources.

[7] There is a valuable account of the work's popularity by S. L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea. A Reexamination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison, WI, 1985), esp. pp. 197–209 (on the *Legenda* as 'medieval best-seller'); see also the collection of essays in *Legenda Aurea: Sept siècles de diffusion*, ed. B. Dunn-Lardeau (Montreal and Paris, 1986).

[8] See G. Brunel-Lobrichon, A.-F. Leurquin-Labie and M. Thiry-Stassin, 'L'hagiographie de langue française sur le Continent, IXe–XVe siècle', in *Hagiographies*, ii. 291–371, esp. 309–12; see also P. Meyer, 'Notice du MS. Med. Pal. 141 de la Laurentienne', *Romania*, xxxiii (1904), 1–49, and *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Dunn-Lardeau.

[9] C. Knowles, 'Jean de Vignay: un traducteur du XIVe siècle', *Romania*, lxxv (1954), 353–83; see also R. Hamer, *Three Lives from The Gilte Legende* (Heidelberg, 1978), pp. 14–16.

[10] B. Dunn-Lardeau and D. Coq, 'Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions of the *Légende Dorée*', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et de renaissance*, xlvii (1985), 87–101.

[11] Forty-six *Festes nouvelles* were added *c.*1400: see R. F. S. Hamer, 'Jean Golein's *Festes Nouvelles*: a Caxton source', *Medium Aevum*, lv (1986), 254–60.

[12] There is a partial edition by R. F. S. Hamer and V. Russell, 'A critical edition of four chapters from the *Légende Dorée*', *MS* li (1989), 130–204. An edition printed at Lyon in 1476 has recently been issued in an anastatic reprint: *Jacques de Voragine, La Légende Dorée. Edition critique dans la révision de 1476 par Jean Batallier, d'après la traduction de Jean de Vignay (1333–1348) de la Legenda Aurea (c.1261–1266)* (Paris, 1997). The text in question is a late redaction of the *Légende dorée*, and is thus far from being the text which the 'sinful wretch' had before him when translating.

[13] See, in general, T. Wolpers, *Die englische Heiligenlegenden des Mittelalters* (Tübingen, 1964), pp. 373–83; M. Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, Braunschweiger Anglistische Arbeiten, iii (Braunschweig, 1972), 15–21; idem, 'Middle English legends, 1220–1530', in *Hagiographies*, i. 429–85, esp. 474–6; and idem, *Studies*, pp. 71–6. Also useful are the earlier studies by M. Jeremy, 'Caxton and the Synfulle Wretche', *Traditio*, iv (1946), 423–38, and A. Kurvinen, 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and the manuscripts of the *Gilte Legende*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, lx (1959), 353–75 (who first used the name *The Gilte Legende* for the collection of prose saints' lives under discussion here). See also M. Finnegan, 'An involved narrator: the redactor of the *Gilte Legende* MS BM Add. 35298', *Studies in Medieval Culture*, iv (1974), 467–71. There is a brief account of *GiL* in *Supplementary Lives in Some Manuscripts of the Gilte Legende*, ed. R. Hamer and V. Russell, EETS o.s. cccxv (Oxford, 2000), pp. xiii–xxxii; a complete edition the original *GiL* is in preparation for EETS by these same two editors.

everlastinge life.'[14] The colophon fixes the date of translation at 1438. The identity of the 'sinful wretch' is unknown, but the fact that in his 'Life of St Alban' he refers to himself once more as 'most wreched and most sinfull' and notes that King Offa was the 'foundour of this monasterie', implies that he was a monk of St Albans.[15] In its original form, as issued by the 'sinful wretch', *The Gilte Legende* comprised 179 Lives. However, at some point, perhaps around the middle of the fifteenth century, a second, anonymous redactor added a number of Lives the majority of which are specifically English saints, presumably in order to make the work more appealing to an English audience.[16] These 'Additional Lives' (*ALL*) are twenty-one in number and include various Anglo-Saxon saints such as Edmund, king and martyr; Frithuswith; Edward, king and martyr; Ælfheah; Augustine of Canterbury; Oswald, archbishop of York; Dunstan; Aldhelm; Kenelm; Chad; Erkenwald; and Cuthbert.[17] Among these additional lives is the present 'Life of St Swithun'.[18]

In all cases but one, the anonymous redactor of *ALL* based his prose Lives on those in the *South English Legendary*,[19] and accordingly his account of St Swithun is based on that printed above as no. 8. It does not appear that he consulted any additional source;[20] such discrepancies as exist between his account and that in *SEL* may be accounted for by inadvertence. It is not possible to identify the manuscript of the *SEL* which he was using from among the twelve surviving manuscripts which preserve the metrical 'Life of St Swithun'. It must be said that, on the basis of the present 'Life of St Swithun', the anonymous author of the English prose saints' lives in *GiL* was a careless and inaccurate transcriber, who reduced much of the narrative concerning St Swithun to nonsense.

ii. MANUSCRIPTS OF *THE GILTE LEGENDE*

The 'Life of St Swithun' is preserved among the so-called 'Additional Lives' (*ALL*) in three manuscripts of *The Gilte Legende*.[21] All three manuscripts were written in London or its vicinity.[22]

[14] Hamer, *Three Lives from The Gilte Legende*, p. 16.

[15] Ibid. p. 17; see also Görlach, 'Middle English legends', pp. 474–5. Richard Hamer has kindly pointed out to me that the words 'foundour of this monasterie' are rendered directly from the translator's Latin source (William of St Albans, *Passio S. Albani*: *BHL* no. 213), and are therefore less compelling as evidence for the origin of the 'sinful wretch' than might be desired. Nevertheless, an alert translator would have removed the word *this* if it were not relevant.

[16] The fullest treatment of the anonymous redactor of *ALL* is that by Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legende*, pp. 22–86, and idem, *Studies*, pp. 82–117; see also *Supplementary Lives*, ed. Hamer and Russell, pp. xx–xxi. It is not known where the anonymous redactor was working (Görlach, ibid. pp. 82–3, tentatively suggests London); in view of our ignorance in this regard, the emphasis which is placed on Shaftesbury in the 'Life of St Swithun', c. 5 (see below, p. 772) may be worth noting.

[17] Nineteen *ALL* occur *en bloc* in London, BL, Add. 35298 (= MS A_2), immediately following the 'Life of St Apollinaris', and are listed by Kurvinen, 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and the manuscripts of the *Gilte Legende*', pp. 360–1 (nos. 95–113). See also Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, pp. 71–6, idem, *Studies*, pp. 124–7, and G. Whatley, 'A "Symple [*sic*] Wrecche" at work: the life and miracles of St Erkenwald in the *Gilte Legende*, BL Add. 35298', in *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Dunn-Lardeau, pp. 333–43.

[18] Listed by C. D'Evelyn, 'Saints' legends', in J. B. Severs, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, ii (Hamden, CT, 1970), p. 626 (no. 264); see also Wolpers, *Die englische Heiligenlegende*, pp. 380–2.

[19] See detailed discussion by Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, pp. 34–71, and idem, *Studies*, pp. 91–123. The exception is the 'Life of St Dorothy', which is translated directly from a Latin source. In the opinion of Görlach, the manuscript of *SEL* which most closely resembled the *GiL* author's exemplar is P (on which see above, p. 719).

[20] Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, pp. 56–7; idem, *Studies*, p. 111.

[21] In order to avoid confusion, I retain the sigla for these manuscripts used by earlier editors.

[22] See Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, p. 15, and idem, *Studies*, p. 76. None of the three manuscripts is listed in the *Linguistic Atlas*.

A_1 = London, BL, Add. 11565 (s. xv²).[23]

A manuscript in large folio format (425 × 310 mm.), written in double columns of 56 lines, and consisting now of 214 folios. The present manuscript is clearly composite. At the beginning of the manuscript (fos. 1r–30r) is an acephalous copy of Nicholas Love's translation of the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi*,[24] followed by a short and incomplete treatise on the sacraments (fos. 30r–33v). *The Gilte Legende* occupies fos. 34r–214v; but these same (180) folios bear a late medieval foliation running from j [= 1] to ccxxj [= 221], which implies that they once constituted a separate book, and that at least forty folios have subsequently been lost from it.[25] The 'Life of St Swithun' is at fo. 55ra–va.

A_2 = London, BL, Add. 35298 (s. xv²).[26]

Another manuscript in large folio format (420 × 300 mm.) consisting of 174 folios, in which the principal content is *The Gilte Legende* on fos. 2r–168v.[27] This copy of the work contains 199 items,[28] of which the 'Life of St Swithun', on fo. 78va–b, is no. 106.

L = London, Lambeth Palace Library, 72 (s. xv²).

A manuscript of slightly smaller dimension (330 × 225 mm.), consisting of 420 folios written in double columns.[29] The sole content of Lambeth 72 is *The Gilte Legende*; the 'Life of St Swithun' occurs on fos. 227v–228v.

iii. RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF 'THE LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'

Given the brevity of the *GiL* 'Life of St Swithun', it is practically impossible to determine textual relationships between the three manuscripts on the basis of so small a tract of text, and one would in any event be obliged to consider the problem within the wider context of the eleven manuscripts which transmit the entire *GiL*,[30] not simply those which transmit *ALL* (namely A_1, A_2 and L). Over

[23] On the manuscript, see Görlach, *Studies*, pp. 84–5, and *Supplementary Lives*, ed. Hamer and Russell, pp. xxi–xxii (with frontispiece illustrating fo. 56r).

[24] See *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, ed. M. G. Sargent (New York and London, 1992); Add. 11565 is described on p. lxxx.

[25] See Hamer, *Three Lives from The Gilte Legende*, pp. 26–7, and Görlach, *Studies*, p. 84 (who gives a full collation of the lost leaves).

[26] On the manuscript, see Görlach, *Studies*, pp. 82–3, and *Supplementary Lives*, ed. Hamer and Russell, p. xxii (with illustration of fo. 80r facing p. xx).

[27] Following the end of *The Gilte Legende* is a *Certain tretys that declarith whate the churche betokenyth* (fos. 168v–178v), which ends incomplete; see Hamer, *Three Lives from The Gilte Legende*, p. 27. The text is ptd *Supplementary Lives*, ed. Hamer and Russell, pp. 85–128.

[28] A complete list is given by Kurvinen, 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and the manuscripts of the *Gilte Legende*', pp. 358–63.

[29] See Görlach, *Studies*, p. 85 and *Supplementary Lives*, ed. Hamer and Russell, p. xxii (with illustration of fo. 202r facing p. xxii), as well as Hamer, *Three Lives from The Gilte Legende*, pp. 32–3, M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* i (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 116–17, and O. S. Pickering and V. M. O'Mara, *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlists* XIII. *Lambeth Palace Library* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 3–13 (all 142 legends are listed individually; the 'Life of St Swithun' is no. 87 (p. 9)).

[30] These manuscripts are listed and described by Hamer, *Three Lives from the Gilte Legende*, pp. 26–33; see also (briefly) Görlach, *Studies*, pp. 76–7.

a century ago, it was established that, on the basis of a lacuna in the 'Life of St Germanus', all *GiL* manuscripts apparently derive from one faulty exemplar.[31] More recently, detailed collation of several original *GiL* Lives has allowed the deduction that A_1 and A_2 share a number of conjunctive errors and probably derive from a common exemplar (perhaps, in the case of A_2, through an intermediary); L, by contrast, appears to derive from a different exemplar.[32] Such collation as has been done of *ALL* reinforces this impression;[33] and the limited number of variants offered by the 'Life of St Swithun' points in the same direction, namely that L stands apart from A_1A_2 as a witness to the text, and that A_1 and A_2 have various individual variants which indicate that neither can be a copy of the other.[34]

iv. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

'The Life of St Swithun' from *The Gilte Legende* was first edited by Pierce Butler, as part of his doctoral dissertation of 1899.[35] Butler's edition is a transcription of one manuscript, BL, Add. 11565 (= A_1). More recently, the 'Life of St Swithun' has been edited, from all three witnesses, by Richard Hamer and Vida Russell as part of their edition of all the 'Additional Lives' (*ALL*) of *The Gilte Legende*.[36]

v. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

The text which follows is based principally on L, with variant readings recorded from A_1 and A_2.[37] I have supplied modern punctuation and divided the text into chapters for ease of consultation.

SIGLA

A_1 = London, BL, Add. 11565, fo. 55ra–va
A_2 = London, BL, Add. 35298, fo. 78va–b
L = London, Lambeth Palace Library, 72, fos. 227v–228v

[31] See P. Butler, '*Legenda aurea*—*Légende Dorée*—*Golden Legend*' (unpubl. Ph. D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, 1899), p. 73; Butler's observation is accepted by Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, p. 17, idem, *Studies*, p. 78, and Hamer, *Three Lives from the Gilte Legende*, p. 46.

[32] Hamer, *Three Lives from the Gilte Legende*, pp. 40–8. Hamer's full collations are for the Lives of SS Nicholas, George and Bartholomew.

[33] Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, pp. 30–3, and idem, *Studies*, pp. 89–91.

[34] Separative errors which distinguish the text of A_1A_2 from that of L include the following (see the apparatus criticus printed below): c. 2, nn. *a*, *b*, *e*, *g*; c. 3, n. *f*; and c. 5, n. *e*.

[35] '*Legenda aurea*—*Légende Dorée*—*Golden Legend*', pp. 103–5; see also discussion by Wolpers, *Die englische Heiligenlegende*, pp. 381–2.

[36] *Supplementary Lives*, ed. Hamer and Russell, pp. 201–3 (no. 17).

[37] The text printed here thus varies in slight details from that printed by Hamer and Russell (ibid.), which uses A_1 as base manuscript, and supplies readings where appropriate from L (supplied readings from L are printed in square brackets). I am very grateful to Richard Hamer and Vida Russell for allowing me to consult their edition in advance of publication.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Seynt Swythyn[a] the holy confessour was bore besyde[b] Wynchester in the tyme of Kynge[c] Egbert. He was the .viii.[th] kynge after Kenulf þat Seynt Beryne cristened;[1] for Seynt Austyn cristened not al Inglonde in Kyng Athelbrightes days, but Seint Beryn dide cristen the west parte of Inglonde in the foreseid Kynge Kenulfe is dayes. And than thys holy seynt Swythyn seruid owr Lorde in ful gret deuocioun so that all the peple had gret joy of his holynes. And Elmeston[2] that was tho bishop of Wyncester made him preste, and þan he leuyd a ful streyte lyfe and become a ful holy man, so that Kyng Egbert made hym his chaunceler[3] and chefe of his conseil. And then the kyng, Egbert, put his sone and his heyre that hight Ethulfe[4] into his guydyng, and preyed hym to take goode hede to hym so that he were brought up[d] vertuosly. And within a while aftir, his fadyr dyed; and than Ethulfe his sone was made kynge aftyr hym. And he gydid this londe ful wele, that it encresyd gretly in goode leuyng by the counseil of Seint Swythyn.

2. And when Elmeston the bishop of Wynchester was dede, Seint Swythyn was made bishop there aftyr hym, wherefor al the peple were ful glad. And he, by his holy levynge, causyd the peple to do theyr tuithyngis truly to God and unto[a] holy churche. And where that eny churche fylle in decay, Seynt Swythyn wolde amende it anone; and if ther were eny churche to be halowed, he wolde go thidyr on fote, for he loued neuer pride nor rydynge on gay horsys[b] nor pryysynge[c] ne flateryng of the peple. (But nowe such veyne thyngis[d] be[e] gretly belouid among hie estatis, bothe spirituel and temperel.[f])[5] Seynt Swythyn gyded[g] ful wele his bishopriche and ful wele he amendyd the towne of Wynchester in his days; for he made the grete bridge of stone withoute the west yate of the towne.[6]

3. In a tyme there come[a] a woman ouer the bridge with hir lappe[b][7] ful of eggis; and a recheles[c] felowe toke þis woman and wresteled with hir, and he breke[d] there all her eggis. Wherefor the[e] pore woman began to wepe and cry ful[f] pyteuously[g] for the losse of hir eggis. And than yt happyd that thys holy bysschop come[h] by that same tyme and bade the woman let hym se hir egges. And anoon he lyfte up his honde[i] and blessyd the eggis and they were made hoole and sownde euerychone. And than this woman was fulfillid with gladnes and she thankyd this holy man for thys greet goodenes and myracle that he had done for hir.

4. And then anoon aftyr dyed Kyng Ethulfe, and then his sonne Egbert was kynge aftyr hym;[8] and then was Athelbert[a] made the[b] kyng aftyr him.[9] And in the .iii.[de] yere of this kyng dyed Seynt Swythyn;[10] and he charged hys men to bery hym in the churche yerde,[c] for cause the peple schulde

[c. 1] [a] Swithen A_1A_2 [b] bysides A_1, besides A_2 [c] *om.* A_1 [d] fourth A_1

[c. 2] [a] to A_1A_2 [b] horse A_1A_2 [c] preysyng A_1, praysyng A_2 [d] thyng A_1 [e] beth A_1A_2 [f] temporal A_1, temporalle A_2 [g] goyded A_1A_2

[c. 3] [a] came A_2 [b] lap A_1 [c] rechelouе A_2 [d] birke A_1 [e] this A_2 [f] *om.* A_1A_2 [g] piteously A_1, pyteousle A_2 [h] came A_2 [i] hondis A_2

[c. 4] [a] Ethelbert A_1A_2 [b] *om.* A_1 [c] yerthe A_2

[1] *GiL* takes over from *SEL* (lines 5–6) the erroneous statement that Ecgberht was the eighth king in succession after 'Kinewolf' (Cynewulf, *recte* Cynegils), who had been baptized by Birinus.

[2] Helmstan, bishop of Winchester (838×839–852), taken over from *SEL*, lines 15–16.

[3] *GiL* here misinterprets *SEL*, which says merely that King Ecgberht (802–39) made Swithun his *conseiler*, 'counsellor' (line 22), not his 'chancellor' and 'chief adviser'.

[4] Æthelwulf, son of Ecgberht and subsequently king of Wessex (839–58); taken from *SEL*, lines 23–4.

[5] The moral drawn here in *GiL* is slightly different from

1 [*SEL* lines 1–32]. The holy confessor, St Swithun, was born near Winchester in the time of King Ecgberht. He was the eighth king after Kenwulf,[1] whom St Birinus baptized. In the days of King Æthelberht, St Augustine had not succeeded in converting all of England; but St Birinus converted the western part of England in the days of the aforementioned King Kenwulf. And this holy St Swithun served Our Lord with great devotion, so that all the populace derived great joy from his holiness. And Helmstan,[2] who was then the bishop of Winchester, made him priest, and then he lived a disciplined life and became an extremely holy man, with the result that King Ecgberht made him his chancellor[3] and his principal adviser. And then the king, Ecgberht, placed his son and heir, whose name was Æthelwulf,[4] into Swithun's keeping, and asked him to take good care of him so that he would be brought up virtuously. And within a short while his father died; and then his son Æthelwulf was made king after him. And he governed the land well so that it prospered greatly in virtuous living, through the counsel of St Swithun.

2 [*SEL* lines 33–54]. And when Helmstan, the bishop of Winchester, had died, St Swithun was made bishop after him, which made all the people thoroughly happy. And he, through his holy behaviour, caused the people to pay their tithes dutifully to God and to holy church. And wherever a church fell into decay, St Swithun would repair it at once; and if there was a church to be consecrated, he would proceed there on foot, for he liked neither display nor riding on a fine horse, nor the praises and flattery of the people. (But nowadays such vanities are greatly prized by people of high station, both spiritual and temporal!)[5] St Swithun governed his bishopric well, and he improved the town of Winchester in his time: for he constructed the great stone bridge outside the west gate of the town.[6]

3 [*SEL* lines 55–68]. On one occasion a woman came there over the bridge with her lap full of eggs;[7] and a foolish fellow seized this woman and wrestled with her, and broke all her eggs. Whereupon the poor woman began to weep and to cry piteously about the loss of her eggs. And it happened that the holy bishop came by at the same time and asked the woman to let him see her eggs. And straightway he lifted up his hand and blessed the eggs, and they were all made whole and sound. And this woman was then filled with gladness, and she thanked this holy man for his great goodness and for the miracle which he had performed for her.

4 [*SEL* lines 69–80]. And then King Æthelwulf died immediately afterwards, and then his son Ecgberht was king after him;[8] and then Æthelberht was made king after him.[9] And in the third year of this king's reign St Swithun died;[10] and he asked his men to bury him in the churchyard, so that

that drawn in *SEL*, lines 49–50.

[6] The inference by the author of *GiL* that the bridge was at the *west* gate of Winchester has no support in manuscripts of *SEL*, and possibly results from a misreading of the *SEL* original (cf. Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, p. 56; idem, *Studies*, p. 111): see above, p. 734, line 53, where the text states that St Swithun 'let þe stronge brugge wiþoute · þe est 3ate arere'.

[7] It is not clear why the *GiL* author should have altered the statement in *SEL*, that the woman was carrying 'a *bagge* fol of eiren' (line 57) to 'hir *lappe* ful of eggis'.

[8] The *GiL* author, working perhaps too hastily, has misunderstood the statement in *SEL* that Æthelwulf son of Ecgberht had died (line 69: 'þe king Adulf dei3de seþþe · þe kinges sone Egbert') and so has mistakenly made Ecgberht into Æthelwulf's successor.

[9] Æthelberht was the successor of his father Æthelwulf—not of Ecgberht—and was king of Wessex 860–5; based on *SEL* lines 70–1.

[10] Based on *SEL* line 73. St Swithun did indeed die in the third year of King Æthelberht's reign, namely in 863 (see above, p. 4).

sette but litille[d] price by hym, for he louid no pride in his lyf. And he passid to oure Lorde in the yeere of oure Lorde .viii.[c] and .vi.[11]

5. And he lay there in that churche yerde[a] or he was translatyd an[b] hundryd and nyne yeere and odde days.[c 12] But in the goode Kynge Edgar is daies, this holy seynt, Seynt[d] Swythyn, was put in to[e] a ful[f] worshipful schryne[g] in the towne of Wyncestyr by Ethelwolde and Seynt Donstone;[13] and in the same yere was Seynt Edward the martyr schyryned atte Schaftysbury.[14] These holy bisschoppis Ethelwold and Donstone were warned by a vision that they schulde se these .ii. holy seintes Edward and Swythyn put in [h]worshipful schrynes;[h] and so they dyd with ful greet deuocioun.[15]

6. And in lyke wise an holy man come[a] to Ethelwolde and bade hym do the same; and yf he so dydde,[b] his sykenes that he hadde[c d] a fore longe tyme schulde[d] go awey fro hym and euer aftyr he schulde[e] be hoole to his lyues ende.[16] And also by the tokyn that he schall fynde on Seynt Swythyns[f] stone that lyeth on his beryel ryngis of irune [g]faste nayled thereon;[g] and anoon as they sette honde on the rynge, it come fro the stone anoon, and no wemme was seyn in the stone. And when þey had take up the stone fro the graue, thei sette the ryngis to the stone and thei were fastenyd anoon therto. And than the Bishop Ethelwolde and al the peple thankid oure Lord for this gret myracle.

7. And whan Kyng Edgar with many bisschoppys and greet multitude of peple were [a]at þe[a] takyng up of the holy body of Seynt Swythyn, suche a sauoure come oute of his graue that alle the peple were fulfillyd with that heuenely swetenes. And that same tyme a blynde woman resseyuid[b] hir sight by the meritiss of Seynt Swythyn, and [c]many oone[c] was helyd there thorowe that[d] heuenely sauour that were byfore tormentyd with ful greet sykenes. And yit there oure Lorde schewith by his holy seruant many a greet myracle: wherfore his name be preysid worlde withouten ende. Amen.

[d] litle A_1A_2

[c. 5] [a] yearth A_2 [b] and A_1 [c] daye A_2 [d] *om.* A_1L [e] *om.* A_1A_2 [f] *om.* L [g] shiryne A_1, shryne A_2 [h–h] a worshipful schryne A_1

[c. 6] [a] came A_2 [b] do A_1A_2 [c] hath had A_1, had A_2 [d–d] so long shal A_1, so long shulde A_2 [e] shal A_1, shalle A_2 [f] Swythyn A_1 [g–g] ther on nayled fast A_1, there on nayled faste A_2

[c. 7] [a–a] atte A_1, at the A_2 [b] receyued A_1 [c–c] many on A_1, manye one A_2 [d] the A_2

[11] The date 806 is false, apparently because the author of *GiL* misread his source. Manuscripts of *SEL* have various readings here (see above, app. crit. to *SEL*, line 79), but none specifies the *sixth* rather than the (two and) *sixtieth* year.

[12] The author of *GiL* was apparently following a manuscript of *SEL* which here (line 83) read 'nine years' (*nyne 3er*), rather than 'five', as some *SEL* manuscripts have it (e.g. EVR). *SEL*'s 'fourtene ni3t' has become 'odde days' in *GiL*.

[13] Although the *SEL* mentions that Dunstan was, like Æthelwold, an adviser of King Edgar (line 94), the *GiL*

the people should take little notice of him, because all his life he abhorred vanity. And he passed to Our Lord in the year of Our Lord 806.[11]

5 [*SEL* lines 81–96]. And he lay there in that churchyard until he was translated one hundred and nine years and odd days later.[12] But in the days of good King Edgar, this holy saint, St Swithun, was placed in a venerable shrine in the town of Winchester by Æthelwold and St Dunstan;[13] and in the same year St Edward the Martyr was enshrined at Shaftesbury.[14] These holy bishops, Æthelwold and Dunstan, were warned in a vision that they should put these two holy saints into venerable shrines; and they did so with exceeding great devotion.[15]

6 [*SEL* lines 97–125]. And in the same way a holy man came to Æthelwold and asked him to do the same; and if he were to do so, the sickness which he had had for a long time would depart, and ever after he would be healthy to the end of his life.[16] And by the same token, he [Æthelwold] would find on the stone covering St Swithun's tomb some iron rings fixed fast to it; and as soon as they grasped the ring, it would come away from the stone at once, and no mark would be seen on the stone. And when they had taken the stone covering off the tomb, they replaced the rings in the stone, and they were immediately fixed to it. And then Bishop Æthelwold and all the people thanked Our Lord for this great miracle.

7 [*SEL* lines 126–58]. And when King Edgar, with many bishops and a great multitude of people, were translating the holy body of St Swithun, such a saintly odour came out of his grave that all the people were filled with that heavenly sweetness. And at the same time a blind woman received her sight through the merits of St Swithun, and many others, who had previously been tormented with severe illness, were healed there through that heavenly odour. And even now Our Lord reveals many a great miracle through His holy servant: wherefore let His name be praised world without end. Amen.

independently—and wrongly—associates Dunstan with the translation of St Swithun.

[14] Although St Edward, king and martyr, is named in *SEL* (line 86) as the son of King Edgar, no mention is made there of his translation to Shaftesbury. The chronology of the *GiL* author is confused on this point: Edward was murdered at Corfe, Dorset, on 18 Mar. 978, and translated to Shaftesbury, probably in 979, by Ealdorman Ælfhere. St Swithun had been translated eight years earlier, in 971. But although the chronology is confused, the interest of the *GiL* (or rather *ALL*) author in Shaftesbury may be relevant to the question of his origin.

[15] Again, the text of *SEL* has been badly misunderstood: it is St Swithun himself who appears in a vision to a 'holy man', asking him to go to St Æthelwold in Winchester (lines 97–100): no mention is made either of Dunstan or of Edward king and martyr.

[16] In *SEL* (lines 107–8), the 'holy man' is told in the vision by St Swithun that he will be restored to health if he obeys Swithun's message; the *GiL* author misunderstood this passage badly, and has the 'holy man' address Bishop Æthelwold and promise that he, Æthelwold, will be restored to health.

APPENDIX

Caxton's Redaction of the *GiL* 'Life of St Swithun'

WILLIAM CAXTON (d. 1491/2) has rightly been described as the first English publisher.[1] After having apprenticed in London as a mercer, he moved to Bruges where he supervised commercial activity on behalf of the English government, and from where he travelled to Cologne in the early 1470s where, through involvement in the printing of an edition of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, he became aware of the commercial potential of publishing. He returned to England in 1476 and set up his publishing business in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, from where the first English publication to be issued was his edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, perhaps in 1476. From that time, until his death in late 1491 or early 1492, Caxton published approximately one hundred titles. Of these, his edition of *The Golden Legend* is his largest and most ambitious publication: the first edition, which appeared in 1483, consists of some 898 large folio pages,[2] and has rightly been described as 'one of the largest [hagiographical collections] ever compiled in any European language'.[3] The first edition contains some 249 saints' Lives.[4] In spite of its massive bulk, *The Golden Legend* must have sold well, for within a few years, probably in 1487, Caxton issued a second edition.[5]

In order to compile *The Golden Legend*, Caxton consulted works in Latin, French and English, as he explained in his First Prologue.[6] The Latin source in question was clearly Iacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea*,[7] and it has been established that the French source was the *Légende dorée* of Jean de Vignay.[8] The English source was *The Gilte Legende*, but in the expanded redaction which included all the additional Lives of English saints (*ALL*); various evidence suggests that Caxton's manuscript was very similar to, but probably not identical with, BL, Add. 35298 (= A_2).[9] In any event, it is clear that Caxton took his text of the 'Life of St Swithun' directly from a copy of *The Gilte Legende*. He reproduced the text nearly verbatim, save that he introduced a small number of hasty errors (see the

[1] N. Blake, 'William Caxton', in *Middle English Prose: a Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick, NJ, 1984), pp. 389–412, at 392. The standard modern study of Caxton is by N. F. Blake, *Caxton and his World* (London, 1969); for bibliography, see idem, *William Caxton: a Bibliographical Guide* (New York, 1985), as well as the entry by R. H. Wilson in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*, ed. J. B. Severs and A. E. Hartung, 10 vols. (Hamden, CT, 1967–98), iii. 771–807, 924–51.

[2] Listed STC 24873; also S. De Ricci, *A Census of Caxtons* (London, 1909), no. 98.

[3] Görlach, in *Hagiographies*, i. 478.

[4] The most accessible edition—in those libraries which are not fortunate enough to possess a copy of the original—is the Kelmscott edition by F. S. Ellis, *The Golden Legend of Master William Caxton Done Anew*, 3 vols. (London, 1892); there is also a version in modern English spelling by F. S. Ellis, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, 7 vols. (London, 1900).

[5] STC 24874; De Ricci, *A Census of Caxtons*, no. 99.

[6] 'I had by me a legende in frensshe / another in latyn / & the thyrd in englysshe which varyed in many and dyuers places.' Sometimes Caxton combined all three sources in a single Life, as in the case of his 'Life of St George'; see Görlach, *Hagiographies*, i. 478.

[7] M. Jeremy, 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and Varagine's *Legenda Aurea*', *Speculum*, xxi (1946), 212–21.

[8] It was suggested by M. Jeremy, 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and De Vignai's *Légende dorée*', *MS* viii (1946), 97–106, that the version of Jean de Vignay used by Caxton was identical to that in London, BL, Stowe 50–1; more recently, R. F. S. Hamer and V. Russell, 'A critical edition of four chapters from the *Légende Dorée*', *MS* li (1989), 130–204, at pp. 143–4, have argued cogently that Caxton used the version printed in Flanders in 1472–5.

[9] See A. Kurvinen, 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and the manuscripts of the *Gilte Legende*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, lx (1959), 353–75, esp. pp. 356–72; Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, pp. 88–99; idem, *Studies*, pp. 137–45; and Hamer, *Three Lives from the Gilte Legende*, pp. 24–6.

accompanying notes). The following text is based on the first edition of 1483,[10] but I have replaced Caxton's tall *s* with the modern letter form, and have replaced his ampersands with *and* and his ye with ModE *the*; I have also expanded his occasional suspension marks. I have not reproduced his solidi, and have introduced modern punctuation. The chapter numberings are also mine, and are intended to correspond with those in the *GiL* 'Life of St Swithun' printed above.

1. Saint Swythyne the holi confessour was born besydes Wynchester in the time of Saint[11] Egberte kinge: he was the .vii.[12] kynge after Kenulf, that Saynt Byryne crystened. For Saint Austin crystened not all England in Saynt Athelbertus[13] daies. But Saint Byryne crystened the weste partye of England in the dayes of Kenulf the kyng. And at tyme thys holy Saynt Swythyne serued our Lady[14] so deuoutely that all people that knewe hym had grete joye of his holynesse. And Elmeston that was in that tyme bysshop of Wynchester made hym preest, and thenne he lyued a strayter lyuyng that he dyd byfore. And he became thenne so holy in liuing that Kynge Egbert made hym his chaunceler and chyef of his counseyll, and sette Ethulf his sone and his heier under his rule and guyding, and prayed him to take hede to hymn that he myght be brought up uertuously. And wythin short tyme after the kyng deyed, and thenne his sone Ethulf was made kynge after him, and he guyded this londe ful well and wysely that it encreased gretly in good lyuyng thrugh the counseill of Saint Swythyne.

2. And whan Elmeston the bysshop of Wynchestre was dede, Swythyne was made bysshop there after hym, wherof the people were full glad. And by his holy lyuyng he caused the peple to lyue uertuously, and to paye truely theyr tythes to God and holy chirche. And yf ony chirche fyll doun or was in decay, Saint Swythyne wold anone amende it at his owne cost; or yf any chirche were not halowed he wolde goo thyder a fote and halowe it. For he louyd no pride ne to ride on gay hors, ne to be praysed ne flatred of the peple (whyche in this dayes suche thynges be used ouer moche: God ceasse it!). Saint Swythyne guyded full well his bysshopryche and dyd moche good to the toun of Wynchestre in his tyme. He dyd do make without the weste gate of the toun a fayr bridge of stone at his propre cost.

3. And on a tyme there came a woman ouer the brydge wyth her lappe full of egges. And a rechelles felaw stroglyd and wrestelyd wyth her and brake all her egges. And it happed that this holy bysshop came that waye the same time, and bad the woman lete hym see her egges. And anone he lyfte up his honde and blessyd the egges, and they were made hooll and sounde euerychon by the merytes of this holy bysshop. And beyng thenne gladde thanked God and thys holy man for the myracle that was don to her.

4. And soone after deyed Kyng Ethulf, and his sone Egbert reyned after hym. And after hym was Athelberte kynge; and in the thyrde yere of his regne dyde this blessyd bysshop Saint Swythyne. And whan he sholde deye he charged his men to burye hym in the chyrcheyerde for the peple shold not worshyp hym after this deth. For he loued no pompe by his lif, ne none wolde he haue after his deth.[15] He passyd to our Lorde the yere of grace .viii.[c] and .vi.

[10] Caxton's 'Life of St Swithun' is also ptd by Earle, *Gloucester Fragments*, pp. 84–5.

[11] Caxton has erroneously turned King Ecgberht into a saint.

[12] An error for the '.viii.' of Caxton's source.

[13] Again, it is not clear why King Æthelberht has been turned into a saint.

[14] Caxton has altered 'our Lorde' of his source to 'our Lady'.

[15] This sentence was inexplicably omitted from later printings

5. And he laye in the chyrche er he was translated an .c. and .ix. yere and odde days. But in the tyme of holy Kynge Edgar his body was translated and putte in a shryne in thabbeye of Wynchestre by Saint Dunstone and Ethelwold. And the same yere was Saint Edward kyng and martyr shryned at Shaftesbury. These two bysshops, Dunston and Ethelwolde, were warned by our Lorde to see that thyse .ii. holy saintes, Swythyne and Edward, sholde be worshypfully shryned; and so thei were wythin a short tyme after.

6. And an holy man warned Ethelwold whyles he laye seke to helpe that thyse two holy bodyes myght be shryned, and thenne he shold be parfyghtly hool, and soo endure to his lyues end. And the token is: that ye shall fynde on Saint Swythynes graue two rynges of yron nayled fast theron. And as sone as he sette honde on the ringes they come of of the stone and no token was seen in the stone where thei were fastened in. And whan they had taken up the stone fro the graue, they sette the rynges to the stone agayn, and anone they fastened to it by them self. And thenne this holy bysshop gaf lawde and praysyng to our Lord for this myracle.

7. And at the openyng of the graue of Saint Swythyne such a swete odour and sauour yssued out that Kyng Edgar and alle the multytude of peple were fulfylled wyth heuenly swetenes. And a blynde man[16] receyued there his syght agayn, and many men heled of dyuers sekenes and maledyes by the merytes of this holy saint, Saint Swythyne: to whom late us praye that he be oure aduocate to the good Lorde for us, *et cetera*.

of the second edition, such as that of 1503 (of which there is a copy in Cambridge, UL, Sel. 2. 18).

[16] It is not clear why Caxton should have altered the 'blynde woman' of his source to a 'blynde man'.

11. 'DE SANCTO SWITHVNO EPISCOPO & CONFESSORE' FROM *THE KALENDRE OF THE NEWE LEGENDE OF ENGLAND*

INTRODUCTION

A FINAL Life of St Swithun takes us to the very eve of the Reformation and into the age of the printed book. In 1516 Richard Pynson printed a somewhat abbreviated English translation, entitled *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande*, of the *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae* of John of Tynemouth, and among the contents of *The Kalendre* is a Life of St Swithun, entitled (according to Pynson's table of contents) *De sancto Swithuno episcopo & confessore.*

i. *THE KALENDRE OF THE NEWE LEGENDE OF ENGLANDE*

The Kalendre is a collection of 168 epitomes of Lives of English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish saints done by an anonymous translator into early Modern English, and printed in 1516 by Richard Pynson.[1] The ultimate source of the collection is evidently John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae.* However, as we have seen,[2] the *vitae* in John's original *Sanctilogium* were arranged in the calendar order of the church year; a later, anonymous, compiler subsequently arranged them in alphabetical order, and it was the version in alphabetical order which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516 as the *Nova Legenda Anglie.*[3] Lives in *The Kalendre* are arranged in alphabetical order, as in the *Nova Legenda Angliae*, and this fact, in combination with the title given to the translation, would suggest that the source of the translation may have been the version of the *Nova Legenda Anglie* printed by Wynkyn de Worde. However, there are difficulties with so obvious a conclusion, not least chronological ones: the two texts were printed at almost exactly the same time, and there are various (minor) discrepancies between the Latin text and the English translation.[4] Accordingly,

[1] Eleven copies of Pynson's edition survive; but the text is most easily accessible in the recent edition by Manfred Görlach, *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande ed. from Pynson's Printed Edition*, Middle English Texts, xxvii (Heidelberg, 1994).

[2] Above, pp. 746–7.

[3] Ed. C. Horstman, *Nova Legenda Angliae*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901).

[4] See Görlach, *The Kalendre*, pp. 11–13.

the question of whether the translator used Wynkyn de Worde's printed text of the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, or a manuscript source closely similar to it, should best be left open. The relationship between the two works is not in doubt, however.

Although in general the translator of *The Kalendre* closely followed the Latin text of the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, he also drastically abbreviated it, often eliminating accounts of miracles performed by a saint when such miracles are reported copiously in the Latin source. Furthermore, at various points the translator added references to the resting-places of the saints where they were lacking in the original (no such addition is made in the case of St Swithun, however, since the text makes clear that the saint's remains lie in Winchester). It is possible that other vernacular sources were used as well, but certainty is impossible.[5] In any event, the translation of the Life of St Swithun (no. 142 in the collection) is literal and accurate,[6] although it is also greatly abbreviated; for some unexplained reason, the translator rearranged the contents of cc. 5 and 6 of his source.

ii. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

As stated above, *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande* was printed by Richard Pynson in 1516.[7] Eleven copies of the work, in its first edition, have been identified;[8] the Life of St Swithun is contained on fos. 95v–96r. More recently, the text has been reprinted on the basis of two original copies (both in the British Library) by Manfred Görlach.[9]

iii. EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

For sake of convenience, the text printed below is based on two copies of the work in the University Library in Cambridge, having the shelf-marks Sel. 5. 69 and Hib. 7. 51. 1 (in each case the text is intact on fos. 95v–96r); but it has also been collated against Görlach's careful edition. The Cambridge copies—whose text is identical—are designated *C* in the brief apparatus criticus which follows the text. The capitalization and punctuation are editorial, and I have expanded abbreviations and suspension-marks. Cross-references to chapter-numbers of the *Vita S. Swithuni* in John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium* have been supplied for ease of consultation, and several minor departures from the Latin text have been noted. I have not on this occasion supplied a translation; in spite of some eccentric spellings, the early Modern English of the original should be easily comprehensible to speakers of Modern English.

[5] Görlach (ibid. p. 14) draws attention to certain similarities of wording between *The Kalendre* and Caxton's *Golden Legend*. One example which he cites concerns Swithun's miraculous restoration of the broken eggs, but (in my view) the wording is not close enough to suggest dependence: cf. the 'Life of St Swithun' in *The Golden Legende*, c. 3 (above, p. 775), with the text printed below.

[6] Cf. the comments of Görlach: 'the translator was a competent, if middling Latinist . . . and in a few cases the Latin original is a necessary help to the understanding of the English text' (ibid. p. 12). No such case occurs in the Life of St Swithun.

[7] Pynson's edition is listed STC no. 4602. The book is in small octavo format (200 × 135 mm.).

[8] See Görlach, *The Kalendre*, pp. 16–20. *The Kalendar* occupies quires A–V (fos. 1–120; fo. 120 is blank). As Görlach observed, *The Kalendre* was bound with two other items, a *Life of Bridget* (quires X–Y, fos. 120–33), and Walter Hilton's *Epistle on Mixed Life* (quires A^1–B^1, fos. 134–49).

[9] Görlach, *The Kalendre*, pp. 43–191; the Life of St Swithun is at p. 162 (no. 142).

De sancto Swithuno episcopo & confessore

Seynt Swythune was borne in the tyme of Kynge Egbertus, which was the .viii. kynge fro Kynge Kynegelse, that was conuertyd by Seynt Byrynne [c. 1]. And after he had taken ordre of preesthode he endeuouryd hymselfe to preche þe worde of God catholycallye and truely, to vse werkys of pyte, & to correcte[10] theym that lyuyd inordynately [c. 2]. After the deth of Helynstane whiche was busshope of Wynchester he was chosen busshope there [c. 4]. And he made churches of newe and repayryd tho þat were decayed, and when he went to halowe any churche he went not with great pompe but went on his bare fete. To his feestys he callyd not ryche men but poore men, & euer callyd vppon synners to do penaunce and encouragyd men that lyuyd vertuously to perseuer in vertue. He neuer toke a full meale but moderatly for sustenaunce, and after longe vygyllys & great labourys that he shuld not all fayle he toke a lytyll slepe [c. 6]. He made the brydge at the eest ende[11] of Wynchester, and as he was lokynge vpon the werke a woman came bye with egges in a basket, and by the neclygence of the werkemen her eggys were brokyn, wherfore she wepte and made sorowe; and the busshope, hauynge pyte, with his ryght hande blessyd the basket & all the eggys were hole agayne [c. 5]. He was euer busy ⟨in⟩[a] psalmes and spirituell melodye [c. 6], and with all dylygence he kept his herte in all clennes and perseuered in kepynge of the commaudementes of our Lorde to his departynge out of this worlde, whiche was the syxth nonas of Iulii in the yere of our Lorde God .dccclxii. [c. 7]. And he was translated in the yere of our Lorde .dcccclxxi. in the ide of Iulii [c. 11]. And the same daye of his translacyon our Lorde shewyd for hym many myracles: a childe[b] contracte fro his byrth was helyd, there[12] blynde wymmen had their syght, the yrons of one in pryson brake and the man was delyuered, a man syke of the palsey was helyd, and .xxv. other were also made hole of dyuers sykenes [c. 12].

[a] *suppl. Görlach* [b] *corr. Görlach*, thilde *C*

[10] John of Tynemouth (above, p. 754), and the *Nova Legenda Anglie* (based on John) here read *inordinate uiuentes uirga correptionis increpare*, whereas the anonymous eleventh-century *Vita S. Swithuni* which John used as his source (above, p. 630) here reads *correctionis* in lieu of *correptionis* ('censure'), which may suggest that the reading *correctionis* was in the exemplar used by the anonymous translator of *The Kalendre*.

[11] Note that the Latin exemplar used by the anonymous translator here read *orientalem partem*, which he rendered as 'eest ende', rather than *orientalem portam* (which would have been rendered as 'eest gate' *vel sim.*).

[12] The transmitted *there* is probably a mistake for *thre*; cf. the Latin text of John of Tynemouth at this point (c. 12: 'tribus mulieribus oculorum lumine priuatis uisum reddidit').

12. MINOR LATIN POEMS ON ST SWITHUN

INTRODUCTION

In addition to the hagiographical texts printed above, there is a small number of Latin poems on St Swithun which belong in the dossier of writings pertaining to his cult. These poems include: (i) a ten-line *titulus* on a bridge in Winchester built by Swithun in 859 (inc. 'Hanc portam presens'); (ii) a processional hymn for the saint's deposition, composed in abecedarian form in epanaleptic couplets, probably by Wulfstan of Winchester (inc. 'Aurea lux patrie'); (iii) a redaction of this hymn preserved uniquely in a manuscript from Rouen; (iv) another abecedarian hymn in epanaleptic couplets, also probably by Wulfstan, preserved in the same Rouen manuscript (inc. 'Auxilium Domine'); (v) a brief six-line poem in elegiac couplets which accompanies John of Tynemouth's epitome of the *uita* and *miracula* of St Swithun in the sole manuscript which preserves this work (inc. 'O Suuithune pater'); and (vi) a narrative poem in rhythmical form describing Swithun's notable miracle in restoring a poor woman's broken eggs (inc. 'Inter signa gloriosi'). In addition to these poems, various rhythmical sequences addressed to the saint are treated elsewhere in the volume;[1] other poems have apparently been lost.[2]

i. A *TITVLVS* ON A BRIDGE BUILT BY ST SWITHUN

The *titulus* in question (inc. 'Hanc portam presens')[3] is preserved in two manuscripts, both of which have been described previously: London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII [= R], fo. 124v and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14 [= B], fo. 49v. The poem is only ten lines long, and within this short compass neither manuscript contains any variant which would help us to determine that one was copied from the other. In R the poem was added to the manuscript (immediately following the end of Wulfstan's *Narratio*) by a scribe whose script—a late and mannered form of Style IV Anglo-Caroline—suggests a date in the last quarter of the eleventh century; in B the poem was copied by

[1] The sequences 'Laude resonet', 'Psallat ecclesia', 'Gaudens Christi', 'Alma cohors una', and 'Via lux ueritas', all ptd and discussed above, pp. 94–101.

[2] Humfrey Wanley, in his notes on Smith's catalogue of Cottonian manuscripts (now preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough London 54), observed that Cotton Galba A. xiv once contained a *Hymnus de S. Swithuno episcopo*; but the manuscript was severely damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731, and no longer contains such an item. See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 201; what remains of Galba A. xiv is printed integrally by B. J. Muir, *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book*, HBS ciii ([London], 1988), 25–192. The early thirteenth-century poet Henry of Avranches announced the intention of composing poems on the three Winchester saints Birinus, Æthelwold and Swithun, but only that on Birinus has survived: see A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 180, and above, p. 72.

[3] Not listed in *ICL*.

the principal scribe of the manuscript, again immediately following the end of Wulfstan's *Narratio*. We have seen that the text of Wulfstan's *Narratio* in B was copied from that in R,[4] and the likelihood is that a similar relationship exists between the two copies of the *titulus*. The *titulus* has been printed once previously.[5]

The *titulus* provides us with valuable information concerning Bishop Swithun's activities as a builder: it states unambiguously that he constructed a bridge at the East Gate of Winchester in 859 (in the seventh indiction, which is correct for 859).[6] The present *titulus* was apparently composed sometime later—Swithun is described in line 3 as *antistite quondam*—to commemorate that construction. It is possible that the germ of the poem was an inscription (in prose) engraved on the bridge itself, recording its date of completion and dedication by Swithun (the bridge no longer survives, so it is impossible to verify this conjecture). In any event, the author of the poem reveals himself familiar with the diction of Carolingian *tituli*.[7] Since Swithun is not referred to as *sanctus* or *beatus*, it is likely that the poem was composed sometime after his death in 863 but before his translation in 971, hence, perhaps, in the earlier tenth century,[8] but no more precise dating seems possible. At the time it was being copied into R and B in late eleventh century, the poem was also consulted by the anonymous author of the *Vita S. Swithuni*.[9]

Hanc portam presens cernis quicumque uiator
deuotas effunde preces ad celsitonantem
pro Christi famulo SWIÐUN, antistite quondam.
Per cuius summam cum sollicitudine curam
est huius pontis constructa operatio pulchra
ad Christi laudem, Wentane urbisque decorem,
sol octingentos cum rite reuolueret annos,
quinquaginta nouem replicaret et insuper annos
incarnata fuit postquam miseratio Christi;
tunc erat et uertens indictio septima cursum.

You, wayfarer, whoever gaze upon this gate, pour forth your devout prayers to the high-throned God on behalf of Christ's servant Swithun, formerly the bishop. Through his infinite care and concern the delightful structure of this bridge was built [5] to the glory of Christ and the embellishment of the town of Winchester, when the sun had duly passed through eight hundred and fifty-nine years after Christ in His mercy had become incarnate; at that time the seventh indiction was turning on its course [10].

[4] See above, pp. 366–7.

[5] A. A. Locke, *In Praise of Winchester* (London, 1912), p. 129.

[6] See discussion in WS i. 271–2.

[7] With the first line of the poem, cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* xcix (12). 1 (MGH, PLAC i. 325: 'Haec loca quae cernis, lector, uenerabilis aulae'), cviii. 1 (p. 334: 'Haec tu quam cernis, praeparua domuncula, lector'), cxi (p. 343: 'Hic tu per stratam pergens subsiste uiator'); and cf. an inscription placed by Pope Leo IV (847–55) on a gate in Rome: 'Qui uenis ac uadis, decus hoc adtende, uiator, / Quod quartus struxit nunc Leo papa libens' (MGH, PLAC ii. 664).

[8] For this tentative dating, cf. Lapidge, *ALL* i. 70–1.

[9] See above, p. 622.

ii. AN EPANALEPTIC HYMN FOR ST SWITHUN'S DEPOSITION

The epanaleptic hymn (inc. 'Aurea lux patrie')[10] is preserved in two manuscripts: London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII, fos. 49v–50r [= R], where it is in the hand of the principal scribe of the manuscript and hence datable to *c.*1000,[11] and Cotton Nero E. i, fos. 52v–53r [= N], datable to the third quarter of the eleventh century. These same two manuscripts also preserve Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*; as we have seen,[12] it is demonstrable that in the case of Lantfred the text in N was copied directly from that in R, and the same is undoubtedly true of the present hymn, inasmuch as N incorporates a number of characteristically careless errors not found in R, the text of which is free of corruption.

In addition to these two manuscripts, two later redactions of the hymn require mention. The first of these was made by Orderic Vitalis (1075–1142), the ecclesiastical historian who was a native of Shrewsbury but who spent much of his career in Normandy at Saint-Evroul, where he composed his great *Historia ecclesiastica*. A number of manuscripts in Orderic's handwriting have been identified,[13] and among these is one containing a collection of materials pertaining to the Old Minster of Winchester, and including (for example) a text of Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and a number of other works by Wulfstan.[14] The manuscript in question is now Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 14 (Saint-Evroul, s. xii^{in});[15] among the Winchester materials is a copy of the hymn 'Aurea lux patrie' on fo. 37r–v. It was a characteristic feature of Orderic that he altered whatever he copied, no doubt for stylistic reasons of his own;[16] in the case of 'Aurea lux patrie' he made some twelve stylistic changes. These changes, as preserved in Alençon 14, are recorded in the apparatus which follows, under the siglum *Orderic*.

The ultimate model for an abecedarian hymn of this sort was Bede's hymn to St Æthelthryth in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (iv. 18). The present hymn to St Swithun is one of a group of five hymns in this same abecedarian epanaleptic form, all stemming from Winchester in the last years of the tenth century;[17] the others include hymns to St Æthelwold (inc. 'Alma lucerna micat'),[18] to St Birinus (inc. 'Agmina sacra poli'),[19] and to All Saints (inc. 'Aula superna poli'),[20] in addition to the second such hymn to St Swithun (inc. 'Auxilium Domine') printed below as no. iv. These hymns share similar diction and, given the difficulties of the form, it is most likely that they are all the production of one highly skilled poet. And because they all share features of diction with Wulfstan's *Narratio* and *Breuiloquium de omnibus sanctis* (the authorship of which is undoubtedly Wulfstan's, given that his name is embedded in an acrostic in the opening lines of the poem), the likelihood is that this poet was Wulfstan, though it is always salutary to recall that none of the manuscripts preserving these hymns contains an attribution *nominatim* to Wulfstan.[21]

[10] Listed *ICL* no. 1443; but note that the listing refers to Orderic's redaction of the poem as preserved in Alençon 14, rather than to the original version in RN, which was unprinted at the time *ICL* was being compiled.

[11] For a full discussion of R, see above, pp. 239–40.

[12] Above, p. 244.

[13] L. Delisle, 'Notes sur les manuscrits autographes d'Orderic Vital', *Matériaux pour l'édition de Guillaume de Jumièges*, ed. J. Lair (Paris, 1910), with plates; M. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols. (OMT, 1968–80), i. 201–3.

[14] See *Wulfstan*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. clvii–clviii, clxxx–clxxxi.

[15] Ibid. pp. xxiii–xxiv.

[16] Ibid. pp. clxxx–clxxxi.

[17] Ibid. pp. xxvii–xxx.

[18] *ICL* no. 591; ptd *AH* xlviii. 9–12 (no. 1), PL cxxxvii. 104–5. See discussion by Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xxiv.

[19] *ICL* no. 474; ptd *AH* xlviii. 12–13 (no. 2).

[20] *ICL* no. 1409a; ed. in P. Dronke, M. Lapidge and P. Stotz, 'Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte der Cambridger Liederhandschrift (CUL Gg.5.35)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, xvii (1982), 54–95, at pp. 59–65.

[21] There are various examples of Wulfstanian diction in the

The hymn as preserved in R was designed to commemorate the deposition of St Swithun on 2 July, as is clear from the I-distich:

Illa [*sc.* dies] uidere tuum meruit super aethra meatum
digna fuitque obitum illa uidere tuum.

However, Wulfstan composed alternative I-distichs so that the hymn could be used on other liturgical occasions.[22] These alternative distichs are entered in the margin of R, fo. 50r. Thus for the feast of the translation (15 July) the following I-distich could be substituted:

Ista dies rutilat tua quam translatio sacrat
clara tuis meritis ista dies rutilat.

And for the feast of the ordination (29 [*recte* 30] Oct.)[23] Wulfstan provided the following I-distich:

Ista dies renitet tua quam crismatio sacrat
ordine digna tuo ista dies renitet.

Although there are no manuscript rubrics to indicate liturgical usage, it is apparent that this hymn was intended for use as a gradual or processional hymn on one of the feasts of St Swithun celebrated at Winchester.

The hymn has previously been printed on several occasions: by Sauvage in 1886, who as an appendix to an edition of the Rouen redaction of the hymn (no. iii below) printed the text of Orderic's redaction from Alençon 14;[24] by G. M. Dreves in 1895 in vol. xix of *Analecta Hymnica*,[25] from MS. N; by Clemens Blume in 1903, again of Orderic's redaction in Alençon 14;[26] and finally by Blume in 1905 in vol. xlviii of *Analecta Hymnica*, again of Orderic's redaction in Alençon 14.[27] The hymn has not previously been printed from R, which here serves as the base-text.

Aurea lux patrie Wentana splendet in urbe:
Suuithun sanctus adest, aurea lux patrie.
Blande patrone, tuis succurre benignus alumnis;
confer opem famulis, blande patrone, tuis.

present hymn, such as the unusual quadrisyllabic compound *signipotens* (10): cf. *Narratio*, Ep. spec. 267 ('signipotens in ea pausat quoque demate Suuiðhun'), ii. 438 ('signipotens inopina piis medicamina uotis'); the rare word *iubilum* (14): cf. *Narratio*, Ep. spec. 165 ('et feriunt iubilum', and see also Dronke, Lapidge and Stotz, 'Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte', p. 62); the phrase *ab arce poli* (42): cf. *Narratio*, Ep. spec. 330 ('laetus in arce poli'); the phrase *releuans a clade cateruas* (23): cf. *Narratio* ii. 748 ('releuet de clade misellos'), etc.

[22] The alternative distichs are also printed by Gneuss, *Hymnar*, p. 118.

[23] The distich for the ordination is written in a hand which is distinct from the main text hand (which also copied the distich for the translation), and seems to date from a period later in the eleventh century (s. xi^{ex}?). The later date helps to explain the apparent error made by this scribe in specifying the date of St Swithun's ordination: 'De ordinatione .iiii. kl. nou.' = 29 October. All liturgical sources give the date of Swithun's ordination—a feast which was apparently only celebrated at Winchester itself—as 30 October (see above, p. 28). The matter is of some significance, since the date of Swithun's accession to the bishopric of Winchester depends on it: see above, p. 4.

[24] E. P. Sauvage, 'Hymni paracterici tres in laudem S. Swithuni', *AB* v (1886), 53–8, at pp. 57–8.

[25] *AH* xix. 258–60.

[26] C. Blume, 'Wolstan von Winchester und Vital von Saint-Evroult, Dichter der drei Lobgesänge auf die heiligen Athelwold, Birin und Swithun', *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, cxlvi. 3 (Vienna, 1903), 1–23, at pp. 9–12 [right-hand column].

[27] *AH* xlviii. 16–17.

Culmina celsa poli felici calle petisti:
et nobis aperi culmina celsa poli.
Dextera sancta Dei te re benedixit in omni,
nos et ubique regat dextera sancta Dei.
Euge, beate pater, meritoque et nomine fulgens
undique signipotens, euge, beate pater.
Fulgida lux hodie nostris lucescit in oris;
spargit ubique iubar fulgida lux hodie.
Gentibus Angligenis sollemnia festa recurrunt
et renouant iubilum gentibus Angligenis.
Haec ueneranda dies astris arridet et aruis:
estque decora nimis haec ueneranda dies.
Illa uidere tuum meruit super aethra meatum;
digna fuitque obitum illa uidere tuum.
Kastra beata poli psallunt iubilando tonanti,
congaudentque tibi kastra beata poli.
Laeta uident Dominum felicia corda piorum
et tecum iugiter laeta uident Dominum.
Mitis ades miseris, releuans a clade caterus,
languida restituens, mitis ades miseris.
Nulla camena tuas potis est euoluere laudes;
narrat uirtutes nulla camena tuas.
O medicina potens, que morbida corpora sanas:
nos sana fragiles, O medicina potens.
Protege, sancte, tuos pia per suffragia seruos,
nos et ab aduersis protege, sancte, tuos.
Quae tua cuncta potest insignia promere lingua?
Pangere uox merita quae tua cuncta potest?
Regibus ac miseris idem patronus haberis,
subueniens pariter regibus ac miseris.
Solue nefas scelerum, disrumpe et uincla reorum;
flebile nostrorum solue nefas scelerum.
Te petitore Deus pius est praestare paratus;
parcit et exaudit te petitore Deus.
Vox tua celsithronum potis est placare tonantem,
flectit et ad ueniam uox tua celsithronum.
Xristus ab arce poli dat—te rogitante—salutem,
mittit et omne bonum Xristus ab arce poli.
Ymnifer iste chorus soluit tibi cantica letus:
permaneat gaudens ymnifer iste chorus.
Zelus amarus abest ubi secla per omnia pax est:
pax ubi Christus adest zelus amarus abest.

Agmen 'amen' resonat quod ibi cum laude triumphat;
cum Christo regnans agmen 'amen' resonat.
Mens habitans inibi canit 'Alleluia' tonanti:
exultans iubilat mens habitans inibi.
En tibi, sancte pater, modicum cantauimus ymnum
quem commendamus, en tibi, sancte pater,
Nomina nostra choro sint ut sociata superno
stent et in angelico nomina nostra choro.

Rubric in R: INCIPIT HYMNVS IN HONORE IPSIVS PER ALPHABETVM COMPOSITVS **2 Suuithun sanctus adest]** Sanctus adest Suuithun *Orderic* 6 et] ut *N* 7 te re] terre *N* 16 ueneranda] benedicta *Orderic* 17 *against* Illa *in marg. R*: in depositione .vi. non. Iulii; aethra] astra *Orderic* 19 tonanti] **tanti** *N* 20 kastra] castra *Orderic* 21 felicia] rutilantia *Orderic* 22 et tecum iugiter] assidue tecum *Orderic* 30 nos et ab aduersis] et licet indignos *Orderic* 37 petitore] rogitante *Orderic* 38 exaudit] audiuit *N*; petitore] rogitante *Orderic* 41 rogitante] poscente *Orderic* 42 mittit et omne bonum] det nobis lumen *Orderic* 43 cantica] munia *Orderic* 54 *after* choro *R adds*: FINIT HYMNVS IN HONORE SANCTI ET BEATI PATRIS SWITHVNI GENTIS ANGLORVM PII SVFFRAGATORIS EDITVS, ELEGIACO ET PARACTERICO (HOC EST REPERCVSSO CARMINE) PER ABECEDARIVM COMPOSITVS, ATQVE IN EIVS SACRATISSIMA DEPOSITIONE SVB DIE SEXTA NONARVM IVLIARVM QVA FELICITER AD REGNA MIGRAVIT CAELESTIA SOLLEMPNITER RECITATVS.

The golden light of the land shines in the town of Winchester: St Swithun is here, the golden light of the land. Gentle patron, kindly help your charges; grant aid to your servants, gentle patron. You sought the lofty summits of heaven by a blessed path [5]: and open for us the lofty summits of heaven. The holy right hand of God blessed you in every respect, and let the holy right hand of God rule us everywhere. Well done, blessed father, a miraculous force resplendent everywhere in deeds and name: well done, blessed father [10]. A gleaming light dawns for us today in our land; today the gleaming light scatters its radiance everywhere. The solemn festivities return to the English people, and they renew the *iubilus* for the English people. This holy day smiles on the stars and lands [15]: it is exceedingly beauteous, this holy day. This day [= 2 July] was found worthy to witness your journey beyond the heavens; and it was worthy to witness your death. The blessed companies in heaven hymn the Thunderer in jubilation, and the companies in heaven rejoice in your presence [20]. The blessed hearts of the faithful joyfully gaze on the Lord, and with you in perpetuity they joyfully gaze on the Lord. Be present to us wretches, relieving throngs from their suffering, restoring the weak, be present to us wretches. No poem is sufficient to enumerate your praises [25], no poem can narrate your miracles. O mighty medicine, you who cure diseased bodies: cure us in our weakness, O mighty medicine. Protect your servants, O saint, through your holy assistance, and protect us, your followers, from adversity, O saint [30]. What tongue can express all your many miracles? What voice can record all your accomplishments? You are the same protector to kings and wretches, offering your help equally to kings and wretches. Forgive the evil of our sins, and break the chains of guilt [35]; forgive the lamentable evil of our sins. Merciful God is ready to offer help at your request: God spares and hears us at your request. Your voice is sufficient to please the high-throned Thunderer, and your voice inclines the high-throned God to forgiveness [40]. At your request Christ offers salvation from the citadel of heaven, and Christ grants every bounty from the citadel of heaven. This joyful chorus of hymn-singers offers its songs to you: may this joyful chorus of hymn-singers rejoice in perpetuity. Bitter envy is absent where peace is present for ever and ever [45]: where the peace of Christ is present, bitter envy is absent.

The throng sings 'Amen' because it triumphs there with praise; reigning with Christ the throng sings 'Amen'. The spirit dwelling there sings 'Alleluia' to the Thunderer; the spirit dwelling there shouts out in exultation [50]. Behold, for you, holy father, we have sung this modest hymn, which, holy father, we entrust to you in order that our names may be associated with the heavenly choir, and that our names may stand in the angelic choir.

iii. THE ROUEN REDACTION OF 'AVREA LVX PATRIE'

In addition to the manuscripts (discussed above) which preserve the text of 'Aurea lux patrie', there is a version of the hymn in a manuscript now in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, U. 107 (1385), fos. 82r–83r [= J] (pl. I). In this version, the first four distichs (**A–D**) are nearly identical to those of the hymn printed as no. ii above; but the remaining distichs (**E–Z**, plus **AMEN**) have been very substantially reworked so as to constitute, in effect, a new hymn. The reasons for this reworking are not immediately clear. Rouen U. 107 is a manuscript which was written at Winchester in the last decade or so of the tenth century, containing as its principal content Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*.[28] In the case of Lantfred, it seems clear that the text in J represents a redaction prepared for continental use, given that most of the Old English personal and place-names have been removed from the text; and J's later continental provenance is proved by the fact that a copy of its text of Lantfred was made at Fleury sometime in the earlier eleventh century,[29] as well as its later presence in the cathedral library at Jumièges. It is possible that J's redaction of 'Aurea lux patrie' was similarly prepared for continental export. For example, the **G**-distich of the original version records that St Swithun's feast returns annually to the English people:

> Gentibus Angligenis sollemnia festa recurrunt
> et renouant iubilum gentibus Anglorum
> (13–14).

In the Rouen redaction of this distich, however, a distinction is made between 'this people' (*populus . . . iste*) which rejoices in St Swithun, and the 'English people' (*gens Anglorum*) who similarly rejoice:

> Gaudet honore tuo populus feliciter iste,
> et gens Anglorum gaudet honore tuo
> (13–14).

If the distinction is valid, we may conclude that the Rouen redaction of the hymn was intended for a Frankish audience. On the (probable) hypothesis that Wulfstan was the author of the original version of the hymn, there is no reason not to think that he may also have prepared the revised version.

The Rouen redaction of 'Aurea lux patrie' has been printed on several occasions: by Sauvage in 1886,[30] by Blume in 1903,[31] and again by Blume in 1905 in vol. xlviii of *Analecta Hymnica*.[32]

[28] See above, pp. 238–9.

[29] The copy survives as part of Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 566 [= V]; see above, pp. 240–1.

[30] 'Hymni paracterici tres', pp. 56–7.

[31] 'Wolstan von Winchester', pp. 9–12 [left-hand column].

[32] *AH* xlviii.14–15 (no. 3).

Aurea lux patrie Wentana splendet in urbe:
Suuiðhun sanctus adest, aurea lux patrie.
Blande patrone, tuis succurre benignus alumnis
et fer opem famulis, blande patrone, tuis.
Culmina celsa poli felici calle petisti:
et nobis aperi culmina celsa poli.
Dextera sancta Dei te re benedixit in omni,
nos et ubique regat dextera sancta Dei.
Euge, beate pater, rutilans super aethra potenter,
inque solo radians, euge, beate pater.
Funde preces Domino solita pietate superno,
pro nobisque pio funde preces Domino.
Gaudet honore tuo populus feliciter iste,
et gens Anglorum gaudet honore tuo.
Haec benedicta dies astris arridet et aruis
O nimium felix haec benedicta dies.
Iam sine fine tenes quae praemia semper amasti,
gaudia cum sanctis iam sine fine tenes.
Kastra superna Dei te lustrant luce perenni,
congaudentque tibi kastra superna Dei.
Laudibus angelicis ibi dulciter intonat hymnis,
coniubilasque hilaris laudibus angelicis.
Magnus ubique tuus fulget per signa triumphus,
rumor et irradiat magnus ubique tuus.
Nulla camena tuas potis est euoluere laudes;
narrat uirtutes nulla camena tuas.
O medicina potens, quae languida corpora sanas:
salua nos omnes, O medicina potens.
Pro meritis meritam comprendis in axe coronam:
pelle procul pestem pro meritis meritam.
Quid tibi difficile est? Quid non tua mens pia praestat?
Es qui cum Domino, quid tibi difficile est?
Regibus ac miseris idem patronus haberis,
subueniens pariter regibus ac miseris.
Solue nefas scelerum; disrumpe et uincla reorum;
flebile nostrorum solue nefas scelerum.
Te duce nos patriam speramus adire supernam,
uisere et angelicam, te duce, nos patriam.
Vota canora tibi nunc edita caelitus audi
et cape fusa patri uota canora tibi:
Xristus in arce poli nos ut conscribat amoeni,
nosque locet superi Xristus in arce poli.

Ymnus ei hic placeat, canimus quem corde benigno;
cui bona cuncta placent ymnus ei hic placeat.
Zelus amarus abest ubi gaudia pacis abundant;
pax ubi semper adest, zelus amarus abest.

Ardua tecta poli concordant pace perenni;
peruia fac nobis ardua tecta poli.
Mens habitans inibi canit 'Alleluia' tonanti,
semper et exultat mens habitans inibi.
En, uenerande pater, modicum iam claudimus hymnum,
teque omnes petimus, en, uenerande pater.
Nos iugiter refoue, nos semper ab hoste tuere,
et patrio affectu nos iugiter refoue.

29 axe] *sic J*; arce *Blume* 32 es] *Blume*; et *Sauvage* 51 En] E *J*; claudimus] claudibus *J*

The golden light of the land shines in the town of Winchester: St Swithun is here, the golden light of the land. Gentle patron, kindly help your charges and bring aid to your servants, gentle patron. You sought the lofty summits of heaven by a blessed path [5]: and open for us the lofty summits of heaven. The holy right hand of God blessed you in every respect, and let the holy right hand of God rule us everywhere. Well done, blessed father, shining powerfully beyond the skies and gleaming on earth, well done, blessed father [10]! Pour out your prayers to the Lord with your customary mercy, and on our behalf pour out you prayers to the merciful Lord. This people blessedly rejoices in your glory, and the English people rejoice in your glory. This blessed day smiles on the stars and lands [15]: O this blessed day is exceedingly fortunate. Now you possess without end those rewards which you always loved; now you possess joy without end with the saints. The heavenly companies of God bathe you in perpetual light, and the heavenly companies rejoice in your presence [20]. There it sweetly intones[33] angelic praise in hymns, and you happily participate in the angelic praise. Your great triumph shines everywhere through your miracles, and your great renown gleams everywhere. No poem is sufficient to enumerate your praises [25], no poem can narrate your miracles. O mighty medicine, you who cure diseased bodies: save all of us, O mighty medicine. For your achievements you receive a well-deserved crown on high: drive away our well-deserved pestilence with your achievements [30]. What is difficult for you? What is there that your merciful spirit does not provide? What is difficult for you, who are with the Lord? You are the same protector to kings and wretches, offering your help equally to kings and wretches. Forgive the evil of our sins, and break the chains of our guilt [35]; forgive the lamentable evil of our sins. With you as our guide we hope to enter the heavenly fatherland, and to see the angelic fatherland with you as our guide. Listen to the melodious prayers produced for you through divine inspiration, and these melodious prayers poured out for you, father [40], so that Christ may enroll us in the citadel of sweet heaven, and Christ may establish us in the citadel of sweet heaven. May this hymn be pleasing to him, whom we sing in kindly heart; may this hymn be pleasing to him for whom all good things are pleasing. Bitter envy is absent where the joys of peace abound [45]; where peace is always present, bitter envy is absent.

[33] It is not clear what the subject of *intonat* (sg.) is intended to be; *intonant* (pl.), having as its subject the 'heavenly companies' of the previous lines, would make better sense grammatically, but would be false metrically.

The lofty heights of heaven are harmonious in perpetual peace; make the lofty heights of heaven accessible to us. The spirit dwelling there sings 'Alleluia' to the Thunderer; the spirit dwelling there shouts out in exultation [50]. Behold, venerable father, we now bring this modest hymn to a close, and we all beseech you, venerable father, behold! Restore us forever, protect us always from the Enemy, and restore us forever with your fatherly love.

iv. AN EPANALEPTIC HYMN FOR ST SWITHUN

In the same Rouen manuscript (Rouen, BM, U. 107 (1385)) which preserves the 'continental' redaction of 'Aurea lux patrie', there is a second epanaleptic hymn in honour of St Swithun (fo. 28r–v), beginning 'Auxilium Domine'.[34] Unlike 'Aurea lux patrie', however, the present hymn is preserved uniquely in the Rouen manuscript; it is therefore impossible to determine whether it represents a 'continental' redaction of a hymn originally composed for Winchester use, as we found the be the case with 'Aurea lux patrie'. The present hymn is not specified for any particular feast of St Swithun. On grounds of form and diction, it is likely that it, too, was composed by Wulfstan at Winchester. It has previously been printed by Sauvage[35] and by Blume in *Analecta Hymnica*.[36]

Auxilium, Domine, qui te rogitantibus affers:
fer, petimus, nobis auxilium, Domine.
Blandus adesto tuis, qui das solatia cunctis
qui tibi subduntur: blandus adesto tuis.
Carmina, Christe, tibi cupimus deferre benigni:
suscipe quae ferimus carmina, Christe, tibi.
Da, pius, introitum, tibi quo psallamus in unum,
immensique poli da, pius, introitum.
Ecce Deus ueniens aegrotum inuisere mundum,
uirgine matre, tonat ecce Deus ueniens.
Fecerat ante homines hic et omnia cum patre summo;
liberat en nunc quos fecerat ante homines.
Gaudia quae poterit, quae lingua retexere tanta?
mens aut haec capere gaudia quae poterit?
Huius amoena piis miseratio cuncta ministrat,
regna patent cunctis huius amoena piis.
Ipse Dei genitus, natiuo germine solus,
carne propinquus adest, ipse Dei genitus.
Kara sibi sociat carnalia membra redemptor,
et translata polo kara sibi sociat.
Laeta uident Dominum rutilantia castra polorum;
agmina sanctorum laeta uident Dominum.
Magnus ubique nitet iustorum coetus in orbe,
sanctorum numerus magnus ubique nitet.

[34] Listed *ICL* no. 1530. [35] 'Hymni paracterici tres', pp. 54–5. [36] *AH* xlviii. 17–18 (no. 4).

Noster et eximius praesul, pater atque sacerdos,
Suuithun pollet ouans, noster et eximius.
Orta per hunc populis lux emicat et decus ingens:
est omnis bonitas orta per hunc populis.
Promeruisse fidem sequitur meruisse salutem;
cuius et est meriti promeruisse fidem.
Quis numerare queat magnalia caelica tanta?
munera celsa Dei quis numerare queat?
Res ueneranda nimis, sic corpora posse mederi,
restituitque animas, res ueneranda nimis.
Soluere namque potest qui carnea membra periclo,
et nostras animas soluere namque potest.
Tollite corda solo, qui uultis, ad alta polorum:
qui Christum cupitis, tollite corda solo.
Vocibus hunc modulis canite et resonantibus hymnis,
et laudate, pii, uocibus hunc modulis.
Xriste, Dei genite, flectens moderamina rerum:
audi nos humiles, Xriste, Dei genite.
Ymnidicas placeat tibi nos persoluere laudes,
ferre tibi grates ymnidicas placeat.
Zelus obesse nequit, te conculcante draconem;
te superante malum, zelus obesse nequit.

Alta poli resera tibi uota ferentibus alma;
post obitum nobis alta poli resera.
Moenibus in superis nam cantica pulchra resultant,
regnant et sancti moenibus in superis.
Ecce tibi facile est supero nos iungere regno,
et quodcumque uoles ecce tibi facile est.
Nomina nostra nota uitae caelestis in albo,
et cum Suuithuno nomina nostra nota.

You grant Your help, O Lord, to those beseeching You: grant to us, we beseech you, Your help, O Lord. Be kindly present to your faithful, You Who bestow comfort on all who are subject to You: be kindly present to Your faithful. We seek to offer this poem to You, Christ, in Your kindness [5]: receive this poem which we offer, Christ, to You. Grant admission, merciful One, to where we may hymn You in unison; grant admission, merciful One, to the vast heavens. Behold, O God, your arrival to visit a diseased world: behold, O God, your arrival, thundering forth from a virgin mother [10]. Together with the High Father He had previously created mankind and all creation here; behold, He now liberates mankind whom previously He had created. What tongue could describe such mighty joys, or what mind could comprehend these joys? His delightful mercy provides all things for the faithful [15]; His delightful realms lie open to all the faithful. He Himself, born of God uniquely of innate seed, is akin to us in the flesh, though He Himself is born of God. The

Redeemer takes to Himself the fleshly limbs so dear to Him, and He takes to Himself these dear ones when they have been translated to Heaven [20]. The gleaming companies in heaven joyously gaze on the Lord; the joyous throngs of saints gaze on the Lord. The mighty assembly of the righteous gleams everywhere on earth, and the great number of saints gleams everywhere. And our excellent bishop, father and priest [25], St Swithun, our excellent bishop, prevails rejoicing. Light and immense beauty sprung from him shine on the people; all goodness for the people is sprung from him. It follows that to have accepted the faith is to have merited salvation: it is his merit to have accepted the faith [30]. Who could enumerate such great heavenly events? Who could enumerate the heavenly gifts of God? It is an exceedingly holy accomplishment, to be able thus to heal bodies; and this exceedingly holy accomplishment also restored souls. For he who can release fleshly limbs from danger [35] can also release our souls. Raise up your hearts from the earth, you who so desire, to the summits of heaven; you who desire Christ raise up your hearts from the earth. Sing out to this saint with harmonious voices and resounding hymns, and praise him, O ye faithful, with harmonious voices [40]. O Christ, Son of God, You Who control the reins of the universe: hear us humble petitioners, O Christ, Son of God. May it be pleasing for us to give praise to You in the form of hymns; may it be pleasing to offer thanks to You in the form of hymns. The Envious One cannot cause hindrance, with You treading down the dragon [45]; with You conquering evil, the Envious One cannot cause hindrance.

Open up the summits of heaven to those addressing kindly prayers to You; open up the summits of heaven to us after our death. Our delightful songs now resound in the heavenly dwellings, and the saints reign in the heavenly dwellings [50]. See, it is easy for You to join us to the heavenly realm; see, whatsoever You desire is easy for You. Record our names in the roll of celestial life, and record our names together with St Swithun.

v. AN ELEGIAC PRAYER TO ST SWITHUN

In his massive *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae*, John of Tynemouth characteristically supplied an antiphon and a collect for each of the saints' *uitae* which he composed. In the case of his epitome of the life and miracles of St Swithun (ptd above as no. 9), the antiphon which John included is in the form of a six-line address to the saint in elegiac couplets. It is not clear where John found this 'antiphon'. Probably he did not compose it himself, for in the case of the accompanying collect, the prayer which he provided (inc. 'Deus qui hodiernam diem') is widely attested in earlier liturgical manuscripts.[37] The 'antiphon' shares a number of features with the diction of Wulfstan of Winchester's poetry,[38] and there is some likelihood, therefore, that it was composed by him. It is preserved solely in London, BL, Cotton Tiberius E. i, part II, fo. 26r, the only surviving copy of John's *Sanctilogium* which preserves the work in the form in which he issued it. It has been printed by the Bollandist Jean Pien in *Acta Sanctorum*[39] as well as by Carl Horstman in his *Nova Legenda Anglie*.[40]

[37] See above, p. 748.

[38] Cf. line 1, 'O Swithune pater', with Wulfstan, *Narratio* ii. 600: 'O Swiðhune pater, ne me, rogo, sancte, relinquas'; line 2, 'per quem mira Deus signa facit Dominus' with *Narratio*, Ep. spec. 282 ('per quem signa facit iam manifesta Deus'); line 5, 'interueniente patrono' with *Narratio* ii. 614 ('subueniente patrono'), etc.

[39] *Acta SS, Iul.* i. 323. Pien did not specify the manuscript source ('Versiculos sequentes cum oratione e MS., continente collectas et antiphonas variorum sanctorum Angliae'), but from the fact that he prints both the 'antiphon' and the collect beginning 'Deus qui hodiernam diem' (ibid.), the likelihood must be that the manuscript in question was Tiberius E. i.

[*See opposite page for n. 40*]

O Swithune pater, praesul mitissime noster,
per quem mira Deus signa facit Dominus,
nos fragiles animo petimus defende paterno,
sanctis atque tuis protege nos meritis,
quo te pro nobis interueniente patrono
possimus uitam scandere perpetuam.

O father Swithun, our kindly bishop, through whom the Lord God performs so many wondrous miracles, defend us weak creatures with your paternal presence and protect us with your holy achievements, so that, with you interceding on our behalf as our protector we may ascend to eternal life.

vi. A RHYTHMICAL POEM ON ST SWITHUN'S MIRACLE WITH THE EGGS

Among the numerous miracles attributed to St Swithun is one concerning a poor woman who, while carrying a basket of eggs, was jostled by workmen engaged in the construction of Swithun's bridge at East Gate, with the result that all the eggs broke. When she appealed to Swithun for reparation, he blessed the eggs, whereupon they were miraculously restored to their pristine form. This miracle, which gained a wide circulation—it is depicted (for example) on a later twelfth-century fresco in the church at Corhampton[41]—is first recorded at the end of the eleventh century. (It was apparently unknown to either Lantfred or Wulfstan.) Two sources record the miracle at that time: the anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni*, c. 6,[42] and a thirty-six line Latin poem (inc. 'Inter signa gloriosi')[43] cast in rhythmical trochaic septenarii (8p + 7pp), printed here.

The poem is preserved in two manuscripts. The first of these, London, BL, Royal 15. C. VII [= R] has been described fully at an earlier point, since it is the principal witness to both Lantfred's *Translatio* and Wulfstan's *Narratio*.[44] At the end of Wulfstan's *Narratio* (itself written in a hand of s. x/xi), later scribes have added three texts: the poem 'Hanc portam presens' (ptd above, no. i) on fo. 124v, added by an English scribe of s. xi$^{4/4}$; the present poem, added on fo. 125r–v also by an English scribe of s. xi$^{4/4}$,[45] but distinct from the first; and a text of the condensed version (cc. 1, 2, 4)[46] of the *Miracula S. Swithuni* on fos. 125v–126v in a hand of s. xii^{in} (ptd above, no. 7 (i), p. 700). The script of the (English) scribe who copied the present poem is very distinctive, and bears a striking resemblance to that of the scribe who copied the Winton Domesday (London, Society of Antiquaries 154).[47] On the assumption that the poem and the Winton Domesday were executed by the same scribe, it would seem that the poem was the earlier of his productions, hence before 1086, if only slightly before.

[40] *Nova Legenda Anglie* i. 361 n. 3, where the poem is printed as if it were prose.

[41] See above, pp. 185–9, with pls. VIII–X.

[42] See above, p. 636.

[43] Not listed in *ICL*, nor in H. Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959).

[44] See above, pp. 239–40.

[45] That the scribe was English rather than Norman seems clear from his use of horned **e**.

[46] See above, p. 699.

[47] Illustrated in WS i, frontispiece and pls. i–iii. The identification was suggested to me by Michael Gullick, albeit with some hesitation and qualification; in his view the same scribe also wrote London, BL, Harley 12 (John the Deacon, *Vita S. Gregorii*). See also A. R. Rumble, 'The Domesday manuscripts: scribes and scriptoria', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 79–97, where Gullick's opinion on the matter is quoted on pp. 96–7.

The other copy of the poem is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14 (S.C. 2657), fos. 49v–50r [= B], a manuscript written, as we have seen, at Sherborne in the last years of the eleventh century.[48] Auct. F. 2. 14 carries a text of Wulfstan's *Narratio* which was certainly copied from that in Royal 15. C. VII. Although the textual evidence is slight, it would appear that a similar relationship obtains with respect to the text of 'Inter signa gloriosi'. The texts in the two manuscripts are identical, with the exception of three variants: line 5, *idem* R, *isdem* B; line 7, *Winthonie* R, *Wintonie* B; and line 9, *illuc* R, *illa* B. Of these, the first could represent a hypercorrection by the scribe of B; the second reveals nothing about the relationship of the manuscripts; but in the third instance, *illuc* is clearly the correct reading, whereas *illa* is meaningless in context. This evidence, such as it is, confirms the suspicion that B was copied from R. The present text is therefore based on R, with variants from B recorded in the apparatus criticus.

The form of the poem is rhythmic trochaic septenarii or, in the widely-used notation of Dag Norberg,[49] 8p + 7pp; that is, each line consists of two members, the first containing eight syllables in which the stress falls on the paroxyton or penultimate syllable (p), the second containing seven syllables in which the stress falls on the proparoxyton or antepenultimate syllable (pp). In the context of Anglo-Latin literature earlier than 1100, this form is exceptionally rare.[50] The poet apparently modelled his poem on the rhythmic form of the famous hymn on the Cross by Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* ii. 2), to judge from the wording of the opening lines (compare the present poem with Venantius, 'Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis').[51] It is probably significant that Venantius's hymn first came to be used in the liturgy after the Norman Conquest;[52] in this case, its form may have struck the author of 'Inter signa gloriosi' as a novelty to be imitated.

There remains the question of whether the author of the *Vita S. Swithuni* derived his account of the egg-miracle from this poem, or whether the poet derived his account from the *Vita*. The author of the *Vita S. Swithuni* seems to have known the poem 'Hanc portam presens', which survives only in R; if he was writing in the 1090s, as I have suggested earlier,[53] and had consulted 'Hanc portam presens' in R, he could also have consulted the poem on the egg-miracle, which had by then been added at the end of the manuscript. The poem contains several small details which are not in the *Vita*,[54] notably that there were 'twin gates' (line 6: *geminasque ianuas*) at the end of the bridge through which one gained access to the town. On the other hand, the *Vita* records (c. 6) that the bridge was built with stone arches (*arcubus lapideis*), a detail not found in the poem. But neither detail could be regarded as significant if (as is likely) the bridge and gates were still in existence in the late eleventh century,[55] when the poem and the *Vita S. Swithuni* were composed. It is possibly best to leave open the question of debt: the two works are approximately contemporary and they attest to St Swithun's growing reputation as a miracle-worker.

The poem has been printed once previously, by A. A. Locke in 1912.[56]

[48] See above, p. 364. Note also that Leland copied lines 5–8 of the poem into his *Collectanea* (ed. Hearne, i. 156), almost certainly from B; see above, p. 366.

[49] D. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale* (Uppsala, 1958), and *La poésie latine rhythmique du haut moyen âge* (Stockholm, 1954).

[50] Exceptions include the (early eighth-century?) hymn 'Apparebit repentina', listed *ICL* no. 945.

[51] Listed *ICL* no. 11583; ed. MGH, AA iv/1. 27–8 and A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 167–73 (no. 33).

[52] See J. Mearns, *Early Latin Hymnaries: an Index of Hymns in Hymnaries before 1100* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 65; Gneuss, *Hymnar*, p. 78; and I. B. Milfull, *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, CSASE xviii (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 15, 22.

[53] See above, p. 622.

[54] The detail that Bishop Swithun reimbursed the woman for the eggs, paying her twice what they were worth, is not found in any later hagiographical source.

[55] See WS i. 271–2.

[56] Locke, *In Praise of Winchester*, pp. 124–5.

VNVM BEATI SWITHVNI MIRACVLVM

Inter signa gloriosi Suuithuni antistitis
que per eum rex caelestis hac in uita edidit,
hoc ex multis unum refert prisca fama populi
conditoris quod in laude paucis libet promere.
Idem namque pastor almus et prouisor strenuus
forte pontem extruebat geminasque ianuas
per quas urbis Winthonie adeuntur moenia.
Artifices congregati huic instabant operi.
Forum petens casu uenit illuc muliercula
oua ferens unde uite mercetur subsidia.
Que ludendo operantum confregit stultitia
atque uictum miserande ademit paupercule.
Illa pium atque mitem requirit pontificem
et plorando illi suum exponit dispendium.
Cui cultor pietatis benignus et dapsilis
percunctatus, mox ouorum duplum reddit precium.
Post hec ille Deo plenus, caritate profluus,
puras celo manus librat, effundens oramina,
et creantis nutu cuncta mox oua redintegrat.
Gaudens illa sic discessit; Deo laudes reddidit.
Deus suis qui in sanctis semper est mirabilis
tunc a plebe infinitis effertur preconiis,
qui in paruis et in magnis exaudit quos diligit
nec cunctatur dare sui quicquid poscunt famuli.
Illum toto diligamus corde sed et opere,
et in eius sacra lege meditemur sedule,
qui beatum hunc Suuithunum terris fecit inclitum
et in celis gloriosum ut solem clarissimum.
Gratuletur et exultet felix urbs Winthonia,
que uirtute tanti patris meritisque rutilat,
cuius sacra fouet ossa, sentit et miracula:
incessanter illi plaudat odas cum letitia!
Quantis namque apud Deum meritis emineat,
quo splendore, quo decore niteat in gloria,
clamant istic manifesta signorum indicia
et ad sui cultum corda excitant fidelia.

5 idem] isdem *B* 7 Winthonie] Wintonie *B* 9 illuc] illa *B* 19 mox oua] *leg.* oua mox?

Amongst the miracles of glorious Bishop Swithun which the celestial King effects through him in this life, the ancient report of the people tells this one among many which it is fitting to retell in a few words in praise of the Creator. This same holy bishop, being a vigorous provider [5], was by

chance constructing a bridge with twin gates through which one gained access to the walled town. The assembled builders were at work on this project. By chance a little lady came there on her way to the market carrying some eggs which she hoped to exchange for necessities of life [10]. The workmen's stupidity broke these eggs in jest and thereby deprived the poor woman of sustenance. She seeks out the merciful and gentle bishop and in tears explains to him her loss. The kindly and generous dispenser of mercy [15], having questioned her, immediately paid her twice the price of her eggs. And then this man, filled with God's presence, abounding in grace, raised his unblemished hands to the heavens, pouring out prayers, and straightway restored the broken eggs through the assent of Him Who creates all things. Thus she departed happily; she returned praise to God [20]. God, Who is always wondrous in His saints,[57] is then exalted by the people in infinite praise—God Who listens to those whom He loves in trivial and important matters, and does not hesitate to grant what His servants request. Let us love Him with all our heart and works [25], and let us reflect carefully on the sacred law of Him Who made St Swithun renowned on earth and glorious in heaven like the brilliant sun. Let the blessed town of Winchester give thanks and rejoice in the fact that it gleams with the miraculous power and accomplishments of so great a father [30], whose sacred relics it cherishes, and feels his miracles: let it unceasingly pour out songs of praise with joy! For these clear signs of miracles declare with what great achievements he stands out in God's presence, with what brilliance, with what beauty he shines in glory [35], and they arouse faithful hearts to worship him.

[57] Ps. 67: 36: 'mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis'; the same verse is quoted in *Miracula S. Swithuni*, c. 2 (above, p. 650 n. 5), and paraphrased by Wulfstan, Ep. spec. 309–10.

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