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SELECTED ROGATIONTIDE HOMILIES

A Thesis Presented
by
Theodore Hanley
to
The English Department
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the subject
English Literature

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SCOPE AND METHOD OF THE EDITION

This study has been prepared with two objectives in mind: to present an edition and translation of Old English Rogationtide homilies not easily available, and to draw together information on the early Rogationtide practices from contemporary, and near contemporary sources.

To this end I have employed four criteria in selecting homilies for the edition. From the outset I hoped to include at least one homily for each of the Rogation days, including the Greater Litany, if only to provide broad coverage. Beyond that I judged homilies according to how much they illuminated Rogationtide practices, how urgently they required editing, and the artistic merits of the text. In Vigilia Ascensionis (MS. CCC 303, pp. 223-6), a homily assigned to Rogation Wednesday, and De Letania Maiore (Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97*-v-102v), assigned to the Greater Litany, were two of the easiest choices. In Vigilia Ascensionis is a unique text of especial beauty; it begins by recounting the drought brought on by Elias and then discusses the nine regions of hell awaiting sinners. Surprisingly, this homily has not previously been edited. De Letania Maiore deserves equal recognition. It focuses on the efficacy of prayer, recounting the Parable of the Night Visitor.
(Luke 11: 5-8), and expounds James 5: 16-20. It also highlights the founding of the Rogation days at Vienne, and the drought imposed on the heathens by Elias. In addition, this homily is enriched by glosses in the well-known tremulous hand. Feria IIIia De Letania Maiore (Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 111-14v), the homily selected for Rogation Tuesday, also exhibits superior quality. It briefly recalls the Passion of Christ, the fleeting nature of temporal life, and describes the Last Judgment. It too is glossed in the tremulous hand. This homily has not previously been edited but is transcribed—with some inaccuracy—in the appendix to a German doctoral dissertation by Hildegard Tristram /Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition, Albert-Ludwigs Universität, 1970/.

Choosing a homily for Rogation Monday proved to be more difficult because several texts required attention, but none had been completely ignored. In the end three homilies were chosen. Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 302, pp. 205-13) was included, at least in part, because of the unusual material it contains—it is the only Old English homily to assign the origin of Rogation-tide to Christ Himself. This homily was first edited by Hildegard Tristram (ibid). The present edition differs primarily in offering Modern English introduction, notes,
and translation. Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 44-55v) is included because it is the most expansive version of Verceil Homily XIX. It contains extensive borrowings from Elfric, carefully noted by Ker (Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon, pp. 183-4). Dominica Ante Rogationum has not been edited, but is collated by Paul Szarmach in his edition of Verceil Homily XIX {Selected Verceil Homilies (Diss. Harvard 1968), pp. 169-209}. Peria IIa Sermo In Letania Maiore (Cambridge, University Library MS. ii. 4.6, ff. 215v-28) was included, not only for its merit, but because it would be the only text for Rogation Monday remaining unedited. It consists largely of a long extract from Elfric's Sermo Ad Populum, In Octavis Pentecosten Dicendus (ed. John C. Pope, Homilies of Elfric: A Supplementary Collection, I, 407-52) adapted to Rogationtide, and is collated in Pope's edition of Elfric's homilies. These six homilies, then, make up the texts of this edition.

The Introduction complements the homilies by bringing together information on the Old English Rogationtide from contemporary, and near contemporary sources--Latin, French, and Old English. In particular, the Introduction considers the origin of the Rogationtide, the Rogationtide duties especially enjoined in the homilies--prayer, fasting,
almsgiving, and walking in procession—and the practices especially to be shunned at this season. Man's inescapable fate of standing alone at the Last Judgment, and characterizations of Christ as healer are also briefly touched upon as themes common in Rogationtide homilies. The Introduction is prefaced by a list identifying all the Old English Rogationtide homilies, their variant texts, and present and proposed editions.

Since selection and arrangement of the homilies is largely editorial, each text is set up separately with introduction, notes, and translation. The MLA Handbook (New York: Modern Language Association, 1977) governs matters of format, so that footnotes appear at the bottom of the page.

The spelling of the Old English is never altered silently. When emendations seem necessary or preferable, the spelling of the manuscript is indicated at the foot of the page. Except for the tyronean at (7), which is retained throughout, all Old English abbreviations are expanded and identified by means of underlining. Abbreviations in Latin, however, are expanded silently. Where the Old English writes ū for y, as with Uienne, the edition uses y. All accent marks are retained as they appear in the manuscript; punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing are normalized. Lineation is also functional.
A pair of slanting, superscript lines ( ' ) enclose interlinear and marginal manuscript additions. Quotation marks are not used in the Old English for direct address, only for direct quotations from the Vulgate. In the translations, however, they do enclose direct address.

Short textual notes are placed at the foot of the page, as are Latin glosses, and Scriptural sources of particular items. More lengthy notes, such as analogues and background material, are dealt with at the end of each text.

The translations attempt to be as literal as possible within the limits of Modern usage; however, necessity requires that the translations sometimes become interpretations.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people to whom I am indebted for their help in preparing this thesis, more, I regret, than I am able to acknowledge properly. To Dr. Paul Hagen, Dean of the Ottawa University School of Graduate Studies, and the Canada Council I am indebted for a grant which enabled me to examine Old English manuscripts in England. I am also indebted to the kind and helpful librarians at the British Museum, Cambridge University Library, the Duke Humphrey Room of the Bodleian Library, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. I would like especially to thank Dr. R.I. Page and his assistant, Mrs. Jane Rolfe, for their courteous assistance which made my time at Cambridge especially successful. I would also like to thank the librarians at Ottawa University for their repeated assistance in locating needed research materials. I am also indebted to the librarians at Utica College Library and Hamilton College Library. Their assistance enabled me to complete part of this thesis at home in Clinton, New York.

This thesis has been prepared under the direction of Dr. A.P. Campbell, Professor of English, at Ottawa University. I am especially grateful to Dr. Campbell for his selfless giving of his time, his encouragement, and patience with an inexperienced editor. I would also
like to thank my wife, Lorraine, for her encouragement and especial patience.
ABBREVIATIONS

CCSL

Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.

NM

Neuphilologische Mitteilungen.

PL

Patrologia Latina.
Old English

Rogationtide Homilies

Twenty-five of the surviving Old English homilies have been assigned to the Greater and Lesser Litany: five are for Rogation Monday, nine are for Rogation Tuesday, five are for Rogation Wednesday, and six are for the Greater Litany. These texts, and their completed and proposed editions, are as follows:

Rogation Monday: (1) Ælfric, "Feria Secunda Letania Maiore" (Ker 15 art. 65), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 196-9v; ed. Thörpe, The Sermones Catholicci or Homilies of Ælfric, 1 ii, 314-33. (2) "Sermo In Letania Maiore, Feria IIIa" (Ker 21 art. 27), Cambridge, University Library MS. Ii. 4.6, ff. 215v-28; below pp. 58-106, edition proposed by Bazire and Munn, A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English, 2 p. 99. (3a) "Feria II In Letania Maiore" (Ker 38 art. 35), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 162, pp. 403-12; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99. (3b) "Sermo In Letania Maiore" (Ker 57 art. 43), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 303, pp. 215-9; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99. (3c) "Dominica Ante Rogationum" (Ker 144 art. 6), British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii,


2 Angus Cameron and Roberta Frank, Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1974. Hereafter cited as A Plan.

Rogation Tuesday: (1) Ælfric, "Feria III, De Dominica Oratione" (Ker 15 art. 21), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 56v–60; ed. Thorpe, CH i, 258-75. (2) Ælfric, "Item In Letania Maiore, Feria Tertia" (Ker 15 art. 66), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 199v–202v; ed. Thorpe, CH ii, 332-49. (3) Ælfric, "Alia Visio" (Ker 15 art. 67), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 202v–4v; ed. Thorpe, CH ii, 348-57. (4)
Elfric, "Hortatorius Sermo De Efficacia Sancte Missæ" (Ker 15 art. 68), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 204V-5; ed. Thorpe, CH ii, 356-9. (3) "Feria IIIia De Letania Maiore" (Ker 331 art. 55), Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 111-14V; below pp. 1-27; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99; and by Munn, ibid. (6a) "In Tertia Feria In Letania Maiore" (Ker 38 art. 36), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 162, pp. 412-22; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99. (6b) "Alius Sermo Feria IIIa In Rogationibus" (Ker 57 art. 44), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 303, pp. 219-23; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99. (6c) "Vercelli Homily XX" (Ker 394 art. 25), Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare MS. CXVII, ff. 109V-12; ed. Pinski, Six Unpublished Homilies of the Vercelli Manuscript, pp. 47-56; ed. Szarmach, Selected Vercelli Homilies, pp. 210-48; ed. Szarmach, "Vercelli Homily XX," Medieval Studies 35 (1973), 1-26; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99. (7) "Vercelli Homily XII" (Ker 394 art. 14), Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare MS. CXVII, ff. 73V-75V; Selected Vercelli Homilies, pp. 1-14; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99. (8a) "Feria III In Letania Maiore" (Ker 56 art. 33), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 302, pp. 221-30; collated by A.S. Napier with "Homily XLIX", Wulfstan: Sammlung der
ihm zugeschrieben Homilien \(^3\) (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1883), pp. 250-65. (8b) "Larspell" (Ker 69, art. 9), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 421, pp. 170-208; ed. A.S. Napier as "Homily XLIX," Wulfstan, pp. 250-65; which is in part as R. Morris' "Homily IX", The Blickling Homilies, \(^4\) pp. 105-6. (8c) An extract of the concluding paragraph (Ker 310 art. 80), Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 343, ff. 163-4v; ed. A.O. Belfour, Twelfth-century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343, \(^5\) pp. 124-35; which corresponds with some verbal differences to the last paragraph of Napier no. XLIX (Wulfstan, pp. 250-65). (8d) Bodleian Library MSS. Junius 85 and 86 (5196-7) fol. 2 (Ker 336 art. 1), which is as the end of Napier no. XLIX (Wulfstan, pp. 250-65). (8e) "Crist Se Goldbluma [Morris' title]" (Ker 382 art. 9), Collection of W.H. Scheide, Titusville [now at Princeton, New Jersey], pp. 124-7; ed. R. Morris as no. IX, The Blickling Homilies, pp. 104-7; collated by A.S. Napier with no. XLIX (Wulfstan, pp. 250-65). (8f) "Vercelli Homily X" (Ker 394 art. 12), Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare MS. CXVII, ff. 65-71; from f. 65V/4 as Napier no. XLIX (Wulfstan, pp. 250-65); ed. L.L.R.

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\(^3\) Hereafter cited as Wulfstan.

\(^4\) Early English Text Society, o.s. 58, 63, 73 (1874-80; rpt. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967).


Rogation Wednesday: (1a) Alfric, "Feria III De Fide Catholica" (Ker 15 art. 22), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 60-6; ed. Thorpe, CH 1, 274-95. (1b) A fragment of part of the opening of Alfric's "De Fide Catholica" catalogued in "A Supplement to the Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon," Anglo Saxon England, 5 (1976), 121-31, published with facsimile by Rowland L. Collins and Peter Clemoes, "The Common Origin of Alfric Fragments at New Haven, Oxford, Cambridge, and Bloomington," Old English Studies In Honour of John C. Pope (Toronto, Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 285-326. (2) Alfric, "Feria IIIa In Letania Maiore" (Ker 15 art. 69), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 205-7v; ed. Thorpe, CH ii, 360-71. (3) "In Vigilia Ascensionis" (Ker 57 art. 45), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 303, pp. 223-6; below pp. 165-90; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 100. (4) "Vercelli Homily XIII (Ker 394 art. 15), Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare MS. CXVII, ff. 75v-76v; ed. R.P. Wülker, "Über das Vercel-
libuch’*, Anglia, 5 (1882), 464-5; ed. Szarmach, Selected Vercelli Homilies, pp. 15-24; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 100. (5) "In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore" (Ker 38. art. 37), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 162, pp. 422-31; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 100; except for minor variations in spelling and word order, as Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 116, pp. 382-95 (Ker 333 art. 26).

Litania Maiore (1) Elfric, *In Letania Maiore* (Ker 15 art. 20), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 53v-6v; ed. Thorpe, CH i. 244-59. (2a) *Epistola Pauli* (Ker 18 art. 38), Cambridge, University Library MS. II. 1. 33, ff. 197v-203; as Skeat no. 17, Elfric's Lives of Saints,6 i, 364-83. (2b) *De Auguriis* (Ker 41 art. 8), Corpus Christi College. Cambridge MS. 178, pp. 88-101; as Skeat no. 17, Elfric's Lives of Saints i, 364-83 (ll. 1-267). (2c) "Dominica IIIa Vel Quando Volueris" (Ker 56 art. 4), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 302, pp. 33-40; collated by Skeat, Elfric's Lives of Saints i, 364-83. (2d) "Sermo In Letania Maiore de Epistola Pauli et de Auguriis" (Ker 57 art. 47), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 303, pp. 231-6; collated by Skeat, Elfric's Lives of Saints i, 364-83. (2e)

"Sermo In Letanie Maiore Vel Quando Volueris" (Ker 68 art. 12), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 419, pp. 281-308; as Skeat, *Elfric's Lives of Saints* i, 364-83. (2f) "Sermo In Letania Maiore" (Ker 162 art. 22), British Museum MS. Cotton Julius E. vii, ff. 82-5v; ed. by Skeat as no. 17, *Elfric's Lives of Saints* i, 364-83. (2g) "De Auguriis" (Ker 332 art. 5), Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 115, ff. 30v-5v; as Skeat no. 17, *Elfric's Lives of Saints* i, 364-83. (2h) "De Auguriis" (Ker 333 art. 20), Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 116, pp. 347-65; as Skeat no. 17, *Elfric's Lives of Saints* i, 364-83 (ll. 1-267). (3) "De Letania Maiore" (Ker 331 art. 52), Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97v-102v; f. 102/11-21 printed by Rudolph Willard, "Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies," *Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, 30 (1935); transcribed by Hildegard Tristram, *Vier Altenländische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition* (Diss. Albert-Ludwigs Universität 1970), pp. 430-7; below pp. 28-57; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire in *A Plan*, p. 98, and *NM*, 70 (1969), 525. (4) Untitled (Ker 331 art. 53), Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 102v-5v; ed. Rudolph Willard, "Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies," p. 38; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, *A Plan*, p. 98. (5) Untitled (Ker 331 art. 54), Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 105v-11; ed. E.M. Raynes, *Unpublished Old English Homilies*
Oxford D. Phil. Index 5 (1954-5), no. 136; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 98; also by Munn, A Plan, p. 98. (6) Untitled (Ker 333 art. 26), Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 116, pp. 382-95; ed. Max Förster, Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII nebstd Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift (Halle: Verlag Von Max Niemeyer, 1913), pp. 125-37 (For a variant text see above: Rogation Wednesday (5)).
I. Rogationtide: Definition and Origin

Rogationtide is a penitential time observed on the Feast of St. Mark and the three days preceding the Feast of the Ascension. As Dr. Pius Parsch points out:

At the present time the Western Church observes only four Rogation days, one on April 25 (St. Mark's Rogation day), and three preceding Ascension Thursday. These days the Church devotes to prayer, beseeching God to alleviate physical and spiritual needs, and to bless the produce of field and garden. There were many Rogation days in the calendar of the ancient Church, some on set dates during the year, others at times of particular crises.¹

The Rogation days are known in Old English as the Gang-dagas, "Procession days," and Gebeddagas, "Prayer days." To devout Anglo-Saxons Rogationtide was a grave time of spiritual judgment. Christians gathered at the relics of saints to confess and repent their sins, perform penitential deeds, and beg God's mercy. The special importance assigned to these days is evident in Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 302, pp. 205-13). As the homilist explains, when men have discord they arrange a meeting place for making peace. A judge assigns terms of reconciliation which bind all the disputants and in this way peace is restored. In a like manner Rogationtide

was set as a time for spiritual judgment. Men come together in the presence of holy relics to re-establish peace with God, peace they shattered with the sins they committed during the preceding year. The place assigned for this meeting is in the churches containing relics, the neighboring monasteries, and the areas outside the church where the relics, gospels and cross are set for worship:

Swa we magon ongytan be sumre eorðlicre bysne: gyf menn him beoð betweenan ungesibsume, him ponne secða sona, after menniscre wisan, gemot-stowe, 7 dom gedemed bið 7 gesibbað hi. Syððan sceal alc mann gelæstan swa se dema him bebo-dað, 7 pat gemot bið ponne eall gesyðod.

Be þere bysne we magon ongytan þas halgan tide, forpan þe þas dagas syndon gemotdagas gastlicra gemota. Ponne bið ure gastlice gemot-stow on ymbhwyrfte ure reliquia, swa on cyrican swa butan, swa on hywlcre stowe hi ongesette beoð.

(below p. 114/153-62)

The sombre, penitential tone of Rogationtide is well documented in Sermo Vicesimus Octavus: In Liti aviis (PL 208, 1009-36) and Sermo Vicesimus Nonus (ibid, 1035-80); late but comprehensive commentaries on Rogationtide by St. Martin of Léon (d. 1203). As St. Martin records, men must observe the Rogationtide in all purity of body and soul; they must abstain from food and generously give alms in love for God and man; they must turn from evil and confess their sins, and repent with tears of compunction; they must cast aside all fleshly desire, exercise virtue, and feed and clothe the needy:

Nos quoque, ut Spiritus sancti dono participes esse mereamur, hos dies celebrare debemus cum
As St. Martin indicates, Rogationtide is a time for especial piety. Men are to shun all riotous behaviour, especially drunkenness, fornication, legal contentions, quarrels over worldly affairs, and fleshly desire:

Prohibeantur comensationes, ebrietates, fornicationes, lites, temporalium rerum contentiones, atque omnes carnales omnino delectiones.

The Rogationtide is also a time for humility. Men are to shun all vanity and worldly display and repent their sins in sack cloth and ashes:

Quia ergo dies isti, ut supradictum est, abstinentiae sunt, non leititia; nemo in his pretiosa induatur vestimenta, sed in sacco et cinere lugere debemus.

Rogationtide is a time when Christians survey their life in broad perspective, looking back on former deeds and forward to the coming judgment, and prepare for the near and distant future. Men look back when they repent their sins of the year just ended and make amends with prayer, fasting, almsgiving, barefoot processions, vigils and other good deeds; they look to the immediate future when
they seek God's blessing for the newly planted seeds, the livestock, their home, their woods, their market gains, and all their worldly possessions; they look to the distant future when they seek physical and spiritual well-being both here and in the life to come.

Rogation days were known in the Medieval Church by two Latin names: Litania Maiore and Litania Minore. Litania Maiore properly identifies the observance on the Feast of St. Mark. However, Anglo-Saxons also used it for the three-day Rogation, as is indicated by Thorpe in a note to Alfric's In Litania Maiore (CH i, 244-59): 2

The Litania Major is St. Mark's day, and the Litania Minor is for the Rogation time, or the three days preceding the feast of the Ascension, by the Anglo-Saxons called Gang-days. The service both on St. Mark's day, and on the three Rogation days before the Ascension is the same, and from the present homily it seems, that on the Rogation days the Litany in the time of Alfric was called Major, as it is also in the Canons of Charlemagne, and in some very old MSS. of the Liturgy; though by the Council of Clovesho, A.D. 747, the service used on St. Mark's day was called 'Litania Major,' leaning for the use of the term on the authority of Rome.

(p. 623)

Popular tradition and liturgical practice assign the name Litania Maiore to the Feast of St. Mark for.

2 See also the untitled Rogationtide homily in MS. Hatton 116, pp. 382-95 (ed. Förster, Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII, pp. 128-35), which is as In Quarta Feria In Le- tania Maiore (MS. CCC 162, pp. 422-31). The MS. Hatton 116 homily is assigned to the Litania Maiore, that despite internal evidence marking it for Rogation Wednesday.
three reasons, noted by Jacobus de Voragine (1230-98), Bishop of Genoa, in the Golden Legend:

Dicitur autem letania major propter tres causas, scilicet ratione illius, a quo instituta est, scilicet a magno Gregorio papa; ratione loci, in quo instituta est, quia Romae, quae est domina et caput mundi ex eo, quod ibi est corpus principis apostolorum et apostolica sedes; ratione causae, pro qua instituta est, quia pro magno et gravissimo morbo.

(pp. 312-3)

Jacobus de Voragine also explains why the name Litania Minor is assigned to the three-day Rogation:

Dicitur autem letania minor ad differentiam primae, quia scilicet instituta est a minori episcopo in minori loco et pro minori morbo.

(p. 313)

But the Golden Legend tells only part of the story. As Bishop Sicardus of Cremone explains, the three-day Rogation also was known as the Litania Major because it was an older observance:

Illud notabile est quod haec triduanae letania sunt antiquiores litaniae majoris: haec namque tempore Zenonis imperatoris instituta fuere, illa vero tempore Mauriti.

(Mitrale, Liber IV, Caput VI, PL 213, 368)

Patristic commentaries regularly assign the origin of the Greater Litany to Gregory the Great, and the Lesser

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Litany to Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne. However, Old English homilies are less regular, especially when discussing the three-day Rogation. Usually they assign the origin of the three-day observance to Mamertus, who is said to have established three days of prayer and fasting on account of portents and calamities that came upon Vienne; but they also identify four other sources: one tradition assigns the origin to St. Peter, another assigns it to Elias, a third to Christ, and a fourth to unnamed wisemen who received inspiration from the Holy Spirit.

The tradition assigning the origin to Mamertus is prominent in *Vercelli Homily XIX* (MS. Vercelli Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, ff. 106v–9v) and its variants:

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4 See, for example, *Venerabilis Beda, Pars Tertia, Opera Paramentica, Homiliae Subdititiae, Homilia CXVII: De Majori Litania (PL 94, 499); Sicardus Cremonensis Episcopus, Mitrale seu De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Summa, Liber Septimus, Caput VI: In Litanis (PL 213, 367); Sanctus Legionensis Presbyter, Sermo Vicesimus Octavius: In Litanias (PL 208, 1010); and Sermo Vicesimus Nonus: In Rogationibus (ibid, 1035); Sanctus Gregorius Turonensis, Historiae Francorum Libri Decem, Liber Secundus, Caput XXXIV (PL 7, 230–2), and Liber Decimus: Caput I (ibid, 527–9); Honorius Augustodunensis, Operum Pars Tertia—Liturgica, Speculum Ecclesiae: In Rogationibus (PL 172, 951), Pars III, Caput CXXXIX: De Letaniis Maiore (ibid, 680–1), and Caput CXXXIX: De Triduana Litania Arte Ascensionem Domini (ibid, 680–1); Wernerus Abbas S. Basili In Silva Nigra, Libri Deflorationum, Sermo In Rogationibus: Secundum Lucam (PL 157, 966); Walfridus Strabus Fuldensis Monachus, De Ecclesiasticarum Herum Exordii et Incrementis, Caput XXVIII: De Litanias Agendiis (PL 114, 962); Rupertus Abbas Teutoniensis, De Divinis Officinis, Liber Nonus, Caput V (PL 170, 248–50);
Faria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 162, pp. 403-12),
Sermo In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 303, pp. 215-9), and
Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton
Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 44-55v); and also in Alfric's In
Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH i., 244-59). Alfric's state-
ment is the most detailed; he says in part:

We ræda on bocum, met ðæs gehealdsumyns
wurde æmred on ðone timan ðe gelamp on anre
byrig, ðe Uigena is gecwead, micel eorð-styr-
ung, and feolon cyrcan and hus, and comon
wilde heran and wulfs, and abiton ðæs folces
nicel neal, and ðæs cynges botl wearð mid
heofonlicf yfre forbærned. Pa bead se
biscop Maðlicus ðæreora daga fæsten and seo
gederecað, ða geswac; and se gewuna ðæs
fæstnes-syrhwunan gehwær on geleaffulre ge-
laðunge.

(p. 244/16-23)

Jacobus De Voragine's thirteenth-century account of the
origin in the Golden Legend is similar:

Beatus Urbanus : II Papa, Monumenta Liturgica, Micrologus,
Caput LVII: De Litanis (PL 151, 1018); Sanctus Germanus
Parisiiensis Episcopus, Appendix Ad Opera, De Liturgia
Gallicana, Liber Secundus, Caput LVII, Notis Et Observa-
tionibus (PL 72, 203-4); Amalarius Presbyter Metensis, De
Ecclesiasticis Officiis Libri IV, Liber I, Caput XXVII
De Letania Majore (PL 105, 1066-8), and Caput XXIV: Repe-
titio De Litania Majore (ibid, 1207).

For additional mention of Mamertus see: B. Flacc-
cus Albinus seu Alcuinus: Abbatis et Caroli Magni Impera-
toris Magistri, Operum Pars Nona—Opuscula Supposita, De
Divinus Liber, Caput XXIII: De Litania Majore (PL 101, 1224-5),
and Caput XXIII: De Diebus Rogationum (ibid, 1225);
Sidonius Apollinarus, Epistolaren Liber V, Epistola XIV:
Sidonius Apro suo Salutem (PL 58, 544-5); and Sanctus Avi-
tus, Episcopus Vienensis, Homilia De Rogationibus—Unde
Consuetudo Rogationum Processerit (PL 59, 289-94).
Alia autem dicitur letania minor, quae fit tribus diebus ante ascensionem, quam beatus Mammertus episcopus Viennensis tempore Leonis imperatoris, qui coepit anno domini CCCCDVIII ante institutionem primae institut, quae dicitur letania minor, rotationes et processio. . . . Tunc enim apud Viennam frequentes et maximi terrae motus fiebant, quae domos et ecclesias plurimas subverterant, nocturnis sonitus et clamores saepe audiebantur, tunc etiam aliud terribile accidit, quia in die paschae ignis de coelo cecidit et regis palatium concremavit. Aliud insuper mirabilius fiebat. Sic etiam daemones porcos Dei permissione olim intraverunt, sic permissione domini propter peccata hominum lupos et alias ferus intrabant et nullos verentes non solum per vias sed per civitatem publice discurrebant, et passim pueros et senes viros et feminas devourabant. Cum igitur tam dolorosi casus quotidie fieren, praedictus episcopus triduum jejunium indixit, letanias instituit et sic praedicta tribulatione conquievit.

(Legenda Aurea, pp. 313-4)

Details of the devastation at Vienne are fairly consistent in the Old English but vary in the patristic accounts. Ælfric's In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, OH i, p. 244), Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, f. 54Φ/8-9), and Honorius Augustodunensis (Speculum Ecclesiae--In Rogationibus, Caput XIX, PL 172, 756) identify the wild beasts that descend on Vienne as bears and wolves. Bede identifies the beasts as leones et lupi (Parenetica, Homilia XCVII, PL 94, 489/sic499), "lions and wolves," and Gregory of Tours speaks of cervorum atque luporum (Historiae Francorum, Liber II, Caput XXXIV, PL 71, 231-2), "stags and wolves." Alcuin, Hildebert of Genoa, Haymo and Rupertus Abbas Teutensis discuss only
wolves; and it is wolves alone that attain symbolic prominence in the commentaries. St. Martin of Léon, for example, says men still need to hold Rogation days strictly to protect themselves against the ravages of wolves—not tangible wolves that rend the flesh, but invisible wolves that devour the soul:

Agamus ergo et nos, fratres charissimi, hos litaniarum dies pro modulo nostræ pravitatis cum summa reverentia et devotione mentis non tantum ut visibilium luporum rabiem evadamus, sed ut invisibilium, quod est melius, id est immundorum spirituum tentamenta vincere valeamus.

(Sermo Vicesimus Octavus, PL 208, 1034)

Vercelli Homily XIX reflects a different tradition. No mention is made of beasts or earthquake; death is attributed to a pestilence so virulent that some men fall dead while carrying others to the grave, and some fall dead while returning home, so that none survive who go to bury others. In this version Bishop Mamertus commands a three day fast to win release from plague:

5 Alcuinus, Opera Pars Nona—Opuscula Supposta, Liber De Divinis Officiis, Caput XXII, (PL 101, 1225); Hildesbertus, Sermones De Tempore, XLV: In Rogationibus (PL 171, 571-2); Haymonis, Homilia De Tempore, Homilia /sig/XC (PL 118, 528); Rupertus, De Divinis Officiis, Liber IX, Caput V (PL 170, 248).

Likewise: Haymonis, Homilia De Tempore, Homilia /sig/XC (PL 118, 528); Hildesbertus, Sermones De Tempore, XLV (PL 171, 571-2); and Burchardus Vormatiensis Ecclesia Episcopus, Decretorum Libri XX, Liber Decimus Tertius, Caput VII: De Jejunio Rogationum (PL 140, 886).
Occasionally, Old English homilies attribute the three-day Rogation to other authors and other circumstances. *Vercelli Homilies* XI and XII, for example, are unique in attributing the origin to St. Peter, who, it is said, established these three days to offset the practice of heathen men who worshiped devils at this time:

MEN Æa leofestan þis syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice 7 ussum sawlum læcedomlice 7 us ge-riseð þat we hie wel begangen mid fastenum 7 mid gebedum 7 mid reliquia-socnum 7 mid usse eaðmoldlice gange. forþan sanctus petrus se ealdor-apostol ærst us gesette to heal-danne ðas dagas 7 to be-ganganne for heðenra manna gedwilde forþan þe hie hiera wiggild 7 hiera dioful-gild on ðas dagas weorðedon 7 be-edon 7 we nu for þam þingum sculon þas dagas mœrsian 7 weorðigan 7 mid þam gesettum godum þe to þyssum dagum gelimpæp.

(Willard, "*Vercelli Homily XI and Its Sources,*" p. 61)

Rogation days, as is pointed out, are salutary days medi-
cinal for the soul; they are to be held with fasting, prayer, visits to the relics of saints, and humble processions.
Vercelli Homily XII attributes the three Rogation days to St. Peter and other cyricena ealdor men (f. 74/4) "lords of the Church," and comments further on the special relationship between the three-day Rogation and the heathen worship once observed at this season. The heathens, it says, held these days in special esteem and made offerings from their market gains and other possessions to gods whose likeness they had fashioned in wood, stone and other materials. The devil entered these inanimate objects and spoke to the heathens so that men bowed down to their carvings believing them Gods. Then St. Peter and other men set these three days to offset the heathen practice, that men might properly worship true God with humble processions, the singing of psalms, visits to the churches, fasting, almsgiving, and prayer:

Liornedon we þæt geo bæðene lioðe hæfdon þry dagas synderlice beforan hira oðrum gewunan þæt hie onguldon hira godum; 7 hiera ceapes wæstma 7 ealle hira ðæhta hie hira gode bêuedon; þæt wæs dioflum sylfum, forþon þe hie hira gode hæfdon geworhte of treowum 7 of stanum 7 of oðrum untimbrum missenlicum. Donne to ðam onlicenessum swylcum hie onluhton.7 þam lac onsendan ponne eode þæt dioful inon þa anlicnesse (f. 47a)7 ðanon ut wæs sprecende . . . Ponne wið þon gesette us sanctus Petrus syðpan 7 oðerra cyricena ealdormen þa halgan gangdægas þry to ðam þæt we sceoldon on Gode ðelmihtigum biowigan mid ðæse gedefelic geage 7 mid sange 7 mid cyricena scoonum 7 mid fæstenum 7 mid ðæmes-sylenum 7 mid halegum gebedum.

(Szarmach, Selected Vercelli Homilies, p. 172-10, 13-17)
A third account of the origin of Rogationtide occurs in *Feria II In Letania Maiore* (MS. CCCC 302, pp. 205-13). Here, Christ indicates that He set the Rogation days to promote eternal life through the preaching of the apostles and disciples:

Swa he, Drihten sylfa, on his godspelle sprecende wæs be pyssere halgan tide 7 be his godspellerum, 7 pus cwæd: Forpan ic pas gang-dagæs sette forpan ic wille þat mine leorneras 7 mine godspelleras secon 7 bryman þat ece lif . . .

(below p. 113/140-4)

This is a unique account in Old English.

A fourth tradition assigns the origin of Rogationtide to the prophet Elias, who, it says, became angry with the people he dwelt among because they would not acknowledge God. Elias prayed to God that He send some sign onto earth so that people might be made to honour the true God. God granted his prayer and withheld all rain for three and a half years so that all mankind was nearly dead. Then Elias repented his prayer; he brought together all the prophets in that region and they established these three Rogation days to appease God's anger:

þæ was þær an propheta Helias gehatan. þæ clypode he mid hluttre heortan to Criste 7 bad Crist þat he sume ege to heom asende þat þæ folc wurne gecnewe þæ he were God on heofonum, 7 nare nan oðer God buton him anum ofer heofonum Wealdend. . . . Þæ cydde God his mycelen mihte 7 sende heom þa tacna to eorðan, þæ þæ hi mihton ongyton þæ he was sod
God on heofonum. Ŝonde heom pa to tache þæt prim wintrum 7 six monþum ne com nan ren of heofonum on eorðan, ne deaw up ne sloh, ne mist up ne aras ongean þære heofonicum druh-pan. Da wæs mycel ege mid mænum swa þæt eal mancyn weard acweald swiðe gehende 7 ealle wæstmæs forwurdon on byssere eorðan. Da ofhraw, þam witegan Heliam eft 7 him ofþuhte pa seo bene þe he ær at Godæ gebæd. Pa gesamnode he ealle ðæt witegan þe on þam lande waron 7 ræddon heom betewonan hu hi sceoldan Criste gæadmen dan þet he heom asende þa gewideru þæt heora wæstmæs mosten weaxan, 7 hi þærmid mos- ten Godæ gocweman on byssere eorðan. Da geworhton he þæs bri dagas for þære michælan neode þe heom wæs þæs wæters forwyrmde . . .

(In Vigilia Ascensionis, MS. CCC 303, below pp. 171-2 /11-30)

In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 162, pp. 422-31) and its variant: Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 116, pp. 382-95, assign a fifth, though less specific, origin to Rogationtide. Here it says simply that through the grace of the Holy Spirit these days were established by unspecified "wisemen":

Men da leofestan, cwæð se halga lareow hwæt we gemunan mægon, þæt we oft gehyrdon secgan, wisemen purh Haliges Gastes gyfe geseton us þæs halgan gangdagas þry . . .

(MS. CCC 162, p. 422/18-21)

Patristic commentaries do not identify additional origins of the Rogation days, but they do add further

7 St. Martin of Léon, however, gives special credit to Pope Liberius for extending the custom (Sermo Vicesimus Octavus, PL 208, 1038), as does Durand, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (Lyone, 1528), p. 276; Sidonius Apollinarus (Liber Septimus, Epistola Prima, PL 58, 563 n. 6) credits Leonis III.
details, especially in regard to the Letania Maiore, which is Roman in origin, and not Gallic, as is the Ascension Rogation tide:

Major Litania a beato Gregorio papa primo pro pestilentia ipsius temporis instituta est, qui et Joanni episcopo Ravennati scribens, diem Litaniae tempus cineris et ciliici appellat. Triduanum autem Litaniae ante Ascensionem Domini non Romanae, sed Gallicanae sunt; quia (quas) illas sanctus Mammertus Viennensis episcopus instituisse legitur . . .

(Beatus Urbanus II Papa, Micrologus, Caput LVII, PL 151, 1018)

Patristic tradition assigns the Rogations on the Feast of St. Mark to Gregory the Great, who ascended to the papal see and established the Litania Maiore at a time of great pestilence at Rome. As the Tiber river overflowed its banks, scorpions and snakes swarmed throughout the city, and a great dragon also came. When the waters subsided, the decaying feces and rotting corpses of the beasts brought a pestilence so virulent that entire households were wiped out, and pope Pelagius was among the first to die. Gregory reluctantly, and only on account of the great public outcry, ascended to the papacy and led the people in prayer and fasting until the city was relieved. Bede recounts the story in Homilia XCVII: De Majori Litania:

Fratres charissimi, dignum est ut audiatis qua de causa litaniarogationum fuerant inventae Tempore Mauricii imperatoris erat sanctus Gregorius archidiaconus Romae, et papa Pelagius;
et in illo tempore tanta pluvia fuerunt, ut
omnia fluminia transcenderent terminos suos.
ita ut Tiberis super muros Roma ascendenter.
Aque autem, quae ita exundabant, quidquid in
silvis serpentina et scorpionum erat deporta-
bant, et quidam magnus serpens in modum trabis
venit per Tiberim, quem omnes Romani viderunt.
At postquam cœperunt siccari fluminia, ex ar-
dore solis ascendit magnus fœtor de cadaver-
bus serpentina, ut quicunque sentiebant fetor-
em veneni statim moriebantur. Et fuit magna
mortalitas in urbe Roma, ita ut cum sero es-
set, et dominus cum uxore et filiis et omni
familia iret dormitum, mane omnes ferebantur
ad sepulturam; et insuper sagitta igne de-
scendebat de caelo, et percutiebant homines,
et statim moriebantur. Et primum percussit
Pelagium papam, et mortuus est; deinde multa
milia tali morte mortua sunt. Erat ubique
dolor et luctus, quia omni die et hora nihil
aliud faciebant Romani, nisi mortuos sepelie-
bant. Elegerunt autem Gregorium, ut esset
papa, et miserunt Constantinopolim, ut ita
assentiret. Interea dum exspectabant praecip-
tum imperatoris, et mortalitas magna in civi-
tate erat, vocavit omnem populum Romanum, et
dixit eis ut agerent pœnitentiam de malefact-
is, et invocarent misericordiam Dei; et statu-
it septem litanias, ut omnes irent simul ad
sanctum Petrum.

(PL 94, 489.\[sic\], 498) 8

A more detailed description of the pestilence is
is provided by Jacobus de Voragine in the Golden Legend.
Here the disease is identified as a terrible swelling
of the groin which is sent onto them by God as divine

8 Three items commonly associated with Rogation tide
are bread, fish, and an egg. The bread betokens true love,
the fish true faith, and the egg true hope. Set in direct
opposition to these symbols are stones, serpents; and scorpions
[Luke 11: 11-12, passim]. For discussion see Aethric's
In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, 244-59).
retribution for the orgy of games and pleasures the Romans threw themselves into at this time of year:

Romani enim cum in quadragesima continentem vixissent et in pascha corpus domini recipierunt, postmodum comissationibus, ludis et luxuriis frena laxabant, ideoque Deus provocatus pestem maximam in eos misit, quam inguinaliam vocant, id est apostema sive inflaturam in inguine. Tam saeva autem illa pestis fuit, ut homines in via, in mensa, in ludis, in colloquii subito morerentur, ita quod, cum aliquis, ut dicitur, sternutabat, sepe cum ipsa sternutatione spiritum exhalabat.  

{Legenda Aurea, ed. Th. Graesse, 2nd ed. ( Lipsiae: Impensis Librariae Arnoldianae, 1850), p. 313}

II. Observances:

Prayer, Almsgiving, Fasting, Processions

Popular tradition records that Mamertus and Gregory established litanies for a specific purpose: to release their people from the devastation of a natural disaster by appeasing the anger of God. Not surprisingly, the penitential duties assigned to both observances are the same, and foremost among these are prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and barefoot procession.

Prayer is especially important to penitential observance because, as Hildebert of Genoa records, Placatur ira Dei oratione (Sermones De Tempore, Sermo XLVI, PL 171, 573): "Prayer placates the anger of God." Like other Rogation duties prayer looks backward and forward. Prayer looks backward when it seeks forgiveness for our sins and omissions of the previous year and calls on the saints to
intercede for men; prayer looks forward when it asks
God's blessing for men's homes, their crops, their goods,
and their physical and spiritual well-being. The exhor-
tation to prayer at the opening of Ælfric's In Letania
Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, 244-59) is typical. Men are en-
joined to pray for an abundance of their earthly crops,
personal peace and well-being, and that which is most
important, forgiveness of their sins:

Das dagas synd gehatene LETANLE, pet sint;
GEBEDDAGAS. On disum dagum we sceolon ge-
biddan ure eorðlicra wæstma genihtsumysses,
and us sylfum gesundfulnyss and sibbe, and,
pet gyt mare is, ure synna forgyfenysses.

(p. 244/12-15)

Sermo In Letania Maiore, Feria II (Cambridge University
Library MS. ii. 4.6, ff. 215v-28), lines 19-23 are simi-
lar in spirit and content; men are urged to pray for
 temporal prosperity and eternal salvation:

Us gedafenaod pet we on alene timan Godes mild-
heortnesse biddan, 7 peah on dysum pryn dagum
ealra swy dost we sceolon pone heofinnican Drith-
ten biddan pet he us forgife eorlan wæstma ge-
ihtsumyssa, 7 pyses lipes gesundfulnesse 7 af-
ter ãam ães ecen lipes myrhe.

(below p. 65)

Patristic commentaries, like Old English homilies,
underscore the importance of prayer and identify addi-
tional intentions for which to pray. Haymo, for example,
points out it is not enough for men to pray for themselves, they must also pray for all the Church, for peace throughout the realm, for tranquil times, for propitious weather, and for the kings and governors of the people:

Non solum pro nostris, sed etiam pro totius Ecclesiae necessitatis suppletione debemus, pro pacis scilicet tranquilitate, pro frugum ubertate, pro aedis temperie, pro regibus et gubernatoribus, monente Apostolo qui ait: "Obsecro primum omnium fieri observationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt constituti, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus in omni pietate et castitate; hoc enim bonum est et acceptum coram Salvatore nostro deo, qui omnes homines vult salyos fieri et ad aignitionem veritatis venire (I Tim. ii)."

(Homiria (sic) XC, PL 118, 528)

Similarly, Pope Tiberius prescribed Rogationtide so that men might pray for protection from "all manner of devastation," especially famine, war, and pestilence:

Liberius . . . etiam papa præcepit ut pro fame, pro guerra, pro pestilentia, pro clade, et pro hujusmodi adversitatis imminetibus, litanias semper facerent . . .

(Sanctus Martinus Legionensis Presbyter, Sermo Vigesimus Nonus, PL 208, 1030)

The Golden Legend adds two other intentions. It says men should pray that by their prayers they may be better prepared to receive the Holy Ghost, and that God may still the desires of the flesh, which are especially strong in the spring:
Dicitur etiam rogationes, quia tunc omnium
sanctorum suffragia imploramus, et merito ta-
lis observantia his diebus servanda est et
rogationibus sanctorum et jejuniis his diebus
insistendum multiplici ratione: primo ut Deus
bella pacificet, quia in vere frequentius con-
citantur, secundo ut teneros adhuc fructus
conservando multiplicet, tertio ut motus car-
nales, qui hoc tempore magis fervent, in se
quisque magis mortificet. In vere enim san-
guis magis fervet et illiciti motus magis pul-
lulant. Quarto, ut ad receptionem sancti
spiritus se quisque magis habilitet, nam per
jejunium homo magis habilitatur et per roga-
tiones dignior redditur.

(Legenda Aurea, p. 314)

Honorius Augustodunensis' brief list of intentions
to be prayed for on Rogationtide in Gemma Anima, Caput
CXXXIX (PL. 172, 561) is not unlike those of other writers,
but like Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos,9 his comments
seem especially attuned to the temper of his times. He
says men should pray for protection against disaster,
war, and enemy raids, and seek God's blessing for the
fruits of the earth and waters, and the domestic live-
stock:

ita nos a clade et a bellis et ab hostibus
eripiat, fructus terræ, et aquarum, et ani-
malium nobis custodiat, et nos oæulum conscen-
dere tribuat.

Three Old English homilies cite the Epistle of St.
James (5: 16-20) to show that men should pray for one
another so that God grant them salvation; De Letania Maiore

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9 Dorothy Whitelock, ed., 3rd ed. (London: Methuen,
1964).
Leofan men, se halga apostol Iacobus mynegode us ealh freondlice on þam pistole þe man ær rædde, and us eac luflice lærde þat we geoerne began ure agene þearfe. He cwæð: Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra. Þat is on englisc: Anddettað geoerne, he cwæð, eowre synna eow be-tweonan. 7 ælc for oerne, he cwæð, gebidde geoerne þæt eow God ælmightig gesundfulnyssse ge-unne.

(below pp. 35/37-36/44)

Rogationtide prayer not only merits specific focus, as is indicated above, it also requires special direction. Men are encouraged to pray to the saints, and to all the heavenly company, because saints have special power of intercession with Christ and are able to do men much good. In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 162, pp. 422-31), for example, points up numerous advantages to be gained from praying to the saints: they can beseech God to protect men from heresy, idolatry, and heathen warriors, from sinful desire, devastation, and in addi-
tion, they can help men win peace and a tranquil life:

7 ealle his halegan we sceolon eac biddan þæt hi mid us bidden ælmightigne Driht, þone ecancyning, þæt he us gescyldæ wiuæ gedwolæ 7 deo-folgyld 7 wiuæ hæðene þeoda 7 wiuæ arleasum hun-gre 7 heregungge 7 þæt he us sibbe forgýfe 7 smylyssse lyf...

(p. 423/15-19)

Similarly Sermo In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 302, pp. 205-206)

10 See also Feria III In Letania Maiore (Cambridge University Library MS. II. 4.6, pp. 228-38).
13) urges men to pray especially to the apostles that they might intercede for them:

7 we eac biddan pa halgan apostolaz pa waeron on gebyrdon after lichamlicre wisan us gelice 7 hi us waeron to leochtatum gesette bat hy synodon ure pingeras to pam lyfgendan Gode, bat we beon gehalede of urum synnum for Driht-nes mildeortnyssae, 7 for bene paer haligra apostola . . .

(p. 111/98-103)

In fact, it was a part of Rogationtide practice to recite the litany of the saints in procession, as Dr. Parsch writes:

The celebration consists in a procession followed by the Rogation Mass. In this procession we may sense the last remnant of the obsolete station processions observed by ancient Christians almost daily during Lent and during the first week after Easter. They would gather in a church known as the ecclesia collecta (hence the word "Collect") and from there walk in procession with the bishop and clergy to another church singing the litany of the saints and the Kyrie.

(The Church's Year of Grace, pp. 152-3)

Much of Rogationtide practice builds on the premise that the prayer of a righteous man can accomplish much, as is stated in the Epistle of St. James (5: 16): multum

11 The litany often included the angels with the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. See, for example, Sanctus Germanus Parisiensis, Veteres Litaniae Anglicae (PL 72, 625-30), or Sanctus Gregorius Magnus, Librum Sacramentorum Notae (PL 87, 530-32); Beatus Urbanus II Monumenta Liturgica, Excerpta Ex Veteribus Liturgicis Codicibus Fonta Vellanensis, Sacramentarum Vetus (PL 151, 920-25).
enim valet deprecatione justi assidua. Homilists regularly show a preference for citing established authority to demonstrate the efficacy of prayer. Three Old English homilies present the story of Mamertus.12 Often, however, the Rogation homilies supplement the Mamertus story with one or more of three stories which deal more specifically with the efficacy of prayer: the first is the parable about the visitor who comes in the night (Luke 11: 1-13); the second is the account of Elias obtaining by prayer that all rain be withheld from a heathen nation for three and a half years (3 Kings 17-18); the third is the account of Jonas and the Ninivites (Prophecy of Jonas 1-4).

The parable of the night visitor demonstrates the importance of calling out to God. As it says, a man will often do on account of importunity what he will not do for friendship (Luke 11: 8). If a friend shall come to another's house in the middle of the night and ask to be received, and the host have nothing to offer the friend, then the host must impose on a neighbor to lend him bread. If the neighbor complains that

12 De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97\*v-102v); (2a) Feria ii in Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 162, pp. 403-12); (2b) Sermo in Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 303, pp. 215-19); (2c) Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 44-55v); (2d) Vercelli Homily XIX (Szarmach, Selected Vercelli Homilies, pp. 169-209); Alfric's In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, OH i, 244-59).
the hour is late, that he may not arise because his doors are locked and his children are asleep, yet the man may still obtain the bread he wants by pounding loudly on the door and calling out, because the neighbor will do for importunity what he would not do for friendship. *De Letania Maiore* (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97v-102v) concludes a brief recounting of the parable with the pointed statement: By this example our Lord shows us what we should do; that is, we should always earnestly call out and pray to God that He may know our need and cure our sins. If we fittingly call out with words and deeds, then God will hear our prayers at once:

Be þisse þynne ure Drihten lærə us hwæt we don sceolon. Þæt is þonne, þæt we sceolon clypian 7 biðdan georne galome God ælmihtigne þæt he ure neoda gecnawe 7 ure læsta gebete; 7 gyf we ægðer ge mid ge wordum ge mid weorcum rihtlice 7 geornlice clypiða, þonne wile he ure bena sana gehyar.

(below pp. 37/71-38/76)

The parable of the night visitor, which is carefully explained by Ælfric in *In Letania Maiore* (CH i, 244-59), is commonplace in patristic discussions.¹³

The account of Elias, presented above on p. xxxi-ii is most extensive in *In Vigilia Ascensionis* (MS. CCC 303, pp. 223-26), but is also prominent in Ælfric's *In Letania Maiore* (CH i, 244-59), and *De Letania Maiore* (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97v-102v). *De Letania Maiore* concludes with the pointed statement: there is clear proof that the prayers of a godly man can accomplish much:

7 he abed eft syðpan æt þam soðan gode þet he renas forgeæf 7 eorðlice wæstmas. Dær is swutol þet haliges mannes gehedu maga mycles wealdan.

(below p. 36 /48-51)

The story of Jonas and the Ninivites is also popular in the Old English Rogationtide homilies. It figures prominently in *Vercelli Homily XIX* (Vercelli Biblioteca Capitolare MS. CXVII, ff. 106v-9v) and its three variants: *Feria II In Letania Maiore* (MS. CCC 162, pp. 403-12), *Sermo In Letania Maiore* (MS. CCC 303, pp. 215-9), and *Dominica Ante Rogationum* (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, pp. 44-55v); it also occurs in Ælfric's *In Letania Maiore* (Thorpe, CH i, 244-59). The account of

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*Ecclesia, In Rogationibus* (PL 172, 951-2); *Wernerus Abbas Sanctus Blasii In Silva Nigra, DeFlorationes SS. Patrum, In Rogationibus, Secundum Lucam* (PL 157, 961-4); *Haymo Halberstatensis Episcopus, Homilia De Temporibus, Homilia XCVII* (PL 118, 530-4); *Sanctus Bruno Astensis Sigiensis Episcopus, Commentaria In Lucam Pars I, Caput XXIV* (PL 165, 393); *Sanctus Bernardus, Abbas Claræ-Vallensis, Sermones De Temporibus, In Rogationibus* (PL 183, 297-300); *Sanctus Martinus Legionensis Presbyter, Sermo Vicesimus Octavus* (PL 208, 1013-14).
Jonas is usually used to demonstrate the efficacy of fasting, but in a sixth homily (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 105v-11) it is introduced to show the power of prayer. At Rogation time, it says, men should cleanse their soul with good deeds, fasting, almsdeeds, and sincere prayers, because the man who repeatedly calls out to God overcomes the devil and his temptations, as Jonas demonstrated:

Menn þa leofestan we sceolon mid monigfealdum godum ure sawla clænsian mid fæstenum, 7 mid almesdædum 7 mid clænum gebedum forðon se monn se þe gelomlice to drihtne clýpæð, þonne breceð he deofles megn 7 his costunge him fram afluemð. Se monn þe deopað him to mid inweardre heortan ne sceal he no wenan þat god, his bene nelle gehyran, swa we be þon magon ongytan þat Jonas se witega wæs under þæs yðum in hwele hryfe 7 he ða to drihtne cleopode 7 he sona his stefne gehyrde. Forðon se monn se þe hine gelomlice to gode gebiddeð þonne afluemð he fram him ealles feondes costunge.

(f. 108r/9-23)

b. Almsgiving

It is not enough for men to call out to God and repent their sins with words; they must also undertake good works to prove the sincerity of their words. As De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97*V-102V) warns, unless the heart be truly resolved and deeds support the words, God does not value the words: Ac butan seo heorte rihtlice hycge, 7 weorc bam wordum
fylstan, ne behealdest þa word naht swyðe mycel (ll. 77–9). Almsgiving, the second Rogation duty, is the essential work which proves the words.

Almsgiving is especially appropriate to Rogation-tide because it is an act of humility underscoring the fact that all prosperity comes from God; as is explicit in Vercelli Homily X (L.L. McCabe, ed., "An Edition and Translation of a Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Homily," (Diss. Minnesota, 1969). Here Christ denounces a miserly, proud man saying to him: if you really believe the land you hold is yours, that the profit it yields is for your use alone, then the sun and the rain belong to Me; I will withhold My rain and intensify My sun so that the land will be scorched. If you have any power, do what you can for yourself:

Gif ðu wene, þæt hit þin bocland þie 7 on agene æht gesead, hit þonne wæron mine wæter, þæ de on heofonum wæron, þanon ic mine gifæ dæle-eorð-wærum. Gif ðu mihta hæbbe, dæl regnas ofer þine eorðan. Gif ðu strang sy, sylæ wæstm bin-re eordan. Ic ahyrde mine . . . sunnan 7 hie gebyrhtes. Bon/þe forðærneад hi ealle þine scearas; ponne bist ðu dælæas mines renas, 7 þæ þin eorða bið idel 7 unnyt goda gehwylice. Mine þearfan lifiað hi me; gif ðu mæge, wuna butan me.

(ll. 227–37)

There is a special relationship between those who give alms and those who receive them. As Ælfric explains in In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, 244–59), each is in-
debted to the other. Those who dispense alms must do so generously; those who receive them must pray for their benefactor:

Se rica and se þearfa sind him betwynan nyd-behefe. Se welega is geworht for ðan ðearfan, and se ðearfa for þan welegan. Þam spedigum gedafenað þat he spende and dæle; ðam wældan gedafenað þat he gebidde for ðane dælere.

(p. 257/30-3)

Vercelli Homily XX (Szarmach, ed., "Vercelli Homily XX," MS, 35 (1973), 1-26) identifies three types of almsgiving. Almsgiving of the first type is the gift of money, the second is the forgiving of those who have done us injury, the third is the leading of those in error to righteousness:

Preo cynn syndon almesdæda: an is lichomlic, þat man þam wældiendan to gode sylle swa hwæt swa man mæge: oðer is gæstlic, þat man for-gife þam þe oðerum ænig yfel þæt eall þat he him to wite; þridde is þat man þa dweliendan on sodfæstnesse weg gelædde.

(ll. 53-6)

Earlier, Cæsarius of Arles (502-42) also identified three types of almsdeeds; one and two are as above, the third is the holding of true love for God and men.¹⁴ Almsgiving of the first type (the giving of money), he says, is

not to be confused with the regular ten percent tithe the Church required of all Christians each year. Alms given at Rogationtide were to come from the surplus of the nine-tenths remaining after the regular tithing; Vercelli Homily XX is explicit:

\[
\text{Ac utan symle of eallum pam godum be us God her on worulde lane} \underline{\text{italics mine}} \underline{\text{hym pa teo-}}
\]
\[
\underline{\text{unga don eadmodlice, ponne ti\u0101\u00e6p us Dryhten pe rumodlicor para nigon d\u00e6la. 7 utan georne of \u00e9am nigon d\u00e6lum Godes \u0131erfum \u015balmessan d\u00e6-}}
\]
\[
\underline{\text{lan. . .}}
\]

(Szarmach, "Vercelli Homily XX," 11. 28-30)

Lane is especially revealing; men have no right to be niggardly with goods "lent" to them by God.

Some men, Cæsarius says, may claim they are unable to afflict their body with fasting and vigils; they may say they are unable to abstain from food and wine, but how, he asks, can they say they are unable to give to the poor from the surplus of their goods for the well-being of their soul:

\[
\text{Po\u00e9tes forsitan dicere quod carnem tuam ieiuniis ac vigiliis non possis adligere, a vino vel a}
\]
\[
\text{carnibus non valeas abstinere: numquid potes dic-}
\]
\[
\text{ere quod ea quae tibi amplius quam opus erat deus}
\]
\[
\text{dedit, non possis pro peccatis tuis pauperibus}
\]
\[
\text{erogare?}
\]

(CCSL 103, 128)

If the rewards gained by giving alms are great, the dangers posed by withholding them are equally severe. As Cæsarius explains, the surplus goods men possess on earth are not for their personal enjoyment; those who do
not generously share God's bounty with the needy shall give an account to Christ for all the poor who die in their region from hunger or nakedness:

... si quod eis deputatum est nostris cupiditatibus vel vanitatis reservamus, quanti pauperes in locis ubi nos sumus fame vel nuditate mortui fuerint, noverimus nos rationem de animabus illorum in die iudicii reddituros.

(ibid, 130)

This first type of alms deed, giving money, is only available to those men who have a surplus of worldly goods, but the second type of almsgiving, forgiving those who have done us injury, is within the reach of everyone.

If a man is too poor to make a gift of gold, grain, wine, oil, or alms, yet he is wealthy enough to forgive those who have done him injury. As Cæsarius explains:

Si enim ita sit pauper, ut nec aurum habeat nec frumentum nec vinum vel oleum, unde corporalem elymosinam faciat; quia non potest fieri ut ab aliquibus hominibus non patiatur inuriam, toto corde omnibus inimicis suis indulgeat. ... Vide, fratres carissimi, quia sicut et illa alia de qua prius diximus, ita et in hac elymosina nullus potest invenire unde se valeat excusare; nec aliquam rationem dare poterit quod eam imploere non possit. Ista enim elymosina per quam in nobis peccantibus veniam damus, non de cellario, non de horreo vel de sacello, sed de cordis thesauro profertur...

(CCSL 103, 130-1)

Old English homilies commonly mention forgiving others as an essential Rogationtide duty. Feria III in
Letania Maiobre (Cambridge University Library MS. II. 4. 6, ff. 228-38), for example, says in part: let no man trust in almsdeeds or prayers without true love, for as long as he holds malice in his heart he cannot delight the merciful Lord:

Ne truwig na man man be ælmesdæum ðæ on gebedum buton þære færosdæon lufe, forþam þe swa læȝe swæ he hylæ þone sweartan syþ on his heortan ne með he mid nanum þinge þone mildheortan god gæglician.

(f. 234)

Similarly St. Luke says that with what measure a man forgives others, the Lord will forgive him: Eadem quippe mensura, qua mensi fueritis, remetiatur vobis (6: 38). If we have grievance with another man or he has grievance with us, we must first make peace before the gifts we offer to God can be acceptable. As St. Matthew records (5: 23-4): Si ergo offeris munus tuum ad altare, et ibi recordatus fueris quia frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te: Relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare, et vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo: et tunc veniens offeres munus tuum. The Anglo-Saxon homilist renders it:

Gyf ðu offræst þine læc to godes weofode 7 þu ðær gemynig byst, þæt þinn broder hæfð sum þing ongean þe, forlæt þær riht þæ lœc ætforæ þam weofode 7 þang ærest to þinum þroðer 7 þæ to him gesibsumæ, 7 þonne þu æft ofymst to þam weofode geoffra þonne þine læc. Gyf ðu þinum criðtenæ breðer dæredæ þonne hæfð he sum þing ongean þæ, 7 þu scealt þe godes ðæcunig hine gæglician æ þu þine
The third type of almsgiving, true love, is also a spiritual gift within the reach of all men. As Cassarius explains, a man may not have surplus goods from which to dispense alms, and he may not have sustained injuries requiring forgiveness, yet he can still dispense alms by holding true love for God and men, and by praying for mankind, and desiring the same things for others as he desires for himself:

Ecce dixisti te nec abundanter fructos colligere, unde victum ac vestitum possis pauperibus dare; nec iniurias sustinere, "quas inimicis debeat indulgere: et ideo dubitas quod non habeas unde possis peccata tua redimere. Accipere ergo et fideliter tene praecipuum tertiun elymosinarum genus. Sit in te bona voluntas, omnes homines dilige sicut te ipsum, pro omnibus ora, et hoc illis desidera quod et tibi, et clamatur tibi ab angelis: PAX HOMINIBUS BONÆ VOLUNTATIS.

(CCCL 103, 132)

Injunctions to this third type of almsgiving, charity, are commonplace in Old English Rogationtide homilies, but Feria III in Letania Maiore (Cambridge, University Library MS. Ii. 4.6) is especially explicit. Citing the authority of St. Paul, the homilist warns that no man should deceive himself; even if he shuns the world and spends all
his wealth on food for the poor and willingly gives himself to burn in martyrdom, yet these deeds do not profit him, and all the good he has done is lost, if he does not hold true love:

Ne beweæce nan mann hine sylfne, witodlice gyf hwa forðan ænne mann hatað on þysum mid-
danesærde, swa hæt swa he to gode gedeð, eall he hit forlyst forðan þe se apostol paul us ne byð geligenod. þe cwæð: þeah ðe ic aspende ealle mine æhta on þearfena big-leofan 7 þeah þe ic minne agene lichaman to cwæle gesyllæ [f. 234r] swa þat ic forbyrne on martyrdom, gyf ic nabbe þa sóðan lufe ne fremað hit me nan þing.

(ff. 233v/11-234r/3)

The homilist adds further: though a man may have true belief in God and give alms to the needy and persevere in good works, yet it all is useless to him unless he holds true love, which is loving your friends in God, and your enemies for God:

þeah se mann habbe fullne geæleafan 7 almýs-
san wyrce 7 fela to gode gedð, eall him byð idel swa hæt swa he dep buton he habbe sóðe lufe to gode 7 to eallum cristenum mannum. Seo sóðe lufu is þat gehwa his freond luðige on gode 7 his feond for gode.

(f. 235v)

It is also commonplace for homilies to extol the cleansing power of almsgiving. Almsgiving is more than tangible evidence of sincere penitence, it is also a salutary act which washes the soul of sin; as the homilist of MS. Hatton 114, ff. 105v-11 says: so it is with
the man who continuously gives alms in God's name; he
blots out sins as water extinguishes fire: Swa se mann
se be his almessan singallice for gode syleb. Ponnes
advæscæp he his synna swa man mid water advæscæp byr-
nende fyr (ff. 108r-8v). Vercelli Homily XX is even
more expansive in its praise of almsgiving, attributing
to it every manner of good:

7 seo almessylen ys gefyllednes 7 fulfremed-
nes eallra goda. 7 heo ys halig þing 7 heo
geycō pa andweardan 7 heo gewanāb synna 7 heo
gemenigfylt gear 7 heo gæðelað ðat mod 7 heo
tobræt gemæro 7 heo aclænsað eallo þing 7 heo
alyst fram (f. 110b) deape 7 fram witum. 7
heo gebeodeð þone mann þe hy begæð Godes en-
glum 7 hine ascryeð fram deoflum. 7 heo ys
unoferwinnendlic weall ymb pa sawle. 7 heo
framadrifð deoflu 7 englas togelaðað on ful-
tum. 7 heo purhfarð þone heofon. 7 heo fore-
stþ þone syllendan on heofonarices wuldre.
7 heo cnyst heofonarices duru 7 heo awecō en-
glas ongeæan. 7 heo tosomme gecigeð Dryhten
ælmihtigne on fultum þam þe his luflice 7
rumodlice dælœ.

(Szarmach, "Vercelli Hom-
ily XX," ll. 43-53)

But as the same homilist points out, almsgiving alone is
not enough. To be truly worthy, Christians must also fast:

Fæsten 7 almessylen sceolon ægwylcum Cristinum menn ætge-
dere fyligean, forðam þat fæsten ys halig þing (ll. 35-6).

c. Fasting

Fasting, the third Rogation duty, is enjoined upon
all people capable of enduring its sacrifice. It is often
enjoined as a part of other duties, such as almsgiving and walking in procession because, as St. Augustine explains, it is not enough that men turn from evil while they fast, they must also undertake good works: *Parum est enim jejunium abstine re tantummodo a peccatis, nisi addamus et bona* (Sermo CLXXV, PL 39, 2079).

*De Liebana Maiore* (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97v-102v) makes three important observations on the Rogationtide fast: first, a fast was to be observed on each of the three days and continued until none (3 PM); secondly, the only people normally exempted from the fast were the very old, the very young, and those who were sick and not able to endure a fast; and third, sick men were allowed to eat during the fast as long as they gave alms and did not permit a healthy man at their meal:

nu bidde ic 7 lære ælone Cristene man þat he pissa þrecra daga fæsten rihtlice gehealde ælce dæge to nones 7 to anes meales, butan hwa for ylde, oðde iuguðe, oðde for unhale gehealan ne læge. Gyf ponne þissa þrecra þinga ænig hwylcne man lette þat hine to þam fæsten ne onhâge, ponne æs hit ælfed þat he mot mete þicgan om þa gerad þe he his'ælmes-san sylle 7 mæne oðerne man him to ne spanne to ðam gereordum, butan þær hwylc oðer met-trum man sy þe þat fæsten aberan ne læge. Gyf ponne se hala mid þam unhalan þone mete þiceð, ponne wurpað hig bege þurh þær met-truman ummihta beswicene. "nis nanum men
aléfed for nanre neóde pís fæsten to abrecane ne mid almessan to állyenne, butan hine ðara breora þinga, hwylc forwyrne: yld oððe iuguo oððe unhæl.

(below p. 35/22-36)

Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCG 302, pp. 205-13) adds that the food a man takes when he ends his daily fast may only include the food he normally takes during Lent:

7 ægwylc mann gehealde clænlíc his fæsten þas þry dagas oð ða nontide 7 bonne þicge þa mettas þe he hwilon þat lengtenfæsten...

(below p. 115/187-9)

Also, Dominica Ante Rogationum (MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, pp. 44-55v) points out that the Rogation tide fast is a sacred obligation no man may neglect any more than the Lenten fast:

Élcum menn ge geongum ge gealdum pís fæsten is beboden, þat hig hit sceolon healicen healdan, 7 hit niferah nam man mann swyðor to bre-cene bonne þat lengten fæsten.

(below p. 145/125-8)

Elfric makes four additional observations relevant to the seriousness and appropriateness of fasting as a penitential duty: first, Adam's fall from grace in the Garden of Eden was the result of breaking a fast, because Adam ate forbidden fruit. Accordingly, men must recognize that breaking a fast is a serious matter and watch carefully that they fast properly:

Oft ðus men sceagæ þat hi unsynnige beon, þæah ðe hi leochtlice mettas him on muð bestingen,
on swilcum fæsten-dagum mid frægere gyfere
nyssse, and nellæo understandan hu Adam us
forærde ðurh anes æpples ðigene pe he æt
forboden.

(Feria Secunda Letania Maiore,
Thorpe, OH 11, 33O/29-33)

Secondly, no man is fasting properly who eats before
the appointed time, or who eats any creature of the land
or sea:

Nis nán man fæstende be underfehô mid muðe
æniges gesceafetes sæ oððe eorðan, ac ða beðô
scylldige ðe ða gesetnsseyse tobrecað þære hal-
gan gelaðunge mid unalvedfyr ðigene, and fyl-
łað heðra weambe fræodelice ær timan.

(ibid, pp. 330/33-332/2) 15

Third, fasting is a penitential duty that includes
sexual behaviour as well as diet. As Ælfric explains in

15 Ælfric's warning against food from the sea is
reminiscent of a tradition recorded by Geraldus Cambren-
sis (ca. 1187) that certain Irish monks erroneously be-
lieved they could eat goose meat on fast days, since bar-
nacle geese were believed to reproduce in the sea in an
uncommon, asexual manner: "There are likewise here many
birds called barnacles . . . which nature produces in a
wonderful manner, out of her ordinary course. . . . Be-
ing at first gummy excrecences from pinebeams floating
on the waters, and then enclosed in shells to secure
their free growth, they hang by their beaks, like sea-
weeds attached to timber. . . . No eggs are laid by these
birds after copulation, as is the case with birds in
general; the hen never sits on eggs in order to hatch
them; in no corner or the world are they seen either to
pair or build nests. Hence, in some parts of Ireland,
bishops and men of religion make no scruple of eating
these birds on fasting days, as not being flesh, because
they are not born of flesh. But these men are curiously
drawn into error {T.H. White, Bestiary (1954; rpt. New
York; Capricorn Books, 1960), pp. 287-8}.
the Lenten homily Dominica Prima In Quadragesima (Thorpe, CH ii, 166-81), just as men tithe their earnings throughout the year, so they tithe their body during fasts. Men must recognize how important it is to remain continent on fasting days, for it is less dangerous to eat meat than to have intercourse with a woman:

Swa swa Godes Æ ðæt we sceolon ealle þæs ðæt ðæs us gesceotað of urses geares teolunge Godæ ðæ teoðunge syllan, swa we sceolon eac on ðisum teoðing-dagum urne lichaman mid forhæfendynysse Godæ to lofe teoðian. We sceolon us gearcian on eallum ðingum swa swa Godes þenas, after þæs apostoles tecunge, on micclum geólfe, and on halgum weccum, on fæstenum, and on clennysse modes and lichaman; forði læsse pleoh bið pam cristenum men þæt he flæsces bruce, þonne he on ðissere halgan tide wifes bruce.

(Thorpe, CH i, p. 178/27-35)

Patristic commentaries also speak of the need for continence at Rogation tide. Pope Eutychianus, for example, says in his Exhortatio Ad Presbyteros:

Certis temporibus conjugatos ab uxoribus absti-nere exhortamin, id est ab Adventu-Domini usque ad transactas octavas Epiphania; et a Septuagesima usque ad transactas octavas Paschæ; et a Rogationibus usque ad transactas octavas Pentecostes Præterea . . .

(PL 5, 166)

Old English homilies are usually less explicit, but convey the same necessity as, for example, in Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 302, pp. 205-13):

Forðon us is swiðe mycel nyðbearf þæt we swyðe eadmōdlice gedon ure ēasten ge urē almýssan ge ure hlutran gebeda ge ure unlustas for naman þæs almihťigan Drihtenes . . .

(below p. 117/227-30)
And Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 162, pp. 403-12), which warns that those who break the fast will have to give an account of themselves before God:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{by we beodaæ Godes beode 7 ealra his haligra ūt nan þæra cristrenra manna þe þis ge-
\text{hyre him beforan rædan dæde elles hwar hit 
\text{him gereccan ne gebristlæce he þis fæsten to 
\text{abrecenne be þam þe he wille him for God ge-
\text{borgen habban.}
\end{align*}
\]

(p. 408/11-15)

Fourth, Ælfric identifies the requisites of proper fasting.¹⁶ Men are to turn all malice and discord from their heart, repent their sins, and shun idle discourse and foolish pleasures; they are to give the surplus of their food, clothing, and alms to the needy, and once the fast is ended, to resume eating with moderation:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lætæ æweæ ealle saca, and æc geflitt, and } \\
\text{gehealdaæ þæs tid mid sibbe and mid soöre } \\
\text{lufe; forónn ne bið nan fæsten Godæ andfengæ } \\
\text{butan sibbe. And deò swa swa God tæhte, to-
\text{brec ðinne hlaf, and syle ðone ðeperne ðgel } \\
\text{hungrian men, and læd into þinum huse vældan, } \\
\text{and ðæ earman ælfremedan men, and gefrefra hi } \\
\text{mid þinum godum. Ponne ðu nacodne gesææ, scryd } \\
\text{hine, and ne forseoh ðin ægen flæsc. Sæ man } \\
\text{ne fæst buton ælmæstan, he deò swilce he spar-} \\
\text{iæ his mete, and eft ett þæt he ær mid forhæ-} \\
\text{fednyssæ foreode; ac þæt fæsten telæ God. Ac } \\
\text{gif ðu fæstæ wille Godæ to geæwæmednyssæ, þonne } \\
\text{geæelp ðu earmæ manna mid þam dæle ðe ðu } \\
\text{þe ælfym ofthæst, and eac mid maran, gif ðe } \\
\text{to onhagige. Førbugæ ædele spellunæ, } \\
\text{and dyslice blissaæ, and bewepæ eowæ synæ . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

(Dominica Prima In Quadragesima, CH i, 180/1-14)

Fasting, like all Rogation duties, must be performed in true love. The man who delights in the memory of

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¹⁶ For further discussion of proper fasting see Sanctus Aurelius Augustinus, Appendix--Sermones Supposititiae De Temporibus, Sermo CLXXV (PL 39, 2079-80).
cruel deeds formerly committed, who desires revenge or bears enmity towards another, cannot gladden God by fasting because, as Ferial II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 302, pp. 205–13) says, his spirit is like an unwaxed taper: it cannot burn brightly:

ac gyf þu wille medomlice fæstan for naman þæs almihtigan Drihtenes þonne gefylst þone cwýde þe on þam sealme gecweden wæs: Drihten forlat me mine scylда on þa gelicynsse þe ic forlet ælcum þera þe wið me agyltað. Swa sceal se mann don þe wyle rihtwislice fæstan for naman þæs almihtigan Drihtenes. Ac se mann se þe þencō þæt he clænlíc fæste 7 þonne eac þencō to wræce worda 7 dæda þam þe ær wið hine agylton, 7 ne wile forgynynsse syllan 7 mildheortynsse, 7 gefean syllan ealra þera yfela worda 7 dæda þe he æfre wið Cristes willan geworhte, þæt fæsten bið gelic þam unsmyredan tapore, se þære beorhtynsse ne onfeða.

(below pp. 116/213–117/224)

Rogation tide homilies commonly refer to established authority to demonstrate the efficacy and appropriateness of fasting. Four Old English texts feature prominently the fast commanded on the Ninivites by Jonas (above, p. xxiii); six take up Mamertus' fast at Vienne (above, p. vii), and De Letania Maiore (Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97v–102v); and four texts call attention to the fast commanded by Elias, especially In Vigilia Ascensionis (above, pp. xii–xiii), but also Vercelli Homily XX (Vercelli Biblioteca Capitolare MS. CXVII, pp. 109v–12), De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97v–102v), and
Elfriç's In Letania Maiore (Thorpe CH i, 244-58).
Rogationtide homilies record that the fasts enjoined by Jonas and Elias were so strict that newborn infants, and even the animals, were made to endure the hardship;\[^{17}\] likewise, the fasts did not end at nones, as was the Old English custom recorded in the homilies, but continued until the stars arose at night. In Vigilia Ascensionis (below pp. 165-89) says in part:

\[\text{Da geworhton hi }\tilde{h}\text{æs pri dagas for }\tilde{h}\text{ære mic-clan neode }\tilde{h}\text{æs }\text{heom }\tilde{h}\text{æs wateres forwyrmed, 7 buton ofer ealle eorðan }\tilde{h}\text{æt eal folc sceolde fæsten }\tilde{h}\text{rí dagas }\tilde{h}\text{æt heo on eafen-stearran gesegan, 7 swa eac }\tilde{h}\text{æt cild }\tilde{h}\text{ære geboron on niht, swa hit mon }\text{geman }\tilde{h}\text{æt }\text{pam modrum }\text{bröostum }\tilde{h}\text{æt hit nan }\tilde{h}\text{æng }\tilde{h}\text{sucan ne mosta }\tilde{h}\text{æt }\tilde{h}\text{ære moder }\tilde{h}\text{æt steorran arisan of heofonum, ne }\tilde{h}\text{nannes cynnes }\tilde{h}\text{ængc, ne }\tilde{h}\text{æna ne }\tilde{h}\text{nytena.}
\]

\(\text{11. 28-36}\)

Similarly Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 44-55\[^{7}\]) notes the especial severity of the fast commanded on the Ninivites:

\[\text{7 he }\text{/the king/ aras of his cynesete }\text{7 him frám his cynereaf awearp, 7 hyne mid }\text{hérnan ymbcryðe to his lice }\text{7 dyde axan uppon his heafod, 7 bebead }\tilde{h}\text{æt }\text{ælc mann swa don sceolde. }\ldots\text{ 7 bebead ærost }\tilde{h}\text{æt }\text{ægðer ge }\text{þa menn ge }\text{þa sucendan cild, ge }\text{furðon ealle }\text{þa nytenu }\text{þe hi ahton, sceoldon pry dagas }\text{7 }\tilde{h}\text{æro niht on an fæstan.}
\]

\((\text{below pp. 148/188-92, and 148/93-149/96})\)

\[^{17}\text{See also Sanctus Martinus Legionensis Presbyter, Sermo Vicesimus Nonus (PL 208, 1038); Venerabilis Beda}\]
Fasting was an especially important Rogationtide duty, strictly enjoined in nearly all the homilies.

d. Processions

A fourth essential part of the Rogationtide observance was marching in barefoot processions. Men suspended their earthly labour between 9 AM and 3 PM and came to the Church to repent their sins and walk in humble procession with sacred objects, such as the Cross and relics of saints, and sing psalms and bless their earthly possessions, which include their woods, fields, cattle, and all the things God has given them for their use and enjoyment. De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97v-102v), for example, says:

we sceolon ure woruldeorc forgan fram un- derne cē non, 7 to Godes cyrcan cuman 7 for urum synnum pingian, 7 forō mid þam halgum reliquium gan. . . . 7 mid þam halgum reli- quium we sculon beon Gode lōfsecgende, 7 Cristes rodetacen forōberan, 7 his þa halige godspell 7 oerē halignessa mid þam we sce- lon bletisan ure þa eorōlican speda: þæt synd æceras 7 wudu 7 ure ceap, 7 eall þa ping þe us God forgýfen hafað to brucanne þe we bileofian sceolon.

(below, p. 41/138-40, and p. 42/147-52)

The homilist of In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore (MS.

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Pars Tertia—Opera Parmenetica, Homilia Subdititig, Homilia XCVII (PL 94, 489 /sis/ 499); and Honorius Augustodunensis, Pars Tertia—Opera Liturgica, Caput CXXXVIII (PL 172, 680-1).
CCCC 162, pp. 422-31) adds that men should walk humbly in procession, as books command, and sing psalms and bless their land, and pray that the newly planted seeds may blossom and flourish:

Swa we oft on bocum gehyrdon secgan pet we mid pære halegan Cristes prynysse rođe 7 mid His halegra reliquium pe we mid gangæb, 7 mid haligum sangum we scelon bletsian ure land 7 Drihten biddan pet pa wæstmas pe on eorpan syndon gepeon moton mannum to gode 7 brice.

(pp. 223-4)

As both passages indicate, one function of procession was to secure God's blessing over the regenerating substances of the earth. Accordingly, Vercelli Homily XII says men in procession should make offerings to God from these same items, which include:

urne ceap 7 urne eard 7 urne wudu 7 eal ure
god we sculon Gode bebeodian 7 Him þancian þara gesynta þe forðgewitene syndon.

(Szarmach, Selected Vercelli Homilies, II. 36-9)

In later times processions gave rise to other practices, such as pointing out the bounds to property and reciting the special conditions which accompanied land tenure in a given instance, and gathering neighbors together in a friendly walk to settle any small private quarrels, as is recorded in Brand's eighteenth-century collection: Observations on the Popular Antiquites of Great Britain, I, 197-213). Brand says in part:
The walking of the parish bounds on the
gang-days, in religious processions, very
materially contributed to form and keep
fresh in the minds of each passing gener-
ation the terms on which property was held,
and some of the duties belonging to that
holding.

(p. 198)

Brand also calls attention to a short passage from Her-
bert's *Country Parson* (1652, Ch. 35, p. 157) which points
to the change in tone affecting processions in later
times; much of the formality and penitential severity of
the Anglo-Saxon procession was replaced by an air of in-
formal congeniality:

"The Country Parson is a lover of old customs,
if they be good and harmlesse. Particularly
he loves Procession, and maintains it, because
there are contained therein four manifest ad-
vantages. First, a blessing of God for the
fruits of the field, 2. Justice in the preser-
vation of bounds, 3. Charitie in loving,
walking, and neighborly accompanying one
another, with reconciling of differences at
that time, if there be any. 4. Mercie, in
relieving the poor by a liberal distribution
and the largess, which at that time is or
ought to be used.

(ibid, p. 204)

Anglo-Saxon processions preserved a tone of severe,
formal penitence, as is evident in *In Vigilia Ascensionis*
(MS. CCC 303, pp. 223-6), which says that each man who
does not walk barefoot in procession as the priest com-
mands will walk barefoot through the nine regions of hell
before Doomsday, continuously stepping on burning snakes:
And se man þe nele nu þæs pry dagas mid Godes halgan reliquian barfoc gangan, þurh þa-nigon helle he sceal ær domes dæge eal swa feola siðian swa he herr fotspora gescod eode ofer þæs prestes bebod, 7 æfre he sceal steppan on byrmandum neddran . . .

(below p. 173/48-53)

Jacobs de Voragine compares the procession to the parade of a victorious army boldly flying its banners and sounding trumpets to affright the enemy; in a like manner men in procession carry the cross and ring bells to terrify demons:

Ideo autem ibidem crucem deferimus et campanas pulsamus, ut daemones territius fugiant. Nam sicut rex in suo exercitu habet insignia regalia, scilicet tubas et vexilla, sic Christus rex aeternus in sua ecclesia militanti habet campanas pro tubis et cruces pro vexillis: et sicut aliquid tyrannus valde timeret, qui aliquis regis potentis et sibi inimici tubas in sua terra audiret et vexilla videret, sic daemones, qui sunt in isto ære caliginoso, vehementer metuunt, quando tubas Christi.

(Legendæ Aureæ, pp. 314-15)

Guilelmus Durantis also speaks about the importance of the cross and banners in the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (Neapoli: J. Dura, 1859):

Portatur etiam vexilla ad repræsentandum victoriam Resurrectionis et Ascensionis Christi, qui cum magna præda coelos ascendit; unde vexillum per aera incedens est Christus in coelum ascendens. Et sicut vexillum in processione ipsa multitudo fidelium sequitur, sic et Christum ascendentem magna Sanctorum collectio comitatur. Portatur etiam vexilla ad imitationem ejus, quod dicitur in Isaia: Et levabit (Dominus) signum in nationes, et congregabit profugos Israel, et dispersos Judæ colliget a quatuor plagis terræ (2).

(Caput CII, viii, p. 604)
Durandus (ibid, p. 604) and Bishop Sicardus of Cremone assign the tradition of carrying a cross at the head of the procession to Constantine, who first used an emblem of the cross as his battle standard. Sicardus says in part:

In omnibus litanis hae insignia deferuntur, cruces et vexilla. Quorum usum a Constantino sumsit Ecclesia, qui cum in somnis crucis signum vidisset, eique dictum fuisset: 

\textit{Vince in hoc, jussit crucem in vexillis bellicis insigniri . . .}

\textit{(Mitrale, Liber III, Caput VI, PL 213, 368)}

As Durandus mentions above and Radulph of Ardons explains further, the specific items carried in procession—the cross, holy water,\textsuperscript{18} and banners—symbolize the victory of the Church; so also does the stuffed dragon which is sometimes used in Rogationtide processions. The dragon follows behind the procession with its head lowered and tail dragging to symbolize the defeat of the devil:

\textit{Repre\textsuperscript{a}sentat autem hanc Christi victoriam sancta Ecclesia per processiones, quas, in his diebus facere consuevit. Procedit quippe in processionem tanquam victor crucifixus in carne crucis, cum armis videlicet cum quibus triumpha-}

\textsuperscript{18} Udalricus Cluniacensis Monachus mentions salt with holy water (\textit{Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii}, caput X, PL 149, 653-4).
vit. Cum quo aqua benedicta procedit, id est gratia qua suos irrorat et munit. Procedunt autem vexilla suae victorie signa. Procedit et draco tanquam victus ante victorem, qui solo capite vigens est, vacuus in parte posteriori, quoniam ad primam peccati partem, id est cogitationem suggere valet. Ad consuetudinem vero, vel ad perficiendum peccatum, servos Christi eogere non potest. Et certe hostis infirmus est, qui nisi sibi consentirentem lædere non valet. Subsequitur autem populus fidelium in processione crucifixum, tanquam liberati liberatorem, exspectantes ab eo suarum dona gratiarum.

(Homilia De Tempore, Homilia LXVI, PL 155, 1908-9)

Bede (Homilia XCVII, PL 94, 489 [sic] 499) and Durand (Rational Divinorum Officiorum, p. 279) speak further about the dragon. In some Churches, especially those in Gaul, a dragon was made with a long tail stuffed with straw. On the first two days the dragon was carried at the front of the procession to symbolize the devil's domination during the first two ages of the world, that is, before the Law and under the Law. On the third day the dragon was carried behind the Cross with its tail limply dragging the ground, symbolizing that in the Christian Age of Grace the devil is defeated and driven from his kingdom through the Passion of Christ. As Bishop Sicardus explains:

Quarundam Ecclesiarum consuetudinis est etiam draconem deferre primis duobus diebus ante crucem et vexillum, cum longa et inflata cauda; tertia vero die post crucem, et vexilla cum cauda depressa. Hic est diabolus, qui nos per tria tempora ante legem, sub legem, sub gratia fallit, aut fallere cupit. In primum duobus erat quasi dominus, orbis, ideoque princeps, vel deus mundi vocatur, inde est
quod in primis duobus diebus cum inflata cauda procedit; in tempore vero gratiam per Christum victus fuit, nec audet regnare patenter, sed homines seducit latenter, inde est quod in ultimo die sequitur cum cauda depressa.

(Mitrale, Liber VII, Caput VI, PL 213, 368-9)

Old English homilies do not discuss the composition of the Rogation tide procession, but Latin sources indicate it consists of the same seven orders prescribed for the Greater Litany. As Bede points out, the clergy went first, the abbots and monks second, the nuns third, the widows fourth, the laymen fifth, the children sixth, and the women seventh:

Prima litania omnium clericorum, secunda abbatum et monachorum, tertia sanctimonialium, quarta viduarum, quinta conjugatorum, sexta omnium puerorum, septima mulierum...

(Homilia CXVII, PL 94, 489 /sic/ 499)

The number of people in procession could vary, as could the order; the litany, however, was always recited seven times:

In omnibus litiannis hic esset ordo servandus, et olim servabatur. In primo loco processionis clericii; in secundo claustrales, ut monachi et canonici; in tertio moniales; in quarto pueri; in quinto laici; in sexto viduarum; in septimo conjugatorum. Sed Rome ex instituto Gregorii sic ordo notatur, scilicet clericorum, viri, monachi et monacha, conjugatorum, viduarum, puerorum, illi de illa procedent ecclesia. Sed quod nequimus in numero personarum, supplemus in numero litiannarum; septies enim litianniam
dicere debemus, antequam insignia deponamus.

(Sicardus, Mitrale, Liber VII, Caput VI, PL 213, 363)

Old English homilies commonly identify the cross, Gospels, and relics of saints as the sacred objects to be carried in procession (see, for example, Vercelli Homily XII; ed. Szarmach, Selected Vercelli Homilies, 11. 17-43), and Vercelli Homily XX also specifies the Host (haligdome, i. 6; ed. Szarmach, "Vercelli Homily XX"), Sicardus, however, discusses further the items to be carried and the reason each is important. The symbolism of Rogationtide procession is based, he says, on the exodus of the Jews from Egypt: Sicut enim illae per Moysen ereptus est de manibus Pharaonis, sic populus Dei per Christum liberatur de ore leonis (PL 213, 370). The Jews were guided across the desert by a column of fire, thus, men carry candles at the front of the procession, and are guided by the cross and banners; the Jews carried the Ark of the Covenant, so deacons and subdeacons carry book rolls, and a priest carries a small metal casket containing the relics. Moses led the Jews with a rod, so the king leads the procession with his scepter, or the bishop with his crozier. The Jews had the clamor of trumpets, men in procession have the ringing of bells. The Jews were armed with weapons of war, the men in procession are adorned with virtue. The Jews were smeared
with blood; men in procession are sprinkled with holy water and salt. Amalech was overcome by thirst; men in procession are beset by devils. The Jews rejoiced when they returned to their homeland, so men in procession rejoice when they enter the church; they sing psalms and go around the church ringing bells to drive away demons, just as Josue went around the walls of Jericho sounding a horn:

Christi ascendens calum ingreditur et ab angelis perenniter adoratur.

(Mitrale, Liber III, Caput VI, PL 213, 370)

Hugh of St. Victor records a different tradition. There are, he says, three major processions. The first one is modeled on the procession the Virgin Mary made when she went into the temple to be cleansed. The second is modeled on the procession Christ made when he went into the city to be crucified. The third one, the Rogationtide procession, is modeled on the procession made by the angels who descended to earth to receive Christ and accompany Him to heaven. The Rogationtide procession thus betokens the journey from earth to heaven; it is symbolized by the cross, the agent of Christ's suffering, and by banners, symbols of victory, which are raised aloft:

Tres sunt principales processiones: Prima in Purificatione beatae Mariae cum cereis ac lucernis; secunda in ramis Palmarii, cum floribus et palmis, tertia circa Ascensionem Domini, cum crucibus et vexillis. . . . Sequitur processio in crucibus et vexillis. In cruce carnis afflicto, in vexillis mentis elevatio; crucibus vexilla additus cum ex carnis maceratione ad cordis magnificantium proficimus. Prima processio fit de domo in templum, secunda de vicino in civitatem, tertia de terra in caelum. . . . Ultima processio recipit solos perfectos, hinc viros angelicos descendentes et Galileos sursum intendentes: medium Jesum a terra sublevatum, a nube susceptum, et in caelum assumptum.

(Appendix Ad Opera Dogmatica, Miscellanea, Liber VI, Tit. XIX (sig. XIV, PL 177, 817-18))
While the people walk in barefoot procession behind sacred objects, religious men skilled in song lead the marchers in hymns and prayers. Interestingly, as is noted by Reginonis Prumiensis Abbatis, women were not allowed to lead the choir, although they could participate in the Kyrie Eleison:

Nequaquam mulierculæ choreas ducant, sed omnes in commune Kyrie eleison decantent.

(PL 132, 243)

Also, it was customary for marchers to sing the Canticle of the Angels in procession: Sancte, Deus, sancte, fortis, sancte et immortalis, misere nobis. Jacobus de Voragine records the popular tradition which associated the Canticle with Rogationtide:

Refert enim Johannes Damascenus libro tertio, quod, cum apud Constantinopolin propter quandam tribulationem letaniae fierent, quidam puer de medio populi in coelum est raptus et istud canticum ibidem edoctus, deinde ad populum rediens illud angelicum canticum in conspectu populi decantavit et mox omnis tribulationis cessavit. In Chalcedonensi quoque synodo fuit istud canticum approbatum et conclusit ita Damascenus: nos autem dicimus, quod per istud canticum daemones recedant.

(Legenda Aurea, p. 316)

Prayers, fasting, almsgiving, and walking in barefoot processions do not exhaust Rogationtide duties. Men must also perform eallum godum weorcum (MS. CCCG 162, p. 412) "all manner of good works." If they do not like the
duties prescribed for them they should initiate others of their choosing:

Ne beoden we nanum mannnum nane niwe bebodu. Do gehwa himsylf swa him gebeorclicost for Gode þince, gylf he bylcum bysenum 7 bylcum larum fylgean nelle. Georne we witon þat Gode licað swa man mare for his lufum to Gode deð

(Dominica Ante Rogationum, below p. 151/235-42).

In addition men are to keep Rogation tide in humility, patience, and love, in all purity of body and soul, good and profitable vigils, and beneficence for God and man:

... on micelre eadmodnyssse 7 on micclum gebylde 7 on soðre lufe 7 on ealre clænnyssse lichaman 7 sawle 7 on godum wæccum 7 nyte-weorðum ... 7 on ealre gødnysse 7 on lufe godes 7 manna.

(Feria II In Letania Maiore, MS. CCC 162, p. 406)

Men are to hasten to God's church swa swibe swa þa bion dop to hira hyfe (Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 107v) and hear the sermons and participate at Mass; they are to feed and clothe the needy, foster humility and patience, and repent their misdeeds. Feria III In Letania Maiore (Cambridge University Library MS. II. 4:6) enjoins good works for the prudent, pisty for the aged, humility for the young, and almse deeds for the wealthy:

Ne sceal se wisa mann beon buton godum weorcum, ne se ealda ne beo butan eaw-fæstynysse, ne se iunga ne beo butan gehyrsumynysse, ne se weliga ne beo butan almessednym.
The same homilist warns again:

uton don forpi swa us micel þearf is, beon
gicornulle ure agenre þearfe, geswican ura
synna 7 swæra gylta, 7 forbugan æl unriht,
7 gebugan georne to rihte.

(f. 331v)

Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 44-55v) urges men to practice virtues which offset sin; men are encouraged to counter geleaf-leaste (unbelief) with geleaffulynysse (faith), ofermodig-nysse (pride) with eadmodnyse (humility), galnyssse (wantonness) with clænnysse (purity), manfulynysse (wickedness) with rihtwisnysse (righteousness), yrsonge (anger) with gebylde (patience), gytsunge (greediness) with mildheort-nysse (mercy), gyfernysse (gluttony) with forhæfednysse (temperance), and to work Godes willan (God's will) against the devil's yfelan wyllan (evil will).

e. Deeds To Be Shunned

Old English homilies also identify deeds especially to be shunned at this season. Vercelli Homily XX (ed., Szarmach, "Vercelli Homily XX"), for example, presents an extensive list of forbidden practices; these include theological error, fornication, eating before time permitted, drunkenness, deception of lords, pride, envy, gluttony, wantonness, dishonour, lasciviousness, idle talk,
all forms of impurity, and every type of evil:

Uton us nu ealle þe geornor warnian 7 forlæ-

tan urne gedwolan 7 unriht hæmedo 7 ærætas 7

oferdruncrennessa 7 hlafordswicunga 7 ofer-

mett 7 andan 7 oferfylle 7 galnesse 7 sceand-

licnessa 7 leohbrædnessa 7 ðidele spræca 7

ealle unclænnnessa 7 ealle yfelco, þe læs us

ahwene God for urum yfelum geæarnið/gum ure

eorðan wæstmas fræm afyrre 7 us swylce witu

on asende þe we ærætnian ne magon.

(11. 23-8)

St. Martin of Léon also lists deeds especially to be

avoided. He says that no one is to ride a horse in the

procession, to leisurely relax, or to use obscene lan-
guage; that no one is to be absent on account of busi-

ness, to wear shoes in the procession, or to be singing

in the street. Women are not to lead the choir of girls,

and the men in procession are to remain with the men, and

the women to remain with the women:

Nemo ibi in processione equitare præsumat; 

nemo otiosa vel turpia verba proferat; nemo

propter sæculi negotia vel lucra sese absen-
tare audet; nemo calceatus, sed discalceat-
tis pedibus omnes incedant. Nequaquam viri

per plateas vana et sæcularia canendo eant,

vectulæ puellarum more choros ducant;

sed omnes devote, seorsum viri, seorsum fe-
mæ ad generalem processionem conveniant.

(Sermo Vicesimus Octavus,

PL 208, 1035-6)

Dominica Ante Rogationis (British Museum MS. Cotton Clep-
patra B. xiii, ff. 44-55v) focuses on five practices
especially unlawful at Rogationtide: idle chatter, gambling, feasting, blood-letting, and fast breaking:

Us syndon synderlice on pisum dagum forbodene, þeah hi on ælære tide forbodene syn, swyðost on þysse tyde, idele spræca 7 þæflunga 7 beor-scypnas 7 þæt him nan mann on þyssum dagum blod ne forlœte, ne ne gebristlice ænig mann ætes oðøe wæter to onbyrgeonne ær þære nigðæn tide, 7 ær he ðæssan gehyrð hæbbe, 7 barum fotum Cristes bec 7 rodetacna 7 øøre halige reliqui-æs eadmodlice gegret hæbbe.

(below p. 144/113-20)

Especially interesting in the above list is the phrase nan mann . . . blod ne forlæt, "no man shall shed blood."
The composite evidence of various sources suggests the term is probably used in its broadest sense to include all spilling of blood, even that which is a normal part of society's activity, such as animal slaughter and medical blood-letting. Rogationtide is a time for mercy and good will, a time for making peace and preparing for the final judgment; anything which is contradictory to this is strictly forbidden. Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 162, pp. 403-12) and In Vigilia Ascensionis (MS. CCC 303, pp. 223-6) prohibit hunting on Rogation days. Similarly Ælfric's Lenten homily Dominica Prima In Quadragesima (Thorpe, CH i, 166-81) says all quarrels and disputes must be put aside if men are to fast properly:

Lætað aweg calle saca, and ðæc geflitt, and géhealdað þas tid mid sibbe and mid soðre lufe.

(p. 160/1-2)
Augustine says ‘men are not to draw blood, continue a quarrel, nor to inflict a wound even for medicinal purposes:

Et quia per totum annum, fratres charissimi, nobis peccatorum vulnera subrepunt, in istis tribus diebus fideliter ad e¢clesiam curramus, et contrito corde vel humiliato corpore Dei misericordiam deprecemur: ut omnium peccatorum nostrorum vulnera, isto triduano compunctionis medicamento, ad sanitatem pristinam revocemus. Nemo ergo sibi ex industria aliquas occupationes studet providere, nemo se otiosis fabulis occupare: ne inde sibi vulnera faciat, unde sibi parare medicamenta potuerat. Nemo in istis tribus diebus aut sanguinem tollat, aut potionem accipiat; nisi forte hoc infirmitas nium periculosa compellat.

(Sermo CLXXIII, PL 39, 2077)

The activities prohibited at Rogationtide eliminate all similarity between the Christian Rogation days and the riotous Roman games originally celebrated at this time. Vercelli Homily XI, for example, denounces the heathen rites held in the days of the primitive Church and urges men to strict penitence:

(Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI and Its Sources," p. 81)
Likewise *In Vigilia Ascensionis* (MS. CCC 303, pp. 223-6) opens with a reminder that Rogationtide was not established for greed and licentiousness, but so men might attend to the spiritual needs of their soul:

Men pa leofestan, his syndon halige dagas 7 gastlice penunge mid mannum, forbi þe þas dagas næron for gytsunge geworhte ne for nanum rence, ac hi næron geworhte for micelre neode eallum folce.

(below, p. 171/1-4)

The ecclesiastical synod convened at Cloveshoo in 747 to reform abuses in the Church considered specifically the *Letania Maiore*. All practices which resembled the Roman customs of *Robigalia*—that is, feasting, horse racing, and gaming—were especially prohibited and in their place was enjoined a strict and humble observance with fasts, processions with the cross and relics of saints, Masses, and prayer:

Sexto decimo condirunt capitulo : Ut Letania, id est, rogationes, a clero omnique populo his diebus cum magna reverentia agantur, id est, die septimo calendarii Maiarum, juxta ritum Romanum Ecclesiae: quæ et Letania major anud eam vocatur. Et item quoque secundum morem prorum nostrorum, tres dies ante Ascensionem Domini in caelos cum jejunio usque ad horam nonam et Missarum celebratione venerantur: non admixtis vanitatis, uti mos est plurimus, vel negligentibus, vel imperitis, id est, in ludis et equorum cursibus, et epulis majoribus; sed magis, cum timore et tremore, signo passionis Christi nostræque aeternæ redemptionis, et reliquis sanctorum Eius coram portatis, omnis populus genu flecente Divinam pro delictis humiliter exorat indulgentiam.

The fast and procession commanded by Elias in *In Vigilia Ascensionis* (MS. CCC 303, pp. 223-6) strictly condemned all forms of pride and ostentation; men were not to wear shoes in procession, or linen garments, or carry a weapon; they were not to ride a horse, to course after game, to leave Mass early or shun Communion:

Pā com Cristes stefn on hefenum to eorðan 7 
let dynian ofer ealc þæra manna . . . þe an 
fodspor gesceod eode mid þam halgan reliquium 
öðe mid línenum hrægle öðe mid wæpne öðe 
on horse geride, öðe huntian ongurne binnan 
pyxum þream dagum öðe fram mæsse gange ær 
he hæfde hlaf genuman æt þæs prestes handum.

(below p. 172/40-8)

Finally, *Feria IIIa In Letania Maiore* (Cambridge University Library MS. II. 4.6, ff. 228-38) warns men against idle gossip, lest their vain laughter on these days end in weeping, that is, damnation:

hit is swiðe unþælic 7 pleolic þet we on 
godes huse idele spellunga 7 hlæcyrunga be-
gan; forſi þet hit cymð us to mycelan hearme 
buton we ær geswican ure plega 7 ure hleahter 
byð eall mid wope 7 wanunge geendod.

(ff. 231v/14-232r/1)

f. Healing and Separation

Before leaving discussion of the Rogationtide two further themes should be briefly noted, because of their prominence. The first is the theme of spiritual healing, which is commonplace in Rogationtide homilies, but nowhere
is more prominent than in *Homily X: De Confessione* Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, ed. Richard Morris, Early English Text Society, no. 18, 53, Second Series (London: Trübner, 1873), 56-87, which describes the priest as a doctor who cures wounds to the soul:

> Wnderstondeō get an þi/ν/γ pat ich giu wele wærnic fore. gif man beō forgund, he wile anon sechen after leches, and shewen him his wunden. and bi his wissinge leden is lif, forte þat he bie hol. alswe we ogen to don. Ure saule is sore forgund. for ech synne is þe saule wunde. and prest is saulene leche. and forpi we agen to cumen to ure prest er þanne we biginnen to feste...

(p. 57/1-7)

Similarly Feria IIItia De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 111-14v) presents Christ as a healer. At the Last Judgment He says to the wretched souls:

> Eala þu man, forhwen noldest þu þas wunda gelacian, þas ic for þe pafiende ðæs, to þon þat ic ealle þine wunda gelacnode?

(f. 113v/16-18)

The medicinal quality of the Rogation day's is commonly mentioned at the opening of homilies, as in Feria IIItia De Letania Maiore:

> Men þa leofestan, þys syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice...

(ibid, f. 111r/11-13)

Similar statements are found in the Latin homilies, such as Augustine's Sermo CLXXIII: De Letania:

> Dies medicinales. Qualiter cum diabolo certandum. Ecce, fratres dilectissimi, dies sancti et spirituales adveniunt, et animabus
nostris medicinales; et ideo quicumque vulner-erit peccatorum suorum sanare vulnera, non despiciat medicamenta salubria.

(PL 39, 2076)

A second theme common in Old English Rogation day homilies is the theme of separation. At the Last Judgment each man shall stand alone before Christ. No friends will be able to help him, no family, nor worldly possessions. The father cannot help the son, nor the son the father. Each man is cut off and alone and stands for judgment on the merit of his deeds. As the homilist of In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 162, pp. 422-31) explains:

\[ \text{Folle beo sum booc untyned on ansyne pas heh-}
\text{stan cyninges on oare beod awritene aghwilces}
\text{mannes dada, eal he to gode oðe to yfele}
\text{gedye on ysum middanearde. Par se broðor}
\text{ne mæg þam ðorum helpan, ne se fader þam sune,}
\text{ne þa neahmagas ne ða maðmgestreon, ne þyse}
\text{woruldæhta enigne man þar gescyldan magon; ac}
\text{Drihten gyldeð anra gehwylcum menn after his}
\text{sylfe gewyrhtum.} \]

(p. 428/4-11)

The passage is reminiscent of the plight of Everyman; abandoned by Fellowship, Kindred, Cousin, Goods, Beauty, Strength and Discretion, he can only look to Good Deeds for succour.

Whatever solace friendship, family, and wealth offer men in temporal life, and all these are praised in heroic literature, their solace passes with life on earth. All a man can look to for help at the Final Judgment is the merit of his former deeds.
FERIA IIIia DE LETANIA MAIORE

MS. Hatton 114 is made up of homilies originally bound as a single collection with MS. Hatton 113 (Ker, Catalogue, p. 391). As Ker indicates, the quire signatures suggest that the collection was originally intended as a continuation of the volume of ecclesiastical institutes contained in Junius MS. 121 (ibid). The manuscript dates from the third quarter of the eleventh century; the division into two volumes is, Ker believes, "at least as old as the early thirteenth century when a separate table of contents of MS. 114 was added in the margin of MS. 114, ff. 9v, 10" (ibid).

MS. Hatton 114 contains 252 leaves foliated i, 1-97, 97iv, 98-250. Folios i and 250 are modern paper flyleaves; folios 248-49 were inserted by Dugdale in 1644 (ibid). Folios 1-247 are made up of 30 quires varying in length from 8 to 10 leaves; quires 1-24 contain 8 leaves each, quire 25 contains 8 plus 1 after 8 (f. 200), quires 26-28 contain 10, quire 29 contains 10 leaves plus 1 after 10 (f. 247); leaves 3 and 6 in quire 8 are half sheets, as are leaves 5 and 6 in quires 10 and 30 (ibid, p. 398). As Ker notes, the folios measure 268 by 160 mm., the writing occupies a space about 200 by 95 mm., and the scribe usually writes 23 lines per folio (ibid). The folios are numbered in arabic numbers in the upper right hand corner.
of the recto folios, and the present binding was added in the nineteenth century (ibid).

Folios 111-14\(\text{v}\), those containing Feria IIIitia De Letania Maiore, are in good condition. Aging of the MS. has caused only one impediment to reading: the caustic red ink used to write the title (Feria III\(\text{a}\) De Letania Maiore) and the large M of Men de leolo (f. 111/11) has burned through the parchment and obscured several words on the reverse side. Feria III\(\text{a}\), (f. 111/10) obscures sette (f. 111\(\text{v}\)/10); De Letania Maiore (f. 111/10) obscures bearfe gebrowode 7 (f. 111\(\text{v}\)/11); and the capital M (f. 111/11-2) obscures menig (f. 111\(\text{v}\)/11) and wile (f. 111\(\text{v}\)/12).

Abbreviations occur with moderate frequency throughout the MS.; those occurring on ff. 111-14\(\text{v}\) are, in all instances, conventional: ¼ is used for bar; m is used for men, and in one instance for men ba leofostan (f. 112/5); and ¾ is used for and. A superscript stroke is used to indicate the omission of a letter; a superscript majuscule L with a stroke through the ascender occurs once for men ba leofostan (f. 113/5), although this device may be the alteration of a later hand.

Folios 111-14\(\text{v}\) employ three marks of punctuation. The primary mark is the cola (.).\(^{1}\) It is used both for full and partial stops, and is placed both on and above the line. The periodus (;) is also used on one occasion

\(^{1}\) For description of the cola, coma and periodus see A. P. Campbell, ed., "The Rota Nova of Guido Faba from MS. New College 255, Oxford" (Diss. Harvard 1959), f. 5\(\text{v}\).
(f. 112/1); the colon is used twice (f. 113/14; and f. 113/23).

The MS. employs several signe de revoi. Words divided at the end of a line are often hyphenated, as is bearf-lic (f. 111/15-16); but not always, as with aræfnode (f. 111v/14-15). Also, superscript long marks sometimes occur over vowels as a guide to pronunciation, as with þéodan (f. 113/15) and hréowsian (f. 113/20).

Additional marks are added by later hands. Four of these marks are, as S. J. Crawford indicates,\(^1\) especially characteristic of Worcester MSS., and the well-known 'tremulous' hand. The first is a short vertical stroke which Crawford equates with Middle English \(\ddot{i}\); on twenty-two occasions it is written over the prefix ge- to guide pronunciation.\(^2\) The second is a pair of short vertical strokes which Crawford equates with Middle English \(\ddot{w}\); on four occasions.


\(^{2}\) geleafan (l. 3), geeddmette (l. 7), geband (l. 29), getigde (l. 29), gecwemdon (l. 30), gebrowode (l. 36), geñlanne (l. 37), gëwtëm (l. 41), gehwylce (l. 43), geælignysse (l. 57), gearwian (l. 67), gehaten (l. 74), gescop (l. 75), geworhtë (l. 76), geworhton (l. 77), gehyddë (l. 81), gecyrred (l. 86), gesetted (l. 93), gecyrred (l. 94), gecærwod (l. 108), gescolum (l. 110), gægearwod (l. 137).
they occur over $g$, and on one occasion over $v$ (fyre, f. 113/22) to alter pronunciation to ie. Third, on three occasions $g$ is superscribed by $g$ to indicate it is pronounced as a palatal spirant; and fourth, when him occurs in the dative plural it is regularly altered to ham as, for example, is him (f. 114v/3). Crawford theorizes that the tremulous hand was glossing at a time when knowledge of the old language was in decline, and that these alterations were made to facilitate reading by a Norman audience (Heptateuch, p. 423).

Two other marks occur which I judge by appearance to be in the tremulous hand. The first is a triangle made of three points occurring above fastlice (f. 112/15) and in the margin to the right of firmi stabiles (f. 112/15), probably to pair the gloss with its referent. The second is a pair of short vertical strokes placed one above the other to separate her and on at f. 112/2.

Two additional signs occur on ff. 111-14v which may or may not be by the tremulous hand. The first is a cross ($\frac{1}{\top}$) which is written twice on f. 113: once above Ac (l. 5) and again at the end of line 5, perhaps to indicate that the discussion which follows is Scriptural in origin. The

3 agen (l. 37), adrugode (l. 83), magon (l. 116), magon (f. 120).
4 ge (l. 61), ge (l. 104), and ge (l. 134).
second is a stroke used at f. 112/2 to separate two words (he and bonon) written too close together.

Decoration is not prominent on ff. 111-14v, or elsewhere in MS. Hatton 114. Red ink is used for the title and the large M which begins the first line of text, and some insular letter forms occur in the Latin; otherwise, there are only small capitals which occur occasionally throughout the text.

The script of Feria III tia De Letania Maiore is "of a type" which Ker finds in MS. Junius 121 and other Worcester manuscripts (Catalogue, pp. 398-9). Four features of this script, as Ker describes it (ibid), are prominent on ff. 111-14v. First, e is often written high in the æ ligature, especially in the ligature æg and at Æstæ (f. 111/17), bæt (f. 111v/10), and mege (f. 111v/15). Secondly, long and low forms of s are used indiscriminately, with the head of the long s frequently tending toward a loop.æstæan (f. 111/12), and swa (f. 111/15). Third, the upstroke of ð is long and often "tagged" to the left at the top, as with bæt (f. 111v/12), bynnene (f. 111v/8), and pearfe (f. 111v/1); also the ends of descenders, including ð, curve to the left, as with onylyde (f. 111v/21), alysnesse (f. 111v/3), and swipum (l. 111v/6). Fourth, hyphens are usually placed on a level with the tops of minims, as with pearlic (f. 111/15-16) and hyggen (f. 112v/8-9)—but not
always: *bissere* (f. 112/22-3). In addition, the primary mark of punctuation is the point.

**MSS.** Hatton 113 and 114 have been compiled by a number of hands. Ker is certain of at least six, and is undecided about a seventh (ibid). One hand may be that of the monk Hemming, but the others are unknown (ibid). In addition, there are nearly contemporary alterations by several hands; the running titles were added in the second half of the eleventh century (ibid). As Ker points out, a note on f. 78v is signed /W/ (Coleman), and there are other marginalia which is probably in the same hand; there are annotations throughout in the tremulous hand, sixteenth century notations by Joscelyn, and a table of contents on the paper flyleaves at the end of each manuscript which was added by Dugdale (ibid). Most of MS. 114 is in a single hand (ff. 9-212) /ibid/.

**Feriä IIItia De Letania Maiore** is written in the manuscript's primary hand, but alterations and notations are by at least two, and perhaps three, others. A number of the notations are in the tremulous hand. In the edition below, alterations I judge to be in this hand are followed by a letter t in parentheses; alterations I judge to be in the second hand are followed by s. I am not certain whether the Scriptural notation on f. 114 (*Sibi erit fletus et stridor dentium*) is in the second hand, or is the work of a third annotator.
The dialect of *Feria IIItia De Letania Maiore* is West-Saxon, and contains a predominance of late forms:

**Late West-Saxon Forms**

1. Regular preference for *y* over *i*, as with *sycan* (l. 7), *syndon* (l. 1), and *cyrlicicum* (l. 28).
2. Regular preference for *y* to *ie*, as with *alysednyse* (l. 24), *gehyron* (l. 30), and *awyrgedan* (l. 104).
3. *y* always replaces *e* in group sel- [Campbell §325], as with *sylfme* (l. 9), *sylfum* (l. 20), and *sylf* (l. 74).
4. *e* is preferred to *ea*, as with *almihtig* (l. 4), *almihtig* (l. 72), and *er* (l. 29).
5. There is some tendency to favour *a* over *o* before nasal, as with *mann* (l. 13) and *handum* (l. 16), but not always: *monn* (l. 16), and *o* does not regularly alter to *a* in unstressed words, as is indicated by *bone* (l. 66) and *bone* (l. 65).
6. *æ* is preferred to *a/o* in *menigfealdre* (l. 18) and *menige* (l. 29) [Campbell §193 d, n. 47].
7. *specende* (l. 103) shows the late Old English loss of *f* [Campbell §475].

MSS. Hatton 113 and 114 were written at Worcester; their provenance is briefly recorded by Humphrey Wanley:

The inscription "Liber ecclesie Wygorn" (s. xvi) at the head of MS. 113 f. ii . . . is legible. The thirteenth-century title and number, 'Sermones anglici .XXI.', are on f. 1 of MS. 114 (cf. .XXII. in Hatton 115) and 'Sermones anglice XX' can be read on the spine of MS. 113. . . . Referred to by Ussher as a Worcester manuscript in a letter to Spelman 6 Nov. 1638 (Bodl. Add. C. 301, f. 48v). Belonged to Christopher, Lord Hatton, in 1644 (see Bodleian MS. Dugdale 29 (6519), f. ivv), 'Saxon Homilies tom: i' (MS. 114 f. 1 : cf. Hatton 115). Given to the Bodleian by
Sir Christopher Hatton in 1675. Subsequently lent to Dr. Thomas Marshall and by him to Junius and returned to the Bodleian as part of the Junius collection after Junius's death in 1678. Formerly MS. Junius 99 (MS. 113) and Junius 22 (MS. 114).

(Ker, Catalogue, p. 399)

*Feria IIItia De Letania Maiore*, the third of three Rogationtide homilies in MS. 114, is a unique text not previously edited.
Men ða leofestan, þys syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice us to begangenæ 7 to healdenne þurh rihnæ geleafan mid fæstenum, 7 mid ælmesylænum swa urum sawlum nyðpearflæc is. Utan gepencan hu ælmihtig God for us prowode 7 gepafode, ærest þa he wæs on heofona rices hyhōu upahafen, 7 on his wuldre uneownwedelice, þæ geadmette he hine to þan þæt he syðpan on þisne middaneard wæs acenned 7 to menn geworden, 7 he ðær her on worulde wæs prowigendelic monn, 7 gyt he hine sylfne geadmette to bon [f. 111v] þæt he wolde for manncynnes þearfe geprowian, 7 hine sylfne ladan for ealles middaneardes ære 7 alysnesse ahôn 7 acwellan. Ærest he þæt gepafode his agemum willan þæt hine mann for ure þearfe genam 7 geband, 7 he wæs mid swipum beswungen, 15) 7 hine man on þæt neb hræhte, 7 hine man mid bradam

5 on heofona: MS. as one word. 6 hyhōu: MS. alters to hyhōu.


Sources: 15-16 Matt. xxvi: 67, passim Tunc exspuerunt in faciem ejús, et colaphis eum ceciderunt, aliæ autem palmas in faciem ejus dederunt,
handum on þæt neð sloh 7 him þynnene helm for oðerne

cynehelm on þæt heafod sette, 7 eall he þæt eadmodlice

for ure þearfe geþrowode, 7 micle maran 7 mæingealдре

bing ponne ic nu on þisse hwile arecan mæge oðre asec-

20) gan, þa þe he for mancynnes hælo 7 áre on him sylfum

arefnode 7 forbar.

7 þæt her ealra mæst is, swa ic är sæde, þæt hine

man for ure ealra neð þearfe 7 for ealles middaneardes

alysednysse on rode gealgang aheng 7 gefæsfnode, 7

25) hine man eac þær mid spere gewundode; 7 he þæ his þæt

hallige heafod onhylde 7 his gast on his Fæder hand

ágeaf 7 on his geweald bebead; 7 eac to helwarum nyper-

astah 7 ðone ealdan wiðerweardan [f. 112r] feond þær

geband.7 getigde; 7 mæinge hallige sawlæ þæra manna þe

30) him är her on worulde gehyrðon 7 gecwemdon he ponon

upateah to heofona rices hyhðo, 7 to his wuldræ gelædde.

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31 hyhðo: MS. alters tæ hyhðo.

Glosses, Latin: areccan: dicere (t). 20 are: honore (s).
21 arefnode: pertulit (s). 24 gealgang: patibulo (s). 30 ge-

hyrðon: obedientum (t). 31 hyhðo: exaltatione (t).

Glosses, Old English: 29 getigde: iteide.

Sources: 16-17 [Matt. xxvii: 29, passim] Et plectentes
coronam de spinis, posuerunt super caput ejus. . .

24 [John xix: 17-18, passim] Et bajulans sibi crucem exivit
in eum, qui dicitur Calvaria, locum, Hebraice autem Golgotha:
18 Ubi crucifixerunt. . .

25 [John xix 34, passim] Sed unus militum lancea latus
ejus aperuit. . .

ait: Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.
Forðon, men þa leofestan, us is swyðe mycel pearf þat we ealle þa ping gépcan 7 asmeagan geornlice 7 eadmodlice, 7 him þæs symle inweardlice þancas secgan

35) ealra þara þinga þe he for mancynnes pearfe mildelice on him sylfum forbær 7 gebrowode; 7 we symle geornlice his þa halgan 7 þa godcundan bebodu agan to gefyllanne 7 to gehealdenne on us sylfum. Ne syndon nanie on þissere worulde ne on þissum life þæs fæstlice 7 ðæs mislice þing þat hi symle full hradlice aweg ne gewitan. Þonne bið þat swyðe scandlic 7 swyðe bysmor-líc þat man þæt lufige 7 on þam ðangep þe he gesyðo þæt him daga gehwylce fram higeð 7 efsteð. Ac uton we micle swyðor habban godcunde lufe betwyx us, forðam þe

45) ic sæde ær for urum lufon ealles middaneardes

Fruma-7-Ende to þissere eorðan astah, 7 þæa eac on þis-

Glosses, Latin: 33 asmeagan: scrutinar (t). 39 fæstlice: firmi stabiles /conjectural/ (t). 40 hradlice: cito (s). 41 gewitan: discendant (t). 46 Fruma-


Sources: 46 Fruma-7-Ende. /Apoc. xxii: 13, passim/ Ego sum alpha et omega, primus, et novissimus, principium, et finis.

1 For a more extensive look at the tremulous hand and its use of the open form of the Runic wen in place of ȝ, see S.J. Crawford, "The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the Old English Manuscripts in the Bodleian," 52 (Anglia), 1-25.
sere [f. 112v] worulde for urum lufon deað prówode 7 on him sylfum arefnode.

Uton we þonne forðon, men þa leofestan, geornlice
tiligean þat we, for his lufe 7 for his willan, us
sylfe 7 urses lichaman lustas 7 willan on us sylfum
cwylmen, 7 þat we eac, for his lufon 7 for his willan,
sele þa lustfulnessa þissera andweardan tide 7 ðissere
gewitendan forson 7 форhyçgan, þat we of ðam wacran 7

55) of þam wyrsan to þam beteran 7 to þam selran becumam
moton, of ðissum lichamlicum þingum to þam godcundan, 7
of þisses middaneardes life to his gesælignysse 7 to
þam hihte þas towardan lifes, 7 þas ecan aristes be-
cumam magan 7 moton. Ac utan hyhtan us 7 þeadan us to

60) ælmihitigum Gode, 7 to his are 7 to his forgyfnysse,
forðon se sealmscöp þat lærde 7 swa cwæð: Cúmað ge, 7
uton us gebiddan 7 forðegan þeforan ælmihitigum Gode,
7 hreðswian, for urum synnum 7 mánædum, 7 don we god-
cundæ gýfe to ðon þat we Godes are 7 his miltse begytan

65) magon 7 moton. 7 uton aweopan fram us þone yfelan

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**Glosses, Latin:** 48 arefnode: pertulit (s). 50 tiligean:
studere (s). 52 cwylmen: mortificemur (s); conficiamus (t).
54 gewitendan: transibtori (s). 54 forseon: dedignamus (t).
54 forhyçgan: contradicere (s). 58 hihte: spem (s). 59 þeodan:
iungere (s). 60 are: honore (t). 61 Cúmað: venite (s).
62 gebiddan: adoremus (s).

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**Sources:** 61-65 a free rendering of Ps. xcv: 67 Venite
adoremus, et procidamus: et ploremus ante Dominum, qui fecit
nos.
7. ðone [f. 113r] griman gewunan 7 us mid godcunde
mægne gearwian þæt we þæt heofoncunde lif geearnian
mågon, 7 þæt we ne þurfon beon Gode on þa wynstran hand
gesette, ne þone cwyde gehyran þe he to þam cwyð.

70) Ac, 'men þa leofestan', eftson we mid fæstenum 7
mid ælmsœðum þæt us seo hell ne forswelge. God ælmiht-
tig is swyðe mildheort 7 manhære, ac hwæðere he on
domes dæg byð swyðe ræpe 7 swyðe rihtwis, 7 þy he bij
Domes Dæg gehaten, forpan þe Drihten sylf on þam dæge

75) demœ ða allum eorðwarum þa þe he ær sylfa hider gescop
7 geworhte, swa hwæðer swa hi on þisses worulde ær
geworhton, swa heofona rice swa hellewite. Þæst þonne
his englas to feower dælum þisses middaneardes 7 ðær
his ða heofoncundan byman blawað, 7 þonne ealle eorðware

79 byman: MS. alters to bycman.

Glosses, Latin: 67 gearwian: preparare (t). 68 God: deo
(t). 70 eftson: fæstinenums /twice, above the line (s) and
in the margin (t)/. 72 manhære: mansuetis (s).

Glosses, Old English: 71ff.: Be Domes Dæge.

Sources: 77–81 /Mark xiii: 27/ Et tunc mittet angelos suos,
et congregabit electos suos a quattuor ventis, a summum terrae,
usque ad summum caeli.

/Matt. xxiv: 31/ Et mittet angelos suos cum tuba, et vocem
magnae: et congregabunt electos ejus a quattuor ventis, a sum-
mis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum.
80) úparisað of ðæm ealdum eorðscæfum 7 of ðæm ealdum eorðenum þe we on gehydde wæron. Ponne bið eal þes middaneard swyðe onhrered 7 onstyred, ðuna myltað swa weax deð on fyre; ðæs beoc adrugode, 7 steorrnan hreosæð of heofonum swa snaw deþ \( \text{[f. 113v]} \) on eorðan

85) þonne hit swyðost sniwoð, 7 stanæs formyltað, 7 seø sunne bið on þeostru gecyrred, 7 se ðona ne sylð næne sciman of him, 7 seø heofon bið toborsten fram eastdæle middaneardes ðæ þone westdæl, 7 þonne ealle heofonwaru 7 eorðwaru beoc swyðe forhte gewordene.


Sources: 81-89 /Matt. xxiv: 29, et passim/ Statim autem post tribulationem dierum illorum sol obscuratitur, et luna non habet lumen suum, et stella cadent de caelo, et virtutes celorum commovebuntur:

/\text{Ps. xcvi}: 5\text{/} Montes sicut cera, fluxerunt a facie Domini: a facie Domini omnis terra.

/2 Pet. iii: 10\text{/} Adveniet autem dies Domini ut fur: in quo cali magn magno impetu transit, elementa vero calore solventur, terra autem et quae in ipsa sunt opera, exurentur.

/Luke xxii: 25\text{/} Et ertunt signa in sole, et luna, et stellis, et in terris pressura Gentium pra confusione sonitus maris, et fluctuum: /26\text{/} Arescentibus hominibus præ timore, et expectatione, quæ supervenient universo orbi: nam virtutes celorum movebuntur:
90) 7 ponne oōre siōe ure Drihten hider on pisne middenaerd becymeō to demanne mid mycelre menio engla 7 heahengla, apostola 7 martyra, 7 he ponne his þet heofonlice werod him on þa swyōran healfes gesetteð, 7 þa manfullan beoð on þa wynstran healfes gecyrred. 7 he ponne on his fotsum 7 on his handum þa ðolhswapu forō ætewoð, 7 ðus spreċende biō 7 ðus cwŷ: Eala, þu man, forhwōn holdest þu þas wunda gelacniæ, þas ic for þe þafiende wes to þon þet ic ealle þine wunda gelacnode? Õðe forhwōn holdest ðu þysne þyrmenea-

95) helm me of þem heafde alysan to þan þet ic þe of helle-

hæfte nearwan alysdæ 7 of deofles anwealdæ? 7 he ponne eft oōre siōe swyōe myccłum 7 swyōe reōum wordum spreċende [Æ. 114Æ] biō to þem þe him on þa wynstran healfes gesette beoð 7 ðus cwŷ: Gewitað, ge awrógedan
gastas, fram me in þet forwyrdel lif, 7 in þa nyōemestan helle of þissum godcundan gemanan on deofla gemanan, 7 of þissum heofonlican heape in þone hellican þreat.

100 alysan: MS. alters to alyésan. 101 alysdæ: MS. alters to alyésde. 104 beoð: MS. alters from byð.


Sources: 104-7 Matt. xxv: 41, et passim Tunc dicet et his, qui a simulatis erunt: Discedite a me maledicti indignem ater- num, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus:
Ne cweō he bonne nā: þet eow wæs gegeawod fram fruman pisses middaneardes; ac he cwyr: ðæt wæs gegeawod

110) fram fruman pisses middaneardes deofle 7 his gescolm. ðær is bonne heof 7 wop 7 cyrm 7 granung 7 cwanung 7
toāa gristbitung 7 ðær is seo singale niht 7 ðær syn-
don þa ecan þystru 7 ðær ne bið næfre næfre næfre læht
geseald; ac ðær bið se hearda hungor 7 se bitera þurst,

115) ðær is wanunga 7 wita má bonne ænges mannes earan
ahlystan magon. Ne nanes mannes tunga nis to þam
swyft þeah þe heo hæbbe xii headdu, 7 ðæra headdu
æghwylc hæbbe xii tungan, 7 ðæra tungena æghwylc hæbbe
xii stefna, 7 ðæra stefna gehwylc hæbbe snyttro

120) Salomones, ne magon hi þeah-hwæðere ealle þa wean 7 ða
witu ariman ne areccan /f. 114v/ þe þa earman 7 ða
werigan sawla gehafian 7 prowian scolon; 7 ðan þæra
witu mare ne byō bonne þet ure Drihten him næfre eft

110 deofle: MS. deoflam. 123 him: MS. alters to ham /et passim\footnote{See, for example, f. 87v/10, f. 92v/2, f. 92v/6, f. 93v/2,
f. 97v/6 and f. 110/14. The alteration is made by the tremulous hand, probably to reflect the dialect of Worcester in the late twelfth-century, as is pointed out by S.J. Crawford, "The Worcester/Marks and Glosses of the Old English Manuscripts in the Bodleian," \textit{Anglia}, 52 (1928), 1-25.}

\footnote{Cf. Matt. xxx: 30, et passim\ footnote Et inutilem servum ejicite in tenebras exterieores: illic erit fletus, et stridor dentium.}
on gemynandum ne byð nene becymð. Þat is yrres dag 7
125) æfestes dag 7 þat is susle dag 7 þat is se bitera-
bifigenda dag 7 se cwacienda dag 7 se forhtigenda
domes dag.

Tylian we nu forðon, men þa leofestan, mid fæ-
tenum 7 mid ælmesædæm 7 mid cyriclicum wæccum 7 soc-
130) num 7 mid eorðlicum leohæt, þat we magon 7 moton at
þam ælmihtigan Gode geearnian þat we moton on domes
dæge beon on his swyðran healfhe gæsette 7 ðonne cwyde
gehyran þe he to þam cwæð þe þonne on his swyðran
gæsette beð; he cwæð: Cumað, ge, gælætsode þe mine.

135) bebedu heoldon, 7 onfoð frelice mines Fæder rice þat
eow wæs fram fruman þisses middænærdes togeænas
gægearwod.

Gæunne us þonne se ælmihtiga Gode þat we to þam
heofonlican eple becumæn magon 7 moton, þæ þe leofað
140) 7 riçsað mid Fæder, 7 Suna 7 mid þam Hælægan Gæste ðæ on
ecnysse in ealra worulda worulda a butan ende. Amen.

125 æfestes: MS. æftes.

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Glosses, Latin: 125 æfestes: VI die (t). 125 susle:
suppliçii (t). 128 Tylian: studeamus (s). 138 geunne:
concedat (s).

Sources: 133-6 /Matt. xxv: 347 Tunc dicet rex his, qui a
dextris ejus erunt: Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete
paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi.
Title. The title, beginning on the same line which ends a preceding homily and continuing into the first line of Feria IIIitiae De Letania Maiore, is written in red rustic capitals.

1. Men ða leœ-. The M is a large red, non-ornamental capital about four times the size of the other letters. All letters are capitals.

1-2. Cf. the openings of Vercelli Homily XI:

Men þa leofestan þis syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice.

(Willard, Speculum, p. 76)

Vercelli Homily XX:

Menn ða leofestan þis syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice.

(Szarmach, Medieval Studies, p. 7)

and Vercelli Homily XIV:

Men ða leofestan, þis synt halige dagas 7 halwendlice . . .

(Pinski, Six Unpublished Homilies In The Vercelli Manuscript, p. 1).

4-21. For Old English homilies dealing more extensively with the arrest and passion of Christ see Ælfric's Dominica Palmarum, De Passione Domini (Thorpe, CH ii, 240-53), and Vercelli Homily I (Forster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, pp. 1-43).


Milites autem duexerunt eum in atrium pratorii, et convocant totam cohortem.

Æ conduntem eum purpura, et imponunt ei plectentes spineam coronam.

Æ percutiebant caput ejus arundine: et conspuebant eum, et ponentes genua, adorabant eum.
and Matt. xxvii: 30 (et passim):

Et expuente in eum, accüperunt arundinem, et percutiebant caput ejus.

Alfric remarks in Dominica Palmarum, De Passione Domini on the theological significance of Christ's humiliation:

Driheten soōlice us sealde hālu þurh ðam ear-plattum, and ece alyseðynysse; and þa spæltlu ðāwogon ure sweartan gyltas .

(Thorpe, CH ii, 248/25-6)

15-21. Cf. Vercelli Homily I:

7 þa spiwon hie hiora spatl on his andwlitan
7 mid hira handum hine on his wange slogen; 7
him mænig-fealde bysmeresse dydon; 7 hine
swungon, 7 heþon hine wifgan þurh bysmentorssae;
7 he þæt eall, se heofon-līca cyning, for
mann-cynnes hālo ge-pyldelice æber 7 æræfnode.

(Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, pp. 15/8-16/3)

and Blickling Homily II: Dominica Prime In Quinquagesima:

hie hine swungon, & bundon, & spættleden on his
onsyne, & mid brædre þand slogan, & mid heora
fystum bectan; & þa wundan beag of þornum & him
setton on heafod for cynehelme; & hine þa on
rode ahengon. Eal þis hie þrowode for ure lufan
& hālo .

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, p. 23/31-5)

25. spere gewundode. Alfric comments on the symbolism
associated with the wound Christ receives from the spear
(Dominica Palmarum, De Passione Domini):

ac an ðæra cempena mid cwæelmbærum spere, his
sidan geopenode, and of ðære ut-fleow blōd and
wæter samod mid soðre gerynu. Þæt ut-flowende
blōd wære alyseðynysse on synna forgifenysse,
mid soðum geleafan. Þæt wæter witoðlice wære
ure fulluht, on ðæm bæðð aðwogene ðeoda mēnigu
fram yfurnliceresynne ðæs frumsceapenan mannes.

(Thorpe, CH ii, 260/10-16)
as does Vercelli Homily I:

Ac ge-nam para cempena an 7 mid his spere his sidan wundode; 7 pa sono eode þær blod 7 water at-somme ut of þære wunde. Þat tacnode hælo midden-gardes, þat þurh his blod fulwiht-water gewyrpan scelde. . .

(Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p. 260/10-6)

61-5. Cf. Rhabanus Maurus' HOMILIA XIX: In Litanis:

Ita et nos, fratres, cum consentientibus animis et conspiratis fie de clamoribus ad Dominum Deum nostrum: Adoremus et proculam ante Deum, ploremus coram Domino qui fecit nos, quia ipse est Dominus Deus noster (Psal. XCIV), patiens et multum misericors.

(PL 110, 38)


116-22. Cf. the discussion of heaven in In Vigilia Ascensionis (MS. CCC 303, pp. 223-6):

ðeah þe were twa 7 hundseofontig manna, 7 heafde ælc þara manna twa 7 hundseofontig heafodo, 7 ælc þære heafda twa 7 hundseofonti tun-gena, 7 ælc þære tungena heafde twa 7 hundseofontig gereorada, 7 hig swa lange spreacan þet hi ealle wæron wyrige, ne mihten hi þone teopan dal asecgan hu feola beorhta beama is on þan seofon heafonum, ne hu fela hwitwa blosmena. . .

(below p. 176/13-9)

A similar rhetorical construction is used to describe the fifth hell in Vercelli Homily IX (Förster, Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII, pp. 84-100):

forðon þonan nis mæg man, þat mæge mid his wordum asecgan, hu mycel þære fiftan helle sar
is. 7 peah, vii. men sien 7 para habbe æghwylc
twa-7-hund-slofonig gereorda 7 swa fea, swa ealles byssetes middan-geardes gereorda syndon,
and bonne sy para seofon mamma æghwylc to alife
gesceapen 7 hyra habbe æghwylc siofon tungan 7 para tungena alc habbe isene stemne, 7 bonne
hwære ne magon þa ealle ariman'helle-witu.

(pp. 92/10-93/3)

Twelve and seventy-two have similar symbolic value.
Twelve, as Ælfric explains in Natale Sancti Pauli Apostoli, betokens the world:

Ac dis twelffealdæ getel is geset for eallum
mancynne ealles ymbhwyrftes, for ðære fulfremed-
nysse hie-getacnunge. Twelf tida beo on ôam
ðage, ænd twelf monðas on geare; twelf heað-
fæderas sind, twelf witegan, twelf apostoli;
and dis getel hæfð maran getacnunge bonne ða
ungelæredan undergitan magon. Is nu forði mid
disum twelffealdum getele ealles middangeardes
ymbhwyrft getacnod.

(Thorpe, CH i, 396/6-13)

Seventy-two is also a symbol of the world; it numbers all
the descendants of Noah, all the lands in which they set-
tled, and all the languages they spoke. As Augustine ex-
plains in De Civitate Dei (Bk. xvi, ch. 6):

Ex illis igitur tribus hominibus, Noe filiis,
septuaginta tres, vel potius, ut ratio declar-
tura est, septuaginta duae gentes totidemque
linguae per terras esse coeperunt, quae cres-
cendo et insulas impleverunt.

[ed. with trans. by Eva Matthews Sanford
and William McAllen Green, 7 vol., the
Loeb Classical Library (London: Harvard
Univ. Press, 1965), v, 38.]

Accordingly, the expanded statements in lines 116-22 above,
in In Vigilia Ascensionis, and in Vercelli Homily IX prob-
ably simply mean: even if a man possessed all the wisdom of
this world he could not then.
CONCERNING THE GREATER LITANY

Beloved men, these are holy and salutary days for us to honour and observe with true faith, with fasts, and with almsgiving, as is needful for our souls. Let us recall how almighty God willingly suffered for us:

5) when He was on high in the kingdom of heaven and in unalterable glory, then He humbled Himself so that afterwards He was born into this world and become man, and even humbled Himself to the extent that He willed to bear the pains of mankind and permitted Himself to be hanged and killed for the benefit and salvation of all the world. First, He voluntarily allowed that for our sake He be seized and bound and beaten with scourges. They spat on His face, struck Him on the face with open hands, and set a crown of thorns on His head in place of a royal crown. All that He humbly endured for our sake, and numerous and manifold other things which I can not in this space recount or tell, all of which He patiently withstood and suffered for our welfare and salvation.

What is greatest of all, as I said before, He was hanged and fastened onto a gallows for the sake of us all and the redemption of the world, and there He was also wounded with a spear. Then He bowed His holy head and gave His spirit into His Father's hands, and com-
mended it to His keeping. He also descended into hell and there tied and fettered the old hostile fiend, and released from hell the souls of many holy men who had earlier served and pleased Him here in the world, and led them to His glory in the height of the kingdom of heaven.

Wherefore, beloved men, there is great need that we earnestly and humbly recall and consider all these things, and ever inwardly say thanks to Him for all the torments which He took on Himself and meekly suffered for the sake of mankind; and we should always zealously take to ourselves and fulfill His divine and sacred laws. Not one of the various things in this world and this life is so firmly established that it is not quick to pass away. Therefore it is vile and disgraceful that a man should love and depend on that which he sees hurry and hasten from him every day. Also we should keep more divine love between us; this is the reason, as I said before, that for our love the Beginning-and-End of all the world came down to earth, and here in this world accepted and suffered death for our sake.

Wherefore, beloved men, let us earnestly strive to mortify the lusts and desires of our body for His love and will, and to despise and reject all the sinful desires of this present and transitory life, that we may
come from the meager and the worse to the better and nobler, from these bodily things to the spiritual, from the life of this world to the happiness and joy of the life to come, and that we may be allowed to partake of the eternal resurrection. And let us trust in and submit to almighty God, and to His grace and forgiveness, because the psalmist taught us, saying thus: Come, let us pray and go forth before almighty God and repent our crimes and sins, and let us make spiritual offerings that we may be granted the grace and mercy of God. Let us cast aside our wicked and sinful customs and prepare ourselves, with holy virtue that we may earn the heavenly life, and not have cause to be placed on the left hand of God nor hear the words which He speaks to those He places there.

Wherefore, beloved men, let us hasten with fasts and with alms deeds that hell may not swallow us. God almighty is merciful and mild, but on the day of judgment He will be harsh and just, and that is why it is named Judgment Day, because on that day the Lord Himself will decree for all men whom He earlier shaped and created according to what they previously performed in this life, either the kingdom of heaven or the torment of hell. Then He will send His angels to the four corners of the world and there they will blow His heavenly
trumpets, and all the inhabitants of earth will arise from the old graves and ancient tombs in which we have been buried. All the world will be severely shaken and disturbed, the mountains will melt as wax does in fire, the oceans will be dried up, and the stars will fall from the heavens as snow does onto earth when it snows most violently. The rocks will melt away, the sun will be turned into darkness, the moon will not give any light, the firmament will burst apart from the eastern quarter of the earth to the western quarter, and all the inhabitants of heaven and earth will be greatly afraid.

Then our Lord will come again into the world to judgment with a great host of angels, archangels, apostles and martyrs, and He will place His heavenly company on the right side and the wicked will go on the left. Then He will display the wounds in His hands and feet and will speak thus: Alas, you men, why would you not treat the wounds I suffered for you so that I might heal your wounds? And why would you not loosen from My head this crown of thorns which I endured so that I might free you from the hard captivity of hell and the control of the devil? Then again He will speak loud and fierce words to those who are placed on the left side and thus say:

Go from Me, ye accursed spirits, into the life of per-
dition, from this divine company into the company of
devils in the lowest hell, from this divine host into
the press of hell. He will not by any means then say:
that was prepared for you from the beginning of this
world, but He will say, that was prepared from the
beginning of this world for the devil and his followers.
Then there will be wailing, and shrieking, and shouting,
and groaning, and lamentation, and gnashing of teeth;
and there will be perpetual night, and there will be
eternal darkness. No light will ever shine there, but
there will be sharp hunger and bitter thirst; and there
will be more howling and misery than any man's ears can
stand to hear. The tongue of no man is so swift, though
he should have xii heads, and each of those heads should
have xii tongues, and each of those tongues should have
xii voices, and each of those voices should have the wis-
dom of Solomon, that even then they could recount or
describe all the miseries and torments the condemned and
wretched souls will suffer and endure. And the worst
torment of all is that the Lord will never again be mind-
ful of them or come to them. That will be a day of anger,
a day of spite, a day of torment; that will be a day of
bitter trembling, a day of quaking, and a day of dreadful
judgment.

Therefore, beloved men, let us now strive with
fasts, and with almsdeeds, and with Church visits, and
with vigils, and with earthly light, that we may merit from almighty God to be placed on His right on the day of judgment and hear the words which He will say to those placed on His right. He will say: Come ye blessed who have kept My Commands and freely receive the kingdom of My Father which was prepared for you from the beginning of this world.

God grant us, then, that we may come to the heavenly homeland, where He lives and reigns with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit forever and ever, world without end, amen.
DE LETANIA MAIORE

(Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97*V-102v)
\[\text{Ker 331 art. 527}\]

The punctuation of ff. 97*V-102v, as throughout the manuscript, is inconsistent. There are three marks; the most common of these is the *cola*. It is used for full and partial stops, as is evident at f. 97*V/14-15, and is placed on a level with the middle or foot of minims. Often a majuscule follows the *cola* when full stop is intended (cf. f. 97*V/15 with f. 100r/1), although a *cola* followed by a majuscule does not always indicate full stop, as is evident at f. 101r/10. The second mark, which is also used for full and partial stops, is the *periodus*; it is commonly written (;) but occasionally as (;;). It is sometimes used for full stops, as at f. 97*V/18, but more frequently approximates the function of the modern semicolon, as at f. 98r/5, f. 102r/1, and f. 102r/8.

The *periodus* is not followed by a majuscule and seldom carries more weight than the *cola* followed by a majuscule. The third mark of punctuation is the *coma* (;). It is frequently used for partial stops, as at f. 98r/4 and f. 98v/7, but is used for full stop at least once (f. 99r/5). When the *coma* is written carelessly it resembles a colon, as at f. 101/7.

Abbreviations occur infrequently and are conventional in all cases: \[\text{:\text{e}}\] is used for Leofan *men*, \[\text{p}\] for *pat*, \[\text{cw}\] for
cwæð, and xpe for Criste. A stroke occurs regularly over vowels when following m is omitted; (-9) indicates an omitted -us. Conventional abbreviations also occur in the Latin.

Folios 97v-102v employ additional marks and signs. Words divided at the end of a line are sometimes hyphenated, as is syðpan (f. 98r/12-13). The place where superscript additions are to be inserted in the text is shown in three ways: the first letter of the addition is fitted with a long descender that intersects the line of text, as at f. 97v/21; or two points are placed in the line of text and also before the addition, as at f. 98r/19; or a vertical stroke is placed below the line to mark the place of insertion, as at f. 100r/6. Words written too close together are separated by a vertical stroke, as are ne mege (f. 99v/2), or by a medial point, as are bær he hi (f. 100r/19).

Those marks S.J. Crawford assigns to Worcester manuscripts glossed in the tremulous hand, discussed above on pp. 3-4, also occur in De Letania Maiore. On twenty-six occasions the short vertical stroke Crawford equates with Middle English ı occurs over ge; on two occasions the

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1 gelamp (f. 97v/21), geumble (f. 98v/21), neahgebür (f. 99r/22), gelome (f. 99v/9), gesczeaw (f. 99v/10), gle- lome (f. 99v/19), gebancan (f. 100r/1-2), gefyrn (f. 100r/6), gewærd (f. 100r/9), geboren (f. 100r/12), geworhte (f. 100r/16), gesceaf (f. 100r/21), gepeoll (f. 100r/22), Gehyræ
pair of short vertical strokes Crawford equates with Middle English w occur over medial g (magan f. 99v/6, and hogode f. 100r/15); and on three occasions ge is superscribed by g to show it is pronounced as a palatal spirant (f. 99r/12, and twice at f. 99v/11). Also, the tremulous hand's characteristic tendency to alter him to hem occurs once at f. 100v/21.

Additional signs also occur on these folios. A cross ornamented with four points (â) occurring on f. 98r and also on f. 50v calls attention to parallel passages at ff. 50v/13-51r/8 and ff. 98r/17-98v/13. A cross in the margin of f. 102r indicates that the accompanying text is presumed to be of biblical origin, although, in fact, it may not be. Also, a stroke is frequently superscribed over vowels, as with gelâmp (f. 97v/21).

De Letania Maiore is glossed in the same hands as Feria IIIitia De Letania Maiore (above, pp. 1-27). In the present edition glosses judged to be in the tremulous hand are followed by t in parentheses; those judged to be in the second hand are followed by s. Two of the glosses are incorrect: -goda (f. 101v/7) "goods" is glossed as deo (God); and prefix ge- (f. 99r/13) is glossed as vos (you). Not included in the edition are nine glosses too
faint to judge with confidence. Ultraviolet light proved to be of little assistance in identifying them; most of them did not reproduce on microfilm.  

Folios 97v-102v of the manuscript remain in good condition. The only defect is a hole in f. 101 at the end of lines 14-16. The hole is in the shape of a vertical oval and measures 21 by 11 mm. No letters appear to have been lost but heofonan (f. 101r/15-16) is divided after heo-

The dialect of De Letania Maiore is West-Saxon and shows a predominance of late forms.

Late West-Saxon Forms

Stressed Vowels:

(1) There is regular preference for Ё over Ё, as with cyricean (l. 8), and sydān (l. 18).

(2) There is regular preference for Ё over ie, as with gyt (l. 4) and forgynennesse (l. 4).

(3) Ё always replaces e in group sel-, as with sylle (l. 29) and sylfe (l. 55) (Campbell 327).

2 Three glosses occur on f. 98v opposite lines 1-2. The second I judge to be "preddem," a gloss of wildedeor (f. 98r/1). The gloss below it appears to be "palie" (?) or "polli" (?), the gloss above it "rume" (?) or "gumes" (?). Three glosses occur on f. 98v. The first I judge to be "conceditur," a gloss of allef (f. 98v/1-2); the second appears to be "wise," a gloss of gerad (f. 98v/2); the third may be "perlicit," a gloss of fremlyd (f. 98v/22). Two glosses occur in the margin of f. 98v. The first I read as "improbitatem," a gloss for omnipo (f. 99v/6); the second, which is written over an earlier gloss, I judge to be "defectus," a gloss for testa (f. 99v/11). A gloss in the margin of f. 101v I conjecture to be "accedit," a gloss to growende (f. 101v/2).
(4) a is preferred to ea, as with ælmihtine (l. 58) and ælmihtig (l. 43) /Campbell §329 (2).

(5) There is a tendency to favour a over o before nasals, as with gangdægas (l. 20) and lande (l. 19).

(6) umihta (l. 33) and nihte (l. 62) show the characteristic tendency to write i instead of y before a palatal consonant /Campbell §301/.

(7) heom occurs once as the dative plural of the third person personal pronoun /Campbell §703/.

(8) wyr- and wur- are preferred to weor-, as with wyrælice (l. 13), gewyrðan (l. 90), arwyrðynæse (l. 97), and wurðWoman (l. 32); although weor- sometimes occurs, as with weorðan (l. 133), and weorðianne (l. 131) /Campbell §320/.

(9) Late West-Saxon preference for æ in menig (l. 107) and menige (l. 128) also occurs /Campbell §193 d, n. 4/.

Unstressed Vowels:

(1) o frequently becomes a in unaccented syllables, as with woldan (l. 109-10), utan (l. 153), motan (l. 186), hruran (l. 19), beggan (l. 39), fylstæt (l. 77), and bædan (l. 117) /Campbell §332-6/.

(2) There is a tendency for medial unaccented vowels to be reduced to a sound written e before the endings with back vowels, e.g. ødon for -ødón, as with bædon (l. 118) /Campbell §385/.

Consonants:

(1) Consonants following a syncopated vowel and preceding l are occasionally doubled, as with mycc-clus (l. 43) and mycc-clus (l. 97).

(2) mettrum (l. 30) for medtrum shows the late tendency for d to become t /Campbell §480 (2), §482/.

(3) Loss of ð sometimes occurs, as with renæs (l. 48) and renæs (l. 49) /Campbell §243/.
Non West-Saxon Features

(1) There is a tendency to favour a glide vowel between sc and a back vowel, as with sceal (l. 90) and sceal (l. 178) /Campbell §175/.

(2) e is occasionally preferred over West-Saxon æ, as with alefed (l. 27), cweð (l. 65), ætnesstan (l. 69), and ælesend (l. 107) /Campbell §193, §327-8/.

For a discussion of the manuscript's hand, provenance, date, and foliation, see the introduction to Feria IIIiae De Letania Maiore, above pp. 1-8, and Pope's Homilies of Ælfric, I, 70-7. De Letania Maiore has not been edited previously, but is transcribed in the appendix to a German doctoral dissertation by Hildegard Tristram: Vier altes anglo-sächsische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition, mit Kommentar, Übersetzung und Glossar sowie drei weiteren Texten im Anhang (Albert-Ludwigs Universität, Freiburg, 1970).
DE LETANIA MAIORE

(Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97*v-102v)

\( \text{Ker 331 art. 527} \)

Leofan men, ðæs daga synd gehaten letanie, þat synd, gebeddagas. On þissum dagum we sceolon biddan ure eorðlicra wæstma genihtsumynysse, 7 us sylfum gesundleynysse, 7 þæt gyt mare is, ure synna forgyfennesse.

5) 7 we ræda ðon bocum þæt se gewuna þissa gangdaga wurde æræd on þone timan þe gelâmp on âhre burhscire þe Vigena ïs genamod þæt wearð mycel eorðstyrung. 7 feollon gehalgode Godes cyrican 7 manega [f. 98r] hus hruran, 7 comon wildedeor 7 tosilton 7 abiton ealles to fela þurh Godes yrre, 7 ðæs cyninges botl wearð mid heoforlicum fyre forbærned, 7 fela ungelimpa gewearð for folces synnan. 7 þa bead se bispoc Mamertus preora daga fæsten, 7 þæt man halidom sceolde wyrðlice styrien 7 mid ælmeslacum georne God gladian, 7 þæt manna gehwylc unsceodum fotum þam halidome sceolde eadmodlice fylian, 10) ealhe to Criste geornlice clypian. 7 sana swa þæt gedon wæs þa wæs swutele gesyne þæt heom God syðgan uðe lisse 7 milste. Ñe wearð næfre syðgan panonforð eft

swylc gedrecedynys innan þam lande, ac weard þat to bysne
wide 7 side, þat man þanonforð þa gangdagas on gewuman
hæfde.

Loefan men, nu bidde ic 7 lære ælone Cristene man
þat he þissag þeora dagas fasten rihtlice gehalde ælce
dæge to nones 7 to anes males, butan hwæ for ylde, oððe.

for iuguðe, oððe for unhæle gelæstan ne mege. Gyf þonne
þissag þeora þinga ænig hwylcorn man lette þat hine
\[f. 98v\] to þam fastene ne onhâgie, þonne is hit alëfed
þat he mot mete þiçgan on þa gerad þe he his ælmessan
sylle 7 nanne oðerne man him to ne spanne to ðam gereor-
dum, butan þer hwylc oðer mettrum man sy þe þat fasten
aberan ne mege. Gyf þonne se hæla mid þam unhalan þone
mète þigeð, þonne wurpað hig bégen þurh þas méttruman
unmihta beswicene. 7 nis nanum men alëfed for nanre
neððe þis fasten to abreçane ne mid ælmessan to alysenne,

butan hine þara þeora þinga hwylc forwyrne: yld oððe
iuguð oððe unhæl.

Loefan men, se halga apostol Iacobus mynegode us
ealle freondlice on þam pistole þe man är rædde, and
ús eac luflícè lærde þat we georne began úre agene

35 forwyrne: MS. an e occurs above y.

Glosses, Latin: 19 gedrecedynys: tribulatio (t). 28 gerad:
ita scilicet (t) /margin/; ita scilicet (t) /interlined/.
29 spanne: suadeat (t). 31 aberan: ferre (t). 31 þone:
illum (t). 32 wurpað: sunt (t). 35-5 yld oððe iuguð oððe
unhæl: paupertas (t).
40) pearfæ. He cwæð: Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra. Dæt is on englisc: Anddætæ gæorne, he cwæð, eowre synna eow beawteenæan. 7 ælc for ðærne, he cwæð, gebidde gæorne þæt eow God ælmhtig gesundfulnysse gæunnæ. Forðam ic secge eow þæt rihtwises mannes gebedu

45) fremsæð swyðe mycclum. Elías on ealáðagum, se halga, \[f. 99r\] was man eall swa we synd. 7 he abæð þeah æti Gode þæt he forwyrmde þæm wiðerweardan folce þæ he mid wunode feórðe healf gear ælces renæ. 7 he abæð eft syðan æt þæm soðan Gode þæt he reñes forgeaft 7 corðlice

50) wæstmas. Dær is swultol þæt haliges mannes gebedu magan mycles wealdan. Se halga apostol sæde eac on þissum pistole þæt gyf hwyłc man gehwyrfæð operne fram gedwylde,

Glosses, Latin: 45-51 Elías ... wealdan: De oratione Helie (t). 47 forwyrmde: abstraheret (t). 50-51 ðær ... wealdan: Multum valet deprecatione justi (s). 52 gehwyrfæð: convertit (s).

Sources: 11. 40-55 \[f. 16\] Confitemini ergo alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem ut salvemini: multum enim valet deprecatione justi assidua.


[19] Fratres mei, si quis ex vobis erraverit a veritate, et converterit quis eum:

[20] Scire debet quoniam qui converti fecerit peccatorem ab errore via sua, salvabit animam ejus a morte, et operiet multitutinem peccatorum.
that is, from deofles lārum, he alyst witodlice his sawle from deaðe 7 fela synna fordlīgā. Ac, leofan men,
55) understandað eow sylfe swyðe georne þæt ge rihtlice 7 wærlicc, þæt gehealdon, þæt eow næst þearþ is to gehealdenne, þæt is rihtne Cristendom 7 rihtne geleafan on God
ælmihtine þe ealle þing gescop 7 geworhte.

'Leofan men' se halga godspellere Lucas rehte on þis-
60) sum godspelle þe man nu ær rædde hu ure Drihten hwilum to his leornicnihtum spræc. He cweð: Gyf besorh freond cymð
to oðres huse on midre nihte 7 he næfð him to donne swa swa he wolde, þonne gæð he 7 biddeð his neahgebûr þæt he him alæne hlaf for ðære neode his cuman þe him to cóm
65) [F. 99v]. Donne andwyrdæð se oðer þær wiðinnan 7 cweð þæt he ne wæge arisan; segð þæt his dyre synd fæste 7 his
cild on heora reste, ac bideð þæt he hine na ne swence.
Gyf he þonne se oper forþæð georne clypcæ 7 cnuað, þonne ætnestan ðrist he for ðæm onhrope 7 getiþæ þæs þe him
70) neod þyð.

Be þisses þyse ure Drihten lærð us hwæt we dön
sceolon. Þæt is þonne, þæt we sceolon clypian 7 biddan

64 cuman: MS. adds an unnecessary e above n.

Glosses, Old English: 67 na ne: naut.

Glosses, Latin: 55 ge: vos (t). 56 ge- (first occurrence): vos (t). 60 hwilum: olim (t). 61 besorh: carus (t). 64 his
cuman: sui hospitis (t). 65 andwyrdæð: respo/n/dit (t).
67 bideð: precatur (s). 69 onhrope: improbitatem (s). 72 cly-
plan 7 biddan: oratione (s).
georne gelome God almihigae pat he ure neoda geonawe 7 ure. lasta gebete; 7 gyf we ægser ge mid wordum ge mid
weorcum rihtlice 7 geornlice clypiað, ponne wile he ure bena sona gehyrnan. Ac butan seor heorte rihtlice hyco,
7 weorc þam wordum fylstan, ne behealdeo þa word naht swyðe mycel. Swa he sylyf on his godspelle swutollice
sæde 7 ðus cweð: Non omnis qui dicit Domine Domine. Pat
80) is on englise: Ne faro na ælc þeora into heofonum þe
gelome clypiað to Criste, ac se ðe wyrceð Godes willan, 7 on þam purhwanað forð oð ende, se witodlice faro on an
to heofonum.

Leofan men, utan clypian georne oft 7 gelome, 7
85) earnian georne pat God almihig [f. 100r] ure bena
dehyrnan wylle. Uton gelomlice gepencan þone aegesical
dom þe we ealle to sceolon, 7 utan understandan þat hit
þar tonealæcð georne. Deos woruld is eall wyrse þonne
heo wæs 7 ðæghwamlice heo yfelæð swyðe. Forðam þe hit
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73 almihigae: MS. almihigae.

Glosses, Latin: 74 lasta: defectus (t). 76 hycce: meditatuar
(s) [interlined]; student (t) [margin]. 79 Non . . . Domine: Non
omnis qui dicit domine domine (s). 80 Ne faro: non introbit (s)
[interlined]; Non introbit (s) [margin]. 88 georne: valde (t).

Sources. 79 [Matt. vii, 21] Non omnis, qui dicit mihi, Domine,
Domine, intrabit in regnum caelorum: sed qui facit voluntatem Pa-
tris mei, qui in caelis est, ipse intrabit in regnum caelorum.
81-3 [Matt. xxiv, 13] Qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic
salvus erit.
90) sociali temporis aetatem esse. Venient tempus
quale non fuit. Et is in anglice: Sua aegeslic tima
cymbo to munnum sua næfre är on worulde ne geweard, et
is, on antecristes timan; 7 se tima wyrū on worulde
sorhful 7 aegesfūl forðan pe antecrist be sylf deoful.

95) 7 ǣan mennisc man geboren.

Leofan mēn, her segō eac on þyssum bocum be ǣre
myclan arwyrōnysse ures Scyppendas, hu ēadmodlice he
ymb mancynn hogode forðam þe hit gescop 7 geworhte, 7
he wolde þet seo gesceafte ongēete heora Scyppend, se þe
hē to life gescop on neorxmawanges gefēan. Þēr hē hi
undeadlice gestāðeode; 7 þeah-hwāþpre þurh deofles
beswicenysse gelāmp þet seo mennisc ge sceafte of þam
undeadlican life hider nyrēr gefeol, 7 her on sāre 7 on
yrmōum syōpan cendon 7 leofedon, \[\text{f. 100}\]\ 7 syōpan
100) eafter heora life to helle 7 to ecxum deope bedrifene
wurdon, ðēpēt se wuldorlic Cyning, se ðē is ealles
middaneardes aleosend, onbārnde mēnig gastlican leohfatu

107 gastlican leohfatu: MS. gastlic leohfat.

Glosses, Latin: 97 arwyrōnysse: pietas (t). 99 ongēate:
nosce (t). 100 gefēan: gaudia (s). 100 hi: illos (t).
104 yrōmō: miseria (s). 104 cendon: conceperunt (t).
104–5 syōpan after: eadan/sic/ (t). 107 onbārnde: accendit (t).

Sources, 90–1 [Dan. xii: 17] In tempore autem illo consurget
Michael princeps magnus, qui stat pro filiis populi tui: et
veniet tempus quale non fuit ab eo ex quo gentes esse cœperunt
usque ad tempus illud. Et in tempore illo salvabitur populus
tuus, omnis qui inventus fuerit scriptus in libro.
mancynn to onlihtenne to þon þæt nærig deofla dimnes ne bysgode þam ðe þæt leocht þære sōðfæstynsse ongytan wol-
110) dan.

Gehyrað nu, broðor mine, hwylc þa leothtafu wæron þe he, ūrē Drihten, onbærnde on þissum middanearde man-
cynne to onlihtanne. Þæt wæron ærest hēahfæderas, þa wæron gefylde to godum weorcum 7 ðeawum; þa þe Godes
115) folc lærdon geond þȳynes middaneard. ʻPanon onwocon wite-
gan; þa wæron gelærden purh þone Halgan Gast. 7 nálæs
þæt an þæt hy ðæs folces synna þreadan, ac eac swylce
þone Cristes tocymte ures Hælendes bodedon. 7 æfter þon
wæron halige apostolas, þa þe he sylfa geceas to þam
120) þæt he, ūrē Drihten, hi of his sylfes muðe lærde, 7 geond þȳynes middaneard sende to hælennæ 7 to lærenne
eæll mancynn, 7 him ðus to cwæð: Euntes docete omnes
gentes. Farað nu 7 lærað geond ealle þeoda hwæt sy to
lufianne odde to forganne; ʻF. 101v7 hu men magon þa ecgan

111 Gehyrað: MS. superscribes y with e. 116 gelærden: MS.
gelærde.

Glosses, Old English: 115 onwocon: awacan. 122. him: tremu-
lous hand alters to ham.

Glosses, Latin: 108 dimnes: caligo (t). 109 bysgode: occupa-
paret (t). 111-30: Nota (s). 111 leothtafu: lucerne (t).
112 onbærnde: accendit (t). 113 hēahfæderas: patriarchas (s).
114 pa: quæ (t). 115 Panon: inde (t). 115-6: witegan: pro-
phetas (s). 117 þreadan: incrēpabant (s). 118 þone: illum (t).
119 apostolas: apostolas (s). 121 geond: per (t).

Sources. 122-3 ʻMatt. xxviii: 197 Euntes ergo docete omnes
gentes: baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus
sancti:
125) witu befeleon 7 da ecan reste gesarnian heora sawlum on heofonan, rices gefean. 7 da aerfissum earon sodlice gesette halige bисcopas, 7 messepreostas, 7 diaconas, 7 manige leorneras geond Godes cyrcan pat we nu magon ongitan 7 witan hwæt us is to donne oðde to forganne.

130) Gehyraed nú, broðor mine, 7 ongytsód forhwan us is gesett þeos tid to weorcianne. Fram þam halgan Easter-dæge up þas tid þe we nu weorpiað, se ælmhítiga Godes Sunu se e undeadlice æt þære tíde áras 7 oft 7 gelome mid his gingrum wæs, 7 hine sylfne undeadlice æteowde, 7 he eadmodlice 7 geornlice læde ealle þeoda to heofonan, rices gefean. Donne syndon us þas pry iii dagas to þon gesett þat we sceolon þa halgan Cristes þegnas onhyrgan, þat is, þat we sceolon ure woruldweorc forgan fram underne oð non, 7 to Godes cyrcan cuman 7 for urum synnum pingian, 7 forð mid þam halgam reliquium gán, swa us þa halgan apostolas mynegodon to weorphone //f. 101v// urne Hælend 7 his þa halgan; forðon þe nu ealle eorðan væstmæs growende syndon 7 blowende geopenade, 7 þat ure bil eofan syn growenæ 7 gebletosode to hælo ures lichoman 7 sawle.

140) Forðen us is þeos tid geset ure sawla hælo on to biddanne, 7 ures lichoman bletsunge, 7 ura woruldgodan genihtsumnesse,

135 heofonan: divided after heo- by a hole.

mid godcunda lofsange. 7 mid þam halgum fæliquium we
sculon beon Gode lofseccenge, 7 Cristes rodetacen forð-
beran, 7 his þa halige godspell 7 oðre halignessa mid.

150) þam we sceolon bletsian ure þa eorðlican speda: þæt synd
æræs 7 wudu 7 ure ðeap, 7 eall þa þing þe us God for-
gyfen hafað to brucanne þæ þe we bileofian sceolon.

Utan we nu symle þæn secgan urum Scyppende his
miltsa, forðon þe he us swyðe lufode ofer ealle oðre ge-
155) sceafte, þa þe nu under heofonas hrofe syndon. He sylfa
us gescop þæs geworhte þa we náron, 7 he us gesohte þæ
we forwordene wæron, 7 he us abohte of hellewitum 7 of
deofles anwealdæ mid his ðy deorwyrðan blyce. /f. 1028/ 
7 us opene gedydebone weg to heofonað rice. Forðon, we
160) sculon ongytan hu mycel neadþærf us was his tocymes to
ure alysednyssse. Lá, hwylc mihte beon hefigre nydþære
ponne se éca deað? 7 hwylc mihte beon hefigre wite ponne
ure synna 7 se hearda þeowdom? ðaðe hwylc mihte beon mare
welgrimmes ponne ure hæftnydnes on helle þeostrum? Cuðlice,
165) we wæron on deofles þeowdome 7 we wæron on helle fæðum; of
þæm he us alyysde 7 us lif sealde on heofonað rice.

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163 mihte: MS. mihta. - 166 7 us lif sealde: MS. alters to 7 us
fæðum gessibum 'lif sealde.

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157 forwordene: damnati (s). 159 gedyde: fecit (s). 160 on-
gytan: connoscere (t). 164 welgrimmes: crudelis (t). 164
hæftnydnes: capti in vinculo (s) /interlined/; incarceratam (t)
/margin/.
Leofan men, se witega cwæð be heofona rice 7 be hellewite, þæt næfre nær gemet on heofonan rices wuldræ swa mycel unwynsummes on ðægum laðe, ðæð on hungræ

170) ðæð on þurste, ðæð on cele ðæð on hâte, ðæð on ece ðæð on alde, ðæð on ðægum laðe gewinne þæt nære swa mycel swa ðæð lyltes fugeleas sweag. Swylice he cwæð, se ylca witega, þæt næfre nær on hellewitum swa mycel wynsummes swa ðæð lyltes fugeleas sweag. Wa þam þe geæarnoð

175) hellewite. Þær is ece bryne grimme gemencged, 7 þær is ece grýre. Þær is granung (f. 102v) 7 wænung 7 a singol heaf. Þær is ealra yrmða gehwylc, 7 ealra deofla geþring. Wa ðam þe þær sceal wunian on wite. Betere him þær þæt he man nær æfre geworden, ponne he gewurde,

180) forðam nis se man on life þe areccan mæge ealle þæ yrmða þæ se gebidan sceal, se ðe on þa wite ealles bereoseð. 7 hit is ealles þe wyrsæ, þæ his ðæg ende ne cymð æfre to worulde.

Eala, leofan menn, uto don swa us mycell þearf is,

185) beorgan us georne wið þone egsan 7 helpan ure sylfra þa hwile þe we magon 7 motan, þe læs we forweorðan ponne we læst wenan. Ac utan lufian God ofer ealle ðære ping

171 laðe: MS. alters to laðum.

Glosses, Latin: 171 laðe gewinne: certamen (s); pugna (s). 172 sweag: sanus (s). 174 sweag: sanus (s). 176 singol: continuus (s). 177 heaf: luctus (s). 179 gewurde: esset (s). 181 bereoseð: ruit (s). 185 beorgan: caveamus (s). 186 forweorðan: pereamus (s).
7 his willan à wyrcan, swa we geornost magon, þonne
geleanað he hit us, swa us leofast bið, þonne we æfre
190) betst bepurfon. Him symle sy lof 7 wuldor in ealra
worulda woruld a butan ende. Amen.

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Glosses, Latin: 189 geleanað: reddet (s). 190 bepurfon:
indigemus (t).
NOTES

Title. The title, which occupies a line to itself, is written in red rustic majuscules.

1. Æs. Æ is a large green majuscule about four times the size of the other letters.

1–4. As the opening of Alfric's In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH 1, 244/12–15).

5–21. These lines expand Alfric's account of the earthquake at Vienne, In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH 1, 244/16–23). A longer and slightly different account in Vercelli Homily XIX (Szarmach, "Selected Vercelli Homilies," Diss, Harvard 1968, pp. 169–209), and its three variants: Dominica Ante-Rogationem (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, ff. 53V/7–54V/18), Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 162, pp. 410/20–411/16), and Sermo In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 303, pp. 218/25–219/4) attribute death to disease. Mention of the earthquake is also common in patristic commentaries; see, for example: Sanctus Gregorius Episcopus, Historia Francorum Libri Decem, Liber Secundus, Caput XXXIV (PL 73, 231); Sanctus Martinus Legionensis Presbyter, Sermo Vicesimus Octavus: In Litanias (PL 203, 1010); Sidarus Cremonensis Episcopus, Mitrale seu De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Summa, Liber Septimus, Caput VI: In Litanias (PL 213, 367); Honorius Augustodunensis, Gemma Anima, Liber Tertius, Caput CXXIX—De Triduano Litanio ante Ascensionem Domini (PL 172, 681); Amalarius Presbyter Metensis Et Chor-episcopus, De Ecclesiasticis Officis Libri Quatuor, Liber Primus, Caput XXXVII: De Litania Maiore (PL 105, 1065); and Sanctus Germanus Parisiensis Episcopus, De Liturgia Gallicana, Liber II: Antiquissimum Lectionarium Gallicanum Cum Notis Et Observationibus, Caput LVII: Legenda Die III In Rogationibus Ad Matutinum, Notae et Observationes (PL 72, 203–4). Mention of disease has even caused Rogation tide to be associated with Lazarus, see G. Sassi, Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensi (Milano, 1755) I, 118.

24. 7 to anes meles. As Alfric explains: Dominica Prima In Quadragesima (Thorpe, CH 1, 166–80), it is not pleasing to God that a man should complete his fast and then, instead of giving the uneaten food to the needy, eat as much as or more than he would have eaten had he not fasted:

Se mann þe fæst buton almyssan, hé deð swilce he sparger his mete, and eft æt þat he ær mid forhafedynysse foroede; ac þat fæsten þælð God. Ac gif ðu fæstan wille Gode to gecwesedynysse, ponne gehelp ðu earmra manna mid þam dæle ðe ðu
be sylfum oftihst, and eac mid maran, gif ðe
to onhagige.

(p. 180/7-12)

24-5. butan hwa for ylde, ðæðe for ðuguðe, ðæðe for un-
hæle gelæstan ne megc. In Sermo In XL. MS. Hatton 113,
ff. 55v-58v; printed by Napier as In XVII (22) Sermo In
XL; Wulfstan, pp. 102-4; the only ones excused from the
Lenten fast are the sick:

do þonne cristena manna gehwylc. ðælswa hit
pearf is, healde his fasten swyðe rihtlice,
þæt is, ðæt afre æmig cristen man ænige þæg
ær nontide naðor ne abyrghe ne ætes ne wætes,
buton hit for unhæle sy.

(pp. 102/23-103/1)

22-36. As MS. Hatton 114, ff. 50v/13-51/8 {printed by
Napier in Homily LV (Wulfstan, pp. 284/28-285/14)}.

25. ðuguðe. Although the Ninivites imposed their fast on
newborn infants—see, for example, Ælfric's In Letania
Maiore (Thorpe, CH i. 246/20-2), In Vigilia Ascensionis
(MS. CCCG 303, p. 224/16-21), and Dominica Ante Rogation-
onum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii. f.
52v/9-15)—fasting is usually required only of those
over age twelve. Cf. the comment on the Lenten fast in
Napier Homily XXIX (25) (Wulfstan, pp. 134-43):

forðam man man ne mecg him sylfum rihtlice to
his drihtne his pearfe ðærnðjan, buton he
cumne pater noster and credan, and ðæstæð
æower lenetenfasten rihtlice to none ælc man,
pe beo ofer xii. wintre . . .

(p. 136/13-7)

44-54. Cf. Ælfric's In Letania Maiore. Feria Tertia (Thorpe,
CH ii. 330/12-22), and the shorter account of Elias in
Vercelli Homily III ( Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p.
68/145-B). Mention of Elias is also common in patristic
commentaries on the Rogationtide; see, for example, Beatus
Rabanus Maurus, Homilie in Evangelia et Epistolas. Homilia
XLIII—In Letania Maiore: Lectio Epistolae Beati Jacobi Apos-
toli (PL 110, 223-4); Maymonis Halberstatensis Episcopi Hom-
ilie De Tempore, Homilia XCI—Feria Secunda Vocem Jucundi—
tatis, In Litaniiis Majoribus (PL 118, c. 529-30); Honorius Augustodunensis, Speculum Ecclesiae--In Rogationibus (PL 172, c. 952); Smeragus Abbas, Collectiones In Epistolae Et Evangelia quæ per circuitum anni leguntur, In Litania Majori (PL 102, c. 303-7); and Wernerus Abbas S. Basii In Silva Nigra, Libri Deflorationum, Sermo In Rogationibus (PL 157, c. 967-8).

59-78. The parable of the night visitor is explained by Ælfric in In Litania Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, 246/31-250/6). Ælfric bases his interpretation on the authority of Saint Augustine (ibid, p. 248/1).

79-80. Cf. the Epistle of James (2: 20)

Vis autem scire, o homo inanis, quoniam fides sine operibus mortua est?


Leofan men, gecnawæ þæt soð is: ðæs woruld is on ofstæ, 7 hit nealæcæ ðæm ende, 7 þy hit is on worólde aa swa leng swa wyrse, 7 swa hit sceal nyde for folces synnan ær Antecristes tocyme yfelian swyþe, 7 huru hit wyrþ þæmne egælic 7 grimlic wide on worólde.

(p. 47)

96-110. This passage follows the scriptural account in Genesis 1-3.

111-29. Churchmen are commonly spoken of as lamps in Rogationtide homilies. See, for example, Vercelli Homily XI:

swyilce us hafað gesæd ure dryhten manega gast-
llice blacernas þa us sculon lihtan. mid heofon-
lcre æfæstnesse 7 mid haligre lare. þæt-te
manig man on ge-dwolan þeostro ne ðurhwunige
se ðæ soðfæstnesse lioht gesion wile þat syndon
þa blacernas þe us hafað ure dryhten forgifen
to anlyhtanne ða dimnesse man-cynnes unge-treow-
nesse. Þæt syndon heah-fæderas 7 witigan 7
apostolas 7 biseopas 7 mössepreostas. 7 þære
godcundan læræowas.

(Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI And Its Sources," p. 81)

Feria II In Litania Maiore (MS GGGG 302, ff. 403-12; below pp. 102-34, which is as Vercelli Homily XIX) lists
among the gastliche leochtftatu (1.33) the heahfederas: Abel, Enoch, Melchisedech, Noe Abraham, Isaac, Iacob (11.44-5), the halgan witegan (1.47), Cristes apostolas (1.65), and the halgan godspelleras (1.137). The gehalgonodan bisceopas (1.105) and the meseproestas (1.108) are not identified as lamps, but are mentioned among the lareowum (11.104, and 107).

Willard traces the lucerna metaphor to the exordium of a sermon by Cæsarius of Arles, De Natale Sancti Felicis, printed by Dom Morin in Cæsarii Aralatensis Opera (Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina 104, Pt. II, pp. 855-8), and to an earlier short homily by Cæsarius: Homoelia in Depositione Sancti Honorati (ibid, pp. 853-4). Willard concurs with Morin, largely on stylistic evidence, that the metaphor does not originate with Cæsarius but is taken from an unidentified source (Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI And Its Sources," p. 78).

167-74. Cf. In Vigilia Ascensionis 11. 56-9 (below p. 180) and the end note which accompanies them.

174-83. Recognition that it is better not to be born than to merit hell is commonplace in Old English. See, for example, MS. Hatton 113, ff. 63v/13-64/1, printed by Napier in Homily XXII (Wulfstan, p. 114/3-12):

œær is ece bryne grimme gemencged, and õær is ece gryre, ŵær is ece õce, and õær is sorgung and sargung and a singal heof, ŵær is wanung and granung, õær is ȝrmoȝa gehwylc and elra deofla geæring. wa õam, þe þær sceal wunjan on wite; betere him ðære, þæt he man ðære æfre geworden, ponne he gewurde. nis se man on life, þe æreccan mæge ealle þa ȝrmoȝa, þe se gebidan sceall, se ðe on ða witu ealles behreœsed, and hit is ealles þe wyrse, þe his æmig ende ne cymo æfre to worulde.

MS. Hatton 114, f. 122v/5-14, collated by Napier in Homily XLIII:

þær is ece bryne grimme gemencged, and þær is ece gryre, þær is wanung and granung and a singal sorh. wa õam, þe þær sceal wunjan on wite; him wære betere, þæt he æfre on worulde man ne gewurde, ponne he gewurde. nis se man on life, þe æreccan mæge ealle þa ȝrmoȝa, þe se ðe on ða witu ealles behreœsed, and hit is ealles þe wyrse, þe his æmig ende ne cymo æfre to worulde.

(ibid, p. 203/13-20)
And Vercelli Homily II (Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, pp. 44-72):

Par þa fyren-fullan þonne meahton ge-wiscan, þat hie næfre ne wären acennede fram hiqræ to dumbum nytenum ge-wurde. Hwæt, him þonne wre leœfere þonne eall middan-geard mid gestreonum, þe heofon be-hwylfeð.

(pp. 49/73-50/77)

Cf. Matt. 18: 6 (et passim):

Qui autem scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis, qui in me credunt, expedit ei ut suspendatur mola asinaria in collo ejus, et demergatur in profundum maris.

178-91. As the concluding lines of Secundum Marcum (MS. Hatton 113, ff. 49v-52v), printed by Napier in Homily XV (Wulfstan, pp. 93/23-94/18).

191. Amen. Attached to the end of the homily and sometimes treated as a part of it is a short discourse on the theme of the Three Utterances (ff. 102v/18-105v), edited and discussed by Rudolph Willard, "Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies," Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, 30 (1935),
CONCERNING THE GREATER LITANY

Beloved men, these days are called litanies, that is, prayer days. On these days we should pray for the increase of our earthly fruits, our own health, and what is still more important, forgiveness of our sins.

5) We read in books that the practice of these procession days was established at the time when it happened in a city named Vienne that there was a great earthquake, and God's holy churches fell and many dwellings crashed down, and wild beasts came and tore and devoured many people on account of God's anger, and the king's palace was burned with fire from the sky, and many calamities occurred on account of the people's sins. Then Bishop Mamertus commanded a three day fast and directed that the people should reverently bring out the holy relics, that they should earnestly placate God with offerings of alms, and that each man should humbly follow the holy relics in barefoot procession and all pray devoutly to Christ. And as soon as that was done, it was clearly seen that God granted them mercy and forgiveness. Never again did such affliction come upon that region, but the custom was adopted far and wide so that henceforth the procession days were observed regularly.

Beloved men, I urge and advise each Christian that he properly observe the fast on each of these three days
until nones and then restrict himself to one meal un-
less he be elderly, a child, or infirm and unable to
fast. If any of these three things impedes a man so
that it is not possible for him to fast, then it is per-
mitted that he eat food on condition that he give his
alms and not allow another man to take food with him,
unless there should be some other infirm man who is unable
to carry out the fast. If a healthy man eats the food
with a sick man, then they both are culpable through the
weaknesses of the sick man. And no man is permitted to
break this fast out of any necessity, nor to satisfy it
through almsgiving, unless one of three conditions pre-
vents him—old age, childhood, or illness.

Beloved men, the holy apostle James gently admon-
ished us in the epistle just now read, and also lovingly
urged us, that we earnestly attend to our own needs. He
says: Confitemini _alterutrum_ peccata vestra. That is in
English: "Earnestly confess," he says; "your sins to one
another. And each man," he says, "should earnestly pray
for the other that God almighty may grant you health."
For I say to you that the prayers of a just man avail
much. In former times the prophet Elias was a man like
us, and yet he called out to God so that He withheld all
rain from the perverse people among whom Elias lived for
three and a half years. Then he called out again to
the true God and He restored the rains and earthly
fruits. By this it is clear that the prayers of a godly
man can accomplish much. The holy apostle said in this
epistle that if a man turns another man away from error,
that is, from the devil's teachings, he surely frees his
own soul from death and blots out many sins. Wherefore,
beloved men, earnestly watch that you practice correctly
and carefully that which it is most necessary for you to
hold, that is, proper Christianity and true belief in
almighty God, who shaped and created all things.

Beloved men, the evangelist St. Luke told in the
Gospel just now read how our Lord at one point spoke to
His disciples. He said: If a beloved friend comes to
another's house in the middle of the night, and he has no
means of entertaining him as he would like, he then goes
and asks his neighbor to lend him bread for the sake of
the guest who has come to him. Then the neighbor answers
from inside and says that he can not arise; he says that
his doors are secured and his children in bed, and asks
him not to trouble him. If the man then calls out earnestly
and knocks, then at last he will arise on account of the
importunity and give him what he needs.

By this example our Lord teaches us what we should
do. That is, we should frequently call out and earnestly
pray to God almighty that He may know our needs and correct
our sins; and if we earnestly and fittingly call out both with words and deeds, then He will hear our prayers at once. But unless our heart is truly resolved and our deeds fulfill our words, the words do not have much value. As He Himself clearly said in His Gospel: *Non omnis qui dicit Domine Domine.* That is in English: Not all of those who frequently call out to Christ shall enter heaven; but he who does the will of God and perseveres until the end assuredly will enter heaven eternally.

Beloved men, let us call out eagerly and often and earnestly merit that almighty God may hear our prayers. Let us frequently think on the terrible judgment we all shall attend, and let us understand that it approaches quickly. This world is altogether worse than it was and daily it grows much worse. Wherefore it shall come to pass as it was written of old: *Veniit tempus quale non fuit.* That is in English: And a dreadful time shall come to mankind such as never before came on the world, that is, in the time of Antichrist; and the sorrowful and awful time shall come upon the world because Antichrist is himself the devil, and yet is born in human form.

Beloved men, we also hear in these books about the great worthiness of our Creator, how He humbly concerned Himself about mankind because He had shaped and created him
and He willed that created beings should acknowledge their Creator, those whom He fashioned into life in the joy of paradise. There He established them for all eternity, and yet it happened that human creation fell from the immortal life to this region below through the devil's deception and afterwards brought forth and lived in pain and miseries, and after this life was driven to hell and eternal death until the glorious King, He Who is the Redeemer of all the world, kindled many spiritual lamps to illuminate mankind so that none of the devils' darkness troubled those who wished to learn the light of truth.

Hear now, my brothers, what those lamps were which our Lord kindled in this world to illuminate mankind. The first lamps were the patriarchs. They were filled unto good works and customs, those who taught God's people throughout this world. Then the prophets arose who were guided by the Holy Spirit. They not only rebuked the peoples' sins but they also foretold the coming of our Saviour Christ. And after that came the holy apostles, those whom the Lord Himself chose and taught from His own lips and sent throughout this world to heal and instruct all mankind, and thus said to them: *Buntes docete omnes gentes.* Go now throughout each nation and teach men what they should love and they
should abstain from, how men may escape the eternal torments and earn eternal rest for their souls in the joy of the kingdom of heaven. And then after these, the consecrated bishops were indeed set over God's church, and the priests, and deacons, and many scholars, so that we can now know and understand what we ought to follow and ought to avoid.

Listen now, my brothers, and learn why this time of worship has been appointed for us. Between Easter Sunday and the season we now observe the Son of almighty God arose for all eternity and very often was with His disciples, and He showed Himself immortal and humbly and earnestly guided all nations to the joy of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore these three days are appointed for us so that we may emulate Christ's holy disciples; that is, we must suspend our worldly cares between 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. and come to God's church and atone for our sins and go in procession with the holy relics, as the holy apostles admonished us to honour our Saviour and His saints, so that, as all the fruits of the earth are now growing and blossoming forth, so may our faith grow and be blessed to the health of our body and soul. Wherefore this time is appointed for us to pray with songs of praise for the safety of our soul, and the blessing of our body, and the increase of our worldly goods. And in
the company of the holy relics we should utter praise of God and bear forth Christ's Cross, and His holy Gospel, and the other sacred objects with which we bless our earthly goods, that is, our fields, and woods, and cattle, and all the things which God has given us for our enjoyment and sustenance.

Let us always give thanks to our Creator for His mercy because He has greatly loved us above all other creatures now under heaven's roof. He Himself shaped and created us from nothing, and He sought us when we were lost, and He redeemed us from hell torments and from the power of the devil with His precious blood, and He opened for us the path to the kingdom of heaven. Wherefore we should understand how great our need was that He come to redeem us. Lo, what could be a more grievous danger than eternal death? What could be more severe punishment than our sins and the hard slavery? And what could be greater torture than our captivity in the gloom of hell? Truly we were in the devil's bondage and we were in the bowels of hell; He released us from that and gave us life in the kingdom of heaven.

Beloved men, the prophet says about the kingdom of heaven and the torment of hell that there never is found in the glory of the kingdom of heaven so much unpleasantness in any discomfort, in hunger or thirst, in cold or
heat, in pain or sickness, or, in any wretched hardship, as would equal the sound of one small bird. Likewise he says, the same prophet, that there never was so much pleasantness in the hell torments as the sound of one small bird. Woe unto those who merit hell torment.

175) There is eternal fire cruelly mingled and there is eternal horror. There is groaning and howling and continuous wailing forever, every kind of misery, and the press of all the devils. Woe unto him who there shall dwell in torments. Better it would have been for him had he not been born a man when he was born, because there is no man alive who can declare all the miseries he must suffer who falls utterly into torment. And it is all the worse for the fact that there will be never, in all eternity, an end to it.

180) Lo, beloved men, let us do what there is great need for us to do: zealously defend ourselves against the peril and help ourselves while we are able, lest we perish when we least expect it. Let us love God above all other things and ever do His will as earnestly as we can; then He will repay us for it afterwards in a manner most pleasing to us, when we have greatest need. Ever be unto Him praise and glory forever and ever, world without end. Amen.
SERMO IN LETANIA MAIORE FERIA II

(Cambridge, University Library MS. II. 4.6, ff. 215v-28)

Although, viewed as a whole, Sermo In Letania Maiore Feria III is a new composition, it is largely a long extract from Ælfric's Sermo Ad Populum In Octavis Pentecosten Dicendus adapted to the Rogationtide. The extract (Pope II. 139-454, and below II. 56-327) focuses on the second coming of Christ and judgment of mankind, and also expands Matthew XXV: Christ's discourse with the blessed and damned souls at the Last Judgment. The homilist adds a 58 line introduction exhorting his audience to love God and man, fulfill the commandments, and properly hold the Rogation days with prayers, fasting, processions, and good works. A 14 line conclusion is also attached which urges the audience to earn eternal reward through prayers, fasting, almsdeeds, and good works.

Ælfric's Sermo Ad Populum survives in six complete copies: (1) MS. CCC 138, pp. 215-33; (2) MS. CCC 178, pp. 54-73; (3) Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 113, ff. 102v-15v; (4) Trinity College, Cambridge MS. B. 15. 34, pp. 249-81; (5) MS. CCC 421, pp. 99-150; and (6) MS. CCC 303, pp. 203-11. There is also a fragment in Jesus College, Cam-

bridge MS. 15 (f. 1rv). Pope believes the extract contained here, and dated by Ker (Catalogue, p. 51) from the middle of the eleventh century, shows the closest textual affinity with MS. CCC 178 and Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 113.

The source of Ælfric's text is well documented. John Pope and Enid Raynes assign MS. Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 as the 'direct source of nearly everything' in Ælfric's Sermo Ad Populum after line 94 (Homilies of Ælfric, I, 407-10). Miss Raynes believes that article 1 of the Boulogne MS. (ff. 1-10), which is made up of excerpts from the Prognosticon Futuri Seculi by Julian, Archbishop of Toledo, is a copy of a manuscript Ælfric kept for his personal use (ibid, p. 408).

Sermo In Letania Maiore Feria IIIa presents few special problems in editing. The parchment, which Ker describes as "soft and white, and often with a grey fleck on the hair-side" (Catalogue, p. 35), is in good condition. The folios measure 261 by 150 mm. and are clear and easily legible. Folios 215v-28 are free of interlinear gloss, erasures occur only three times (f. 216v/5, f. 216v/19,

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1 Miss Raynes findings were first published as "MS. Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric," Medium Ævum, 26 (1957), 65-73.

and f. 217r/7), and there is only one interlinear insertion (swa òyrstig, f. 217r/15). Four holes occur in ff. 215v-28 but the largest is harmlessly out of the way at the foot of f. 219r, and the other three (f. 216r/18, f. 228r/2, and f. 228r/7) are small and carefully circumscribed so that no letters appear to be lost.

Three punctuation marks are used, the cola, coma, and periodus. The most common mark is the cola. It is normally used for partial stops, but occasionally is used for full stop, as at f. 216r/9 and f. 217r/12. The comma occurs frequently and usually carries weight approximate to that of the modern comma or semicolon, as at f. 215v/14, and f. 215v/15. The strongest mark is the periodus. It is usually used at the end of sentences, and is often followed by a majuscule.

Contractions occur frequently and are conventional in all instances. A stroke regularly occurs over a vowel when following m is omitted, and over a consonant when -er is omitted; þ is used for ðæt, and ð for men. Conventional abbreviations also occur in the Latin.

Cambridge, University Library MS. It. 4.6 contains 299 original leaves foliated 7, 9-303, 306, 308, with leaves missing at the beginning, within the last quire, and at the end (Pope, Homilies of Alfric, I, 39). The
hand of Sermo In Letania Maiore Feria IIIa is a clear and even, if unesthetic, insular minuscule. Ker identifies it as the second of two "upright black rather ugly hands" in MS. Ii. 4.6 and points out four of its characteristics: \( \ddot{o} \) is prominent, \( e \) is sometimes high in combination \( e \), the head of long \( s \) is sometimes prolonged and looped, and the ends of descenders are serifed (Catalogue, p. 35). Twenty lines are written per folio. The writing covers a space about 202 by 94 mm. Words divided at the end of a line are not usually hyphenated; strokes occur frequently over vowels.

The dialect of Sermo In Letania Maiore Feria IIIa is West-Saxon and shows a variety of late forms:

**Late West-Saxon Forms**

**Stressed Vowels:**

1. Some preference for \( \ddot{u} \) over \( \ddot{i} \), as with syn\( d \)on (l. 142) and sy\( d \)\( d \)an (l. 87).

2. Regular preference for \( \ddot{u} \) over \( \ddot{e} \), as with ny\( t \)\( e \)\( n \)\( y \)\( s \)e (l. 3) and ny\( d \)\( b \)\( e \)\( r \)f (l. 16).

3. \( \ddot{u} \) always replaces \( e \) in group sel-, as with syl\( f \)\( e \) (l. 8) and syl\( l \)\( a \)n (l. 88) (Campbell §325).

4. \( n e - \) is preferred to ny- in forms of ny\( l \)\( l \)\( a \)n, as with ne\( l \)\( e \) (l. 71) and nelle (l. 332) (Campbell §265).

5. mi\( h \)te (l. 150) and mi\( h \)t (l. 185) show the characteristic tendency to write \( i \) instead of \( \ddot{u} \) before a palatal consonant (Campbell §301).

6. he\( o \)m is regularly preferred instead of him for the dative plural of the personal pronoun (Campbell §703).
(7) wur- is preferred to weor-, as with wurðscipes (1. 60), wurðmynte (11. 262-3), gewurb (1. 170) and forwurpad (1. 269) /Campbell §320-4/.

(8) Late West-Saxon preference for ē in menigfealde (1. 54) occurs /Campbell §193 d, n. 4/.

Unstressed Vowels:

(1) There is an interchange of e and o /Campbell §382/, as with heofonan (1. 66) and heofennan (1. 164), and a tendency for medial unaccented vowels to be reduced to a sound written e before the endings with back vowels, e.g. -édon for -ódon /Campbell §385/, as with gehyrsumédon (11. 101-2), and gehyrsumédon (11. 103 and 262).

(2) bissere is preferred to bisse in the feminine dative singular of the demonstrative pronoun /Campbell §711/.

Consonants:

(1) Consonants following a syncopated vowel and preceding l or r often are doubled, as with micclum (1. 38) and goddra (1. 93) /Campbell §453/.

The manuscript’s origin is not known by Wanley, who catalogued the manuscript in 1705 (G. Hickes, Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus, II, 160), and carefully documents the provenance of the manuscript from 1566:

‘Hunc codicem cum altero consimili: reperit R. Ferro servus comitis Bedfordie in Domo quondam cenobio de Tavestocke in Devonshire, A° 1566’ (f. I: cf. f. 311v). Ferrar, member of parliament for Tavistock, d. 1572. ‘F. Bedford’ (f. 7v). The earl of Bedford gave the manuscript to Archbishop Parker, 29 Dec. 1567 ‘in camera stellata’ (f. 308v). Number 9 in the list of manuscripts given to Cambridge University by Parker in 1574.

(Ker, Catalogue p. 35)
Wanley believes that British Museum MS. Cotton Vitellius C. v may be the manuscript referred to above as cum altero. However, Pope cautiously notes:

Of course even if it could be proved that both H \( \text{British Museum MS. Cotton Vitellius C. v} \) and M \( \text{Cambridge University Library MS. II. 4,67} \) were at Tavistock in the eleventh century, we should have no right to assume that either of them was written there.

\textit{(Homilies of Ælfric, I, 33)}

The notes accompanying the present edition do not duplicate those of Pope and Raynes. For a comparison between ll. 56–327 and MS. Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 see Pope's edition of \textit{Sermo Ad Populum}.

\textit{Sermo In Letania Maiore Feria IIIa} has not been previously edited, however Pope collates ll. 56–327.
SERMO IN LETANIA MAIORE, PERIA IIa

(Cambridge, University Library MS. II. 4.6, ff. 215v-28)

[Æter 21 art. 27]

Læwede men behöfiab þat him lærowas secgön þa
godspellican lære þe hi on bócum leornoðon þat menn
for nytennyssse misfaran ne sceolon. Ure Drihten sède
to sumum lærowe þa þa he hine ãxode be ðam heahstan
bebode: Lufa þinne Drihten mid ealre þinne heortan 7
mid eallum môde; þis is þat mèste bebod. Is eft oper
bebod þisum swiðe gelic: Lufa þinne nextan swa swa
ðe sylfne; þas twa bebodu belecað ealle béc.

Uton ealle geœnællice 7 geœnnlice gecyrran to urm

10) Drihtene Halendum [f. 216r] Criste, to pam þe us gesceop
7 geworhte, 7 hlyston we géorne hwæt þis halige gewrit
us læðr; þæt ys, þæt we alces yfeles geswican 7 ælc
þing to göde dón, þæt þæt we magon for Godes lufan 7
for ure sawle hælo, forðon ús is swiðe uncuð hu lange

Sources. 3-8 [Matt. xxii: 35-40] Et interrogaevit eum
unus ex eis legis doctor, tentans eum: [36] Magister, quod
est mandatum magnum in Lege? [37] Ait illi Jesus: Diliges
Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in toto anima tua,
et in toto mente tua. [38] Hoc est maximum et primum man-
datum. [39] Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges prox-
imum tuum, sicut telpsum. [40] In his duobus mandatis uni-
versa lex pendent, et propheta.
15) we on þysum lænan life wunian moton. Ponne age we mycele nyþpearfe þet we geearnian hér þet we móton ðær on þam écan life wunian mid urum Drihtene 7 mid his halgum buton ælcum ende.

Ús gedafenað þet we on ælcne timan Godes mildheort- 

20) nesse biðdan, 7 þeah on ðysum þrym dagum ealra swýost we sceolon þone heofonlican Drihten biðdan þet he ús forgife eorðan wæstma genihtsumnyssa 7 þyse lifes gesundfulnesse 7 æfter ðam þas écan lifes myrhpe. Gif we ponne wyllað þet God úre bene gehyre [f. 216v] ponne sceolon

25) we ús forhabban fram ydelum weorcum 7 unnyttum wórdum, for ðam þe butan twéon se ðe on þysum ðrym dagum forgymo his fæsten 7 Godes beboda 7 almessan 7 sealmsängas, ða gastlican myrhpe his sawle he forlyst.

For ðan þe we ne sceolon on þysum dagum ymbe ures

30) liohaman glencga þencan, ac hu we magon ure sawle mid gódum weorcum gefrætwian. Ne sý nán man on þysum folce þe gedyrstlæce þet he oðerne tæle, forðan purh ðæs tælendan muð deofol sprycð. Ælc man sceawige híne sylnfe ðæ he oðerne tæle þe læs ðe his agene scylða híne innan

35) slytan 7 his sawle gewemme. Forðan ic bidde eow 7 manige þet ge ðón swa eow Godes béc lærað, þet ge mid micclum ege gán mid Godes relíquium ná mid [f. 217r] iðelum wórdum 7 unnyttum sprécum, forðan buton tweon ælces unnyttes wórdes we sceolon riht agyldan beforan Godes heahsetle,
40) 7 ealra swyðost þæra ðe we on þysum órym dagum beoð sprecende. Forðan ðus is micel þearf þæt we ðas dagas rihntlice healdan for Cristes upastygennysse. On þysum órym dagum cristene menn sculon forlátan heora þa woruldlican weorc on þa ðriddan tid dages, þæt is on

45) undern sylfne, 7 forðgan mid þam halgum reliquium oppa nigoðan tid, þæt is oð món. Ne sy ænig man swa dyrstig þæt hæ on þysum órym dagum ríde mid þisum halignessum, buton hwa mid mætrumnessum abisegod sy þæt he forðam gangan ne mæge. Ne ænig man hýntige ne ne érne, ac syn

50) men him sylfum [?] 217V geornlice for gode pingiende 7 nytte.

Deofol is æfre embe þæt án: hú hæ mæge sall crist- ten folc beswican 7 on helle gebringan; 7 gyt mægwam- lice læðr cristene menn mænigfealde unðeawas þe hí heora

55) fulluht mid tobrecað, 7 heora scóan Drihten wið sacað, 7 hine mid gremiað. Ælc man ne Godes fréond is sceolde georne efstan æfre mid gódum weorcum þæt he Gode gecwéende 7 to þam earde bêcóm þe us beháten is; þæt is heofenan rice swa swa Crist ús behêt. Hwá dorste æfre gewilnian

60) þæs wynsuman éardes 7 swa micelan wurðscipes gif se wel- willenda Hælend ús ne bêhete pone heofonlican eard, 7 forðig cóm to middanearde þæt hé mancynn alysde, ægðer

ge weres ge wif 7 pa ungewittigan cild, 7 pa gehádodan
men $\sqrt{F}$. 218$\sqrt{7}$ pe healdāo heora clénnysse 7 wið deofles
65) costnunga dæghwamlice cámptat? Nú ne meág Godes behát
beon ús alogen pe he ðs hæfð beháten--pæt is heofonan
rices myrhþe--for his árfaestnysse, ná for ure gódnysse.
Micel hæap andbidap ðar ura holdra fréonda ures
tócymes to heom, 7 hohfulle gýt ymbé ús 7 orsorge be
70) heom sylfum. Woldon ús geséon on þære ylcan blisse pe
hi onwuniað. Hwá nele nú efstan to þære écán blisse
fram þissère earfoðnysse pe we onwuniað, fram deofles
éhtnyssum to ðam arfæstan Drihtene? Ís swaðeah micel
néod pæt pa ðe manegum fre miað pæt heora lif beo pe
75) leng mid ús, 7 mid heora fultume ús gefyrdion to Gode.
Se syrwigenda deofol swicað æfre ymbe ðs, 7 on
þæs mannnes forðísipe $\sqrt{F}$. 218$\sqrt{7}$ fela cnottan him brytt.
Ac se mann behófað micclum gebeda gehádodra manna pe
him foreðingion on his forðísipe pæt he ðam féondum at-
80) berste. For ðam þe we réðaþ on bócum pæt se reða féond
cóme swilce egeslic draca to anum licgendum cníhte.
Wolda his sawle habban for his synnum to helle. Ac þær
cómon munecas tó on þæs mannnes forðísipe, 7 geornlice
bádon for ðone geongan cníht opphæt hi swá aflagdon pone

Sources. 76 $\sqrt{I}$ Pet. v: $\sqrt{E}$ Sobrii estote, et vigilate: quia
adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit, quærens
quem devoret:

80–88. Perhaps based on Gregory's Dialogues, Liber IV, Caput
xxxvi (FL 77, 381–4), or Ælfric's Dominica XXI Post Pentecosten
(CH i, 532/29–536/5).
feondlican dracan 7 se cniht gewyrpte, 7 wearō to munucę
gehalgod, 7 wunode on līfe oppēt he his synna gebette,
7 eft syǒan gewāt; ac he ne geseah pone dracan pä for
ōam þe he oferswiðed wēs. Man sceal ēac syllan þam
séocan menn husel þa hwīlē þe he hit þicgan meg, är þam
þe he sawlige, for þam þe us f. 219v secgāð þec þett
he hit sceole þicgan; ac he his ne meg onbyrgan gif he
biō gewiten ēr.

To goddrǣ manna forūsiþe God asent his englas þæt
hi heora sawia onfōn on heora forūsiðe 7 gelædon to
reste, swa swa we leorniað on bócum, 7 Crist him tēcō
wununge be heora gewyrhtum. Da þe gode beoð 7 Godē ēr
gecwemdon on eallum gōdum weorcum þa wuniað mid Godē;
7 þa þe ne beoð fulgode ne afeormode mid ealle fram
eallum heora synnum þa sceolon to witum faran, 7 on ōam
witum prowian oppēt hi wurdon clēne 7 purh þingrædene
panon alŷsede. Da fordonan synfullan þe deofle gehyr-
sumedon on eallum synnum 7 forsawon heora Drihten 7 swā
gēendedon; þa sceolon to helle swa hraē swa hi gewitað
7 þær wunian ēfre. f. 219v Gif se mann wolde huru
ponne he seoc biō to Godē gecyrran 7 his synna geandet-
tan mid soōre behreowsunge, se soōfēsta Dēma him wolde
mildsian þæt he moste huru on domes dāg þam deofle at-
windan.

Gif se mann wolde huru
Nis na eallum mannum se gemēnelica deāp gelice earfoðe; ac foroft becymō ðam synfullan menn sumera synna forgifen)yys þurh þone earfoðan deāp þe hine swa swyðe drehte þurh þone ðogan ðæs egeslican deāpes. SUME ëac blissiað on heora forösiaðe foroft þonne hi witorlice geseoð þet hi sceolon to restœ, 7 gladað ponne ðeo sawul 7 swa gewit of life. SUMERA MANNA sawla siðiaþ to restœ æfter heora forösiaðe 7 sume forað to wítum, be ðam ðe hi geworhton ær, 7 beoð eft alysede þurh almesdæda [f. 220v] 7 swiðost þurh þa messan, gif him man fore dep. SUME beoð fordemede mid þam deoflum to helle. 7 ðe ðe æne cymō to helle ne cymō he næfre þanon, 7 ðe ðe æne cymō to restœ ne cymō he næfre to wítum.

Seo sawul hæfō soðlice, swa swa ðus secgāþ bēc, þæs lichaman gelincysse on eallum hyre línum, 7 heo gefret sóftnysse oppe særnyssse, swa hæðer swa heo on bið be þam þe heo geéarnode ær. SUME synna beoð on þysum life gebette 7 sume æfter deāpe, swa swa ure Drihten æde, ac þa micclan synna ne magon þær beon gebette; ne þam fordónan ne fremað þet þet him man fore dep, for ðam þe he his ne geéarnode ær on his life. Da leochtan gyltas 7 þa lytlan synna beoð ponne [F. 220v] afeormode þurh þet witenıgendlice ðyr; 7 nis manes cynnes wite on pissere worulde swa tēart swa swa þet foræde
fyr þe afeormað þa gymeleasan. Sume beodo þær lange,
135) sume lytle hwile—be þam þe heom fore beoð his frynd
hér on life, 7 beðam þe he geéarnode är on his life—7
ælc mann még tocñawan operne on þam life. '7 þa öe to
reste becumado oncrnawo sólice ge þa þe hi är cuóon, ge
þa þe hi ná ne cuóon, for þan þe hi on weldæðum wær on
140) är gelice. And þa halgan sawla þe on heofonum wuniað
gebiddap for ús þe on eorðan wuniað, 7 eac for þan
sawlum þe syndon on witum, 7 hi habbað gemynd heoþæ
holdra fróonda. 7 we magon eac þingian þam þe on witum
beoð, 7 swiðost þurh messan, swa swa us [f. 221v 7 sec-
145) 5að béc; ac þam öe on helle beoð ne gehylpó nán fore-
pingung. Þa halgan sawla syndon sólice on blisse on
anfealdum gyrlan þære écan blisse for þam þe hi lybbað
nú butan heora lichaman; ac hi onfoð heora lichaman,
peah ðe he är formolsnod were, eft on þam micclan dæg
150) þurh heora Drihtenes mihte. 7 hi beoð ponne gefratetwode
mid fægerum lichaman, 7 þat bið þat oðer réaf þære écan
myrhpe, 7 hi beoð ponne éce 7 áfre undéadlice ge on
sawle ge on lichaman geæliglice mid Gode. 7 heora lich-
155) mana bið þonne swiðe leocht 7 wynsum, peah þe he him hefig
were hér on life ãor. Ðæghwamlice hi wilniað þat dômes
dæg cume hraðe þat hi magon blissian on twifealdre
blisse on sawle 7 on [f. 221v 7 lichaman; ac hi sceolon
swaðeah be Godes willan abídan heora gebróðra getel 7
para hálígra manna þe of middenearde cumað to heom

160) oppat ðær swa fela beoð swa God forescéawode on ēr þa
þa he ðrest gesceop ealle þas worulð.

Nu hi scéawiað heora Scyppendes beorhtnýsses; 7
nis forði nán gesceaf þe hi geséon ne þaçon: ne on
heofenan ne on eorðan, ge þa þe on helle beoð. Ac

165) heora bliss ne bið swaðæah ná gewanod þurh þæt þæt hi
geseóð pa synfullan on witum, ac hi þáncaþ þæs þe
swyðor heora Scyppende âfre þæt he hi swa ahredde fram
ðam reðum witum. Pa halgan sawla geseoð swutelice
ealle þing, ac ða árleasan sawla þe on súslum wúniað

170) ne þaçon witum hwæt gewurð mid ús. Hi habbað swaþæah
hoge /f. 222/ be heora fréonthum on life þæw ðe hit
naht ne fremsg ðe heora fréonthum ne heom.

Nis nánnum menn nû cuð ne cucum ne déadum, ne nánnum
gesceafte, swa swa se Hælend séde, hwæne se miccla dom

175) eallum mannum bæcume, for ðam þe God sylf gescéop,
gesceafte swa swa he wolde, be nanes opres dihte. Ne
éac se ðag ne cymð pyssere worulde geándunge be æniges
mannes réde, ac þurh his ínes forescéawunge þe ealle
þing gescéop. Þæt Hælend séde him sylf be þam ðæg

180) þæt woruldmenn byþliað 7 begað heora bigleofan 7 heora
tilunde, 7 wépmenn wíþiað 7 wífmenn céorliað oppat se
miccla ðag eallum mannum þecymð 7 se Hælend sylf cymð
mid his scinendum englum, 7 seo sunne forswyrco 7 sólíce
se móna for ðam órmatæn leóhte $\sqrt{f. 222}$ þæs ælmihtigan
185) Drihtenes. Understandaþ nû, menn, hu micel miht is on
Criste þonne seó sunne 7 se möhæ ne' magon syllan nán
leóht for ðam godcundan leóhte þe geð of ðam 'Hælende.
Engla werod berað þa beorhtan róðe him ætforan, 7 his
slagan geöseo ðwæne hi ofslógon ðær, 7 he æteoweð þa
190) wûnda gewisslice heom. Þonne wepað þa synfullan 7 swyðe
heofiað þa ðe on heora life þone Hælend forsáwwon 7 on-
cnáwað heora synna mid sorhfullum móde. Þonne ofergæð
án fyr ealle þas woruld 7 se engel blæwð þa seofðan
byman, þat is seo æfteremeste, 7 ealle menn arisað þe ðaðre
195) wurdon on life mid lichaman cuce, þall swa hraðe beoð
þa cuce þe cumað þonne of helle swa swa ða libbenan
beoð gemætte. Þa cuçan beoð $\sqrt{f. 223}$ ofslægene sóna
mid þam fyrre, ac hi beoð þær rihtæ eft acuccode on ðecum
lichaman swa swa ða opre. 7 hi ealle þonne beoð on
200) ánre ðilæ syðoðan, on þære ðilæ þe Crist wæs þa ða he
órówode, wæron hi on'ylde deade, wæron hi on cildhade.
Èlc mann hæfð swæðah his ágene lencge on þære micelmysse
þe he mann wæs ær, ðe þe he beon sceolde gif he fullweoce,
se ðe on cildhade oppe samewæxen gewát.
205) Swa swa God gesceop on sawle 7 on lichaman ge wæp-
menh ge wifmenn 7 geworhte hi to menn, 7 ægðerne hâð eft
syðoðan alýsde, swa he êac on dómes dæg of ðeafe hi æarð, 
ge weras ge wif, 7 hi wuniað æfre swa butan áðceræ gál-
nysse, ge gode ge yfele. 7 nan wer sydan ne gewifiað
mæfre, ne wif ne geceorlað, 223v ne hi cild ne
gestrynæð. Ne þa halgan ne beoð þe to heofonum sceolon
on ehirge awyrndnyse oppe wannhæle oðde án-eagede þeah
þe he ær ware lama on his life, ac his lima beoð him
ealle ánsunde on scinendre beorhtynisse 7 grapigendlice
on þam gastlican lichaman. Pa wiðercorenan soðlice þe
muniað æfre on súslum, hwæt sceal heom ænig white on
þam swærtan fyre ponne hi æfre heófiað 7 egeslice
gristbitiað. 7 woldon gif hi mihton gewurðon to nahte,
oppe beon dæðe; ac hi ne beoð swaðeæh. Ne hi of ðam
witum ne magon wurdon æfre alýsede.

Elec man sceal árisan þonne þe æfre on life ðæs,
wore he on wætere adruncen oppe hine wiledæðor æton,
oppe hine fyr forbernde færlice 224r to dûste 7
þæt dust ware toworpen mid blædum, swaðeæh se æmhtaða

God meg hine eft arran—se ðe ealle þas woruld geworhte
of nahte—7 se ðæ pyses ne gelyfð ne byð his geleafa
naht. Man bewint pone dáedan gewunelice mid reafe, ac
þæt reaf ne arist na ðe raðor mid þam menn for ðam þe
he ne behófað þas huxlican reafes, ac ðære gastlican
gyrlan þe him God forescêawæ.

God asent ponne his englaþ 7 hi gegaderiað him to
ealle his geçorenan of eallum middangelarde, 7 standap
pa gòdan men on Godes swyðran hând 7 pa wiðercorenan on
his wynstran hānd. Þonne sitt se Hālend ðæs his heo-
235) fonlican þrymsetle, mihtig 7 wuldorfull, 7 milde þam
gōdum egeslic 7 angrislic þam earmum synfullum. 7
ealle menn(T. 224v) geseoð swutelice þonne Hālend on
þære menniscynsse, ac ne moton swaðeah þa earman syn-
fullan geseon his godecundynsse; þa gōdan āna geseoðþa
240) gōdecundynsse. His twelf apostolas þe him folgodon on
life sittað þonne ēac on twelf dōmsetlum, 7 ealle þa
halgan wēras þe ēas woruld forlēton 7 woruldlice ēhta,
mid ealle forsāwon, sittað on dōmsetlum soðlice mid him
7 hī mid þam Hālende mancynne þonne demap.
245) Þær beoð feower gefylceas on þam micclan folce.
Þæt foræ gefylce bið þæt þe we ēr foresæðon, þe sit-
tað mid þam Hālende on heora hēahsetlum. Him ne bið nā
gedëmed, ac hi démaþ mid Criste eallum oprum mannum
mihtelice on wuldre. Þæt oper werod bið þæra woruld-
250) manna þe on gōdu weorcum Gode ēr gecwēðon 7 mid (T. 225r)
ælmesdēðum geēarnodon ēt Gode þa heofonican wununge 7
þæt éce wuldor. Hī ne démað mannum menn, ac heom byð
gedëmed swa þæt hī habbað heofonan rices wuldor. Þæt
þridde werod byð witodlice þonne þæra Cristenra manna
255) þe cuðon heora geleafan, ac hi gremedon Gode mid gram-
lícum dēðum 7 fūlice leofodon on fūlum synnum ēfre, þæt
syndon: morōslagan 7 māndædan 7 unmǣðfulle gytseras,
wigleras 7 wiccan 7 unlybwyhtan, þeofas 7 ōecdscapen,
ryperas 7 reaferas 7 pa redan drymann, pa forsworenann
260) menn 7 pa swicolan weddlogan, pa fulan forligras 7 pa
fracodan myltestran pe acwellað heora cild ær ðam þe
hit cuð beo mannnum. Hí ne dydon nán gode Gode to wurð-
mynte, ne nane ælnessan, ac geþendedon 225V on syn-
num; heom bið ponne gedémed mid þam deofle to helle.
265) ðæt feorðe gefylce byð þæra fulra hæpenra manna þe nane
cyððe meðdon to þam heofonlican Gode; ne Cristes
geleafan ne cupon on heora life. Hí adrugon heora lif
on deofles biggengum 7 hi butan Godes æ æfre syngodon,
7 eft butan Godes æ on écnyssse forburpað mid þam leasum
270) Cristenum æfre cwylmigende.

Witodlice ne meæ ponne nán mann on domes dæg
nahwar beon behydd, ac ealle hi beoð þær þe æfre cuce
wærnan; 7 þær beoð ætewode ure ealra gěôhtas 7 ealle ure
dáda eallum þam werode, 7 þet þe ár byð gebet ne bið þær
275) ná ætoweda, ac pa ungettan synna beoð þær geswutelode.
Hí beoð ponne ofscemode 7 sorhfulle on móde þæt hi ár
noldon 226V andettan heora synna 7 dádbote gedón be
heora lareowes dihtæ. Þær beoð ealle gelice, ge se
hlaforð ge se öeowa, se rica 7 se héana, on þam rihtan
280) dóme. 7 þær nán mann ne meæ ne ne mótt habban nane
gewitnesse þe nine betelle, for ðam þe his dáda beoð
undigele þonne eallum mannum.
Ponne cwýð se Hælend of his halgum þrymsætle to þam gōdum Cristenum þe Godes willan gefremedon þe stán-
dap on his swyðran, þus secgende heom to: Venite bene-
dicti patris mei, et cetera. Cumað ge gebletsode to
mines fæder rice þæt rice þe eow gegearcod was
fram þam forman anginne þyssere worulde. Me hingrode
soðlice, 7 ge mé geréordodon. Eft þa ðæ me þyrste ge
seoldon me drýncan. Þæt ic wæs cuma, 7 ge mé underfen-
gon. [f. 226v] Þæt ic wæs ðæc swylce nacod, 7 ge mé scryd-
don. Þæt ic wæs ðæc swylce untrum, 7 ge mé genéosodon. On
cweærterne ic wæs, 7 ge cómon to mé.

Ponne andswarað hi þam árfæstæn Déman þus: Eala,
pu Drihten lēof, hwænne gesawe we ðe hungrine 7 we ðe
feðdon, oppe eft þurstigne 7 we ðe seoldon drýncan?
Oppe hwænne were ðu cuma 7 we ðe underfengon, oppe hwænne
were ðu unscryðd 7 we ðe scryðdon? Oppe hwænne were ðu
úntrum 7 we ðe genéosodon? Oppe on cweærterne 7 we ðe

cómon to?

Ponne andswarað se Hælend þam árfæstum 7 cwýð: Soð
ic eow secge þæt ge me sylfum dyðon ðas foresædan þing
swa oft swa ge hi dyðon ánum of ðysum lytlingum minra
gebroðra. Þæt is soðlice swa to understandenne: swa oft
swa ge almessan dyðon ánum [f. 227r] lytlan ðearfan of

Sources. 285-6 [Matt. xxv: 34] Tunc dicet rex his, qui a
dextris ejus erunt: Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete
paratum.vobis regnum a constitutione mundi.
Cristenum mannum, pet ge dydon Criste, for ðam þe Crist
sylf is Cristenra manna hæafod 7 eft þa Cristenan syndon
Cristes lima.

Ponne cwþ se Dema eft to pam dróorian hése þe
310) stent on his wynstran hând: Gewitaþ heonon fram mé, ge
awyrgedan, into þam écan fyre þe is ðam deofle gegearcod
7 eallum his englum. Me hingrode soþlice, 7 ge mé ne
gereordodon. Eft ic wes purstig, 7 ge mé ne scencton.
Sæc ic wes cuma, 7 ge mé ne underfengon. Ic wes éac
315) swylce unscrydd, nolde ge me scrydan. Ic wes éac úntrum,
7 on cwearterne ne cónon ge to mé.

Ponne andwyrdap þa synfullan þam soþan Dæman þus:
Eala, ðu soþa Drihten, hwænne gesawe we ðe hungrine oppe
purstigne, cuman oppe nacodne oppe úntrumne, on cwear-
320) terne, [f. 227v] 7 we ne pénodon þe?

Ponne andwyrt se Dema þam earman forscildegodon:
Soþ ic eow secge, me sylfum ge his forwyrdon swa oft
swa ge his forwyrdon anum of þysum lytlum. Ponne
gewitaþ þa earningas 7 þa árleasan synfullan into þam
325) écan wite mid þam awyrgedan deofle, 7 þa rihtwisian
faraþ forð mid þam Hælende into þam écan lífe mid his
engla weredum.

Uton we nu ealle gemænelice ealle þas ðing georn-
lice geþæncan 7 to urum Drihtne eallum mode gecyrnan,
330) þe ús mildheortlice purh bone witigan toclypede 7 cwþ:
Gecyrre to me 7 ic gecyrre to eow. 7 eft he owað:
Welle ic þes synfullan mannnes deað, ac ic wille þæt
he gecyrre 7 ecelice libbe.

Is us nú eallum gemænelice micel neod 7 þearf
335) þæt we geornlice biddan ðurne God. 2287 leofan Drihten
mid fæstenum 7 mid ælmesdædum 7 mid singalum gebedum 7
mid ealra goddra weorca bigengum, þæt he ús þises and-
wearðan ðifes gesundfulnesse geunne 7 þæs ecan ðifes
eadigan myrcða getipie. Fær God ðalmightig sylf mid eal-
340) lüm his halgum wulderfullice leofað 7 rixað á butan
ende. Amen.

337 bigengum: MS. bigencum.

Sources. 331 [Zech. i: 3] Et dices ad eos: Hæc dicit Domi-
nus exercituum: Convertimini ad me, ait Dominus exercituum: et
convertar ad vos, dicit Dominus exercituum.

332-3 [Ézek. xxxiii: 11] Dic ad eos: Vivo ego, dicit Domi-
nus Deus: nolo mortem impii, sed ut convertatur impius a via
sua, et vivat. Convertimini, convertimini a viis vestris pes-
simis: et quare moriemini, domus Israel?
NOTES

Title. The title, which occupies a line to itself, is written in red rustic majuscules.

1. Læwede. L is a large, non-ornamental majuscule about six times the size of the small majuscules which make up the remainder of the line: læwede men behofiæpt him.

1-8. As the opening of Ælfric’s Feria Secunda, Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH ii, 314/1-8).

9-15. A similar warning not to postpone good deeds occurs in an untitled Rogationtide homily in MS. Hatton 114:

Ac hwæbere ne scelolan we beon to swyðe balde on unrihtwisnesse 7 ure synna mid synnum ne ecan (f. 107r) 7 hat þencan 7 scepan, þat we magon ures lichoman lyst fremman þa hwile þe we on geogode syn 7 bonne on elde we ðoð scoðe hresowe. Hwæt meæg beon mare dysignes bonne ani mann bis on his mode gebence. Hwylc mann is þe wite pon þetemestan þæg his lifes?

(ff. 106v/21-107r/6)

20. Þ þeah on ðysum brym dagum ealra swyðost. Dominica Ante Rogationum (MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xili, ff. 44-55v) explains why prayer is so important on these three days:

We gelyfað, men ða leofestan, þas þe we redon on halgum bocum þat swa hwa swa on þysum prim dagum to Gōdēs cýrcean gynō 7 him þær his synna forgýfenysa at Gōdē bitt mid ealre heortan hyldo 7 mid ealre eadmodynysse, þet him Gōð þær syna forgýfenysa sylle þe þær on twelf monōcum gedye.

(below p. 144/103-8)

22-3. gesundfulnesse. A circular lacuna 3 mm. in diameter divides gesundfulnesse after gesund– (f. 216r), and separates eow and Gōdes on f. 216v.

33-5. Èlc . . . gewemme. Cf. the devil’s speech to the doomed soul in the lines appended to the End of De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 102v-5v):
'Hwæt wuldrast þu in wean, þu be wære ær mihtig on wohnes’æ. Ælce (fol. 104v) dæge pin tunge hogade unrihtwiensesse; and swa swa þet scærapste scæseax, swa þu mid hire facen and inwit fremedest. And þu lufadest nīpas and næropancas, and ðu lufadest ealle forhwyrfednesse word mid pin(n)re tungan. Forðon þe nu God wiðworpe, and þe of þinum lichoman huse utascufde.'

(Willard, "Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies," Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, 30 (1935) 46)

52-3. Cf. St. Gregory's comment in the Dialogues on the Devil's ceaseless efforts to bring mankind to destruction:

Sine labore certaminis non est palma victoriae. Unde ergo victores sunt, nisi quod contra antiqui hostis insidias decertaverunt? Malig-nus quippe spiritus cogitationi, locutioni, atque operi nostro semper insistit, si forte-se quid inveniat unde apud examen aterni judi-cis accusator existat.

(PL 77, 259)

56-327. As Ker notes (Catalogue, p. 33) "From 'Ælce manh þe godes freond is' (f. 217v) to 'engla weredum' (f. 227/21) forms part of the homily In octavis pentecosten in Hatton 113 . . . , f. 102v, and other manuscripts."

56. Godes freond. Cf. Ælfric’s In Natale Unius Apostoli:

Ge sind mine frynd, gif ge doð swa swa ic eow bebeode. Ne hate ic eow þeowan, forðan þe se þeowa nat hwæt his hlaford deð: ic het eow mine frynd, forþan þe ic cydde eow swa hwæt swa ic at minum Fæder gehyrde.

(Thorpe, CH ii, 522/8-11)

68-70. Micel heap . . . heom sylfum. Cf. Ælfric’s In Natale Unius Apostoli:

Ponne Godæ gescéorenæn becumæ to þeode, þonne gemetað hi yrfwyrdnesse. Micel heap holdra freonda ure andbidað þær, orsorh be him sylfum, carful gyf for ure hælæ.

(Thorpe, CH ii, 526/29-32)
110-12. ac . . . deaber. Cf. the Dialogues of Gregory:

Sed plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pa-
vor egredientes justorum animas purgat . . .

(PL 77, 405)

115-18. Sumera . . . almesdæda. The efficacy of alms-
giving is well documented. Gregory, for example, re-
counts the story of Paschachius, a deacon of the Apostolic see who was released from torments after death through the alms he gave in life (ibid, PL 77, 396-7).

122. 7 swiðost burh pa messan. See Gregory:

Si culpe post mortem insolubiles non sunt,
multum solet animas etiam post mortem sacra
oblato hostiæ salutaris adjuvare; ita ut
hanc nonnunquam ipse defunctorum animæ expe-
tere videantur.

(ibid, 416-17)

And Ælfric's Hortatorius Sermo De Efficacia Sanctæ Misse
(Thorpe, CH ii, 356-60). Gregory includes two accounts of holy men released from torment after death through the intercession of the Mass (ibid, 416-7).

137-40. Cf. Gregory:

In qua videlicet cognitione utriusque partis
cumulus retributionis excentet: ut et boni
amplius gaudeant, qui secum eos lætari conspic-
iant quos amaverunt; et mali, dum cum eis tor-
quentur quos in hoc mundo, despecto Deo, dilex-
erunt, eos non solum sua, sed etiam eorum pæna
consumat. Fit autem in electis quidam mira-
bilius, quia non solum eos agnoscant quos in
hoc mundo moverant, sed velut visos ac cogni-
tos recognoscunt bonos quos nunquam viderunt.
Nam cum antiquos Patres in illa aeterna hæredi-
tate viderint, eis incogniti per visionem non
erunt, quos in opere semper moverunt.

(ibid, 376)

And Ælfric, Dominica Prima Post Pasca:

ac bið fulfremed sib and singal bliss, and
beoð cuðe ge ða þe ær) cuðe wæron ge ða þe
uncuðe wæron . . .

(Thorpe, CH i, 238/5-7)
145-6. ac . . . forbingung. Gregory explains in part in the Dialogues:

PETR. Et ubi est quod sancti sint, si pro inimicis suis quos tunc ardere viderint non orabunt; quibus utique dictum est: Pro inimicis vestris orate (Matth. v, 44)?

GREGOR. Pro inimicis suis orant eo tempore quo possunt ad fructuosam penitentiam eorum corda convertere, atque ipsa conversione salvare . . . . Et quomodo pro illis tunc orabunt, qui jam nullatenus possunt ad justitiam opera ab iniquitate commutari? Eadem itaque causa est cur non oretur tunc pro hominibus igni æterno damnatis, quæ nunc etiam causa est ut non oretur pro diabolo angelisque ejus æterno supplicio deputatis. Quæ nunc etiam causa est ut non orent sancti homines pro hominibus infidelibus impliisque defunctis . . .

(PL 77, 404)

146-61. Cf. Gregory's discussion of the twofold joy of body and soul in the Dialogues:

PETR. Si igitur nunc sunt in celo anime justorum, quid est quod in die judicii pro justitiae sua retributione recipiant?

GREGOR. Hoc eis nimium crescît in judicio, quod nunc animarum sola, postmodum vero etiam corporum beatitudine perfruuntur, ut in ipsa quoque carne gaudeant, in qua dolores pro Domino cruciatusque pertulerunt. Pro hac quippe germinata eorum gloria scriptum est: In terra sua duplicia possidebunt (Isai. LI, 7). Hinc etiam ante resurrectionis diem de sanctorum animabus scriptum est: Date sunt illis singula stola alba, et dictum est illis ut requiescerent tempus adhuc modicum, donec impleatur numerus conservorum et fratum eorum (Apoc. VI, 17). Qui itaque nunc singulas acceperunt, binas in judicio stolas habituri sunt, quia modo animarum tantummodo, tunc autem animarum simul et corporum gloria létatabantur.

(ibid, 357)
162-72. Cf. Ælfric's *Dominica Secunda Post Pentecosten*:

Pa synfullan geseoð nu hwiltidum ða gecorenan
on wuldre, ðe hi forsawon on worulde, ðet seo
angsumnyss heora modes ðe mare sy; and ða rih-
wisant symle geseoð ða unrihtwisant on heora tin-
tregum cwylmigende, þet heora bliss ðe mare sy,
and lufta to heora Drihtne, þe hi ahredde fram
deoles anwealde, and fram ðam manfullum heape.
Ne astyræð þara rihtwisra gesihð him namne ogan,
ne heora wuldor ne wænað; forðan ðe ðær ne bið
nan besargung ðêra manfulra ylime, ac heora tin-
trega becymð þam gecorenum to maran blisse, swa
swa on metinge bið forseven seo hlace anlicyns,
þet seo hwite sy beorhtre gesewen. Pa gecorenan
geseoð symle heora Scyppendes beorhtynesse, and
forði nis nan ðing on gesceáftum him bediglod.

(Thorpe, CH i, 334/3-15)

And also Gregory:

Sed iniqui omnes aterno supplicio deputati,
sua quidem iniquitate puniuntur, et tamen ad
aliqul ardebunt, scilicet ut justi omnes et
in Deo videant gaudia quae percipiunt, et in
illis resipienti supplicia quae evaserunt, qua-
tenus tanto magisim eternum gratiam divinam de-
bitores se esse cognoscant, quanto in eternum
mala puniri conspiciunt quae ejus adjutorio
viceunt.

(PL 77, 404)

195-97. *7 eall... gemette*. The possibly troublesome
use of *cuce be cumad of dele* and *libbdan* is clarified
by Gregory in the *Dialogues*. As he explains, life is of
two types:

Quia duobus modis vita dicitur, duobus etiam
modis mors debet intelligi. Aliud namque est
quod in Deo vivimus, aliud vero quod in hoc
quod conditi vel creati sumus; id est, aliud
beate vivere, atque aliud est essentialiter.
Anime itaque et mortalis esse intelligitur, et
immortalis. Mortalis quippe, quia beate viv-
ere amittit; immortalis autem, quia essenti-
aliter vivere nunquam desinit, et natura sua
vitam perdere non valet, nec cum in perpetua
fuerit morte damnata. Illīc enim posita beata
esse perdit, et esse non perdit. Qua ex re cogitūr semper, ut et mortem sine morte, et defectum, sine defectu, et finem sine fine patiatur; quatenus ei mors immortalis sit, et defectus indeficiens, et finis infinitus.

(Thorp, CH i, 236/23-8)

199-204. 7 hi... gewat. Cf. Alfric's Dominica Prima

Post Pasca:

Se apostol Paulus cædō, pat we sceolon arisan of deaðe on ðære yldæ þe Crist wæs þa ða, he ðræwade, þat is embe þreox and ðrītig geæra. Þeah cille forðære, oððe forweroð man, þeah-hwæðere hī cumæo to þære yldæ þe we ær cæødæn; hæfþ þeah gehwa his agenne wæstæ, þe he on þiisum līfe hæfðæ, oððe habban sceolde, gif he his gebide.

(Thorp, CH i, 236/23-8)

207-11. swa... gestrynæ. Cf. Alfric's Dominica Prima

Post Pasca:

Hit bið ponne swa swa Crist cædō, pat "Nan wer ne?" p. 238; wifiað, ne wif ne ceorlað, ne team ne bið getymæd, ne hī deaðes ne abyriγað siðað, ac beoð englum galice, ponne hī mid englum wumiað." Ne him ne lyst nanre galynysse, ne hī nafre siðað symna ne gewyrceæ.

(ibid, 236/35-238/4)

211-18. Ne þa... girstbitiað. Cf. Alfric's Dominica

Prima Post Pasca:

Gif hwa æleðæ weræ æ, oððe līmlesæ on þiisum līfe, he bið ponne swa hit awretnæ is, þat "Ealle ða þe to Godes riċe gebyriγað, nabbæ naðor ne womm ne aweyrônysse on herra lichamæ." Hwæt sceolæ we smeægan embe ða oðre þe gewītað sceolæ we smeægan embe ða oðre be gewītað to ðam ecem forwyrdæ, hwæðer hi æleðæ beon oððe līmlesæ, ponne hi beoð on ecære susle wuni-gende?

(ibid, 236/28-34)

221-4. Alc... blæðum. Cf. In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore (MS. CCC 152, pp. 422-31):
Ponne arisað ealle þa men þa ðe mid gebregend-
nyssum on deaðe swuloton fram þam feower healum
þysses middangeardes, þat syndon, þa ðe on þyssum
life on fyre fornmaðedæ weron, oððe on wetere
adrencetæ weron, oððe on rode ahangene weron,
oððe wilðer fræton, oððe fugelas toberon . . .

(Thorpe, CH i, 542/19-22)

And also Natale Sancti Pauli Apostoli:

On ðam æriste sitþað þa twelf apostoli mid
Criste on heora ðp. 396/ domsetlum.

(Thorpe, CH i, 394/35-396/1)

Pa apostoli and ealle þa geþreunanðe him
gesefianæton beoð ðeman on ðam micclum sæge
mid Criste. Þær beoð feower werod æt ðam dôme,
twa geþreunanæ manna, and twa wiðercorennæ. Þær
forme werod bið þæra apostola and heora efen-
lacendra, þa ðe ealle woruld-þing for Godes
naman forjeton; hi beoð ða demeras, and him ne
bið nan dóm gedemed. Óðær endebyrðyns bið
gelæanimal woruld-manna: him bið dóm gesett,
swa þat hi beoð asynærede fram gemanæn ðær
wiðercorennæ, þus cweðendum Drihtne, "Cumað
to me, ge gebletsonæ mines Fæder, and onfôð
þat riсe ðe eow is gegearcód fram frymœ
middangeardes." An endebyrðyns bið þæra wiðer-
corennæ, ða þe ciðææ hæðon to Gode, æc hi ne
beodon heora gelefan mid Godes beðodum; ðas
beoð forðemed. Óðær endebyrðyns bið þæra
hæðon manna, þe nane cyðææ to Gode hæðon:
þisum bið gefæst se aposthlica cwyde, "Da ðe
butan Godes æ syngodon, hi eac losiað butan
ælcere æ." To ðisum twam endebyrðynssum cwoð
ponne se rihtwisæ Dema, "Gewitað fram me, ge
awyrigedan, into ñan ecum fyre, þe is gegear-
cod deofle and his awyrgedum gastum."

(Thorpe, CH i, 396/13-33).

271-2. Witodlice . . . behydd. Cf. In Quarta Feria In Le-
tania Maiore (MS. CCCX 162, pp. 422-31):

7 eall engla weord cymð ofer ecðan 7 scadað
pa sooðaðan men fram þam arleasun. Ponne þa
arleasan men leoð þæt heofoncunde werud hi
sylfe to. behydenne on dunum 7 on beorgum, 7
cwedað to him: untunðu þe, la eorðe, 7 for-
swelg us þe laes þe we fundene beon.

(p. 426/17-21)

280-2. 7 þær . . . mannum. Cf. In Quarta Feria In Letania
Maiore (MS. CCCX 162; pp. 422-31):

þær se broðor ne magg þam óðrum helpan, ne se
fæder þam suna ne þa neahmagas ne ða maðgestre-
on, ne pysse wyruld æhta ænighe man þær gescyld-
dan magon, ac drihtne gyldeð anra gehwylcum menn
aer þis sylfes gewyrhtum.

(p. 428/7-11)

301-6. Soð . . . dydon Criste. Cf. Ælfric's Dominica
Secunda Post Pentecosten:

Soðlice we sceoldon beðan þam ðearfum þæt hi
us biddað, forðan ðe hi beðþ ure mundbornan,
þa ðe nu wædlingende at us bigleofan wilniðñ.
Næ sceole we forson heora wacynesse, forðan ðe
Criste bið geðenod þurh ðearfena angenge, swa
swa þe sylf cwæð, "Ne hingroðe, and ge me ge-
reordðon; me ðyrste, and ge me scenton; ic
wæs nacod, and ge me scrydðon."

(Thorpe, CH i, 334/32-336/4)

331. Gecyrreð . . . eow. Cf. Blickling Homily X:

Gecyrreð we nu to Drihtnes willan; forpon he
us swype mildehartlice forp-lapode, & bus cwæp,
'Gecyrreð to me, ponne gecyrre ic to eow.'

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, pp. 101/35-103/1)
See also Wernerus Abbæ S. Blasii In Silva Nigra, Libri Deflorationum, Sermo In Rogationibus: Secundum Lucam:

Quasi Deus dicat: Si via recipere quod petis,
noli mihi amplius molestiam inferre. Noli,
Ut hactenus fecisti, me saecularibus postponere.
Revertere ad me, et ego revertar ad te. Pete
Ut debes, et ego tibi plus dabo quam speres.

(PL 157, 962-3)

And Caesarius of Arles, Homily CCVI: In Letaniis (CCSL 104, II, 830).

332-3. Cf. Blickling Homily X:

forpon be Drihten is swiðe mildheort se us
tryneðe & lærde: he cweþ, ‘Nelle ic þæs sym-
fullon mannes deð, ac ic wille þæt he libbe
& to gode gecyrre.’

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, 97/31-3)

Cf. also Sanctus Augustinus Aurelius, Sermo CLXXII: De Letania (PL 39, 2077) and Sanctus Martinus Legionensis Presbyter, Sermo Vicesimus Nonus (PL 208, 1085).

336. singalum. An oval lacuna measuring 5 mm. by 3 mm. divides singalum between the n and g. No letters appear to be lost.

339. ðalmihtig. A small, vertical lacuna measuring 6 mm. by 3 mm. divides ðalmihtig between the i and h. No letters appear to be lost.

SERMON ON THE GREATER LITANY

LAYMEN need teachers to impart to them the holy teaching they have learned in books so that men do not go astray through ignorance. Our Lord said to a certain teacher when he asked Him about the highest commandment:

5) "Love thy Lord with all thy heart and all thy soul; this is the first commandment. The second commandment is similar to this: Love thy neighbor as thyself; these two commandments embody all the Law and the prophets."

Let us all mutually and earnestly turn to our Lord's Saviour Christ, who shaped and created us, and let us eagerly harken to what this holy Scripture teaches us, which is that we should cease from all evil and do all the good things we can for the love of God and health of our soul, because we do not know how long we may continue in this transitory life. Therefore we have great need that we earn here the right to abide forever there in eternal life with our Lord and His saints.

It is fitting for us to pray for the mercy of God at all times, yet especially on these three days we should pray to the heavenly Lord that He grant us an increase of our earthly fruits, health in this life and afterwards the joy of eternal life. If we want God to hear our prayers we must abstain from idle works and empty speech because, without doubt, he who neglects his
fast on these three days, and God's commandments, and almsgiving, and the singing of psalms, forfeits the spiritual joy of his soul.

Therefore we should not think on these days about the adornment of our body, but how we may adorn our soul with good works. Let no man in this assembly dare to slander another, because the devil speaks through a slanderer's mouth. Let each man examine himself before he accuses another lest his own guilt slit him within and damage his soul. Thus I beseech and advise you that you do as the Scriptures tell you, that you go reverently in procession with God's relics, not with idle words and vain speech, because without doubt, we will render an account for each vain word before God's high throne, especially those we speak on these three days. There is great need that we fittingly observe these three days before Christ's ascension. On these three days Christian folk should cease their temporal work at the third hour, that is nine o'clock, and go forth in procession with the holy relics until the ninth hour, that is, until three o'clock. Let no man be so presumptuous that he ride with the relics on these three days unless he be afflicted by an illness and is unable to walk. Neither should any man hunt or course, but men should pray for well-being and prosperity.
The devil is ever concerned with one thing: how to deceive all Christian folk and bring them into hell. Daily he urges Christians to manifold vices by which they break their baptism and betray and anger their true Lord. Each man who is God's friend should earnestly hasten ever to please God with good works and come to the dwelling pledged to us, that is the heavenly kingdom Christ promised us. Who would ever presume to wish for the pleasant dwelling and such great honour if the benevolent Saviour had not promised us the heavenly kingdom, and for that reason come down to earth and redeemed mankind, both men and women, the innocent child, and the clergymen who maintain their purity and daily fight against the devil's temptations? Now the pledge God has given us, the joy of the kingdom of heaven, cannot fail us, because it was promised through His mercy and not through our merit.

A great assembly of our loyal friends await there our coming; they are still concerned about us and unworried about themselves. They wish to see us in the same joy in which they abide. Who would not wish to hasten to eternal joy from this hardship in which we dwell, from the persecutions of the devil to the merciful Lord? It is essential that the example of those who have great powers of intercession remain longer with us, and help to bring us nearer to God.
The treacherous devils are ever plotting against us, and at a man’s death they inflict many torments upon him; thus a man needs the prayers of clergymen interceding for him at the time of his death so that he may break away from the fiends. We read in books that the cruel fiend came as a dreadful dragon to a young man as he lay dying; he wished to have his soul in hell for his sins. But monks came as he was dying, and they earnestly prayed for the young man until they put the hateful dragon to flight and the youth recovered. Later he became a consecrated monk and lived on until he had atoned for his sins. Afterwards he died, but he did not see the dragon again, because it had been conquered. Men should also give the Host to a sick man before he dies, while he is able to consume it, because books tell us that he should consume it, but he is not able to do so when he is already dead.

God sends His angels to the passing of good men so that they may receive their souls at death and bring them to rest, as we read in books, and Christ assigns the souls a dwelling according to their merits. Those who are good and earlier pleased God with all good works dwell with God; but those who are not perfect or cleansed withal from all their sins go to punishment and suffer in torments until they are made clean and are
released from that place through intercession. The corrupt sinful men, those who obeyed the devil in all sinfulness and scorned their Lord and so made an end, go to hell as soon as they die and remain there forever.

For if a man would at least turn to God when he is sick and confess his sins with true repentance, the righteous Judge would surely show him mercy so that he could escape the devil on Judgment Day.

The common death is not alike in suffering for all men, but it often happens that sinful men earn forgiveness of some sins through a harsh death which greatly torments them, or through the fear of a harsh death. And often some exult in their passing when they truly see that they are to rest; then the soul rejoices and so departs this life. The souls of some men go to rest after their death and some go to torments, according as they earlier merited, and later they are released through almsgiving and especially through the Mass if men have Masses said for them. Some men are condemned to hell with the devil, and he who once goes to hell never comes out from that place, and he who once goes to rest never comes to torments.

The soul truly possesses, as books tell us, the likeness of the body in all her members and she experiences ease or affliction, whichever she is in, according to her previous meriting. Some sins are atoned for in
this life and some are atoned for after death, as the
Lord said, but grievous sins cannot be atoned for after
death, nor does anything people do for a doomed man
_avail him, because earlier he did not merit it in this
life. Small offences and venial sins are purged away
by chastising fire. And there is no kind of torture
in this world so sharp as that aforesaid fire which
cleanses the negligent. Some are there a long time,
some a short while, depending on how his friends in-
cede for him here and how he merited in this life. Each
person will be able to recognize the other in that life.
Indeed, those who come to rest shall recognize both those
whom they knew before and those whom they never knew, be-
cause earlier they were alike in good deeds. The holy
souls who dwell in heaven pray for us who dwell on earth,
and also for the souls in torment, and they are mindful of
their true friends. We, too, may intercede for those in
torment, especially through the Mass, as books teach us,
but no intercession avails at all for those in hell. Truly,
the souls of the holy are in bliss with the matchless
garment of eternal joy because they now live without
their body, but through the power of their Lord they
will again receive their body on Judgment Day, even
though it may have moldered away. And they will then
be adorned with a beautiful body, that is, the second
garment of eternal joy, and they will then be eternal, forever happy with God in body and soul. And their body then will be very light and joyful even though it was grievous to them in this life. Daily they will wish that Judgment Day may come quickly so they can rejoice in the twofold joy of body and soul; but they must await by the will of God the numbering of their brothers and of those holy men who come to them from earth, until there are as many as God foresaw in the beginning when He first created all the world.

Now they behold their Creator's brightness, and there is no creation they cannot see, either on heaven or earth, and those in hell; but their joy is not lessened because they see the sinful in torment, rather they ever thank their Creator all the more because He rescued them from fierce torments. The souls of the holy see all things clearly, but the souls of the wicked who dwell in torment do not know what happens to us. They are yet concerned about their friends in life, though it avails neither their friends nor themselves.

No man living or dead now knows, nor any created being, as Christ said, when the great judgment shall come to all men, because God created the world just as He wished, by the command of no one else. Likewise the last day will not come to this world by
any man, but through His foresight alone who created all things. Our Lord Himself said about that day: earthly

180) men will build and gather in their wealth and the fruits of their labour; men will take wives and women husbands until the great day comes to all mankind. Christ Himself will come with His shining angels, and the sun and moon will grow dark before the intense light of the al-

185) mighty Lord. Understand now, people, how great the power in Christ is when the sun and moon are unable to give light in the presence of the divine light which proceeds from Christ. A host of angels will bear the bright cross before Him and His executioners will see Him they earlier killed, and He will clearly show unto them the wounds.

190) Then the sinful men who scorned the Saviour in life will weep and sorely lament and acknowledge their sins with a sorrowful heart. A fire will spread over all the world and an angel will blow the seventh trumpet, that is the last, and all men will arise who ever lived bodily in this world; those living in hell will arise as quickly as those still living on earth. The living will be killed at once by the fire, but they will be immediately brought to life again in an eternal body just as the others are. Afterwards they all will be of one age, the age at which

195) Christ was when He suffered, whether they died in old age or in childhood. Each man will have his own height in

200)
the size which he earlier was as a man, or should have been if he died in childhood or half-grown.

205) Just as God created both men and women in body and soul and shaped them in human form and later redeemed both sexes, so also He will raise them from death on Judgment Day, both men and women, and they will dwell forever without any desire either good or evil. Afterwards no man will take a wife or woman a husband, neither will they beget children. And not one of the blessed in heaven will be deformed, or lame, or one-eyed; even though earlier he was crippled in life, yet his limbs will be all sound and shining bright and tangible in the holy body. But for the lost souls who ever dwell in torment, indeed, what is any brightness to them when they ever sigh and terribly gnash their teeth in black fire? They would die or cease to be if they could, but they cannot do so, nor will they ever be released from torments.

Each man shall then arise who ever lived; whether he was drowned in water, eaten by wild beasts, or rapidly burned to dust by fire and that dust scattered by the wind, yet almighty God is able to raise him again, He who created all the world from nothing—and anyone who does not believe this, his faith is nothing. Men usually wrap the dead in a shroud, but the shroud does not rise
with them because they do not require a shameful garment, only the spiritual garment God has prepared for them.

Then God will send forth His angels and they will gather before Him all His chosen from all the world; and the good men will stand at God's right hand and the wicked at His left. Then the Saviour will sit on His heavenly throne, mighty and glorious, mild to the just, terrible and grisly to the wretched sinful. All men shall see Christ clearly in human form, but the wretched sinful will not perceive His divine nature; the just alone see His divinity. Then His twelve apostles, those who followed Him in life, will sit on twelve judgment seats; and all the holy men who rejected the world and scorned all worldly goods, indeed, they will sit in judgment seats with them and judge mankind with the Saviour.

There will be four divisions in the great host. The first is that which we already mentioned, those who sit with Christ in judgment seats. They are not judged but they, mighty in glory, judge all other men with Christ. The second division consists of those laymen who earlier pleased God with good works and earned the heavenly dwelling with God, and that everlasting glory, through almsdeeds. They do not judge other men, but judgment is passed on them that they may possess the
glory of the kingdom of heaven. The third division is made up of those Christians who knew their faith but angered God with fierce deeds and ever lived shamefully in foul sins; those are the murderers, the criminals, the exceedingly covetous, the soothsayers, the witches, the wizards, the thieves, the lawbreakers, the plunderers, the robbers, the cruel sorcerers, the perjurers, the deceitful traitors, the foul adulterers, and the vile prostitutes who kill their child before it may be known to men. They did nothing of good unto the glory of God, nor gave alms, but they ended their life in sin. They will then be sentenced to hell with the devil. The fourth division will consist of those foul heathens who had no acquaintance with the heavenly God, nor knew anything of the Christian faith in their life. They spent their life in the devil's practices and ever sinned against the law of God; likewise, they shall perish in eternity outside the law, forever suffering with faithless Christians.

Indeed, no man can be hidden anywhere on Judgment Day, but everyone will be there who ever lived; and all our thoughts and all our deeds will there be shown to all the host. That which was atoned for earlier will not be shown, but the unatoned for sins will be clearly revealed. Sinful men will be ashamed and sorrowful in
heart that they would not confess their sins before
and do penance according to the command of their teacher.
Everyone will be alike at the true judgment, both the
lord and the servant and the great and the lowly. No
man there will be allowed or require a witness to speak
on his behalf, because his deeds will be manifest to all
men.

Then Christ will speak from His holy throne to the
good Christians who performed the will of God, who stand
at His right hand, thus saying to them: Venite benedicti
patris mei, et cetera. 'Come, ye blessed, to the kingdom
of My Father and possess that kingdom which was prepared
for you from the foundation of this world.' For I was
hungry and you fed Me. When I thirsted you gave Me drink.
I was a stranger and you received Me. I was naked and
you clothed Me. I was sick and you attended Me. I was
in prison and you visited Me.

Then the just will answer the merciful Judge thus:

Alas, thou beloved Lord, when did we see Thee hungry and
we fed Thee, or thirsty and we gave Thee drink? When
were You a stranger and we received Thee? When were You
naked and we clothed Thee? When were You sick and we
attended Thee, or in prison and we came to Thee?

Then Christ will answer the just and say: Truly I
say unto you that you did these things to Me as often as
you did them to the least of My brothers. Truly that
is to be understood: As often as you give alms to the
lowliest Christian you give them unto Christ, because
Christ Himself is the head of Christian men, and they
are the limbs of Christ.

Then the Judge will speak to the dreary host who
stand at His left: Go hence from Me, ye accursed, into
the eternal fire prepared for the devil and all his
angels. I hungered and you did not feed Me. I was
thirsty and you did not give Me drink. I was a stranger
and you did not receive Me. I was naked and you would
not clothe Me. I was sick and in prison and you did not
come to Me.

Then the sinful will answer the true Judge thus:
Alas, thou true Lord, when did we see Thee hungry or
thirsty, a stranger, naked, sick, or in prison, and we
did not serve Thee?

Then the Judge will answer the wretched condemned
men thus: Truly I say to you, you refused this to Me as
often as you refused it to one of these needy. Then the
wretched and wicked sinful men will go into eternal tor-
ment with the devil, and the just will go forth into ever-
lasting life with the Saviour and His hosts of angels.

Let us now, all together, earnestly think on all
these things, and turn with all our heart to our Lord,
who mercifully called out to us through the prophet and said: Turn to Me and I will turn to you. Again He said: I do not wish the death of a sinful man, but I desire that he be converted and live eternally.

There is now great need for us all alike that we earnestly beseech our dear Lord with fasts, and alms-deeds, and continuous prayers, and the practice of all good works, that He grant us health in this present life and the blessed joy of eternal life, where almighty God Himself gloriously lives and reigns with all His saints for ever and ever. Amen.
FERIA II IN LETANIA MAIORE

(Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 302, pp. 205-13)

Ker 56 art. 31

MS. CCC 302, which consists of "homilies for Sundays and festivals, other than Saints' days, from the first Sunday in Advent to Wednesday in Rogationtide, ending imperfectly" (Ker, Catalogue, pp. 95-6), dates from about 1100 and is described by Wanley, James, Ker, and Pope. It consists of 111 original leaves of "unusually thick parchment" (ibid, p. 98) paginated in red pencil on rectos 1-247. Pages i-iv and 249-52 are paper flyleaves which Ker assigns to the date of binding (eighteenth century); pages v, vi, and 1-10 are paper; 243-8 are parchment from the sixteenth-century; pages 233-42 are paper and parchment supply leaves of the sixteenth-century (Catalogue, p. 98). An indeterminate number of leaves are also missing at the end of the manuscript (Pope, Homilies of Elfric i, 51).

Pages 11-232 consist of fourteen quires; quires 1-11 consist of eight leaves each, quire 12 had eight

but lacks leaf 2 after p. 188, quires 13 and 14 have eight leaves each, but leaves 3 and 6 in quire 14 are half sheets (Ker, Catalogue, p. 98). The parchment measures about 253 by 168 mm.; the writing about 197 by 110 mm. Thirty-one long lines are regularly written on each leaf. The manuscript was rebound in 1954.

The hand of MS. 302 slopes backwards and exhibits several distinctive features: a is caroline, e is round-backed, d and g are the same size, e and o are often open at the top, long and low forms of s are frequent, and the ends of descenders often turn left (Ker, Catalogue, pp. 98-9). All lines in the manuscript, except those on p. 29/1-8, are in this hand.

Punctuation is by means of the cola, usually elevated to mid line. The only other signs are the hyphen, which is sometimes used to join words broken at the end of a line, and a stroke faintly drawn over at (p. 206/16) and upphafene (p. 210/7).

Interlinear insertions are infrequent in MS. CCC 302. Pages 205-13 contain only one, a gloss to Gyf (p. 212/16).

Abbreviations on pp. 205-13 are conventional and infrequent. A stroke regularly occurs over vowels to show the omission of m. † is used for kat, ‡ for end, and aft for after.
Colour is prominent in MS. 302. It is regularly touched with red; capitals are touched or filled with red, green, and purple—either alone or in combination.

Nothing is known of the manuscript’s provenance before it was bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by archbishop Parker on September 9, 1575.

The spelling of the MS. is predominantly late West-Saxon, as Pope writes:

The spellings of the manuscript so rarely depart from orthodoxy Late West Saxon that it is difficult to make a case for any locality other than southern.

(Homilies of Alfric I, 52)

One peculiarity of spelling both Pope and Ker call attention to is the frequent misuse and omission of initial h, as for example: 

- bye (l. 179) and his (l. 178) for is.
- pur (l. 36) also occurs for burh, and ægwyld (l. 187) for æghwyld. Several other features of late West-Saxon are also prominent:

Late West-Saxon Forms

Stressed Vowels:

1. Some preference for ȝ over ã, as in swyðe (l. 8), helleyte (l. 62), and cyrikan (l. 12), but ã is common, as in swiðe (l. 11) and is (l. 8).

2. Consistent preference for ȝ over ie, as in gehiron (l. 2), ongytan (l. 28), and alyfede (l. 85).

3. Y always replaces e in group sel-, as in sylf (l. 21), and sylyne (l. 24).
(4) a is preferred to ea in all occurrences of 

\[ \text{almihtig} \], as in \[ \text{almihtigan} \] (l. 89).

(5) NIHTA (l. 190) and NIHTLICUM (l. 196) show the 
characteristic tendency to write \( i \) instead of \( y \) 
before a palatal consonant.

(6) Preference for \( wur- \) over \( weor- \) is evident in 
\[ \text{arwurönsse} \] (l. 4) and \[ \text{wuröunge} \] (l. 17), although 
\( weor- \) forms sometimes occur, as in \[ \text{weoröunga} \] 
(l. 103) and \[ \text{weoröiað} \] (l. 145).

(7) There is a tendency to favour \( a \) over \( o \) before 
nasals, as in \[ \text{menn} \] (l. 40), but \( o \) does not regularly 
become \( a \) or \( e \) in unstressed words; see, for 
example, \[ \text{bo} \] (l. 13).

(8) \[ \text{nelle} \] (l. 206) shows the preference for \( ne- \) over 
\( ny- \) in forms of \[ \text{nyllan} \].

(9) There occurs the late West-Saxon preference for 
\( æ \) in \[ \text{menig-} \] (l. 29), \[ \text{mænige} \] (l. 33), and \[ \text{mænig} \] 
(l. 40).

(10) \[ \text{bege} \] (l. 192) occurs once in the demonstrative 
pronoun [Campbell §713].

Unstressed Syllables:

(1) \[ \text{earnedon} \] (l. 75) in place of \[ \text{earndon} \] shows the 
late tendency for a medial unaccented vowel to 
be reduced to a sound written \( e \) before an ending 
with a back vowel.

(2) \( a \) and \( o \) sometimes interchange in unstressed sylla-
bles; compare \[ \text{forban} \] (l. 34) with \[ \text{forcon} \] (l. 
73), and \[ \text{gewintrad} \] (l. 128) with \[ \text{gewintrodd} \] (l. 
123-4).

(3) \( a \) and \( u \) occasionally alternate in final syllables, 
as evidenced by \[ \text{lohtfata} \] (l. 36) for \[ \text{lohtfatu} \], 
\[ \text{beboda} \] (l. 22) for \[ \text{bebod}u \], and \[ \text{beda} \] (l. 193) for 
\[ \text{bedu} \].
(4) -nys is always preferred to -nes, as in halig-
nyse (l. 4), gesetnyse (l. 5), and mildheort-
nyse (l. 14).

Consonants:

(1) -geard occasionally interchanges with -eard:
cf. middangeard (l. 113) and middaneard (II. 134-5) [Campbell no. 303 f. 2].

(2) ð occasionally interchanges with ð, as in
eadmodnyisse for eaðmodnyisse (l. 9) [Campbell
no. 424].

(3) Consonants frequently double, not always with
regard to a particular rule: cf. mannyn (l. 190), gebencann (l. 191), namann (l. 119),
annennednyss (l. 121), eall (l. 182), gesibbað
(l. 156), and godspelle (l. 168).

Peria II In Letania Maiore was first edited in a
German doctoral dissertation by Hildegard Tristram, Vier
Altenglische Predigten Aus Der Heterodoxen Tradition, Mit
Kommentar, Übersetzung und Glossar Sowie Drei Weitern
Texten Im Anhang (Albert-Ludwigs Universität, Freiburg,
1970).
PERIA II IN LETANIA MAIORE

(Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 302, pp. 205-13)

\[ \text{Ker 56 art. 31} \]

Men ða leofestan, us is swiðe \( \text{2067 mycel neod-bearf } \hat{\text{b}} \text{et we gehyron summe dæl } \hat{\text{y}} \text{ses gastlican geworkes } \hat{\text{p}} \text{e her us forö lereð } 7 \text{ manað to ure sauwe ðearfe, } 7 \text{ eac } \hat{\text{swylec be ðissere tide }} \text{halignysse } 7 \text{ be hyre arwurðynsse, } \]

5) \hat{\text{p}} \text{e gecweden is on gastlicum gewritum } \hat{\text{p}} \text{urh gastlice leorneras to } \hat{\text{þære gastlican gesetynysse}}, \hat{\text{b}} \text{et } \hat{\text{p}} \text{as } \hat{\text{br}} \text{y dagas } \hat{\text{w}} \text{æron letanias genenned.}

Us is ðonne swyðe mycel neod-bearf \( \text{on } \hat{\text{æghwilce tide }} \hat{\text{b}} \text{et we habban mid } \text{us } \hat{\text{s}} \text{ode sibbe } 7 \text{ soðe eadmodynysse, } 7 \)

10) \hat{\text{b}} \text{et we geearnian mid } \hat{\text{urum hlutrum gebedum } 7 \text{ mid ure heortan onbryrðynysse, } 7 \text{ mid urum clænum ælmæssum } \hat{\text{p}} \text{urh } \hat{\text{pa cyrican gesetynysse}}, \hat{\text{b}} \text{et we gemunon } 7 \text{ gehþencan swa us mynegiað ure laerowas } \hat{\text{b}} \text{et we biddan } \hat{\text{bone ælmihtigan }} \hat{\text{Drihten his mildheortynysse, }} 7 \text{ geblæfæstynysse lifes } \hat{\text{ge gastlices ge worulldlices. Uton we ðonne gehþencan } } \hat{\text{b}} \text{et we mihton Drihtene mid } \hat{\text{þære mæstan eadmodynysse on } } \hat{\text{pas } } \hat{\text{br}} \text{y dagas geornfullice gehyrn for } \hat{\text{öissa daga wurðunge } } \hat{\text{b}} \text{et he ure bene gehyre. Uton we } \hat{\text{þonne on } } \hat{\text{þyssum dagum } 7 \text{ on } \hat{\text{æghwilce tide gehyrn } 7 \text{ gehealdan his beboda.}}}

15) \hat{\text{Uton gehyrn } \hat{\text{at }} } \hat{\text{aræstan } 7 \text{ gehþencan } \hat{\text{þonne } } \hat{\text{cwyde } } \hat{\text{p}} \text{e he sylf on his godspelle cweð } 7 \text{ us bebead ofer eallne}}
middaneard þam þe his beboda healdan wyllaþ, þæt ure æghwilc gecume æt urum reliquium, 7 næning mann hine sylfne þanon ne sceade fram þam halgan gemote Drihtenes
25) sylfes 7 þam cyriclicum þe on ymbhwyrte bið Cristes reliquium halgum 7 þam apostolicum 7 þære halgan Cristes rode.

Swa we leornodon 7 getreowlice we magon ongutan þæt se ælmhtiga Drihten swyðe næningfealdlice gyfe
30) gemetfæstmum mannum dyde hyder on þisne middaneard, 7 forðan he swa dyde forpan he wolde þæt þeos clæne gesceafi ongeate hyre þone ecean Scyppend. Forðan ðe he manncynne onlyhte næninge gastlice leohftætu 7 sende hider on þisne middaneard forpan þe he wolde gedwæsecean þa

35) deornysse 7 synne ðysternysse fram urum heortum acyrран purh his þa halgan.7 þa gastlican leohftætu. And swylce he eac wolde þæt we þisæ leohkes andweardynysse 207 geearnodon þæt we moston on þære toweardynysse mid him sylfum 7 mid his þam halgum þæs ecan leohkes brucan.

40) læning mann on þyssum gemote wunaþ 7 hwæðere næfð þæt andgyt hwæt þa gastlican leohht synd buton hit hym seo gastlicenysse gerece swa hit geowden ys on gastlicum gewritum purh gastlice leorneras, þæt us wæron to leohftætu gesette ure heahfaðeras: Abel, Enoch, Melchisedech.

45) Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; hi us onlihton 7 onstealdon eallra goddra weorc bysne. Eac þa wœron godes þa halgan witegan þa þurh þone Halgan Gast us lærdon, 7 hi us foresædon ealles þises middaneardes fægernyssa 7 his wynsumnyssa; 7 eac swylce hy us foresædon ealles þises middaneardes þysternyssa, 7 his synna 7 his ge-dwolân. 7 þonne nales þat an, þat hi us tacnodon ymbe þyses andweardan middaneardes gesetnysses, ac hi us eac sædon ymbe þa toweardynsse þæs forhtigendan domes, 7 þone soðfastan Deman Crist sylf. 7 eac pyssere tacnunge hy eac getacnodon hwylc wæs heofona rice to geearmienenne 7 hwylc wæs hellewite to befleonne, on þa gелиchynsse þæ se witega cœð be heofona rice 7 be helle, þæt nætre nære on heofona rices wuldre swa micel unwynsumes on ænigum laðe, oððe on hungre oððe on þurste, oððe on cyle oððe on hætan. oððe on adle oððe on ænigum laðe gewinne þæt wære swa mycel swa anes lytles fugeles sweg. Swylce he cœð, se ylca witega, þæt nære næfre on hellewyte swa mycel wynsumes swa anes fugeles sweg.

Swylce eac wœron us to leochtftatum gesette Cristes apostolas, þa wœron onsende on þysne middaneard geond myssendlice þeoda þurh Crist sylfne, forði þonne þæt hi sœolon menn trynnan 7 læran 7 fullian, 7 deofolsçype

50 þysternyssa: MS. þysteryssa. 51 tacnodon: MS. tacnodo.
nyðerian, 7 peos deofolican lustas adwescan, 7 Drihtenes rice bredan; swa swa Crist sylf to his apostolum spre-
70) cende wæs 7 bus cwæð: Ic eow sende on peode 7 on ðore, on þa gelincysse after eorðlice wisan, þe eorðlican ic on-
F. 208/ sende an sceap on wulfa heap. Ne weron hy swa framne onsended forðon ðe hi hæfdon þæt gastlice
mægen and þone heofolican fultum Cristes sylfes; þone
75) fultum hi geearnodon þurh þæt þe hy weron Cristes willan wyrcende; forþan hi sittað on heofonan rices wulдре on
þa swyðran healfe God Fader. Par hy him næning lað ne
ondræðað, ne hunger ne þurst ne adle ne deofles costunga,
ne him þar ne byð næfre nanes godes wana, ne him næfre
80) þæs lifes 7 þære wynsumynsse næning ende ne geyrnð.
Broðor mine, hwæt, we leornodon þæt Cristes apost-
tolas weron mennisce menn on þa gelincysse þe we syndon.
We ponne leornodon þæt hi geearnodon þæt rice 7 þæt setl
þæt hi onwuniað on heofonan rices wulдре mid þam ylcm
85) dæðum þe us alyfede syndon gyf we us sylfe ne forgym-
leasiað godra dæða. Ne synd we næfre to ofermode on urum

Sources. 69 [Matt. xxviii: 19] Euntes ergo docete omnes
gentes: baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiri-
tus sancti;
70-2 [Matt. x: 16] Ecce ego mitto vos sicut ovem in medio
luporum. Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices
sicut columbae (passim).
yfelum dædum, ac we hraðe to þære anddetynsse 7 to þære bote gecyrrom. Micel gegearnung þæt is menniscum menn þæt he geearnige mid godum dædum to þam ælmhītigan Drihtene þurh his anes mægen, mid Godes fultune, þæt he mæge mid þæ apostolican hāde sǣle þa heorðe he gode healdan sceal 7 fram hellewite generian. Swa Cristes apostolas dydon, 7 habbað geearnod þæt heora ægwylc an mæg eallum manncynne geþingian, þæt him se Hælend forgýfð ealle heora synna.

Uton we þonne, broðor mine, on þas halgan tide gecornfullice 7 eadmodlice biddan þone ælmhītigan Drihten his mildheortynsse, 7 we eac biddan þa halgan apostolas þa væron ongebyrden æfter lichamlicre wisan us gelice.

7 hi us væron to leochtatum gesette þæt hy syndon ure þingeras to þam lyfgendan Gode, þæt we beon gehælede of urum synnum for Drihtenes mildheortynsse, 7 for bene þara haligra apostola, 7 for weorðunga þissere halgan tide. Swylce eac us syndon to lærowum gesette ure

(p. 202) þa gehaldodon bisceopas þa us trymmað 7 lærað to þam ecean rice gyf we him mid eadmodynsse þeowian willað. And eac swylce us syndon to lærowum gesette ure mæssepreostas þa þeow ðæghwamlice anweardæ to-foran urum eægum, þa us caenæ þurh þone Halgan Goda 7 trymmað 110) to þam ecean life.

Menig mann nafaðo ðæt andgæt hwæt seo acennednyssesse sy. We beoð acenned lichamlice purh fæder 7 purh moder hider on pisne middangeard; æfter þam we beoð acennede gastlice be lichamlice 7 be eorðlice. Proo acennednyssa beoð gastlice, swa Drihten sylf on hys godspelle spreccende wæs 7 þus cwæð: Ne mæg se eorðlica mann on ecynsse mid me wunian. on minum rice butan he sy acenned purh wæter 7 purh Haligæ Cast. Æhwylc þæra þe on me gelyfað 7 gefullod bið þurh wæter, 7 Fæder naþmann 7 on Sunu 7 on þone Halgan Cast, se bið on ecynsse mid me gehæled. ðæt is seo forme acennednyss gastlicu þonne we onfoð fullwihte æt ure mæssepreosta þenunge. Þonne is seo æfter acennednyss gastlicu syðan se mann gewintrod bið, 7 þæt gesæld nafaðo þæt he andette his scrifte ealle his synna. Syðan he bið Godes þecowa geciged forþan ðe se soða anddetyss bið æt frymðe eallra gastlicra læcedoma. Þonne is seo þridde acennednyss æfter þam soðan anddetyssa syðan se mann gewintrad bið 7 he hine sylfne gemæðað, purh þa soðan anddetyssesse 7 þurh his


Sources. 116-118 /John iii: 57 Respondit Jesus: Amen, amen, dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei. 118-21 /Mark xvi: 167 Qui crediderit, et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur.
130) scrifes fulcum, þæt he bið andfenge. Drihtenes sylves lichaman 7 his blode. Ponne he hafaþ fullice sealle þa hadas þe hine to þan ece life gelēþaþ. He geanlicode his lichaman heofonlican hlæfe 7 he onlihte his blodwine on lifes calice, 7 us þa onsende hider on pisne midden-
135) eard to earnan 7 to wedde eces lifes.

And swyloþ us wæron to lēohtfatum gesette 7 to lareowum þa halgan godspelleras. Purh þæra lære we ma-
gon witan hwæt we lufian sceolon 7 hwæt we gedon sceolon, 7 hwæt we forgýfan sceolon, 7 mid hwylcum þærum we magon hellewite beþleon. \( \sqrt{2} \) 2107 Swa he, Drihten sylfa, on his godspelle sprecende wæs be byssere halgan tide 7 be.

his godspellerum 7 þus cweð: Forþan ic þas gangðagas sette forþan þe ic wille þæt mine leorneras 7 mine godspel-
lleras secgan 7 bryman þæt ece lif, 7 ic wille æghwylcum
140) gemiltsian þæþas halgan tide weorðiaþ, 7 on me gelyfaþ, 7 mid godspellerum gelyfan willaþ. Forpon, broðor mine, on þas andweardan tide beðr reliquias haligra manna úwpahafene 7 forð aborene mid leofsange 7 mid gastlicum
sange on sunderlice stowa gehwilce swa hwær swa hi
145) gesette beðr. Us is ponne swyðe mycel nyþpearf þæt we mid swyðe mycelre eadmodnysse urum reliquium folgion 7 þam þeowian.

148 gastlicum: MS. gastlicum.
Swa we magon ongutan be sumre eorürlicre bysne: gyf 
men him beo of beowman ungesibsume, him ponne secan
sona, æfter menniscre wisan, gemotstowe, 7 dom gedemed 
bio 7 gesibbað hi. Ægðan sceal æc mann gelæstan swa 
se dema him bebeodað, 7 þat gemot bio ponne call gesyðod. 
Be þære, bysne we magon ongutan þas halgan tide, forpan 
þe þas dagas syndon ure gemotdagas gastlicra gemota. Ponne 
bið ure gastlice gemotstow on ymbhwyrfte ure reliquia, 
swa on cyrcan swa butan, swa on hwylcre stowe hi onge-
sette beoð. Wite ponne þat æghwylc mann þara þe on þysum 
gemote wunige 7 pis godspell gehyræð þet he eac þam 
georne mid eadmedium ontyne þære heortan earan to manunge 
byses godspelles, 7 to þas gastlican Deman Cristes syl-
ves. His domas he on gastlicum gewritum us gesette 7 
þurn gastlice leorneras us ontyndæ. Gyf we þas gastlican 
domas gelæstan willað þe Crist sylf on His godspelle 
beodað on pisse gemotstowe, ponne beoð we beforan Cris-
tes heahsetle on þam myclan dome þam soðfæstan Deman 
gecorene, 7 we ponne motan gehyran pone cwyde þe he sylf 
cweð to þam þe he sette on þa swyðran healfe: Cumað ge 
gebletsode to mine's Fæder rice þat eow wæs gegeardwod fram 
middaneardes fruman.

Broðor mine, us is swyðe mycel nyðpearf þæt us
þys godspell gerecce mid hwylcum ðærum we sceolon þone
söðfæstan Demoan weorðian 7 him þeowian ærest on ðp. 211/
þysse halgan tide þe nu onweard is. 7 swa hyt geçweden
ys on þysum godspelle þæt we sceolon upphebben 7 forð-
beran ure halgan reliquias. Da menn þe synd on endebyrd-
nyssse to gastlicum lofe gelæred, 7 þonne on ymbhwyrftæ
þara gastlicra lofsanga eall folc gewunie, 7 nan mann
hine sylfne ne sceade fram þam gastlican gemote butan
hit seo nyd si þe mare 7 manna gewitnyss þæt he him fyli-
ian ne mege, forþan þe ælcum þara bið heofonan rices
duru ontyned þe mid söðan geleafah þam halgum reliquium
fylið. 7 ðgæwylc mann gehealdæ clenlice his fæsten þæs
bry dagas oð da nontide 7 þonne þicge þa mettas þe he
hwilon þæt længtenfæsten þe se Hælend on prowode feower-
tig daga 7 feowertig nihta tosorne for eall manncynn.

Uton we nu þonne geþencann þæt we swyðe medemlice
gedýdon þæge tide ge ure fæsten ge ure ælmesan ge ure
beda ge ure gelæstas for namann þæs ælmhtigan Drihtenes,
swa we magon ongytan be þere eorðlican bysene, ærest be
urum fæstene: se mann se ðe þenceð þæt he læhte candele
gewyrce þæt he mege lyhten mid nihtlicum pystrum on his
huse, þonne gewyrceð he him godne tápor 7 hine þonne

178 is: MS. his. 179 ys: MS. hys. 181 gastlicum: MS. gast-
licu. 181 ymbhwyrfte: MS. ymbhwyrftæ. 187 ðgæwylc: MS.
ðgwylic.
smyreō. Ponne biō se taper þurh pa smyrungle onbyrhted
7 seó þystru his huses biō onlyhted. Nafast ðu et þam
200) tapore nænig leocht ne nænig recc gyf he þære smyrrenysse
ne underfæhō. Swa þonne biō þam menn þe cwēg þet he
wile fæstæn for naman þæs ælmhtiðgan Drihtenes and þonne
þonne þæg þe he þet fæsten onfæsteð, þonne biō he þone
þæg geunrotsسود on his môde 7 on his þeawum widerweard;
205) 7 þeaw þe he þone Cristes þearfan geseo, þonne þencō he
þet he nele ægøer gefæstæn ge eac þone þearfan geþre-
frían 7 aretan. Þonne gelimpeð his þeowum oðde fæo-
menn þet he hafað ymbeþyðg ærendæ to þam fæstændan
menn, þonne þencō he: Ne wille ic mine ærende aðeðan
210) ær his hrif gereorddot sy, forþam þe hi oft onleton ongy-
tån þet hi weron on heora fæstæne geunblissod.
Broðor mine, ne biō swylc fæsten gecoren þam p. 2127
sofæstæn Demæn, ac gyf þu wille medomlice fæstæn for
namaþ þæs ælmhtiðgan Drihtenes þonne gefylst pone cwýde
215) þe on þam sealme mecðæðen wæs: Drihten forlæt me mine
scylda on þa gelicynysse þe ic forlet ælcum þeara þe wiō
mæ agyłtæð. Swa sceal se manne don se ðe wyle rihtwislice

198 onbyrhted: MS. onbyrhtæg. 208 fæstændan: MS. alters from
fæstænnan. 215 þam: MS. alters from wam.

Sources. Lines 215-17 are not found in the Psalms but in
Matt. vi: 14-5: Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum:
dimmittet et vobis pater vester coelestis delicta vestra. 157
Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus; nec pater vester dimittet
vobis peccata vestra.
faestan for naman þæs almhtigan Drihtenes. Ac se mann
de þe þencð þat he olænlícfe faeste þonne eac þencð.
220) to wræce worda 7 þæda þam þe ær wið hine agylton, 7 ðe
wile forgýfennyse syllan 7 mildheortnysse, 7 gefeán
syllan ealra þearra yfela worda 7 þæda þe he æfre wið
Cristes willan geworhte, þat faeste bið gelíc þam un-
smyredan tapore, se þære beorhtnysse ne onfæð. Swa
225) bið þam gast þis weg to þam ecean lif gebyrhted, gyf
se man bið on his faeste geunrotsod.

Forðon us is swýðe mycel nyðpearf þat we swýðe
eadmodlice gedon ure faesten ge ure alþýssan ge ure hlu-
tran gebeda ge ure unlustas for naman þæs almhtigan
230) Drihtenes. Gyf we swa wyllað don, 7 pas lare gelæstan,
þonne magon we gecarnian mid þam lastum forgýfennyse
eallra þæra unnýtta lasta þe we ær on twelf monðum on
unnýt gecodon; and eac swylce we magon gecarnian purh
ure clæne faesten forgýfynysse eallra þæra unnýtt ætæ þe
235) we on twelf monðum þegigdom. Eac swa we magon gecarnian
ednywunge 7 gebéltfæstnysse eallra ura eorðlicra gestre-
ona 7 eac þat mare is, eallra ura synna forgýfynysse gyf
we ne forgýmeleasiað on þas andweardan tide Godes þeow-
domas.

225 gebyrhted: MS. gebyrhted. ~

Glosses, Old English. 230 Gyf: gib.
240) 

Balne Godes dom we magon purh preo ping gehealdan.
Pat syndon pa preo ping pat se mann hine gehealde: on
godum gepohtum, 7. on godum weorcum, 7 on godum dædum.
Se goda gepoht onbryrdeð þæs mannnes heortan to þam
godum dædum. Broðor mine, pysum we magon geearnian
245) pat we moton lyfian, 7 on blisse beon mid Drihtene syl-
fum 7 mid his þam halgum on heofonan rice; þam þe leofað
7 rixað on eallra worulda woruld a butan ende. Amen.
NOTES

Title. The title, which occurs in the first line of text, is written in rustic majuscules.

1. Men ða leofestan us is swiðe. Which is a large non-ornamental majuscule about six times the size of the other letters. All are majuscules, some are touched with red ink.


\[\text{bëre-fore ȝere drihten ȝe laȝëð us noht to bëren swiche rode. ac laȝëð us to an oðer. Ⱦe þis bitocne þat is cleped, Carrius maceracio. Ⱦat is lichemes helsing. Mannes lichame ihalsne ìwis. þenne me hine pined mid hunger, and mid þurste, and mid wesche. and mid swinche. and mid stiue wedes next þe liche and smerte smiten of smale longe gerden. and mid michele chele oðer wile. pos rodan moten bëren alle sinfulle men.}\]

(p. 207/1-7)

33. onlyhte menige gastliche leochtfatu. Perhaps suggested by Christ's words to the apostles in Matt. v: 14-15:

\[\text{Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita. [15] Nseque accendunt lucernam, et ponunt eam sub modo, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt.}\]

42-3. swa hit gecweden ye on gastlicum gewritum. No direct source has been identified, but the homilist is not always precise or correct in his reference to scripture. Lines 140-46 are not found in the godspelle (l. 141) as the text suggests, nor are the scriptural allusions in lines 179 (godspelle) and 215 (sealm) accurate. As J.E. Cross wrote to Hildegard Tristram:

\[\text{"... this man puzzled me a little. Usually a homilist knows scripture well and when he refers to it, does so accurately. But godspell and sealm suggest that this man}\]
is not so knowledgable or that the words are used unusually" (J. E. Cross in persönlicher Mitteilung).

50. middaneardes. First e appears altered from f.

54-63. The source has not been identified but compare De Letantia Maiore (above, pp. 28-57) l. 170-7, and In Vigilia Ascensionis (below, pp. 165-89), l. 55-8.


Drinthen cwæð, "Farað, efe ic sende eow swa swa lamb betwix wulfum." Lamb is uncœdbig nyten, and Godes læor sceal healdan uncœdbigysses on his lifes þeawum betwix ðam re-pan folce. Ne sceal he teran ne bitan swa swa wulf, ac sceal forberan reðra manna angin, þat he ðurh his liðnesse heora graman geliðe-wæce.

(p. 532/6-11)

Also Homily XXXI: Estote Prudentes Et Vigilate In Orationibus (ed. Morris, Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, pp. 192-201):


(p. 195/8-16)

74-7. Cf. Matt. xix: 27-8:

estis me, in regeneratione cum sederit filius hominis in sede majestatis sui, sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel.


121-32. Alfric speaks of three births in Natale Sancti Pauli Apostoli (Thorpe, CH 1, 384-401), but only the first two are as here:

Tuwa we beoð on ðisum life acennede: seofor me acennednes is flæsclic, of fæder and of meder; seofor acennednes is gæstlic, ðonne we beoð ge-æccennede on ðam halgan fulluhte, on ðam ðatus beoð ealle synna forgynes, þurh ðaes Halgan Gastes gife. Seo ðirdde acennednes bið on ðam gæmenelic æriste, on ðam beoð ure lichaman ge-æccennede to unbroshingendlicum lichaman.

(p. 394/27-34)

126-7. eallra gastlicra lacedoms. It is not uncommon for homilists to liken the condition of a sinful man to that of a sick man. Tristram believes the tradition may arise from scriptural passages such as Jeremias 30: 13 and Jeremias 46: 11 (Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition, p. 323), and cites the example of Homily X (ed. Morris, Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, pp. 56-9):

Vnderstondede get an pi/æ/g pat ich giu wile warnie fore, gif man beoð forwunde, he wile anon sechen after leches, and shewen him his wunden, and bi his wissinge Ieden is lif, forte pat he bie hol, also we ogen to ðon, Ure saule is sore forwunde, for ech synne is þe saule wunde, and prest is saulene leche, and forbi we agen to cumen to ure prestes er banne we biginnen to festen, and of him understonden shrift.

(p. 57/1-8)

See also the opening of Homily XIII: Dominica II In Quadragesima (ed. Morris, Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, pp. 76-81):

In his ergo diebus exibamus nosmet ipsos si-\text{cui} 
\text{t}y dei ministros. In multa paciencia.

(p. 77/1-5)

And Ælfric's Passio Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli (Thorpe, CH i, 454-77):

God is se soða læce, þe ðurh mislice swingla his folces synne gehemð. Nis se woruld-læce wælhreow, ðeah ðe he þone gewundodan mid bæ-nette, oðde mid ceorfsexe gelæcigne. Se læce cyrfð oðde bærðc, and se untruma hrymð, þeah-hwæðere ne miltsæ ðe þæs oðres wanunge, forðan gif se læce geswicð his crafte, þonne lossa se forwundoda. Swa eac God gelacnað his geceorenra gyltas mid mislicum brocum; and þeah ðe hit hefigtyme ðy ðam ðrowigendum, þeah-hwæðere wyle se goda læce to ecere halœ hine gelæcignan.

(p. 472/12-21)

132-5, Cf. Matt. xxvi: 26-8:


Also 2 Cor. v: 5:

Qui autem efficit nos in hoc ipsum, Deus, qui dedit nobis pignus spiritus.

164. ontyne bare heortan earan. Cf. MS. Hatton 114, f. 110/20-3:

Ac uton we biddan urne Drihten ðonne mildheortan Scyppend þæt he ontyne by earan ure heortan to his ðære halgan lare to onfona.

And Vercelli Homily II (Förster, Die Vercelli-homilien, pp. 44-53):
La hwæt, we be-hofigæ, þæt we usse earan ontyne 7 usse heortan to þam godspellican larum .

(p. 52/126-7)

179. godspelle. Probably an inaccurate citation. See the note to 11. 42-3.

182-5. Tristram calls attention (Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition, p. 328) to Cassarius of Arles Sermon CCVII, De Lœtanæ:

Qualis ergo ille, qui terræ regis exercitum deserit, sine dubio talis iudicandus est et ille, qui in istis tribus diebus Christi ecclesiam derelinquit. Quicumque ergo sine aliqua infirmitate aut certa occupazione in istis diebus dei populum deseruerit, ab illo cælesti rege non præmissum sed obprobrium, non gloriæ sed ignominiam recepturum se esse noverit; et quidem talis quasi fugitivus et desertor castorum cælestium, æternæ confusionem et dignum meritum suis subRECium sustinebit.

(CCSL 104, Pt. II, 829)

185-7. Cf. MS. Hatton 114, f. 110v/19-21:

7 æghwylcum þara bið heofona rices duru ongean untyned. þe þa halgan reliquias mid geleafan folgiaþ.


195-226. As Tristram notes (Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition, p. 332), lines 195-226 show some thematic similarity to the Parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. xxv: 1-13). This parable is explained by Ælfric in Natale Sanctarum Virginum (Thorpe, CH ii, 562-75); the lamps he equates with godan weorc (p. 564/27), the oil with sodan lufe (p. 564/11).

215-17. These lines are thematically similar to the Rules of Charity (Luke vi: 27-38). See also Ælfric's In XL De Penitentia (Thorpe, CH ii, 602-9):

Se man ðe wile his synna geandettan and gebæten, he sceal don þonne forgifennyse eallum þam mannum ðe him þar abulgon, swa swa hit stent on þam Pater nostre, and swa swa Crist cyæð
on his godspelle: he cwæð, "Buton ge forgifon ðam mannum þe eow agyltaþ mid innewearde heortan, nele se Heofenlicça Fæder eow forgýfan eowere gyłtas."

(p. 604/8-14)

218-24. True charity must accompany any sacrifice if it is to be acceptable to God. Cf. Matt. v: 23-4:

Si ergo offers munus tuum ad altare, et ibi recordatus fueris quia frater tuus habet ali- quid adversum te: Relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare, et vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo: et tunc veniens offeres munus tuum.

245. Drihtere. Drihtene occurs at the end of MS. line 29 (p. 212) and continues into the manuscript's binding.

247. Amen. Written in rustic capitals; -A is gold, -men is red.
MONDAY

ON THE GREATER LITANY

Beloved men, it is very necessary that we hear a part of this holy sermon which instructs and reminds us about the need of our soul, and about the holiness of this time and about its worthiness, which is proclaimed in holy writings through spiritual teachers as divine ordinance, that these three days are named litanies.

Ever the need is very great that we hold true love and true humility, that we merit through our sincere prayers and contrite heart, through our pure almsgiving according to Church decree, that we be mindful and consider, as our teachers admonish us, that we should pray to the almighty Lord for His mercy and for fruitfulness in our spiritual and temporal life. Let us remember that on these three days we zealously should serve the Lord with complete humility, because of the honour of these days, that He may hear our prayer. Therefore let us now and at all times hear and obey His commandments.

Let us first hear and consider the word He Himself spoke in His gospel and proclaimed over all the world to those who would keep His commandments, that each of us should gather around the relics of our saints, and that no man absent himself from the holy meeting of the Lord Himself and the ecclesiastics around the relics of
Christ's saints and apostles, and Christ's holy Cross.

As we have learned and truly know, the almighty

30) Lord favoured steadfast men in this world in many diverse ways, and He did so because He willed that pure creation should know its eternal Creator. Thus He lighted many spiritual lamps and sent them into this world to destroy

35) the darkness and turn the gloom of sin from our hearts through His holy and spiritual lamps. He intended also that we merit the dispensation of this light so that in the future we might partake of eternal light with Him and with His saints.

40) Many men dwell in this assembly and still do not know what the spiritual lamps are unless the clergy explain it to them, as it is made known in holy writings by clerical teachers, that our patriarchs were placed as lamps for us: Abel, Enoch, Melchisedech, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob. They gave us light and established the pattern of all good works. After them came God's holy prophets, who taught us through the Holy Spirit and proclaimed the joys and lovliness of the world, and also

45) warned us about its sins and errors. And not only this; they also taught us about the condition of this world, and spoke to us about the coming of dreadful judgment,
and about the true Judge Christ Himself. They also
signified to us, in the figure used by the prophet in
speaking of heaven and hell, what that heaven to be won
was like, and that hell to be shunned; he said there
was never in the glory of the kingdom of heaven so much
unpleasantness in any pain, or hunger, or thirst, or
cold, or heat, or disease, or in any hateful labour as
would equal the cheeping of one small bird. The same
prophet also says there never would be so much joy in
hell's torment as the sound of one small bird.

Christ's apostles were also set as lamps for us
who were sent throughout the various nations of this
world by Christ Himself, that they might strengthen,
teach, and baptize men, and cast down idolatry and blot
out the devil's lusts, and extend the kingdom of the
Lord, as Christ Himself speaking to His apostles thus
said: "I send you into one nation and into another,"
that is, in an earthly figure, "I send you into the
world as a sheep in the company of wolves." But the
apostles were not sent into such danger because they
had the divine strength and heavenly support of Christ
Himself—they earned that support because they were
performing the will of Christ. Wherefore they now sit
in the glory of the kingdom of heaven at the right hand
of God the Father. There they do not fear anything
harmful, neither hunger nor thirst, nor disease, nor
the temptations of the devil; there is never a lack of good, nor do life and joy ever come to an end.

Lo, my brothers, we learned that Christ's apostles were human men like us; and we learned that they earned that kingdom and seat they hold in the glory of the kingdom of heaven through the same works that are available to us if we do not neglect good deeds. We should never become arrogant in our evil deeds but we should quickly turn to confession and penance. There is great merit open to man that through good deeds he may merit from almighty God through his own power, with God's support, that with the apostles He may hold all the group to good and save them from hell, as Christ's apostles did and have merited that each of them may intercede for all mankind, that the Saviour will forgive all their sins.

Therefore, my brothers, let us at this holy time earnestly and humbly pray to the almighty Lord for His mercy, and also to the holy apostles who were born in worldly fashion like us. They were set as lamps for us so that they are our intercessors with the living God, that we may be saved from our sins through the Lord's mercy and the prayers of the holy apostles, and the merits of this holy time. Our anointed bishops who prepare and guide us to the eternal kingdom are set as teachers, if we will obey them with humility. Likewise
we have as teachers our priests who are daily present before our eyes, who beget us through the Holy Spirit and fortify us to eternal life.

Many men do not understand what birth is. We are born into this world fleshly. Afterwards we are born spiritually, as to body and soul. There are three spiritual births, as the Lord Himself speaking in His gospel thus said: "No man can dwell with Me eternally in My kingdom unless he be born of water and the Holy Spirit. Each one who believes in Me and is baptized through water, in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, will be saved with Me in eternity." That is the first spiritual birth, when we receive baptism through the ministry of our priests. Then there is a second spiritual birth after the man is grown and it is granted that he may acknowledge his sins in confession. Afterwards he is called a servant of God because true confession is at the beginning of all healing. The third birth occurs after true confession, when the man is grown and prepares himself through true confession with the support of penance, that he is able to receive the body and blood of the Lord Himself. Then he fully possesses all the qualities which bring him to eternal life. Christ likened His body to heavenly bread and His blood to wine in the Chalice of Life, and
sent them to us here in the world as promise and pledge of eternal life.

The holy evangelists also were set as lamps and teachers for us. Through their instruction we may know what we should love and what we should do, and what we should avoid, and with what deeds we can escape hell torment, as the Lord Himself speaking in His gospel about this holy time and His evangelists thus said: "I instituted these Rogation days because I desire that My teachers and evangelists announce and honour eternal life; and I will be merciful to all who honour this holy time and believe in Me and desire to trust in Me with the evangelists. Therefore, my brothers, the relics of saints are raised aloft on this observance and carried forth with hymns and psalms in each of the special places where they are set. Thus the need is great that we humbly go in procession with our relics and do them honour.

We may understand this by an earthly example. If there is disagreement among men then, according to man's custom, they at once seek out a meeting place and a judgment is rendered and they are reconciled. Each man must then do as the judge commands him and the community is at peace. By that example we can understand this holy time, because these are our meeting days of spiritual assembly. The holy place of meeting is the area surround-
We must reverence our relics, both within and without the Church, or in whichever place they are arranged. Understand, then, that each man who comes to this assembly and hears this gospel should also eagerly and humbly open the ears of his heart to the admonition of this gospel and of the spiritual Judge Christ Himself. He set down His laws for us in holy writings and opened them to us through the holy teachers. If we resolve to follow the holy laws which Christ Himself commands through His gospel in this meeting place, then we will be the chosen ones of the true Judge before Christ's throne at the great judgment, and we can hear the words which He Himself spoke to those He placed on His right hand: "Come ye blessed into the kingdom of My Father which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world."

My brothers, the need is very great that this gospel tell us with which deeds we should honour and first serve the true Judge on the holy time now at hand; so it is said in this gospel that we should raise up and carry forth our relics with the men instructed in holy song following them in order. All the people should gather around the relics in songs of praise, and no man depart from the holy assembly unless it be through great necessity and men witness that he is unable to participate, because the door to the kingdom of heaven
is opened to all who follow the holy relics with true faith. And each man should strictly hold to his fast these three days until none, and then eat only the food which he formerly ate during Lent, during which time the Saviour suffered a fast forty days and nights together for all mankind.

Let us now remember that during Lent we very unsatisfactorily performed our fast, almsgiving, prayers, and other obligations in the name of the almighty Lord, as we may learn by an earthly example concerning fasting, about the man who intends to make a bright lamp by which he can dispel the nightly darkness in his house. First he makes a good wick, next he smears it. Then, on account of the smearing, the wick will light and the darkness of his house be dispelled. But you do not have light or smoke from the wick if you do not apply grease. Just so is the man who says he intends to fast in honour of the almighty Lord and then, on the day he undertakes that fast, is sad at heart and perverse in disposition, and although he sees Christ's poor he thinks that he will neither fast, nor console and gladden them. Then it happens to his servant or freeman that he has an important errand for the fasting man, and he thinks: I will not make known my errand before his belly is fed, because they often let it be known afterwards that they were made unhappy in their fast.
My brothers, such a fast is not acceptable to the true Judge. If you wish to fast humbly in the name of the almighty Lord, then fulfill the word which is spoken in the psalm: Lord, forgive me my sins in the manner I forgive each of those who sin against me. So should the man do who wishes to fast properly in the name of the almighty Lord. But the man who thinks he should fast worthily and then thinks to revenge words and deeds formerly worked against him, and does not wish to grant mercy and forgiveness, but takes joy in all the evil words and deeds he ever worked against Christ's will, that man's fast is like an ungreased wick—it takes on no brightness. Similar is the fate of the soul whose way is to be lighted to eternal life, if the man is unstable in his fasting.

Thus the need is great that we humbly perform our fast, our almsgiving, our sincere prayers and abstinence in the name of the almighty Lord. If we will do so, and obey the teaching, then we may earn by these accomplishments forgiveness for all the duties we performed carelessly during the twelve months previous. Through a pure fast we may earn forgiveness for all the excessive foods we ate in the year, and we may also earn the increase and success of all our earthly property, and what is more important, forgiveness of all our sins, if we
do not neglect God's holy services at this present time. We may hold all of God's law through three things; these are the three things a man should guard himself in: good thoughts, good works, and good deeds. Good thoughts excite the man's heart to good deeds. My brothers, through these we may merit life and rejoicing in the kingdom of heaven with the Lord Himself and with His saints, Who lives and reigns forever and ever, world without end. Amen.
DOMINICA ANTE ROGATIONUM

(British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 44-55v)

[Ke 144 art. 6]

British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, which consists of homilies and miscellaneous shorter pieces, dates from the third quarter of the eleventh-century and may have been part of Lambeth Palace MS. 489 (Catalogue, p. 182). The manuscript contains 10 articles; seven of which are homilies: articles 2 and 3 are sermons from Alfric's first series of Catholic Homilies (Dominica II Post Pascha, CH i, 238-43; and Primus Sermo De Initio Creature, Quando Volueris, CH i, 8-27), articles 1, 4, 5, and 9 are printed by Napier: In Dio Iudicii (Wulfstan, no. 40), De Dedicatione Ecclesiae (Wulfstan, no. 54), Lectione Secundum Lucam (Wulfstan, no. 37), and a fragment, which is as the end of Wulfstan, no. 27. Article 6 is edited here; it is an expansion of Vercelli Homily XIX and contains extensive borrowings from Alfric, as detailed by Ker (Catalogue, pp. 183-4). Miscellaneous shorter items also occur in the manuscript.

MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii is foliated 1-55, 55*, 56-58, and was "formerly paged in red pencil on rectos 1-115"; folio 1 is a parchment flyleaf Ker assigns to the sixteenth-century (Catalogue, p. 184). The folios are
collated 2-58: quires 1-6 contain 8 leaves each, quire 7 had eight but lacks leaf 7 after f. 55, quire 8 has three leaves. The folios measure c. 184 x 125 mm.; the writing occupies c. 170 x 80 mm. (Ker's figures). Nineteen long lines are intended per folio. The binding dates from the nineteenth-century (ibid).

The origin of the manuscript is not known, although Ker feels confident in assigning it to Exeter:

The script, the use of c-shaped accents, the format, and the number of lines to the page associate this manuscript with Ker nos. 68 /Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 419 and 421 pp. 1-27, 69 /Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 421v, and especially 283 /London, Lambeth Palace MS. 489/ . . . like them it is almost certainly from Exeter.

(Catalogue, p. 185)

Ker believes the provenance of the manuscript was known to Richard James in the seventeenth-century, if, as seems probable, his note in MS. James 27 refers to article 10 in this manuscript. James wrote:

'Here is se geleafa 7 gebed 7 bletsung læsequence, de het leiden ne cunnon in codice Exon. bibliotece,'

(Catalogue, p. 184)

Ker speaks further about the manuscript's provenance:

It cannot, however, have been actually at Exeter as late as this, since it was used by Archbishop Parker . . . and bears the signature of his son John Parker on f. 2 in red pencil. Presumably James was copying from a six-
tenth-century transcript, perhaps one of Joscelyn's. Belonged to Cotton in 1621: Harley 6018, no. 70.

Folios 44-55v are in good condition, clear and easily legible. Minor damage has occurred in the lower right hand corner of recto folios—lower left hand corner of verso folios—obscuring a few letters. Small holes occur sporadically in the manuscript, but only one interrupts the text: a slight tear in f. 48 between lines 16 and 17; no letters have been lost. Interlinear additions are infrequent; glosses do not occur at all. Abbreviations are used only sparingly and are conventional in all instances: 7 is used for and, ò for òæt, and a stroke occurs over vowels when ì is omitted. Colour is used infrequently to ornament majuscule letters in blue-green ink.

The primary mark of punctuation is the cola, which is placed on a level with the foot of minims. The periodus is used with some regularity; the comma is less frequent.

The script exhibits a few distinguishing features: ascenders are split at the top, descenders often tail to the left, both long and low forms of ñ occur, although long ñ does not occur in the final position. C-shaped accents occur commonly over short vowels, a stroke sometimes occurs over long vowels. Words divided at the
end of a line are joined by a hyphen; the hyphen is placed on a level with the foot of minims, and occurs at the end of one line and beginning of the next.

The dialect is primarily West-Saxon and shows a predominance of late forms:

**Late West-Saxon Forms**

**Stressed Syllables:**

1. There is some preference for ð over ð, as in *syndon* (l. 11), *syðdan* (l. 29) and *hwylcum* (l. 46).

2. Regular preference for ð over ie, as in *gelyfan* (l. 4), *Scyppende* (l. 22) and *hyrsumian* (l. 32).

3. ð is occasionally preferred to eo, as in *getryw-lite* (l. 101) and *dypan* (l. 156).

4. ð is always preferred in group sel-, as in *sylfum* (l. 18) and *sylle* (l. 107).

5. nhihtes (l. 90), all occurrences, shows the characteristic tendency to write ð before a palatal consonant.

6. ne- is regularly preferred over ny- in forms of *nyllan*, as with *nelle* (l. 110).

7. wur- is preferred to *wear-* in *wurpað* (l. 171); *wyr-* is preferred to *weor-* in *gehwyrfan* (l. 112).

**Unstressed Syllables:**

1. heom occurs frequently in the dative plural of the personal pronoun.

2. -nys is always preferred to -nes (Campbell 382), as with *gyfermysse* (l. 97), although this is not exclusively a late tendency.

3. bám is always preferred over bám in the dative plural of the demonstrative pronoun, and in the masculine and neuter singular, although this is not exclusively a late tendency; byssere (l. 75) occurs for bissere in the genitive singular feminine.
Consonants:

(1) *miltheortnyssë* (l. 197) and *mildheortnyssë* (l. 203) show the tendency for *t* and *d* to interchange.

(2) Consonants sometimes double before *l*, as with *mycclum* (1. 81) and *mycclan* (1. 181).

British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii is catalogued by Humphrey Wanley (*Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium Catalogus*, p. 201), catalogued and described by N.R. Ker (*Catalogue*, pp. 182-5), and described by John C. Pope (*Homilies of Alfric: A Supplementary Collection*, I, 33-4). Folios 44-55v, which are collated by Paul Szarmach with *Vercelli Homily XIX* (*Selected Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 169-209), are here edited for the first time.
DOMINICA ANTE ROGATIONUM

(MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xii, ff. 44-55v)

\[\text{Ker 144 art. 67}\]

Men ða leofestan, us gedafenað ærest þat we geman 7 gereccan be Gode álmihtigum, þe geworhtæ heofenas 7 eordan 7 ealle gesceafæa; on ðone we sceolon gelyfan þrynlice on ðadam 7 anlicæ on spedum. ðeer 5) is soðlice se had álmihtiges ðæder, ðeer is álmihtiges Suna, ðeer is álmihtiges Haliges Gastes; 7 þeah-hæðere we sceolon andetan ðanne God on mægenþrymme 7 on mintæ 7 on godcundýsse, forþam se ðæder is ece God 7 se 7 Suna is ece God 7 se Halga Gast is ece God. Ealle þry, 10) se ðæder 7 se Suna 7 se Halga Gast wæron æfre efetæce 7 æfre [ff. 44v] beoð. 7 hy þry syndon an ðenne God, fram þam 7 þurh þane 7 on þam syndon geworhtæ ealle þa þing þe gesewene syndon, þa ne mæg nán eorðíc man ealle 15) ðærst on frymðe he geworhtæ heofenas 7 eordan 7 se 7 ealle þa þing þe on him syndon, 7 ealle þa englas þe on heofenum syndon, 7 ealle þa þe of englum to deol-lum forscæpene wurdon. Ealle he hi of him sylfum mid his oroðe ut ableow, 7 þone þe he foremærostne hæðe 20) ofer ealle þa oðre englas, se weas ðúcifer gehaten, þe þat is on urum geþeode "leocht-bérænd" gereht. Ac he eft
pa he hine sylfne his Scyppende gelicne Æ. 45r7 don
wolde 7 him brymsetl on norðæle heofenan ricec getim-
brian wolde, of þam he ricene afeoll 7 ealle þæs þam
ræ de mid him wæron 7 him æfter besawon. Ealle hi
wurden of englum to deoflum forsceapene 7 on helle
besceofene. Þær hi á on ecnyssse witu poliaoc forþam
þe hi forhogodon hyra Scyppendæ almihtigne God.

Syðdan he geworhte of eorðan lāme bone ærestan
menn þe æfre wæs, þone he be naman Ædam nemde, 7 him
orbæow liflicne gast. 7 him ealle eorðan gesceafu
on geweald sealde 7 sæs fixas þæt hi him hyrsymian
sceoldan. 7 he Æ. 45v7 him eallum naman gesceop, æg-
ðær ge nytenum ge fugelum ge fixum, 7 hi ealle gyte be
þam naman fram eallum mannum synd genennede þe him Ædam
æt fyrmeæ gesceop.

7 Drihten almihtig of Ædæum winstran sidan genam
þæt ribb þe he þæt wif of geworhte þe Éva hatte. Of
þam twam purh Godes mihte ys ealles middaneardes folc
fram cumen.

7 him God forgeaf þæt hi ealles geweald ágan mos-
ton þe on eorðan wore buton anes treowæs væstm, þæt is
genenned "Lifes Treow," 7 we hit nemnaþ ficbeam. Þæt
treow is on middan neorxnawonge. Be þam treowe Æ. 46r7

45) Crist sylf forewarnode ægðer ge Ædam ge Éván. 7, him
sæde bám þæt on swa hwylcum dæge swa hy þæs treowes

42 væstm: MS. vel bleda.
blåda æton hi sceoldon forpan forwürðan. 7 hi eac swa dydon. Ac þa se deofol geseth 7 wiste þæt him Gōd swa micel forgyfen hæfde 7 he sylf beswicen wæs 7 þa 50) ðe mid him of heofenum gefeollen. Pa þohhte he to beswicen ne hæl swa hē sylf beswicen wæs. Ne þa gehyðode hine sylfne to rædðran hīwe 7 hi butu beswac 7 forlærde. Sæde him þæt on swa hwylcum dæge swa hi þæs treoweæ. blåda æton, þæt hi wæron syðdan þam gelice þe hi geworhete. Ac hit him wearð biterlice ꞌr. 46f for-golden on heora life, ge eac æfter, ægðer ge him ge eall-lum manncynne þe him fram com oð ures Drīthenes tocyme. Nigon hundwintre 7 prytingwintra ādam lyfede on pisse worulde on geswince 7 on yrмēc 7 syðdan to helle för, 60) 7 þær grymme witu polode fif þusendo wintra 7 twa hund-wintra 7 eahta 7 twentig wintra.

Men ða leofestan, us is nu forþy mycel oferpearf, nu we þus þurh Godes mihte ealle ætgedere syndon, þæt we gecyrran of yfele 7 dön gōd 7 gehyræn mid eallum ead-mettum halige lāra 7 þam georne fyligan, 7 us æt Gōd 65) æt ꞌf. 47f eallum his halgum mihta 7 miltse biddan, þe læs us deoflu æfter urum foröðe ongean wurpon þæt we oft ætgedere ealle wæron 7 us beforan halige lāra gehyr-don rædðon, 7 we na þe beteran wæron ac þe metran.

70) Ac uton us wendan, men ða leofestan, to beteðan råde 7 forlætæn ealle yfele þing 7 dön gōd swa forð swa
we fyrnest magon, 7 to Gode þæs georne geearnian 7 to
cellaum his halgum. Us is georne to witenne 7 to ge-
hlystene for hwylcum þingum we þas Gangdagas healdan
75) þe nu on þyssere ucon beoð; 7 barefóte gað pus on
geares fyrste þas þry dagas—se feóða ys Driht—\[f. 47v\]
ne sylfum gehalgod for his mæran uppstige to heofenan—7
mid hwylcum þingum we hi healdan sceolan us is georne
to witenne.

80) We hi sceolan healdan on micelre eadmódnysse 7 on
myclocm gebylde mid soþre lufe. 7 mid ealre clænnysse
lichaman 7 sawle 7 mid gódum wæccum 7 nytwearðum 7 mid
fægænum 7 mid halgum gebedum 7 mid almesdædum 7 on
c ealre gódnyssæ 7 on lufe Godes 7 manna. Manegum hali-
gum mannum þas gangdagas syndon wiðmête ne, ac us is
lang þæt eall to recenne.

85) Uton þæh us georne scyldan wið deofol eallum tí-
dum 7 us on—\[f. 48r\] gean his yfelan lara Godes mild-
heortnyssæ biddan dæges 7 nihtes. Se deofol dæges 7
nihtes winö ongean us mid his geleafleaste, uton we
winnan ongean hyne mid geleaffulnysse. He winö mid
ofermódnysse, uton we ongean mid eadmódnysse. He us
gearßæ galnysse, uton we ongean clænnysse. He gegråp
mánfulnysse, uton we ongean rihtwisnysse. He us on

90) gebringö yræunge, uton we fyligean gebylde. He us on
sent gytsunge, uton we began mildheortnyssæ. He us myn-

95) geearnian: MS. geearnian. 74 Gangdagas: MS. gangdas.
gaë to gyferysse, uton we þærongean gehealdan for-
haefedynsse, 7 æfre \( \sqrt{1} \). 48\( \sqrt{1} \) ongean his yfelan wyllan
uten wyrcean Godes willan. Ealle we sceolon efstan

to Godes cyrcian swa swyöe swa beon doë to heora hyfe
to þam þat we magon getrywlice onbyrgean þa swetynysse
þæs gastlican huniges of þam godcundum lárun.

We gelyfaë, men ða leofestan, þæs þe we mæddon
on halgum bocum, þät swa hwa swa on þysum þrim dagum

to Godes cyrcian cynd 7 him þær his synna forgyfennyssa
æt Gode bitt mid ealre heortan hyldo 7 mid ealre eadmod-
ynysse, þät him Gód þæra synna forgyfennyssa sylle þe
he ær on twelf monüm gedyde. 7 hit ys eac awritten \( \sqrt{1} \).
49\( \sqrt{1} \) þät nan mann hine ne sceal geórwenan þät him Gód

mildsian nèle, þeah he þusend þusend synna ongean hys
willan geworht hæbbe. Peah-hwæðere ne forgyfö he us
na ða synna buton we þe ricenor heom fram gehwyrfan.

Us syndon synderlice on þisum dagum forbodene,
þeah hi on ælcre tíde forbodene syn þeah swyöost on
pyssé tyde, idele spræca 7 teflunga 7 beorscypas 7 þät
him nán mann on þysum dagum blód ne forlate, né né ge-
pristlæce ænig mann ætes ðoðe wætes to onbyrgenne
ær þære nigoðan tíde, 7 ær he mæsan gehyred hæbbe, 7
barum fótum \( \sqrt{1} \). 49\( \sqrt{1} \) Cristes besc 7 rode þacna 7 oøre

halige reliquias eadmódlice gegret hæbbe. We sceolon
eac on ðysum þrym ðagum swyðe geornlice begun ure hali-

gan gebedu 7 fyligean urum haligdomu uit 7 in mid clænum c
gepance, 7 þone almihtigan God mid geornfulnysse biddan
ealra ure synna forgyfennyssa, 7 mid ealre heortan hyne

125) lufian 7 herian. Alcum menn ge geongum ge ealdum þis

fæsten is beboden þet hig hit sceolon healice healdan
7 hit næfre nau naan man swyðor to bræcene þonne þet
lengcten fæsten.

C

Wite ge, hwa swa he geornor sceal God seow- 7.

130) 50r gean 7 healice fæstenu fæstan, þet pe geornor deo-

fol wyle gebringean on þam mer þet he hit gehealdan ne

C

mæge. Æ by we beodaæ Godes bebode 7 ealra his halgena

þet nán þara cristena manna, þe þis gehyre him beforan

rædan oðde elles hwara hit him gereccan, ne gebristlæce

135) he þis fæsten to abræcene, be þam þe he wille him for

C

Gode geborgen habban.

Men ða leofestan, uton gemunan þone cwyðe þes

eadigan apostoles Petres; he cæð: Se deofol us symle

ymbe þrydaæ. Uton nu gehealdan georne þis fæsten, neh

140) þam /f. 50v/ þe hit awritten is on halgum bocum þet þa

C

fæston þe þurh þe þes witegan ðære to Gode gecyrdon, 7

125 ge ealdum: MS. gealdum.

Sources. 138—9 /t Pet. 5: 8/ Sobrii estote, et vigilate:
quia adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit,
quærens quem devoret:
pat faste swa faston swa he him wisode. Se wes Ionas haten, be pam is on bocum awritten pat God purh Haline
gast hine het faran to sunne merre ceastre seo wes

145) Niniven haten 7 pe sceolde bodian Godes bebodu. Ac
forpam pe pat folc wes awyrged 7 muwbræca, he him swyde
ondred 7 byder faran ne dorste, forpam pe God wes
swyde yrre pære burhware. Da wolde he for by Godes bebodu
delflein. Ac him cote cynde pat he hi forfleome

150) ne mihte. He peah \[f. 51v\] on fleame wes o3 pat he to
se becom 7 him pære scyp gebohte. 7 mid pam scypmannum
him pohte ofer se to segelgenne. Ac he ne mihte swa he
gemynt haede Godes wyllan forfleome. Ac sono swa he wes
inagen on pat scyp, pa gereste he hine on anum ende. 7

155) pa sono pa menn pe on pam scype weron ut on pære se3
dypan gesegelod, pa onsende God mycelne ren 7 strangne
wind 7 gyomme yste on pa se swa pat hi weron orwene
hgeora lifes, 7 pat scyp ne mihte naor swyman ne foro
ne underbec for unhyrmynysse pes witegan pe Ionas wes

160) gehaten. \[f. 51v\] Da forpam pa ondredon pa scypmenn him


154-60. \[Jonah 1: 4\] Dominus autem misit ventum magnum in mare: et facta est tempestas magna in mari, et navis periclitabatur conteri.

wearð þa sona gestilled, 7 hi ofrodon heora læc gode'7
175) tugan þa forð.

God þa sona asende ænne mycelme mynl 7 se for-
swealþ ðone witegan 7 he wæs on him þry dagus 7 preo
niht 7 aber hyne to þam ylcan lande þe he ær to faran
scoelde, 7 hine þar utaspau ofer þære sæstædæ. Þa com
180) eft godes word to þam witegan Içonam 7 æð: Aris nu
7 ða to þære myclæn byrig Ænne-\footnote{1. 52v} ven 7 boda
swa swa ic þe ær sæde. He ferde 7 bodode 7 sæde þæt
heom wæs godes grama onsigende gyf hi to gode bugan
noldon. 7 þa sona on þeora daga fyrste þurnfor
185) þa moran 7 þa miclanburh Niniven. 7 bodode on
þære godes bebudu swa þæt se cyning mid eallre þære burh-
ware on god gelyðe on eallre heortan. 7 he bebed
þæt hi ealle fræm þam yldestæ oþ þone gingestæn þeora
daga fæsten healdan scoeldon. 7 he aras of his cyne-

175 tugan: MS. ūgan.

enim ego quoniam propter me tempestas hæc grandis venit super
vos.

173-5. \footnote{Jonah 1: 14-15} Et clamaverunt ad Dominum, et di-
erunt: Quæsumus, Domine, ne pereamus in anima viri istius,
et ne dés super nos sanguinem innocentem: quia tu, Domine,
sicut voluisti, facisti. \footnote{15} Et tulerunt Içonam, et miserunt
in mare: et stetit mare a fervore suo.

176-8. \footnote{Jonah 2: 1} Et preparavit Dominus piscem grandem
ut deglutiret Içonam: et erat Jonas in ventre piscis tribus
diebus, et tribus noctibus.

179-85. \footnote{Jonah 3: 1-3} Et factum est verbum Domini ad Jonas
secundo, dicens: \footnote{2} Surge, et vade in Niniven civitatem mag-
nam: et prædica in ea prædicationem, quam ego loquor ad te.
\footnote{3} Et surrexit Jonas, et abiit in Niniven juxta verbum Domini:
et Ninive erat civitas magna itinere trium dierum.
190) setle 7 him frām his cynereaf aweekp. 7 hynge mid hærən ymbstrycyde to his lice 7 dyde axan uppon his \(\text{f. 53}^r\) heafod. 7 bebead pet alc mann swa don sceoldæ. 7 to Gode georne clypode mid ealre þære burhwære. 7 he bead ærost pet ægðor ge þa menn.ge þa sucændan cild ge fur-
195) ðon ealle þa nytenu þe þi ahon sceoldon þry dagas 7 þroo niht on an fæstan. 7 hi þa eall swa dyðon. 7 him c pa Gode his miltheortynssé forgeaf þurh pet strange fæ-
ten 7 him fram pet fyrenne clyné adyde þe ofer þa ceas-
200) tre þes on þam genipe hangiende. pet sceoldæ forniman ealle þa burhwære 7 forbæræman binnan feowertigum dagum, buton hi to Gode þe raðor gecyræn woldon. \(\text{f. 53}^r\) Ac c hi dyðon swa heom to donne þæs: gecyrdon to Gode almih-
tigum. 7 he heom sona his mildheortynssé forgeaf. Swa he symlæ deð ælcum þera manna þe he ongyt pet him eallum
205) mode to gecyrð.

204 ælcum: MS. alc.

Sources. 185-92. \(\text{f. 3}^r\) Et crediderunt viri Ninire sine Deum : et predicaverunt jejunium, et vestiti sunt saccis a majore usque ad minorem. \(\text{f. 3}^r\) Et perveniendum verbum ad regem Ninive : et surrexit de solio suo, et abjexit vestimentum suum a se, et indutus est sacco, et sedit in cinere.

192-6. \(\text{f. 3}^r\) Et clamavit, et dixit in Ninive ex ore regis et principum ejus, dicens : Hominæ, et jumenta, et boves, et pecora non gutant quidquam : nec pascantur, et aquam non bibant.

196-205. \(\text{f. 3}^r\) Et vidit Deus opera eorum, quia conversi sunt de via sua mala : et misertus est Deus super malitiam, quam locutus fuerat ut faceret eis, et non fecit.
Eac we ræddon on hælgin bocum þæt on sumere ceas-
-tre þe wæs Viéenna gehæten on þære wæs sum bisçop se wæ
-
- genemmed Mamértus, be pam is awritten þæt þæt folc þe
-
- he bewiste weard þearle mid færlicum deaðe fornumen. 7

210) swa mycel weard þæt untrummys 7 se færlica deað ofer
-
- eall þæt folc þe he bewiste þæt þa þe oðre to eorðan
-
- bær þæt sume hi feollon deaðe ofer þæs dea—[54]\(^7\) dan
-
- byrgenæ þe hi ponne byrgdon. 7 sume hamweard he
-
- wege forð ferdon swa þæt nan þara þe oðerne to eorðan

215) bær ham mid þam life ne com.

Eac weard þære ylcan byrig mycel eorðystyring 7
-
- feollan cyrcan þæs hús, 7 þæmon wilde bæræn 7 wulfas 7
-
- abitun þæs folcels mycelne ðæl, 7 þæs cinges botl weard
-
- mid heofenlicum fyrere eall forbærned. Pa bæd se bisçop

220) Mamértus ealle þa biscepæs þe on þam earde væleon mid
-
- wependre stefne þæt hi ealle þæ þeora folc þry dagas fæs-
-
- tan sceoldon. 7 bædon heora Drihten þæt hi ealle alysde
-
- fram þam myclan ðógan [54]\(^7\) 7 þam færlican deaðe þe
-
- him onæt. 7 hi þa ealle swa ðydon. 7 gesetton þa him

225) betweonan þæt man æfre syðdan þas þry gangdagas healdan
-
- sceoldon fullice mid fæstenum 7 mid ælmæssylenum 7 mid cyrc-
-
- socnum 7 mid eadmodlicum gange 7 mid reliquiasocnum 7 mid
-
- eallum gódum weorcum. 7 hi sona æt Gedre geærnodon mid
-
- þam fæstene ðe eæ hæle, 7 þæs færlican deaðes afyrrednysse
-

228 geærnodon: MS. gegeærnodon.
230) 7 seo gedrecednys þa sona geswácþe heom onsmet. Se gewuna nu þes fæstenes purhwunað gehwar on geleaffulre gesomunde.

    Nu we habbað gehyreð forhyw þas halgan \( f. \ 55^v \)
gangdagas ærest bebodene wæron to gehealdenne. Ni synd

235) gehatene letanie, þet is on englisc "gebeddagas." On þysum dagum we sceolon georne God biddan ure eorðlica
västma genihtsumynysse 7 us sylfum sybbe 7 gesundfulnysse,
7 þet gyt mare is, ealra ura synna forgyfennyss. Ne.
beode we nanum mannun nane niwe bebodu. Dô gehwa hið-

240) sylf swa him geheornlicost for Gode þince, gyf he þylcum
bysënum 7 þylcum lárum fylgean nelle. Georne we witon
þet Gode licað swa man mare for his lufum to Gode deð.
Swa he us myldera bið 7 us gelæt on heofena rices geféan
after \( f. \ 55^v \) urum forösíðe, gyf we his willan her on

235) worulde oð ure endedæg gewyrceð. Þær is éce med 7

250) Halgan' Gaste abutan ende on ecnysse. Amen.
NOTES

Title. The title, which occupies a single line, is written in majuscule letters.

1. Men. M is a large, non-ornamental blue-green majuscule about four times the size of the other letters. All letters in the homily's first line are majuscule: Men ðe leofestan us gedafenan.

3. on. o is a majuscule letter filled in blue-green ink.

5. oðer. This o is also a majuscule letter filled in blue-green ink.

15-60. These lines borrow freely from Genesis, especially chapters 1–3.

29-31. Cf. Genesis 2: 7 :
Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae, et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae et factus est homo in animam viventem.

31–3. Cf. Genesis 1: 26 :
Et ait: Faciamus Hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram: et præsit piscibus maris, et volatilibus caeli, et bestiis, universæque terræ, omnique reptili, quod movetur in terra.

33-6. Cf. Genesis 2: 19–20 :
Formatis igitur, Dominus Deus, de humo cunctis animantibus terræ, et universis volatilibus caeli, adduxit ea ad Adam, ut videret quid vocaret ea: omne enim quod vocavit animæ viventis, ipsum est nomen ejus. Appelavitque Adam nominibus suis cuncta animantia, et universa volatilia caeli, et omnes bestias terræ:

37–8. Cf. Genesis 2: 21 :
Immiser ergo Dominus Deus soporem in Adam: cumque obdormisset, tuit unam de costis ejus, et replevit carmem pro ea.

48-61. The story of Man's Fall is recounted in Genesis chapter 3.
59-60. Cf. Genesis 5: 5:

Et factum est omne tempus quod vivit Adam,
anni nongenti triginta, et mortuus est.

87-99. As Szarmach indicates (Selected Vercelli Homilies, p. 200), these lines are probably indebted to Cæsarius of Arles Sermo 207: De Letania (ed. Morin, CCSL 104, Pt. II, p. 829).

99-102. Cæsarius employs the bee metaphor twice, once while exhorting his audience to attend church:

Magis enim de vestra devotione confidens creo vos velud apes prudentissimas ad alvearium Christi fideliter festinare, ut dulcedinem spiritualis mellis ex divinis lectionibus positis accipere, et cum propheta dicere: QUAM DULCIA FAUCIBUS MEIS ELOQUIA TUA, DOMINE, SUPER MEL ET FAVUM MEOR.

(Sermo 207, CCSL 104, Pt. II, pp. 829-30).

And again at the closing:

Iterum atque iterum rogo, ut qui ad ecclesiae alvearium, sicut iam dixi, quasi ad dulcissimum Christi favum plena devotione concurrunt, velud apes prudentissimae se diversis divinarum scripturarum floribus intra se cellulas preparant, ubi sancta et caelestia mella suscipiant.

( Ibid, p. 831)

120-5. We ... herian. These lines expand Ælfric's In Letania Maiore (CH I, 244-58), p. 246/27-9. See also Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 108/12.

132. By. D is a majuscule letter filled in blue-green ink.

137. Men. M is a majuscule letter touched in blue-green ink.

157-8. swa ... lifes. These lines are as Ælfric's In Letania Maiore (CH I, 244-58), p. 246/1, and Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 108/10.
166-9. axodon . . . ileon. These lines expand Æfric's In Letania Maiore (ibid), p. 246/5-8. See also Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 108v/18.


220. ba. One letter is erased after the a, I judge it to have been m.


   qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit.
SUNDAY BEFORE ROGATION TIDE

Men most beloved, first it is fitting that we call to mind and speak about Almighty God, Who created heaven and earth and all things, Whom we must confess threefold in person and one in nature. One is truly the person of the Almighty Father, the second is the person of the Almighty Son, the third the person of the Almighty Holy Spirit. And yet we must confess one God in glory and power and divine nature, for the Father is eternal God, and the Son is eternal God and the Holy Spirit is eternal God. All three, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, ever were coeternal and ever will be. And they three are one eternal God, from Whom, through Whom, and in Whom were created all the visible things which no earthly man can fully declare.

In the beginning He created heaven and earth and the sea, all the things that are in them, all the angels in heaven, and all those who were changed from angels into devils. All creation He breathed out from Himself with His breath, including him to whom He had given preeminence over all other angels, who was called Lucifer, which in our speech is rendered "light-bearer." But afterwards when he wished to make himself equal to his creator, and build himself a throne in the northern reaches of the heavenly kingdom, he quickly fell from there, and
all those who were in that conspiracy with him and looked to him as their leader. They were all changed from angels into devils and cast down into hell; there they will forever suffer eternal punishments because they scorned their creator, Almighty God.

Afterwards He created from the earth's clay the first man who ever was, whom He called Adam by name, and breathed into him a living spirit. He gave him control of all creatures of the land and fishes of the sea, that they might serve him. And Adam shaped names for them all, the beasts and birds and fishes alike, and all mankind still knows them by those names which Adam gave to them in the beginning.

And the Almighty Lord took a rib from Adam's left side from which He wrought that woman whom He called Eve. All people of the earth are descended from those two through God's power.

God granted them control of everything which was on earth except the fruit of one tree, which is called the Tree of Life (we call it the fig tree); that tree is in the middle of Paradise. Christ Himself warned Adam and Eve about that tree, and told them both that on whichever day they ate of that tree's fruit they would die; and yet they did so. For when the devil saw and knew that God had given so much to them and that he and
50) those who fell with him were lost, he thought to destroy them both as he himself was destroyed. He changed himself to an adder's form and deceived and seduced them both. He told them that on whichever day they ate the fruit of this tree, afterwards they would be like unto Him who had created them. They paid dearly for that in this life and also afterwards, they and all mankind who descended from them up to the coming of our Lord. Adam lived in this world in hardship and misery for 930 years; afterwards he went to hell and there endured grim punishments for 5228 years.

Therefore, men most beloved, the need is great for us, now that we are thus assembled through God's power, that we turn from evil and do good, hear the divine teaching with great humility and eagerly follow it, and pray to God and all His saints for strength and mercy, lest after our death the devils cast up to us that often we were all together and heard the holy teaching read before us, and we were not the better but the worse for it.

70) But let us turn, men most beloved, to better counsel and abandon all evil things, and perform good as far and as well as we can and earn merit through God and His saints. We must eagerly listen and learn why we hold these Rogation days at this time of year, and why we must walk barefoot
for these three days—the fourth day is kept unto the Lord Himself for His Ascension to heaven. We must zealously learn how we should observe these days. 

We should observe these days with great humility, patience, and true love, with all purity of body and soul, good and profitable vigils, fasts, holy prayers, almsdeeds, every kind of virtue, and charity to God and man. These Rogation days are associated with many holy men, but it would take too long to recount it all now.

But let us earnestly shield ourselves against the devil at all times, and pray night and day for God's mercy against his evil teachings. Day and night the devil fights against us with faithlessness; let us fight him with faithfulness. He attacks us with pride; let us oppose him with humility. He prepares wantonness for us; let us counter it with purity. He attacks us with wickedness; let us respond with righteousness. He brings anger upon us; let us practice patience. He sends greed upon us; let us cultivate restraint. He urges us to avarice; let us rather observe temperance, and ever let us work God's will against his evil will. All of us should hasten to God's church as quickly as bees do to their hive so that we may truly taste the sweetness of the spiritual honey from the holy teachings.
We believe, men most beloved, as we have read in holy books, that whoever comes to God's church on these three days and there prays to God for forgiveness of his sins with true reverence of heart and complete humility, that God will grant him forgiveness of those sins he committed in the past twelve months. For it is also written that no man need despair that God will be merciful to him though he has committed a thousand thousand sins contrary to His will. Nonetheless He does not forgive us our sins unless we first turn away from them.

Especially prohibited to us on these days (though they are prohibited at all times, yet even more so at this time) are idle chatter, gambling, and feasting. No man may shed blood on these days or presume to taste food or drink before the ninth hour, and before he has heard Mass, and barefoot reverenced the Holy Scriptures, Christ's Cross, and other holy relics. Likewise we should earnestly attend to our prayers on these days and follow our holy relics everywhere with pure thoughts, earnestly pray to the Almighty Lord for forgiveness of our sins, and love and praise Him with all our hearts.

This fast is enjoined upon all men, young and old, and they must strictly observe it, no man having the right to break this fast any more than the Lenten fast.
Understand that the more earnestly a man serves God and strictly holds the fast, the more the devils desire to prevent him from his observance. This is the reason we exhort, thru the commands of God and His saints, that no Christian who hears this read or elsewhere has it told to him presume to break his fast, through which he will have security for himself before God.

Men most beloved, let us be mindful of the words of the blessed apostle Peter, who said: "The devil ever encircles us." Let us now strictly observe this fast because it is written in holy books that those men fasted who turned to God through the prophet's teaching, and that they fasted as he instructed them. There was a man called Jonas, concerning whom it is written in books that God commanded him through the Holy Spirit to go to a certain well-known city which was called Nineveh and there to announce God's commands. But because that people were accursed and adulterous, God was very angry with them and Jonas was afraid and dared not go there. Thus he wanted to escape the commands of God, but it was made clear to him that he could not escape them. He fled until he came to the sea and there took passage on a ship, intending to sail over the sea with those sailors. But he could not escape God's will over the sea as he wished. As soon as he was aboard the ship, he went to rest at one
end. But when the sailors had sailed out onto the deep sea God sent great rain, strong wind, and a fierce storm over the sea so that they feared for their lives, and the ship could not move forward or backward, because of the disobedience of the prophet called Jonas. The shipmen were afraid and eagerly cast lots to determine for whose sins they were called to answer. When they cast lots it immediately fell to the prophet Jonas, and he knew nothing of it. They were at once astonished that the lot fell to God's servant; they roused him from sleep and told him all, and asked him who he was and why he was travelling. He said that he was a servant of God, Who created heaven and earth, sea and land, and all creation, and that he wished to flee from God's sight, but he now knew that he could not flee from God anywhere. They asked: "What shall we do with you?" He answered: "Cast me overboard, then this affliction will cease." They did so, and prayed for him, and the tempest was immediately stilled; then they made their offering to God and went on their way.

God immediately sent a great whale which swallowed up the prophet, and Jonas was in the whale three days and three nights, and it carried him to the very land he was supposed to go to and vomited him forth upon the shore. Then the voice of God came again to the prophet
Jonas and said: "Arise now and go to the great city Nineveh and announce My message as I before commanded you." Jonas went forth and preached; he said that God's anger was to descend on them if they would not submit. He walked across the great and wide city of Nineveh within the space of three days, and he proclaimed the commands of God so that the king and all the people of that city believed in God with all their heart. And the king commanded that they all, from the youngest to the oldest, should observe a three day fast. The king arose from his throne and cast aside his royal robes, clothed his body in a hair garment, put ashes on his head, and commanded that every man do the same. And he earnestly cried out to God with all the people of that city; and he first commanded that both the men, and even the sucking infant, and further, all the beasts they owned, were to fast for three days and three nights together. And they all did so. And God granted them His mercy on account of that strict fast, and released them from that fiery mass which hung in clouds over the city to consume and devastate all the people within forty days, unless they would quickly turn to God. But they did what they had to do. They turned to God Almighty and He immediately granted them His mercy, as He ever does for every man when He perceives he turns to Him with all his heart.
Likewise we read in holy books that in a certain city named Vienne there was a bishop named Mamertus, concerning whom it is written that the people to whom he ministered were severely stricken with sudden death, and so severe was the sickness and sudden death over all those people, his flock, that of those who bore others to the grave, some fell dead upon the grave of the person they were burying, and some died on the way home, so that none of those who went to bury others ever came home alive.

Likewise there came upon that same city a great earthquake, and churches and houses fell, and wild bears and wolves came and devoured a large number of the people, and the king's palace was burned up with fire from the sky. Then with weeping voice bishop Mamertus had all the bishops in that land that they and all their people fast for three days and beg the Lord that they be delivered from the great catastrophe and sudden death which beset them. And they all did so. And afterwards they all agreed that ever afterwards they were to observe fully these three Rogation days with fasts, almsgiving, visits to churches, humble processions, visits to relics, and all good works. And they immediately earned from God, through that fast, eternal health and the removal of the sudden death; and the affliction immediately ceased which had beset them. And now the custom of the fast continues everywhere among the faithful.
Now we have heard why the holy Rogation days were first commanded to be observed. They are called Litanie, which is in English "Days of Prayer." On these days we should earnestly pray to God for abundance of our earthly fruits, for peace and well-being for ourselves—and what is more important—forgiveness of all our sins. We do not command any new laws for any man. Let each man do before God what he himself thinks most fitting if he does not wish to follow these practices and precepts. We know well that the more we do for the love of God the more it pleases Him. He will be more merciful to us and allow us to abide in the joy of the kingdom of heaven after our death if we will do His will here in the world until our last day. There is eternal reward; there is life without death, youth without age, light without dark, joy without sadness, peace without variance, and security of life without the terror of death. And there is eternal happiness with the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, ever without end in eternity. Amen.
IN VIGILIA ASCENSIONIS

(Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 303, pp. 223-6)

\[\text{Ker 57 art. 55}\]

MS. CCC 303 is a collection of homilies for Sundays and holy days, other than Saints' days, from the second Sunday after Epiphany to Easter; for Saints' days and the common of Saints from the third of May to the sixth of December; and for Sundays and holy days other than Saints' days from Rogationtide to the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost (Ker, Catalogue, p. 99). Ker judges by the script that the manuscript dates from the middle of the first half of the twelfth-century, but he is less certain about its place of origin; similarities between the script of this manuscript and Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 342 suggest it was probably written at Rochester, as does the similarity in content: pages 188-99 and 236-90 of MS. CCC 303 are a copy of MS. Bodley 342 ff. 147v-59v, 50-79, 106v-21v, and 127v-39, and "follow the capricious alterations of the eleventh-century 'correctors' of [MS. Bodley 342]" (ibid). All that is certain about the manuscript's provenance is that it was bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Archbishop Parker on the seventeenth of September, 1575 (Wanley, Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium Catalogus, p. 133).

MS. CCC 303 is foliated iv plus 182 plus ii. Pages i-iv and 363-6 are paper flyleaves which date from the
eighteenth-century when the manuscript was rebound; pages v-viii are parchment flyleaves Ker assigns to the sixteenth-century (Catalogue, p. 105). The medieval leaves are paginated on rectos 1-141, 141-361; the ruling is in pencil with single bounding lines. The manuscript is collated into 23 folios; quire 1 contained 8 leaves but lacks leaf 1 (leaf 2 comes before p. 1); quires 2-23 contain 8 leaves each (ibid). Medieval foliation Ker assigns to the fourteenth-century indicates that 44 leaves are missing at the beginning (foliation begins with '46' on p. 3); there is also an indeterminate number of leaves missing at the end (ibid). The folios measure 260 by 196 mm. and the writing occupies a space 213-203 by 145-138 mm. Pages 223-26, those containing In Vigilia Ascensionis, contain 34 long lines each (some ff. have 35); the writing occupies a space 204 by 138 mm.

The small, neat script of MS. CCCG 303 is of the "prickly" kind found often in Rochester and Canterbury manuscripts written near the end of the first quarter of the twelfth-century (ibid). Letter forms are Caroline with the exception of f and g; ð is rounded and of the same size as ð, all descenders except p curve to the left; abbreviation marks are curved and the hyphens slope upwards; also, the text is written in black ink (ibid).

There are three hands in MS. CCCG 303: the second hand wrote pp. 51-202, the third hand wrote pp. 226/27-231/28,
pp. 251/10-254/5 and probably the titles written in red ink; the remainder of the manuscript is in the main hand (ibid).

Abbreviations are frequent and conventional throughout the manuscript. "m" is used for "men", "b" for "bet", "7" for "and", and "m n" and "m pa b" for "men pa leofestan". A stroke regularly occurs over a vowel when "m", "n" or "a" is omitted, and over a consonant when "er" is omitted. There are also common abbreviations in the Latin.

Punctuation is by means of the cola. When full stop is intended the cola is regularly followed by a majuscule. Words divided at the end of a line are often, but not always, hyphenated.

Corrections are variously indicated. A point is placed below a letter to be deleted; if another letter is to be added it is written directly above. A letter to be added without any deletion is written above the line with a stroke below to mark the place of insertion. Superscript strokes also occur occasionally over vowels.

Illumination is infrequent in this manuscript. Ornamentation on pp. 223-6 is limited to two uses of red ink: once for the title (In Vigilia Ascensionis, p. 223/32), and again for the majuscule "M" which begins the first line (p. 223/33-4).
Aging has not caused serious damage to the manuscript, especially to pp. 223-6. A small hole 5 mm. in diameter occurs at p. 224/6 but no letters appear to be lost. Otherwise there are only four places where probably one letter is blotted out or erased: after gymeleas (l. 7), before eardungstowe (l. 63), after inna (l. 76), and before ceowan (l. 94). In all instances the letter damaged is no longer readable and the word remaining is judged to be in an acceptable form.

The dialect of *In Vigilia Ascensionis* is West-Saxon and shows a predominance of late forms.

**Late West-Saxon Forms**

**Stressed Vowels:**

1. Consistent preference for ð over ðe, as with gytsunge (l. 3), gymeleas (l. 7) and gehyron (l. 37).

2. Some preference for ð over ð, as with syndon (l. 111), mycel (l. 21), and pyssere (l. 23), although ð forms occur, as with sinde (l. 143) and micel (l. 58).

3. Regular preference for wur- over weir-, as with gewurde (l. 72), and wurðað (l. 145). Preference for wur- over worms is evident with wurde (l. 13), and wyr- over weir- with wyrm (l. 140).

4. There is usual preference for æ to ea, as with almhtigne (l. 147) but ea forms sometimes occur: cf. ælc (l. 85) with ealc (l. 91).

5. y is regularly preferred to æ, as in clypode (l. 11), forwynned (l. 30), and byrgan (l. 146).

6. heom is the exclusive form for the dative third person plural of the personal pronoun.
(7) ne- is preferred to ny- in forms of nellan, as with nele (1. 49).

(8) There is some preference for a over o before nasals, as with men (1. 48) and standan (1. 71), although o does not regularly alter to a/e in unstressed words such as bone (1. 118).

(9) The characteristic tendency to write i before a palatal consonant is seen in mihte (1. 16), and all occurrences of niht (1. 33).

Unstressed Vowels

(1) Final a and o are often confused, as in fotspora (1. 51), hearfodo (1. 114), haeto (1. 61), decefla (1. 79), and sixto (1. 80).

(2) a and o sometimes interchange in final syllables, as in hlaforðswicon (1. 77), sceolgan (1. 64), and rohtan (1. 7).

(3) a sometimes interchanges with e in inflected endings, as with mycelh (1. 16), lichamen (1. 98), and toslitten (1. 79).

Consonants

(1) Consonants which follow a syncopated vowel and precede l occasionally double, as in micelan (1. 29) and abblinmað (1. 122).

(2) Hodspor (1. 44) and berfodt (1. 49) /MS. alters to berfot/ show the late tendency for t and d to interchange.

(3) Loss of the final doubled n regularly occurs, as with mancyn (1. 21) and man (1. 39).

(4) Final n occasionally interchanges with n as with heon (1. 83) and ban (1. 37).

Also, the scribe sometimes begins words with an unnecessary h, as with heorðah (1. 69) and Helias (1. 11), and uses e in place of e in inflected endings, as with lifas (1. 37) and mildheorte (1. 109).
In Vigilia Ascensionis is a unique text which has not been previously edited.
IN VIGILIA ASCENSIONIS

(MS. CCCS 303, pp. 223-26)

\[ Ker \text{ 57 art. 45 } \]

Men pa leofestan, pis syndon halige dagas 7 gast-
lice penunge mid mannum, forbi pe pas dagas næron for

gytsunge geworhte ne for nanum rence, ac \[ p. 224 \] hi

ærøn geworhte for micelre neode eallum folce.

5) Hit wæs on þam dagum, men pa leofestan, pe þas
dagas næron geworhte ðæt eall folc wæs swa widdreweard
wið God 7 swa swiðe gymeleas ðæt hi ne rohtan nene gyn-
don naðer ne God ne Godes beboda. Ne hi mæssan ne gyn-
don ne hi cirican ne sohtan.

10) Pa næron manega prophætan 7 witegan; pa wæs þær
an prophæta Helias gehatan. Pa clypode he mid hluttre
heortan to Criste 7 bad Crist ðæt he sumne ege to heom
asende ðæt þet folc wurde gecnæwe ðæt he wære God on
heofonom, 7 nære nan oðer God buton him anum ofer heo-
fonum Wealdend, ne Sceppend buton him anum. Da cydde
God his mycelen mihte 7 sende heom þa tacna to eorðan,
þæt hi mihton ongyton þæt he wæs soð God on heofonom.
Sænde heom þa to tacne þæt þrim wintrum 7 six monbun

14 ofer: MS. ofe. 15 him anum: MS. he ana.
20) ne com nan ren of heofonum on eorðan, ne deaw up ne sloh, ne mist up ne aras ongean þære heofonlicum druh-ðan. Da wæs mycel ege mid mannum swa þet eal mancyn wearð acweald swīðe gehende 7 ealle weastmas forwurdon on þysse eorðan. Da ofhraw þam witegan Heliam eft 7 him ofþuhte þa seo bêne þe he ær æt Gode geþæd. Þa gesamnode he ealle þa witegan þe on þam lande wêron 7 reddon heom betweenan hu hi sceoldan Criste geeadmedan þet he heom asende þa gewideru þet heora wæstmas mos-ten weaxan, 7 hi Þær mid mosten Gode geoweaman on ðysse eorðan. Da geworhten hi þæs þri dagas for þære micclan

30) neode þe heom wæs þæs wætrepes forwyrned, 7 budon ofer ealle eorðan þet eal folc sceolde fæsten ðri dagas oðde þet heo on eafensteorran geseagan, 7 swa eac þet cild þe þære geboron on niht, swa hit mon genam fram þam moðrum breostum þet hit nan þing sucan ne mosta æt þære moder ær steorran arisan of heofonum, ne nanes cynnes þingc, ne manna ne nytena.

 Da mihtan þehyrton þe on þan dagum lifæs wêron mycelæ wanunge 7 granungæ 7 geomerunga ægþer ge manna ge nytena. Da þær man of ælcome halgum temple ealla þa

40) halgan reliquias ut þe þær on innan wêron. Þa com Cristes stefn of hefenum to eorðan 7 let dynian ofer

ealc þera manna þe þas þry dagas his fæsten abrec ær 
þa halgan reliquias eft into þam temple comon, 7 on 
ðæc þera manna þe an fodspor gesceod eode mid þam hal-
45) gan reliquium, oððe mid linenum hrægle oððe mid weary 
oððe on horse geride, oððe huntian ongumne binnen 
pysum preom dagum oððe fram mæsse gange ær he hæfde 
hlaf genuman æt þæs prestes handum. And se man þe 
nele nu þas þry dagas mid Godes halgan reliquian hærfor 
gangan, þurh þa nigon helle he sceal ær domes dage eal 
swa feola sioðan swa he her fotspora gesceod eode ofer 
þæs prestes bebod, 7 æfre he sceal steppan on byrnendum 
nædrran, 7 æfre he gemet deofol æfter oðrum 7 þeostru 
æfter þeostrum, forpi þe þær syndon ix hus innan þære 
50) helle 7 ælc þera husa is anra mile deop 7 oðre mid, 7 
nis nan man on bocum swa crafteig þæt mage asecgan 
55) þæt innan þam nigon husum sy godes oððe win-
sumes swa micel swa an fugel mæg mid his læstan fiðere 
windes aswingan. Ac eac hit is mid wyrmum afyllæd 7 
60) mid wean 7 mid wræcstiðan. Per æfre leocht he leomað, 
ae þær bið þeostru beprycceð, 7 hungor 7 þurst 7 hefo 
7 yldo 7 unhælo 7 wanung 7 granung 7 toða grisbitung. 
Da eardungstowe sceal ælc wif gesecan þe oðerne wer 
lufað ofer hire rihte awe, 7 þær hi sceolan mid sawle

43 reliquias: MS. relíquiæs. 43 comon: MS. alters from coman. 
48 hlaf: MS. hlam. 49 reliquian: MS. reliqian. 49 hærfor: 
MS. alters from hærforht. 51 sioðan: MS. siðan. 53 oðrum: 
MS. oðrum. 57 nigon: MS. nigo.
65) 7 mid lichamen beon besanced innan pām deoplan þeostra. 
Pār heom nēfrem dég ne gedagað, ac heo pār sceolon āfre wunian mid wyrman 7 mid deoflum buton heo hit ær on þisum life gebeton. Donne is pār oðer atelic stow. 
Pār sceal þæt cild āfre wunian þe her on heorðan his fæder 7 his moder wyrgiað. Donne is þær þridde grimlic stow. Pār sceal ālc mëden innan standan oð hire sweoran þe heo forligeð ær hire brydping gewurðe. Donne is þær feorda atelic stow. Pār sceal ālc prest standan oð þa lippan þe his folc nele mid rihte wissian hu hi sceolon Godes gehýran. Donne is þær seo fifte stow mid wyrmum afylled. Pār sceolon inna besincon þa mansworan 7 þa morðeadan 7 þa hlafordswicon. Pār heo sculan āfre wunian a worulda woruld; þær hi sceolan þa wyrmas toslittan 7 deofla potian. Donne is þær seo sixto stow seo is mid hellehundum afylled. Pār sceal ālc þara wifa inne besíncan þe her hire cild acwellað oððe hire wer forrædeð. Pār hio sceal āfre wunian, 7 heom sceolan þa hellehundas toslittan a woruld in ecnysse. Donne is þær seo seofoðe stow seo is mid fyre onæþeð. Pār sceal ālc þara manna þe oðres mannas cotan bærneð for ænigre frace 7 þe oðerne berepæd rihtes gestreones, 7 ālc þara manna þe gerefa byð 7

79 wyrmas: MS. wyrmes. 82 wer: MS. were. 83 hellehundas: MS. hellehundes. 83 heom: MS. heon. 83 toslittan: MS. toslitten.
oðre men repeð 7 reafað. Álca byð deofles þegen; on þam fyre hi sceolan besiðcan upp oð ða eagan. Donne
90) is þær seo eahcoðe stow atelic, seo is eall mid fulum stænce afyllæd 7 mid blacum deoflum. Þær ealc para
manna sceal beon inne besæncd oððe his cin innan þam fulum stænce þe umnitt spræcað 7 idel innan cirican.
He sceal ceowan his agene tungan 7 hi eft aspíwan.
95) Þær sceal beon æfre his weorc oððe woruldes ende. Donne
is þær seo nigoðe atelic stow, seo is eall mid niðrum 7 mid nødrum afyllæd. Þær sceal ælc þær manna inne
beon besæncæ mid sawde 7 mid lichamen þe nið bereð wið his broðer oððe wið nýxtan freond.
100) Nu, men þa leofestan, uto we becyrran þa fulen
earungstowe 7 geaernian us þær leoflice liht þe ús
heofona Hlaford hæfð gegeænwod fram frymðe þissere
wórulde gif we his lare gehlestan willað. Nu meg ic
eow secgan hu we þa fægeran eardungstowe begyton magon.
105) Lætan we fram urum heortan ealle yfele deðe 7 yfele
gëpøhtas, 7 manaðas 7 untidætas 7 ofermycele dryncæs
7 over-rence 7 ydelne gylp 7 leasunga 7 stala; 7 innian
þa godan þearfan, 7 þa nacdan scrydan 7 fedan, 7 beon
wið earme wuhta eadmoda 7 mildheortæ, ponne miltsæð us
110) God on heofonum.

88 reafað: MS. reafad. 97 þaer manna: MS. þære manne.
Men þa leofestan, þar syndon heofonas us [p. 226] to blisse togeanes þam hellebrogan. Nu syndon ealle þa mid mörðan afyllld. Deah þe wære twa-seven-hundseofontig manna, 7 hæfde ælc þara manna twa-seven-hundseofontig heafodo,

115) 7 ælc þara hæfda twa-seven-hundseofonti tungena, 7 ælc þære tungena hæfda twa-seven-hundseofontig gereorda, 7 hig swa lange spræcan þat hi ealle wæron werige, ne mihten hi þone teoðan ðæl asecgan hu feola beorhtra beama is on þan seofan heofonum ne hu fela hwitra blosmena. Þæl hit is gefyllde mid hwitum englum.

Wel þam þe þær mot pone eard gestigan. Þær næfre niht ne þeostrað ne dég ne æbbilmað. Ac æfre þær is leocht buton þeostrum, 7 æfre þær is gægōg buton yldum, 7 æfre þær is hæl buton yfele, 7 æfre þær is englene

125) sang 7 haligra gasta dream.

Swa micel mirhpe is on heofonum, gif þu most ane niht þærinne gewunian, þeah þu ahtest ealles middaneardes gewald, eal þu hit woldest on anum dégæ forlætton wið ðan þu þu neafre ma of þære eardungstowe eft ne cóme.

130) Þær nis næder ne hungor ne þurst ne cele ne oferhætu ne cwealm ne sar ne sorh ne yfel ne unhælo; ac þær is blis 7 mærðe, 7 æfre þær is dég æfter dégæ ðæm æfter dræmna, 7 þær is ealne cyninge Cyning, Crist, on heofonum.
He is se Hehsta Cyning forpon þe he gesceop heofonas

135) 7 eorðan 7 ealle gesceafte þe on heom syndon. Wela is Godes lean, wist is Godes lean, feoh is Godes lean, freond is Godes lean. Þæl hit is Godes leam þat we on libbað, forpon þe he us of heorðan ealle geworhtæ. 7 ealle we sceelæn eft to eorðan gemolsnian 7 to eorðan geworðan. 严格 syndon we elles buton wyrman meta 7 eorðan fulnyssæ.

Men þa leofastæn, huton huru gehæancan oft 7 gelome þene dom þe we to gelæode sinde, 7 ealle þa mærpa 7 þa myræþ þe God ælmihtig gegearwod hæfð eallum þam þe hine on þisum life wurðiað 7 luviað. 7 uton byrgan us wið þone brogan þæs weallende brynes helle-wites, 7 uto ealle biddan georne God ælmihtigne þat he us gescyld þið þane egsan, 7 wið þa fule 7 þa egslice stowa hellewites þær þær ealle deofle onwuniað, ac þat we mugon 7 moton his þa mycclang mildheortynsse geearnian 7 mid him þæg eallum his halgum wunan 7 eardian a buton ende. Amen.

134 heofonas: MS. heofonum. 143 gelome: MS. geloma.
144 ælmihtig: MS. ælmigtig. 144 gegearwod: MS. alters
from gegearwode. 147 ælmihtigne: MS. ælmihtine.
NOTES

Title. The title, located on the line which ends the preceding homily, is written in red minuscule letters.

1. Men. The M is a large, red non-ornamental majuscule letter about four times the size of the minuscule e and n.

7. gymeelas. An erasure of one, possibly two, letters no longer readable occurs after s.

7. rohtan. A rising stroke drawn through the center of the a suggests it was first written as o.


14. God buton. A circular hole 5 mm. in diameter separates God and buton at p. 224/6.

22. weastmas (MS. weastmes). The emendation is a matter of judgement. In Beowulf 1. 519 {Klaeber, 3rd ed. (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1950)} there occurs an accusative plural in -es (Hepco-Rames), and there are instances of the genitive singular -es spelled -as (ll. 63, 2453 and 2921); however, these spellings are less common.

30-36. Cf. the descriptions of the Ninivites' stringent fast in Ælfric's In Letania Maiore:

and ægœr ge men ge ða succedan cild and eac ða nytenu ne onbyrigon nanes ðinges binnan ðrim dagum.

(Thorpe, CH 1, 246/20-22)

and in Dominica Ante Rogationum (MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, pp. 44-55v):

7 he {king of the Ninivites} head ærost þat ægœr ge þa menn ge þa succedan cild, ge furðon ealle þa nytenu þe hi ahton, sceoldon þry dagas 7 þreo niht on an fæstan.

(above p. 149/ 193-6)

Cf. also Rabanus Maurus' Homilia XIX:

Sed eur jejunabant infantes et jumenta, quorum non arguentur peccata? Jejunabat parvulus ut
evaderet senior; jejunabant innocentes, ut non perirent peccatores: omnes pariter abstinebant, ut peccata qua ab aliquibus commissa fuerant, ab omnibus solverentur.

(Pl 110, 38)


he ðædevil/ is cleped hunte. for þan þe he waiteð ure ech. and cunn þe bringen us on līdere lahtres. þe beð his grunque, and per-one henteð us alse hunte ariueð deor to grune. oðer to nette. and swo henteð. and of pis hunte specð be prophete. and seið. Anima nostra sicut passer ereta de laqueo uenantium. Ure soul is abroiden. of þe hunte grune.

(p. 209/26-32)

52-5. Descriptions of hell vary in Old English. Here, hell is said to consist of nine regions. An untitled version of the Apocalypse of Thomas in MS. CCC 41 (pp. 287-92) identifies 12 regions, each with a fierce devil that chews the soul and vomits it into the mouth of another devil further below (printed by Rudolph Willard, "Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies," Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie 30 (1935), 6]. Vercelli Homily IX, by contrast, identifies only five regions, but includes a striking comment on the severity of hell torment (Forster, Vercelli-Codex CXVII, pp. 84-100):

gif hylc man bið on helle ane niht, þonne bið him leofre, gif he panon mot, þæt he hangle. siðon þusend wintra on þam lengestan treowe ufe-weardum, þe ofer sæ stanned on þam hyhtstan sæ-clife, /hier fehlt ein Blatt, dessen Text nach der Hs. BödL. 340, fol. 38b-39a folgender- masen lautet/ /fol. 38b/7 syn pa fet gebun- den to þam hestan telgan 7 þæt heafod hangige ofdun-rihte 7 pa fet uprihte. 7 him sige þæt blod ut purh þone muð 7 hine þonne gescece ælc þæg yfelæ, þe æfre on helle sy. 7 hine ælc þe gescece mide þam hestan, þe seo æfor-bringæ, 7 peah hine ælc tor gescece, þe on eallum cyfum syndon, þonne wile þe eall þis /luflice/ prowian, wiðan-þe he næfre eft helle ne ge-sece.

(p. 94/3-14)

7 eac þyssere tacnunge hy eac ðetaconodon hwylc 
wes heofona rice to geearmenne 7 hwylc wes 
hellewite to be fleonne on þa gelicynsse þe se 
witega cwæð be heofona rice 7 be helle, þat 
ære nære on heofona rices wuldræ swa micel 
unwynsumes on ænigum laðe cōðe on hungre cōðe 
on þurste cōðe on cýle cōðe on hætan cōðe on 
adle cōðe on ænigum laðe gewinne þat wære swa 
mycel swa anes lytles fugeles sweg. Swylce he 
cwæð, se ylca witega, þat nære nære on helle-
wytæ swa mycel wynsumes swa anes fugeles sweg.

(above p. 109/54-63).

and De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97v-102v):

Se witega cwæð be heofona rice 7 be hellewite 
þat nære nære genet on heofonan rices wuldræ 
swa mycel unwynsumes on ænigum laðe cōðe on 
hungre cōðe on þurste cōðe on cýle cōðe on 
hæte cōðe on ece cōðe on alde cōðe on ænigum 
laðe gewinne þat wære swa mycel swa anes lyt-
les fugeles sweg. Swylce he cwæð, se ylca 
witega, þat nære nære on hellewitum swa mycel 
wynsumes swa anes lytles fugeles sweg.

(above p. 43/167-74)

58. læstan. A rising stroke drawn through the center of 
the second æ suggests it was first written as e. See also 
rohtan (p. 224/2-3).

63. eardungstowe. One letter, now unreadable, is blotted 
out or erased before eardungstowe.

61-99. The description of hell presented here includes 
elements of contemporary apocryphal literature. The sub-
mersion of the souls into ham deçon beostra (l. 65) "the 
sea of darkness, in particular, recalls Paul's first view 
of hell in the Apocalypse of Paul (M.R. James, The Apocry-
1972), pp. 525-55):

And when I was come beyond (to the outside of) 
the ocean, I looked and there was no light in
that place, but darkness and sorrow and sadness . . . . And I saw there a river of fire burning with heat, and in it was a multitude of men and women sunk up to the knees, and other men up to the navel; others also up to the lips and others up to the hair . . .

(p. 542)

The torments described in lines 63-99 do not correspond exactly with those in the Apocalypse of Paul, but several features are similar. Both contain an abyss into which the damned are submerged (up to the knees, navel, lips, and eyebrows in the Apocalypse; up to the neck, chin, lips, and eyes, or completely with body and soul, in the homily), devils that goad (a priest in the Apocalypse; perjurers, murderers, and traitors in the homily), hellhounds and worms that rend the flesh, snakes, foul stench, swart devils, an eternity of chewing on their tongue for some (those who mock the word of God in the Apocalypse; those who talk trivially or idly in Church in the homily), and a priest who is tormented for negligence in his office.


Alfric held a dim view of the Visio Pauli and even writes (Item, In Letania Maiore, Feria Tertia): "Humēta reōd sēume mēn ūa leason geætnyse, de bi hēatō Paulus gesilhē, nu he sylēfe sæde nē he ūa digelæn word gehyrde, be nan eorðlic manne sprecan ne mot? (Thorpe, CH ii, 332/22-4). However, Alfric does include two other visions in the Catholic Homilies; one is the vision of the Scottish priest Fursea (Item, In Letania Maiore, Feria Tertia, Thorpe, CH ii, 332-48), the other is the vision of a Northumbrian thane called Drihtelm (Alia Visio, Thorpe, CH ii, 348-56).
68. **ber.** p is written as \( \frac{[}{]} \), the abbreviation for \( \text{bet.} \)

93. **ceowan.** One letter, now illegible, is blotted out or erased before \( c \).

112-18. See the note to *Feria IIIitia De Letania Maiore* lines 116-22, below pp. 20-1.

125-28. Vercelli *Homily IX* uses a similar rhetorical construction to convey the severity of hell torment (cf. the note to ll. 52-5). Likewise Napier *Homily XL* (*Wulfstan*, pp. 182-90) says that condemned souls at the Last Judgment would give up all the power of the world never to have been born:

and him bonne were leofre, bonne eall
middaneard to æhte gesæld, þet hy næfre,
acennede ne wæron fram fæder and mæder.

(p. 187/5-7)
VIGIL OF THE ASCENSION

Beloved men, these are holy and spiritually helpful days for mankind, for these days were not established for greed or pride, but they were established because of the great need of all people.

5) These days were established, beloved men, at a time when all the people were so rebellious against God and so exceedingly negligent, that they neither respected or heeded God or His laws. Neither did they attend Mass or visit the Church.

10) At that time there were many prophets and wisemen. There was one prophet named Elias who called out to Christ with a pure heart and asked that He send some calamity so that people would be made to acknowledge that He was God in heaven, and there is no God but Him alone ruler over the heavens, no creator but Him alone. Then God manifested His great power and sent a sign onto earth so they might know that He was true God in heaven. He sent it as a sign that for three years and six months no rain came from heaven onto earth, no dew was cast, no mist rose up to defy the heavenly drought. Then there was great fear among men because all mankind was nearly killed and all the fruit on this earth destroyed. Then the prophet Elias was afterwards compassionate and he regretted the prayer which
he had earlier addressed to God. Then he assembled all the prophets in that land and they consulted together how they should worship Christ so that He might send them proper weather so their crops would grow, and they might please God on this earth. Then they established these three days on account of the great need that existed because the water was withheld from them; and in addition, they commanded that all people throughout the world should fast three days until they looked upon the evening star. And even the child born in the night was taken from its mother's breast and neither it, nor any species of man or beast, received nourishment before the star arose in the heavens.

Then those who lived at that time could hear great howling and groaning and moaning both of men and beasts. Then all the holy relics that were in each Church were carried outside, and Christ's voice came from heaven onto earth and resounded over each of those men who broke his fast on these three days before the holy relics were brought back into the Church, and over each of those men who walked in shoes with the holy relics, or with a linen garment, or with a weapon, or rode a horse, or hunted on these three days, or went from Mass before he received the Host from the priest's
hands. And the man who will not now walk barefoot on these three days with God's holy relic, he shall be-

before Doomsday walk barefoot through the nine hells to the same extent he here walked shod against the priest's commands. And ever shall he tread on burning snakes, and ever shall he meet devil after devil and darkness after darkness, because there are nine dwell-

ings in hell and each of those dwellings is a mile deep and another wide. There is no man so learned in books that he is able to discover anything in those nine dwellings that is pleasant or joyful, even to the extent a small bird is able to scourge the air with its smallest feather. To the contrary, it is filled with snakes, and with misery, and the anguish of exile.

No light ever shines there; but there is intense dark-

ness, hunger and thirst, hatred, old age, and sickness, and moaning and groaning and gnashing of teeth. Each woman must seek that dwelling who loves another man above her lawful husband. There they shall be plunged with body and soul into the abyss of darkness. Day never dawns for them there, but ever they must dwell with worms and with devils unless they first make amends in this life. There is also a second dire place. There must that child ever dwell who here on earth curses his father or his mother. And there is a third
grim place. Therein each girl must stand up to her neck who is guilty of fornication before her wedding. Then there is a fourth terrible place. Therein each priest shall stand up to his lips who will not instruct his people with truth how they should serve God. And there is a fifth place filled with worms. Therein shall sink the perjurors, the murderers, and the traitors. There they shall dwell for ever and ever, and there shall the worms rend them and the devils goad them. Then there is a sixth place that is filled with hellhounds. Therein shall sink each of those women who here kills her child or betrays her husband. There she must forever dwell and endure the rending of hellhounds. There is also a seventh place that is filled with fire. Therein shall be each of those men who burns another man's cottage through wickedness or steals the lawful property of another, and each of those men who is a reeve and plunders and robs other men. Each is a thane of the devil. They will sink into that fire up to the eyes. And there is an eighth terrible place that is filled with foul stench and black devils. Therein each of those men shall sink up to his chin in the foul stench who speaks trivially or idly in Church. He will chew his own tongue and afterwards spit it out; ever that shall be his occupa-
tion until the end of the world. Then there is a

ninth dire place that is filled with spite and snakes.
Therein each of those men shall sink with body and
soul who bears enmity toward a brother or close friend.

Now, beloved men, let us reject that black abode
and earn for ourselves that delightful light which the
Lord of heaven has prepared for us since the beginning
of this world if we will obey His teachings. Now I
can tell you how we may gain the beautiful abode. Let
us cast from our hearts all evil thoughts and evil
deeds, and false oaths, and untimely eating, and exces-
sive drinking, and extravagance, and idle boasting,
and lying, and stealing, and let us shelter the worthy
ones in need, and feed and clothe the naked, and let
us be a little bit merciful and mild with the wretched
ones, then God will show us mercy in heaven.

Beloved men, there are heavens for our joy to
ward off the terror of hell. Even now they are filled
with glory. Though there were two-and-seventy men, and
each of those men had two-and-seventy heads, and each
of those had two-and-seventy tongues, and each of those
tongues had two-and-seventy voices, and each of those
spoke so long they all were exhausted, they could not
say the tenth part how many bright trees there are in
the seven heavens, or how many blossoms. It is always
entirely filled with bright angels.
Well it is for those who can ascend to the heavenly home. Night never darkens there nor does daylight leave off. But ever there is light without darkness, and ever there is youth without old age, and ever there is health without illness, and ever there is the song of angels and the joy of the holy souls.

The joy in heaven is so great that if you were able to spend one night there, even though you possessed all the power of the world, you would abandon it all in a day provided you never again had to leave that dwelling. There is neither hunger nor thirst, nor cold nor burning heat, nor death, nor pain, nor sorrow, nor misery, nor sickness; but ever there is joy and mirth, and ever there is day after day and joy upon joy. And Christ, the King of all kings, is there in heaven. He is the Highest King because He created heaven and earth and all the things that are in them. Happiness is God's gift, food is God's gift, wealth is God's gift, family is God's gift. Everything by which we live is God's gift because He created us entirely from earth, and we shall again moulder in the earth and turn to clay.

What are any of us but worm's meat and foulness of the earth.

Therefore, beloved men, let us think often and diligently on the judgment to which we are called, and
on all the glory and joy that almighty God has prepared for all who honour and love Him in this life. Let us protect ourselves against the peril of the raging fire of hell torments, and let us all earnestly pray to almighty God that He shield us from the terror, and against the foul and dire place of hell torments wherein all devils dwell, but that we may earn His great mercy and dwell and abide with Him and with all His saints forever without end. Amen.
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