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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ  
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SELECTED ROGATIONTIDE HOMILIES

A Thesis Presented

by

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to

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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. CCCC 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 IIIItia 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. CCCC 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. 44-55<sup>v</sup>) is included because it is the most expansive version of Vercelli 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 Vercelli Homily XIX {Selected Vercelli Homilies (Diss. Harvard 1968), pp. 169-209}. Feria II<sup>a</sup> Sermo In Letania Maiore (Cambridge, University Library MS. Ii. 4.6, ff. 215<sup>v</sup>-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 et (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 u 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

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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) Elfric, "Feria Secunda Letania Maiore" (Ker 15 art. 65), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 196-9v; ed. Thorpe, The Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Elfric,<sup>1</sup> ii, 314-33. (2) "Sermo In Letania Maiore, Feria IIA" (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,<sup>2</sup> 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,

<sup>1</sup> 2 vols. London: Elfric Society, 1844-6. Hereafter cited as CH.

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

ff. 44-55v; below pp. 136-64, edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99. (3d) "Vercelli Homily XIX" (Ker 394 art. 24), Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare MS. CXVII, ff. 106v-9v; ed. Pinski, Six Unpublished Homilies of the Vercelli Manuscript (Diss. Ottawa 1966), pp. 36-46; ed. Szarmach, Selected Vercelli Homilies (Diss. Harvard 1968), pp. 169-209; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99. (4) "Feria II In Letania Maiore" (Ker 56 art. 31), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 302, pp. 205-13; below pp. 102-35, ed. Hildegard Tristram, Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition (Diss. Albert-Ludwigs Universität 1970), pp. 173-85, edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 99. (5) "Vercelli Homily XI" (Ker 394 art. 13), Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare MS. CXVII, ff. 71v-73v; ed. Rudolph Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI and Its Sources," Speculum, 24 (1949), 76-87.

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Rogation Tuesday: (1) Elfric, "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) Elfric, "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) Elfric, "Alia Visio" (Ker 15 art. 67), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 202v-4v; ed. Thorpe, CH ii, 348-57. (4)

Ælfric, "Hortatorius Sermo De Efficacia Sanctæ Missæ"  
 (Ker 15 art. 68), Cambridge, University Library MS. Gg.  
 3. 28, ff. 204<sup>v</sup>-5; ed. Thorpe, CH ii, 356-9. (5) "Fer-  
ia IIItia De Letania Maiore" (Ker 331 art. 55), Bodleian  
 Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 111-14<sup>v</sup>; below pp. 1-27; edi-  
 tion 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. 109<sup>v</sup>-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. 73<sup>v</sup>-75<sup>v</sup>; Selected Vercelli Homilies, pp. 1-14; edi-  
 tion 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<sup>3</sup> (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,<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Hereafter cited as Wulfstan.

<sup>4</sup> Early English Text Society, O.S. 58, 63, 73 (1874-80; rpt. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967).

<sup>5</sup> Early English Text Society, O.S. 137 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1909).

McCabe, An Edition and Translation of a 10th-century Anglo-Saxon Homily, pp. 57-82. [Minnesota Diss.] DA, 29 (1969), 3978/A. (9) "Feria IIIa In Letania Maiore" (Ker 21 art. 28), Cambridge University Library MS. II. 4.6, ff. 228-38; edition proposed by Cross and Bazire, A Plan, p. 100.

Rogation Wednesday: (1a) Ælfric, "Feria IIII De Fide Catholica" (Ker 15 art. 22), Cambridge University Library MS. Gg. 3. 28, ff. 60-6; ed. Thorpe, CH i, 274-95. (1b) A fragment of part of the opening of Ælfric's "De Fide Catholici" [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 Ælfric 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) Ælfric, "Feria IIIIa 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. 53<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>; ed. Thorpe, CH i, 244-59. (2a) "Epistola Pauli" (Ker 18 art. 38), Cambridge, University Library MS. Ii. 1. 33, ff. 197<sup>v</sup>-203; as Skeat no. 17, Elfric's Lives of Saints,<sup>6</sup> 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 III<sup>a</sup> 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)

<sup>6</sup> Early English Text Society, O.S. 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881-90; rpt. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966).

- "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. 30<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>; 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. 97<sup>v</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>; 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 Altenglische 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. 102<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>; 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. 105<sup>v</sup>-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 nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift (Halle: Verlag Von Max Niemeyer, 1913), pp. 128-37 [For a variant text see above: Rogation Wednesday (5)].

11

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.<sup>1</sup>

The Rogation days are known in Old English as the Gangdagas, "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. CCCC 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

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<sup>1</sup> The Church's Year of Grace, Popular Liturgical Library, Vol. 3 (1954; rpt. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1963), p. 152. For a brief but informative discussion on the Liturgy for each of the three Rogation days preceding the Ascension, see pp. 152-62.

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 betweonan ungesibsume, him þonne secað sona, æfter menniscrē wisan, gemotstowe, 7 dom gedemed bið 7 gesibbað hi. Syððan sceal ælc mann gelæstan swa se dema him bebedað, 7 þæt gemot bið þonne eall gesyboð.

Be þære bysne we magon ongytan þas halgan tide, forþan ðe þas dagas syndon gemotdagas gastlicra gemota. Þonne bið ure gastlice gemotstow on ymbhwyrfte ure reliquia, swa on cyrican swa butan, swa on hwylcre stowe hi ongesette beoð.

(below p. 114/153-62)

The sombre, penitential tone of Rogationtide is well documented in Sermo Vicesimus Octavus: In Litaniis (PL<sup>3</sup> 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

mentis et corporis castitate, cum abstinentia ciborum, largitione eleemosynarum, dilectione Dei et hominum, et odio vitiorum, confessione peccatorum, compunctione lacrymarum, et cæterarum instantia virtutum; ut unde caro nostra sentit afflictionem, inde pauperum esuries sentiat consolationem.

(c. 1034)

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 comessationes, ebrietates, fornicationes, lites, temporalium rerum contentiones, atque omnes carnales omnino delectationes.

(c. 1035)

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, abstinentiæ sunt, non lætitiæ; nemo in his pretiosa induatur vestimenta, sed in sacco et cinere lugere debemus.

(c. 1035)

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 Mediæval 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 Elfric's In Letania Maiore (CH i, 244-59):<sup>2</sup>

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 Elfric 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

<sup>2</sup> 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 Letania 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:<sup>3</sup>

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 Cremona explains, the three-day Rogation also was known as the Litania Maior because it was an older observance:

Illud notabile est quod hæ triduanæ litaniæ sunt antiquiores litania majori; hæ namque tempore Zenonis imperatoris institutæ fuere, illa vero tempore Mauriti . . .

(Mitræ, 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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<sup>3</sup> Legenda Aurea, ed. Th. Graesse, 2nd ed. (Lipsiæ: Impensis Librariæ Arnoldianæ, 1850).

Litany to Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne.<sup>4</sup> 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:

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Venerabilis Bedae, Pars Tertia, Opera Paranetica, Homilia Subdititia, Homilia CXVII: De Majori Litanis (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 Octavus: In Litanis (PL 208, 1010); and Sermo Vicesimus Nonus: In Rogationibus (ibid, 1035); Sanctus Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Francorum Libri Decem, Liber Secundus, Caput XXXIV (PL 71, 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 CXXXVIII: De Letania Maiore (ibid, 680-1), and Caput CXXXIX: De Triduana Litanis Ante Ascensionem Domini (ibid, 680-1); Wernerus Abbas S. Blasii In Silva Nigra, Libri Deflorationum, Sermo In Rogationibus: Secundum Lucam (PL 157, 966); Walafridus Strabus Fuldensis Monachus, De Ecclesiasticarum Rerum Exordiis et Incrementis, Caput XXVIII: De Litanis Agendis (PL 114, 962); Rupertus Abbas Teutiensis, De Divinis Officiis, Liber Nonus, Caput V (PL 170, 248-50);

Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 162, pp. 403-12),  
Sermo In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 303, pp. 215-9), and  
Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton  
 Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 44-55v); and also in Elfric's In  
Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, 244-59). Elfric's state-  
 ment is the most detailed; he says in part:

We rædað on bōcum, þæt ðeos gehealdsumnys  
 wurde aræred on ðone timan ðe gelamp on anre  
 byrig, ðe Uigenna is gecwæded, micel eorð-styr-  
 ung, and feollon cyrcan and hus, and comon  
 wilde beran and wulfas, and abiton ðæs folces  
 micelne ðæl, and þæs cynges botl wearð mid  
 heofonlicum fyre forbærned. Þa bead se  
 biscop Mamertus ðreora daga fasten and seo  
 gedrecedes ða geswac; and se gewuna ðæs  
 fæstenes burhwunað 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:

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Beatus Urbanus II Papa, Monumenta Liturgica, Micrologus,  
Caput LVII: De Litanis (PL 151, 1018); Sanctus Germanus  
Parisiensis 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 XXXVII  
De Letania Majore (PL 105, 1066-8), and Caput XXIV: Repe-  
titio De Litanis Majore (ibid, 1207).

For additional mention of Mamertus see: B. Flac-  
cus Albinus seu Alcuinus: Abbatis et Caroli Magni Impera-  
toris Magistri, Operum Pars Nona--Opuscula Supposita, De  
Divinus Liber, Caput XXII: De Litanis Majore (PL 101, 1224-5),  
 and Caput XXIII: De Diebus Rogationum (ibid, 1225);  
Sidonius Apollinaris, Epistolarum Liber V, Epistola XIV:  
Sidonius Apro suo Salutem (PL 58, 544-5); and Sanctus Avi-  
tus, Episcopus Viennensis, Homilia De Rogationibus--Unde  
Consuetudo Rogationum Processerit (PL 59, 289-94).

Alia autem dicitur letania minor, quae fit tribus diebus ante adscensionem, quam beatus Mammertus episcopus Viennensis tempore Leonis imperatoris, qui coepit anno domini CCCCLVIII ante institutionem primae instituit, quae dicitur letania minor, rogationes et processio. . . . Tunc enim apud Viennam frequentes et maximi terrae motus fiebant, quae domos et ecclesias plurimas subvertebant, nocturni sonitus et clamores saepe audiebantur, tunc etiam aliud terribile accidit, quia in die paschae ignis de coelo cecidit et regis palatium concremavit. Aliud insuper mirabilis fiebat. Sicut enim daemones porcos Dei permissione olim intraverunt, sic permissione domini propter peccata hominum lupos et alias feras intrabant et nullos verentes non solum per vias sed per civitatem publice discurrebant, et passim pueros et senes viros et feminas devorabant. Cum igitur tam dolorosi casus quotidie fierent, praedictus episcopus triduanum jejunium indixit, letanias instituit et sic praedicta tribulatio 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. Elfric's In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, p. 244), Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, f. 54<sup>r</sup>/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 (Paranetica, Homilia XCVII, PL 94, 489 [sic] 499), "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 Teutiensis discuss only

wolves;<sup>5</sup> 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)<sup>6</sup>

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:

<sup>5</sup> Alcuinus, Operum Pars Nona--Opuscula Supposita, Liber De Divinis Officiis, Caput XXII, (PL 101, 1225); Hildebertus, Sermones De Tempore, XLV: In Rogationibus (PL 171, 571-2); Haymonis, Homilia De Tempore, Homiria [sic] XC (PL 118, 528); Rupertus, De Divinis Officiis, Liber IX, Caput V (PL 170, 248).

<sup>6</sup> Likewise: Haymonis, Homilia De Tempore, Homiria [sic] XC (PL 118, 528); Hildebertus, Sermones De Tempore, XLV (PL 171, 571-2); and Burchardus Vormatiensis Ecclesie Episcopus, Decretorum Libri XX, Liber Decimus Tertius, Caput VII: De Jejuniis Rogationum (PL 140, 886).

Eac we ræddon on halegum bocum þæt on sumere ceastre þe wæs Vienna haten on þære wæs sum bisceop se wæs nenned Mamertus. Be ðam is awriten þæt ðæt folc þe he bewiste wearð pearle mid færlicum deaðe fornunen, 7 swa mycel wearð seo untrumnes 7 se færluca deað ofer eall þæt folc þe bewiste þæt þe oðre to eorðan bæron þæt sume hie feallon deade ofer þæs deadan byrgenne þe hie ðonne byrgdon, and sume hamweard be wege forðferdon swa þæt nan þara-þe oðerne to eorðan bær ham mid þam life ne com.

(Szarmach, Selected Vercelli Homilies, p. 182/166-74)

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 ða leofestan þis syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice 7 ussum sawlum læcedomlice 7 us ge-riseð þæt we hie wel begangen mid fæstenum 7 mid gebedum 7 mid reliquia-socnum 7 mid usse eaðmodlice gange. forþan sanctus petrus se ealdor-apostol ærest us gesette to heal-danne ðas dagas 7 to be-ganganne for hæðenra manna gedwilde forþan þe hie hiera wiggild 7 hiera dioful-gild on ðas dagas weorðedon 7 be-eodon 7 we nu for þam þingum sculon þas dagas mærsian 7 weorðigan 7 mid þam gesettum godum þe to byssum dagum gelimpap.

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

Rogation days, as is pointed out, are salutary days medicinal 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 hæðene liode hæfdon pry dagas synderlice beforan hira oðrum gewunan þæt hie onguldon hira godum; 7 hiera ceapes wæstma 7 ealle hira æhta hie hira gode bebudon; þæt wæs dioflum sylfum, forþon-þe hie hira godu hæfdon geworhte of treowum 7 of stanum 7 of oðrum untimbrum missenlicum. Donne to ðam onlicnessum swylcum hie onluhton 7 þam lac onsendan þonne eode þæt dioful inon þa anlicnesse (f. 47<sup>a</sup>) 7 þanon ut wæs sprecende . . . . Þonne wið þon gesette us sanctus Petrus syðþan 7 oðerra cyricena ealdormen þa halgan gangdagas pry to ðam þæt we sceoldon on Gode ælmihtigum þiowigan mid usse gedefelice gange 7 mid sange 7 mid ciricena socnum 7 mid fastenum 7 mid ælmes-sylenum 7 mid halegum gebedum.

(Szarmach, Selected Vercelli Homilies, p. 1/2-10, 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 spre-  
cende was be pyssere halgan tide 7 be his  
godspellerum, 7 þus cwæð: Forþan ic þas gang-  
dagas sette forþan ic wille þæt mine leor-  
neras 7 mine godspelleras secgōn 7 bryman þæt  
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:

þa was þær an propheta Helias gehatan. Þa  
clypode he mid hluttre heortan to Criste 7  
bæd Crist þæt he sumne ege to heom asende þæt  
þæt folc wurde gechnawe þæt he wære God on heo-  
fonum, 7 nære nan oðer God buton him anum ofer  
heofonum Wealdend. . . . Ða cydde God his  
mycelen mihte 7 sende heom þa tacna to eorðan,  
þæt hi mihton ongyton þæt he was soð

God on heofonum. Sænde heom þa to tache þæt prim wintrum 7 six monþum nē com nan ren of heofonum on eorðan, ne deaw up ne sloh, ne mist up ne aras ongean þære heofonlicum druþan. Ða wæs mycel ege mid mannum swa þæt eal mancyn wearð acweald swiðe gehende 7 ealle wæstmas forwurdon on þyssere eorðan. Ða of-hreaw þam witegan Hēliam eft 7 him ofðuhte þa seo bene þe he ær æt Gode gebæd. Ða gesamnode he ealle þa witegan þe on þam lande wæron 7 ræddon heom betweonan hu hi sceoldan Criste geeadmedan þæt he heom asende þa gewideru þæt heora wæstmas mosten weaxan, 7 hi þærmid mosten Gode gecweman on ðyssere eorðan. Ða geworhton he þæs þri dagas for þære micclan neode þe heom wæs þæs wæteres forwyrned . . .

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

In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 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 ða leofestan, cwæð se halga lareow hwæt we gemunan magon, þæt we oft gehyrdon secgan, wisemen purh Haliges Gastes gyfe gesetton us þas halgan gangdagas þry . . .

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

Patristic commentaries do not identify additional origins of the Rogation days,<sup>7</sup> but they do add further

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<sup>7</sup> 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 Appollinaris (Liber Septimus, Epistola Prima, PL 58, 563 n. b) credits Leonis III.

details, especially in regard to the Letania Maiore, which is Roman in origin, and not Gallic, as is the Ascension Rogationtide:

Major Litania a beato Gregorio papa primo pro pestilentia ipsius temporis instituta est, qui et Joanni episcopo Ravennati scribens, diem Litanie tempus cineris et cilicii appellat. Triduanæ autem Litanie ante Ascensionem Domini non Romanæ, sed Gallicanæ 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 litanie rogationum fuerant inventæ. Tempore Mauricii imperatoris erat sanctus Gregorius archidiaconus Romæ, et papa Pelagius;

et in illo tempore tanta pluvia fuerunt, ut omnia flumina transcenderent terminos suos, ita ut Tiberis super muros Romae ascenderet. Aquae autem, quae ita exundarent, quidquid in silvis serpentum et scorpionum erat deportabant, et quidam magnus serpens in modum trabis venit per Tiberim, quem omnes Romani viderunt. At postquam ceperunt siccari flumina, ex ardore solis ascendit magnus fetor de cadaveribus serpentum, ut quicumque sentiebant fetorem veneni statim moriebantur. Et fuit magna mortalitas in urbe Roma, ita ut cum sero esset, et dominus cum uxore et filiis et omni familia iret dormitum, mane omnes ferebantur ad sepulturam; et insuper sagittae igneae descendebant de caelo, et percutiebant homines, et statim moriebantur. Et primum percussit Pelagium papam, et mortuus est; deinde multa millia tali morte mortua sunt. Erat ubique dolor et luctus, quia omni die et hora nihil aliud faciebant Romani, nisi mortuos sepeliebant. Elegerunt autem Gregorium, ut esset papa, et miserunt Constantinopolim, ut ita assentiret. Interea dum exspectabant praecipitum imperatoris, et mortalitas magna in civitate erat, vocavit omnem populum Romanum, et dixit eis ut agerent poenitentiam de malefactoribus, et invocarent misericordiam Dei; et statuit septem litanias, ut omnes irent simul ad sanctum Petrum.

(PL 94. 489. [sic], 498) <sup>8</sup>

A more detailed description of the pestilence 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

<sup>8</sup> Three items commonly associated with Rogationtide 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 Alfric'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 continenter vixissent et in pascha corpus domini recipient, postmodum comissionibus, ludis et luxuriae frena laxabant, ideoque Deus provocatus pestem maximam in eos misit, quam inguinarium vocant, id est apostema sive inflaturam in inguine. Tam saeva autem illa pestis fuit, ut homines in via, in mensa, in ludis, in colloquiis subito morerentur, ita quod, cum aliquis, ut dicitur, sternutabat, saepe 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 exhortation to prayer at the opening of Elfric's In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, 244-59) is typical. Men are enjoined 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 LETANIE, þæt sint;  
GEBEDDAGAS. On ðisum dagum we sceolon ge-  
biddan ure eorðlicra wæstma genihtsumnysses,  
and us sylfum gesundfulnysses and sibbe, and,  
þæt gyt mare is, ure synna forgyfenysse.

(p. 244/12-15)

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

Ús gedafenað þæt we on ælcne timan Godes mild-  
heortnesse biddan, 7 þeah on ðysum prym dagum  
ealra swyðost we sceolon þone heofonlican Drih-  
ten biddan þæt he us forgyfe eorðan wæstma ge-  
nihtsumnyssa, 7 þyses lifes gesundfulnesse 7 æf-  
ter ðam þæs ecan lifes myrhpe.

(below p. 65)

Patristic commentaries, like Old English homilies, underscore the importance of prayer and identify additional 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 Ecclesie necessitatibus supplicare debemus, pro pacis scilicet tranquillitate, pro frugum ubertate; pro aeris temperie, pro regibus et gubernatoribus, monente Apostolo qui ait: "Obsecro primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, 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 salvos fieri et ad agnitionem 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 praecepit ut pro fame, pro guerra, pro pestilentia, pro clade, et pro hujusmodi adversitatibus imminentibus, litanias semper facerent . . .

(Sanctus Martinus Legionensis Presbyter,  
Sermo Vicesimus Nonus, PL 208, 1038)

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 talis observantia his diebus servanda est et rogationibus sanctorum et jejuniis his diebus insistendum multiplici ratione: primo ut Deus bella pacificet, quia in vere frequentius concitantur, secundo ut teneros adhuc fructus conservando multiplicet, tertio ut motus carnales, qui hoc tempore magis fervent, in se quisque magis mortificet. In vere enim sanguis magis fervet et illiciti motus magis pululant. Quarto, ut ad receptionem sancti spiritus se quisque magis habilitet, nam per jejunium homo magis habilitatur et per rogationes 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, 681) is not unlike those of other writers, but like Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos,<sup>9</sup> 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 livestock:

ita nos a clade et a bellis et ab hostibus eripiat, fructus terræ, et aquarum, et animalium nobis custodiat, et nos cælum conscendere 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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<sup>9</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, ed., 3rd ed. (London: Methuen, 1964).

(MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97\*v-102v) is especially clear:<sup>10</sup>

Leofan men, se halga apostol Iacobus mynegode us ealle freondlice on þam pistole þe man ær rædde, and us eac luflice lærde þæt we georne began ure agene þearfe. He cwæð: Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra. Ðæt is on englisc: Anddettas georne, he cwæð, eowre synna eow betweonan. 7 ælc for oðerne, he cwæð, gebidde georne þæt eow God ælmihtig gesundfulnysse geunne.

(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 addition, they can help men win peace and a tranquil life:

7 ealle his halegan we sceolon eac biddan þæt hi mid us bidden ælmihtigne Driht, þone ecan cyning, þæt he us gescylde wið gedwolan 7 deofolgyld 7 wið hæðene peoda 7 wið arleasum hungre 7 heregungge 7 þæt he us sibbe forgyfe 7 smyltnysse lyf . . .

(p. 423/15-19)

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

<sup>10</sup> 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 þa halgan apostolas þa wæron.  
 on gebyrdon æfter lichamlicre wisan us gelice  
 7 hi us wæron to leohtfatum gesette þæt hy  
 syndon ure pingeras to þam lyfgendan Gode,  
 þæt we beon gehælede of urum synnum for Driht-  
 nes mildheortnyse, 7 for bene þara haligra  
 apostola . . .

(p. 111/98-103)

In fact, it was a part of Rogationtide practice to re-  
 cite the litany of the saints in procession,<sup>11</sup> as Dr.

Parsch writes:

The celebration consists in a procession fol-  
 lowed by the Rogation Mass. In this proces-  
 sion we may sense the last remnant of the ob-  
 solete station processions observed by ancient  
 Christians almost daily during Lent and dur-  
 ing the first week after Easter. They would  
 gather in a church known as the ecclesia col-  
lecta (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

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<sup>11</sup> The litany often included the angels with the  
 apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. See, for ex-  
 ample, Sanctus Germanus Parisiensis, Veteres Litanie An-  
glicane (PL 72, 625-30), or Sanctus Gregorius Magnus, Li-  
brum Sacramentorum Nota (PL 87, 530-32); Beatus Urbanus II  
Monumenta Liturgica, Excerpta Ex Veteribus Liturgicis Codi-  
cibus Fonta Vellanensibus, Sacramentarium Vetus (PL 151,  
 920-25).

enim valet deprecatio iusti 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.<sup>12</sup> 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

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<sup>12</sup> 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); Elfric's In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH 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. 97\*v-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 pissere bysne ure Drihten larō us hwæt we don sceolon. Ðæt is þonne, þæt we sceolon clypian 7 biððan georne gelome 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 clypiað, þonne wile he ure bena sona gehyran.

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

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

<sup>13</sup> Smaragdus Abbatis, Collectiones In Epistolas Et Evangelia, In Litanía Maiore (PL 102, 305-7); Sanctus Petrus Chrysologus, Ravennatis Archiepiscopi, Sermo XXXIX: De Perseverantia Orationis (PL 52, 309-12); Doctoris Radulphus Ardens, Homiliae Tempore, Homilia LXV: In Letania Majore (PL 155, 1902-6); Ven. Hildebertus Genomanensis Episcopus, Sermones De Tempore, Sermo XLVII (PL 171, 574-77); B. Rabanus Maurus, Homiliae De Festis Praecipuis, Homilia XLIII (PL 110, 224-6); Honorius Augustodunensis, Speculum

The account of Elias, presented above on p. xxxi-ii is most extensive in In Vigilia Ascensionis (MS. CCCC 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. 97\*v-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, abæd eft syðpan æt þam soðan Gode þæt  
he renas forgeaf 7 eorðlice wæstmas. Ðær  
is swutol þæt haliges mannes gebedu maga my-  
cles 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. CCCC 162, pp. 403-12), Sermo In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 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 XCII (PL 118, 530-4); Sanctus Bruno Astensis Sigiensis Episcopus, Commentaria In Lucam Pars I, Caput XXIV (PL 165, 393); Sanctus Bernardus, Abbas Clara-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 fastenum, 7 mid ælmesdædum 7 mid clænum gebedum forðon se monn se þe gelomlice to drihtne clypað, þonne breceð he deofles mægn 7 his costunge him fram aflemeð. Se monn þe deopað him to mid inweardre heortan ne sceal he no wenan þæt god his bene nelle gehyran, swa we be ðon magon ongytan þæt Ionas se witega was under sæs yðum in hwæles hryfe 7 he ða to drihtne cleopode 7 he sona his stefne gehyrde. Forðon se monn se ðe hine gelomlice to gode gebiddeð þonne aflemeð he fram him ealles feondes costunga.

(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 þam 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, þat hit þin bocland sie 7 on agene aht geseald, hit þonne wæron mine wæter, þa ðe on heofonum wæron, þanon ic mine gife dæle eorð-wærum. Gif ðu mihta hæbbe, dæl regnas ofer þine eorðan. Gif ðu strang sy, syle wæstm þin-re eorðan. Ic ahyrde mine . . . sunnan 7 hie gebyrhte. Þon/n/e forbærneð hio ealle þine aceras; þonne bist ðu dælleas mines renas, 7 þe þin eorðe bið idel 7 unnyt goda gehwylces. Mine þearfan lifiað bi 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 Elfric 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 ríca and se þearfa sind him betwynan  
nyd-behefe. Se welega is geworht for ðan  
ðearfan, and se ðearfa for þan welegan.  
þam spedigum gedafenað þæt he spende and  
dæle; ðam wældan gedafenað þæt 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 ælmesdæda: an is lichomlic,  
þæt man þam wædliendan to gode sylle swa hwæt  
swa man mæge: oðer is gastlic, þæt man for-  
gife þam þe oðerum anig yfel deð eall þæt he  
him to wiþe; þridde is þæt man þa dweliendan  
on soðfastnesse weg gelædde.

(11. 53-6)

Earlier, Casarius 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.<sup>14</sup> Almsgiving of the first type (the giving of money), he says, is

<sup>14</sup> Sermo XXX (CCSL 103, pp. 129-33). Trans. Sister Magdeleine Mueller, Saint Casarius of Arles: Sermones (1-80), The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 31 (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1956), I, 148-52.

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:

Ac utan symle of eallum þam godum þe us God  
her on worulde lane *[italics mine]* hym þa teo-  
ðunga don eadmodlice, þonne tiðað us Dryhten  
þe rumodlicor þara nigon dæla. 7 utan georne  
of ðam nigon dælum Godes þearfum ælmeþan dæ-  
lan. . .

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

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

Some men, Casarius 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:

Potes forsitan dicere quod carnem tuam ieiuniis  
ac vigiliis non possis adfligere, a vino vel a  
carnibus non valeas abstinere: numquid potes dicere  
quod ea quæ tibi amplius quam opus erat deus  
dedit, non possis pro peccatis tuis pauperibus  
erogare?

(CCSL 103, 128)

If the rewards gained by giving alms are great, the dangers posed by withholding them are equally severe. As Casarius 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 vanitatibus 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 Casarius 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 iniuriam, toto corde omnibus inimicis suis indulgeat. . . . Videte, 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 implere non possit. Ista enim elymosina per quam in nobis peccantibus veniam damus, non de cellario, non de horreo vel de saccello, 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 Maiore (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 truwige nan mann be ælmesdædum oððe on  
gebedum buton þære foresædon lufe, forþam þe  
swa længe swa he hylt þone sweartan syþ on  
his heortan ne mæg he mid nanum þinge þone  
mildheortan god gegladian.

(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, remetietur 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: [24] 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 offrast þine lác to godes weofode 7  
þu ðær gemyndig byst, þæt þin broðer hæfð sum  
þing ongean ðe, forlæt þær riht þa lác æt-  
foran þam weofode 7 gang ærest to þinum bre-  
ðer 7 þe to him gesibbsuma, 7 þonne þu eft  
cymst to þam weofode geoffra þonne þine lác.  
Gyf ðu þinum cristenum breðer dæredest þonne  
hæfð he, sum ðing ongean þe, 7 þu scealt be  
godes tæcunge hine gegladian ær þu þine

lác geoffrige. Gyf þonne se cristena mann  
þe þin broðor is þe ahwar geyfelode, þæt þu  
scealt miltsigende forgyfan.

(f. 234v/2-17)

The third type of almsgiving, true love, is also a spiritual gift within the reach of all men. As Cæsarius 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 debeas indulgere: et ideo dubitas quod non habeas unde possis peccata tua redimere. Accipe ergo et fideliter tene præclarum ac præcipuum tertium 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 BONE VOLUNTATIS.

(CCSL 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 bewæce nan mann hine sylfne, witodlice gyf hwa forðon ænne mann hatað, on bysum mid-danearde, swa hwæt swa he to gode gedep, 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 cwale gesylle /f. 234r/ swa þæt ic forbyrne on martyrdome, gyf ic nabbe þa soðan 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 geleafan 7 ælmys-san wyrce 7 fela to gode gedo, eall him byð idel swa hwæt swa he dep buton he habbe soðe lufe to gode 7 to eallum cristenum mannum. Seo soðe lufu is þæt gehwa his frēond lufige 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 þe his ælmessan singallice for gode syleþ. Þonne adwæscþ he his synna swa man mid water adwæscþ byrnende fyr (ff. 108<sup>r</sup>-8v). Vercelli Homily XX is even more expansive in its praise of almsgiving, attributing to it every manner of good:

7 seo ælmessylen ys gefyllednes 7 fulfremednes eallra goda. 7 heo ys halig þing 7 heo geycō þa andweardan 7 heo gewanap synna 7 heo gemænigfyllt gear 7 heo geæðelað þæt mod 7 heo tobræt gemero 7 heo aclansað eallo þing 7 heo alyst fram (f. 110b) deape 7 fram witum. 7 heo geþeodeð þone mann þe hy begað Godes englum 7 hine ascyreð fram deoflum. 7 heo ys unoferwinnendlic weall ymb þa sawle. 7 heo framadrifð deoflu 7 englas togelaðað on fultum. 7 heo þurhfærð þone heofon. 7 heo forstþð þone syllendan on heofonarices wuldre. 7 heo cnyst heofonarices duru 7 heo awecð englas ongean. 7 heo tosome gecigeð Dryhten ælmihtigne on fultum þam þe hie luflice 7 rumodlice dæleð.

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

But as the same homilist points out, almsgiving alone is not enough. To be truly worthy, Christians must also fast: Fasten 7 ælmessylen sceolon æghwylcum Cristinum menn atgædere fyligean, forðam þæt fasten 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 abstinere tantummodo a peccatis, nisi addamus et bona (Sermo CLXXV, PL 39, 2079).

De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97\*v-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 nones (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 lare ælcne Cristene man þæt he þissa preora daga fæsten rihtlice gehealde ælce dæge to nones 7 to anes mæles, butan hwa for ylde, oððe iuguðe, oððe for unhæle gelæstan ne mæge. Gyf þonne þissa preora þinga ænig hwylcne man lette þæt hine to þam fæstene ne onhægie, þonne is hit aléfed þæt he mot mete picgan on þa gerad þe he his ælmesan sylle 7 nenne oðerne man him to ne spanne to ðam gereordum, butan þær hwylc oðer metrum man sy þe þæt fæsten aberan ne mæge. Gyf þonne se hāla mid þam unhalan þone mete þigeð, þonne wurpað hig begen þurh þas metruman unmihta beswicene. 7 nis nanum men

... alæfed for nanre neode þis faſten to abrecane  
ne mid ælmeſſan to ælyſenne, butan hine þara  
þreora þinga, hwylc forwyrne: yld oððe iuguð  
oððe unhal.

(below p. 35/22-36)

Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 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 æghwylc mann gehealde clænlice his faſten  
þas pry dagas oð ða nontide 7 þonne þicge þa  
mettas þe he hwilon þæt lengtenfaſten . . .

(below p. 115/187-9)

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

Elcum menn ge geongum ge gealdum þis faſten  
is beboden, þæt hig hit ſceolon healice heal-  
dan, 7 hit næfre nah nan mann ſwyðor to bræ-  
cene þonne þæt lengten faſten.

(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 recog-  
nize that breaking a fast is a serious matter and watch  
carefully that they fast properly:

Ofþ ſ men ſecgað þæt hi unſynnige beon, ðeah  
ðe hi lehtlice, mettas him on muð beſtingon,

on swilcum fæsten-dagum mid fræcere gyferys-  
 nysse, and nellað understandan hu Adam us  
 forþerde ðurh ánes æpples ðigene þe hé æt  
 forboden.

(Feria Secunda Letania Maiore,  
 Thorpe, CH ii, 330/29-33)

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 þe underfehð mid muðe  
 æniges gesceaftes sæ oððe eorðan, ac ða beoð  
 scyldige ðe ða gesetnysse tobrecað þære hal-  
 gan gelaðunge mid unalyfedre ðigene, and fyl-  
 lað hēora wambe fracodlice ær timan.

(*ibid*, pp. 330/33-332/2) <sup>15</sup>

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

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<sup>15</sup> 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 excrescences 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. 267-8}.

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 us bebyt þæt we sceolon ealle þa ðing þe us gesceotað of ures geares teolunge Gode þa teoðunge syllan, swa we sceolon eac on ðisum teoðing-dagum urne lichaman mid forhæfednyse Gode to lofe teoðian. We sceolon us gearcian on eallum ðingum swa swa Godes penas, æfter þæs apostoles tæcunge, on micclum geðylfe, and on halgum wæccum, on fæstenum, and on clænnysse modes and lichaman; forði læsse pleoh bið þam cristenum men þæt he flæscas 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 Rogationtide. Pope Eutychianus, for example, says in his Exhortatio Ad Presbyteros:

Certis temporibus conjugatos ab uxoribus abstinere exhortamini, id est ab Adventu Domini usque ad transactas octavas Epiphaniæ; 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 nydþearf þæt we swyðe eadmodlice gedon ure fæsten ge ure ælmyssan ge ure hlutran gebeda ge ure unlustas for naman þæs ælmihtigan Drihtenes . . .

(below p. 117/227-30)

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

by we beodað Godes bebode 7 ealra his haligra þæt nan þara cristenra manna þe þis gehyre him beforan rædan oððe elles hwar hit him gereccan ne gepristlæce he þis fæsten to abrecenne be þam þe he wille him for God geborgen habban.

(p. 408/11-15)

Fourth, Alfric identifies the requisites of proper fasting.<sup>16</sup> 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:

Lætað aweg ealle saca, and ælc geflitt, and gehealdað þas tid mid sibbe and mid soðre lufe; forðon ne bið nan fæsten Gode andfenge butan sibbe. And doð swa swa God tæhte, to-brec ðinne hlaf, and syle ðone operne dæl hungrium men, and læd into þinum huse wædlan, and ða earman ælfremedan men, and gefrefra hi mid þinum godum. Þonne ðu nacodne geseo, scryd hine, and ne forseoh ðin ægen flæsc. Se mann þe fæst buton ælmyssan, he deð swilce he sparige his mete, and eft ett þæt he ær mid forhæfednysse foreode; ac þæt fæsten tælō God. Ac gif ðu fæstan wille Gode to gecwemednysse, þonne gehelp ðu earmra manna mid þam dæle ðe ðu þe sylfum oftihst, and eac mid maran, gif ðe to onhagige. Forbugað idele spellunge, and dyslice blissa, and bewepað eowre synna . . .

(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

<sup>16</sup> For further discussion of proper fasting see Sanctus Aurelius Augustinus, Appendix--Sermones Supposititia 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 Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 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 ælmihtigan Drihtenes þonne gefylst þone cwyde þe on þam sealme gecweden wæs: Drihten forlæt me mine scylda on þa gelicnysse þe ic forlæt ælcum þæra þe wið me agyltað. Swa sceal se mann don se ðe wyle rihtwislice fæstan for naman þæs ælmihtigan Drihtenes. Ac se mann se þe þencð þæt he clænlice fæste 7 þonne eac þenceð to wræce worda 7 dæda þam þe ær wið hine agylton, 7 ne wile forgyfnysse syllan 7 mildheortnysse, 7 gefean syllan ealra þæra yfela worda 7 dæda þe he æfre wið Cristes willan geworhte, þæt fæsten bið gelic þam unsmyredan tapore, se þære beorhtnysse ne onfehð.

(below pp. 116/213-117/224)

Rogationtide 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. 97\*v-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. 97\*v-102v), and

Elfric'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;<sup>17</sup> 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:

Ða geworhton hi þæs þri dagas for þære mic-clan neode þe heom wæs þæs wæteres forwyrned, 7 buton ofer ealle eorðan þæt eal folc sceolde fasten ðri dagas oððe þæt heo on eafensteorran geseagan, 7 swa eac þæt cild þe wære geboron on niht, swa hit mon genam fram þam modrum breostum þæt hit nan þing sucan ne mosta at þære moder ar steorran arisan of heofonum, ne nannes cynnes þingc, ne manna ne nytena.

(ll. 28-36)

Similarly Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 44-55v) notes the especial severity of the fast commanded on the Ninivites:

7 he [the king] aras of his cynesetle 7 him fram his cynereaf awarep, 7 hynne mid hëran ymbcryððe to his lice 7 dyde axan uppon his heafod, 7 behead þæt ælc mann swa don sceolde. . . . 7 he behead ærost þæt ægðer ge þa menn ge þa sucendan cild, ge furðon ealle þa nytenu þe hi ahton, sceoldon þry dagas 7 þreo niht on an fæstan.

(below pp. 148/188-92, and 148/93-149/96)

<sup>17</sup> See also Sanctus Martinus Legionensis Presbyter, Sermo Vicesimus Nonus (PL 208, 1038); Venerabilis Bedæ

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. 97\*v-102v), for example, says:

we sceolon ure woruldweorc forgan fram underne oð non, 7 to Godes cyrcan cuman 7 for urum synnum, þingian, 7 forð mid þam halgum reliquium gan. . . . 7 mid þam halgum reliquium we sculon beon Gode lofseggende, 7 Cristes rodetacen forðberan, 7 his þa halige godspell 7 oðre halignessa mid þam we sceolon bletsian ure þa eorðliçan speda: þæt synd æceras 7 wudu 7 ure ceap, 7 eall þa þing þe us God forgyfen 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 Parænctica, Homilia Subdititia, Homilia XCVII (PL 94, 489 [sic/ 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 þæt we mid þære halegan Cristes brynnysse roðe 7 mid His halegra reliquium þe we mid gangap, 7 mid haligum sangum we sceolon bletsian ure land 7 Drihten biddan þæt þa wæstmas þe on eorþan syndon geþeon moðon 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, ll. 36-9)

In later times processions gave rise to other practices, such as pointing out the boundries 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 Antiquities 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 generation 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 Herbert'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 informal 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 advantages. First, a blessing of God for the fruits of the field. 2. Justice in the preservation 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. CCCC 303, pp. 223-6), which says that each man who does not walk barefoot in procession as the priest commands will walk barefoot through the nine regions of hell before Doomsday, continuously stepping on burning snakes:

And se man þe nele nu þæs þry dagas mid Godes  
 halgan reliquian bærfoð gangan, þurh þa nigon  
 helle he sceal ær domes dæge eal swa feola  
 siðian swa he her fotspora gesceod eode ofer  
 þæs prestes bebod, 7 æfre he sceal steppan on  
 byrnendum næddran . . .

(below p. 173/48-53)

Jacobus 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 territi 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 aliquis tyrannus valde timeret, qui aliqujus regis potentis et sibi inimici tubas in sua terra audiret et vexilla videret, sic daemones, qui sunt in isto aere caliginoso, vehementer metuunt, quando tubas Christi.

(Legenda Aurea, 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 repraesentandum victoriam Resurrectionis et Ascensionis Christi, qui cum magna praeda 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. Portantur etiam vexilla ad imitationem ejus, quod dicitur in Isaia: Et levabit (Dominus) signum in nationes, et congregabit profugos Israel, et dispersos Juda colliget a quatuor plagis terrae (2).

(Caput CII, viii, p. 604)

Durandis (ibid, p. 604) and Bishop Sicardus of Cremona 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 hæc insignia deferuntur, cruces et vexilla. Quorum usum a Constantino sumsit Ecclesia, qui cum in somnis crucis signum vidisset, eique dictum fuisset: Vince in hoc, jussit crucem in vexillis bellicis insigniri . . .

(Mitrale. Liber III.  
Caput VI. PL 213, 368).

As Durandis mentions above and Radulph of Ardens explains further, the specific items carried in procession--the cross, holy water,<sup>18</sup> 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:

Repræsentat autem hanc Christi victoriam sancta Ecclesia per processiones, quas, in his diebus facere consuevit. Procedit quippe in processione tanquam victor crucifixus in carne cruce, cum armis videlicet cum quibus triumphat.

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<sup>18</sup> Udalricus Cluniacensis Monachus mentions salt with holy water (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 suæ victoriae signa. Procedit et draco tanquam victus ante victorem, qui solo capite vicens 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 consentientem laedere 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; tertio vero die post crucem, et vexilla cum cauda depressa. Hic est diabolus, qui nos per tria tempora ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia fallit, aut fallere cupit. In primis duobus erat quasi dominus orbis, ideoque princeps, vel deus mundi vocatur, inde est

quod in primis duobus diebus cum inflata cauda  
 præcedit; in tempore vero gratia per Christum  
 victus fuit, nec audet regnare patenter, sed  
 homines seducit latenter, inde est quod in ul-  
 timo die sequitur cum cauda depressa.

(Mitræ, Liber VII. Ca-  
 put VI, PL 213, 368-9)

Old English homilies do not discuss the composition  
 of the Rogationtide procession, but Latin sources indi-  
 cate 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 ab-  
 batum 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 litanis hic esset ordo servan-  
 dus, et olim servabatur. In primo loco pro-  
 cessionis clerici; in secundo claustrales, ut  
 monachi et canonicus; in tertio moniales; in  
 quarto pueri; in quinto laici; in sexto viduæ;  
 in septimo conjugata. Sed Romæ ex instituto  
 Gregorii sic ordo notatur, scilicet clerici  
 viri, monachi et monachæ, conjugata, viduæ,  
 pueri, illi de illa procedant ecclesia. Sed  
 quod nequimus in numero personarum, supplemus  
 in numero litaniarum; septies enim litaniam

dicere debemus, antequam insignia deponamus.

(Sicardus, Mitrale, Liber VII,  
Caput VI, PL 213, 368)

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, ll. 17-43), and Vercelli Homily XX also specifies the Host (haligdome, l. 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 ille 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:

Sicut tabulae testamenti de monte accipiuntur, sic liber Evangelii sumitur de altari. Eos columna ignis precedebat, et nos lumen candelae praecedit. Præturmis illorum signa ferebantur, et ante nos cruces et vexilla portantur. Levitæ portabant tabernaculum fœderis, et nostri subdiacones et diacones plenaria portant et capsas. Arca fœderis a sacerdotibus portabatur, et apud nos scrinium, aut feretrum cum reliquiis a presbyteris deportatur. Aaron summus sacerdos sequebatur ornatus, et apud nos episcopus infulatus. Apud eos Moyses cum virga, apud nos rex cum sceptro, vel episcopus cum sambuca. Ibi clangor tubarum, hic strepitus campanarum. Ibi populus armatus, hic virtutibus adornatus. Ibi populus aspergebatur sanguine, hic aqua benedicta cum sale. Illis obviat Amalech sitiens, nobis turba dæmonum nostræ vitæ semper insidians. Josue victor existit, et noster Jesus victoriam nobis obtinuit. Cum ad aliquam ecclesiam tendimus, tunc quasi ad terram promissionis accedimus. Cum ecclesiam cantantes introimus, quasi gaudentes ad patriam pervenimus. Cum circa ecclesias feretrum campanarum compulsionem portamus, quasi cum arca, cum sono tubarum, cum clangore populi Jericho circumimus. Jericho vero corrui et destruitur, cum in nobis concupiscentia vincitur; David etiam et Salomon nos ad processiones informaverunt, cum Arcam Domini David in tabernaculum, Salomon in templum, cum hymnis et canticis portaverunt, et sub alis cherubin locaverunt, sic humanitas

Christi ascendens cœlum ingreditur et ab angelis perenniter adoratur.

(Mitræ, 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 beatæ Mariæ cum cereis ac lucernis; secunda in ramis Palmarum, cum floribus et palmis, tertia circa Ascensionem Domini, cum crucibus et vexillis. . . . Sequitur processio in crucibus et vexillis. In cruce carnis afflictio, in vexillis mentis elevatio; crucibus vexilla addimus cum ex carnis maceratione ad cordis magnificentiam proficimus. Prima processio fit de domo in templum; secunda de vico in civitatem, tertia de terra in cœlum. . . . Ultima processio recipit solos perfectos, hinc viros angelicos descendentes et Galilæos sursum intendentes: medium Jesum a terra sublevatum, a nube susceptum, et in cœlum assumptum.

(Appendix Ad Opera Dogmatica, Miscellanea, Liber VI, Tit. XIX /sic/ 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 muliercula choreas ducant, sed omnes in commune Kyrie eleison decantent . . .

(CCLXXVI: De Jejunio Rogationem, 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 tribulatio cessavit. In Chalcedonensi quoque synodo fuit istud canticum approbatum et concludit 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. CCCC 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 mannum nane niwe bebodu.  
Do gehwa himsylf swa him gebeorhlicost for  
Gode pince, gyf he pylcum bysenum 7 pylcum  
larum fylgean nelle. Georne we witon þæt  
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 Rogationtide in humility, patience, and love, in all purity of body and soul, good and profitable vigils, and beneficence for God and man:

. . . on micelre eadmodnysse 7 on micclum  
gepylde 7 on soðre lufe 7 on ealre clännysse  
lichaman 7 sawle 7 on godum waccum 7 nyt-  
weorðum . . . 7 on ealre godnysse 7 on lufe  
godes 7 manna.

(Feria II In Letania Maiore,  
MS. CCCO 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, piety for the aged, humility for the young,  
and almsdeeds for the wealthy:

Ne sceal se wisa mann beon buton godum weorcum,  
ne se ealda ne beo butan eaw-fæstnysse, ne se  
iunga ne beo butan gehyrsumnysse, ne se weliga  
ne beo butan almesdædum.

(p. 336v)

The same homilist warns again:

uton don forpi swa us micel pearf is, beon  
geornfulle ure agenre pearfe, geswican ura  
synna 7 swærra 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 geleaffulnysse (faith), ofermodignysse (pride) with eadmodnyse (humility), galnysse (wantonness) with clannysse (purity), manfulnysse (wickedness) with rihtwisnysse (righteousness), yrsume (anger) with gepylde (patience), gytsunge (greediness) with mildheortnysse (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 forlæt-  
tan urne gedwolan 7 unriht hæmedo 7 æratas 7  
oferdruncnessa 7 hlaforðswicunga 7 ofer-  
mett 7 andan 7 oferfyllle 7 galnesse 7 sceand-  
licnessa 7 leohtbræðnessa 7 idele spræca 7  
ealle unclannessa 7 ealle yfelo, þe læs us  
ahwæne God for urum yfelum geearni/n/gum ure  
eorðan wæstmas fram afyrre 7 us swylice witu  
on asende þe we aræfnian ne magon.

(ll. 23-8)

St. Martin of León 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 language; that no one is to be absent on account of business, 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 audeat; nemo calceatus, sed discalcea-  
tis pedibus omnes incedant. Nequaquam viri  
per plateas vana et sæcularia canendo eant,  
nec mulieres puellarum more choros ducant;  
sed omnes devote, seorsum viri, seorsum fe-  
minæ ad generalem processionem conveniant.

(Sermo Vicesimus Octavus,  
PL 208, 1035-6)

Dominica Ante Rogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleo-  
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 þisum dagum forbodene, þeah hi on ælcere tide forbodene syn, swyðost on þysse tyde, idele spræca 7 taflunga 7 beor-scypas 7 þæt him nan mann on þyssum dagum blod ne forlæte, ne ne geþristlæce ænig mann ætes oððe wæter to onbyrgenne ær þære nigoðan tide, 7 ær he mæssan gehyred hæbbe, 7 barum fotum Cristes bec 7 rodetacna 7 oðre halige reliquias 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. CCCC 162, pp. 403-12) and In Vigilia Ascensionis (MS. CCCC 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 ealle saca, and ælc geflitt, and  
gehealdað þas tid mid sibbe and mid soðre lufe.

(p. 180/1-2)

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 ecclesiam curramus, et contrito corde vel humiliato corpore Dei misericordiam deprecemur : ut omnium peccatorum nostrorum vulnera, isto triduo compunctionis medicamento, ad sanitatem pristinam revocemus. Nemo ergo sibi ex industria aliquas occupationes studeat 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 nimium 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:

Men ða leofestan þis syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice 7 ussum sawlum læcedomlice 7 us ge-riseð þæt we hie wel begangen mid fastenum 7 mid gebedum 7 mid reliquia-socnum 7 mid usse eaðmodlice gange. forþan sanctus petrus se ealdor-apostol ærest us ge-sette to heal-danne ðas dagas 7 to be-ganganne for hæðenra manna gedwilde forþan þe hie hiera wiggild 7 hiera dioful-gild on ðas dagas weorðedon 7 be-eodon 7 we nu for þam þingum sculon þas dagas mærsian 7 weorðigan 7 mid þam gesettum godum þe to þyssum dagum gelimpap.

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

Likewise In Vigilia Ascensionis (MS. CCCC 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 þa leofēstan, þis syndon halige dagas 7  
gastlice þenunge mid mannū, forþi þe þas  
dagas næron for gytsunge geworhte ne for na-  
num rence, ac hi wæron geworhte for micelre  
neode eallū folce.

(below, p. 171 /1-4)

The ecclesiastical synod convened at Cloveshoe 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 condixerunt capitulo : Ut  
Latania, id est, rogationes, a clero omnique  
populo his diebus cum magna reverentia agan-  
tur, id est, die septimo kalendarum Maiarum,  
juxta ritum Romanæ Ecclesiæ: quæ et Latania  
major apud eam vocatur. Et item quoque se-  
cundum morem priorum nostrorum, tres dies an-  
te Ascensionem Domini in cœlos cum jejuni-  
o usque ad horam nonam et Missarum celebratione  
venerantur: non admixtis vanitatibus, uti mos  
est plurimis, vel negligentibus, vel imperi-  
tis, id est, in ludis et equorum cursibus, et  
epulis majoribus; sed magis, cum timore et  
tremore, signo passionis Christi nostræque  
aternæ redemptionis, et reliquiis sanctorum  
Ejus coram portatis, omnis populus genu flec-  
tendo Divinam pro delictis humiliter exorat  
indulgentiam.

(A.W. Hadden and William Stubbs, Coun-  
cils and Ecclesiastical Documents Rela-  
ting to Great Britain and Ireland 11871;  
rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) III,  
368)

The fast and procession commanded by Elias in In Vigilia Ascensionis (MS. CCCC 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:

Pa com Cristes stefn on hefenum to eorðan 7  
 let dýnian ofer ealc þara manna . . . þe an  
 fodspor gesceod eode mid þam halgan reliquium  
 oððe mid linenum hrægle oððe mid wæpne oððe  
 on horse geride, oððe huntian ongunne binnan  
 bysum þreom dagum oððe fram mæsse gange ær  
 he hæfde hlaf genuman at 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 unpæslig 7 pleolic þæt we on  
 godes huse idele spellunga 7 hlacerunga be-  
 gan; forðj þe hit cymð us to mycelan hearne  
 buton we ær gewican 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:

Vnderstodeð get an pi/n/g þat ich giu wile  
 warnie fore. gif man beð forwunded, he wile  
 anon sechen after leches, and shewen him his  
 wunden, and bi his wissinge leden is lif.  
 forte þat he bie hol, also we ogen to don.  
 Ure saule is sore forwunded, for ech synne  
 is þe saule wunde, and prest is saulene leche.  
 and forþi we agen to cumen to ure preste er  
 þanne we biginnen to festen . . .

(p. 57/1-7)

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

Eala þu man, forhwon noldest þu þas wunda ge-  
 lacnian, þas ic for ðe þafiende was, to þon  
 þæt ic ealle þine wunda gelacnode?

(f. 113<sup>v</sup>/16-18)

The medicinal quality of the Rogation days is commonly mentioned at the opening of homilies, as in Feria IIIItia De Letania Maiore:

Men ða leofestan, þys syndon halige dagas 7  
 halwendlice . . .

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

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

Dies medicinales. Qualiter cum diabolo cer-  
 tandum. Ecce, fratres dilectissimi, dies  
 sancti et spirituales adveniunt, et animabus

nostris medicinales : et ideo quicumque voluerit 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. CCCC 162, pp. 422-31) explains:

Fonne byð sum boc untyned on ansyne þas hehstan cyninges on ðære beoð awritene æghwilces mannes dæda, eal þæt he to gode oððe to yfele gedyde on þysum middanearde. Þær se broðor ne mæg þam oðrum helpan, ne se fæder þam suna, ne þa neahmagas ne ða maðngestreon, ne þysse woruldahta anigne man þær gescyldan magon; ac Drihten gyldeð anra gehwylcum menn after his sylfes 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 IIIITIA 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. 9<sup>v</sup>, 10" (ibid).

MS. Hatton 114 contains 252 leaves foliated i, 1-97, 97<sup>v</sup>, 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<sup>v</sup>, those containing Feria III<sup>a</sup> 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<sup>a</sup>. De Letania Maiore) and the large M of Men ða leo- (f. 111/11) has burned through the parchment and obscured several words on the reverse side. Feria .III<sup>a</sup>. (f. 111/10) obscures sette (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/10); De Letania Maiore (f. 111/10) obscures þearfe geprowode 7 (r. 111<sup>v</sup>/11); and the capital M (f. 111/11-2) obscures menig (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/11) and hwile (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/12).

Abbreviations occur with moderate frequency throughout the MS.; those occurring on ff. 111-14<sup>v</sup> are, in all instances, conventional: þ is used for þat; m is used for men, and in one instance for men þa leofestan (f. 112/5); and 7 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 þa leofestan (f. 113/5), although this device may be the alteration of a later hand.

Folios 111-14<sup>v</sup> employ three marks of punctuation. The primary mark is the cola (.).<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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. Fordam 1959), f. 5<sup>v</sup>.

(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 pearflic (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 peodan (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,<sup>1</sup> especially characteristic of Worcester MSS. and the well-known 'tremulous' hand. The first is a short vertical stroke which Crawford equates with Middle English i; on twenty-two occasions it is written over the prefix ge- to guide pronunciation.<sup>2</sup> The second is a pair of short vertical strokes which Crawford equates with Middle English w; on four occasions.

<sup>1</sup> For Crawford's discussion of the marks see, The Old English Version of The Heptateuch: Ælfric's Treatise On The Old And New Testament And His Preface To Genesis, ed. S.J. Crawford, Early English Text Society, O.S. 160 (London, 1922; rpt. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 422-23; for Crawford's discussion of Worcester MSS. and the tremulous hand see, "The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the Old English manuscripts in the Bodleian," Anglia, 52 (1928), 1-25.

<sup>2</sup> geleafan (l. 3), geeadmette (l. 7), geband (l. 29), getigde (l. 29), gecwemdon (l. 30), gebrowode (l. 36), gefyllanne (l. 37), gewitan (l. 41), gehwylice (l. 43), gesælignyse (l. 57), gearwian (l. 67), gehaten (l. 74), gescop (l. 75), geworhte (l. 76), geworhton (l. 77), gehydde (l. 81), gecyrrad (l. 86), gesetteð (l. 93), gecyrrad (l. 94), gegearwod (l. 108), gescolum (l. 110), gegearwod (l. 137).

they occur over g,<sup>3</sup> and on one occasion over y (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;<sup>4</sup> 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 (†) 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

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<sup>3</sup> agan (l. 37), adru gode (l. 83), magon (l. 116), magon (f. 120).

<sup>4</sup> 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 ponon) written too close together.

Decoration is not prominent on ff. 111-14<sup>v</sup>, 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 IIItia 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. 111-14<sup>v</sup>. First, e is often written high in the æ ligature, especially in the ligatures æg and æt [*cf.* ærest (f. 111/17), pæt (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/10), and mæge (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/15)]. Secondly, long and low forms of s are used indiscriminately, with the head of the long s frequently tending toward a loop [*cf.* leofestan (f. 111/12), and swa (f. 111/15)]. Third, the upstroke of p is long and often "tagged" to the left at the top, as with pæt (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/12), byrnene (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/8), and pearfe (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/1); also the ends of descenders, including p, curve to the left, as with onhylde (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/21), alysnesse (f. 111<sup>v</sup>/3), and swipum (l. 111<sup>v</sup>/6). Fourth, hyphens are usually placed on a level with the tops of minims, as with pearlic (f. 111/15-16) and hycgan (f. 112<sup>v</sup>/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 [c]plfman (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 Joscelym, 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].

Feria 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 g. 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 IIIItia 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 syðan (l. 7), syndon (l. 1), and cyrlicum (l. 28).
- (2) Regular preference for y to ie, as with alysed-nyse (l. 24), gehyron (l. 30), and awyrgeðan (l. 104).
- (3) y always replaces e in group sel- [Campbell §325], as with sylfne (l. 9), sylfum (l. 20), and sylf (l. 74).
- (4) æ is preferred to ea, as with ælmihhtig (l. 4), ælmihhtig (l. 72), and ær (l. 29).
- (5) There is some tendency to favour a over o before nasals, as with mann (l. 13) and handum (l. 16), but not always: monn (l. 16), and o does not regularly alter to a/æ in unstressed words, as is indicated by ðone (l. 66) and pone (l. 65).
- (6) æ is preferred to a/o in manigfealdre (l. 18) and manige (l. 29) [Campbell §193 d, n. 4].
- (7) specende (l. 103) shows the late Old English loss of r [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. 48). Belonged to Christopher, Lord Hatton, in 1644 (see Bodleian MS. Dugdale 29 (6519), f. iv<sup>v</sup>), '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 IIIItia De Letania Maiore, the third of three Rogationtide homilies in MS. 114, is a unique text not previously edited.

FERIA IIIITIA DE LETANIA MAIORE

(Bodleian Library MS. Hatton 114, ff. 111-14V)

[Ker 331 art. 55]

- Men ða leofestan, þys syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice us to begangenne 7 to healdenne þurh rihtne geleafan mid fæstenum, 7 mid ælmessylenum swa urum sawlum nyðþearflíc is. Utan gepencan hu ælmihtig God
- 5) for us þrowode 7 gepafode, ærest þa he wæs on heofona rices hyhðu upahafen, 7 on his wuldre unonwendedlic, þa geeadmette he hine to þan þæt he syðþan on þisne middaneard wæs acenned 7 to menn geworden, 7 he ðær her on worulde wæs þrowigendlic monn, 7 gyt he hine sylfne
- 10) geeadmette to þon [f. 111V] þæt he wolde for manncynnes þearfe geprowian, 7 hine sylfne lætan for ealles middaneardes are 7 alysnese ahon 7 acwellan. Ærest he þæt gepafode his agenum willan þæt hine mann for ure þearfe genam 7 geband, 7 he wæs mid swipum beswungen,
- 15) 7 hine man on þæt neþ hrahte, 7 hine man mid bradum

5) on heofona: MS. as one word. 6) hyhðu: MS. alters to hyehðu.

Glosses, Latin: 3 -syleneum: dona (t). 5 þa: tunc (t).  
6 upahafen: exaltatione (t). 6 unonwendedlic: inestimabiliter (t).  
7 geeadmette: dignatus est humiliari (s). 8 acenned: natus (s).  
8 geworden: factus (s). 10 geeadmette: humiliari (s).  
12 are: honore (s). 12 alysnese: redemptione (s).  
15 hrahte: expiut (s).

Sources: 15-16 [Matt. xxvi: 67, passim] Tunc expuerunt in faciem ejus, et colaphis eum ceciderunt, alii autem palmas in faciem ejus dederunt,

handum on þæt neþ sloh 7 him þyrnene helm for oðerne  
 cynehelm on þæt heafod sette, 7 eall he þæt eadmodlice  
 for ure þearfe geprowode, 7 micle maran 7 manigfealdre  
 þing þonne ic nu on þisse hwile areccan mæge oððe asec-  
 20) gan, þa þe he for mancynnes hælo 7 áre on him sylfum  
 aræfnode 7 forbær.

7 þæt her ealra mæst is, swa ic ár sæde, þæt hine  
 man for ure ealra neodþearfe 7 for ealles middaneardes  
 alysednyse on rode gealgang aheng 7 gefæstnode, 7  
 25) hine man eac þær mid spere gewundode; 7 he þa his þæt  
 halige heafod onhylde 7 his gast on his Fæder hand  
 ágeaf 7 on his geweald beþeod; 7 eac to helwarum nyper-  
 astah 7 ðone ealdan wiðerweardan [f. 112F] feond þær  
 geband 7 getigde; 7 manige halige sawla þara manna þe  
 30) him ár her on worulde gehýrdon 7 gecwemdon he þonon  
 upateah to heofona rices hyhðo, 7 to his wuldre gelædde.

31 hyhðo: MS. alters to hyehðo.

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

26-27 [Luke xxiii: 46, passim] Et clamans voce magna Jesus  
 ait: Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.

Forðon, men þa leofestan, us is swyðe mycel þearf  
 þæt we ealle þa þing gepencan 7 asmeagan geornlice 7  
 eadmodlice, 7 him þæs symle inweardlice þancas secgan  
 35) ealra þara þinga þe he for mancynnes þearfe mildelice  
 on him sylfum forþær 7 geprowode; 7 we symle geornlice  
 his þa halgan 7 þa godcundan bebodu agan to gefyllanne  
 7 to gehealdenne on us sylfum. Ne syndon nænie on  
 þissere worulde ne on þissum life þæs fæstlice 7 ðæs  
 40) mislice þing þæt hi symle full hrædlice aweg ne  
 gewitan. Þonne bið þæt swyðe scandlic 7 swyðe bysmor-  
 lic þæt man þæt lufige 7 on þam hangie þe he gesyhð  
 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 þa eac on þis-

-----  
Glosses, Latin: 33 asmeagan: scrutarer (t). 39 fæstlice:  
 firmi stabiles conjectural (t). 40 mislice: varii (t).  
 40 hrædlice: cito (s). 41 gewitan: discedant (t). 46 Fruma-:  
 origo (s).  
 -----

Glosses, Old English: 37 agan: owan<sup>1</sup> (t). 43 higeð 7  
 efsteð: hieð efsteð (t).  
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Sources: 46 Fruma-7-Ende. Apoc. xxii: 13, passim Ego sum  
 alpha et omega, primus, et novissimus, principium, et finis.  
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<sup>1</sup>For a more extensive look at the tremulous hand and its  
 use of the open form of the Runic wen in place of g, see  
 S.J. Crawford, "The Worchester Marks and Glosses of the Old  
 English Manuscripts in the Bodleian," 52 (Anglia), 1-25.

sere [f. 112v] worulde for urum lufon deað þrowode 7  
on him sylfum aræfnode.

- Uton we þonne forðon, men þa leofestan, geornlice
- 50) tiligean þæt we, for his lufe 7 for his willan, us  
sylfe 7 ures lichaman lustas 7 willan on us sylfum  
cwymlen, 7 þæt we eac, for his lufon 7 for his willan,  
ealle þa lustfulnessa þissere andweardan tide 7 ðissere  
gewitendan forseon 7 forhyrgan, þæt we of ðam waçran 7
- 55) of þam wyrсан to þam beteran 7 to þam selran becuman  
moton, of ðissum lichamlicum þingum to þam godcundan, 7  
of þisses middaneardes life to his gesælignyse 7 to  
þam hihte þæs toweardan lifes, 7 þæs ecan æristes be-  
cuman magan 7 moton. Ac utan hyhtan us 7 þeodan us to
- 60) ælmihtigum Gode, 7 to his are 7 to his forgyfnysse,  
forðon se sealmscop þæt lærde 7 swa cwæð: Cūmað ge, 7  
uton us gebiddan 7 forðengan beforan ælmihtigum Gode,  
7 hreowsian for urum synnum 7 mǎndædum, 7 don we god-  
cunde gyfe to ðon þæt we Godes are 7 his miltse begytan
- 65) magon 7 moton. 7 uton aweorpan fram us þone yfelan

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Glosses, Latin: 48 aræfnode: pertulit (s). 50 tiligean:  
studere (s). 52 cwymlen: mortificemur (s); conficiamus (t).  
54 gewitendan: transsitorii (s). 54 forseon: dedignamus (t).  
54 forhyrgan: contradicere (s); 58 hihte: spem (s). 59 þeo-  
dan: iungere (s). 60 are: honore (t). 61 Cūmað: venite (s).  
62 gebiddan: adoremus (s).

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Sources: 61-65 [a free rendering of Ps. xcv: 6] Venite  
adoremus, et procidamus: et ploremus ante Dominum, qui fecit  
nos,

7 ðone [f. 113r] grimman gewunan 7 us mid godcunde  
 mægne gearwian þæt we þæt heofoncunde líf gearnian  
 mágon, 7 þæt we ne purfon beon Gode on þa wynstran hand  
 gesette, ne þone cwyde gehyrañ þe he to þam cwyð.

- 70) Ac, men þa leofestan, efston we mid fæstenum 7  
 mid ælmesdædum þæt us seo hell ne forswelge. God ælmih-  
 tig is swyðe mildheort 7 manpwære, ac hwæðere he on  
 domes dæg byð swyðe repe 7 swyðe rihtwis, 7 þy he bið  
 Domes Dæg gehaten, forþan ðe Drihten sylf on þam dæge  
 75) demeð eallum eorðwarum þa þe he ár sylfa hider gescóp  
 7 geworhte, swa hwæðer swa hi on þissere worulde ar  
 geworhton, swa heofona rice swa hellewite. Send þonne  
 his englas to feower dælum þisses middaneardes 7 ðær  
 his ða heofoncundan byman blawað, 7 þonne ealle eorðware

79 byman: MS. alters to byéman.

Glosses, Latin: 67 gearwian: preparare (t). 68 Gode: deo  
 (t). 70 efston: festinemus [twice, above the line (s) and  
 in the margin (t)]. 72 manpwære: 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 summo terræ,  
 usque ad summum cæli.

[Matt. xxiv: 31] Et mittet angelos suos cum tuba, et voce  
 magna: et congregabunt electos ejus a quattuor ventis, a sum-  
 mis cælorum usque ad terminos eorum.

- 80) úparisað of ðæm ealdum eorðscrafum 7 of ðæm ealdum eorðdenum þe we on gehyðde wæron. Þonne bið eal þes middaneard swyðe onhrered 7 onstýred, ðuna myltað swa weax ðeð on fyre, sæs beoð, adrugode, 7 steorran hreosað of heofonum swa snaw ðep [f. 113v] on eorðan
- 85) þonne hit swyðost sniwoð, 7 stanas formyltað, 7 seo sunne bið on þeostru gecýrred, 7 se mona ne sylð nænne scíman of him, 7 seo heofon bið toborsten fram eastdæle middaneardes oð þone westdæl, 7 ðonne ealle heofonwaru 7 eorðwaru beoð swyðe forhte gewordene.

82 myltað: MS. alters to myltað. 85 formyltað: MS. alters to formyltað

Glosses, Latin: 80 eorðscrafum: specu (t). 81 þes: iste (t). 82 onhrered: erigetur (t). 82 onstýred: motus (t). 83 sæs: mare (s). 84 hreosað: ruunt (s). 86 gecýrred: mutatur (t). 86 sylð: dat (s). 89 forhte: pavidu (s).

Sources: 81-89 [Matt. xxiv: 29, et passim] Statim autem post tribulationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellæ cadent de cælo, et virtutes cælorum commovebuntur:

[Ps. xvii: 5] Montes, sicut cera, fluxerunt a facie Dômini: a facie Domini omnis terra.

[2 Pet. iii: 10] Adveniet autem dies Domini ut fur: in quo cæli magno impetu transient, elementa vero calore solvantur, terra autem et quæ in ipsa sunt opera, exurentur.

[Luke xxi: 25] Et erunt signa in sole, et luna, et stellis, et in terris pressura Gentium præ confusione sonitus maris, et fluctuum: [26] Arescentibus hominibus præ timore, et expectatione, quæ supervenient universo orbi: nam virtutes cælorum movebuntur:

- 90) 7 þonne oðre siðe ure Drihten hider on þisne middaneard becymeð to demanne mid mycelre menio engla 7 heahengla, apostola 7 martyra, 7 he þonne his þæt heofonlice werod him on þa swyðran healfe gesetteð, 7 þa manfullan beoð on þa wynstran healfe gecyrred. 7
- 95) he þonne on his fotum 7 on his handum þa ðolhswapu forð æteoweð, 7 ðus sprecende bið 7 ðus cwyð: Eala, þu man, forhwon noldest þu þas wunda gelacnian, þas ic for ðe þafiende was to þon þæt ic ealle þine wunda gelacnode? Oððe forhwan noldest ðu þysne þyrnenan
- 100) helm me of þam heafde alysan to þan þæt ic ðe of hellehæfte nearwan alysde 7 of deofles anwealde? 7 he þonne eft oðre siðe swyðe mycclum 7 swyðe reðum wordum speçende [f. 114r] bið to þam þe him on þa wynstran healfe gesette beoð 7 ðus cwyð: Gewitað, ge awyrgedan
- 105) gastas, fram me in þæt forwyrde lif, 7 in þa nyðemestan helle of þissum godcundan gemanan on deofla gemanan, 7 of þissum heofonlican heape in þone hellican preat.

100 alysan: MS. alters to alysan. 101 alysde: MS. alters to alysde. 104 beoð: MS. alters from byð.

Glosses, Latin: 94 manfullan: iniquos (s). 94 gecyrred: vertuntur (t). 100-1 hellehæfte: captivitate (s). 104 Gewitað: discedite (s). 105 forwyrde: damnabili (s). 106 gemanan [first occurrence]: communia (s). 107 preat: coro (s).

Sources: 104-7 [Matt. xv: 41, et passim] Tunc dicet et his, qui a sinistris erunt: Discedite a me maledicti indignem æternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus:

- Ne cweð he þonne ná: þæt eow was gegearwod fram fruman  
 pisses middaneardes; ac he cwyð: þæt was gegearwod  
 110) fram fruman pisses middaneardes deofle 7 his gescolum.  
 Ðar is þonne heof 7 wóp 7 cyrm 7 granung 7 cwanung 7  
 toða gristbitung 7 ðar is seo singale niht 7 ðar syn-  
 don þa ecan bystru 7 ðar ne bið næfre nanig leoht  
 geseald; ac þær bið se hearda hungor 7 se bitera þurst,  
 115) 7 ðar is wanunga 7 wita má þonne æniges mannes earan  
 ahlystan magon. Ne nanes mannes tunga nis to þam  
 swyft þeah þe heo hæbbe xii heafðu, 7 ðara heafðu  
 æghwylc hæbbe xii tungan, 7 ðara tungena æghwylc hæbbe  
 xii stefna, 7 ðara 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 gepafian 7 þrowian sculon; 7 nan þara  
 wita mare ne byð þonne þæt ure Drihten him næfre eft

110 deofle: MS. deoflum. 123 him: MS. alters to ham [et passim<sup>1</sup>]

Glosses, Latin: 108 Ne cweð: non dicet (s). 108ff.: nota  
 bona (t). 111 gescolum: discipulis (t). 111-2 heof 7 wop 7  
 cyrm 7 granung 7 cwanung 7 toða gristbitung: ibi erit fletus  
 et stridor dentium<sup>2</sup> (s). 111 heof: luctus (s). 112 singale:  
 contina (s). 114 geseald: datum (s). 115 ma: plus (s). 119  
 snyttro: prudenciam (s). 120 wean: malicias (t). 121 ariman:  
 numerare (s). 122 werigan: fatigati (t). 122ff.: nota (t).

<sup>1</sup>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 Worces-  
 ter Marks and Glosses of the Old English Manuscripts in the Bod-  
 leian," Anglia, 52 (1928), 1-25.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. [Matt. xxv: 30, et passim] Et inutilem servum eijcite in  
 tenebras exteriores: illic erit fletus, et stridor dentium.

on gemyndum ne byð nene becymð. Þæt is yrres dæg 7  
 125) æfestes dæg 7 þæt is susle dæg 7 þæt is se bitera-  
 bifigenda dæg 7 se cwacienda dæg 7 se forhtigenda  
 domes dæg.

Tylian we nu forðon, men þa leofestan, mid fæs-  
 tenum 7 mid ælmesdædum 7 mid cyrclicum wæccum 7 soc-  
 130) num 7 mid eorðlicum leohte, þæt we magon 7 moton æt  
 þam almihtigan Gode gearnian þæt we moton on domes  
 dæge beon on his swyðran healfe gesette 7 þone cwyde  
 gehyran þe he to þam cwæð þe þonne on his swyðran  
 gesette beoð; he cwæð: Cumað, ge, geblætsode þe mine.  
 135) bebodu heoldon, 7 onfoð freolice mines Fæder rice þæt  
 eow wæs fram fruman pisses middaneardes togeanæs  
 gegearwod.

Geunne us þonne se almihtiga God þæt we to ðam  
 heofonlican eple becuman magon 7 moton, þær he leofað  
 140) 7 ricsað mid Fæder 7 Suna 7 mid þam Halgan Gaste áa on  
 ecnysse in ealra worulda woruld a butan ende. Amen.

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 125 æfestes: MS. æftes.  
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Glosses, Latin: 125 æfestes: VI die (t). 125 susle:  
 supplicii (t). 128 Tylian: studeamus (s). 138 geunne:  
concedat (s).  
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Sources: 133-6 Matt. xxv: 34 Tunc dicet rex his, qui a  
 dextris ejus erunt: Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete  
 paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi.

FERIA IIIITIA DE LETANIA MAIORE

Title. The title, beginning on the same line which ends a preceding homily and continuing into the first line of Feria IIIitia De Letania Maiore, is written in red rustic capitals.

1. Men ða leo-. 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 Elfric's Dominica Palmarum, De Passione Domini (Thorpe, CH ii, 240-63), and Vercelli Homily I (Forster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, pp. 1-43).

12-21. Cf. Matt. xxvii 26-50 (et passim).

14-15. mid swipum beswungen, 7 hine man on þæt neb hræhte.  
Cf. Mark 15: 16-19 (et passim):

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

[17] Et induunt eum purpura, et imponunt ei  
plectentes spineam coronam.

[18] Et ceperunt salutare eum: Ave, rex  
Judæorum.

[19] Et percutiebant caput ejus arundine: et  
conspuebant eum, et ponentes genua, adorabant eum.

and Matt. xxvii: 30 (et passim) :

Et exspuentes in eum, acceperunt arundinem,  
et percutebant caput ejus.

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

Drihten soðlice us sealde hǣlu purh ðam  
ear-plattum, and ece alysednysse; and ða  
spatlu aðwogon 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 slogon; 7  
him mænig-fealde bysmernesse dydon; 7 hine  
swungon, 7 heton hine witgan purh bysmornessa;  
7 he þæt eall, se heofon-lica cýning, for  
mann-cynnes hǣlo ge-byldelice abar 7 aræfnode.

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

and Blickling Homily II: Dominica Prima In Quinquagesima:

hie hine swungon, & bundon, & spatledon on his  
onsyne, & mid bradre hand slogan, & mid heora  
fystum beotan; & þa wundan beag of þornum & him  
setton on heafod for cynehelme; & hine þa on  
rode ahengon. Eal þis he prowode for ure lufan  
& hǣlo . . .

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

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

ac an ðara cempna mid cwealmbærum spere, his  
sidan geopenode, and of ðære ut-fleow blod and  
wæter samod mid soðre gerynu. Þæt ut-flowende  
blod wæs ure alysednys on synna forgifenyse,  
mid soðum geleafan. Þæt wæter witodlice wæs  
ure fulluht, on ðam beoð aðwogene ðeoda menigu  
fram fyrnliceresynne ðæs frumsceapenan mannes.

(Thorpe, CH ii, 260/10-16)

as does Vercelli Homily I:

Ac ge-nam para cempa an 7 mid his spere his  
sidañ wundode; 7 þa sona eode þar blod 7 wæter  
æt-somme ut of þære wunde. Þæt tacnode hælo  
middan-geardes, þæt purh his blod fulwiht-wæter  
gewyrpan sceolde. . .

(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 conspirati fide clamemus ad Dominum Deum nos-  
trum: Adoremus et procidamus ante Deum, ploremus  
coram Domino qui fecit nos, quia ipse est Domi-  
nus Deus noster (Psal. XCIV), patiens et multum  
misericors.

(PL 110, 38)

70-127. For two Old English homilies dealing with Judgment Day see, Vercelli Homily II (Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, pp. 44-53), and Elfric's Sermo De Die Iudicii / Homilies Of Elfric: A Supplementary Collection, ed. John C. Fope, Early English Text Society, No. 260 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968), II, 584-612/. Cf. also Wulfstan's most extensive treatment of the Last Days, Secundum Lucam / The Homilies Of Wulfstan, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957)/.

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

Deah þe wære twa 7 hundseofontig manna, 7  
heafde ælc para manna twa 7 hundseofontig hea-  
fodo, 7 ælc þara hæfda twa 7 hundseofonti tun-  
gena, 7 ælc þære tungena hæfde twa 7 hundseo-  
fontig gereorada, 7 hig swa lange spræcan þæt  
hi ealle wæron werige, ne mihten hi pone teoþan  
dæl asecgan hu feola beorhta beama is on þan  
seofon heofonum, ne hu fela hwitra 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 þanne nis nænig man, þæt mæge mid his  
wordum asecgan, hu mycél þære fiftan helle sar

is. 7 peah .vii. men sien 7 para hæbbe æghwylc  
 twa-7-hund-siofontig gereorda 7 swa feala, swa  
 ealles bysses middan-geárdes gereorda syndon,  
 and þonne sy para seofon manna æghwylc to alife  
 gesceapen 7 hyra hæbbe æghwylc siofon tungan 7  
 para tungena alc hæbbe isene stemne, 7 þonne  
 hwæðre ne magon þa ealle ariman helle-witu.

(pp. 92/10-93/3)

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

Ac ðis twelffealde getel is geset for eallum  
 mancynne ealles ymbhwyrftes, for ðære fulfremed-  
 nysse his getacnunge. Twelf tida beoð on ðam  
 dage, and twelf monðas on geare; twelf heah-  
 fæderas sind, twelf witegan, twelf apostoli;  
 and ðis getel hæfð maran getacnunge ðonne ða  
 ungelæredan undergitan magon. Is nu forði mid  
 ðisum 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 declara-  
 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
- 10) 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
- 15) 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
- 20) 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

25) 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  
30) 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  
35) 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  
40) 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,  
45) 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  
50) and will, and to despise and reject all the sinful desires of this present and transitory life, that we may

- come from the meaner and the worse to the better and
- 55) 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
- 65) 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.
- 70) 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
- 75) 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
- 80) 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
- 85) 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.
- 90) 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
- 95) 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
- 100) 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:
- 105) 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

110) 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

115) 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 wisdom of Solomon, that even then they could recount or

120) 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 mindful 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

125) 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

130) 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  
135) of My Father which was prepared for you from the begin-  
ning of this world.

God grant us, then, that we may come to the  
heavenly homeland, where He lives and reigns with the  
140) 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)

[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. 98v/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: ƿ is used for Leofan men, þ for þat, cw̄ 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 97\*v-102<sup>v</sup> employ additional marks and signs. Words divided at the end of a line are sometimes hyphenated, as is syðpan (f. 98<sup>r</sup>/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. 97\*v/21; or two points are placed in the line of text and also before the addition, as at f. 98<sup>r</sup>/19; or a vertical stroke is placed below the line to mark the place of insertion, as at f. 100<sup>r</sup>/6. Words written too close together are separated by a vertical stroke, as are ne mage (f. 99<sup>v</sup>/2), or by a medial point, as are þar he hi (f. 100<sup>r</sup>/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 i occurs over ge;<sup>1</sup> on two occasions the

<sup>1</sup> gelämp (f. 97\*v/21), geunne (f. 98<sup>v</sup>/21), neahgebur (f. 99<sup>r</sup>/22), gelome (f. 99<sup>v</sup>/9), gecnawe (f. 99<sup>v</sup>/10), gelome (f. 99<sup>v</sup>/19), gebencan (f. 100<sup>r</sup>/1-2), gefyrn (f. 100<sup>r</sup>/6), gewearð (f. 100<sup>r</sup>/9), geboren (f. 100<sup>r</sup>/12), geworhte (f. 100<sup>r</sup>/16), gesceaft (f. 100<sup>r</sup>/21), gefeoll (f. 100<sup>r</sup>/22), Gehyrað

pair of short vertical strokes Crawford equates with Middle English w occur over medial g (magan f. 99r/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 ham occurs once at f. 100v/21.

Additional signs also occur on these folios. A cross ornamented with four points (✱) 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 gelamp (f. 97\*v/21).

De Letania Maiore is glossed in the same hands as Feria IIItia 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

(f. 101r/7), gelome (f. 101r/12), geopenade (f. 101v/3) gedyde (f. 102r/1), geearnoð (f. 102r/21), gemencged (f. 102r/22-3), gehwylc (f. 102v/2), gebring (f. 102v/2), ge-  
wurde (f. 102v/4), gebidan (f. 102v/6).

faint to judge with confidence. Ultraviolet light proved to be of little assistance in identifying them; most of them did not reproduce on microfilm.<sup>2</sup>

Folios 97\*v-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 ȳ over ī, as with cyricean (l. 8), and syððan (l. 18).
- (2) There is regular preference for ȳ over ie, as with gyt (l. 4) and forgyfennesse (l. 4).
- (3) y always replaces e in group sel-, as with sylle (l. 29) and sylfe (l. 55) [Campbell 325].

<sup>2</sup> Three glosses occur on f. 98r 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 "rumes" (?) or "sumes" (?). Three glosses occur on f. 98v. The first I judge to be "conceditur," a gloss of alefed (f. 98v/1-2); the second appears to be "wise," a gloss of gerad (f. 98v/2); the third may be "perficit," a gloss of fremiað (f. 98v/22). Two glosses occur in the margin of f. 99v. The first I read as "improbitatem," a gloss for omrope (f. 99v/6); the second, which is written over an earlier gloss, I judge to be "defectus," a gloss for lasta (f. 99v/11). A gloss in the margin of f. 101v I conjecture to be "accendit," a gloss to growende (f. 101v/2).

- (4) æ is preferred to ea, as with ælmihne (l. 58) and ælmihne (l. 43) [Campbell §329 (2)].
- (5) There is a tendency to favour a over o before nasals, as with gangdagas (l. 20) and lande (l. 19).
- (6) unmihta (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 wyrðlice (l. 13), gewyrðan (l. 90), arwyrðnyse (l. 97), and wurpað (l. 32); although weor- sometimes occurs, as with weorbiað (l. 133), and weorðianne (l. 131) [Campbell §320].
- (9) Late West-Saxon preference for æ in manig (l. 107) and manige (l. 128) also occurs [Campbell §193 d, n. 4].

#### Unstressed Vowels:

- (1) o frequently becomes a in unaccented syllables, as with woldan (ll. 109-10), utan (l. 153), motan (l. 186), hruran (l. 9), began (l. 39), fylstar (l. 77), and breadan (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. -edon for -odon, as with bodedon (l. 118) [Campbell §385].

#### Consonants:

- (1) Consonants following a syncopated vowel and preceding l are occasionally doubled, as with mycclum (l. 43) and mycclan (l. 97).
- (2) mettrum (l. 30) for medtrum shows the late tendency for d to become t [Campbell §480 (2), §482].
- (3) Loss of g sometimes occurs, as with renes (l. 48) and renas (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 §176].
- (2) e is occasionally preferred over West-Saxon y, a, as with alefed (l. 27), cweð (l. 65), ætnehstan (l. 69), and alesend (l. 107) [Campbell §193, §327-8].

For a discussion of the manuscript's hand, provenance, date, and foliation, see the introduction to Feria IIIItia 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 altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition, mit Kommentar, Uebersetzung 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)

[Ker 331 art. 52]

Leofan men, ðas dagas synd gehaten letanie, þæt synd, gebeddagas. On þissum dagum we sceolon biddan ure eorðlicra wæstma genihtsumnysse, 7 us sylfum gesundfulnysse, 7 þæt gyt mare is, ure synna forgyfennesse.

- 5) 7 we rædað on bocum þæt se gewuna þissa gangdaga wurde aræred on þone timan þe gelámp on áñre burhscíre þe Vigenna is genamod þæt wearð mycel eorðstyrung, 7 feollon gehalgode Godes cyricean 7 manega [f. 98r] hus hruran, 7 comon wildedeor 7 tosliton 7 abiton ealles to
- 10) fela þurh Godes yrre, 7 ðas cyninges botl wearð mid heofonlicum fyre forbærned, 7 fela ungelimpa gewearð for folces synnan. 7 þa beað se biscop Mamertus þreora daga fæsten, 7 þæt man halidom sceolde wyrðlice styrien 7 mid æmeslacum georne God gladian, 7 þæt manna gehwylc
- 15) unsceodum fotum þam halidome sceolde eadmodlice fylían, 7 ealle to Criste geornlice clypian. 7 sona swa þæt gedon was þa was swutele gesyne þæt heom God syðþan uðe lisse 7 miltse. Ne wearð næfre syððan þanonforð eft

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Glosses, Latin: 2 gebeddagas: oraci (s). 3 genihtsumnysse: habundanciam (s). 6 wurde: fuit (s). 7 þæt: f. 95 (s). 9 hruran: ruerunt (s). 9 tosliton: dilaniaverunt (s).

swylc gedrecednys innan þam lande, ac weard þæt to bysne  
 20) wide 7 side, þæt man þanonforð þa gangdagas on gewunan  
 hæfde.

Leofan men, nu bidde ic 7 lare ælcne Cristene man  
 þæt he þissa þreora daga fasten rihtlice gehealde ælce  
 dæge to nones 7 to anes mæles, butan hwa for ylde, oððe  
 25) for iuguðe, oððe for unhæle gelæstan ne mæge. Gyf þonne  
 þissa þreora þinga anig hwylcne man lette þæt hine  
 [f. 98v] to þam fastene ne onhægie, þonne is hit alæfed  
 þæt he mot mete picgan on þa gerad þe he his ælnessan  
 sylle 7 nenne oðerne man him to ne spanne to ðam gereor-  
 30) dum, butan þær hwylc oðer mettrum man sy þe þæt fasten  
 aberan ne mæge. Gyf þonne se hāla mid þam unhalan þone  
 mēte þigeð, þonne wurpað hig bēgen þurh þæs mettruman  
 unmihta beswicene. 7 nis nanum men alæfed for nanre  
 neode þis fasten to abrecane ne mid ælnessan to alysenne,  
 35) butan hine þara þreora þinga hwylc forwyrne: yld oððe  
 iuguð oððe unhæl.

Leofan men, se halga apostol Iacobus mynegode us  
 ealle freondlice on þam pistole þe man ær rædde, and  
 us eac luflice larde þæt we georne began ure agene

35 forwyrne: MS. an e occurs above y.

Glosses, Latin: 19 gedrecednys: 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). 35-6 yld oððe iuguð oððe  
 unhæl: paupertas (t).

- 40) þearfe. He cwæð: Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra. Ðæt is on englisc: Andðettað georne, he cwæð, eowre synna eow betweonan. 7 ælc for oðerne, he cwæð, gebidde georne þæt eow God ælmihtig gesundfulnysse geunne. Forðam ic secge eow þæt rihtwises mannes gebedu
- 45) fremiað swyðe mycclum. Elias on ealddagum, se halga, [f. 99r] wæs man eall swa we synd. 7 he abæd þeah at Gode þæt he forwyrnde þam wiðerweardan folce þe he mid wunode feorðe healf gear ælces renes. 7 he abæd eft syðþan at þam soðan Gode þæt he renas forgeaf 7 eorðlice
- 50) wæstmas. Ðar is swutol þæt haliges mannes gebedu magan mycles wealdan. Se halga apostol sæde eac on þissum pistole þæt gyf hwylc man gehwyrfeð operne fram gedwylde,

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Glosses, Latin: 45-51 Elias . . . wealdan: De oratione Helie (t). 47 forwyrnde: abstraheret (t). 50-51 Ðar . . . wealdan: Multum valet deprecatio iusti (s). 52 gehwyrfeð: convertit (s).

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Sources: ll. 40-55 [Jas. v, 16] Confitemini ergo alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem ut salvemini: multum enim valet deprecatio iusti assidua.

[17] Elias homo erat similis nobis passibilis: et oratione oravit ut non plueret super terram, et non pluit annos tres, et menses sex.

[18] Et rursum oravit: et cælum dedit pluviam, et terra dedit fructum suum.

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

[20] Scire debet quoniam qui converti fecerit peccatorem ab errore viae suae, salvabit animam ejus a morte, et operiet multitudinem peccatorum.

þæt is, fram deofles lárum, he alyst witodlice his sawle fram deaðe 7 fela synna fordiligað. Ac, leofan men,  
 55) understandað eow sylfe swyðe georne þæt ge rihtlice 7 warlice þæt gehealdon, þæt eow næst þearf is to gehealdenne, þæt is rihtne Cristendóm 7 rihtne geleafan on God ælmihtine þe ealle þing gescop 7 geworhte.

Leofan men, se halga godspellere Lucas rehte on þissum godspelle þe man nu ær rædde hu ure Drihten hwilum to his leornicnihtum spræc. He cwæð: 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 neahgebúr þæt he him alane hlaf for ðære neode his cuman þe him to cóm  
 65) [f. 99v]. Ðonne andwyrdeð se oðer þær wiðinnan 7 cweð þæt he ne mæge 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 forðon georne clypað 7 cnucað, þonne ætnehstan arist he for ðam onhrope 7 getipað þæs þe him  
 70) neod bið.

Be þissere bysne ure Drihten lærð us hwæt we dón sceolon. Ðæt 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 andwyrdeð: respo/n/dit (t). 67 bideð: precatur (s). 69 onhrope: improbitatem (s). 72 clypian 7 biddan: oratione (s).

- georne gelome God almihtigne þæt he ure neoda gecnawe 7 ure læsta gebete; 7 gyf we ægðer ge mid wordum ge mid
- 75) weorcum rihtlice 7 geornlice clypiað, þonne wile he ure bena sona gehyran. Ac butan seo heorte rihtlice hycge, 7 weorc þam wordum fylstan, ne behealdeð þa word naht swyðe mycel. Swa he sylf on his godspelle swutollice sæde 7 ðus cwæð: Non omnis qui dicit Domine Domine. Ðæt
- 80) is on engliſe: Ne færð na ælc þara into heofonum þe gelome clypað to Criste, ac se ðe wyrceð Godes willan, 7 on þam purhwunað forð oð ende, se witodlice færð on an to heofonum.

- Leofan men, utan clypian georne oft 7 gelome, 7
- 85) earnian georne þæt God almihtig [f. 100r] ure bena gehyran wylle. Uton gelomlice geþencan þone egeslican dóm þe we ealle to sceolon, 7 utan understandan þæt hit þar tonealæcð georne. Ðeos woruld is eall wyrse þonne heo was 7 dæghwamlice heo yfelað swyðe. Forðam þe hit

73 almihtigne: MS. almihtig.

Glosses, Latin: 74 læsta: defectus (t). 76 hycge: meditatur (s) [interlined]; studeat (t) [margin]. 79 Non . . . Domine: Non omnis qui dicit domine domine (s). 80 Ne færð: non introibit (s) [interlined]; Non introibit (s) [margin]. 88 georne: valde (t).

Sources. 79 [Matt. vii, 21] Non omnis, qui dicit mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum cælorum: sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in cælis est, ipse intrabit in regnum cælorum.

81-3 [Matt. xxiv, 13] Qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit.

- 90) sceal gewyrðan þæt gefyrn awriten wæs: Veniet tempus quale non fuit. Ðæt is on englisc: - Swa egeslic tīma cymð to mannum swa nafre ær on worulde ne gewearð, þæt is, on antecristes tīman; 7 se tīma wyrð on worulde sorhful 7 egesfulf forðam þe antecrist bið sylf deoful, 95) 7 ðeah mennisc man geboren.

Leofan men, her segð eac on þyssum bocum be ðære mycclan arwyrðnysse ures Scyppendes, hu eadmodlice he ymb mancynn hogode forðam þe hé hit gescóp 7 geworhte, 7 he wolde þæt seo gesceaft ongeate heora Scyppend, se ðe 100) hé to life gescop on neorknawanges gefean. Þar hé hi undeadlice gestaðelode; 7 þeah-hwæpre þurh deofles beswicensse gelamp þæt seo mennisce gesceaft of þam undeadlican life hider nyðer gefeoll, 7 her on sare 7 on yrmðum syðþan cendon 7 leofedon, [f. 100v] 7 syðþan 105) æfter heora life to helle 7 to ecum deape bedrifene wurdon, oðþæt se wuldorlica Cyning, se ðe is ealles middaneardes alesend, onbærnde mænig gastlican lehtfatu

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107 gastlican lehtfatu: MS. gastlic lehtfat.  
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Glosses, Latin: 97 arwyrðnysse: pietas (t). 99 ongeate: noscet (t). 100 gefean: gaudia (s). 100 hi: illos (t). 104 yrmðum: miseria (s). 104 cendon: conceperunt (t). 104-5 syðþan æfter: eadan/sic/ (t). 107 onbærnde: accendit (t).  
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Sources. 90-1 [Dan. xii: 1] 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 ceperunt usque ad tempus illud. Et in tempore illo salvabitur populus tuus, omnis qui inventus fuerit scriptus in libro.

110) . mancynn to onlihtenne to þon þæt nænig deofla dimnes ne  
bysgode þam ðe þæt leoht þære soðfastnysse ongytan wol-  
dan.

Gehyrað nu, broðor mine, hwylc þa leohtfatu wæron  
þe he, 'uré Drihten, onbærnde on þissum middanearde man-  
cynne to onlihtanne. Þæt wæron ærest heahfæderas, þa  
wæron gefylde to godum weorcum 7 ðeawum; þa þe Godes  
115) folc lærdon geond þysne middanearde. Þanon onwocon wite-  
gan; þa wæron gelarden þurh þone Halgan Gast, 7 nalas  
þæt an þæt hy ðæs folces synna preadan, ac eac swylce  
þone Cristes tocyme ures Hælendes bodedon. 7 æfter þon  
wæron halige apostolas, þa ðe he sylfa geceas to þam  
120) þæt he, 'uré Drihten, 'hí' of his sylfes muðe lærde, 7  
geond þysne middanearde sende to hælenne 7 to lærenne  
eall mancynn, 7 him ðus to cwæð: Euntes docete omnes  
gentes. Farað nu 7 lærað geond ealle peoda hwæt sy to  
lufianne oððe to forganne; [f. 101r] hu men magon þa ecan

111 Gehyrað: MS. superscribes y with e. 116 gelarden: MS.

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

Glosses, Latin: 108 dimnes: caligo (t). 109 bysgode: occu-  
paret (t).. 111-30: Nota (s). 111 leohtfatu: lucerne (t).  
112 onbærnde: accendit (t). 113 heahfæderas: patriarchas (s).  
114 þa: qui (t). 115 Panon: inde (t). 115-6: witegan: pro-  
phetas (s). 117 preadan: increpabant (s). 118 þone: illum (t).  
119 apostolas: apostolas (s). 121 geond: per (t).

Sources. 122-3 [Matt. xxviii: 19] Euntes ergo docete omnes  
gentes: baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus  
sancti:

- 125) witu befléon 7 ða ecan reste gearnían heora sawlum on heofonan rices geféan. 7 ða æfter þissum wæron soðlice gesette halige biscopas, 7 mæssepreostas, 7 diaconas, 7 mænige leorneras geond Godes cyrcan þæt we nu magon on-gitan 7 witan hwæt us is to donne oððe to forganne.
- 130) Gehyrað nu, broðor mine, 7 ongytað forhwan us is gesett þeos tíð to weorðianne. Fram þam halgan Easter-dæge op ðas tíð þe we nu weorþiað, se ælmihtiga Godes Sunu se ðe undeadlice at þære tíðe áras 7 oft 7 gelome mid his gingrum wæs, 7 hine sylfne undeadlice ateowde, 7
- 135) he eadmodlice 7 geornlice lærde ealle þeoda to heofonan rices geféan. Donne syndon us þas þry 'iii' dagas to þon gesett þæt we sceolon þa halgan Cristes þegnas onhyrgan, þæt is, þæt we sceolon ure woruldweorc forgan fram un-derne oð non, 7 to Godes cyrcan cuman 7 for urum synnum
- 140) þingian, 7 forð mid þam halgum reliquium gán, swa us þa halgan apostolas mynegodon to weorþianne [f. 101v] urne Hælend 7 his þa halgan; forðon þe nu ealle eorðan wæstmas growende syndon 7 blowende geopenade, 7 þæt ure bileofan syn growende 7 gebletsode to hælo ures lichoman 7 sawle.
- 145) Forðon us is þeos tíð geset ure sawla hælo on to biddanne, 7 ures lichoman bletsunge, 7 ura woruldgoda genihtsumnesse,

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135 heofonan: divided after heo- by a hole.

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Glosses, Latin: 125 befléon: fugere (t). 126 ða: tunc (t).  
 129 forganne: omittere (t). 137 onhyrgan: imitari (s) [inter-  
 lined/; imitari (t) [margin/]. 141 weorþianne: venerari (t).  
 146 -goda: deo (s).

mid godcunda lofsange. 7 mid þam halgum reliquium we  
 sculon beon Gode lofsegende, 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  
 æceras 7 wudu 7 ure ceap, 7 eall þa þing þe us God for-  
 gyfen hafað to brucanne þe we bileofian sceolon.

Utan we nu symle þanc secgan urum Scyppende his  
 miltsa, forðon þe he us swyðe lufode ofer ealle oðre ge-  
 155) sceafta, þa ðe nu under heofonas hrofe syndon. He sylfa  
 us gescóp 7 us geworhte þa we naron, 7 he us gesohte þa  
 we forwordene wæron, 7 he us abohte of hellewitum 7 of  
 deofles anwealde mid his ðy deorwyrðan blode, [f. 102r]  
 7 us opene gedyde þone weg to heofonan rice. Forðon, we  
 160) sculon ongytan hu mycel neadþearf us wæs his tocymes to  
 ure alysednysse. Lā, hwylc mihte beon hefigre nydþearf  
 þonne se eca deað? 7 hwylc mihte beon hefigre wite þonne  
 ure synna 7 se hearda þeowdom? Oððe hwylc mihte beon mare  
 wælgrimnes þonne ure hæftnydnes on helle þeostrum? Cuðlice,  
 165) we wæron on deofles þeowdome 7 we wæron on helle fæðmum; of  
 þam he us alysde 7 us lif sealde on heofonan rice.

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 153 þanc: MS. þanc. 154 forðon þe: MS. alters to forðon þu þe.  
 155 hrofe: MS. hwolfe. 160 neadþearf: MS. alters to nydþearf.  
 163 mihte: MS. mihta. 166 7 us lif sealde: MS. alters to 7 us  
 fæðmum gessibum lif sealde.

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 Glosses, Latin: 148 Gode: deo (s). 153 þanc: gratias (s).  
 157 forwordene: damnati (s). 159 gedyde: fecit (s). 160 on-  
 gytan: conoscere (t). 164 wælgrimnes: crudelis (t). 164  
 hæftnydnes: capti in vinculo (s) [interlined]; in carceratam (t)  
 [margin].

- Leofan men, se witega cwæð be heofona rice 7 be hellewite, þæt næfre nære gemet on heofonan rices wuldre swa mycel unwynsumnes on anigum laðe, oððe on hungre
- 170) oððe on þurste, oððe on cele oððe on hæte, oððe on ece oððe on alde; oððe on anigum laðe gewinne þæt wære swa mycel swa anes lytles fugeles sweg. Swylce he cwæð, se ylca witega, þæt næfre nære on hellewitum swa mycel wynsumnes swa anes lytles fugeles sweg. Wá þam þe gearnoð
- 175) hellewite. Ðar is ece bryne grimme gemencged, 7 þar is ece gryre. Þar is granung [f. 102v] 7 wanung 7 a singol heaf. Þar is ealra yrmða gehwylc, 7 ealra deofla geþring. Wa ðam þe þar sceal wunian on wite. Betere him wære þæt he man nære afre geworden, þonne he gewurde,
- 180) forðam nis se man on life þe areccan mæge ealle þa yrmða þe se gebidan sceal, se ðe on þa wite ealles bereoseð. 7 hit is ealles þe wyrse, þe his anig ende ne cymð afre to worulde.

- Eala, leofan menn, uton 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 þonne we læst wenan. Ac utan lufian God ofer ealle oðre þing

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171 laðe: MS. alters to laðum.

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Glosses, Latin: 171 laðe gewinne: certamen (s); pugna (s).  
 172 sweg: sanus (s). 174 sweg: sanus (s). 176 singol: continuus (s).  
 177 heaf: luctus (s). 179 gewurde: esset (s).  
 181 bereoseð: ruit (s). 185 beorgan: caveamus (s). 185 egsan: pestis (s).  
 186 forweorðan: pereamus (s).

7 his willan á wyrcean, 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. ðas. ð is a large green majuscule about four times the size of the other letters.

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

5-21. These lines expand Elfric's account of the earthquake at Vienne, In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, 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 Anterogationum (British Museum MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 53v/7-54v/18), Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 162, pp. 410/20-411/16), and Sermo In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 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 Litanis (PL 208, 1010); Sicardus Cremonensis Episcopus, Mitrale seu De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Summa, Liber Septimus, Caput VI: In Litanis (PL 213, 367); Honorius Augustodunensis, Gemma Anima, Liber Tertius, Caput CXXXIX--De Triduana Litania ante Ascensionem Domini (PL 172, 681); Amalarius Presbyter Metensis Et Chor-episcopus, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis Libri Quator, Liber Primus, Caput XXXVII: De Litanis Majore (PL 105, 1068); 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 Rogationtide to be associated with Lazarus, see G. Sassi, Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium (Milano, 1755) I, 118.

24. 7 to anes mæles. As Elfric explains: Dominica Prima In Quadragesima (Thorpe, CH i, 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 ælmyssan, hé deð swilce hé sparige his mete, and eft ett þæt hé ær mid forhæfednyse foreode; ac þæt fæsten tælð God. Ac gif ðu fæstan wille Gode to gecwemednyse, þonne gehelp ðu earmra manna mid þam dæle ðe ðu

þe sylfum oftihst, and eac mid maran, gif ðe  
to onhagige.

(p. 180/7-12)

24-5. butan hwa for ylde, oððe for iuguðe, oððe for un-  
hæle gelæstan ne mæge. In Sermo In XL {MS. Hatton 113,  
ff. 56v-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 cristenra manna gehwylc, ealswa hit  
pearf is, healde his fasten swyðe rihtlice,  
þæt is, þæt æfre ænig cristen man ænige dæge  
ær nontide naðor ne abyrige ne ætes ne wates,  
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. iuguðe. Although the Ninivites imposed their fast on  
newborn infants--see, for example, Elfric's In Letania  
Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, 246/20-2), In Vigilia Ascensionis  
(MS. CCC 303, p. 224/16-21), and Dominica Ante Rogati-  
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 nan man ne mæg him sylfum rihtlice to  
his drihtne his pearfe gearndjan, buton he  
cunne pater noster and credan, and fæstað  
eower lenctenfasten rihtlice to nones ælc man,  
þe beo ofer .xii. wintre . . .

(p. 136/13-7)

44-54. Cf. Elfric'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.  
68/145-8).<sup>o</sup> Mention of Elias is also common in patristic  
commentaries on the Rogationtide; see, for example, Beatus  
Rabanus Maurus, Homilia in Evangelia et Epistolas, Homilia  
XLII--In Litania Majore: Lectio Epistola Beati Jacobi Apos-  
toli (PL 110, 223-4); Haymonis Halberstatensis Episcopi Hom-  
ilia De Tempore, Homilia XCI--Feria Secunda Vocem Jucundi-

tatis, In Litaniis Majoribus (PL 118, c. 529-30); Honorius Augustodunensis, Speculum Ecclesie--In Rogationibus (PL 172, c. 952); Smaragdus Abbas, Collectiones In Epistolas Et Evangelia quæ per circuitum anni leguntur, In Litania Majori (PL 102, c. 303-7); and Wernerus Abbas S. Blasii In Silva Nigra, Libri Deflorationum, Sermo In Rogationibus (PL 157, c. 967-8).

59-78. The parable of the night visitor is explained by Elfric in In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, CH i, 246/31-250/6). Elfric 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?

86-95. Cf. the opening of Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos (ed. Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd ed. London: Methuen, 1963):

Leofan men, gecnawað þæt soð is: ðeos woruld is on ofste, 7 hit nealæcð þam ende, 7 þy hit is on worolde aa swa leng swa wyrse, 7 swa hit sceal nyde for folces synnan ær Antecristes tocyme yfelian swyþe, 7 huru hit wyrð þanne egeslic 7 grimlic wide on worolde.

(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:

swylce us hafað gesæd ure dryhten manega gastlice blacernas þa us sculon lihtan. mid heofonlicre afæstenesse 7 mid haligre lare. þæt-te nænig man on ge-dwolan þeostro ne ðurhwunige se ðe soðfæstnesse liht gesion wile þæt syndon þa blacernas þe us hafað ure dryhten forgifen to anlyhtanne ða dimnesse man-cynnes unge-treownesse. Ðæt syndon heah-fæderas 7 witigan 7 apostolas 7 bisceopas 7 mōssepreostas. 7 þære godcundan ðlareowas.

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

Feria II In Letania Maiore (MS) CCCC 302, ff. 403-12; below pp. 102-34, which is as Vercelli Homily XIX) lists

among the gastlice lechtfatu (l. 33) the heahfæderas: Abel, Enoch, Melchisedech, Noe Abraham, Isaac, Iacob (ll. 44-5), the halgan witegan (l. 47), Cristes apostolas (l. 65), and the halgan godspelleras (l. 137). The gehalogodan bisceopas (l. 105) and the mæssepreostas (l. 108) are not identified as lamps, but are mentioned among the lareowum (ll. 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 Arelatensis Opera (Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina 104, Pt. II, pp. 855-8), and to an earlier short homily by Cæsarius: Homelia 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 ll. 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):

ðar is ece bryne grimme gemencged, and ðar is ece gryre, ðar is ece æce, and ðar is sorgung and sargung and a singal heof, þar is wanung and granung, ðar is yrmða gehwylc and ealra deofla geðring. wa ðam, þe þar sceal wunjan on wite; betere him wære, þat he man nære æfre geworden, þonne he gewurde. nis se man on life, þe areccan mæge ealle þa yrmða, þe se gebidan sceal, se ðe on ða witu ealles behreoseð; and hit is ealles þe wyrse, þe his anig ende ne cymð æfre to worulde.

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

þar is ece bryne grimme gemencged, and þar is ece gryre, þar is wanung and granung and a singal sorh. wa ðam, þe þar sceal wunjan on wite; him wære betere, þat he æfre on worulde man ne gewurde, þonne he gewurde. nis se man on life, þe areccan mæge ealle þa yrmða, þe se ðe on ða witu ealles behreoseð, and hit is ealles þe wyrse, þe his anig ende ne cymð æfre to worulde.

(ibid, p. 203/13-20)

And Vercelli Homily II (Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, pp. 44-72):

Ʒar Ʒa fyren-fullan Ʒonne meah-ton ge-wiſcan,  
 Ʒat hie næfre ne wæren acennede fram hiora to  
 dumbum nytenum ge-wurde. Hwæt, him Ʒonne wære  
 leofre Ʒonne eall middan-geard mid gæstreonum,  
 Ʒe 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," Beitrage 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 none and then restrict himself to one meal un-
- 25) 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 permitted that he eat food on condition that he give his alms and not allow another man to take food with him,
- 30) 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
- 35) through almsgiving, unless one of three conditions prevents him--old age, childhood, or illness.

- Beloved men, the holy apostle James gently admonished us in the epistle just now read, and also lovingly urged us, that we earnestly attend to our own needs. He
- 40) 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
- 45) 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  
50) 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,  
55) 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  
60) 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  
65) 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  
70) 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

75) 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

80) 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: Veniet 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.

85) 90) 95)

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: Euntes 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
- 125) 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.
- 130) 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
- 135) 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
- 140) 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
- 145) 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  
 150) 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  
 155) 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. Where-  
 160) fore 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  
 165) 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 unpleasant-  
 170) ness 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
- 180) 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.

- Lo, beloved men, let us do what there is great need
- 185) 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
- 190) praise and glory forever and ever, world without end.  
Amen.

SERMO IN LETANIA MAIORE FERIA IIA

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

[Ker 21 art. 27]

Although, viewed as a whole, Sermo In Letania Maiore Feria IIA is a new composition, it is largely a long extract from Elfric's Sermo Ad Populum In Octavis Pentecosten Dicendus<sup>1</sup> adapted to the Rogationtide. The extract (Pope ll. 139-454, and below ll. 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.

Elfric's Sermo Ad Populum survives in six complete copies: (1) MS. CCCC 188, pp. 215-33; (2) MS. CCCC 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. CCCC 421, pp. 99-150; and (6) MS. CCCC 303, pp. 203-11. There is also a fragment in Jesus College, Cam-

<sup>1</sup> John Pope, ed., Homilies of Elfric, I, 407-52.

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).<sup>1</sup> Miss Raynes believes that article 1 of the Boulogne MS. (ff. 1-10), which is made up of excerpts from the Prognosticon Futuri Sæculi by Julian, Archbishop of Toledo,<sup>2</sup> is a copy of a manuscript Ælfric kept for his personal use (ibid, p. 408).

Sermo In Letania Maiore Feria II<sup>a</sup> 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 215<sup>v</sup>-28 are free of interlinear gloss, erasures occur only three times (f. 216<sup>v</sup>/5, f. 216<sup>v</sup>/19,

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

<sup>2</sup> Milton McC. Gatch, ed., Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1977), pp. 129-46.

and f. 217<sup>r</sup>/7), and there is only one interlinear insertion (swa ðyrstig, f. 217<sup>r</sup>/15). Four holes occur in ff. 215<sup>v</sup>-28 but the largest is harmlessly out of the way at the foot of f. 219<sup>r</sup>, and the other three (f. 216<sup>r</sup>/18, f. 228<sup>r</sup>/2, and f. 228<sup>r</sup>/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. 216<sup>r</sup>/9 and f. 217<sup>r</sup>/12. The coma occurs frequently and usually carries weight approximate to that of the modern comma or semicolon, as at f. 215<sup>v</sup>/14, and f. 215<sup>v</sup>/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 pæt, and m̄ for men. Conventional abbreviations also occur in the Latin.

Cambridge, University Library MS. Ii. 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 Ælfric, I, 39). The

hand of Sermo In Letania Maiore Feria IIa is a clear and even, if unaesthetic, 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: ð is prominent, e is sometimes high in combination æ, the head of long s is sometimes prolonged and looped, and the ends of descenders are serified (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 IIa is West-Saxon and shows a variety of late forms:

#### Late West-Saxon Forms

##### Stressed Vowels:

- (1) Some preference for ȳ over ī, as with syndon (l. 142) and syððan (l. 87).
- (2) Regular preference for ȳ over īe, as with nytenysse (l. 3) and nydbearf (l. 16).
- (3) y always replaces e in group sel-, as with sylfne (l. 8) and syllan (l. 88) [Campbell §325].
- (4) ne- is preferred to ny- in forms of nyllan, as with nele (l. 71) and nelle (l. 332) [Campbell §265].
- (5) mihte (l. 150) and miht (l. 185) show the characteristic tendency to write i instead of y before a palatal consonant [Campbell §301].
- (6) heom 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 (l. 60), wurbmynte (ll. 262-3), gewurb (l. 170) and forwurbad (l. 269) [Campbell §320-4].
- (8) Late West-Saxon preference for æ in menigfealde (l. 54) occurs [Campbell §193 d, n. 4].

#### Unstressed Vowels:

- (1) There is an interchange of e and o [Campbell §382], as with heofonan (l. 66) and heofennan (l. 164), and a tendency for medial unaccented vowels to be reduced to a sound written e before the endings with back vowels, e.g. -edon for -odon [Campbell §385], as with gehyrsumedon (ll. 101-2), and geend-edon (ll. 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 (l. 36) and goddra (l. 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. Ferror seruus comitis Bedfordie in Domo quondam cenobio de Tavestocke in Devinsshire, A<sup>o</sup> 1566' (f. I: cf. f. 311<sup>v</sup>). Ferrar, member of parliament for Tavistock, d. 1572. 'F. Bedford' (f. 7<sup>v</sup>). The earl of Bedford gave the manuscript to Archbishop Parker, 29 Dec. 1567 'in camera stellata' (f. 308<sup>v</sup>). 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 al-tero. However, Pope cautiously notes:

Of course even if it could be proved that both H [British Museum MS. Cotton Vitellius C. v] and M [Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. 4.6] were at Tavistock in the eleventh century, we should have no right to assume that either of them was written there.

(Homilies of Elfric, 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 Sermo Ad Populum.

Sermo In Letania Maiore Feria IIA has not been previously edited, however Pope collates ll. 56-327.

SERMO IN LETANIA MAIORE, FERIA II<sup>a</sup>

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

[Ker 21 art. 27]

Læwede men behófiap þæt him læreowas secgon þa  
godspellican lære þe hi on bókum leornodon þæt menn  
for nytennyse misfaran ne sceolon. Ure Drihten sæde  
to sumum lareowe þa þa he hine áxode be ðam heahstan  
5) beboðe: Lufa þinne Drihten mid ealre þinne heortan 7  
mid eallum móde; þis is þæt mæste beboð. Is eft oþer  
beboð þisum swiðe gelíc: Lufa þinne nextan swa swa  
ðe sylfne; þas twa beboðu belucað ealle béc.

Uton ealle gemanelice 7 geornlice gecyrran to urum  
10) Drihtene Hælendum [f. 216r] Criste, to þam þe us gesceop  
7 geworhte, 7 hlyston we georne hwæt þis halige gewrit  
us larð; þæt is, þæt we ælces yfeles geswícan 7 ælc  
þing to góde dón, þæt þæt we magon for Godes lufan 7  
for ure sawle hæl, forðon ús is swiðe uncuð hu lange

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Sources. 3-8 [Matt. xxii: 35-40] Et interrogavit 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 tota anima tua,  
et in tota mente tua. [38] Hoc est maximum et primum man-  
datum. [39] Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges prox-  
imum tuum, sicut teipsum. [40] In his duobus mandatis uni-  
versa lex pendet, et propheta.

15) we on þysum lánan life wunian moton. Þonne age we mycele nydþearfe þæt we geearnian hér þæt we móton ðær on þam écan life wunian mid urum Drihtene 7 mid his halgum buton ælcum ende.

Ús gedafenað þæt we on ælcne timan Godes mildheortnesse biddan, 7 þeah on ðysum þrym dagum ealra swýðost we sceolon þone heofonlican Drihten biddan þæt he ús for-gife eorðan wæstma genihtsumnyssa 7 þyses lifes gesundfulnesse 7 æfter ðam þæs écan lifes myrhþe. Gif we þonne wyllað þæt God úre bene gehyre [f. 216v] þonne sceolon

25) we ús forhabban fram ydelum weorcum 7 unnyttum wórdum, for ðam þe butan tweon se ðe on þysum ðrym dagum forgymð his fæsten 7 Godes beboda 7 almessan 7 sealmsángas, þa gastlican myrhþe his sawle he forlyst.

For ðan þe we ne sceolon on þysum dagum ymbe ures

30) lichaman glencga þencan, ac hu we magon ure sawle mid góðum weorcum gefrætwan. Ne sý nán man on þysum folce þe gedyrstlæce þæt he oðerne tæle, forðan þurh ðæs tælandan muð deofol sprycð. Ælc man sceawige hine sylfne ær he oþerne tæle þe læs ðe his agene scylda hine innan

35) slytan 7 his sawle gewemme. Forðan ic bidde eow 7 manige þæt ge dón swa eow Godes béc lærað, þæt ge mid micclum ege gán mid Godes reliquium ná mid [f. 217r] idelum wórdum 7 unnyttum spræcum, forðon buton tweon ælces unnyttes wórdes we sceolon riht agyldan beforan Godes héahsetle,

- 40) 7 ealra swyðost þara ðe we on þysum ðrym dagum beoð  
 sprecende. Forðan ús is micel þearf þæt we ðas dagas  
 rihtlice healdan for Cristes upastygennysse. On þysum  
 ðrym dagum cristene menn sculon forlātan 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 non. Ne sy ænig man swa dyrstig  
 þæt hē on þysum ðrym dagum ride mid þisum halignessum,  
 buton hwa mid mættrumnessum abisegod sy þæt he forðam  
 gangan ne mæge. Ne ænig man hūntige ne ne ærne, ac syn  
 50) men him sylfum [f. 217v] geornlice for gode þingiende 7  
 nytte.

- Deofol is æfre embe þæt an: hū hē mage eall cris-  
 ten folc beswican 7 on helle gebringan; 7 gýt dæghwam-  
 lice larō cristene menn mænigfealde unðeawas þe hī heora  
 55) fulluht mid tobreað, 7 heora soðan Drihten wið sacað,  
 7 hine mid gremiað. Elc mann þe Godes fréond is sceolde  
 georne efstan æfre mid góðum weorcum þæt he Gode gecwēme  
 7 to þam earde becōme þe ús behāten is; þæt is heofenan  
 rīce swa swa Crist ús behēt. Hwá dorste æfre gewilnian  
 60) þas wynsuman éardes 7 swa micelan wurðscipes gif se wel-  
 willenda Hælend ús ne behete pone heofonlican eard, 7  
 forðig cōm to middanearde þæt hē mancynn alysde, ægðer

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 46 dyrstig: MS. ðyrst/i/g. 62 middanearde: MS. middamearde.

ge weras ge wif 7 þa ungewittigan cild, 7 þa gehádodan  
 men [f. 218r] þe healdað heora clánnysse 7 wið deofles  
 65) costnunga dæghwamlice cámpiað? Nú ne mæg Godes behát  
 beon ús alogen þe he ús hæfð beháten--þæt is heofonan  
 rices myrhpe--for his árfæstnysse, ná for ure gódnysse.

Micel héap andbidap ðar ura holdra fréonda ures  
 tócyms to heom, 7 hohfulle gýt ymbe ús 7 orsorge be  
 70) heom sylfum. Woldon ús geséon on þære ylcan blisse þe  
 hí onwuniað. Hwá nele nú efstan to þære écan blisse  
 fram þissere earfoðnysse þe we onwuniað, fram deofles  
 ehtnyssum to ðam arfæstan Drihtene? Is swaðeah micel  
 néoð þæt þa ðe manegum fremiað þæt heora líf beo þe  
 75) leng mid ús, 7 mid heora fultume ús gefyrðorion to Gode.

Se syrwigenda deofol swicað áfre ymbe ús, 7 on  
 þæs mannes forðsiþe [f. 218v] fela cnottan him brytt.  
 Ac se mann behófað micclum gebeda gehádodra manna þe  
 him foreðingion on his forðsiþe þæt he ðam féondum at-  
 80) berste. For ðam þe we ráðap on bócum þæt se reða féond  
 cóme swilce egeslic draca to anum licendum cnihte.  
 Wolde his sawle habban for his synnum to helle. Ac þær  
 cómon munecas tó on þæs mannes forðsiþe, 7 geornlice  
 bádon for ðone geongan cniht oppæt hi swá afligdon þone

Sources. 76 [I Pet. v: 8] 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 Elfric's Dominica XXI Post Pentecosten  
 (CH i, 532/29-536/5).

- 85) feondlican dracan 7 se cniht gewyrpte, 7 wearð to munuce  
gēhalgōð, 7 wunode on life oppæt he his synna gebette,  
7 eft syððan gewát; ac he ne geseah þone dracan þa for  
ðam þe he oferswiðed wæs. Man sceal éac syllan þam  
séocan menn husel þa hwile þe he hit picgan mæg, ær ðam  
90) þe he sáwlige, for ðam þe ús [f. 219r] secgað béc. þæt  
he hit sceole picgan; ac he his ne mæg onbyrgan gif he  
bið gewiten ær.

- To goddra manna forðsiþe God asent his englas þæt  
hí heora sawla onfón on heora forðsiðe 7 gelædon to  
95) reste, swa swa we leorniað on bócum, 7 Crist him tæcð  
wununge be heora gewyrhtum. Ða þe gode beoð 7 Gode ær  
gecwendon on eallum góðum weorcum þa wuniað mid Gode;  
7 þa þe ne beoð fulgode ne afeormode mid ealle fram  
eallum heora synnum þa sceolon to wítum faran, 7 on ðam  
100) wítum þrowian oppæt hi wurdon cláne 7 purh þingrædene  
þanon alýsede. Ða forðonan synfullan þe deofle gehyr-  
sumedon on eallum synnum 7 forsawon heora Drihten 7 swá  
geéndedon; þa sceolon to helle swa hraðe swa hi gewítað  
7 þær wunian áfre. [f. 219v] Gif se mann wolde huru  
105) þonne he seoc bið to Gode gecyrran 7 his synna geandet-  
tan mid soðre behreowsunge, se soðfæsta Dæma him wolde  
mildsian þæt he moste huru on domes dæg þam deofle æt-  
windan.

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91 onbyrgan: MS. onbyrian.

- Nis na eallum mannum se gemænelica deap gelice
- 110) earfoðe; ac foroft becymð þam synfullan menn sumera synna forgifennys purh þone earfoðan deap þe hine swa swyðe drehte 7 purh þone ógan þas egeslican deapes. Sume éac blissiað on heora forðsiðe foroft þonne hi witodlice geseoð þæt hi sceolon to reste, 7 gladað
- 115) þonne seo sawul 7 swa gewit of life. Sumera manna sawla siðiap to reste after heora forðsiðe 7 sume farað to wítum, be þam ðe hi geworhton ár, 7 beoð eft alyseðe purh ælmesdæda [f. 220r] 7 swiðost purh þa mæssan, gif him man fore dep. 7 sume beoð fordemedede mid þam deoflum
- 120) to helle. 7 se ðe áne cymð to helle ne cymð he næfre þanon, 7 se ðe áne cymð to reste ne cymð he næfre to wítum.

- Seo sawul hæfð soðlice, swa swa ús secgað bec, þas lichaman gelicnyse on eallum hyre limum, 7 heo
- 125) gefret sóftnyse oppe sárnyse, swa hwæðer swa heo on bið be þam þe heo geearnode ár. Sume synna beoð on þysum life gebette 7 sume after deape, swa swa ure Drihten sæde, ac þa micclan synna ne magon þær beon gebette; ne þam fordónan ne fremað þæt þæt him man
- 130) fore dep, for ðam þe he his ne geearnode ár on his life. Ða leohtan gyltas 7 þa lytlan synna beoð þonne [f. 220v] afeormode purh þæt wítigendlice fyr, 7 nis nanes cynnes wite on pissere worulde swa téart swa swa þæt forsæde

- fyr þe afeormað þa gymeleasan. Sume beoð þær lange,
- 135) sume lytle hwile--be þam þe heom fore beoð his frynd  
 hér on lífe, 7 be ðam þe he geearnode ár on his lífe--7  
 ælc mann mæg tocnáwan oþerne on þam lífe. 7 þa ðe to  
 reste becumað oncnawað soðlice ge þa þe hi ár cuðon, ge  
 þa þe hi ná ne cuðon, for ðan þe hi on wéldædum wæron
- 140) ár gelíce. And þa halgan sawla þe on heofonum wuniað  
 gebiddap for ús þe on eorðan wuniað, 7 éac for ðan  
 sawlum þe syndon on wítum, 7 hi habbað gemynd heora  
 holdra fréonda. 7 we magon éac þingian þam þe on wítum  
 beoð, 7 swiðost þurh mæssan, swa swa ús [f. 221r] sec-
- 145) gað béc; ac þam ðe on helle beoð ne gehylpð nán fore-  
 þingung. Ða halgan sawla syndon soðlice on blisse on  
 anfealdum gyrlan þære écan blisse for ðam þe hi lybbað  
 nú butan heora lichaman; ac hi onfoð heora lichaman,  
 peah ðe he ár formolsnod wære, eft on þam micclan dæge
- 150) þurh heora Drihtenes mihte. 7 hi beoð þonne gefratewode  
 mid fægerum lichaman, 7 þæt bið þæt oðer réaf þære ecan  
 myrþe, 7 hi beoð þonne éce 7 áfre úndéadlice ge on  
 sawle ge on lichaman gesæliglice, mid Gode. 7 heora licha-  
 ma bið þonne swiðe leoht 7 wynsum, peah þe he him hefig
- 155) wære hér on lífe áror. Ðaghwamlice hi wilniað þæt dómes  
 dæg cume hraðe þæt hi magon blissian on twífealdre  
 blisse on sawle 7 on [f. 221v] lichaman; ac hi sceolon  
 swaðeah be Godes willan abídan heora gebroðra getel 7

þara háligrá manna þe of middanearde cumað to heom  
 160) oppæt ðær swa fela beoð swa God forescéawode on ár þa  
 þa he árest gesceop ealle þas woruld.

Nu hi scéawiað heora Scyppendes beorhtnyse; 7  
 nis forði nán gesceaft þe hi geséon ne magon: ne on  
 heofenan ne on eorðan, ge þa þe on helle beoð. Ac  
 165) heora bliss ne bið swaðeah ná gewanod purh þæt þæt hi  
 geseoð þa synfullan on wítum, ac hi þanciað þas þe  
 swyðor heora Scyppende áfre þæt hé hi swa ahredde fram  
 ðam reðum wítum. Þa halgan sawla geseoð swutelice  
 ealle þing, ac ða árleasan sawla þe on súslum wuniað  
 170) ne magon witan hwæt gewurð mid ús. Hi habbað swaþeah  
 hoge [f. 222r] be heora fréondum on lífe þeah ðe hit  
 naht ne fremige ne heora fréondum ne heom.

Nis nánum menn nú cuð ne cucum ne deaðum, ne nánum  
 gesceafte, swa swa se Hælend sáde, hwanne se miccla dóm  
 175) eallum mannum becume, for ðam þe God sylf gescéop.  
 gesceafta swa swa he wolde, be nanes opres dihte. Ne  
 éac se dæg ne cymð þyssere worulde geéndunge be aniges  
 mannes ráde, ac purh his ánes forescéawunge þe ealle  
 þing gescéop. Ure Hælend sáde him sylf be þam dæge  
 180) þæt woruldmenn bytliað 7 begað heora bigleofan 7 heora  
 tilunge, 7 wæpmenn wífiað 7 wífmenn céorliað oppæt se  
 miccla dæg eallum mannum becymð 7 se Hælend sylf cymð  
 mid his scinendum englum, 7 seo sunne forswyrcð 7 soðlice

- se mōna for ðam ōrmetan leohte [f. 222v] þas ælmihtigan
- 185) Drihtenes. Understāndap nū, menn, hu micel miht is on  
Criste þonne seo sunne 7 se mōha ne magon syllan nān  
leoht for ðam godcundan leohte þe gæð of ðam Hælende.  
Engla werod berað þa beorhtan rōde him atforan, 7 his  
slagan geseoð hwane hī ofslōgon ār, 7 he æteoweð þa
- 190) wūnda gewisslice heom. Þonne wepað þa synfullan 7 swyðe  
heofiað þa ðe on heora life þone Hælend forsawon 7 on-  
cnāwað heora synna mid sorhfullum mōde. Þonne ofergæð  
ān fyr ealle þas woruld 7 se engel blāwð þa sefoðan  
býman, þæt is seo æftemeste, 7 ealle menn arisað þe āfre
- 195) wurdon on life mid lichamān cuce, 7 eall swa hraðe beoð  
þa cuce þe cumað þonne of helle swa swa ða libbendan  
beoð gemette. Ða cūcan beoð [f. 223r] ofslagene sōna  
mid þam fyre, ac hī beoð þar rihte eft acucode on ecum  
lichaman swa swa ða opre. 7 hī ealle þonne beoð on
- 200) ānre ylde syððan, on þære ylde þe Crist wæs þa ða he  
ðrowode, wæron hī on ylde deade, wæron hī on cildhade.  
Ælc mann hæfð swaðeah his āgene lencge on þære micelnysse  
þe he mann wæs ār, oppe he beon sceolde gif he fullweoxe,  
se ðe on cildhade oppe samweaxen gewat.
- 205) Swa swa God gescēop on sawle 7 on lichaman ge wæp-  
menn ge wifmenn 7 geworhte hī to menn, 7 ægðerne hād eft  
syððan alýsde, swa he eac on dōmes dæg of deape hī arārð,  
ge weras ge wif, 7 hī wuniað āfre swā butan ælcere gāl-

- nysse, ge góde ge yfele. 7 nán wer syððan ne gewifiað
- 210) nafre, ne wif ne geceorlað, [f. 223v] ne hi cild ne gestrynað. Ne þa halgan ne beoð þe to heofonum sceolon on anigre awyrðnysse oppe wannhále oððe án-eagede þeah þe he ár were lama on his life, ac his lima beoð him ealle ansunde on scinendre beorhtnysse 7 grapigendlice
- 215) on þam gastlican lichaman. Þa wiðcorenan soðlice þe wuniað áfre on súslum, hwæt sceal heom anig wlite on þam swéartan fyre þonne hí áfre heofiað 7 egeslice gristbitiað? 7 woldon gif hi mihton gewurðon to nahte, oppe beon deade; ac hí ne beoð swaðeah. Ne hi of ðam
- 220) wítum ne magon wurdon áfre alýsede.

- Elc mann sceal árisan þonne þe áfre on life wæs, ware he on wætere adrúncen oppe hins wildedéor áton, oppe hine fyr forþarnde færllice [f. 224r] to dūste 7 þæt dust were toworpen mid blædum, swaðeah se almihtiga
- 225) God mæg hine eft aráran--se ðe ealle þas woruld geworhte of nahte--7 se ðe þyses ne gelyfð ne byð his geleafa naht. Man bewint þone deaðan gewunelice mid réafe, ac þæt réaf ne arist na ðe raðor mid þam menn for ðam þe he ne behófað þæs huxlican réafes, ac þære gástlican
- 230) gyrlan þe him God forescéawað.

God asent þonne his englas 7 hi gegaderiað him to ealle his gecorenan of eallum middangearde, 7 standap þa góðan men on Godes swyðran hánd 7 þa wiðcorenan on

- his wynstran hánd. Þonne sitt se Hælend on his heo-
- 235) fonlican þrymsetle, mihtig 7 wuldorfull, 7 milde þam  
 góðum egeslic 7 angrislic þam earmum synfullum. 7  
 ealle mem/[f. 224v] geseoð swutelice þone Hælend on  
 þære menniscnyse, ac ne moton swaðeah þa earman syn-  
 fullan geseon his godcundnyse; þa góðan ána geseoð þa
- 240) godcundnyse. His twelf apostolas þe him folgodon on  
 life sittað þonne éac on twelf dómsetlum, 7 ealle þa  
 halgan weras þe ðas woruld forléton 7 woruldlíce ahta  
 mid ealle forsáwon, sittað on dómsetlum soðlice mid him  
 7 hí mid þam Hælende mancynne þonne demap.
- 245) Ðær beoð feower gefylcea on þam micclan folce.  
 Þæt forme gefylce bið þæt þe we hér foresædon, þe sit-  
 tað mid þam Hælende on heora héahsetlum. Him ne bið ná  
 gedémed, ac hi démað mid Criste eallum oprum mannum  
 mihtelice on wuldre. Ðæt oper werod bið þara woruld-
- 250) manna þe on góðum weorcum Gode ár gecwémdon 7 mid [f. 225r]  
 ælmesdædum géearnodon at Gode þa heofonlican wununge 7  
 þæt éce wuldor. Hí ne démað nanum menn, ac heom byð  
 gedémed swa þæt hí habbað heofonan rices wuldor. Ðæt  
 þridde werod byð witodlice þonne þara Cristenra manna
- 255) þe cuðon heora geleafan, ac hí gremedon God mid gram-  
 licum dædum 7 fúlice leofodon on fúlum synnum áfre, þæt  
 syndon: morðslagan 7 mándædan 7 unmræðfulle gytseras,  
 wigleras 7 wiccan 7 unlybwyrhtan, þeofas 7 ðeodscapan,

ryperas 7 réaferas 7 þa reðan drýmenn, þá forsworenan  
 260) menn 7 þa swicolan weddlogan, þa fulan forlígras 7 þa  
 fracodan myltestran þe acwellað heora cild ær ðam þe  
 hit cuð beo mannum. Hí ne dydon nán góð Gode to wurð-  
 mynte, ne náne ælmessan, ac geéndedon [f. 225v] on syn-  
 num; heom bið þonne gedémed mid þam deofle to helle.

265) Ðæt feorðe gefylce byð þara fúlra hæpenra manna þe nane  
 cyððe næfdon to þam heofonlican Gode; ne Cristes  
 geleafan ne cupon on heora lífe. Hí adrugon heora líf  
 on deofles bíggengum 7 hí butan Godes á æfre syngodon,  
 7 eft butan Godes á on écnysse forwurpað mid þam leasum

270) Cristenum æfre cwylmigende.

Witodlice ne mæg þonne nán mann on domes dæg  
 nahwar beon behydd, ac ealle hi beoð þær þe æfre cuce  
 wæron; 7 þær beoð æteowde ure ealra gepóhtas 7 ealle ure  
 dáða eallum þam werode, 7 þæt þe ár byð gebet ne bið þær  
 275) ná ætéowed, ac þa ungebettan synna beoð þær geswutelode.

Hi beoð þonne ofsceomode 7 sorhfulle on móde þæt hí ár  
 noldon [f. 226r] andettan heora synna 7 dádbote gedon be  
 heora lareowes dihte. Þær beoð ealle gelíce, ge se  
 hlaforð ge se ðeowa, se ríca 7 se héana, on þam rihtan

280) dóme. 7 þær nán mann ne mæg ne ne mót habban nane  
 gewitnesse þe hine betelle, for ðam þe his dáða beoð  
 undigele þonne eallum mannum.

Þonne cwyð se Hælend of his halgum þrymsetle to  
 þam góðum Cristenum þe Godes willan gefremedon þe stán-  
 285) ðap on his swyðran, þus secgende heom tó: Venite bene-  
dicti patris mei, et cetera. Cumað ge gebletsode to  
 mines fæder rice 7 habbað þæt rice þe eow gegearcod wæs  
 fram þam forman anginne þyssere worulde. Me hingrode  
 soðlice, 7 ge mé gereordodon. Eft þa ða me þyrste ge  
 290) seoldon me drīncan. Éac ic wæs cuma, 7 ge mé underfen-  
 gon. [f. 226v] Ic wæs éac swylce nacod, 7 ge mé scryd-  
 don. Ic wæs éac swylce untrum, 7 ge mé genéosodon. On  
 cwearterne ic wæs, 7 ge cómon to mé.

Þonne andswariað hi þam árfæstan Déman þus: Eala,  
 295) þu Drihten léof, hwænne gesawe we ðe hungrine 7 we ðe  
 feddon, oppe eft þurstigne 7 we ðe sealdon drīncan?  
 Oppe hwænne wære ðu cuma 7 we ðe underfengon, oppe hwænne  
 wære ðú unscrydd 7 we ðe scryddon? Oppe hwænne wære ðu  
 úntrum 7 we ðe genéosodon? Oppe on cwearterne 7 we ðe  
 300) cómon tó?

Þonne andswarað se Hælend þam árfæstum 7 cwyð: Soð  
 ic eow secge þæt ge me sylfum dydon þas foresædan þing  
 swa oft swa ge hí dydon ánum of ðysum lytlingum minra  
 gebroðra. Ðæt is soðlice swa to understandenne: swa oft  
 305) swa ge almæssan dydon ánum [f. 227f] lytlan þearfan 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, þæt ge dydon Criste, for ðam þe Crist sylf is Cristenra manna heafod 7 eft þa Cristenan syndon Cristes lima.

Þonne cwyð se Dema eft to þam dréorian heape þe  
 310) stent on his wynstran hánd: Gewitað heonon fram mé, ge awyrgedan, into þam écan fyre þe is ðam deofle gegearcod 7 eallum his englum. Me hingrode soðlice, 7 ge mé ne gereordodon. Eft ic wæs purstig, 7 ge mé ðe scencton. Éac ic wæs cuma, 7 ge me ne underfengon. Ic wæs éac  
 315) swylce unscrydd, nolde ge me scryðan. Ic wæs éac úntrum, 7 on cwearterne ne cónon ge to mé.

Þonne andwyrðap þa synfullan þam soðan Déman þus: Eala, ðu soða Drihten, hwæne gesawe we ðe hungrine oppe purstigne, cuman oppe nacodne oppe úntrumne, on cwear-  
 320) terne, [f. 227v] 7 we ne þenodon þe?

Þonne andwyrð se Dema þam earman forscildegodon: Soð ic eow secge, me sylfum ge his forwyrndon swa oft swa ge his forwyrndon anum of þysum lytlum. Þonne gewitað þa earmingas 7 þa árleasan synfullan into þam  
 325) écan wite mid þam awyrgedan deofle, 7 þa rihtwisan farað forð mid þam Hælende into þam écan lífe mid his engla weredum.

Uton we nu ealle gemanelice ealle þas ðing geornlice geþancan 7 to urum Drihtne eallum mode gecyrran,  
 330) þe ús mildheortlice purh þone witigan toclypede 7 cwæð:

Gecyrrað to me 7 ic gecyrrre to eow. 7 eft he cwæð:

Welle ic þæs synfullan mannes deað, ac ic wille þæt he gecyrrre 7 écelice libbe.

Is us nú eallum gemenelice micel neod 7 pearf

- 335) þæt we geornlice biddan úrne [f. 228r] leofan Drihten mid fastenum 7 mid ælmesdædum 7 mid singalum gebedum 7 mid ealra goddra weorca bigengum, þæt he ús þises andweardan lífes gesundfulnessa geunne 7 þæs ecan lifes eadigan myrcða getipie. Þær God ælmihtig sylf mid ealum
- 340) lum his halgum wulderfulllice leofað 7 rixað á butan ende. Amen.

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337 bigengum: MS. bigencum.  
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Sources. 331 [Zech. i: 3] Et dices ad eos: Hæc dicit Dominus exercituum: Convertimini ad me, ait Dominus exercituum: et convertar ad vos, dicit Dominus exercituum.

332-3 [Ezek. xxxiii: 11] Dic ad eos: Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus: nolo mortem impii, sed ut convertatur impius a via sua, et vivat. Convertimini, convertimini a viis vestris pessimis: 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 behofiap þæt 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 hwæpere ne sceolan we beon to swyðe balde on unrihtwisnesse 7 ure synna mid synnum ne ecan (f. 107r) 7 þæt þencan 7 cweþan, þæt we magon ures lichoman lust fremman þa hwile þe we on geogoðe syn 7 þonne on elde we doð soðe hreowe. Hwæt mæg beon mare dysignes þonne æni mann þis on his mode gepence. Hwylc mann is þe wite þone ytemestan dæg his lifes?

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

20. 7 þeah on ðysum brym dagum ealra swyðost. Dominica Ante Rogationum (MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, ff. 44-55v) explains why prayer is so important on these three days:

We gelyfað, men ða leofestan, þæs þe we rædon on halgum bocum þæt swa hwa swa on þysum þrim dagum to Godes cyrcean cymð 7 him þær his synna forgyfennyssa æt Gode bitt mid ealre heortan hyldo 7 mid ealre eadmodnyse, þæt him Gōd þara synna forgyfennysa sylle þe he ær on twælf monðum gedyde.

(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 Godes on f. 216v.

33-5. Elc . . . gewemne. 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 þe wære ær mihtig on wohnesse? Elce (fol. 104v) dæge þin tunge hogade unrihtwisnesse; and swa swa þæt scearpeste scerseax, swa þu mid hire facn and inwit fremedest. And þu lufadest nipas and neāropancas, and ðu lufadest ealle forhwyrfednesse word mid pin(n)re tungan. Forðon þe nu God wiðworpeð, and þe of þinum lichoman huse utascefeð.'

(Willard, "Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies," Beitrage 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 victoria. Unde ergo victores sunt, nisi quod contra antiqui hostis insidias decertaverunt? Malignus quippe spiritus cogitationi, locutioni, atque operi nostro semper insistit, si fortasse quid inueniat unde apud examen aeterni iudicis accusator existat.

(PL 77, 269)

56-327. As Ker notes (Catalogue, p. 33) "From 'Elc man þe godes freond is' (f. 217/8) to 'engla weredum' (f. 227/11) forms part of the homily In octavis pentecosten in Hatton 113 . . . , f. 102v, and other manuscripts."

56. Godes freond. Cf. Elfric's In Natale Unius Apostoli:

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

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

68-70. Micel heap . . . heom sylfum. Cf. Elfric's In Natale Unius Apostoli:

Þonne Godes gecórenan becumað to deaðe, ðonne gemetað hi yrfwyrðnyse. Micel heap holdra freonda ure andbidað þær, orsorh be him sylfum, carful gýt for ure hælðe.

(Thorpe, CH ii, 526/29-32)

110-12. ac . . . deapes. Cf. the Dialogues of Gregory:

Sed plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pavor egredientes justorum animas purgat . . .

(PL 77, 405)

115-18. Sumera . . . ælmesdæda. The efficacy of almsgiving is well documented. Gregory, for example, recounts the story of Paschasius, 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 purh þa messan. See Gregory:

Si culpa post mortem insolubiles non sunt, multum solet animas etiam post mortem sacra oblatio hostiæ salutaris adjuvare; ita ut hanc nonnunquam ipsæ defunctorum animæ expetere videantur.

(ibid, 416-17)

And Elfric's Hortatorius Sermo De Efficacia Sanctæ Missæ (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 excrescit: ut et boni amplius gaudeant, qui secum eos latari conspiciunt quos amaverunt; et mali, dum cum eis torquentur quos in hoc mundo, despecto Deo, dilexerunt, eos non solum sua, sed etiam eorum pena consumat. Fit autem in electis quiddam mirabilius, quia non solum eos agnoscunt quos in hoc mundo noverant, sed velut visos ac cognitos recognoscunt bonos quos nunquam viderunt. Nam cum antiquos Patres in illa æterna hereditate viderint, eis incogniti per visionem non erunt, quos in opere semper noverunt.

(ibid, 376)

And Elfric, 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 . . . forpingung. 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 iustitiæ 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 impiisque 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 cælo animæ justorum, quid est quod in die iudicii pro iustitiæ suæ retributione recipiant?

GREGOR. Hoc eis nimirum crescit in iudicio, 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: Data sunt illis singula stola alba, et dictum est illis ut requiescerent tempus adhuc modicum, donec impleatur numerus conservorum et fratrum eorum (Apoc. VI, 17). Qui itaque nunc singulas acceperunt, binas in iudicio stolas habituri sunt, quia modo animarum tantummodo, tunc autem animarum simul et corporum gloria latabuntur.

(ibid, 357)

162-72. Cf. Alfric's Dominica Secunda Post Pentecosten:

Ƣa synfullan geseoð nu hwiltidum ða gecorenan on wuldre, ðe hi forsawon on worulde, Ƣæt seo angsumnys heora modes ðe mare sy: and ða rihtwisan symle geseoð ða unrihtwisan on heora tintregum c̅wylmigende, Ƣæt heora bliss ðe mare sy, and lufu to heora Drihtne, Ƣe hi ahredde fram deofles anwealde, and fram ðam manfullum heape. Ne astyrað Ƣara rihtwisra gesihð him nænne oðan, ne heora wuldor ne wanað; forðan ðe ðær ne bið nan besargung ðara manfulra yrmðe, ac heora tintrega becymð Ƣam gecorenum to maran blisse, swa swa on metinge bið forsewen seo blace anlicnys, Ƣæt seo hwite sy beorhtre gesewen. Ƣa gecorenan geseoð symle heora Scyppendes beorhtnysse, and forði nis nan ðing on gesceaftum him bediglod

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

And also Gregory:

Sed iniqui omnes aeterno supplicio deputati, sua quidem iniquitate puniuntur, et tamen ad aliquid ardebunt, scilicet ut justii omnes et in Deo videant gaudia quæ percipiunt, et in illis respiciant supplicia quæ evaserunt, quatenus tanto magis aeternum gratiæ divini debitorum se esse cognoscant, quanto in aeternum mala puniri conspiciunt quæ ejus adjuutorio vicerunt.

(PL 77, 404)

195-97. 7 eall . . . gemette. The possibly troublesome use of cuce Ƣe cumað of helle and libbendan 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. Anima itaque et mortalis esse intelligitur, et immortalis. Mortalis quippe, quia beate vivere amittit; immortalis autem, quia essentialiter vivere nunquam desinit, et naturæ suæ vitam perdere non valet, nec cum in perpetua fuerit morte damnata. Illic enim posita beata

esse perdit, et esse non perdit. Qua ex re cogitur semper; ut et mortem sine morte, et defectum, sine defectu, et finem sine fine patiat; quatenus ei mors immortalis sit, et defectus indeficiens, et finis infinitus.

(ibid, 405)

199-204. 7 hi . . . gewat. Cf. Elfric's Dominica Prima Post Pasca:

Se apostol Paulus cwæð, þæt we sceolon arisan of deaðe on ðære ylde þe Crist wæs þa ða he ðrowade, þæt is embe þreo and ðritig geara. Þeah cild forðfare, oððe forwerod man, þeah-hwæðere hi cumað to þære ylde ðe we ar cwædon; hæfð þeah gehwa his agenne wæstm, þe he on þissum life hæfde, oððe habban sceolde, gif he his gebide.

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

207-11. swa . . . gestrynad. Cf. Elfric's Dominica Prima Post Pasca:

Hit bið þonne swa swa Crist cwæð, þæt "Nan wer ne <sup>p. 2387</sup> wifiað, ne wif ne ceorlað, ne team ne bið getymed, ne hi deaðes ne abyrgað siððan, ac beoð englum gelice, þonne hi mid englum wunnað." Ne him ne lyst nanre galnysse, ne hi nafre siððan synna ne gewyrceað.

(ibid, 236/35-238/4)

211-18. Ne þa . . . gristbitiað. Cf. Elfric's Dominica Prima Post Pasca:

Gif hwá alefed wære, oððe limleas on þissum life, he bið þonne swa hit awriten is, þæt "Ealle ða þe to Godes rice gebyrgað, nabbað naðor ne womm ne awyrðnysse on herra lichaman." Hwæt sceole we smeagan embe ða oðre þe gewitað sceole we smeagan embe ða oðre þe gewitað to ðam ecum forwyrd, hwæðer hi alefede beon oððe limlease, þonne hi beoð on ecere susle wunigende?

(ibid, 236/28-34)

221-4. Elc . . . blædum. Cf. In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 162, pp. 422-31):

Ponne arisað ealle þa men þa ðe mid gebreged-nyssum on deaðe swulton fram þam feower healfum byses middangeardes, þæt syndon, þa ðe on bysum life on fyre forbærneðe wæron, oððe on wætere adrehte wæron, oððe on rode ahangene wæron, oððe wildeor fræton, oððe fugelas tobæron . . .

(p. 427/8-13)

240-41. His . . . domsetlum. Cf. Elfric's Natale Omnium Sanctorum:

Eac he him behet mid soðfastum bēhate, þæt hi on ðam micclum dome ofer twelf dom-setl sittende beoð, to demenne eallum mannum þe æfre on lichaman lif underfengon.

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

And also Natale Sancti Pauli Apostoli:

On ðam æriste sittað þa twelf apostoli mid Criste on heora [p. 396] domsetlum.

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

245-70. Cf. Elfric's Natale Sancti Pauli Apostoli:

Þa apostoli and ealle þa gecorenan ðe him geefenlahton beoð deman on ðam micclum dage mid Criste. Þær beoð feower werod at ðam dome, twa gecorenra manna, and twa wiðercorenra. Þæt forme werod bið þara apostola and heora efenlæcendra, þa ðe ealle woruld-ðing for Godes naman forleton; hi beoð ða demeras, and him ne bið nan dom gedemed. Oðer endebyrdnys bið geleaffulra woruld-manna: him bið ðam gesett, swa þæt hi beoð asyndrede fram gemanan ðara wiðercorenra, þus cweðendum Drihtne, "Cumað to me, ge gebletsode mines Fæder, and onfoð þæt rice ðe eow is gegearcōd fram frymðe middangeardes." An endebyrdnys bið þara wiðercorenra, þa þe ciððe hæfdon to Gode, ac hi ne beeodon heora geleafan mid Godes bebodum: ðas beoð fordemed. Oðer endebyrdnys bið þara hæðenra manna, þe nane cyððe to Gode næfdon: þisum bið gelæst se apostolica cwyde, "Ða ðe butan Godes æ syngodon, hi eac losiað butan ælcere æ." To ðisum twam endebyrdnyssum cweð þonne se rihtwisa Dema, "Gewitað fram me, ge

awyrigedan, into ðam 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 Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 162, pp. 422-31):

7 eall engla weord cymð ofer eorðan 7 scadað  
þa soðfastan men fram þam arleasan. Þonne þa  
arleasan men leoð þæt heofoncunde werud hi  
sylfe to behydenne on dunum 7 on beorgum, 7  
cweðað to him: untunðu þe, la eorðe, 7 for-  
swelg us þe læs þe we fundene beon.

(p. 426/17-21)

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

Þær se broðor ne mæg þam oðrum helpan, ne se  
fæder þam suna ne þa neahmagað ne ða maðngestre-  
on, ne þysse woruld æhta anigne man þær gescyl-  
dan magon, ac drihtne gyldeð anra gehwylcū menn  
æfter his sylfæs gewyrhtum.

(p. 428/7-11)

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

Soðlice we sceoldon beoðan þam ðearfum þæt hi  
us biddað, forðan ðe hi beoð ure mundboran,  
þa ðe nu wædligende æt us bigleofan wilniað.  
Ne sceole we forseon heora wacnysse, forðan ðe  
Criste bið geðenod þurh ðearfena angenge, swa  
swa he sylf cwæð, "Me hingrode, and ge me ge-  
reordodon; me ðyrste, and ge me scenton; ic  
was nacod, and ge me scryddon."

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

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

Gecyrtron we nu to Drihtnes willan; forþon he  
us swyþe mildheortlice forþ-lapode, & þus cwæp,  
'Gecyrraþ to me, þonne gecyrre ic to eow.'

(Morris, Blickling Homilies, pp. 101/35-103/1)

See also Wernerus Abbas S. Blasii In Silva Nigra, Libri Deflorationum, Sermo In Rogationibus: Secundum Lucam:

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

(PL 157, 962-3)

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

332-3. Cf. Blickling Homily X:

forþon þe Drihten is swiðe mildheort se us trymede & lærde: he cwæp, 'Nelle ic þæs symfullon mannes deað, 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. ælmih̄tig. A small, vertical lacuna measuring 6 mm. by 3 mm. divides ælmih̄tig between the i and h. No letters appear to be lost.

341. Amen. Amen is written in black, non-ornamental capitals.

## 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

- 10) 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
- 15) 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
- 20) 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
- 25) 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
- 30) 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
- 35) 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
- 40) 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
- 45) 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,
- 50) 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

55) 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

60) 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

65) 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

70) 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

75) 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

80) 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

85) 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

90) 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

95) 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

100) 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.

- 105) 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
- 115) 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
- 120) 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
- 125) 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
- 130) 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,
- 135) some a short while, depending on how his friends intercede 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, because earlier they were alike in good deeds. The holy
- 140) 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,
- 145) 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
- 150) 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

155) 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

160) 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

165) 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

170) 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

175) 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 decree of

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

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. After-
- 210) wards 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
- 215) 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
- 220) 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

225) ~~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
- 255) 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
- 260) 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
- 265) 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
- 270) 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

275) 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  
 280) 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  
 285) 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  
 290) 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:  
 295) 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  
 300) 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  
305) 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  
310) 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  
315) 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  
320) 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-  
325) 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,

330) 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

335) 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

340) 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. CCCC 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.<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Wanley, Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium Catalogus; vol. 2 of George Hickes, Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus (1705; rpt. Menston: Hildesheim, 1970), pp. 128-30. Montague Rhodes James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1911), pp. 92-4. N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon, pp. 95-9. John C. Pope, Homilies of Elfric, I, 51-2).

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 ð 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 uppahafene (p. 210/7).

Interlinear insertions are infrequent in MS. CCCC 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, þ is used for þæt, 7 for and, and aft for after.

Colour is prominent in MS. 302. 7 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 predominately late West-Saxon, as Pope writes:

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

(Homilies of Elfric 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: hys (l. 179) and his (l. 178) for is. pur (l. 36) also occurs for purh, and agwylc (l. 187) for aghwylc. Several other features of late West-Saxon are also prominent:

#### Late West-Saxon Forms

##### Stressed Vowels:

- (1) Some preference for ȳ over ī, as in swyðe (l. 8), hellewyte (l. 62), and cyrican (l. 12), but i is common, as in swiðe (l. 1) and is (l. 8).
- (2) Consistent preference for ȳ over ie, as in gehyron (l. 2), ongytan (l. 28), and alyfede (l. 85).
- (3) y always replaces e in group sel-, as in sylf (l. 21), and sylfne (l. 24).

- (4) æ is preferred to ea in all occurrences of ælmhtig, as in ælmhtigan (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 arwurðnyse (l. 4) and wurðunge (l. 17), although weor- forms sometimes occur, as in weorðunga (l. 103) and weorðiað (l. 145).
- (7) There is a tendency to favour a over o before nasals, as in mann (l. 40), but o does not regularly become a/æ in unstressed words; see, for example, pone (l. 13).
- (8) nelle (l. 206) shows the preference for ne- over ny- in forms of nyllan.
- (9) There occurs the late West-Saxon preference for æ in manig- (l. 29), manige (l. 33), and manig (l. 40).
- (10) page (l. 192) occurs once in the demonstrative pronoun [Campbell §713].

#### Unstressed Syllables:

- (1) earnedon (l. 75) in place of earnodon 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 syllables; compare forþan (l. 34) with forðon (l. 73), and gewintrað (l. 128) with gewintrod (ll. 123-4).
- (3) a and u occasionally alternate in final syllables, as evidenced by leohtfata (l. 36) for leohtfatu, beboda (l. 22) for bebodu, and beda (l. 193) for bedu.

- (4) -nys is always preferred to -nes, as in halig-nysse (l. 4), gesetnysse (l. 6), and mildheortnyse (l. 14).

Consonants:

- (1) -geard occasionally interchanges with -eard: cf. middangeard (l. 113) and middaneard (ll. 134-5) [Campbell no. 303 f. 2].
- (2) d occasionally interchanges with ð, as in eadmodnysse for eaðmodnysse (l. 9) [Campbell no. 424].
- (3) Consonants frequently double, not always with regard to a particular rule: cf. manncynn (l. 190), gebencann (l. 191), namann (l. 119), accennednyss (l. 121), eall (l. 182), gesibbað (l. 156), and godspelle (l. 168).

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

FERIA II IN LETANIA MAIORE

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

✓Ker 56 art. 31✓

Men ða leofestan, us is swiðe ✓p. 206✓ mycel neod-  
bearf pæt we gehyron sumne dæl pyses gastlican gewrites  
pe her us forð lareð 7 manað to ure sawle pearfe, .7 eac  
swylce be pissere tide halignysse 7 be hyre arwurðnyse,  
5) pe gecweden is on gastlicum gewritum purh gastlice leor-  
neras to þære gastlican gesetnyse, pæt þas þry dagas  
wæron letanias genemed.

Us is þonne swyðe mycel neodbearf on æghwilce tide  
pæt we habban mid us soðe sibbe 7 soðe eadmodnyse, 7  
10) pæt we geearnian mid urum hlutrum gebedum 7 mid ure  
heortan onbryrdnyse, 7 mid urum clænum ælmæssum purh  
þa cyrican gesetnyse, pæt we gemunon 7 gepencan swa us  
mynegiað ure lareowas pæt we biddan þone ælmihtigan  
Drihten his mildheortnyse, 7 gebletfastnyse lifes ge  
15) gastlices ge woruldlices. Uton we þonne gepencan pæt  
we mihton Drihtene mid þære næstan eadmodnyse on þas  
þry dagas geornfullice gehyran for ðissa daga wurðunge  
pæt he ure bene gehyre. Uton we þonne on þysum dagum 7  
on æghwylce tide gehyran 7 gehealdan his beboda.

20) Uton gehyron at ærestan 7 gepencan þone cwyde pe  
he sylf on his godspelle cwæð 7 us behead ofer eallne

- middaneard<sup>3</sup> þam þe his beboda healdan wyllað, þæt ure æghwile gecume æt urum reliquium, 7 nænig mann hine
- \* sylfne þanon ne sceade fram þam halgan gemote Drihtenes
- 25) sylfes 7 þam cyriclicum þe on ymbhwyrfte/bið Cristes reliquium halgum 7 þam apostolicum 7 þære halgan Cristes rode.

- Swa we leornodon 7 getreowlice we magon ongytan þæt se ælmihtiga Drihten swyðe mænigfealdlice gyfe
- 30) gemetfastum mannum dyde hyder on þisne middaneard, 7 forðan he swa dyde forþan he wolde þæt þeos clæne gesceaft ongeate hyre þone ecean Scyppend. Forðan ðe he manncynne onlyhte mænige gastlice leohtfatu 7 sende hider on þisne middaneard forþan þe he wolde gedwæscan þa
- 35) deorcnyse 7 synne bysternyse fram urum heortum acyrran purh his þa halgan 7 þa gastlican leohtfata. And swylce he eac wolde þæt we þises leohtes andweardnyse [p. 207] geearnodon þæt we moston on þære toweardnyse mid him sylfum 7 mid his þam halgum þæs ecan leohtes brucan.

- 40) Mænig mann on þysum gemote wunað 7 hwæðere næfð þæt andgyt hwæt þa gastlican leoht synd buton hit hym seo gastlicenysse gerece swa hit gecweden ys on gastlicum gewritum purh gastlice leorneras, þæt us wæron to leohtfatum gesette ure heahfæderas: Abel, Enoch, Melchisedech,

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26 þære: MS. þær. 34 wolde: MS. wold. 35 deorcnyse: MS.  
deornysse. 36 purh: MS. pur.

- 45) Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob; hi us onlihton 7 onsteal-  
don eallra goddra weorca bysne. Eac þa wæron Godes þa  
halgan witegan þa þurh þone Halgan Gast us lærdon, 7  
hi us foresædon ealles pises middaneardes fægernysa 7  
his wynsumnyssa; 7 eac swylce hy us foresædon ealles  
50) pises middaneardes bysternysa, 7 his synna 7 his ge-  
dwolan. 7 þonne nalæs þæt an, þæt hi us tacnodon ymbe  
þyses andweardan middaneardes gesetnyse, ac hi us eac  
sædon ymbe þa toweardnyse þæs forhtigendan domes, 7  
þone soðfastan Deman Crist sylf. 7 eac þyssere tacnunge  
55) hy eac getacnodon hwylc wæs heofona rice to gearniene  
7 hwylc wæs hellewite to befleonne, on þa gelicnyse þe  
se witega cwæð be heofona rice 7 be helle. þæt næfre  
nære on heofona rices wuldre swa micel unwynsumes on  
ænigum laðe, oððe on hungre oððe on þurste, oððe on cyle  
60) oððe on hætan, oððe on adle oððe on ænigum laðe gewinne  
þæt wære swa mycel swa anes lytles fugeles sweg. Swylce  
he cwæð, se ylca witega, þæt næfre on hellewite swa  
mycel wynsumes swa anes fugeles sweg.

- Swylce eac wæron us to lechtfatum gesette Cristes  
65) apostolas, þa wæron onsende on þysne middaneard geond  
myssendlice þeoda þurh Crist sylfne, forði þonne þæt  
hi sceolon menn trymman 7 læran 7 fullian, 7 deofolscipe

50 bysternysa: MS. bysternysa. 51 tacnodon: MS. tacnodo.

- nyðerian, 7 þeos deofolican lustas adwescan, 7 Drihtenes rice bredan; swa swa Crist sylf to his apostolum spre-
- 70) cende was 7 þus cwæð: Ic eow sende on þeode 7 on oðre, on þa gelicnysse after eorðlice wisan, þe eorðlican ic on- [p. 208] sende an sceap on wulfa heap. Ne wæron hy swa fræcne onsended forðon ðe hi hæfdon þæt gastlice mægen and þone heofonlican fultum Cristes sylfes; þone
- 75) fultum hi gearnodon purh þæt þe hy wæron Cristes willan wyrrende; forþan hi sittað on heofonan rices wuldre on þa swyðran healfe God Fæder. Þar hy him nanig lað ne ondrædað, ne hunger ne þurst ne adle ne deofles costunga, ne him þar ne byð næfre nanes godes wana, ne him næfre
- 80) þas lifes 7 þære wynsumnysse nanig ende ne geyrnð.
- Broþor mine, hwæt, we leornodon þæt Cristes apostolas wæron mennisce menn on þa gelicnysse þe we syndon. We þonne leornodon þæt hi gearnodon þæt rice 7 þæt setl þæt hi onwuniað on heofonan rices wuldre mid þam ylcum
- 85) dædum þe us alyfede syndon gyf we us sylfe ne forgymlæasiað godra dæda. Ne synd we næfre to ofermode on urum

68 þeos: MS. þeo. 78 ne þurst: MS. re þurst. 83 gearnodon: MS. gearodon.

Sources. 69 [Matt. xxviii: 19] Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes: baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti:

70-2 [Matt. x: 16] Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum. Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbæ (passim).

- yfelum dædum, ac we hraðe to þære anddetnysse 7 to þære bote gecyrron. Micel gegearnung þæt is menniscum menn þæt he geearnige mid godum dædum to þam ælmihtigan Drihtene purh his anes mægen, mid Godes fultume, þæt he mæge mid þi apostolican hade ealle þa heorde he gode healdan sceal 7 fram hellewite generian. Swa Cristes apostolas dydon, 7 habbað geearnod þæt heora æghwylc an mæg eallum manncynne gepingian, þæt him se Hælend forgyfeð ealle
- 90) heora synna.
- 95)

- Uton we þonne, broðor mine, on þas halgan tide geornfullice 7 eadmodlice biddan þone ælmihtigan Drihten his mildheortnysse, 7 we eac biddan þa halgan apostolas þa wæron ongebyrden after lichamlicre wisan us gelice.
- 100) 7 hi us wæron to lehtfatum gesette þæt hy syndon ure pingeras to þam lyfgendan Gode, þæt we beon gehælede of urum synnum for Drihtenes mildheortnysse, 7 for bene þara haligra apostola, 7 for weorðunga þissere halgan tide. Swylce eac us syndon to lareowum gesette ure
- 105) [p. 209] þa gehalgodon bisceopas þa us trymmað 7 lærað to þam ecean rice gyf we him mid eadmodnysse þeowian willað. And eac swylce us syndon to lareowum gesette ure mæssepreostas þa beoð dæghwamlice anwearde to-foran urum eagam, þa us cænnað purh þone Halgan Gast 7 trymmað
- 110) to þam ecean life.

91 heorde he: MS. heorde þe he. 99 ongebyrden: MS. ongebyrdon.  
 102 synnum: MS. synnm. 104 gesette: MS. gestte. 106 þeowian:  
MS. þeowiað.

- Menig mann nafað þæt andgyt hwæt seo acennednyssesy. We beoð acenned lichamlice purh fæder 7 purh modor hider on þisne middangeard; æfter þam we beoð acennede gastlice be lichamlice 7 be eorðlice. Preo acennednyssa
- 115) beoð gastlice, swa Drihten sylf on hys godspelle spre-  
cende wæs 7 þus cwæð: Ne mæg se eorðlica mann on ecnysses  
mid me wunian on minum rice butan he sy acenned purh  
water 7 purh Haligne Gast. Eghwylc þara þe on me  
gelyfað 7 gefullod bið purh water, 7 Fæder namann 7 on
- 120) Sunu 7 on þone Halgan Gast, sé bið on ecnysses mid me  
gehaled. Þæt is seo forme accennednysses gastlicu þonne  
we onfoð fullwithe æt ure mæssepreosta þenunge. Þonne  
is seo æftre accennednysses gastlicu syððan se mann gewin-  
troð bið, 7 þæt geseald hafað þæt he andette his scrifte
- 125) ealle his synna. Syððan he bið Godes þeowa geciged for-  
þan ðe se soða anddetnysses bið æt frymðe eallra gastlicra  
læcedoma. Þonne is seo þridde accennednysses æfter þam  
soðan andetnyssa syððan se mann gewintrað bið 7 he hine  
sylfne gemednað, purh þa soðan anddetnysses 7 purh his

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115 Drihten: MS. drhten. 116 ecnysses: MS. necnysses. 120  
ecnysses: MS. necnysses. 121 gastlicu: MS. gastlicum. 123  
syððan: MS. alters from syndan, 126 anddetnysses bið æt: MS.  
anddetnysses æt.

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Sources. 116-18 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) scrites fultum, þæt he bið andfenge Drihtenes sylfes lichaman 7 his blode. Þonne he hafað fullice ealle þa hadas þe hine to þan ece life gelædað. He geanlicode his lichaman heofonlican hlafe 7 he onlihte his blodwine on lifes calice, 7 us þa onsende hider on þisne middan-  
 135) eard to earnan 7 to wedde eces lifes.

- And swylce us wæron to leohtfatum gesette 7 to lareowum þa halgan godspelleras. Þurh þara lare we magon witan hwæt we lufian sceolon 7 hwæt we gedon sceolon, 7 hwæt we forgyfan sceolon, 7 mid hwylcum dædum we magon  
 140) hellewite befleön. [p. 210] Swa he, Drihten sylfa, on his godspelle sprecende wæs be þyssere halgan tide 7 be his godspellerum 7 þus cwæð: Forþan ic þas gangdagas sette forþan þe ic wille þæt mine leorneras 7 mine godspelleras secgon 7 bryman þæt ece lif, 7 ic wille æghwylcum  
 145) gemiltsian þe ðas halgan tide weorðiað, 7 on me gelyfað, 7 mid godspellerum gelyfan willað. Forþon, broðor mine, on þas andweardan tide beoð reliquias haligra manna up-  
 pahafene 7 forð aborene mid leofsange 7 mid gastlicum sange on sunderlice stowa gehwilce swa hwær swa hi  
 150) gesette beoð. Us is þonne swyðe mycel nyðbearf þæt we mid swiðe mycelre eadmodnysse urum reliquium folgion 7 þam þeowian.

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148 gastlicum: MS. gastlicum.

- Swa we magon ongytan be sumre eorðlicre bysne: gyf menn him beoð betweonan ungesibsume, him þonne secað
- 155) sona, æfter menniscra wisan, gemotstowe, 7 dom gedemed bið 7 gesibbað hi. Syððan sceal ælc mann gelæstan swa se dema him bebeodað, 7 þæt gemot bið þonne eall gesybod. Be þære bysne we magon ongytan þas halgan tide, forþan ðe þas dagas syndon ure gemotdagas gastlicra gemota. Þonne
- 160) bið ure gastlice gemotstow on ymbhwyrfte ure reliquia, swa on cyrican swa butan, swa on hwylcre stowe hi ongesette beoð. Wite þonne þæt æghwylc mann þara þe on þysum gemote wunige 7 þis godspell gehyreð þæt he eac þam georne mid eadmedum ontyne þære heortan earan to manunge
- 165) þyses godspelles, 7 to þæs gastlican Deman Cristes sylfes. His domas he on gastlicum gewritum us gesette 7 þurh gastlice leorneras us ontynde. Gyf we þas gastlican domas gelæstan willað þe Crist sylf on his godspelle beodað on þisse gemotstowe, þonne beoð we beforan Cris-
- 170) tes heahsetle on þam myclan dome þam soðfæstan Deman gecorene, 7 we þonne motan gehyran þone cwyde þe he sylf cwæð to þam þe he sette on þā swyðran healfe: Cumað ge gebletsode to mines Fæder rice þæt eow wæs gegearwod fram middaneardes fruman.

154 þonne: MS. þonne. 168 gelæstan: MS gelæstað.

Sources. 172-4 Matt. xxv: 34 Tunc dicet rex his, qui a dextris ejus erunt: venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi.

- 175) Broðor mine, us is swyðe mycel nyðbearf þæt us  
 pys godspell gerecce mid hwylcum dædum we sceolon pone  
 soðfæstan Deman weorðian 7 him peowian ærest on [p. 211]  
 pysse halgan tide þe nu onweard is. 7 swa hyt gecweden  
 ys on þysum godspelle þæt we sceolon uppahebban 7 forð-  
 180) beran ure halgan reliquias. Ða menn þe synd on endebyrd-  
 nysse to gastlicum lofe gelæred, 7 þonne on ymbhwyrfte  
 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 fyl-  
 185) ian ne mæge, forþan ðe ælcum þara bið heofonan rices  
 duru ontyned þe mid soðan geleafan þam halgum reliquium  
 fyliað. 7 aghwylc mann gehealde clænlice his fæsten þas  
 þry dagas oð ða nontide 7 þonne þicge þa mettas þe he  
 hwilon þæt lengtenfæsten þe se Hælend on þrowode feower-  
 190) tig daga 7 feowertig nihta tosome for eall manncynn.

Uton we nu þonne gepencann þæt we swyðe medemlice  
 gedydon þage tide ge ure fæsten ge ure almessan ge ure  
 beda ge ure gelastas for namann þas ælmihtigan Drihtenes,  
 swa we magon ongytan be þare eorðlican bysene, ærest be  
 195) urum fæstene: se mann se ðe þenceð þæt he lechte candeale  
 gewyrce þæt he mæge lyhtan mid nihtlicum bystrum on his  
 huse, þonne gewyrceð he him godne tapor 7 hine þonne

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 178 is: MS. his. 179 ys: MS. hys. 181 gastlicum: MS. gast-  
 licu. 181 ymbhwyrfte: MS. ymbwyrfte. 187 aghwylc: MS.  
 agwylc.

- smyreð. Þonne bið se tapor þurh þa smyrunge onbyrhted  
 7 seo bystru his huses bið onlyhted. Nafast ðu æt þam  
 200) tapore nanig leoht ne nanig recc gyf he þare smyrennyse  
 ne underfehð. Swa þonne bið þam menn þe cwyð þæt he  
 wile fæstan for naman þæs ælmihtigan Drihtenes and þonne  
 þone dag þe he þæt fæsten onfæsteð, þonne bið he þone  
 dag geunrotsod on his mode 7 on his þeawum wiðerweard;  
 205) 7 þeah þe he þone Cristes þearfan geseo, þanne þencð he  
 þæt he nelle agðer gefæstan ge eac þone þearfan gefre-  
 frian 7 aretan. Þonne gelimpæð his þeowum oððe free-  
 menn þæt he hafað ymbehydig ærende to þam fæstendan  
 menn, þonne þencð he: Ne wille ic mine ærende abeodan  
 210) ær his hrif gereordod sy, forþan þe hi oft onleton ongy-  
 ton þæt hi wæron on heora fæstene geunblissod.

- Broðor mine, ne bið swylc fæsten gecoren þam [p. 212]  
 soðfæstan Deman, ac gyf þu wille medomlice fæstan for  
 naman þæs ælmihtigan Drihtenes þonne gefylst þone cwyde  
 215) þe on þam sealme gecweden wæs: Drihten forlæt me mine  
 scylda on þa gelicnyse þe ic forlet ælcum þeara þe wið  
 me agyltað. Swa sceal se mann don se ðe wyle rihtwislice

198 onbyrhted: MS. onbyrhteð. 208 fæstendan: MS. alters from  
 fæstennan. 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:  
 dimittet et vobis pater vester cœlestis delicta vestra. [15]  
 Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus; nec pater vester dimittet  
 vobis peccata vestra.

- fæstan for naman þæs ælmihtigan Drihtenes. Ac se mann se þe þencð þæt he clænlice fæste 7 þonne eac þenceð.
- 220) to wrace worda 7 dæda<sup>a</sup> þam þe ær wið hine agylton, 7 ne wile forgyfennysse syllan 7 mildheortnysse, 7 gefean syllan ealra þeara yfela worda 7 dæda þe he æfre wið Cristes willan geworhte, þæt fæsten bið gelic þam unsmyredan tapore, se þære beorhtnysse ne onfehð. Swa
- 225) bið þam gaste his weg to þam ecean life gebyrhted, gyf se man bið on his fæstene geunrotsod.

- Forðon us is swiðe mycel nyðþearf þæt we swyðe eadmodlice gedon ure fæsten ge ure ælmyssan ge ure hlutan gebeda ge ure unlustas for naman þæs ælmihtigan
- 230) Drihtenes. Gyf we swa wyllað don, 7 þas lare gelæstan, þonne magon we geearnian mid þam lastum forgyfennysse eallra þara unnytta lasta þe we ær on twelf monðum on unnytt geeodon; and eac swylce we magon geearnian þurh ure clæne fæsten forgyfnysse ealra þara unnytt æta þe
- 235) we on twelf monðum<sup>a</sup> geðigdom. Eac swa we magon geearnian ednywunge 7 geblettfæstnysse eallra ura eorðlicra gestreona 7 eac þæt mare is, eallra ura synna forgyfnysse gyf we ne forgymeleasiað on þas andweardan tide Godes þeowdomas.

225 gebyrhted: MS. gebyrhteð.

Glosses, Old English. 230 Gyf: gib.

240) Ealne Godes dom we magon purh preo ping gehealdan.

Pæt syndon þa preo ping pæt se mann hine gehealde: on  
godum gepohtum, 7 on godum weorcum, 7 on godum dædum.

Se goda gepoht onbryrdeð þæs mannes heortan to þam  
godum dædum. Broðor mine, þysum we magon gearnian

245) pæt 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. M is a large non-ornamental majuscule about six times the size of the other letters. All are majuscules, some are touched with red ink.

26-7. Cristes rode. As Morris' Homily XXXII indicates {Sermo in Marcum VIII, Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, Early English Text Society, Original Series no. 58 (London: Trübner, 1873), pp. 202-9}, man-kind bears a spiritual cross in emulation of Christ:

pere-fore ure drihten ne laðeð us noht to beren swiche rode. ac laðeð us to an oðer. þe þis bitoeneð þat is cleped. Carnis maceracio. Þat is lichames helsing. Mannes lichame ihalsneð iwis. þenne me hine pined mid hunger, and mid þurste, and mid wecche. and mid swinche. and mid stiuwe wedes next þe liche and smerte smiten of smale longe gerden, and mid michele chele oðer wile. þos roden moten beren alle sinfulle men.

(p. 207/1-7)

33. onlyhte manige gastlice leohtfatu. Perhaps suggested by Christ's words to the apostles in Matt. v: 14-15 :

Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita. [15] Neque accendant lucernam, et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt.

42-3. swa hit gecweden ys 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 (sealme) accurate. As J.E. Cross wrote to Hildegard Tristram:

" . . . this man puzzles 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 persönllicher Mitteilung).

50. middaneardes. First e appears altered from f.

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

69-72. Cf. Elfric's In Natale Plurimorum Apostolorum (Thorpe, CH ii, 528-37):

Drihten cwæð, "Farað, efne ic sende eow swa swa lamb betwux wulfum." Lamb is unscæððig nyten, and Godes lareow sceal healdan unscæððignysse on his lifes ðeawum betwux ðam reþan 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):

Ðe man noteð wel his giepshipe. þe birgeð him seluen wið his agene soule unfrème. and erneð after his soule freme. To swich giepshipe minegede hure helende his apostles. and us bi hem þus queðinde. Ecce ego mitto uos et cetera. Ðo ure helende sende hie þe weren milde also shep among þat unbilefde folc þe wolden dreuen hem. and swo diden also wulf doð shep and seide þus. Estote prudentes sicut serpentes. Here ich giu sende also shep among wulfes. beoð þenne giepe. and seide hem wu giepe. also þe neddre.

(p. 195/8-16)

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

Tunc respondens Petrus, dixit ei: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia, et secuti sumus te: quid ergo erit nobis? [28] Jesus autem dixit illis: Amen dico vobis, quod vos, qui secuti

estis me, in regeneratione cum sederit filius hominis in sede maiestatis suæ, sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim, iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel.

78-9. Cf. In Vigilia Ascensionis (below, pp. 165-89 )  
11. 129-30 and the accompanying note.

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

Tuwa we beoð on ðisum life acennede: seo forme acennednys is flæsclic, of fæder and of meder; seo oðer acennednys is gastlic, ðonne we beoð ge-edcennede on ðam halgan fulluhte, on ðam us beoð ealle synna forgyfene, ðurh ðæs Halgan Gastes gife. Seo ðridde acennednys bið on ðam gemænelicum æriste, on ðam beoð ure lichaman ge-edcennede to unbrosni-gendlicum lichaman.

(p. 394/27-34)

126-7. eallra gastlicra læcedoma. 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):

Vnderstondeð get an pi/n/g, þat ich giu wile warnie fore. gif man beoð forwunded. he wile anon sechen after leches, and shewen him his wunden, and bi his wissinge leden is lif. forte þat he bie hol. also we ogen to don. Ure saule is sore forwunded. for ech synne is þe saule wunde, and prest is saulene leche, and forþi we agen to cumen to ure preste er þanne 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 exhibeamus nosmet ipsos sicut dei ministros. In multa paciencia. In

ieiuniis. In uigiliis. In caritate non ficta. et cetera. Celestis medicus ut cognouit quod ope sua prius creati postmodo variis languoribus peccatorum uexarentur.

(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 synna gehælð. Nis se woruld-læce wælhreow, ðeah ðe he þone gewundodan mid bærnette, oððe mid ceorfsexe gelæcnige. Se læce cyrfð oððe bærnð, and se untruma hrymð, þeah-hwæðere ne miltsað he þæs oðres wanunge, forðan gif se læce geswicð his craftes, þone losað se forwundoda. Swa eac God gelacnað his gecorenra gyltas mid mislicum brocum; and þeah ðe hit hefigtyme sy ðam ðrowigendum, þeah-hwæðere wyle se goda læce to ecere hælðe hine gelacnigan.

(p. 472/12-21)

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

Conantibus autem eis, accepit Jesus panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis, et ait: Accipite, et comedite; hoc est corpus meum. [27] Et accipiens calicem gratias egit, et dedit illis, dicens: Bibite ex hoc omnes. [28] Hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.

Also 2 Cor. v: 5 :

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

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

Ac uton we biddan urne Drihten þone mildheortan Scyppend þæt he ontynne þy earan ure heortan to his þære halgan lare to onfonne.

And Vercelli Homily II (Förster, Die Vercelli-homilien, pp. 44-53):

la hwæt, we be-hofigap, 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 ll. 42-3.

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

Qualis ergo ille, qui terreni 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 occupatione in istis diebus dei populum deseruerit, ab illo caelesti rege non primum sed obprobrium, non gloriam sed ignominiam recepturum se esse noverit; et quidem talis quasi fugitivus et desertor castrorum caelestium, aeternam confusionem et dignum meritis suis subplicium sustinebit.

(CCSL 104, Pt. II, 829)

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

7 æghwylcum para bið heofona rices duru on-  
gean untyned. þe þa halgan reliquias mid ge-  
leafan folgiað.

191-3. Perhaps derived from the lesson on almsgiving, prayer, and fasting in Matt. vi: 2-18.

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 soðan 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 gebetan, he sceal don þonne forgifennysse eallum þam mannum ðe him ær 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 agyltað mid innewardre  
 heortan, nele se Heofenlica Fæder eow forgy-  
 fan eowere gyltas."

(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: [24] Relinque ibi munus  
 tuum ante altare, et vade prius reconciliari  
 fratri tuo: et tunc veniens offeres munus  
 tuum.

245. Drihtene. 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

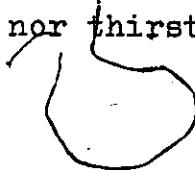
Christ's saints and apostles, and Christ's holy Cross.

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,
- 45) 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 loveliness of the world, and also
- 50) 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  
 55) 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  
 60) 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  
 65) 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  
 70) 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  
 75) 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  
 80) 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  
 85) kingdom of heaven through the same works that are avail-  
 able 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  
 90) from almighty God through his own power, with God's sup-  
 port, 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 man-  
 95) kind, 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  
 100) 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  
 105) merits of this holy time. Our anointed bishops who pre-  
 pare 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  
 135) 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 we should do, and what we should  
 avoid, and with what deeds we can escape hell torment,  
 140) 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  
 145) I will be merciful to all who honour this holy time and  
 believe in Me and desire to trust in Me with the evangel-  
 ists. 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  
 150) 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  
 155) custom, they at once seek out a meeting place and a judg-  
 ment 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  
 160) assembly. The holy place of meeting is the area surround-

ding 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

165) 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

170) 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."

175) 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

180) 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

185) 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 nones, and then eat only the food which he formerly ate during Lent, during which  
 190) 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,  
 195) 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  
 200) 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  
 205) 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  
 210) is fed, because they often let it be known afterwards that they were made unhappy in their fast.

JP

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.

240) 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 245) 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)

Ker 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 Elfric'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 Die Iudicii (Wulfstan, no. 40), De Dedicacione Ecclesiae (Wulfstan, no. 54), Lectio 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 Elfric, 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. 421, 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 læwedum mannum. ðe þæt leden ne cunnon in codice Exon. bibliothecæ,

(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-

teenth-century transcript, perhaps on of Joscelyn's. Belonged to Cotton in 1621: Harley 6018, no. 70.

(ibid)

Folios 44-55<sup>v</sup> 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, p for pæt, and a stroke occurs over vowels when m 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 coma 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 s occur, although long s 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 ȳ over ī, as in syndon (l. 11), syððan (l. 29) and hwylcum (l. 46).
- (2) Regular preference for ȳ over ie, as in gelyfan (l. 4), Scyppende (l. 22) and hyrsumian (l. 32).
- (3) y is occasionally preferred to eo, as in getrywlice (l. 101) and dypan (l. 156):
- (4) y is always preferred in group sel-, as in sylfum (l. 18) and sylle (l. 107).
- (5) nihtes (l. 90), all occurrences, shows the characteristic tendency to write i 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 weor- 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 gyfernysse (l. 97), although this is not exclusively a late tendency.
- (3) bam is always preferred over bam 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 bissera in the genitive singular feminine.

## Consonants:

- (1) miltheortnyse (l. 197) and mildheortnyse (l. 203) show the tendency for t and d to interchange.
- (2) Consonants sometimes double before l, as with mycclum (l. 81) and mycclan (l. 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 Elfric: A Supplementary Collection, I, 33-4). Folios 44-55<sup>v</sup>; 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. xliii, ff. 44-55v)

[Ker 144 art. 6]

Men ða leofestan, us gedafenað ærest þæt we ge-  
munan 7 gereccan be Gode ælmihtigum, þe geworhte heo-  
fenas 7 eorðan 7 ealle gesceafta; on ðone we sceolon  
gelyfan þrynlicne on hadum 7 anlicne on spedum. Oðer

- 5) is soðlice se had ælmihtiges Fæder, oðer is ælmihtiges Suna, oðer is ælmihtiges Haliges Gastes; 7 þeah-hwæðere we sceolon andettan anne God on mægenþrymme 7 on mihte 7 on godcundnyse, forþam se Fæder is ece God 7 se Sunu is ece God 7 se Halga Gast is ece God. Ealle þry, 10) se Fæder 7 se Sunu 7 se Halga Gast waron æfre efenéce 7 æfre [f. 44v] beoð. 7 hy þry syndon an ece God, fram þam 7 þurh þane 7 on þam syndon geworhte ealle þa þing þe gesewene syndon, þa ne mæg nán eorðlic mann ealle asecgan.

- 15) Ærest on frymðe he geworhte heofenas 7 eorðan 7 sæ 7 ealle þa þing þe on him syndon, 7 ealle þa englas þe on heofenum syndon, 7 ealle þa þe of englum to deoflum forsceapene wurdon. Eallé he hi of him sylfum mid his oroðe ut ableow, 7 þone þe he foremarostne hæfde 20) ofer ealle þa oðre englas, se wæs Lúcifer gehaten, þæt is on urum geþeode "lecht-berend" gereht. Ac he eft

þa he hine sylfne his Scyppende gelicne [f. 45r] don  
 wolde 7 him þrymsetl on norðdæle heofenan rices getim-  
 brian wolde, of þam he ricene afeoll 7 ealle þa þe æt  
 25) þam ræde mid him wæron 7 him æfter besawon. Ealle hi  
 wurdon of englum to deoflum forsceapene 7 on helle  
 besceofene. Þær hi á on ecnysse witu poliað forþam  
 þe hi forhogodon hyra Scyppend ælmihtigne God.

Syððan he geworhte of eorðan lame þone arestan  
 30) mann þe æfre wæs, þone he be naman Adam nemde, 7 him  
 onbleow liflicne gast. 7 him ealle eorðan gesceaftu  
 on geweald sealde 7 sæs fixas þæt hi him hyrsumian  
 sceoldan. 7 he [f. 45v] him eallum naman gescéop, æg-  
 ðer ge nytenum ge fugelum ge fixum, 7 hi ealle gyt be  
 35) þam naman fram eallum mannum synd genemede þe him Ádam  
 æt frymðe gesceop.

7 Drihten ælmihtig of Ádames winstran sidan genam  
 þæt ribb þe he þæt wif of geworhte þe Éva hatte. Of  
 þam twam þurh Godes mihte ys ealles middaneardes folc  
 40) fram cumen.

7 him God forgeaf þæt hi ealles geweald ágan mos-  
 ton þe on eorðan wære buton anes treowæs wæstm, þæt is  
 genemned "Lifes Treow," 7 we hit nemnað ficbeam. Þæt  
 treow is on middan neorxnawonge. Be þam treowe [f. 46r]  
 45) Crist sylf forewarnode ægðer ge Adám ge Évan. 7 him  
 sæde þam þæt on swa hwylcum dæge swa hy þas treowes

bláda æton hi sceoldon forþan forwurdan. 7 hi eac  
 swa dydon. Ac þa se deofol geseah 7 wiste þæt him God  
 swa micel forgyfen hæfde 7 he sylf beswicen was 7 þa  
 50) ðe mid him of heofenum gefeollon. Þa pohte he to be-  
 swicenne hi eall swa hē sylf beswicen was. He þa ge-  
 hýwode hine sylfne to næddran hiwe 7 hi butu beswac 7  
 forlarde. Sæde him þæt on swa hwylcum dæge swa hi þæs  
 treowæs bláda æton, þæt hi wæron syððan þam gelice þe  
 55) hi geworhte. Ac hit him wearð biterlice [f. 46v] for-  
 gorden on heora life, ge eac æfter, ægðer ge him ge eal-  
 lum manncynne þe him fram com oð ures Drihtenes tocyme.  
 Nigon hundwintra 7 prytigwintra Ádam lyfede on þisse  
 worulde on geswince 7 on yrmðe 7 syððan to helle fór,  
 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 oferþearf,  
 nu we þus þurh Godes mihte ealle ætgædere syndon, þæt  
 we gecyrran of yfele 7 dón gód 7 gehyran mid eallum ead-  
 65) mettum halige lára 7 þam georne fyligan, 7 us æt Gode 7  
 æt [f. 47r] eallum his halgum mihta 7 miltse biddan, þe  
 læs us deoflu æfter urum forðsiðe ongean wurpon þæt we  
 oft ætgædere ealle wæron 7 us beforan halige lára gehyr-  
 don rædon, 7 we na þe beteran næron ac þe mætran.  
 70) Ac uton us wendan, men ða leofestan, to beteran  
 ráde 7 forlatan ealle yfele þing 7 dón gód swa forð swa

- we fyrrest magon, 7 to Gode þas georne geearnian 7 to eallum his halgum. Us is georne to witenne 7 to gehlystene for hwylcum pingum we þas Gangdagas healdan
- 75) þe nu on þyssere ucon beoð; 7 barefote gað þus on geares fyrste þas þry dagas--se feorða ys Driht- [f. 47v] ne sylfum gehalgod for his mæran uppstige to heofenan--7 mid hwylcum pingum we hi healdan sceolan us is georne to witenne.
- 80) We hi sceolan healdan on micelre eadmodnyse 7 on mycclum gebylde mid soðre lufe 7 mid ealre clænnysse lichaman 7 sawle 7 mid góðum wæccum 7 nytweorðum 7 mid fæstenum 7 mid halgum gebedum 7 mid ælmesdædum 7 on ealre góðnyse 7 on lufe Godes 7 manna. Manegum haligum
- 85) mannum þas gangdagas syndon wiðmetene, ac us is lang þæt eall to reccenne.
- Uton þeah us georne scyldan wið deofol eallum tiddum 7 us on- [f. 48r] gean his yfelan lara Godes mildheortnyse biddan dages 7 nihtes. Se deofol dages 7
- 90) nihtes winð ongean us mid his geleafleaste, uton we winnan ongean hyne mid geleaffulnyse. He winð mid ofermodignysse, uton we ongean mid eadmodnyse. He us gearwað galnyse, uton we ongean clænnysse. He gegripð mánfulnyse, uton we ongean rihtwisnyse. He us on
- 95) gebringð yrsunge, uton we fyligean gepýlde. He us on sent gytsunge, uton we began mildheortnyse. He us myn-
- 
- 72 geearnian: MS. gearnian. 74 Gangdagas: MS. gangdas.

gað to gyfernysse, uton we þarongean gehealdan for-  
 hafednysse, 7 æfre [f. 48v] ongean his yfelan wyllan  
 uton wyrcean Godes willan. Ealle we sceolon efstan  
 100) to Godes cyrican swa swyðe swa beon doð to heora hyfe  
 to þam þæt we magon getrywlice onbyrgean þa swetnysse  
 þæs gastlican huniges of þam godcundum lārum.

We gelyfað, men ða leofestan, þæs þe we ræddon  
 on halgum bocum, þæt swa hwa swa on þysum þrim dagum  
 105) to Godes cyrcean cymð 7 him þær his synna forgyfennyssa  
 æt Gode bitt mid ealre heortan hyldo 7 mid ealre eadmod-  
 nysse, þæt him God þara synna forgyfennyssa sylle þe  
 he ær on twælf monðum gedyde. 7 hit ys éac awriten [f.  
 49r] þæt nan mann hine ne sceal georwenan þæt him God  
 110) mildsian nelle, þeah he þusend þusend synna ongean hys  
 willan geworht hæbbe. Þeah-hwæðere ne forgyfð he us  
 na ða synna buton we þe ricenor heom fram gehwyrfan.

Us syndon synderlice on þisum dagum forbodene,  
 þeah hi on ælcere tide forbodene syn þeah swyðost on  
 115) þysse týde, idele spræca 7 tæflunga 7 beorscypas 7 þæt  
 him nan mann on þysum dagum blóð ne forlæte, né né ge-  
 pristlæce anig mann ætes oððe wates to onbyrgenne  
 ær þære nigoðan tide, 7 ær he mæssan gehyred hæbbe, 7  
 barum fótum [f. 49v] Cristes bec 7 rode tacna 7 oðre  
 120) halige reliquias eadmodlice gegret hæbbe. We sceolon

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eac on þysum þrym dagum swyðe geornlice began ure haligan gebedu 7 fyligean urum haligdome út 7 in mid clænum gepance, 7 þone almihtigan God mid geornfulnysse biddan ealra ure synna forgyfennyssa, 7 mid ealre heortan hyne

125) lufian 7 herian. Ælcum menn ge geongum ge ealdum þis fasten is beboden þæt hig hit sceolon healice healdan 7 hit næfre nah nan mann swyðor to bræcene þonne þæt lengcten fasten.

Wite ge, hwa swa he geornor sceal Gode þeow- /f.

130) 50r/ gean 7 healice fastenu fastan, þæt þe geornor deofol wyle gebringean on þam men þæt he hit gehealdan ne mæge. Ðy we beodað Godes bebode 7 ealra his halgena þæt nan para cristenra manna, þe þis gehyre him beforan rædan oððe elles hwara hit him gereccan, ne gepristlace

135) he þis fasten to abræcene, be þam þe he wille him for Gode geborgen habban.

Men ða leofestan, uton gemunan þone cwyde þæs eadigan apostoles Petres; he cwæð: Se deofol us symle ymbe pryðað. Uton nu gehealdan georne þis fasten, neh

140) þam /f. 50v/ þe hit awriten is on halgum bocum þæt þa faston þe purh þæs witegan lære to Gode gecyrdon, 7

125 ge ealdum: MS. gealdum.

Sources. 138-9 /1 Pet. 5: 8/ Sobrii estote, et vigilate: quia adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit, quærens quem devoret:

- þæt fæsten swa fæston swa he him wisode. Se was Ionás haten, be þam is on bocum awriten þæt God<sup>c</sup> purh Haligne Gast hine het fāran to sumre mæsse ceastre seo was
- 145) Niniven haten 7 þær sceolde bodian Godes bebodu. Ac forþam þe þæt folc was awyrgeð 7 æwbræca, he him swyðe ondred 7 byder fāran ne dorste, forþam þe God<sup>c</sup> was swyðe yrre þære burhware. Ða wolde he for þy Godes be-<sup>c</sup>bodu forfleon. Ac him com to cyððe þæt he hi forfleon
- 150) ne mihte. He þeah [f. 51<sup>r</sup>] on fleame was oð ðæt he to sæ becóm 7 him þær scyp gebohte. 7 mid þam scypmannum him pohte ofer sæ to segelgenne. Ac he ne mihte swa he gemynt hæfde Godes wyllan forfleon. Ac sona swa he was inagan on þæt scyp, þa gereste he hine on anum ende. 7
- 155) þa sona þa menn þe on þam scype wæron út on þære sæs dypan gesegelod, þa onsende God<sup>c</sup> mycelne ren 7 strangne wind 7 grymme yste on þa sæ swa þæt hi wæron orwene heora lifes, 7 þæt scyp ne mihte naðor swymman ne forð ne underbæc for unhyrsumnysse þæs witegan þe Ionás was
- 160) gehaten. [f. 51<sup>v</sup>] Ða forþam þa ondredon þa scypmenn him

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Sources. 143-5 [Jonah 1: 1-2] Et factum est verbum Domini ad Jonam filium Amathi, dicens: [2] Surge, et vade in Niniven civitatem grandem, et prædica in ea: quia ascendit malitia ejus coram me.

145-9. [Jonah 1: 3] Et surrexit Jonas, ut fugeret in Tharsis a facie Domini, et descendit in Joppen, et invenit navem euntem in Tharsis: et dedit naulum ejus, et descendit in eam ut iret cum eis in Tharsis a facie Domini.

154-60. [Jonah 1: 4] Dominus autem misit ventum magnum in mare: et facta est tempestas magna in mari, et navis periclitabatur conteri.

swyðe pearle, hluton<sup>c</sup> þa him betweonon for hwylces  
 hyra gylton him swa getymod wære. 7 þa<sup>c</sup> behluton hi  
 hit sóna to Ionám þam witegan, 7 he his nan þing nyste.  
 Þa wundrodon hy sóna þæt se hlyt ofer þone Godes<sup>c</sup> þe-  
 165) gen gefeoll. Awehton hyne þa of slæpe 7 rehton hit  
 him eall. 7 axodon hine hwæt he wære, oððe hu he faran  
 wolde. He cwæð þæt he wære Godes<sup>c</sup> þeow--se þe gesceop  
 heofenas 7 eorðan, sæ 7 land 7 ealle gesceaftu--7 þæt  
 he wolde of Godes<sup>c</sup> gesyhðe fleon. Ac he hæfde þa on-  
 170) gyten þæt he nahwar God forfleon [f. 52<sup>r</sup>] ne mihte.  
 Hi cwædon: Hu do we embe þe? He andwerde: Wurpað  
 me út ofer bord, þonne geswicð þeos gedræcednyss. Hi  
 þa swa dydon. 7 him foregebædon. 7 seo hreóhnys

Sources. 160-3. [Jonah 1: 5-7] Et timuerunt nauta, et  
 clamauerunt viri ad deum suum : et miserunt vasa, quæ erant  
 in navi; in mare, ut alleviaretur ab eis : et Jonas descen-  
 dit ad interiora navis, et dormiebat sopore gravi. [6] Et ac-  
 cessit ad eum gubernator, et dixit ei : Quid tu sopore de-  
 primeris? surge, invoca Deum tuum, si forte recogitet Deus  
 de nobis, et non pereamus. [7] Et dixit vir ad collegam suum:  
 Venite, et mittamus sortes, et sciamus quare hoc malum sit  
 nobis. Et miserunt sortes; et cecidit sors super Jonam.

165-75. [Jonah 1: 8-12] Et dixerunt ad eum : Indica nobis  
 cuius causa malum istud sit nobis; quod est opus tuum? quæ  
 terra tua? et quo vadis? vel ex quo populo es tu? [9] Et dix-  
 it ad eos : Hebræus ego sum et Dominum Deum cæli ego timeo,  
 qui fecit mare et aridam. [10] Et timuerunt viri timore magno,  
 et dixerunt ad eum : Quid hoc fecisti? (Cognoverunt enim viri  
 quod a facie Domini fugeret, quia indicaverat eis.) [11] Et  
 dixerunt ad eum : Quid faciemus tibi, et cessabit mare a nobis?  
 quia mare ibat, et intumescebat. [12] Et dixit ad eos : Tol-  
 lite me, et mittite in mare, et cessabit mare a vobis : scio

wearð þa sona gestilled, 7 hi ofrodon heora læc Gode 7  
175) tungan þa forð.

God þa sona asende ænne mycelne hwæl 7 se for-  
swealh þone witegan 7 he wæs on him þry dāgas 7 preo  
niht 7 abær hýne to þam ylcan lande þe he ær to faran  
sceolde, 7 hine þar utaspaú ofer þære sæstaðe. Þa com  
180) eft Godes word to þam witegan Iónam 7 cwæð: Aris nu  
7 ga to þære mycclan byrig Nini- [f. 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 he þa sona on preora daga fyrste þurhfor

185) þa mæran 7 þa micclan burh Niniven. 7 bodode on  
þære Godes bebodu swa þæt se cyning mið eallre þære burh-  
ware on God gelyfde on eallre heortan. 7 he bebead  
þæt hi ealle fram þam yldestan oð þone gingestan preora  
daga fasten healdan sceoldon. 7 he aras of his cyne-

175 tungan: MS. tungan.

enim ego quoniam propter me tempestas hæc grandis venit super  
vos.

173-5. [Jonah 1: 14-15] Et clamaverunt ad Dominum, et dix-  
erunt: Quæsumus, Domine, ne pereamus in anima viri istius,  
et ne des super nos sanguinem innocentem: quia tu, Domine,  
sicut voluisti, fecisti. [15] Et tulerunt Jonam, et miserunt  
in mare: et stetit mare a fervore suo.

176-8. [Jonah 2: 1] Et preparavit Dominus piscem grandem  
ut deglutiret Jonam: et erat Jonas in ventre piscis tribus  
diebus, et tribus noctibus.

179-85. [Jonah 3: 1-3] Et factum est verbum Domini ad Jonam  
secundo, dicens: [2] Surge, et vade in Niniven civitatem mag-  
nam: et prædica in ea prædicationem, quam ego loquor ad te.  
[3] Et surrexit Jonas, et abiit in Niniven juxta verbum Domini:  
et Ninive erat civitas magna itinere trium dierum.

- 190) setle 7 him fram his cynereaf awarep. 7 hynē mid hēran ymbcrydde to his līce 7 dyde axan uppon his [f. 53<sup>r</sup>] heafod. 7 bebead pæt alc mann swa dōn sceolde. 7 to Gode georne clypode mid ealre pære burhware. 7 he bead ærost pæt ægðer ge þa menn, ge þa sucendan cild ge fur-
- 195) ðon ealle þa nýtenu þe hi ahton sceoldon þry dagas 7 þreo niht on an fæstan. 7 hi þa eall swa dydon. 7 him þa God his miltheortnyse forgeaf þurh pæt strange fæsten 7 him fram pæt fyrenne clyné adyde þe ofer þa ceastre was on þam genipe hangende, pæt sceolde forniman
- 200) ealle þa burhware 7 forbærnan binnan feowertigum dagum, buton hi to Gode þe raðor gecyrnan woldon. [f. 53<sup>v</sup>] Ac hi dydon swa heom to donne was: gecyrdon to Gode ælmihtigum, 7 he heom sona his mildheortnyse forgeaf. Swa he symle deð ælcum þara manna þe he ongyt pæt him eallum
- 205) mode to gecyrð.

204 ælcum: MS. ælc.

Sources. 185-92. [Jonah 3: 5-6] Et crediderunt viri Niniuita in Deum : et predicaverunt jejunium, et vestiti sunt saccis a majore usque ad minorem. [6] Et pervenit verbum ad regem Ninive : et surrexit de solio suo, et abjecit vestimentum suum a se, et indutus est sacco, et sedit in cinere.

192-6. [Jonah 3: 7] Et clamavit, et dixit in Ninive ex ore regis et principum ejus, dicens : Homines, et jumenta, et boves, et pecora non gustent quidquam : nec pascantur, et aquam non bibant.

196-205. [Jonah 3: 10] 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 halgum bocum pæt on sumere ceastre þe wæs Viænna geháten on þære wæs sum biscop se wæs genemned Mamértus, be þam is awriten pæt pæt folc þe he bewiste wearð pearle mid færlicum deaðe fornumen. 7  
 210) swa mycel wearð seo untrummys 7 se færlica deað ofer eall pæt folc þe he bewiste pæt þa þe oðre to eorðan bæron pæt sume hi feollon deaðe ofer þæs dea- [f. 54<sup>r</sup>] dan byrgene þe hi þonne byrgdon. 7 sume hamweard be wege forð ferdon swa pæt nan þara þe oðerne to eorðan  
 215) bær ham mid þam life ne com.

Eac wearð on þære ylcan byrig mycel eorðstyrung 7 feollan cyrcan 7 hus, 7 comon wilde <sup>c</sup> bærn 7 wulfas 7 <sup>c</sup> abiton þæs folces mycelne dæl, 7 þæs cinges botl wearð mid heofenlicum fyre eall forbærned. Þa bād se biscop  
 220) Mamértus ealle þa bisceopas þe on þam earde wæron mid wependre stefne pæt hi ealle 7 heora folc þry dagas fæstan sceoldon. 7 bādon heora Drihten pæt hi ealle alysde fram þam mycclan ógan [f. 54<sup>v</sup>] 7 þam færlican deaðe þe him onsæt. 7 hi þa ealle swa dydon. 7 gesetton þa him  
 225) betweonan pæt man æfre syððan þas þry gangdagas healdan sceoldon fulllice mid fæstenum 7 mid ælmæssylenum 7 mid cyrcsocnum 7 mid eadmodlicum gange 7 mid reliquiasocnum 7 mid eallum <sup>c</sup> góðum weorcum. 7 hi sona at Gode gearnodon mid þam fæstene éce hæle, 7 þæs færlican deaðes afyrrednysse

228 gearnodon: MS. gegearnodon.

230) 7 seo gedrecednys þa sona geswácrpe heom onæt. Se gewuna nu þæs fæstenes þurhwunað gehwar on geleaffulre gesomnunge.

Nu we habbað gehyred forhwy þas halgan [f. 55<sup>r</sup>] gangdagas ærest bebodene wæron to gehealdenne. Hi synd

235) gehatene letanie, þæt is on englisc "gebeddagas." On þysum dagum we sceolon georne Gode biddan ure eorðlica wæstma genihtsumnysse 7 us sylfum sybbe 7 gesundfulnysse, 7 þæt gyt mare is, ealra ura synna forgyfennysse. Ne.

beode we nanum mannum nane niwe bebodu. Dó gehwa hiþ-  
240) sylf swa him geheorhlicost for Gode þince, gyf he þylcum bysenum 7 þylcum lorum fylgean nelle. Georne we witon þæt Gode licað swa man mare for his lufum to Gode deð. Swa he us myldera bið 7 us gelæt on heofena rices geféan æfter [f. 55<sup>v</sup>] urum forðsiðe, gyf we his willan her on

245) worulde oð urne endedæg gewyrceað. Þær is éce med 7 þær is lif buton deaðe 7 iuguð butan ylde 7 leoht buton þystrum 7 geféa buton unrotnysse 7 sybb buton ungeþwærnyssse 7 orsorhnyss buton deaðes ege to libbenne. 7 þær is éce gesælignyss mid Fæder 7 mid þam Suna 7 mid þam

250) Halgan Gaste abutan ende on ecnysse. Amen.

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234 gehealdenne: MS. gehealdene.

## 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 ða leofestan us gedafenað.

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 terræ, et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitæ 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 cæli, 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 cæli, adduxit ea ad Adam, ut videret quid vocaret ea: omne enim quod vocavit animæ viventis, ipsum est nomen ejus [20] Appel- lavitque Adam nominibus suis cuncta animantia, et universa volatilia cæli, et omnes bestias terræ:

37-8. Cf. Genesis 2: 21 :

Immisit ergo Dominus Deus soporem in Adam: cumque obdormisset, tulit unam de costis ejus, et replevit carnem 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 vixit 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 credo vos velud apes prudentissimas ad alvearium Christi fideliter festinare, ut dulcedinem spiritalis mellis ex divinis lectionibus possitis accipere, et cum propheta dicere: QUAM DULCIA FAUCIBUS MEIS ELOQUIA TUA, DOMINE, SUPER MEL ET FAVUM MEO.

(Sermo 207, CCSL 104,  
Pt. II, pp. 829-30).

And again at the closing:

Iterum atque iterum rogo, ut qui ad ecclesiam alvearium, sicut iam dixi, quasi ad dulcissimum Christi favum plena devotione concurrunt, velud apes prudentissimae se diversis divinarum scripturarum floribus intra se cellulas præparent, ubi sancta et caelestia mella suscipiant.

(*ibid.*, p. 831)

120-5. We . . . herian. These lines expand Elfric's In Letania Maiore (CH i, 244-58), p. 246/27-9. See also Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 108/12.

132. Ðy. Ð 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 Elfric's In Letania Maiore (CH i, 244-58), p. 246/1, and Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 108/10.

166-9. axodon . . . fleon. These lines expand Elfric's In Letania Maiore (ibid), p. 246/5-8. See also Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 108v/18.

171-5. Cf. Elfric's In Letania Maiore (ibid), p. 246/8-11, and Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 108v/20.

176-84. Cf. Elfric's In Letania Maiore (ibid), p. 246/12-18, and Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 108v/20-4.

189-96. 7 . . . sceolde. Cf. Elfric's In Letania Maiore (ibid) p. 246/18-22, and Vercelli Homily XIX, ff. 108v/31-109/1.

197-201. Cf. Elfric's In Letania Maiore (ibid), p. 246/23-6, and Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 109/3.

216-9. Eac . . . forbærned. Cf. Elfric's In Letania Maiore (ibid), p. 246/17-20, and Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 109/18.

219-32. Cf. Elfric's In Letania Maiore (ibid), p. 246/20-2, and Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 109/28.

220. pa. One letter is erased after the a, I judge it to have been m.

234-8. Cf. Elfric's In Letania Maiore (CH i, 244-58), p. 246/11-4, and Vercelli Homily XIX, f. 109/29.

237-8. Cf. Matthew 10: 22 :

qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic  
salvus erit.

SUNDAY BEFORE ROGATIONTIDE

- 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
- 5) 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
- 10) 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.
- 15) 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
- 20) with His breath, including him to whom He had given pre-eminence 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

25) 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  
30) 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  
35) 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  
40) 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  
45) 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
- 55) 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
- 60) 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

65) 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
- 75) 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.

- 80) 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
- 85) 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
- 90) 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
- 95) 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
- 100) 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  
105) 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 mer-  
110) ciful 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  
115) 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 revered the Holy Scriptures,  
120) 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.  
125) 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  
130) 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  
135) 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  
140) 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  
145) 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 un-  
150) til 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

- 155) 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
- 160) 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
- 165) 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;
- 170) 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.
- 175) 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

180) 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

185) 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,

190) 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

195) 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,

200) 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.

- 205) 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
- 210) 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.
- 215) 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
- 220) sky. Then with weeping voice bishop Mamertus bad 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
- 225) 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
- 230) 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

235) 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

240) 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

245) 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)

[Ker 57 art. 55]

MS. CCCC 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. CCCC 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. CCCC 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 196mm. 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. CCCC 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; d is rounded and of the same size as o, 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. CCCC 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.  $\bar{m}$  is used for men,  $\bar{p}$  for pæt, 7 for and, and  $\bar{M}$   $\bar{H}$  and  $\bar{m}$   $\bar{p}$   $\bar{a}$   $\bar{z}$  for men pa leofestan. A stroke regularly occurs over a vowel when m, n or an 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  $\bar{M}$  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 ina (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 ȳ over ie, as with gytsunge (l. 3), gymeleas (l. 7) and gehyron (l. 37).
- (2) Some preference for ȳ over i, as with syndon (l. 111), mycel (l. 21), and byssere (l. 23), although i forms occur, as with sinde (l. 143) and micel (l. 58).
- (3) Regular preference for wur- over weor-, as with gewurde (l. 72), and wurðlað (l. 145). Preference for wur- over wor- is evident with wurde (l. 13), and wyr- over weor- with wyrman (l. 140).
- (4) There is usual preference for æ to ea, as with almihtigne (l. 147) but ea forms sometimes occur: cf. ælc (l. 85) with ealc (l. 91).
- (5) y is regularly preferred to eo, as in clypode (l. 11), forwyrned (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 (l. 49).
- (8) There is some preference for a over o before nasals, as with man (l. 48) and standan (l. 71), although o does not regularly alter to a/æ in unstressed words such as pone (l. 118).
- (9) The characteristic tendency to write i before a palatal consonant is seen in mihte (l. 16), and all occurrences of niht (l. 33).

#### Unstressed Vowels

- (1) Final a and o are often confused, as in fotspora (l. 51), heafodo (l. 114), heto (l. 61), deofla (l. 79), and sixto (l. 80).
- (2) a and o sometimes interchange in final syllables, as in hlafordswicon (l. 77), sceolan (l. 64), and rohtan (l. 7).
- (3) a sometimes interchanges with e in inflected endings, as with mycelen (l. 16), lichamen (l. 98), and toslitten (l. 79).

#### Consonants

- (1) Consonants which follow a syncopated vowel and precede l occasionally double, as in micclan (l. 29) and abblinnað (l. 122).
- (2) fodspor (l. 44) and barfodt (l. 49) /MS. alters to barfot show the late tendency for t and d to interchange.
- (3) Loss of the final doubled n regularly occurs, as with mancyn (l. 21) and man (l. 39).
- (4) Final m occasionally interchanges with n as with heon (l. 83) and pan (l. 37).

Also, the scribe sometimes begins words with an unnecessary h, as with heorðan (l. 69) and Helias (l. 11), and uses æ in place of e in inflected endings, as with lifæs (l. 37) and mildheortæ (l. 109).

In Vigilia Ascensionis is a unique text which has not been previously edited.

IN VIGILIA ASCENSIONIS

(MS. CCCC 303, pp. 223-26)

[Ker 57 art. 45]

Men þa leofestan, þis syndon halige dagas 7 gastlice þenunge mid mannum, forþi þe þas dagas næron forgytsunge geworhte ne for nanum rence, ac [p. 224] hi næron geworhte for micelre neode eallum folce.

- 5) Hit wæs on þam dagum, men þa leofestan, þe þas dagas wæron geworhte þæt eall folc wæs swa wiðerweard wið God 7 swa swiðe gymeleas þæt hi ne rohtan nene gymdon naðer ne God ne Godes beboda. Ne hi mæssan ne gymdon ne hi cirican ne sohtan.
- 10) Pa wæron manega prophetan 7 witegan; þa wæs þar an propheta Helias gehatan. Pa clypode he mid hluttre heortan to Criste 7 bad Crist þæt he sumne ege to heom asende þæt þæt folc wurde gecnawe þæt he wære God on heofonum, 7 nære nan oðer God buton him anum ofer heofonum Wealdend, ne Sceppend buton him anum. Ða cydde God his mycelen mihte 7 sende heom þa tacna to eorðan, þæt hi mihton ongyton þæt he wæs soð God on heofonum. Sande heom þa to tacne þæt þæt prim wintrum 7 six monþum

14 ofer: MS. ofe. 15 him anum: MS. he ana.

- ne com nan ren of heofonum on eorðan, ne deaw up ne  
 20) sloh, ne mist up ne aras ongean þære heofonlicum druh-  
 þan. Ða was mycel ege mid mannum swa þæt eal mancyn  
 wearð acweald swiðe gehende 7 ealle weastmas forwurdon  
 on þyssere eorðan. Ða ofhreaw þam witegan Heliam eft  
 7 him ofðuhte þa seo bene þe he ar æt Gode gebæd. Þa  
 25) gesamnode he ealle þa witegan þe on þam lande wæron 7  
 ræddon heom betweonan hu hi sceoldan Criste geeadmedan  
 þæt he heom asende þa gewideru þæt heora wæstmas mos-  
 ten weaxan, 7 hi þærmid mosten Gode gecweman on ðyssere  
 eorðan. Ða geworhton hi þæs þri dagas for þære micclan  
 30) neode þe heom was þæs wæteres forwyrned, 7 budon ofer  
 ealle eorðan þæt eal folc sceolde fæsten ðri dagas oððe  
 þæt heo on eafensteorran geseagan, 7 swa eac þæt cild  
 þe wære geboron on niht, swa hit mon genam fram þam  
 moðrum breostum þæt hit nan þing sucan ne mosta æt þære  
 35) moder ar steorran arisan of heofonum, ne nanes cynnes  
 þingc, ne manna ne nytena.

Ða mihtan gehyron þe on þan dagum lifæs wæron  
 mycele wanunge 7 granunga 7 geomerunga ægðer ge manna  
 ge nytena. Ða bær man of ælcum halgum temple ealla þa  
 40) halgan reliquias ut þe þær on innan wæron. Þa com  
 Cristes stefn of hefenum to eorðan 7 let dynian ofer

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 22 weastmas: MS. weastmes. 27 wæstmas: MS. wæstmes.  
 30 budon: MS. buton. 36 manna: MS. men. 38 manna:  
MS. men. 40 reliquias: MS. reliqias.

- ealc þara manna þe þas þry dagas his fæsten abraec ær  
þa halgan reliquias eft into þam temple comon, 7 on  
ealc þara manna þe an fodsþor gesceod eode mid þam hal-
- 45) gan reliquium, oððe mid linenum hrægle oððe mid wæpne  
oððe on horse geride, oððe huntian ongunne binnan  
þysum þreom 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 bærfot
- 50) gangan, þurh þa nigon helle he sceal ær domes dæge eal  
swa feola siðian swa he her fotsþora gesceod eode ofer  
þæs prestes bebod, 7 æfre he sceal steppan on byrnendum  
næddran, 7 æfre he gemet deofol æfter oðrum 7 þeostru  
æfter þeostrum, forþi þe þær syndon ix hus innan þære
- 55) helle 7 ealc þara husa is anra mile deop 7 oðre wid, 7  
nis nan man on bocum swa cræftig þæt mage asecan  

[p. 225] hwæt 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 wyrnum afylled 7

60) mid wean 7 mid wræcsiðan. Þær næfre lecht ne leomað,  
ac þær bið þeostru beþrycced, 7 hungor 7 þurst 7 heto  
7 ylðo 7 unhælo 7 wanung 7 granung 7 toða grisbitung.  
Ða eardungstowe sceal ealc wif gesecan þe oðerne wer  
lufað ofer hire rihte æwe, 7 þær hi sceolan mid sawle

43 reliquias: MS. reliqias. 43 comon: MS. alters from coman.  
48 hlaf: MS. hlam. 49 reliquian: MS. reliqian. 49 bærfot:  
MS. alters from bærfodt. 51 siðian: MS. siðan. 53 oðrum:  
MS. odrum. 57 nigon: MS. nigo.

- 65) 7 mid lichamen beon beseanced innan þam deopan þeostra. Þar heom næfre dæg ne gedagað, ac heo þar sceolon æfre wunian mid wyrman 7 mid deoflum buton heo hit ær on þisum life gebeton. Ðonne is þar oðer atelic stow. Þar sceal þæt cild æfre wunian þe her on heorðan his
- 70) fæder 7 his moder wyrgiað. Ðonne is þar þridde grimlic stow. Þar sceal ælc mæden innan standan oð hire sweoran þe heo forligeð ær hire brydþing gewurðe. Ðonne is þar feorða atelic stow. Þar sceal ælc prest standan oð ða lippan þe his folc nele mid rihte wissian
- 75) hu hi sceolon Gode gehýran. Þonne is þar seo fifte stow mid wýrmum afylled. Þar sceolon inna besincon þa mansworan 7 þa morðeadan 7 þa hlaford'swicon. Þar heo sculan æfre wunian a worulda woruld; þar hi sceolan þa wýrmas toslittan 7 deofla potian. Ðonne is þar seo
- 80) sixto stow seo is mid hellehundum afylled. Þar sceal ælc þara wifa inne besincan þe her hire cild acwellað oððe hire wer forrædeð. Þar hio sceal æfre wunian, 7 heom sceolan þa hellehundas toslittan a woruld in ecnysse. Þonne is þar seo sefoðe stow seo is mid
- 85) fyre onaleð. Þar sceal ælc þara manna þe oðres mannas cotan bærneð for ænigre frace 7 þe oðerne berepað rihtes gestreones, 7 ælc þara manna þe gerefa byð 7

79 wýrmas: MS. wýrmes. 82 wer: MS. were. 83 hellehundas: MS. hellehundes. 83 heom: MS. heon. 83 toslittan: MS. toslitten.

- oðre men repeð 7 reafað. Ælc byð deofles þegen; on þam fyre hi sceolan besincan upp oð ða eagan. Donne
- 90) is þær seo eahctoðe stow atelic, seo is eall mid fulum stænce afylled 7 mid blacum deoflum. Þær ealc þara manna sceal beon inne besenced oððe his cin innan þam fulum stænce þe unnitt spræcað 7 idel innan cirican. He sceal ceowan his agene tungan 7 hi eft aspiwan.
- 95) Þæt sceal beon æfre his weorc oððe woruldes ende. Donne is þær seo nigoðe atelic stow, seo is eall mid niðum 7 mid næddrum afylled. Þær sceal ælc þara manna inne beon beseant mid sawle 7 mid lichamen þe nið bereð wið his broðer oððe wið nyxtan freond.
- 100) Nu, men þa leofestan, uto we becyrran þa fulen eardungstowe 7 gearnian us þæt leoflice liht þe us heofona Hlaford hæfð gegearwod fram frymðe þissere worulde gif we his lare gehlestan willað. Nu mæg ic eow secgan hu we þa fægeran eardungstowe begyton magon.
- 105) Lætan we fram urum heortan ealle yfele dæde 7 yfele gepohtas, 7 manaðas 7 untidatas 7 ofermycele dryncas 7 over-rence 7 ydelne gylp 7 leasunga 7 stala; 7 innian þa godan þearfan, 7 þa nacodan scrydan 7 fedan, 7 beon wið earme wuhta eadmoda 7 mildheorta, þonne miltsað us
- 110) God on heofonum.

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88 reafað: MS. reafad. 97 þara manna: MS. þære manne.  
 106 gepohtas: MS. gepohtes. 106 manaðas: MS. manaðes.  
 108 godan: MS. gode. 109 miltsað: MS. milsað.

Men þa leofestan, þær syndon heofonas us [p. 226]  
 to blisse togeanes þam hellebrogan. Nu syndon ealle  
 þa mid mærdan afylled. Ðeah þe wære twa-7-hundseofontig  
 manna, 7 hæfde ælc þara manna twa-7-hundsefontig heafodo,  
 115) 7 ælc þara hæfda twa-7-hundsefonti tungena, 7 ælc  
 þære tungena hæfde twa-7-hundsefontig gereorda, 7 hig  
 swa lange spræcan þæt hi ealle wæron werige, ne mihten  
 hi þone teoðan dæl asecan hu feola beoþhtra beama is  
 on þan seofan heofonum ne hu fela hwitra blosmena. Eal  
 120) hit is gefylled mid hwitum englum.

Wel þam þe þær mot þone eard gestigan. Ðær næfre  
 niht ne þeostrað ne dæg ne abblinnað. Ac æfre þær is  
 leoht buton þeostrum, 7 æfre þær is geogoð 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 þarinne gewunian, þeah þu ahtest ealles middaneardes  
 geweld, eal þu hit woldest on anum dæge forlæton wið  
 þan þe þu neafre ma of þære eardungstowe eft ne cōme.  
 130) Þær nis naðer ne hungor ne þurst ne cele ne oferhætu  
 ne cwealm ne sar ne sorh ne yfel ne unhælo; ac þær is  
 blis 7 mærdæ, 7 æfre þær is dæg æfter dæge 7 dream æfter  
 dræama, 7 þær is ealre cyninge Cyning, Crist, on heofonum.

118 dæl: MS. alters from dæla. 123 buton: MS. buto  
 130 ne þurst: MS. þe þurh.

He is se Hehsta Cyning forþon þe he gesceop heofonas  
 135) 7 eorðan 7 ealle gesceafte þe on heom syndon. Wela is  
 Godes leaþ, wist is Godes lean, feoh is Godes lean,  
 freond is Godes lean. Eall hit is Godes lean þæt we  
 on libbað, forþon þe he us of heorðan ealle geworhte,  
 7 ealle we sceolan eft to eorðan gemolsnian 7 to eorðan  
 140) gewurðan. Hwæt syndon we elles buton wyrman meta 7  
 eorðan fulnyssæ.

Meñ þa leofestan, huton huru geþeancan oft 7  
 gelome þene dom þe we to gelaðode sinde, 7 ealle þa  
 mæra 7 þa myrþe þe God ælmihtig gegearwod hæfð eallum  
 145) 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 þæt he  
 us gescylde wið þane egsan, 7 wið þa fule 7 þa egslice  
 stowa hellewites þær þær ealle deofle onwuniað, ac þæt  
 150) we mugon 7 moton his þa mycclan mildheortnyse geearnian  
 7 mid him 7 mid eallum his halgum wunian 7 eardian a  
 buton ende. Amen.

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 134 heofonas: MS. heofonum. 143 gelome: MS. geloma.  
 144 ælmihtig: MS. ælmigtig. 144 gegearwod: MS. alters  
 from gegearwoðe. 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. gymeleas. 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 e.

10-29. This story of Elias is briefly recorded by Ælfric in Feria Secunda, Letania Maiore (Thorpe CH ii, 330/15-21). It also occurs in Vercelli Homily III (Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, p. 68/145-8), in Vercelli Homily XX (Szarmach, "Vercelli Homily XX," p. 8/16-22), and in De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 98v/23-99/7).

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 l. 519 {Klaeber, 3rd ed. (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1950)} there occurs an accusative plural in -es (Heapo-Ræmes), 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 ægðer ge men ge ða sucendan cild and eac  
ða nytenu ne onbyrigdon nanes ðinges binnan ðrim  
dagum.

(Thorpe, CH i, 246/20-22)

and in Dominica Ante Rogationum (MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, pp. 44-55v):

7 he [king of the Ninivites] bead ærost þæt  
ægðer ge þa menn ge þa sucendan cild, ge furðon  
ealle þa nytenu þe hi ahton, sceoldon þry dagas  
7 þreo niht on an fastan.

(above p. 149/ 193-6)

Cf. also Rabanus Maurus' Homilia XIX:

Sed eur jejunabant infantes et jumenta, quorum  
non arguuntur peccata? Jejunabat parvulus ut

evaderet senior; jejunabant innocentes, ut non perirent peccatores : omnes pariter abstinebant, ut peccata quæ ab aliquibus commissa fuerant, ab omnibus solverentur.

(PL 110, 38)

46. oððe huntian ongunne. Cf. Homily XXXIII {ed. Morris, Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, Early English Text Society, O.S. 58 (London: Trübner, 1873)} :

he [devil] is cleped hunte. for þan þe he waiteð ure ech. and cunneð te bringen us on liðere lahtres. þe beð his grunen. and þe-one henteð us aþse hunte driueð deor to grune. oðer to nette. and swo henteð. and of þis hunte specð þe prophete. and seið. Anima nostra sicut passer erepta 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. CCCC 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," Beitrage 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 hwylc man bið on helle ane niht, þonne bið him leofre, gif he þanon mot, þæt he hangie, siofon þusend wintra on þam lengestan treowe ufe-weardum, þe ofer sæ standeð on þam hystan sæ-clife, [hier fehlt ein Blatt, dessen Text nach der Hs. Bodl. 340, fol. 38b-39a, folgendermaßen lautete] /fol. 38b/ 7 syn þa fet gebundene to ðam hehstan telgan 7 þæt heafod hangige ofðun-rihte 7 þa fet uprihte. 7 him siðe þæt blod ut purh þone muð 7 hine þonne gesece ælc þara yfela, þe æfre on helle sy, 7 hine ælc yð gesece mid þam hehstan, þe seo sæ forð-bringð, 7 þeah hine ælc tor gesece, þe on eallum clyfum syndon, þonne wile he eall þis [ufllice] þrowian, wiððan-þe he næfre eft helle ne ge-sece.

(p. 94/3-14)

56-59. Cf. Feria II, In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 302; ff. 205-13):

7 eac þyssere tacnunge hy eac getacnodon hwylc was heofona rice to geearnienne 7 hwylc was hellewite to be fleonne on þa gelicnysse þe se witega cwæð be heofona rice 7 be helle, þæt næfre 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 cwæð, se ylca witega, þæt nære næfre on hellewite swa mycel wynsumes swa anes fugeles sweg.

(above p. 109/54-63).

and De Letania Maiore (MS. Hatton 114, ff. 97\*v-102v):

Se witega cwæð be heofona rice 7 be hellewite þæt næfre nære gemet on heofonan rices wuldre swa mycel unwynsumes on ænigum laðe oððe on hungre oððe on þurste oððe on cele oððe on hæte oððe on ece oððe on alde oððe on ænigum laðe gewinne þæt wære swa mycel swa anes lytles fugeles sweg. Swylce he cwæð, se ylca witega, þæt næfre 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 a 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.

63-99. The description of hell presented here includes elements of contemporary apocryphal literature. The submersion of the souls into þam deopan þeostra (l. 65) "the sea of darkness," in particular, recalls Paul's first view of hell in the Apocalypse of Paul (M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament (London, 1924; rpt. Oxford: Univ. Press, 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), hell-hounds 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.

Apocryphal writing influenced other Old English homilies. As Förster explains ("A New Version of the Apocalypse of Thomas in Old English," Anglia, 73 (1955), 11-12), Old English versions of the Apocalypse of Thomas have been inserted all or in part into Vercelli Homily XV (Vercelli Biblioteca Capitolare MS. CXVII, ff. 80v-85v; pr. Förster, Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII, pp. 116-28), into an untitled homily in MS. CCCC 41, pp. 287-92 (pr. Förster, "A New Version of the Apocalypse of Thomas in Old English," pp. 17-27), into the second part of Blickling Homily VII (ed. R. Morris, The Blickling Homilies, Early English Text Society, O.S. 58, 63, 73 (1874-80; rpt. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 91-5), and into In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore (MS. CCCC 162, pp. 422-31; unedited) which also occurs in MS. Hatton 116 (pp. 382-95; pr. Förster, Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII, pp. 128-37). The apocryphal Visio Pauli occurs twice in the Blickling Homilies: once in Blickling Homily IV (Morris, The Blickling Homilies, pp. 43/22-45/2), and again in Homily XVII (*ibid.*, pp. 209/29-211/5).

Elfric held a dim view of the Visio Pauli and even writes (Item, In Letania Maiore, Feria Tertia): Humeta radað sume men ða leasan gesetnysse, ðe hi hatað Paulus gesihðe, nu he sylfe sæde þæt he ða digelan word gehyrde, þe nan eorðlic mann sprecaþ ne mot? (Thorpe, CH ii, 332/22-4). However, Elfric does include two other visions in the Catholic Homilies; one is the vision of the Scottish priest Furseus (Item, In Letania Maiore, Feria Tertia, Thorpe, CH ii, 332-48), the other is the vision of a Northumbrian thane called Drihthelm (Alia Visio, Thorpe, CH ii, 348-56).

68. p̄ar. p is written as p̄, the abbreviation for p̄at.

93. ceowan. One letter, now illegible, is blotted out or erased before c̄.

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 þonne wære leofre, þonne eall  
middaneard to æhte gesêald, þæt hý næfre  
acennede ne wæron fram fæder and meder.

(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  
15) 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  
20) 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
- 25) 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
- 30) 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
- 35) 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

40) 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

45) 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 before
- 50) 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-
- 55) lings 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.
- 60) No light ever shines there; but there is intense darkness, 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
- 65) 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
- 70) 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
- 75) there is a fifth place filled with worms. Therein shall sink the perjurers, the murderers, and the traitors. There they shall dwell for ever and ever, and there shall the worms rend them and the devils goad
- 80) 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
- 85) 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
- 90) 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-

95) 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.

100) 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

105) us cast from our hearts all evil thoughts and evil deeds, and false oaths, and untimely eating, and excessive 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  
110) 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  
115) 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  
120) 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  
 125) 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.  
 130) 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  
 135) 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.

140) 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.

145) 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

150) 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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