

Andre Mertens

The Old English Lives of St Martin of Tours

Edition and Study

lesque p̄ficiat. qui et mar
tyrum honorificent passio
nes.

Da q̄
rum
rum
offic
lecten
dn̄m



tuum qui tecum uiuit &
regnat ds̄ in unitate sp̄s
sc̄i per omnia sc̄la sc̄torum

III. IŌ. NOŪ. NĀT. S. MARTINI. C. F.



Universitätsverlag Göttingen

Andre Mertens

The Old English Lives of St Martin of Tours

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Address of the Author

Andre Mertens

Email: mail@andremertens.de

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2 Cod. Ms. theol. 231 Cim., fol. 113 r), including the oldest surviving depiction of the
Charity of St Martin (c. 975 AD); printed with kind permission of the Niedersächsische
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Dominipotens d[omi]n[us]
 ut quib[us]da[m]
 mens[ur]a[m] mart[ir]
 r[ati]o[n]is p[ro]p[ri]a
 cia colimus: intercessio[n]e
 eius in tuu[m] n[ost]r[u]m amo[r]e
 robor[emur]: p[ro]

Beati menac[us] mart[ir]is s[an]c[t]i o[mn]i
 cui sollemnia recensentes:
 q[ui] sit eius auxilio tua beni
 ficia capiamus: p[ro] quod tibi
 hostias laudis offerimus: p[ro]

Benedictio tua d[omi]n[us] ad co[m]m[un]e
 impleat corda fidelium: ta

lesque p[ro]ficiat: qui et mar
 tyrum honorificent passio
 nes: et remedia salutis actio[n]e
 isdem patrocinantibus asse
 quantur: p[ro] ALIA

Da q[ui]s d[omi]n[us] d[omi]n[us] n[ost]r[us]: ut sicut tuo
 rum commemoracione s[an]c[t]o
 rum temporali gratulam[ur]
 officio: ita ita perpetuo
 letemur aspectu: per
 d[omi]n[u]m n[ost]r[u]m ih[esu]m xp[istu]m filium
 tuum qui tecum uiuit &
 regnat d[omi]n[us] in unitate sp[irit]us
 s[an]c[t]i per omnia s[ecula] s[an]c[t]o[r]um
 AMEN. NAT[IVITAS] S[AN]C[T]I MARTINI. C. F.



St Martin's Dream in the "Fuldaer Sakramentar" (SUB Göttingen, 2 Cod. Ms. theol. 231 Cim., fol. 113 r), including the oldest surviving depiction of the Charity of St Martin (c. 975 AD); printed with kind permission of the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen.

Meinen Eltern

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Manuscript Sigla

Siglum	Manuscript ¹	Item (Short Titles) ²
A	London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius A. x., s. x/xi, Ker <i>Catalogue</i> no. 161, Gneuss <i>Handlist</i> 338	<i>Entry for St Martin in the Old English Martyrology</i> (Mart 2.1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) / B19.2.1)
B	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 196, s. xi ² , Ker <i>Catalogue</i> no. 47, Gneuss <i>Handlist</i> 62	<i>Entry for St Martin in the Old English Martyrology</i> (Mart 2.1 (Herzfeld-Kotzor) / B19.2.1)
C	Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXVII, s. x ² , Ker <i>Catalogue</i> no. 394 (item 20), Gneuss <i>Handlist</i> no. 941	<i>Anonymous Homily for Martinmas</i> (LS 17.2 (MartinVerc 18) / B3.3.17.3)
D	Princeton, Princeton University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection MS 71, s. x/xi., Ker <i>Catalogue</i> no. 382 (item 17), Gneuss <i>Handlist</i> no. 905	<i>Anonymous Homily for Martinmas</i> (LS 17.1 (MartinMor) / B3.3.17.2)
E	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86, s. xi med., Ker <i>Catalogue</i> no. 336 (item 8), Gneuss <i>Handlist</i> no. 642	<i>Anonymous Homily for Martinmas</i>

¹Entries include Ker's *Catalogue* number and Gneuss's *Handlist* number (cf. the list of abbreviations).

²The short titles in brackets refer to the *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE, cf. list of abbreviations), and to the Cameron number as proposed in Frank, R. and Cameron, A.F., eds. (1973), *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, Toronto.

- F Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3.28., s. x/xi, Ker *Catalogue* no. 15 (item 84), Gneuss *Handlist* no. 11 *Ælfric's Homily for Martinmas* (ÆCHom II, 39.1 / B1.2.42)
- G Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198, s. xi¹, Ker *Catalogue* no. 48 (item 56), Gneuss *Handlist* no. 64 *Ælfric's Homily for Martinmas* (ÆCHom II, 39.1 / B1.2.42)
- H British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. XVII, s. xi med., Ker *Catalogue* no. 222 (item 17), Gneuss *Handlist* no. 406 *Ælfric's Homily for Martinmas* (ÆCHom II, 39.1 / B1.2.42)
- J London, British Library, Cotton Julius E.VII, s. xi in., Ker *Catalogue* no. 162 (item 42), Gneuss *Handlist* no. 339 *Ælfric's Life of St Martin* (ÆELS (Martin) / B1.3.30)
- K London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.XIV, s. xi med., Ker *Catalogue* no. 138 (item 1), Gneuss *Handlist* no. 310 *Ælfric's Life of St Martin* (ÆELS (Martin) / B1.3.30)
- L Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, s. xii², Ker *Catalogue* no. 310 (item 18) *Ælfric's Life of St Martin* (ÆELS (Martin) / B1.3.30)

List of Abbreviations

ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i> (Journal)
ASPR	Krapp, G.P. and Dobbie, E.V.K., eds. (1931-42), <i>The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records</i> , 6 vols., New York.
ASMMF	Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile
AVM	<i>Alcuini Vita Martini</i> , ed. Migne, J.P. (1844-64), <i>Patrologia Latina</i> 101, Paris.
BL	British Library
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout)
CE	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i> , ed. Herbermann, C.G. (1907-12), <i>The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church</i> , 15 vols., New York.
CHI	Clemons, P.A.M., ed. (1997), <i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series</i> , EETS s.s. 17, Oxford.
CHII	Godden, M., ed. (1979), <i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series</i> , EETS s.s. 5, Oxford.
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DOE	<i>Dictionary of Old English</i> , ed. A.C. Amos, S. Butler, A. Cameron, C. Franzen, A. diPaolo Healey, J. Holland, D. McDougall, I. McDougall, N. Porter, N. Speirs, and P. Thompson, eds. (1986-96), <i>Dictionary of Old English</i> , Toronto.
DOEWC	<i>Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus</i> , “ http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/pub/web-corpus.html ”, ed. A. diPaolo Healey, J. Price Wilkin, and X. Xiang (2 Feb 2016).
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile

EETS	Early English Text Society
— o.s.	original series
— s.s.	supplementary series
<i>ES</i>	<i>English Studies</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
GHF	<i>Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Francorum</i> , ed. Krusch, B. and Levison, W. (1937-51), MGH, SRM 1.1.
Gneuss <i>HL</i>	Gneuss, H. (2001), <i>Handlist of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100</i> , Temple, AZ; and Gneuss, H. and Lapidge, M. (2014), <i>Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts. A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100</i> , Toronto Anglo-Saxon Series 15, Toronto. ³
GVM	<i>Gregorius Turonensis, De Virtutibus Sancti Martini</i> , ed. Krusch, B. (1885), MGH, SRM 1.2
Ker (<i>Catalogue</i>)	Ker, N.R. (1957), <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon</i> , London; and Ker, N.R. (1976), 'A Supplement to <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon</i> ', <i>ASE</i> 5: 121-31.
<i>LS</i>	Ælfric of Eynsham's <i>Lives of Saints</i> , see Skeat
ME	Middle English
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
— Auct. Antiq.	Auctores Antiquissimi
— Conc.	Concilia
— Ep. Kar.	Epistolae Aevi Karolini
— Hilfs.	Hilfsmittel
— SRM	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
MRTS	Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies
<i>MS</i>	<i>Medieval Studies</i>
NEB	<i>The New Encyclopædia Britannica</i> , ed. Goetz, P.W. et al. (1985-2010), 15th edition, 32 vols., Chicago et al.
<i>NQ</i>	<i>Notes & Queries</i>
OE	Old English
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , ed. J.A.H. Murray, H. Bradley, W.A. Craigie, C.T. Onions, J.A. Simpson, and E.S.C. Weiner, eds. (1989), <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd ed., 20 vols., Oxford.

³The numbering of Gneuss and Lapidge's *Bibliographical Handlist* follows Gneuss's *Handlist*.

PL	Migne, J.P., ed. (1844-64), <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , 221 vols., Paris.
PDE	Present-Day English
SASLC	Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture
SD	<i>Sulpicii Dialogii</i> , ed. Fontaine, J. (2006), <i>Gallus: Dialogues sur les "vertus" de Saint Martin</i> , Sources Chrétiennes 510, Paris.
SDP	<i>Sulpicii Dialogus Primus</i> , ed. Fontaine (2006)
SDS	<i>Sulpicii Dialogus Secundus</i> , ed. Fontaine (2006)
SDT	<i>Sulpicii Dialogus Tertius</i> , ed. Fontaine (2006)
SE	<i>Sulpicii Epistulae</i> , ed. Fontaine, J. (1967), <i>Sulpice Sévère: Vie de Saint Martin</i> , Sources Chrétiennes 133, 3 vols., Paris.
SEP	<i>Sulpicii Epistula Prima</i> , ed. Fontaine (1967)
SES	<i>Sulpicii Epistula Secunda</i> , ed. Fontaine (1967)
SET	<i>Sulpicii Epistula Tertia</i> , ed. Fontaine (1967)
SVM	<i>Sulpicii Vita Martini</i> , ed. Fontaine (1967)

Abbreviations Confined to the Edition

ÆCH	Ælfric's <i>Catholic Homily for Martinmas</i> , see <i>CH</i>
ÆLM	Ælfric's <i>Life of St Martin</i> , see <i>LS</i>
Angl.	Anglian
BS	<i>Biblia Sacra</i> , ed. Weber, R. (1975), <i>Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> , 2nd ed., Stuttgart.
— 1 Cor	St Paul's first letter to the Corinthians
— 2 Cor	St Paul's second letter to the Corinthians
— Jh	Gospel according to John
— Lc	Gospel according to Luke
— Mk	Gospel according to Mark
— Mt	Gospel according to Matthew
— PsGall	Psalms (<i>Psalterium Gallicanum</i>)
BT(S)	J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, eds. (1898), <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth</i> , Oxford; and Toller, T.N., ed. (1921), <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth: Supplement</i> , Oxford et al.

Fontaine	Fontaine, J. (1967), <i>Sulpice Sévère: Vie de Saint Martin</i> , Sources Chrétiennes 133, 3 vols., Paris; Fontaine, J., ed. (2006), <i>Gallus: Dialogues sur les "vertus" de Saint Martin</i> , Sources Chrétiennes 510, Paris.
<i>fol./fols.</i>	<i>folio(s)</i> (folio numbers include <i>r</i> (= <i>recto</i>) and <i>v</i> (= <i>verso</i>))
Gmc.	Germanic
Godden	Godden, M., ed. (1979), <i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series</i> , EETS s.s. 5, Oxford.
GrSB	Brunner, K. (1965), <i>Altenglische Grammatik: nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers</i> , 3rd ed., Tübingen.
GrC	Campbell, A. (1974), <i>Old English Grammar</i> , Oxford.
GrL	Luick, K. (1921), <i>Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache</i> , 2 vols., Leipzig.
GrW	Wright, J. and Wright, E.M. (1908), <i>Old English Grammar</i> , The Students' Series of Historical and Comparative Grammars, London et al.
Herzfeld	Herzfeld, G., ed. (1900), <i>An Old English Martyrology</i> , EETS o.s. 116, London.
Kelly	Kelly, R.J., ed. (2003), <i>The Blickling Homilies. Edition and Translation</i> , London et al.
Kt.	Kentish
Kotzor	Kotzor, G., ed. (1981), <i>Das altenglische Martyrologium</i> , Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, PhilHistK-klasse no. 88, München.
Mc.	Mercian
Morris	Morris, R., ed. (1874-80), <i>The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century</i> , EETS o.s. 58, 63, 73, London.
<i>n.s.</i>	no source
Nh.	Northumbrian
OES	Mitchell, B. (1985), <i>Old English Syntax</i> , 2 vols., Oxford.
PG	Proto-Germanic
Roberts	Roberts, A. (1894), "The Works of Sulpitius Severus", in Schaff and Wace (1894), 1-297.
Scragg	Scragg, D.G., ed. (1992), <i>The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts</i> , EETS o.s. 300, London.

Skeat	Skeat, W.W., ed. (1966), <i>Ælfric's Lives of Saints</i> , EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881-1900, repr. as 2 vols. 1966), London.
<i>s.u.</i>	source unclear/unknown
Thorpe	Thorpe, B., ed. (1844-46), <i>The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church</i> , 2 vols., New York, London.
WG	West-Germanic
WS	West-Saxon
— eWS	early West-Saxon
— lWS	late West-Saxon

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This work would not have been possible without the consultation of the original Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, therefore, I am grateful for the kind permission and support by the staff of the British Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Cambridge University Library, and the Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge. I was able to present a manuscript page from the *Fuldaer Sakramentar*, which shows the oldest surviving depiction of the charity of St Martin (see cover), by kind permission of the University Library at Göttingen.

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Part I

Introduction

Introduction

This edition presents the surviving set of Old English texts on St Martin of Tours. The majority of these texts are categorized as homilies, but for convenience, I may refer to all of them as *Old English Lives of St Martin* here, since they are connected by their common purpose of presenting biographical information on the saint. Despite this common interest, they differ fundamentally in their specific purpose, intended audience or readership, length, style, mode of presentation, and in their historical and literary context. In fact, their supposed dates of composition comprise a time period of two centuries.

I edit and re-edit these Old English texts here for two major reasons. First and foremost, the edition assembles the complete set of Old English Martiniana, the term denoting texts which are primarily concerned with the saint. For one, their study is worthwhile for the significance of their protagonist. For his universal importance as a Christian saint generally, and for his ever-popular and vibrant cult even today, St Martin of Tours may well be labelled Christianity's best researched saint. However, the saint's cult in Britain is arguably classified as an under-researched topic; that also applies to the saint's cult in Anglo-Saxon England. Academic conferences were dedicated to the saint in the year of his 1700th birthday in 2016;⁴ calls for papers specifically inviting articles on the topic give testimony to the existence of this desideratum. The study of St Martin's cult in Anglo-Saxon England – within the confinements of this edition's introduction – can only be regarded as a starting point and hopefully an incentive to further studies. All the more, I hope to have provided a sound basis for a close study of the Old English textual culture on St Martin of Tours by presenting this edition of Old English texts. Moreover, an edition and comprehensive study of the extant Anglo-Latin Martiniana is still pending.

⁴The year of Martin's birth is a matter of dispute which the first chapter will discuss; the diocese of Tours invited people to celebrate the event in 2016 and created a website at "<http://saintmartin2016.com>" (2 Jan 2016). The University of Tours organized the "Centenary Conference on St Martin of Tours: 'La figure martinienne, essor et renaissances de l'antiquité tardive a nos jours'", Université de Tours (France), 12-14 October 2016.

Secondly, I am presenting a set of texts of which two were hitherto unedited; they were accessible for inspection exclusively at the Bodleian Library at Oxford, UK. The library, whose staff kindly allowed me to study the original manuscripts, does not seem to intend to supply international scholars with high-quality scans in the near future, so the study of the texts in question hitherto required study of the original manuscripts on-site. The Anonymous Homily for Martinmas in MS Junius 86 is edited fully here for the first time. One other text, *Ælfric's Life of St Martin*, was presented in an edition published in 1900, which makes a new edition an apparent desideratum, even more so since there have been recent calls for a new edition (see the chapter on *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* below); its 12th-century version in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 343, is edited independently here for the first time (see the chapter on MS L).

Three introductory chapters precede the edition of texts. The first chapter introduces St Martin of Tours, his biographer Sulpicius Severus, and the biography, which is constituted by a series of texts from Severus' pen. The chapter presents a brief survey of the cult and the textual culture of St Martin on the Continent up to the time of Alcuin of York (d. 804), who assembled Severus' and other Martiniana in a comprehensive biographical dossier, called *Martinelus*, which found its way to Anglo-Saxon England.

On this basis, the second chapter turns to the saints' cult in Anglo-Saxon England, and to the Anglo-Latin textual culture. The third chapter introduces the Old English Martiniana which are presented in the edition, as well as the manuscripts in which they survive.

The edition itself is preceded by an account of the editorial policy, and includes a commentary which addresses literary and cultural, as well as linguistic and textual issues and backgrounds.

Chapter 1

St Martin of Tours and His Cult on the Continent

The Historical Martin

We are in the fortunate situation to have extensive information on the life and character of St Martin of Tours. There is a comprehensive surviving body of texts on the saint written by Sulpicius Severus, a contemporary and celebrated author of early Christian literature. We owe practically all the information on St Martin of Tours to him. However, Severus' *Vita Martini* (SVM)¹ and his other texts on St Martin provide us with anything but a balanced view, since they represent a large-scale panegyric rather than a fact-based biography. Therefore, we are also in the unfortunate situation that we can hardly establish a picture of the historical person that is not based on Severus. The following will attempt to provide a portrayal of St Martin of Tours by considering other extant sources and the results of scholarly work in the field. But before we turn to details, I will present a concise outline of Martin's life that includes the non-controversial data.

As far as we know, St Martin of Tours was born in Sabaria, the capital city of the Roman province of Pannonia, either around 316 AD ("long chronology") or 336 AD ("short chronology"). He grew up in Pavia in Italy, as the son of a Roman *tribunus*. Martin himself was serving in the Roman army by the age of fifteen, unwillingly though, since from childhood he had been attracted to the Christian belief and eremitic life. He was stationed in the Roman province of Gaul when he had a dream-vision of Christ, an event which had such impact on

¹References to the Latin text (see the appendix) include chapter and section numbers.

him that he quit the service and became a follower and pupil of St Hilary (ca. 315-67), Bishop of Poitiers. After years of an ascetic life in devotion to Christ, he became so popular among the people of nearby Tours that they elected him Bishop. His ordination probably took place on 4 July 371. He founded the monastery of Marmoutier outside the city and established a system of parish churches during the years of his episcopacy.

Martin died in the city of Candes while on a journey through his diocese, supposedly aged 81, on 8 November 397. He was buried in Tours on 11 November.

Determining the year of Martin's birth with the help of Severus' accounts is one of the major problems for scholars. Severus provides contradictory data that have resulted in two different chronologies of Martin's life. Severus never names specific dates or years. There are two episodes in two of his works from which the year can be deduced. Yet there is no way of telling which of the two episodes is more trustworthy. The majority of scholars have settled for the short chronology, but a *consensus omnium* remains a desideratum.²

The so-called "short chronology" is based on 336 AD as the year of Martin's birth. Severus reports in the *vita* that Martin unwillingly entered service in the Roman army at the age of 15 (SVM 2,5). He served under the Roman emperor Constantine II (ruled 337-61) and afterwards under Julian (ruled 355-60). Martin quit service after a quarrel with Julian during a campaign against a Germanic tribe (SVM 4,1), which can be dated to 356 (Frank 1997: 28-9). That happened after a military service of five years, as Severus reports,³ which makes 351 his year of entrance into the service. If that goes for Martin as a fifteen-year-old, as Severus had reported earlier, all of this results in birth year of 336 AD.⁴

The "long chronology" is based on 316 AD as the year of Martin's birth. One episode in Severus' second *Dialogue* (SDS 7,4) reports that Martin, as Bishop, is present at a banquet with emperor Maximus, an event which Severus also mentions in SVM 20. The situation is set in the context of the trial against a certain Priscillian, whose Christian lore was finally condemned as heresy. The trial took place in Trier in 385/6.⁵ When Severus takes up the issue of the inter-

²An influential scholarly work concerned with the chronology of Martin's life is Stancliffe (1983), cf. Barnes (2010). Vermillion (1980: 44) created a table with notably different data; he took into account the results from Peebles (1949: 91) and Delehaye (1920: 19-33). Cf. the chronological table in Happ (2006: 12-16).

³In SVM 2,6 Severus writes that Martin was under arms for three years before his baptism. In SVM 3,5-6, Martin hurries to be baptized after a vision of Christ, but stays in service for two more years.

⁴Stancliffe (1983) favours the short chronology, and discusses the issue extensively, see esp. pp. 119-33.

⁵Martin was involved in the trial in his function as Bishop. Priscillian was a Spanish aristocrat,

course between Martin and Maximus in a later work on Martin, he calls Martin a seventy-year-old.⁶ If this is referring to their intercourse in the context of the Priscillian trial (in 385/6), this would result in 315/6 as the year of Martin's birth. If, in fact, Severus referred to another meeting between a seventy-year-old Martin and Maximus, the mere mention of a seventy-year-old Martin rules out the possibility of Martin being born in 336, since Martin would have died at the age 61. In addition, 316 as the year of birth would be supported by a work of Gregory of Tours. Gregory knew Severus' works. We can assume, however, that he drew his information from a variety of sources.⁷ Gregory of Tours writes that Martin died in the 81st year of his life, which also results in birth year of 316.⁸

We know with some certainty about Martin's place of birth. As the *vita* tells us in SVM 2,1, he was born in Sabaria in the Roman province of Pannonia.⁹ Sabaria was the province's capital, and, thus, the seat of the province's Roman proconsul during the fourth century (Huber-Rebenich 2010: n. 19). The town is called Szombathely today, located in the west of Hungary. However, though this Roman city is generally believed to be the birth place of Martin, there was another place nearby with the same name. Up to the present day, there is the Pannonhalma Archabbey near Márton-Hegy (also by the German name *Martinsberg*, lit. 'St Martin's Hill'), a Benedictine abbey, that some believe is the

born 345, who became Bishop of Ávila (Spain) in 380, and who was executed in Trier in 385, after being charged with sorcery. See Huber-Rebenich (2010), notes 97, 119, and 121. The movement was eradicated by the end of the sixth century. See also Stancliffe (1983: 278-96) for Martin's part in the matter, and cf. SVM 20,1.

⁶The Latin has "Martino semel tantum in uita iam septuagenario ..." (SDS 7,4).

⁷See below the ch. on Gregory's work, pp. 46f. Vielberg (2006: 117) names writers of early Christianity, such as Fredegar, Sulpicius Alexander, Eusebius, Hieronymus, and Orosius, as Gregory's possible sources. Stancliffe (1983: 120) argues that Gregory might have taken his calculation only from Severus' remark in SDS 7,4 "Martino ... septuagenario."

⁸The episode is in the *Liber Primus* of Gregory of Tours' *De Virtutibus Sancti Martini*, ed. Krusch (1885: 140-1). Part 3 is inscribed "De ordinatione et transitu beati Martini." In it, Gregory writes about Martin's death and that he was in his 81st year of his life, "octogesimo primo aetatis suae anno [...] nocte media quieuit in pace". Gregory also refers to Martin's death in his *Historia Francorum* (GHF), see book I, ch. 48 *De transitu Sancti Martini*, ed. Krusch and Levinson (1951: 32-4). There he writes "Arcadi vero et Honori secundo imperii anno sanctus Martinus Turonorum episcopus, plenus virtutibus et sanctitate, praebens infirmis multa beneficia, octuaginsimo et primo aetatis suae anno, episcopatum autem vicissimo sexto, apud Condatinsem diocesis suae vicum excedens a saeculo, filiciter migravit ad Christum." Cf. Frank (1997: 29).

⁹Sabaria is the spelling in SVM. Roman inscriptions read *Savarie* (Masi 1968: 184/Fontaine 431). Today, it is the city of Szombathely, which is the administrative centre of Vas county in western Hungary. It also bears the German name Stein-am-Anger (lit. 'stone at the meadow'). The original Roman province of Pannonia included parts of today's Austria and Yugoslavia. As Masi (ibid.) describes, Pannonia's boundaries were the Danube, Vienna, and northern Italy.

more likely birthplace. Which one of these two Roman settlements with identical names was the birthplace will probably remain a matter of dispute, since we only have Severus' information "Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit".¹⁰

We know about Martin's parents only from the *vita*. They appear twice in the *vita*, in SVM 2,1-2. and 6,3, though without names. In the first episode, Severus writes "parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen. 2. Pater eius miles primum, post tribunus militum fuit."¹¹ A *tribunus militum* probably ranked between a *legatus* and a *centurio*, though it cannot be clarified what it meant exactly at the time.¹² Later in SVM 6,3 Severus tells us "Itaque, ut animo ac mente conceperat, matrem gentilitatis absoluti errore, patre in malis perseuerante."¹³ Martin obviously successfully converted his mother to Christendom on one of his missionary journeys. This scarce information represents all that we know about Martin's parents.

Martin's parents were heathen, which is not surprising considering the fact that when Martin was born, at the beginning of the fourth century, the Roman empire was still predominantly pagan. But the situation would be different by the end of the century, when Severus wrote the *vita*. Around the turn of the century, emperor Diocletian (ruled 284-305) sought to save his empire from falling apart by reforms and a cult of state, which led to persecutions of Christians who refused to worship him as a god.¹⁴ By that time, Christianity had infiltrated the empire's society to such an extent, however, that emperor Galerius (ruled 293-311) passed an edict of tolerance in 311. Following the supremacy and conversion of emperor Constantine in 313, Christianity was tolerated among most of the emperors of the fourth century, one exception being the emperor Julian mentioned above, often called "the Apostate", in whose army Martin served. The next decisive steps for Christianity were the *De Fide Catholica* in 380, an edict under emperor Theodosius (ruled 379-95) establishing

¹⁰The majority of scholars name Szombathely simply as the place of Martin's birth. A discussion on the two places can be found in Lecoy de la March (1881: 66) and Babut (1913: 172).

¹¹"His parents were, according to the judgment of the world, of no mean rank, but were heathens. His father was at first simply a soldier, but afterwards a military tribune." (transl. Roberts 1894).

¹²The Latin has "miles primum" and "tribunus militum". Neither term offers an exact notion of the position of Martin's father, since at the time there was a variety of positions it could refer to. Definitely, though, he was not a regular foot soldier (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 77 n. 22). Cf. OED s.v. *tribune* 1b, 'military tribune' (Latin "tribunus militaris"), i.e. "one of six officers of a legion, each being in command for two months of the year."

¹³It translates "and thus, as he had intended in his heart and mind, he set free his mother from the errors of heathenism, though his father continued to cleave to its evils" (transl. Roberts 1894).

¹⁴I am following Kasper's (1997: 8-11) outline of the rise of Christianity in the Roman empire in the fourth century.

Catholic Christianity as the official state religion, and the prohibition of other religions under Theodosius and emperor Gratian (ruled 375-83). It is exactly the century of Martin's life that saw Christianity's rise from the persecution of its members to becoming the state religion (Kasper 1997: 11), and regarding the province of Gaul, Martin himself played a significant part in this process.

We have no other information about Martin's early years than that which Severus offers in his *vita*. He informs us that Martin grew up in Italy, in a city called Ticinus. It is located on the river Ticino and is today called Pavia. Why and under what circumstances Martin lived there Severus does not tell.¹⁵ But as he informs us, Martin was already drawn to spiritual life as a boy. At the age of ten, Martin sought contact to the church, against the will of his parents, and desired to be accepted as a catechumen¹⁶ (SVM 2,2). This is all the *vita* offers as information, so there is no way of knowing whether he was actually accepted. When aged twelve, Martin had the strong desire to live the secluded life of a hermit. His age, Severus tells us, hindered him. Still, his mind was preoccupied with monasticism and the church.

According to Severus, Martin entered service in the Roman army against his will at the age of fifteen. The reason Severus gives is an imperial edict¹⁷ which obliged sons of veterans to military service (SVM 2,5). This certainly proved instrumental in excusing the fact that Martin served in the Roman army, a point of critique Martin obviously faced later as Bishop. That this was a point of critique against Martin is not only evident through the *vita*'s carefully constructed apologetics, but also through the persistent highlighting of Martin's pacifism. His father, who disapproved of his doings, finally enrolled him. Severus displays Martin's unwillingness with a striking picture. Martin took the oath of allegiance "captus et catenatus" (lit. 'caught and in chains'). Once enrolled, he obviously enjoyed some privileges. Martin served in a unit that Severus calls *scholares* (SVM 2,2) under the Roman emperor Constantius II (ruled 337-61), and afterwards under Julian (ruled 355-60). This testifies Martin's high rank. Since Constantin I (ruled 306-37), this unit had been a mounted elite corps subordinated only to the emperor (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 77 n. 23). Therefore, he

¹⁵Hoare (1954: 12) suggests Martin's father could have been transferred there for military service, or simply resettled.

¹⁶The OED has s.v. *catechumene*, n. 1. 'A new convert under instruction before baptism.' Usually, in Martin's time, a two-year instruction or preparation would precede the baptism itself. In SVM 3,1 Severus has Jesus say about Martin: "Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me ueste contextit"; "Martin, who is still but a catechumen, clothed me with this robe" (Transl. Roberts 1894).

¹⁷Unfortunately, this was a repeatedly employed method to secure sufficient recruiting, so that scholars were not able to date the event in order to clarify Martin's biography (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 78 n. 31).

was probably quite privileged as a soldier, and also learned remedial knowledge, such as the treatment of open wounds and fractures, a quality that would later add to his prominent reputation as a healer. In addition, the fact that he had a slave as company shows that Martin was of a higher rank than an ordinary soldier. Severus does not mention this to display Martin's privileges, but to emphasize Martin's modesty; he served the slave rather than demanding service of him. Like this, Martin served for three years, though always – as Severus hastens to add – staying “completely free from those vices in which that class of men become too frequently involved” (transl. Roberts 1894), which is again a very imprecise but impregnable statement.

After three years of military service, there was an incident which changed Martin's life, and which was to become the most iconic episode in Martin's entire biography. Martin entered the city of Amiens with his army, probably riding on horseback.¹⁸ He met a naked beggar at the city gate of Amiens and took pity on the man, but had nothing to offer him, since he had spent everything on similar occasions before. He took his sword and cut his cloak in half to share it with the beggar. It was exactly this act which has become the most iconic scene in the European cultural memory of St Martin. The scene that is often referred to as the “Charity of St Martin” can be said to most popularly symbolize Christian charity itself. In the following night, as the *vita* goes on, Martin had a dream-vision of Christ, who, appearing to him, wore the cloak Martin had given to the beggar. This had such a big impact on Martin that “being now of the age of twenty years, he hastened to receive baptism” (transl. Roberts 1894). Here also, the *vita* does not state whether Martin actually received baptism.

In ch. 4 of the *vita*, Severus tells us about the circumstances of Martin's resignation. The intrusion of Germanic tribes onto Roman soil caused emperor Julian to initiate a military campaign. This event can be dated, as mentioned above, to the year 356. Severus explains that soldiers traditionally received a gift from the emperor before such a campaign, which Martin regarded as an opportunity to ask the emperor's leave to resign. In the conversation that is rendered

¹⁸SVM 3,1: “obuium habet in porta Ambianensium ciuitatis pauperem nudum. Qui cum praetereuntes ut sui misererentur oraret”; “he happened to meet at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man destitute of clothing. He was entreating those that passed by to have compassion upon him” (transl. Roberts 1894). There is no mention of Martin riding on horseback; possibly the knowledge of the *scholares* implied that, at least for contemporary audiences. In any case, depictions of this scene almost always show Martin on horseback. The oldest depiction of this scene, however, which is in the Göttingen “Fuldaer Sakramentar” (ca. 975), Göttinger Staats- u. Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Ms. theol. 231 Clm., fol. 113r, does not show him on horseback. Stancliffe (1983: 123 and n. 49) made an attempt to date this event by tracing possible routes of documented campaigns of the time.

in direct speech, Martin argued that he was not allowed to fight such a battle, since he was himself a soldier of Christ. The enraged Julian accused Martin of cowardice. In order to prove his conviction and steadfastness, Martin offered to go into battle and stand unshielded in the front row. Following this epic dispute, Severus explains that the Germanic invaders initiated peace negotiations before it came to battle. As Severus interprets, God conveniently interfered so as to save Martin from witnessing the violent death of others. Thereupon, Martin quit the service.¹⁹

He sought out Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, who soon fostered Martin and offered to appoint him deacon, which Martin turned down out of modesty, whereupon Hilary instructed him to work as an exorcist instead.²⁰ Inspired by another dream-vision, Martin set out soon after on a mission to convert his heathen parents. After succeeding in converting his mother, he had his first conflicts with Arianism²¹ in Illyria and suffered some harassment. Hearing that Hilary was forced into exile, he decided to stay near Milan to live an ascetic life as a hermit.²² There he himself was driven away by the Arian Bishop Auxentius, and withdrew to the island Gallinara in the gulf of Genoa (north-west Italy). When Martin learned of Hilary's return from exile to Poitiers – which can be dated to 360 (Vielberg 2006: 174 n. 31) – he returned immediately to Poitiers, and founded a fraternal hermitage in nearby Ligugé.

There, near the city of Tours, his popularity among the people grew because of his abilities as a healer, which included two revivifications (SVM 7+8). His popularity increased to such an extent that the people of Tours wanted to elect him Bishop, an offer which he again refused out of modesty, however. Under false pretenses – a person's feigned sickness – he was lured into

¹⁹There is no other report on the circumstances of Martin's resignation than Severus' account, as Huber-Rebenich (2010: 104) emphasizes, and there is reason to believe that the battle actually took place and that Severus directly misinforms his readers, cf. Frank (1997: 32).

²⁰Among the ranks of church ministry in the Roman Catholic Church, the deacon counts among the three Major Orders, or Holy Orders, constituted by bishop, priest, and deacon, whereas the exorcist is counted among the four Lesser Orders, or Minor Orders, constituted by acolyte, exorcist, lector and porter; see NEB s.vv. *deacon*, and *exorcist*.

²¹Arianism was a Christian movement whose initiator was the Alexandrian priest Arius (ca. 250-ca. 336). Hilarius of Poitiers was a central figure in defending the Nicene Trinitarian doctrine against Arianism, which was finally declared heretic; see Huber-Rebenich (2010: 79 n. 46).

²²Severus presents Martin as someone seeking a lonesome, devout Christian life, but as Huber-Rebenich (2010: 100) points out, Martin's age, and literally Martin himself mirrors the shift from individual towards fraternal Christian asceticism. “[Martins Werdegang spiegelt] die Wende von der individuellen zur gemeinschaftlichen Askese als christlicher Lebensform”. At this stage, he decides to seclude himself as a hermit, while as Bishop he founds a monastery in order to establish collaborative seclusion.

the city²³ and elected Bishop (SVM 9). Present Bishops from the surrounding dioceses criticized Martin especially for his shabby appearance, however, and tried to turn the people's sentiment against him. As Vielberg²⁴ points out, Martin was eyed with suspicion by other Gallic bishops. Viewed as an outsider, born in Pannonia and raised in Italy, Martin seems to have presented a threat to the Gallic bishops, who for the greatest part consisted of the Gallic elite. In effect, this Christian elite was nothing else but the Roman pagan elite after their conversion, so they were accustomed to luxurious living. Therefore, it is understandable that they despised the ascetic, shabby, unconventional Martin. But Severus, who had learned his rhetorics, knows how to turn their critique against them. He calls the critics superficial, and in turn, emphasizes Martin's despidal of luxurious clothing and ostentation.

Severus' narrative names the Bishop of Angers, called Defensor, whose name translates 'defender', of course, but also 'opponent' (Fontaine 1967: 653-7), as Martin's major critic. By chance or divine intervention, that day's lecture included the reading of a randomly picked psalm, which was "ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et defensorem", which translates as "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise because of thine enemies, that thou mightest destroy the enemy and the avenger (= *defensorem*)."²⁵ Severus reports that the people of Tours understood this accidental pun as prophetic, and, thus, all opposition against Martin's election was crushed immediately. The election probably took place in 370/71. Tradition remembers the ordination on 4 July 371.²⁶

Severus emphasizes that the qualities that made Martin a bishop remained his qualities after his election. He remained modest and devout, never subordinating under the elite of Gallic Bishops, and, above all, he remained the

²³As Frank (1997: 59 n. 8) states, no source mentions geese in the context of Martin's election. It was later that a popular anecdote came into existence that tells of Martin's unwillingness to become Bishop, and that he attempted to hide when he learned of the false pretense. As the story goes, he hid in a stable with geese, and through what was interpreted as divine interference the geese started gagging so loudly that Martin was discovered. This anecdote was the reason that the animal became Martin's distinctive attribute, along with a bishop's hat and staff. Cf. the chapter on folkloristic traditions below.

²⁴See Vielberg (2006: 169), who places the issue in a wider context, and points out that the Gallic bishops enjoyed a social state comparable to the earlier pagan Roman elite.

²⁵Transl. Roberts (1894). This is Psalm 8,3 in the *Vetus Latina*-version, also part of the *Psalterium Romanorum*. The *Injta Hebraeos* version would not have produced the pun, since it has replaced "defensorem" by "ultorem"; a psalm being prophetic is probably inspired by the psalms of the Old Testament which prophesied Christ. (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 82 ns. 68+69).

²⁶See Frank (1997: 32); cf. Stancliffe (1983: 116), who makes clear that the ordination must have been 370, 371 or 372, but it is impossible to ascertain the exact year.

people's person the Tourains had elected. As bishop, he was concerned with new tasks and the care of his flock. Since he was deprived of the possibility of life in a hermitage, one of his first actions as Bishop was to found a monastery in Marmoutier, just outside the city limits of Tours (SVM 10). The *vita* narrates his works during his episcopacy in some length. These episodes can be grouped into his fight against heathenism (SVM 11-15), his miraculous healings and exorcisms (SVM 16-19), and his exposition of the devil and false prophets (SVM 21-24). The fight against paganism was obviously his "pioneer activity". At that time, the Christian centers were the cities, while Martin pioneered in converting the pagans in the countryside – the word *pagan* originally meaning "countrymen" (Farmer 1979: 265) – into Christians, mostly by destruction of their temples or other meeting points, an activity which certainly benefitted from Martin's experience as a soldier.

The *vita* reports on a banquet (SVM 20) with emperor Maximus (ruled 383-8), which was set in the context of the trial against one Priscillian almost as an interlude (cf. above, p. 7). Severus is preeminently concerned to illustrate Martin's attitude towards worldly power. Martin behaved disrespectfully towards the emperor, which Severus utilizes to display Martin's superiority even over the emperor. Severus does not give any information about the trial itself, but addresses it again in a later work (the *Chronicle*, see below). There he reports that Martin, though opposing Priscillianism, pleaded for mercy towards the convicted heretic. The fact that Priscillian was still executed in 385, however, is omitted in Severus' account. Priscillian's execution represented the first time in fact that a Christian council exerted a death penalty for heresy (Farmer 1979: 266).

The *vita* ends with the encounter of Severus and Martin (SVM 25), a character sketch of the protagonist and his virtues (SVM 26-27), and a rhetorically brilliant closing that anticipates points of criticism towards the work and its protagonist (SVM 27). The death of Martin is not part of the *vita*. Severus comes to recount the circumstances of Martin's death in a later work, while the *vita* was published when Martin was still alive. Severus wrote three *Epistulae* and three *Dialogii* after Martin's death, which serve as sequels and present addenda. The circumstances of Martin's death are reported in the third letter, which Severus addressed to his mother-in-law Bassula. Martin died on journey through his diocese in the city of Candes in the year 397. He was buried in Tours three days after his death, after a major dispute about the ownership of his dead body between the people of Tours and Poitiers. Martin was first buried in a small basilica, that was later enlarged by his successor.²⁷ Soon after Martin's

²⁷The episode of this debate was reported by Gregory of Tours in his *Historia Francorum*, see

death, the place became one of the most important places of pilgrimage for western Christendom.

The day of his death was probably 8 November (Frank 1997: 51). He was buried on 11 November, which had previously been a feast day for peasants in the region. Certainly, the day was chosen so as to add to the popularity of the saint's feast. Gregory of Tours wrote about this day in his *History of the Franks* (GHF), book II, ch. 14: "Sollemnitas enim ipsius basilicae triplici virtute pollet: id est dedicatione templi, translatione corporis sancti vel ordinatione eius episcopati. Hanc enim quarto Nonas Iulias observabis; depositionem vero eius tertio Idus Novembris esse cognoscas."²⁸

In the Eastern Church, Martin is venerated on 12 November (Kelly 2003: 192). Later, Bishop Perpetuus of Tours installed a *quadragesa*, i.e. a forty-day fasting period from Martinmas until Christmas, thus adding more significance to the feast day. St Martin can be said to have been venerated as a saint right from the time of his burial. There was no official procedure concerning the canonization of saints yet, but worship of Martin's person began immediately, and no one seems to have opposed it, especially in Tours, where the procession of thousands at his burial bore comparison to that of an emperor's funeral (Frank 1997: 53).²⁹

Sulpicius Severus and His Works on St Martin

The Author

Sulpicius Severus was born into an Aquitanian noble family, about the year 355 AD.³⁰ In his youth, he studied rhetorics in Bordeaux. There he met Paulinus,³¹ later Bishop of Nola and a saint, and they seem to have been friends. Severus

below, p. 48. For more information about Tours as a place of pilgrimage and the basilica, see the ch. on the churches of St Martin below, pp. 32f.

²⁸Ed. Krusch and Levison (1951). "The feast of the church is given sanctity by a triple virtue: that is, the dedication of the temple, the transfer of the body of the saint, and his ordination as Bishop. This feast you shall observe four days before the Nones of July, and remember that his burial is the third day before the Ides of November." (transl. Brehaut 1916: 34).

²⁹Another saint venerated on 11 November is St Mennas, a Lybian martyr and soldier-saint. "In the East the importance of Mennas caused the feast of St. Martin to be celebrated on 12 November in the Byzantine rite and on 10 November in the Coptic rite", which "occasionally created some confusion, since this day is also the feast of St. Martin Pope and Martyr." (Planchart 2003: 119).

³⁰See Frank (1997: 21), and cf. Huber-Rebenich (2010: 101) who adds that it was probably shortly before 355. The most extensive and significant work on Severus is by Stancliffe (1983).

³¹Paulinus was born ca. 355, became Bishop of Nola (near Naples, Italy) around 410, and died in 431 AD (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 101).

became a lawyer and had some success, and married a woman from a senator's family.

Apparently the death of his wife was the crucial turning point in his life. She died relatively young, probably in 394 or 395. It was probably through the inspiration of Paulinus and Martin that Severus decided to give up his inheritance, dispose of his possessions, and begin a life devoted to Christian asceticism.³² Severus' mother-in-law Bassula joined him soon, and they withdrew to a country estate called Primuliacum.³⁴ It evolved into an ascetic community, and it was there that Severus began his activity as a writer. One writer called Gennadius³⁵ reports of Severus' ordination to priesthood, and about a temporary inclination to Pelagianism,³⁶ which he repelled, and, out of remorse, imposed on himself a lifelong vow of silence.

There is circumstantial evidence that Severus was still alive in the 420s,³⁷ but the consensus is generally that 411 was the year of his death. The evidence of his written correspondence (with Paulinus of Nola) ends in 404, though it can safely be assumed that he was alive in 407.³⁸

Severus wrote four major works. These are

- The *Vita Martini*
- Three *Epistulae* concerning Martin
- Three *Dialogii* concerning Martin
- The *Chronicorum Libri duo*, or *Historia sacra*

³²This kind of *conversion* was popular amongst fourth century Gallic nobility.³³ Certainly the death of his wife had an enormous impact on his life and plans (Vielberg 2006: 40 n. 31), but other factors included his acquaintance with Paulinus, who had also lost his wife and afterwards began his impressive career in the church; Severus' encounter with Martin, probably in 393/394, also made a lasting impression on him, cf. SVM 25,6-8.

³⁴The exact place is uncertain, but it was perhaps Prémillac, and probably near Toulouse (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 101 n. 6).

³⁵The priest Gennadius of Massilia (d. ca. 496) is known for his historical writings, above all for *De Viris Illustribus* ('Of Famous Men'), in which he sketched biographies of over 90 contemporary Christians, including Severus. He was also known as Gennadius Scholasticus.

³⁶The doctrine of Pelagius (350/354-418), a British monk and ascetic, was declared heresy at the council of Ephesus in 431, its major antagonist being Augustine of Hippo. However, the related doctrine called Semipelagianism became popular in the south of Gaul during the 5th and sixth century. See Huber-Rebenich 2010: 102 n. 8.

³⁷There is reason to believe that Severus might have been involved in a semipelagianist controversy in the 420s (Vielberg 2006: 11).

³⁸See Vielberg (2006: 11); remarks by St Jerome in a commentary on the book of Ezechiel (410 or 412) indicate that Severus survived raids of Germanic tribes in 407.

I shall confine myself to introducing the works on St Martin in the following chapters. The *Chronicle*, written ca. 403, is a history of the world in the form of a breviary.³⁹ Its major source was the bible, but Severus included information from heathen historians in order to address – and convince – a yet heathen elite readership. The *Chronicle* is notable for scholars especially for its information on Priscillianism and Arianism. Naturally, the final chapters touch upon the saint's activities and achievements in the matter. In the report of the trial against Priscillian, Martin is put in the limelight as one protagonist who pleaded for mercy. Martin regarded it as sufficient punishment for the heretic Bishop to be expelled from his office and his district by episcopal verdict, but he also regarded it as wrong on principle that a secular ruler should function as judge in an ecclesial trial. As Vielberg recounts (2006: 35), Severus praises Martin's success in receiving the emperor Maximus' promise to abstain from severe punishment. Martin's influence on the emperor was not very considerable, however. Priscillian and his followers were executed.

The *Vita Martini*

Severus did not invent hagiography, but he was the first to write a *vita* of a Bishop. In the earliest days of Christianity, saints' lives were usually *passiones*. Inspired by the passion of Christ, *passiones* of Christian martyrs told about their exemplary deaths for their faith during the times of persecution. Before long, *vitae* of saintly people were written for their exemplary lives instead of for their exemplary deaths. The *Vita of St Anthony* (ca. 360) represents the first *vita* about a monk.⁴⁰ This and the *vita* about St Jerome (ca. 347-420) exerted great influence on the genre, as well as on Severus. His *vita* on Martin owes a lot to them, and shares their being written during the saint's lifetime.⁴¹

The *Vita Martini*⁴² was probably written in the year before Martin's death.

³⁹The text is edited in Halm's edition of Severus' complete works (CSEL 1). Weber (1997) devoted a recent monograph to the *Chronicle*.

⁴⁰See Wolpers (1964) for an introduction of the *Vita of St Anthony* (pp. 44f.), as well as a comparison with Severus' *Vita Martini* (esp. pp. 52f.).

⁴¹Vielberg (2006: 10f.) summarizes the history of the genre and analyses the influences on Severus.

⁴²The standard edition, equipped with an extensive commentary, is Fontaine (1967), see p. 222 for the manuscripts employed. Fontaine's critical edition draws from twelve manuscripts. While most them date back to the ninth century, the oldest manuscript, *Veronensis XXXVIII* 36 is dated to 517 AD. The manuscripts are categorized into an Italian family (of five manuscripts) and a French family (of six manuscripts); besides, there is one Irish manuscript, Dublin, Trinity College MS 52, which holds the *Book of Armagh*, or *Liber Ardmachanus*, from ca. 807 AD. See the study by Chase (1932), who presents a stemma of the Latin manuscripts on pp. 64 and 75. Dalbey (1984: 422 n. 3) calls Hoare (1954) the standard English translation from the

Severus certainly finished it before the spring of 397.⁴³ Possibly, Martin's death soon after the publication added to its popularity and impact. In fact, its success was so great that Frank claims (1997: 23) it hit like a bomb. This success probably inspired Severus to write several sequels, in the form of three epistles (ca. 397-8) and three dialogues (ca. 403-406) (see below).

Why did Severus write a *vita* about Bishop Martin of Tours? All the information that we have is from Severus' *Dedicatio* and *Praefatio* at the work's outset. The addressee is a certain Desiderio, who was possibly a member of the Aquitaine aristocracy.⁴⁴ Severus writes that the *vita* is merely his response to Desiderio's pleas for such an account on Martin, although Severus admits that the significance of its subject matter motivated his efforts in writing it.

Severus' claim that he intended the work solely for Desiderio, and especially his entreaty that Desiderio should abstain from giving it to anyone else can only be identified as a fraud. Desiderio – if he actually existed⁴⁵ – certainly would have understood his task of circulating the work.⁴⁶ Judging from Severus' extant written correspondence, the work was designed to appeal to a well-educated readership, constituted by senators' families and the provincial elites (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 106), which corresponds to his own origin. The *Dedicatio* is classified by scholars as an *ars poetica* of Christian writing.⁴⁷ It shows the typical traces of what scholars of classical Latin call *exordia topoi*, i.e. the author writes solely on request, despite his own declared incompetence. (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 108 n. 28) In addition, the allusions to widely known classical (heathen) authors reveals a work striving for literary renown.⁴⁸ Severus

Latin. I prefer to quote from Roberts (1894).

⁴³As Huber-Rebenich (2010: 103 and n. 9) informs us, Paulinus refers to the work in a written correspondence dating from the spring of 397. Cf. Frank (1997: 23).

⁴⁴This conjecture is based on the profile extant in the *dedicatio*; as Huber-Rebenich (2010: 75 n.2) points out, the profile resembles a sophisticated Gallo-Roman aristocrat.

⁴⁵As far as I could discern from the secondary literature, no scholar has yet suggested that Desiderio is not an actual person, but an invented person. After all, the name translates 'desire, wish', or in the dative singular 'to the desire', respectively. It could also be read as 'To them who desire this'.

⁴⁶As Huber-Rebenich (2010: 75 n. 3) points out, Severus articulates his interest in the circulation of his work more directly in his first *Epistula* (SET 1,1).

⁴⁷See Vielberg (2006: pp. 12, and 42). Cf. SVM *dedicatio* 5 for the typical *topos* of modesty. More information on Severus' knowledge of classical authors can be found in Stancliffe (1983: 55-61).

⁴⁸One example is the allusion to the first verse of the prologue of Terence's (195/190-159 BC) comedy *Andria*, cf. SVM *Dedicatio* 5 "cum primum animum ad scribendum appuli", which Terence directs at his critics at the beginning of his writing career. Another example is at the beginning of SVM 1; there is an allusion to Sallust's (86-34 BC) contemplation of fame in the *Catilinae Coniuratio* 1,1 and 3, see Vielberg (2006: 42). He notes that Severus' *dedicatio* is

obviously sought his place among writers from the antique tradition of historiography, though at the service of Christianity. No less classical is the emphasis of the work's value as presenting an exemplary ideal, and the reassurance of the author's truthfulness (SVM 1,9; 19,5; 27,7). Vielberg sees the *vita's* role models in Suetonius' biographies of emperors.⁴⁹

It is discernible from the *vita's* structure that it was indeed inspired by Suetonius' biographies. Suetonius has consistently divided them into 1. a chronological division (*per tempora*) (SVM 2-10), and 2. a systematical division (*per species*) (SVM 11-27), the latter ending with a description of the protagonist's character (SVM 25-7).⁵⁰

Vielberg arranged the material in a table (2006: 240-1)

ch. 1 introduction/prologue

chs. 2-10 **chronological division:** before Martin's episcopacy

chs. 2-4 Martin as soldier

chs. 5-6 Martin as cleric

chs. 7-8 Martin as monk

chs. 9-10 Martin as candidate for episcopacy

chs. 11-27 **systematical division:** Martin as Bishop

chs. 11-19 great miracles

chs. 20-24 devil's apparitions/miracles

ch. 25 encounter with the author

chs. 26-27 outline of Martin's character

actually full of such allusions, esp. to Sallust, Livius, and Tacitus.

⁴⁹Vielberg (2006: 239) explains that the *vita* resembles closely the classic genre of *enkomion*, as well as classic historiography; Severus created a biography which aims somewhere in between and, thus, corresponds essentially to the biography of Suetonius.

⁵⁰Vielberg (2006: 240) explains in more detail: "[I]n der Vorrede beschreiben die Worte *Igitur sancti Martini vitam scribere exordiar, ut se vel ante episcopatum vel in episcopatu gesserit* [SVM 1,7] nicht nur Suetons generelle Vorgehensweise als Biograph, der zunächst den Lebenslauf bis zur Erlangung des Herrscheramts chronologisch (*per tempora*) darstellt und in der anschließenden Schilderung der Herrschaftszeit systematisch (*per species*) verfährt, sondern sind selbst ein Beispiel für Suetons Kunstgriff der *divisio*, wie der Vergleich mit der Augustusvita zeigt".

The final chapter (27) differs from the model in that Suetonius would have divided the section into public and private life.⁵¹ Twice in his work, Severus takes a short cut. He states in SVM 10,1 that it would present too much to recount what Martin has accomplished as Bishop, and he states similarly in SVM 19,5, that there is no possibility of presenting more examples (Vielberg 2006: 277).

Severus' work is a masterpiece for its rhetoric and style. He had studied rhetoric and, given his professional success as lawyer, he mastered his craft. The study of rhetoric was (and still is) based on the classical Greek and Roman rhetoricians, that is heathen authors. Severus turns their rhetoric tools into forceful instruments for his Christian agenda. His *vita* is packed with Aristotle's *Ethos*, i.e. the proposition of an ethical mentality, *Pathos*, i.e. an appeal to the recipients' emotion, and *Enthymemes*, i.e. seemingly rational evidence.⁵² Severus employs all that despite his statement in the *Dedicatio* that "regnum Dei non in eloquentia, sed in fide constat".⁵³ This statement must be seen as a noble way of gaining the recipients' trust and turning their glance away from his techniques. Severus was probably aware of Augustine's advice to make use of such tools in order to appeal to the elites who treasure their classical literature.⁵⁴ Perhaps Severus plays with this idea in his statement: "Meminerint etiam salutem saeculo non ab oratoribus, cum utique, si utile fuisset, id quoque Dominus praestare potuisset, sed a piscatoribus praedicatam."⁵⁵

This whole process can be said to have repeated itself in history. Later, at the end of the 10th century, the Anglo-Saxon homilist Ælfric of Eynsham sought to win his Anglo-Saxon audience by appealing to their literary favours. Therefore, he renders his homiletic narrative in the majority of his *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints* in (late) Old English alliterative verse (see the chapter on Ælfric's verse below). His target audience was the Anglo-Saxon elite, who can safely be labelled a warrior elite.⁵⁶ Ælfric stylized the Christian pro-

⁵¹Vielberg (2006: 242) writes that the *vita*'s second part divides into an account of the public life (11-24) – itself divided into the fight against paganism (11-4), healing and exorcism (15-9), and political activities (20-1), and the fight against evil per se (22-4) – and the private life (24-7).

⁵²Cf. Huber-Rebenich (2010: 110). Vielberg (2006: 281) has collected exemplary passages for rhetorical figures.

⁵³I.e. "the kingdom of God consists not of eloquence, but faith." (transl. Roberts 1894).

⁵⁴I.e. in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, e.g. 2,36, as Huber-Rebenich (2010: 110 n. 34) points out.

⁵⁵I.e. "Let them also bear in mind that salvation was preached to the world, not by orators, but by fishermen, although God could certainly have adopted the other course, had it been advantageous." (transl. Roberts 1894). For the ideal of the fishermen cf. the New Testament, 2. Timothy 2,3 (Huber-Rebenich (2010: 76 n. 15).

⁵⁶Cf. Gardiner-Stallaert (1988) for a study of loyalty in secular Old English literature, and below p. 59.

tagonists of his narratives into warriors, a point I will return to in the chapter on Ælfric's *Life of St Martin*. Ælfric was not the only one to attempt this. The anonymous author of the Old English poem *The Dream of the Rood* turns Christ himself into a heroic warrior who defeats death.⁵⁷ Another figure who in many ways shares similarities with St Martin and who was also of Germanic origin is St Guthlac. Other Old English texts highlighting Christian narratives in alliterative verse are the Old English *Andreas* and *Elene*.

Severus also took care to put Martin in the best possible light for his target audience. Most scholars assume that Severus was honest in his portrayal of Martin, but that he, nevertheless, took some corrective action (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 111). His repetitive assurances of speaking the truth – which was obviously inspired by the classical tradition – should make the reader rather suspicious about the dimensions of his adjustments, and undoubtedly some issues forced him to make some. Martin must have been a controversial person during his lifetime and after his death, considering Severus' propaganda-like presentation and his anticipation of criticism against his work. The two major bones of contention Severus probably faced were 1. Martin's past as soldier, which, according to the long chronology, could have extended to 20 years of military service, and 2. Martin's asceticism, which was a thorn in the flesh of the other Gallic Bishops constituted of the Aquitaine elite, and which resembled Priscillianism.

One of Martin's contemporary critics was his successor in the office of Bishop of Tours. St Brice of Tours (ca. 370-444), who inhabited a monastery from the cradle, blamed Martin for having blood on his hands (see SDT 15,4). More importantly, by decree of Pope Siricius (334, 384-99) access to ecclesiastical offices was denied to anyone who had served the military after his baptism (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 111-2). Vielberg (2006: 255) raised the question why Severus did not omit this part of Martin's life. One answer to that could be that it was too profound to be ignored. But Vielberg's own answer is that Severus saw an opportunity to instrumentalise the issue in favour of Martin. Severus downplayed Martin's service and instead emphasized his moral strength in opposing the difficulties. In his account, he consequently highlighted Martin's forced entry into military service (SVM 2,5), Martin's innate enthusiasm for the Christian belief, his extraordinary conversion (SVM 2,5-3,2), and his truly monastic lifestyle as a soldier (2,7). Thus, Severus was also able to define Martin as the inventor of the *militia Christi*.

That is a term worth dwelling on. In a key episode of the *vita*, Martin calls

⁵⁷In Old English literature "Christ becomes the exemplar of loyalty and heroism", says Vermilion (1980: 105).

himself “Soldier of Christ”. It is after his baptism – therefore critical with regard to the decree mentioned by Pope Siricius – and before an imminent battle⁵⁸ that Martin requests leave to quit military service. He says: “Christi ego miles sum: pugnare mihi non licet”, i.e. “I am a soldier for Christ: to fight is not allowed to me” (my translation). In the words of Huber-Rebenich (2010: 113), this is where Severus presents Martin’s change from a *miles* to a *miles Christi*. Severus makes intensive use of this new concept. When Martin is a soldier, Severus highlights his monastic ethos, and when Martin finally quit service, he is described to have utilized his military virtues in service of God (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 114), a quality that enables Martin to surpass the other Bishops. Consequently, military imagery shines through when it comes to Martin’s fights against heresy. Exemplarily, he stops a heathen procession with his hand (SVM 12) or fights a fire (SVM 14,2), or he is equipped with an armed force of angels (SVM 14,5). His weapon in his fights is always prayer (SVM 16,7), or the gesture of the cross. Considering all this, it is certainly not surprising that Martin would become the patron saint of soldiers.

Severus’ handling of other critical issues was just as successful. Above, I have outlined Severus’ account of Martin’s election to Bishop, in which Martin is virtually stylized into a messiah (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 117). But there are more incidents in the *vita* where Severus thwarts the episcopal criticism. In the context of the trial against Priscillian (SVM 20), the Bishops are denounced as flatterers, whereas Martin neither cares for rules of conduct, nor does he hold back his opinions. Finally, at the close of the *vita*, Severus serves their expected criticism with a final blow (SVM 27,3). Martin, according to Severus, had always had many enviers, especially among the episcopacy. He goes on to say that they would hate Martin especially for his virtues which they themselves were unable to imitate. Anyone who would be enraged by the *vita* would thereby prove to be among them (SVM 27,4). This brilliant argumentation was obviously very successful in stealing the critics’ thunder. Vielberg (2006: 44), who also arrived at this conclusion, could find another interesting technique in this final passage. There is preponderant usage of the word *latrare* (‘to bark’) in connection with the episcopal criticism (Vielberg 2006: 247), whereas Martin is connected to the word *apostolicus* (‘apostolic’) several times (SVM 7,7; 20,1).

Severus makes extensive use of linguistic and other techniques, and he does not fail to employ the *imitatio-Christi* motive. The life and doings of Christ are mirrored in hagiography generally, and specifically in Severus’ *vita*. At the age of twelve, Martin tried to become a hermit, being unsuccessful only because of

⁵⁸There is a discussion in Stancliffe (1983: 119-48) and Barnes (1996 and 2010) about whether Severus could have invented the battle.

his young age. This, along with Martin's obedience to his father when entering military service, mirrors the twelve-year-old Jesus, who went away from his parents to debate with priests in the temple, and then obediently follows his parents back to Nazareth (BS Lc 2.41f.). This so-called *puer-senex* topos (lit. 'old boy', i.e. the boy who has the wisdom of the old) is mirrored by Severus' remark that Martin "meditabatur adhuc in aetate puerili quod postea deuotus inpleuit." (SVM 2,4).⁵⁹ Other evidential instances of *imitatio-Christi*, as well as episodes mirroring, resembling or directly pointing to parts of the Old and New Testament and early hagiography are collected in the following:⁶⁰

SVM 5,6 (BS Lc 23.39) Martin's conversion of a criminal resembles Jesus' conversion of the criminal on the cross.

SVM 25,3 (BS Jh 13.4f.) Martin washes Severus' feet during a visit, which mirrors Christ's *Washing of the Feet*.

SVM 7; 8 et al. (BS Jh 11.3-7; 17; 20-27; 33b-45) Martin raises three persons from the dead.⁶¹

SVM 20,8f. Martin predicts Maximus' future in the fashion of an Old Testament prophet.

SVM 5 He acts like a missionary when he undertakes a journey to convert his parents.

SVM 6,4; 6,6; 7,7; 13; 20,1 Martin is repeatedly called "apostolicus" when he fights the heathen and risks his life, and like the apostles suffers violence, prosecution, and exile.

SES 9 Martin is always ready to become a martyr.⁶²

SVM 4 Martin's quarrel with emperor Julian over his retirement from military service resembles trials against the martyrs from the time of prosecution.⁶³

⁵⁹I.e. Martin "already meditated in his boyish years what he afterwards, as a professed servant of Christ, fulfilled." (transl. Roberts).

⁶⁰I have combined the material from Vielberg (2006) and Huber-Rebenich (2010) here.

⁶¹Vielberg (2006: 154 n. 514) points to several episodes from the New Testament for models. Vielberg (2006: 158) also notes that there are reports of posthumous revivifications at Martin's grave, pointing to the Old Testament's Elias, see BS 2nd Book of Kings 13.21.

⁶²Frank (1997: 32) points to SES, where Severus states that Martin did not suffer martyrdom simply because the time of prosecution was already over.

⁶³The typical use of direct speech in this episode is also noteworthy. See Huber-Rebenich (2010: 118 n. 45), and Stancliffe (1983: 141-8).

SVM 5,2; 17 Martin is an exorcist, like St Anthony.⁶⁴

SVM 16 et al. Martin is a healer.

Martin conveniently combines all features listed by St Paul in his letter 1. Kor 12,28 in that he is an apostle, prophet, teacher, miraculous healer, helper, regent and multi-lingual. The *vita* closes, as outlined above, with the encounter of Severus and Martin, and a presentation of Martin's character.

Severus praises the teacher Martin, as he tells us in SVM 25,4-6, while at the same time he makes clear that Martin was not an orator (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 119) He was perceptive and able to interpret the scripture (SVM 25,6-8). The first thing Severus noticed when they first met, however, was Martin's goodness and authority, all of which was only surpassed by his charity.⁶⁵ He refers to Martin repetitively as an *exemplum*, while Martin himself modestly prefers to point to the exemplum of Paulinus of Nola.⁶⁶

The final description of Martin's character was probably expected by those readers who noticed the structural analogy to Suetonius' biographies. While in *passiones* of martyrs the narration would close with the death of the saint, Severus adheres to the structure modeled by Suetonius, thus, achieving cohesion and unity despite the fact that Martin's death is not part of the work (Vielberg 2006: 43). In addition, he underlines the closing of his narrative with a conventional formula, such as "sed iam finem liber postulat, sermo claudendus est".⁶⁷ This ending also allows for sequels that tell of Martin's death, and, indeed, the *vita* had sequels.

Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini* has left us a comprehensive account of the life of Bishop Martin of Tours. It was carefully written with much rhetoric brilliance, being so successful that in the course of the centuries following its publication it became *the* role model for the whole genre.⁶⁸ But by this point it should have become clear that it leaves much to be desired. As stated at the beginning, it is as one-sided and biased as a biography can be. There are several

⁶⁴Huber-Rebenich (2010: 118 n. 53) remarks that Severus probably knew Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*.

⁶⁵Vielberg (2006: 263) notes that Severus refrains from reproducing the typical Christian or antique catalogue of virtues, as described by Vielberg (*ibid.* 255f.).

⁶⁶With that, Severus created a double chain of exempla, as Vielberg (2006: 251) explains.

⁶⁷I.e. in SVM 26,1; "But now my book must be brought to an end, and my discourse finished." (transl. Roberts).

⁶⁸In 399, two years after Martin's death, Paulinus of Milan, author of the *Vita of St Ambrose*, expressed his "indebtedness" to Severus' work with regard to his own (Vermillion 1980: 68). Others influenced by Severus were Hilary of Arles (St Honoratus), Uranius (St Paulinus of Nola), Possidius (St Augustine), and of course the later Martin biographers: Paulinus of Périgueux, Venantius Fortunatus and Gregory of Tours (Vermillion 1980: 69).

issues that question its credibility, in fact it has been questioned by scholars as a whole.⁶⁹

There is the discrepancy of the long and short chronology. It is hard to imagine that it is accidental or due to carelessness, or that Severus as a “medieval person was not concerned with strict chronology.”⁷⁰ Severus’ work is generally acclaimed by contemporaries and critics for its rhetoric brilliance.

What – to the best of my knowledge – no scholar has proposed so far is that the *vita* might have been commissioned and paid for by Martin himself, supposedly to make improvements to his reputation. According to the long chronology, Martin’s life would include a service in the army comprising two decades (Frank 1997: 29). It has been proposed that such a long time of military service would hardly suit the biography of a Bishop whose major virtues were said to have been charity, meekness, etc. The decree of Pope Siricius would actually have questioned the justification of Martin being Bishop in the first place. I believe Severus’ *vita* could well have represented a reaction to the points of criticism Martin faced, especially considering that its author was a learned rhetorician and lawyer, and was obviously in command of a number of secretaries even at Primuliacum (see SET 1-2).

For all we know, Martin could have been a soldier for 25 years of his life, then changed from the military elite to the Bishop elite, possibly falling into disrepute for his fierce fight against heathenism, for which he was perhaps attacked by fellow Bishops who criticized his military past.⁷¹ In any case, Severus’ *vita* provides a lot of data on Martin’s life, albeit data that should be treated with caution; rather than a factual report and biography, it might better be regarded a remarkable work of literature and a significant witness to the culture of early Christendom.

⁶⁹Babut (1912) argued that most of the events in the *vita* were invented by Severus; Babut’s dissertation was supervised by Alfred Loisy, who had in fact been excommunicated by the Catholic Church in 1908 because of his scientific works. Babut’s “hyper-critical” (Happ 2006: 135) view was attacked by Delahaye (1920). For a discussion of Babut and Delahaye, see the introduction of Hoare (1954) and Hamilton (1979: 21).

⁷⁰See Vermillion (1980: 42). Vermillion proposes as an explanation for the quality of the *vita* that its purpose was “edification not simply biography” (43). It has also been argued that chronological discrepancies were supportive of the vindication of Martin’s past as a soldier in the context of his reputation as Bishop (Frank 1997: 29).

⁷¹The idea that Martin was more of a military man than a Bishop was proposed by Babut (1912: esp. 113).

The *Epistulae*

It was probably the *vita*'s success which prompted Severus to produce a sequel that narrates the circumstances of Martin's death, though it is of course imaginable that the *vita* was set up to be open for sequels or some kind of addenda in the first place. Severus' sequel was eventually a set of three letters that are commonly referred to as the *Epistulae*.⁷² They are addressed to three different persons, 1. *ad Eusebium*, often with the rubric *Epistula Prima* (SEP), 2. *ad Aurelium Diaconum*, or *Epistula Secunda* (SES), and 3. *ad Bassulam*, or *Epistula Tertia* (SET). Despite their private tone and Severus' repeated request that they should not be circulated, he was probably as interested in their circulation as he was in the *vita*'s. He is quite frank about this in SEP 1,1, where his modesty appears to be very affected (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 75 n. 3).

The three epistles are concerned with Martin's death, though only the third reports the actual circumstances. It has been suggested that they were meant to address the issue from different points of view (Vielberg 2006: 44).

Severus' *Epistula Prima* (SEP) is addressed to a certain Eusebius.⁷³ The first epistle has been regarded as a kind of prelude to the narration of Martin's death (Vielberg 2006: 45). Indeed, one could obtain this impression by regarding the set as a tripartite project. As a single document, it seems to present an answer to criticism. It would have been interesting to see which parts of the *vita* evoked which critique, but the form and extent of criticism against Severus' work can only be guessed at from Severus' reaction. It is, of course, hardly surprising that there is no extant written evidence of criticism, considering that Severus' works soon found their way into the core canon of Christian hagiography, a canon that disregarded its critique. On a second level, the epistle tries to exemplify the glory of Martin's doings by attesting more miracles to him than Severus had been able to mention in the *vita*.

Let me present a brief synopsis. Severus writes that he welcomes the *vita*'s success, but that he also got word that someone (unnamed) raised the question why Martin has become a victim of fire after having been able to fight fire earlier⁷⁴ (1-2). Severus expresses his anger about this critical remark, and compares the situation with an episode in the New Testament in which the Jews mock

⁷²Stancliffe (1983: 102) remarks that the epistle is a typical form for early Christian literary works, and refers to the letters of St Paul. Severus' *Epistulae* are edited in Fontaine along with the *vita*.

⁷³Fontaine (p. 1121) notes that Eusebius appears in SDS 9,5, where Gallus (see the following chapter on Severus' *Dialogii*) refers to the letter to Eusebius (i.e. this letter), stating that this Eusebius was a presbyter at the time Severus wrote the *vita*, and was then a Bishop.

⁷⁴This refers to the episode in SVM 14.

Jesus “He saved others; himself he cannot save.”, thus denouncing the unnamed critic (3-4). Severus reports similar examples from the lives of St Paul (5) and St Peter (6) to underline his point. He regrets that he was not able to report all of Martin’s miracles in the *vita* so as to give more testimony to his glory (7-8). He goes on to recall an incident in which Martin accidentally put his bedding of straw on fire, and was unable to escape from the room (9-11). After he had calmed himself, Martin engaged in prayer, and was saved by monks, regretting afterwards that he did not pray in the first place (12-4). Severus claims that Martin himself had revealed this incident to him, and remarks that he is happy to be able to pass on Martin’s exemplary behaviour (15).

The second epistle is addressed to a certain deacon called Aurelius. Section 7 tells us that Aurelius was friends with Martin, but that is all that we can deduce from Severus’ works themselves.⁷⁵ In the second epistle, Severus practically sanctified Martin (Vielberg 2006: 46-7). On various occasions he had put Martin on one level with the apostles, had him imitate Christ and, thus, put him on one level with saints, but it is in this episode that he had actually provided a forceful picture of Martin’s sainthood. This could well be the *raison d’être* for the second epistle. This notion would be reinforced by Severus’ statement that he finds solace in prayers to Martin, an act which introduces the idea of addressing Martin as a saint in the first place.

Severus relates how not long ago, after Aurelius had left him, he fell into a melancholic mood and reflected upon his sins (1). Being in this mood, he fell asleep and had a vision of St Martin going to heaven, holding in his hand Severus’ *vita* (2-4). After he also saw the deceased presbyter Clarus going to heaven, he awoke because a servant entered his room (5). Hearing the news of Martin’s death from the servant, Severus decided to pass it on to Aurelius (6). Severus goes on to express his sadness over Martin’s death, and the joy over Martin’s exemplary life. He underlines that Martin would have been ready and glad to have accepted martyrdom, though it was not granted to him (7-9). Considering Martin’s steadfastness and empathy he had in life, Martin’s martyrdom would have been as exemplary as Isaiah’s (10-3). Severus, though helplessly lamenting, consoles himself with his joy of having been friends with Martin, who certainly dwells among the apostles, prophets and martyrs, and adds that he finds solace in prayers to the saint (14-8). The letter closes with Severus expressing his hope that Aurelius may find consolation despite the tragic news of Martin’s death (19).

The third letter is addressed to a certain Bassula, Severus’ mother-in-law. She

⁷⁵ Aurelius appears in SDT 1,4. He was probably a pupil of Martin like Severus, and obviously became a deacon in some parish church in the vicinity of Primuliacum (Fontaine: 1184).

was certainly an admirer of Martin, and possibly a member of the community of ascetics at Primuliacum, but that is everything we can speculate about her person.⁷⁶ In his letter to her, Severus complains to her, stating – ironically – that he should put her to trial for publishing letters on Martin which Severus had sent her (1). He supposes that his secretaries are simply obedient to her (2), therefore, he mockingly regards Bassula as the wrongdoer, and accuses her of even having read his letter to Aurelius⁷⁷ (3). As an answer to her request that he should write about the exact circumstances of Martin’s death (4), Severus is willing to describe it briefly as it was reported to him by witnesses (5). He reports that Martin had anticipated his death but still visited Candes to settle a dispute between clerics (6). On his way Martin discovered and observed some birds catching fish, and being repelled by their enormous appetite he was inspired to employ it as a metaphor to educate his disciples about the ways in which the devil devours human souls (7). Martin commanded the birds to fly away, by which – according to Severus – he once more illustrated his power over the beasts (8). In Candes, Martin announced his imminent death (9), which his disciples lamented so greatly that Martin himself became grief-struck, and prayed (10-13). Martin was modestly bedded, and preferred to lie always on his back, facing heaven (14-15). Discovering the devil standing nearby, Martin repelled him, saying that heaven will receive him soon (16). Thus dying, his face shining like that of an angel (17), the event attracted thousands of people to come and see his dead body, which converted many of them (18). There was much lamenting, but also much joy over the man’s life (19-20). The letter ends with Severus’ joy over Martin’s triumph over this world, and his confidence that Martin watches over him (21).

Together, the *vita* and the *epistulae* form a complete account on the life of St Martin of Tours. Manuscripts usually include the epistles after the *vita*. As a *dossier*, i.e. a compilation of texts concerned with one topic, this set provided all necessary information on the saint and, thus, served as the basis for later *vitae*, such as the *Vita Martini* by Venantius Fortunatus (see the following chapter), or for homilies, such as the Old English homilies edited here. The information from Severus’ *vita* and the third epistle often sufficed for the composition of a homily, as is the case in the Old English anonymous homilies. The long *Life of St Martin* by Ælfric is unique in that it drew material from all the epistles as well as from Severus’ dialogues (see below).

The question is whether the set of Severus’ works represent one large-scale project, or whether they present distinct works addressing different issues and

⁷⁶See Fontaine’s speculations on Bassula on pp. 26f. and in his commentary on SET, pp. 1266f.

⁷⁷Severus probably refers to the second epistle.

addressees. The overall design of the epistles could be interpreted as 1. prologue, 2. vision and message of death, and 3. death, but whether this represents Severus' intended design cannot be deduced from the works themselves. This touches upon the question whether Severus deliberately planned and executed all parts of his writing, or whether he left room for himself to improvise, and to compile the material with a rough scheme, or whether the works were indeed what they claim to be, i.e. distinct letters to distinct persons. Vielberg (2006: 49) argued that the whole work comes full circle with the end of the third letter. Given the brilliance of Severus' rhetorical performance, I find it quite sensible to suppose a carefully planned and comprehensive outline. In any case, he managed to conceal his intentions well behind his rhetoric.

The *Dialogii*

Though the narration of Martin's life is completed with the report of his death in the third epistle, Sulpicius Severus wrote yet another work on St Martin of Tours. The *Dialogii*⁷⁸ – or *dialogues* – are a tripartite work, but differ from the *epistles* in that the *epistles* could stand as three single letters. The *dialogues* present one text in three parts, or books. They also differ from the *epistles* in that they do not present a chronological sequel to the *vita* or to the *epistles*.

More importantly, the dialogues seem to be more concerned with a different issue. They can be read as defending western monkhood against eastern monkhood: Martin of Tours seems to represent Severus' foil for western monkhood, which – needless to say – he favours and defends against eastern monkhood as represented by Athanasius' St Anthony (Frank 1997: 24). In fact, the first 22 chapters of the first dialogue are not concerned with Martin at all.

In short, Severus' *dialogues* is the report of a conversation between himself and two friends called Postumianus and Gallus. The meeting is set in Primuliacum, the place of Severus' residence, where he had written the *vita* some years before. It reports how Postumianus had just returned from a journey and speaks about his experiences. He travelled the eastern parts of the Roman empire, and joyfully reports to Severus of the success and widespread circulation of his *vita*. While Postumianus tells of his journey and, thus, draws a picture of eastern monkhood, Gallus tells about the miracles of his teacher Bishop Martin of Tours and, thus, draws a picture of its western counterpart,

⁷⁸Fontaine edited the *Dialogii* in 2006, in the same series (Sources Chrétiennes, no. 510); his edition of the *dialogues* does not feature a commentary similar to that of his earlier edition of the *vita* and the *epistles*, but offers notes to the edited text. His edition bears the title *Gallus: Dialogues sur les Vertus de Saint Martin*; as Fontaine explains (2006: 7), *Gallus* is the title that Severus originally gave the work; cf. p. 18.

exemplified by Martin. Severus practically recedes into the background in this conversation, which eventually lasts over two days, and which Severus vows to write down for posterity, while Postumianus willingly takes up the task of spreading the story of Martin's life on his future journeys.⁷⁹

I will present a brief synopsis. In the first *Dialogus*, Severus reports the following: he was with a friend called Gallus, when another of Severus' friends called Postumianus, joined them (1). Postumianus, who had just returned from a journey in the east, was begged by the two friends to tell of his journeys and especially of the state of the church in the east (2). He told that he had travelled through Africa, heading for Carthage, and by accident landed in Cyrene (Lybia), and met a modest presbyter there with whom he stayed (3-5). At Alexandria, Postumianus stumbled upon the theological dispute about the controversial writings of Origen,⁸⁰ which Postumianus judged to be well-intended, but stained by passages with doubtful morals (6-7). Postumianus reported how he met the presbyter Jerome in Bethlehem, when he was interrupted by Gaul, who discussed Jerome's writings (8-9). Postumianus went on to relate that he had arrived at Thebais (Egypt), where he met many monks and heard many wondrous tales of the monks, and recounted some of them (9-22). Finally, Postumianus asked to hear about Martin of Tours, whose *vita* he had always carried with him, and about whom he had heard much praise on his journey (23). Severus talked about Martin and compared him to the saints who Postumianus had mentioned (23-26). Since Postumianus was willing to hear more about Martin, Gallus was ready to tell more of his teacher, though he said he would confine himself to instances when Martin was bishop and to those of which he (Gallus) was an eye-witness (27).

The second *Dialogus* connects directly to the first. Severus writes that Gallus told stories of the saint Martin. Martin had clothed a naked beggar whom his archdeacon did not clothe (1), cured Gallus' sick uncle Evanthius and a poisoned attendant (2), forgave soldiers who had accidentally attacked him (3), revived a child and, thus, converted many (4) and had a good influence on the emperors Valentinian and Maximus (5-6). Martin was much admired by Maximus' wife, a fact which then prompted a discussion between Postumianus and Gallus; after this discussion, Gallus continued to tell more of Martin's miracles (7-8). Martin had much pity with tormented animals (9), told many parables of the quality of marriage (10), the separation of monks and nuns (11), and the piousness of a virgin (12). He had much discourse with male and female saints

⁷⁹Cf. Vielberg (2006: 52-6) and Huber-Rebenich (2010: 122) for summaries.

⁸⁰I.e. Origen or Oregenes Adamantius, a Christian theologian, ca. 185 - ca. 254 (NEB s.v. *Origen*).

(13), and foresaw the coming of the (already born) antichrist. When Severus and his two friends heard of the arrival of the presbyter called Refrigerius, they decided to end the discussion to go to bed and welcome him in the morning.

The third *Dialogus* begins with Severus' report of the next morning and the continuation of the debate between he and his friends. After they had got up, they were surprised to find many other friends, monks and laymen as an audience (1). Gallus took the role of conducting the debate and began recounting other miracles by the saint (2-4), including a miraculous healing (2), and Martin's good influence on the courtier Avitianus with the help of angels (4), whereupon Gallus noted that the incidents described were also witnessed by those present at the debate (5). He went on to tell of Martin's power over demons (6+8), weather (7+9) and beasts (9). Martin had the habit of eating fish at Easter, and when he was told that no fish had been caught, he prophesied the deacon would catch fish if he tried once more, and so it happened. Once, it had seemed to a certain imperial bodyguard that Martin's hand was glittering with purple gems on it (10). After the process against Priscillian and under the influence of some Bishops, the emperor Maximus started a campaign to murder heretics in Spain; Martin tried to prevent this, since in his view it endangered true Christians (11). Martin could not prevent these wrongdoings, and an angel advised him not to put his reputation and himself in danger by participating further in these actions and so Martin also stayed away from all following synods (12-13).

After recounting how Martin healed an entire family from an inflicting disease (14), the debate touches upon a monk from Martin's monastery called Briccius (i.e. St Brice). Once, when Briccius was infuriated by Martin under the influence of two demons, Martin remained tranquil against the accusation brought forth against him by Briccius. Through prayer he drove away the two demons and, thus, Briccius afterwards sought forgiveness from Martin, which he, of course, granted (15).

Postumianus noted at this point that Briccius would indeed be someone who had no control over his rage, for which Postumianus pitied him (16).

Since the evening was by now closing in, Severus suggested that they should close the session, and he also suggested that Postumianus should spread the knowledge of St Martin in the Eastern world, and that he should pass through Campania in order to tell Paulinus all the details of this conversation, that he may also spread the life and deeds of Martin. (17) Severus also asked Postumianus to visit the shore of Ptolemais, which is the sea-grave of Pomponius, a friend of Severus, and mourn there for Pomponius, who had not invited Martin and who died in hateful feelings for Severus, which Severus regretted deeply. With this they all departed (18), and so Severus' report ends.

Whether this conversation ever took place, or it was inspired by actual events, or it is completely a work of fiction remains an unanswered question. The sophisticated rhetorics of the participants suggest authorial intervention. The fact that the one character who speaks for western monkhood is named Gallus ('the Gaul') suggests fictitious characters. In any case, Severus' withdrawal into the background was a rhetorically effective step to enhance his credibility, and, to this end, it was certainly functional to employ the form of a dialogue as a narrative vehicle.

Stancliffe argues that Severus "has adopted the form only for literary reasons" (Stancliffe 1983: 103), referring to Severus' statement in SDT 5,6, which reads: "But although we have adopted the form of a dialogue, in order that the style might be varied to prevent weariness, still we affirm that we are really setting forth a true history in a dutiful spirit." (transl. Roberts 1894). Considering Severus' brilliance as a rhetorician, however, I personally refrain from trusting in any of his statements. As a matter of fact, the dialogue as a literary form was well-known through the dialogues of Plato and Xenophon; Plato is even mentioned in SDT 17,6, which suggests that Severus was familiar with Plato's *dialogues*.⁸¹

Manuscripts containing material on St Martin of Tours often featured all of Severus' texts. The order usually was *vita-epistles-dialogues*. The resulting dossier has come to be referred to by the term *Martinellus* (see below, p. 51f.). It represented an extensive source for later authors, though, as pointed out below, the *vita* and the third *epistle* actually sufficed for creating a narrative comprising the life, deeds and death of the saint.

The Cult of St Martin and Its Development on the Continent

I define the "cult of St Martin" here as the totality of the different forms of the saint's veneration, worship and memorization. The cult in textual culture can be said to have begun with Severus' *vita*, i.e. during Martin's lifetime. But right after the saint's death in 397, another cult materialized quite literally. Soon after the saint's death, a basilica was built over the tomb by Martin's immediate successor (St) Brice. Martin's tomb and the cell in Candés where he died became popular places of pilgrimage (Frank 1997: 57). In fact, these places proved to have such increasing attraction that, over the centuries, Tours rivalled Rome

⁸¹Vielberg (2006: 13 n. 47) points to this episode, in which Martin's wisdom is compared with that of Plato. In the same episode, Martin's steadfastness is compared to that of the imprisoned Socrates.

as a target for pilgrims (Vielberg 2006: 143). Ever since the Merovingian dynasty regarded Martin their patron saint after 496, their political success added to the saint's popularity. Churches were dedicated to Martin, relics, shrines, and sculptures were collected if they were connected to the saint in any way. The cult also comprised all kinds of recorded liturgy and liturgical music for church services on Martinmas, as well as popular folk traditions connected to Martinmas. The next chapter will address the textual culture concerning the saint.

Severus composed his *vita* in Primuliacum, which can be said to have been the first center of the cult of St Martin (Frank 1997: 53). However, regarding material culture, the cult began in the city of Tours immediately after Martin's death.⁸² There, Martin was succeeded as Bishop by (St) Brice. Brice was a monk and pupil of Martin. The orphan Brice was saved by Martin and grew up in his monastery at Marmoutier. Severus paints a rather negative picture of Brice, criticizing him mainly for his choleric temperament and his secular interests. Martin himself had his issues with Brice, which is best exemplified by Martin's statement that "if Christ could bear with Judas, then I can bear with Brice".⁸³ Martin predicted that his successor would be Brice, and indeed he was elected Bishop of Tours. Brice's episcopacy was not a glorious one at first. He was often criticized for his tepidity, and when finally a nun gave birth to a child and rumour had it that Brice was the father, he had to abdicate. He made use of the time off to visit the Pope in Rome.⁸⁴ After his return seven years later, he came back to the city of Tours just at the time of a forthcoming election, and he was elected again as Bishop of Tours. The fact that he was venerated as a saint after his death gives testimony of his actual sanctity, but it seems he has never enjoyed great popularity as a saint. It did not add to his popularity that Gregory of Tours later instrumentalized him as a negative counterpoint to the glorious Martin (Vielberg (2006: 245-6).

Whatever the relationship between Martin and Brice was, after Martin's death it was Brice who had a chapel built over Martin's grave. It was probably a modest place, though we have no information on it. The grave and Tours

⁸²If the church at Whithorn in Scotland was built in 397 (see below, p. 61), it was actually the first church to be built in Martin's name.

⁸³Vielberg (2006: 246) points to the fact that there was a *vita* of Brice and that there must have been at least one group of followers who took care of his canonization as saint and that his *vita* was a part of dossiers on St Martin.

⁸⁴Brice tried to prove his innocence by a miracle: he took glowing hot pieces of coal and transported them somewhere, but his coat remained unharmed; his attributes are often coals in the lap of his garment. This, however, did not convince the people of Tours. According to legend his supposed child was miraculously given a voice and testified that Brice was not the father; cf. Vielberg (2006: 246).

became such popular destinations for pilgrims that Brice's chapel was soon enlarged by a later Bishop of Tours.

Bishop (St) Perpetuus of Tours replaced the chapel with a bigger building in the years around 470 AD. Perpetuus was from a wealthy Gallic family of senators and the sixth Bishop of Tours, from 458 until his death in 488 (Vielberg 2006: 61). He was eager to promote the cult of Martin, which included the construction of a greater attraction for pilgrims. In the fifth century, Christianity was already established, as was the status of Tours as a popular target for pilgrims, and it was still growing in significance. The century saw the final shift of power from the Roman empire to the Frankish dynasty of the Merovingians, therefore, Perpetuus' role in the local propagation of Christianity was significant. He is said to have built several churches in the vicinity; as a saint, he is often depicted as a builder of churches, his typical attribute being a small model of a cathedral. His feast day is 8 April, which is the supposed day of his death in 491.

Obviously, Perpetuus was particularly fond of St Martin, who was by far his most popular predecessor; he could see the potential in Martin's popularity. He expanded the cult of St Martin by several important acts. Around 480, Perpetuus ordered that Martinmas was to be the beginning of a 40-day fasting period before Christmas, also called *Quadragesima Sancti Martini*, or *St Martin's lent*.⁸⁵ In this way, Martinmas became an immensely important day in the diocese's calendar year, and not only was Martin celebrated once a year, but twice, since Perpetuus ordered Martin to be venerated on the day of his burial (11 November) as well as on the day of his ordination as Bishop (4 July), which then was also the day of the transition of Martin's body to the newly built basilica (Hamilton 1979: 36).

Perpetuus' new basilica was a massive investment. It was a large building, and inside giant wall paintings displayed the saint's life ostentatiously, in fact to such an extent that the works influenced Christian artists all over Europe (Groß 1997b: 194). We know a bit about the construction of Perpetuus' church from a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (431/432-479), Bishop of Clermont after 471 (or 469, or 470), to a certain Licontius (of whom nothing else is known). The letter is from 470 AD and contains a short verse elegy about the construction of the greater basilica to replace the previous "modest chapel".⁸⁶ It tells us that the

⁸⁵See NEB s.v. *Advent*: "Known as St. Martin's Lent, the custom was extended to other Frankish churches by the Council of Mâcon in 581."

⁸⁶The elegy translates: "Over the body of Martin, venerated in every land, the body in which renown survives the life departed, there rose a structure meet for poor men's worship, and unworthy of its famous Confessor. Always a sense of shame weighed heavy on the citizens when they thought of the saint's great glory, and the small attraction of his shrine. But Perpetuus

former chapel was unworthy of the great saint, and, thus, it is a panegyric on Perpetuus.⁸⁷

Gregory of Tours, later also Bishop of Tours, wrote in detail about the church in his *Historia Francorum* (GHF), book II, ch. 14. He writes it was “situated 550 paces from the city. It is 160 feet long and 60 wide and 45 high to the vault; it has 32 windows in the part around the altar, 20 in the nave; 41 columns; in the whole building 52 windows, 120 columns; 8 doors, three in the part around the altar and five in the nave.”⁸⁸ The basilica was a popular place for pilgrims for its alleged healing powers, and it was especially this quality that Gregory sought to develop and to make more prominent. It is notable, especially in the verse epic of Martin’s life by Paulinus (see the chapter on Paulinus below) which was commissioned by Gregory, how Tours is stylized into a place of pilgrimage on a par with Rome (Vielberg 2006: 224). As is told by Paulinus and Gregory himself, who provided Paulinus with material, the basilica was not only a place of healing, but also of divine punishment. Gregory reports how a murderer who committed his crime in the basilica later committed suicide in the basilica.⁸⁹

The economic potential must have already been a point of interest at the time of the saint’s death. When the people of Tours wanted to claim the dead body of their Bishop Martin and the people of Poitiers claimed his body too, a big debate commenced and was held with some vigour, as Gregory reports in GHF (1.48). Both townspeople quite obviously wanted to benefit from the economic potential of Martin’s dead body. In fact, Martin’s body meant great

the Bishop, sixth in line after him, has now taken away the disgrace; he has removed the inner shrine from the modest chapel and reared this great building over it. By the favour of so powerful a patron the founder’s fame has risen together with the church, which is such as to rival the temple of Solomon, the seventh wonder of the world. That shone resplendent with gems and gold and silver; but this fame shines with a light of faith beyond the brilliance of all metals. Avaunt, Envy of the venomous tooth! be our forefathers absolved; may our posterity, however fond of its own voice, presume to add or alter nothing. And till the second coming of Christ to raise all people from the dead, may the fame of Perpetuus perpetually endure.” The letters of Apollinaris are edited and translated in O.M. Dalton (1915), see book IV, letter 18. The passage is taken from “http://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/sidonius_letters_04book4.htm” (17 Nov 2014), where the text is freely available.

⁸⁷Perpetuus was a pioneer if we consider Lapidge (2003: 19): “We saw earlier that, from the Carolingian period onwards, the translation of a saint’s relics was very often accompanied by reconstruction of the church in question in order to make the translated relics the focal point of worship, and to accommodate the (anticipated) increase in visitors to the shrine.”

⁸⁸See the chapter on Gregory below, p. 46. The quote is taken from Brehaut’s (1916) translation; cf. the Latin in the appendix.

⁸⁹See Vielberg, p. 227 and n. 243, and for Gregory’s report consult MGH 587: 1,2.

wealth for Tours. We are well informed about the pilgrimage to Tours, at least with regard to the times of Gregory of Tours (540-94, Bishop from 573). Gregory kept himself informed about all miracles that happened through Martin's intervention; extant written records provide a detailed picture of the pilgrimage in Tours.⁹⁰

There were four locations (*loca sancta*) in Tours that were related to St Martin. They were 1. the basilica, at the river Loire, near a cemetery dating back to late antiquity, 2. Martin's cell in the town's church, 3. the monastery of Marmoutier in Tours, and 4. the cell in Candes where Martin died.

The pilgrims were from all parts of society; most of them afflicted by disease and most of them poor. About 27.5 % were from the direct vicinity, the rest from the provinces that would form modern France, except for 12% who made their way from other countries.⁹¹ Tours rivalled Poitiers nearby, and also Rome (Vielberg 2006: 143). The peaks of the visits were around the great feast days of Martin, that is around the 4th of July (his ordination as Bishop) and the 11th of November (burial in Tours). As we know from Gregory, many miracles happened at Easter and Christmas at Martin's *loca sancta*, and we even know what the pilgrims were hoping for when they came to Tours. The current afflictions and diseases were dysentery (*morbus disentericus*), leprosy, typhus (*Iues* and *Iues inguinaria*) and smallpox. People came with disabilities, tumours or physical pain. Mental disorders, including epilepsy, were categorized as demonic obsession (Vielberg 2006: 144).

The number of churches dedicated to St Martin is a valuable index of the extent of his cult. However, the sheer number does not allow a list to be presented here. Manfred Becker-Huberti, on his website "www.heiliger-martin.de", lists 661 St Martin's churches in Germany alone,⁹² 43 of which are in the archdiocese of Cologne; 69 churches were built in Martin's name in the diocese of Trier (Kasper 1997: 17); this suggests that both were places where the cult of Martin seems to have been particularly strong. One notable Martin's church is in Landshut, since it represents the biggest church in Bavaria, as well as the biggest Gothic brick building in the world, begun in 1389 and completed in 1500. The number of Martin-churches is even greater in France. Farmer (1979: 266) says that St Martin's "cult is reflected in the 500 villages and 4,000 parish churches which are dedicated to him".⁹³

⁹⁰Vielberg has recounted them shortly, see esp. pp. 140-153.

⁹¹The numbers are from Vielberg, p. 141; cf. Pietri and Pietri (2002: 70).

⁹²See "http://www.heiliger-martin.de/kirchen/weitere_martinkirchen.html" (14 Nov 2014) The Wikipedia lists 320 Martin's churches in Germany under "<http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martinskirche>" (01 Dec 2014)

⁹³Wikipedia lists more than 600 churches of St Martin in France under "

Around 500 AD, a church was built in Rome and dedicated to St Martin (and St Sylvester I). It was commissioned by Pope Symmachus (498-514), and was to replace a basilica that had been built by Pope (St) Sylvester I in the fourth century. It is commonly referred to as *San Martino ai Monti* ('Saint Martin in the Mountains'), but it is officially known as *Santi Silvestro e Martino ai Monti*, since it was dedicated to both saints.⁹⁴ It has been reconstructed twice, but bears many original qualities, and is popular for its interior decoration by Filippo Gagliardi (d. 1659).⁹⁵ Another church in Rome that has some significance is *Saints Martin and Sebastian of the Swiss*, or *Santi Martino e Sebastiano degli Svizzeri*. It is a Catholic oratory situated in the Vatican City which was originally built to provide a chapel for the Swiss Guards, therefore, the soldier-saints Martin and Sebastian presented proper patrons. It was customary for some time that the pope would "ordain the Bishops in the oratory of St Martin" (Planchart 2003: 119-20).

There were a number of relics of St Martin. Relics are objects connected to a saint, or to give the OED definition (s.v. *relic* 1.a.): "In the Christian Church, esp. the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches: the physical remains (as the body or a part of it) of a saint, martyr, or other deceased holy person, or a thing believed to be sanctified by contact with him or her (such as a personal possession or piece of clothing), preserved as an object of veneration and often enshrined in some ornate receptacle."⁹⁶ The supposed healing qualities of relics were the hope of persons afflicted by disease and, as such, they represented objects of immense economic potential, similar to modern pharmaceuticals. Their trading and the economics of pilgrimage, similar to modern tourism, forms its own academic field, therefore, I shall restrict myself to the most important relics of St Martin. The city of Tours was able to offer first class primary relics, such as the body of the saint, and several objects connected to the life of Martin as reflected in Severus' *vita*.

The most important relic connected to St Martin was the coat he had shared

wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89glise_Saint-Martin" (17 Nov 2014). A (non-academic) source mentions the number of 3,667 churches dedicated to St Martin, ("http://www.brauchtum.de/herbst/heiliger_martin.html" (17 Nov 2014)).

⁹⁴Monti is the name of the district within the city of Rome, a division which derives from the city's traditional administrative division.

⁹⁵See Brandenburg (2005) for information on the churches of Rome, including San Martin ai Monti. For the interior decoration by Gagliardi cf. Sutherland (1964: 58-69).

⁹⁶As Vielberg (2006: 223) explains, anything connected to a saint in any way qualified as a relic, be it only dust from his or her marble tomb slab. The physical contact was the decisive quality. As such, there was categorization as to parts of the saints body (primary relics), or objects which had direct contact with the saint's body (secondary), which could extend to objects which were in contact with secondary relics, cf. *ibid.* p. 145.

with the beggar, as described in the popular episode of the *Charity of St Martin* (SVM 3,1f.) For some time there were two parts of the coat in existence, one in Tours and one in Amiens (Masi 1968: 188). One coat became part of the royal treasury of the Merovingians (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 120). After making Martin their patron saint, Merovingian rulers often took the coat into battle. Their success added to Martin's popularity. The Merovingians called it *cappa*, and the small house – or section of a church building – where they stored it was called *cap(p)ella*, from which the English word *chapel* derived.⁹⁷ The dynasty was also in possession of the sword of St Martin, about which Masi (1968: 188) writes: “In 1225, a distinguished jurist of Verona, Maggio Maggi, testified that he had seen and touched the sword.” A purple tunic believed to have been worn by Bishop Martin and a diadem also existed.

The oldest extant depiction of Martin is in the church Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, Italy, dating back to ca. 600 AD (Groß 1997b: 195). The oldest depiction extant in a manuscript is a little drawing in the “Fuldaer Sakramentar” (‘Sacramentary of Fulda’), from ca. 975 AD, which is kept in Göttingen, Germany, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 2 Cod. Ms. theol. 231 Cim.⁹⁸

Another valuable index or at least indicator of the extent of the cult of a saint is the number and significance of patronages he or she has come to fulfill. The Merovingians were a Frankish dynasty who gained power at the time of transition between late antiquity and the early middle ages. The deeds and military successes of the Merovingian ruler Clovis (c. 466 - c. 511) were most significant in their rise. His second wife (St) Clotilde (475 - 545) had a Catholic upbringing and worked hard to convert her husband to Catholicism. She succeeded in convincing him before the battle of Tolbiac (496) to vow to be baptized if he were victorious. After the victory, on Christmas-day 496, he was baptized by St Remigius at Reims. A few years later, in 507, Clovis started a campaign against the Visigoths, who were devoted to Arianism. He visited Tours, and, as the story goes, he prayed in the basilica of St Martin, the saint who, as Clovis knew, had prominently fought Arianism.⁹⁹ After his victory against the Visigoths at Vouillé, Clovis paid homage to St Martin and received two Martinian relics, these were the purple tunic and diadem mentioned. The

⁹⁷See “http://www.brauchtum.de/herbst/heiliger_martin.html” (17 Nov 2014).

⁹⁸Vielberg notes that the depiction of this scene of the Charity (of all the scenes in the *vita*) underlines the episode's significance in the *vita*, see Vielberg (2006: 295 and n. 9), cf. Labarre (1998: 9-10).

⁹⁹Vielberg (2006: 289) comments that the conflict between Martin and Arianism was revived in the conflict between Clovis and the Visigoths. (Vielberg 289).

bond between Clovis' successors and the saint became a very strong one.¹⁰⁰ All of this is part of the rise of the Merovingian dynasty to become the most powerful Germanic dynasty (Kasper 1997: 12), and contributed significantly to the rise of the Catholic faith in western Europe (and correspondingly the decline of the Arian movement) and to the significance of St Martin in western Christianity. It is hardly surprising that Martin eventually became the patron saint of France.

It would be tedious to name all the places, cities, countries, islands, countrysides, etc. that were dedicated to the saint or chose him for patron, but a few popular places may serve to illustrate his worldwide popularity. Martin is the patron of many cities, among them Mainz (Germany) and Salzburg (Austria), sometimes he is also the name-giver, as in the French cities called Saint-Martin in Gers, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Hautes-Pyrénées, Pyrénées-Orientales and Bas-Rhin. There are at least three such cities in Switzerland, three in Italy, sixteen in Austria, one on each of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, and one in Québec, Canada.¹⁰¹

There are the islands Sint Maarten (French St. Martin) in the Caribbean Sea, which is half French and half Dutch, and the island called St Martin's Island in the Bay of Bengal (Bangladesh).

Moreover, Martin is the patron saint of soldiers (particularly infantry and cavalry), riders, and travellers (along with St Christopher). Concerning this, Walsh (2000: 242) stated:

It is obvious that Martin's patronage of soldiers, tailors and cloak-makers, taverners and wine merchants, relates directly to his *vita* or to his calendar position. For less obvious reasons Martin was also, in places, the patron of millers and those festival-prone and literarily prolific shoemakers. The abundance of hides at the end of the Martinmas slaughter might partially account for this latter

¹⁰⁰Just how strong the bond and the respect for Martin was is described by Gregory in GHF IV, 2: "King Clothar [one of Clovis' successors] had ordered all the churches of his kingdom to pay into his treasury a third of their revenues. But when all the other Bishops, though grudgingly, had agreed to this and signed their names, the blessed Injuriosus [Bishop of Tours 529-46 and thus Gregory's predecessor] scorned the command and manfully refused to sign, saying, "If you attempt to take the things of God, the Lord will take away your kingdom speedily because it is wrong for your storehouses to be filled with the contributions of the poor whom you yourself ought to feed." He was irritated with the king and left his presence without saying farewell. Then the king was alarmed and being afraid of the power of the blessed Martin he sent after him with the gifts, praying for pardon and admitting the wrongfulness of what he had done, and asking also that the Bishop avert from him by prayer the power of the blessed Martin." (transl. Brehaut 1916).

¹⁰¹Check Kasper (1997: 18) for the saint's patronages in Germany.

connection. In France, Martin was the patron of a wide range of leather-related guilds: tanners, leather-dressers, parchment-makers, morocco- and chamois-leather workers, glovers, purse-makers, and so on.

There were three popes who took the name of St Martin, these were popes Martin I, Martin IV, and Martin V. Their odd numbering is based on an error in the papal chancery. When Simon de Brion became pope in 1281, he took the name of Martin, and was erroneously counted Martin IV, actually being Martin II.¹⁰²

(St) Martin I year of birth unknown, pope from 649, died 655. Born with the name Martino, near Todi, Umbria; he is the last pope recognized as a martyr.¹⁰³

(Martin II) unknown, 882, 884. Actually Marinus I, erroneously counted as Martin II.¹⁰⁴

(Martin III) unknown, 942, 946. Actually Marinus II, erroneously counted as Martin III.

Martin IV ca. 1210-20, 1281, 1285. Born as Simon de Brion in Meinpicien, Touraine, France.

Martin V 1369, 1417, 1431. Born as Oddone Colonna in Genazzano in the Papal States (territories in central Italy).

¹⁰²See the article by Ott, M., in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), vol. 9, s.v. *Simon de Brie*: “Though he was only the second pope by the name of Martin he is generally known as Martin IV, because since the beginning of the 13 century the Popes Marinus I (882-4) and Marinus II (941-6) were listed among the Martins.”

¹⁰³As Farmer (1979: 266) narrates, he became a deacon, then elected pope in 649, being renowned for his intelligence and charity. On a council at the Lateran, he fell out with the emperor about theological issues, and was arrested under bad conditions. Though his life had been spared, he died soon after his exile in the Crimea, leaving writings about his suffering (ed. i.a. in PL LXXVII, 119-211).

¹⁰⁴This pope actually appears in an Old English *Life of St Neot*. The saint sends King Alfred (the Great) to Pope Martin, by which Pope Marinus (I) is meant, with whom Alfred was acquainted; p. 131 (ll. 23f.) reads: “Nu, leof bearn, geher me, gyf þu wylt, & þine heorte to mine ræde gecerre. Gewit eallinge fram þinre unrihtwisnyse, & þine synnen mid ælmissen ales, & mid tearen adigole, & gebring þine lac to Romeburh, Martinum þan pape, þe nu wealt Engliscra scole. Se king ælfred dyde þa swa se halge hine bebad, & his beboden georne hlyste, & he him feala foresæde mid forewitegunge, swa him syððen aneode.” See the edition: Warner, R.D.-N. (1917), *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespasian D.XIV*, EETS o.s. 152, London, [repr. 1971]; see St Neot on pp. 129-34.

The reason why they chose the name of Martin is unknown; Pope Martin IV certainly chose the name because he was born in the Touraine, the French province of which Tours was the capital.

Apart from the material culture, another indicator of the popularity of a saint is the “attention given to the saint [...] in liturgical feast days” (Hamilton 1979: 35) The epistle lection for Martinmas was BS Ph 1: 20-4, and the Gospel lection was BS Mt 25: 31-40, “which is suggested by an incident in the Life of St Martin.” (Kelly 2003: 192), i.e. the charity of St Martin.¹⁰⁵ The *Bobbio Missal* in Paris, MS BNF lat. 13246 contains a mass for Martinmas.¹⁰⁶ Most importantly, however, folk tradition contributed to the saint’s increasing significance.

The cult of St Martin of Tours represents a great story of success. St Martin is one of the major saints of Christianity. He is venerated all over Europe, both in Catholic and Orthodox Christendom. Perhaps more than any other saint, he presents a European saint. He was born in the (Eastern) Roman Pannonia, grew up in Roman Italy, and acted in (Western) Roman Gaul. He has come to be venerated especially in France and Germany, but his cult is truly European cultural heritage.¹⁰⁷ Protestant Christians do not usually venerate saints, but Martin is still one of two saints who is traditionally celebrated with a variety of events in the predominantly protestant parts of northern Germany.¹⁰⁸ In early modern Europe, the feast of St Martin was the central church feast of the entire calendar year, surpassing even Christmas in significance.

The reason for that was probably that St Martin’s feast coincided with the latest part of the harvest season. As stated above, Martinmas was assigned to be 11 November (see above p. 14), so that it fell on the annual day of a folkloristic harvest feast. This added strongly to the popularity of the saint’s feast, certainly much more than would have choosing the day of his ordination (4 July) or the

¹⁰⁵For liturgical music for Martinmas, turn to Martha van Zandt Fickett’s dissertation (Catholic University of America, 1983) on Martinmas chants. According to Planchart (2003: 119), its “emphasis is primarily on a close analysis of the music itself.” Planchart (2003: 119) also refers to Oury (1967), stating that Oury “has indeed found virtually all the chants for the different Masses for St. Martin in all the Western rites [like Ambrosian, Beneventan, Gallican, Gregorian, Mozarabic, Roman] with the exception of the Beneventan, which escaped his notice.”

¹⁰⁶A recent monograph on the Missal is: Hen, Y. and Meens, R., eds. (2004) *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge. A facsimile was printed in 1917-24 by the Henry Bradshaw Society and is available online via “<https://archive.org/details/bobbiomissalgall01cath>” (13 Jul 2015). Beginning on fol. 177r, it features the “MISSA SCI MARTINI”; cf. E.A. Lowe, ed. (1917-1924), *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book (Ms. Paris Lat. 13246)*, Henry Bradshaw Society LIII, London.

¹⁰⁷See Kasper (1997: 18), who argues that if the Franks were the trailblazers of Europe, then Martin was the trailblazer of Christendom.

¹⁰⁸The other saint is St Nicolas (6 December).

day of his death (8 November). But all the more, the Caroline tax system helped to add to the significance of Martinmas in the year. On St Martin's day the tax-collectors would come to collect the tithe, which resulted in great feasting on St Martin's eve.¹⁰⁹ People would slaughter their animals, especially geese, and feast joyfully on their harvest the day before the tax-collectors would come to collect payment in the form of the tenth part of money and/or victuals and animals. People were able to enjoy their harvest of agriculture and farming for the last time of the year at Martinmas, especially since the 14 of November (the day of St Philipus) would commence a forty-days fasting period (until Christmas). Autumn was not only a rich time with regard to the harvest of vegetables and fruit. By tradition, the first wine of the year was tried on St Martin's eve. In modern terms, St Martin's eve was probably the biggest party of the calendar year.¹¹⁰

But why did Martin outshine the other saints of the season? There are a number of historical events in favour of St Martin which added to his popularity. A central initial impulse was that the Merovingian ruler Clovis I selected Martin to be his family's patron saint. His victory at the battle of Tolbiac (496) was an event as important for the rise and establishment of Christendom as was the victory of Constantine in 313 AD; in addition, there is, of course, the fact that Martin's lifetime falls into the early days of Christianity, i.e. into the days when the church fathers shaped a unified school of thought that was to be the Catholic faith. Though Martin is not counted among the Church Fathers, his deeds and acts had a massive influence on the direction the Catholic church was steering towards, for example, through the discarding of Arianism or Pelagianism.

While these contributing factors can be said to have been accidentally in favour of Martin and Martinmas, there are a number of good reasons why the saint as a character and his story have become popular. Severus staged Martin as a people's person who despised luxury and favoured a simple and poor life, a lifestyle which allowed for the poor masses to identify with Martin. He was neither strong, nor cunning, nor did he have to die a violent death to be extraordinary; in fact, Martin was the first saint to become a saint without having been a martyr (Groß 1997b: 196).

Martin has become patron of a diverse multitude of groups of people, churches, cities, etc. Since he had been a soldier, he became one of the patron saint

¹⁰⁹ After the medieval, Florentine calendar, the calendar day began at sunset, so St Martin's eve was in the evening of the 10th November according to our modern calendar.

¹¹⁰ A painting called *The Wine of Saint Martin's Day* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525-69) presents a vivid image of this cultural phenomenon. Obviously in the eyes of Bruegel, drinking and worldly joys surpassed the actual veneration of the saint in significance.

of soldiers. They could well identify with him, even though he was never involved in fighting, as Severus claims in the *vita*. Other such groups of people who could identify with him and worshipped the saint were monks, travelers, riders, beggars, etc. The great variety of patronages added up to his popularity, which, in turn, led to more churches being consecrated in his name, thus, his popularity spread wider and wider.

If the ideal which every saint had to live up to was Jesus Christ, then Martin can be said to have been extremely successful in matching him. All saints' biographies include elements of the *imitatio-Christi* motif, meaning that the deeds and arguments of Christ are mirrored in the saint's deeds and arguments. It has been put forward that hardly any saint came as close to the achievements of Christ as did Martin. It was, for instance, Gregory the Great who put significance to the fact that Martin had revived three persons (Groß 1997c: 364). The particular character trait of Martin to perform and live charity puts him close to his own icon Christ. Some scholars claim that Martin more than any other saint put charity and altruism into the centre of Christian virtues, and anchored it in Christian culture.¹¹¹ There is perhaps no simpler and more powerful picture of Christian charity than the charity of St Martin.

The Charity of St Martin, i.e. the episode in the *Vita* (3,1f.) in which Martin shares his cloak with a naked beggar in the streets of Amiens on a cold winter's day, expresses and visualizes Martin's distinctive virtue. Szarmach (2003: 46) justifiably called it "the great iconic moment at Amiens". It served well as a brief characterization and is very recognizable.¹¹²

Doubtlessly, it was the combination of all these factors, events, etc. which has made St Martin of Tours and his cult a major success in Europe. No other saint has been able to become the focal point for such a variety of traditions and cults (Metzger 1997: 27). In Kasper's (1997: 18) words, Martin embodies the connection of deed and contemplation, monkhood and episcopacy. For Severus, who laid the textual foundation for the cult, Martin embodies the connection of heroes and wise men, as a combination of Hector and Socrates.¹¹³ The other parts of the textual culture on St Martin are the subject of the following chapter.

¹¹¹This view is shared by Vielberg (2006: 292), Kasper (1997: 18), and Schleinzer (1997: 340).

¹¹²Vielberg (2006: 293 and n. 5) notes that the scene is an iconic application of the New Testament's commandment of love, as in BS Mt 22.37-40.

¹¹³See SVM 1,3; Vielberg points to this episode (Vielberg 2006: 41-2). See the great collection of quotes on the significance of St Martin in Groß (1997c: 364f.)

Textual Culture

Martiniana

Severus' works laid the foundation for a thriving body of texts about St Martin of Tours. I divide them here into Martiniana and non-Martiniana. Among the Martiniana are all texts which are primarily concerned with the saint, and which have been accumulated into the *Martinellus*, a dossier of Martin-related texts and a phenomenon to be introduced in its own right in a later chapter. I regard texts which are concerned with other issues, but give significant information on our saint as non-Martiniana. I will disregard texts which only drop his name, e.g. so as to use his person as an exemplum. One text that represents an exception is Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* (GHF). It is a history of the Franks, but it contains chapters of such significance with regard to Martin that they have been compiled in *Martinelli*.

There is a core canon of texts that was copied all over Europe to provide extensive information about St Martin of Tours. The Martiniana I will address in this chapter are

- Paulinus von Périgueux's *De Uita Sancti Martini Episcopi Libri VI*
- Paulinus von Périgueux's Verse Epitaph for the Basilica in Tours
- Venantius Fortunatus' *Vita Martini*
- Gregory of Tours' four books on the miracles of St Martin (GVM)
- Gregory of Tours' History of the Franks (GHF), Book I, Chapter 48
- Alcuin's Works on St Martin

Paulinus of Périgueux's *De Uita Sancti Martini Episcopi Libri VI*

All we know about the author, Paulinus of Périgueux (Latin *Petricordia*), is information which can be deduced from his own works (Chase 1932: 52). He was from the episcopacy of Petricordia in southern Gaul. The reference to a subordinated deacon suggests that he was a bishop of lower rank.¹¹⁴ Possibly, he was the same age as Perpetuus, who was Bishop of Tours from 458-88 AD.

¹¹⁴Vielberg refers to the edition of Petschenig (1888: 161,3), which quotes "versus per Domnissimum meum diaconum sicut praecepisti emisi." (Vielberg 63 n. 122). The CSEL edition is freely available under "https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_QHgyAQAAMAAJ" (05 Dec 2014), but as Vielberg (2006: 25) notes, there is yet a lack of a commentary, critical analysis or comprehensive monograph on Paulinus. It must be stated, however, that the article by Chase (1932) is very illuminating.

Paulinus created his *magnum opus* between 460 and 470 AD (Vielberg 2006: 64). The work which bears the title *De Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi Libri VI* is a version of Martin's life in six books of verse. According to a preceding letter of dedication, it was inspired by Bishop Perpetuus of Tours, who, as one of Martin's successors in office, was concerned with renewing and enhancing the cult of Martin.¹¹⁵ Paulinus declares his incompetence in its opening chapter, which corresponds to the very typical topos of modesty, and plays down his work as *transcribere*, as if to claim that he merely translated Severus' prose into verse lines. Vielberg interprets it as euphemistic and as alluding to the late antique tradition of *paraphrase*.¹¹⁶

The work consists of six "books" or chapters, comprising 3,622 hexameters in total (Vielberg 2006: 64). A hexameter is a verse line that consists of six (*hexa-*) dactyls (one foot with vowel lengths in the order *long-short-short*¹¹⁷). The structure of the whole work is as follows:

Books I to III represent a summary of Severus' *vita* and the *epistles*, and narrate Martin's life and death.

Books IV and V re-narrate episodes from Severus' *dialogues*.

Book VI reports on miracles that happened at Martin's grave as reported to the author by Perpetuus.

The books are divided not only by their source material, but also this structure is underlined for the recipient by featuring proems to outline and reflect the protagonist's current situation. By providing this kind of a macrostructure, Paulinus stylized his work into a *Aufstiegsbiographie* (Vielberg 2006: 69), i.e. a biography highlighting the protagonist's promotion.¹¹⁸ Paulinus achieved a microstructure, according to Vielberg, by intensifying Severus' structure of appeals to the recipient's morals.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵The letter is edited as *Prologus* in Petschenig's (CSEL 16) edition of Paulinus (pp. 16-7). See Vielberg (2006: 65f.) for the supposed relationship between Paulinus and Perpetuus.

¹¹⁶See Vielberg 67-9, according to whom the hagiographic epic follows the tradition of biblical epic; for the genre's history, see Vielberg 68f., and *ibid.* p. 172.

¹¹⁷E.g. ll. 16-20 in Petschenig: "Uix etenim decimo ,senior iam moribus, anno transiit ad sacram constanti pectore legem signauitque crucis sanctam munimine frontem. non illi in tenero meus lubrica pectore: tota praeceptum seruare dei uel nosse uoluntas."

¹¹⁸As Vielberg (2006: 69-70) explains, Paulinus' models for this were certainly Virgil and Lucretius.

¹¹⁹See Vielberg (2006: 70): "Paulinus verstärkt durch Einfügen von Exklamationen und

However, Paulinus did more than to make use of his sources' strengths. He further enhanced the material with rhetorical figures. Personification is one very significant rhetorical figure in Paulinus' work.¹²⁰ In comparison with Severus, Paulinus makes more use of pictures and metaphors. Some episodes are colourfully set into a scene by Paulinus. One such episode is the banquet with emperor Maximus (SVM 20). Severus' focus is on the presence of significant individuals, whereas Paulinus avoids naming too many people, also because of the frequent metrical difficulties they present, and instead builds up on his effect by describing minutely the colourful details of the banquet itself, the rooms, interior, furniture, etc., supposedly so as to mirror its splendour with Martin's grandeur of character. Generally speaking, Paulinus is "colouring" his material intensely.¹²¹ Certain other differences between Severus and Paulinus result from their chronological distance. Martin was a contemporary of Severus, a living and present being, whereas for Paulinus, Martin was a historical being, present only through the miracles he performed at his tomb. Paulinus seems to highlight the significance of the basilica and of Tours, in correspondence to his task given by Bishop Perpetuus. It would be fully in line with this that the saint's actual death is implied rather than reported in detail. There is reason to believe that Paulinus sought to play down Martin's (past) bodily presence, and, instead, put Martin's (present) ubiquity as a divine power for good in the world of men to the foreground (Vielberg 2006: 220). The poet does not forget to mention that he himself has benefitted from Martin's healing powers.

The following results of Vielberg's (2006: 225f.) detailed analysis are exemplary of Paulinus' great artistic achievement. Book VI is concerned with Martin's post-mortem miracles, and reports eleven of them. The book features a prologue and epilogue. The fourth and eighth story of miracles both report on a miraculous healing involving sacred oil. Stories five and seven both present divine punishment of a crime committed, both of which are connected to Martin's basilica. The sixth story, right in between, and also exactly in the middle of the

rhetorischen Amplifikationen die Appellstruktur der Vorlage. Die Prätexte werden auch durch vermehrte Verwendung von Personifikationen psychologisiert."

¹²⁰Vielberg contextualizes this by arguing that there is a general tendency towards increasing employment of personification in late antique literature, see pp. 199f. and 204. He names the personification of the river Loire in Tours, as "Zeuge der von dem Heiligen gewirkten Wunder (6,71-79)" ("witness to the saint's performed miracles") as examples in Paulinus. In this, Vielberg discovers the influence of the Roman (pagan) author Claudian (ca. 370-404), see *ibid.* p. 210. For other instances of personification, see Vielberg 212, and *ns.* 178-85.

¹²¹See Vielberg (2006: 181f.) for the interesting analysis of colours and scenes in Severus and Paulinus. See esp. pp. 197-8 in Vielberg for conclusions. Guessing at the source of inspiration for Paulinus' use of colour, Vielberg suggests a connection to popular mosaic works the author must have known.

entire work, reports on a murder and the punishment (the murderer's final suicide), both events being set at the basilica.¹²² Thus the work features a sophisticated axisymmetric structure that highlights the basilica as the focal point of the entire work. Vielberg praises Paulinus for his achievements as a great innovator (Vielberg 2006: 75) who did not only strengthen the role of Tours as a centre for pilgrimage, but also invented the hagiographic epic, all of which makes a comprehensive monograph on Paulinus and his work a true desideratum.

When the basilica of St Martin in Tours was built and dedicated in 471 or 472, the tomb was furnished with a verse epitaph. Bishop Perpetuus, who had it built, had ordered Paulinus to write it (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 122). We do not know when exactly Perpetuus commissioned the work, nor when it was composed, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was presented at the basilica's dedication, so it was probably composed in the course of the 460s, during the basilica's construction (Vielberg 2006: 62). The epitaph consists of 25 lines in hexameters, i.e. the same form that Paulinus employed in his epic *vita*. The text alludes to different episodes of Martin's life; in the basilica literally pointing to the corresponding paintings in the interior. Paulinus seems to have written it for public recitation, since it reads almost like a sermon (Roberts 2002: 146). The basilica was later destroyed (see below), but the text is extant in different manuscripts, bearing the title *De orantibus* (lit. 'On the Orators').¹²³

Gregory of Tours' Martiniana

Gregory of Tours was as fond of his predecessor Martin as was Perpetuus (Frank 199: 56). Gregory, Bishop of Tours from 573 to 594 AD, was born into a Gallo-Roman family of noble senators, from which several other Bishops were appointed. His birth in 538 was probably on 30 November. His father, a certain Florentinus, died when Gregory was eight years old (Vielberg 2006: 109f.).

The priest Nicetius taught him to sing psalms, until Gregory was given into the care of his uncle Gallus. Both Nicetius and Gallus were Bishops, the first of Lyon (552-573), and the latter of Clermont (525/6-551); in Clermont, Gregory was taught by Avitus, later Bishop of Clermont (552-573). Though it is not known what exactly he was taught, it has been detected that his writings show no influence of the popular Christian authors Augustinus and Hieronymus (Vielberg 2006: 110). He was appointed deacon at the age of 25, after a life-changing episode when he was stricken with severe illness, and vowed to be-

¹²²Vielberg notes that Paulinus does not directly name the basilica as the scene of crime and suicide, but that we know it from Gregory's reports (see Gregory 1,2 (MGH 587)), and Vielberg (227 n. 243).

¹²³It is edited in PL 61, cols. 1074Df., cf. Petschenig's (1888) introduction to his edition.

come a cleric if he survived. He was elected Bishop of Tours in 573, which was confirmed by Sigibert, the Merovingian ruler, who would be murdered by political foes only two years later. Gregory himself was in danger because of his exposition when he was mediator between the different Merovingian rulers who struggled for autarchy.

He – and, therefore, the city of Tours – enjoyed the climax of their political significance especially when Gregory mediated between the powerful Merovingian enemies Gunthram and Childebert. Gregory was on the verge of becoming victim to an intrigue when a trial was opened against him in 580.¹²⁴ He could save himself and his reputation, and died as Bishop on 17 November 594.

Today, he is significant as a prolific writer, despite some shortcomings, like his digressional style of narration and defective language. He actually blames himself for his penchant for anecdotes. As a writer of histories, he exhibits a lot of love of detail. His topics include overcoming death, and, at times, he shows interest in conventional medicine, though always portraying Martin as the miraculous healer.¹²⁵ In fact, his predecessor in office Martin was his central topic.

Gregory's *De Virtutibus Sancti Martini*¹²⁶ (GVM) is divided into four books, all written in prose and dedicated to the church of Tours. Book 1 is connected to Paulinus' epic's book 6, which reported miracles at Martin's grave. Book 1, thus, serves as the connection to the time of Gregory's own episcopacy (beg. 573); books 2-4 report the miracles during his episcopacy. In total, the miracles reported amount to 194. Vielberg (2006: 114) sees an inversion between book 3 and 4: books 1-3 tend to be pastoral and edifying, book 4 tends to concentrate on Martin's power.

The exact purpose of his work, however, is still a matter of debate. It addresses historical, scientific and literary issues, and seems to be politically motivated. It has been proposed that Gregory simply sought to promote Tours' popularity as a centre of pilgrimage. Only at times does he seem to grasp for philosophical musings and large-scale idealism (cf. Vielberg 2006: 112-4).

The other work by Gregory on St Martin is a chapter incorporated into his *Historia Francorum*¹²⁷ (GHF). The *history*, often referred to as the *decem libri*

¹²⁴See the story in Vielberg (2006: 128-9), along with other stories related to Gregory and the basilica in Tours.

¹²⁵See Vielberg (2006), pp. 146-53, for Gregory's attitude towards medicine.

¹²⁶It was edited for the MGH by Krusch (1885: 140f.), which still presents the standard edition, and is freely available online via "http://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00000747_meta:titlePage.html?sortIndex=010:020:0001:010:01:00" (20 Jan 2015).

¹²⁷The work has been presented in an edition by Krusch and Levinson (1951), see pp. 32-4, which

because it consists of ten books, is an integral part of the canon of literature on St Martin, though, more precisely, it is the (final) chapter 48 of Book 1, which makes Martin a subject. The chapter tells of the debate between the people of Tours and the people of Poitiers over the ownership of Martin's dead body.

Like Orosius, Gregory wrote a political history of universal salvation, with Tours as its geographical and topical centre. Arianism as a movement is one example of a topic which Gregory was able to address and includes the history of Tours, thus, being able to further enhance its significance.

Venantius Fortunatus' Verse Epic

Just as Bishop Perpetuus had commissioned a verse epic re-narration of Martin's life by Paulinus, Bishop Gregory of Tours commissioned a verse epic on Martin's life, too. The author of the *De virtutibus Martini Turonensis* was the poet Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus. He was born in Valdobbiadene near Venice, Italy, between 535 and 540 AD. He studied grammar and rhetoric and moved to Metz (France) in 565. At the court of the Merovingian Sigibert, he presented an Epithalamium at Sigibert's wedding to Princess Brunhild of the Visigoths. He moved on to Paris, and via Tours to Poitiers, where he became friends with the abbess Radegund (ca. 520–587), widow of the late Merovingian King Chlotar I. Fortunatus became a priest in 576, and Bishop of Poitiers in 600.¹²⁸

It was probably in the summer of 576¹²⁹ when Gregory initiated the work; Radegund might have been involved in the commissioning, since she and her protégé Agnes are addressed in a prefatory elegy.

The work¹³⁰ is divided into four books, of which books I and II re-narrate in verse Martin's biography as reported in Severus' *vita* and *epistles*. With a structural break, books III and IV turn to episodes from Severus' *dialogues* (Roberts

is available online in a Heidelberg MS via "http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/yyy_other_frame.php?table=Gregorius_Turonensis&linkname=cpl0864&prefix=&bilnummer=25&suffix=&column=&row=0&string=&binary=&satz=&hilitid=&author_work=Gregorius%20Turonensis,%20Historiae&work=&msize=large&fsize=&index=2&domain=&lang=1&inframe=1&synall=1&target=1" (20 Jan 2015).

¹²⁸I am presenting the biographical information from Chase (1932: 57f.) and Vielberg (2006: 76f).

¹²⁹See Vielberg (2006: 84); cf. *ibid.* n. 210, and George (1992: 26).

¹³⁰The work was edited for the MGH (Auct. antiq. 4,1 and 4,2) by Krusch, and is freely available online via "<http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/~db/bsb00000790/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&seite=29&pdfseite=x>" (4 Nov 2015). There is a modern German translation in Fels (2006).

2002: 130). Thus, Fortunatus' macro-structure follows Severus; however, the micro-structure was carefully designed by the poet (Vielberg 2006: 98).

There is a dedicatory elegy, but also a dedicatory epistle prefaced before the actual work. The epistle argues for a general necessity of the composition of a *Vita Martini*, and lays out its arguments deductively, pretending until its end to be an epistle (Vielberg 2006: 98), while it must probably be seen as a prefatory justification of the work. As a kind of second prologue, it is followed by an introductory elegy in which, in the length of 21 distichs, Fortunatus compares the task entrusted to him to a sea storm, in which the voice is helplessly falling silent.¹³¹

Fortunatus' verse style is characterized by frequent paranomasia, antithesis and paradox. He employs a "simple, even prosaic, language, closely modelled on Sulpicius" (Roberts 2002: 147), but he is also inspired by classical poets such as Virgil and Ovid (Roberts 2002: 165). His metaphors are largely inspired by agricultural or pastoral contexts. Fortunatus is not only acclaimed; critics have found fault in Fortunatus' "rhetorical pretentiousness and verbosity"¹³² which is why "[s]ometimes Paulinus' poem is preferred [over Fortunatus'] for its less ostentatious style" (Roberts 2002: 186).

Unsurprisingly, the two poets are often compared. Fortunatus' work (with 2243 ll.) is shorter than Paulinus' (3116 ll.), though not by omitting passages (Roberts 2002: 131), but by condensation. Paulinus lays heavy weight on personification, while in Severus this is rather insignificant, and Fortunatus almost seems to avoid personification (Vielberg 2006: 204), for whatever reason. Fortunatus shows more of Ovid's influence. Apart from that, Fortunatus pretty much imitated Paulinus, and tried above all to surpass and challenge him poetically.¹³³

One other interesting work by Fortunatus is a short poetic panegyric on the feast of St Martin in the year 588, composed upon the feast in the presence of the Merovingian king Childebert and his wife Brunhild.¹³⁴

¹³¹Fels (2006) has a German translation both of the epistle (p. 325: "Brief an Gregor von Tours") and the elegy (p. 327: "Vorwort an Agnes und Radegunde")

¹³²See Roberts' study on Fortunatus' work, esp. pp. 143-86; cf. the concise study in Chase (1932).

¹³³Chase (1932) introduces and studies "The Metrical Lives of St. Martin of Tours" by Paulinus and Fortunatus and juxtaposes them with Severus.

¹³⁴Fels (2006) provides a modern German translation (pp. 261-3), and a few notes (p. 458, esp. n. 76).

Alcuin of York's Martiniana

Alcuin of York's significance for the textual culture of St Martin lies not so much in his writings, but in his creation of a dossier of Martiniana. Alcuin was born in Northumbria, the northern kingdom of the Angles, around 735. He became a student of Archbishop Ecgbert of York (d. 766), and made a career there as a cleric, scholar, teacher and poet, and travelled the continent, accompanying his "teacher, patron, and friend Ælberht" (Godman 1982: xxxvi), also called Æthelbert, Archbishop of York from 767 until 778. After his consecration as Archbishop in 767, Alcuin succeeded him as "master of the school at York" (Godman 1982: xxxvi). In 781, Alcuin travelled to Rome on an errand, and met Charlemagne at Parma. In the following year, Charlemagne invited him to become a scholar at his court, where Alcuin soon established himself as the leading figure of a remarkable cultural movement, a renaissance of textual culture now commonly referred to as the *Carolingian Renaissance*. In 796, he became Bishop of Tours, and died there on 19 May 804.¹³⁵ He is venerated as a saint and Anglican communions especially celebrate his feast day on 20 May.

Alcuin left a great number of letters, poems both short and large-scale, for example, a poem in 1658 hexameters about the history of the *Holy Church of York* (ed. Godman 1982), as well as scientific, didactic, theological and hagiographical works. Among these works is a sermon on St Martin, bearing the title *Sermo de Transitu Sancti Martini*, which was designed for a special kind of church service. In his times, the local congregation would traditionally meet at Martinmas for a procession to Martin's grave, i.e. Perpetuus' basilica, where they would receive the Holy Communion, as on Sunday's service, and direct their prayers to the saint. At the feast of a martyr this was followed by a reading of the saint's *passio*. This whole practice had also been extended to confessors, in the form a panegyric. Alcuin's extant text *Sermo de transitu sancti Martini* is such a panegyric.¹³⁶

The sermon¹³⁷ begins with a praise of Martin's merits and gifts. The main part is the re-narration of Martin's last hours and death, for which Alcuin used the account from Severus' third epistle (SET). This is significant, according to Vielberg, since Severus's epistles had been seldom used and were regarded apo-

¹³⁵Biographies are numerous, and reach far back into the 19th century. Among the earliest is Lorentz, F. (1829), *Alkuins Leben*, Halle, translated by Slee, J.M. (1937). *The Life of Alcuin*, London; Browne, G.F. (1908), *Alcuin of York*, London, is cited often. In this short account, I followed the brief biography in Godman, P., ed. (1982), *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, Oxford, and Vielberg (2006: 231).

¹³⁶See more in Vielberg (2006: 230), and in Huber-Rebenich (2010: 124).

¹³⁷The text is edited in ed. PL 101, cols. 662C-664C.

cryptic by some (Vielberg 2006: 233). Alcuin quotes some passages verbatim from Severus. The author goes on by pointing out that miracles happened at the saint's grave ever since that time. The sermon ends, as is usual, with a doxology, a hymnal praise of the Christian God. The key message has been interpreted to be that Martin, in all his acts, sought to imitate Christ (Vielberg 2006: 232). Alcuin used all his learned rhetoric to have his effect on his audience, especially through the employment of anaphoras and parallelisms (Vielberg 2006: 231).

It was probably at the same time that Alcuin took the effort to write his own version of a *Vita Martini* (AVM). This vita can often be found in manuscripts together with the *sermo*, and is also edited with it in PL 101 (cols. 657-662).¹³⁸ Alcuin made use of all sources that were available to him, but there is significant influence by his predecessor Gregory. His short *Vita Martini* focuses on miracles, especially those connected with conversion, which may perhaps be set against the backdrop of Charlemagne's campaigns against the heathen Saxons, or the Adoptionist controversy (Mullins 2011: 175-6).

Alcuin's Creation of the *Martinellus*

Alcuin's major contribution to the textual culture regarding St Martin was the compilation of the different Martiniana into one dossier. A dossier is a collection of documents relating to one topic, person, event, etc. This compilation of texts concerned with St Martin of Tours is called *Martinellus* (pl. *Martinelli*). The first exemplar by Alcuin is often referred to by the term *Proto-Martinellus*. Unfortunately it is lost, and we can only conclude from its numerous extant copies what it consisted of.¹³⁹ Presumably, Alcuin collected all the texts which I have introduced in the previous chapters to create a comprehensive dossier on the saint. The significance of this act cannot be underestimated, since Alcuin had, thus, provided for a further promotion of the saint's cult, by passing on to monasteries and scriptoria all over Europe a proper textual basis for the cult of the saint.

It has been proposed that Gregory of Tours had also had the intention of compiling such a dossier. The two terms *Ur-Martinellus* (for Gregory's) and *Proto-Martinellus* (for Alcuin's) have come to denote the two lost precursors (Vielberg 2006: 289). The collation of such a dossier is perhaps an unsurprising act, though. The openly designed *vita* by Severus virtually required

¹³⁸There are two existing versions, deriving from two families of manuscripts, see Mullins (2011: 166), who refers to the two main branches as the Turonese and the St. Pére version.

¹³⁹See the list of Martinelli in Fontaine's edition (p. 246), and the chapter on the Anglo-Latin Martinelli below, pp. 65f.

a dossier.¹⁴⁰ However, Alcuin must be credited for finally having performed the act of compiling and establishing the dossier. Alcuin's Martinellus circulated all over Europe, and whoever sought information on Martin of Tours ever since found all they needed. For Alcuin himself, its benefit was probably in its promotion of the cult of Martin, and possibly the further promotion of his own diocese, which in turn, of course, promoted his own rank and position as Bishop of Tours (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 124).

The compilation was to be a fixation of the material, and for Alcuin it was probably the end of a long evolution of textual material on the saint. It also came to be more of a turning point or even a starting point. The wide European circulation entailed an opening and dissemination of material. The extant Martinelli are all different in that they feature an individual set-up of the texts in question. Some contain only the main information for a biography of Martin, i.e. they contain Severus' *vita* and his third *epistle*. Other Martinelli feature almost all of the said texts. But none of the extant Martinelli contains all texts, and no two Martinelli contain an identical selection. It seems that once Alcuin gave birth to the Proto-Martinellus, other scriptoria selected and copied from it whatever material they needed, ever changing and adapting in accordance with their own specific needs. This practice, of course, was the usual practice of medieval European scriptoria.

Outlook: Development of the Cult and the Textual Culture after the Martinellus

Before I leave the continent to turn to Anglo-Saxon England, I will briefly outline the development of Martin's cult on the continent to the present day. I will confine myself to a few highlights and a very general overview here. St Martin has a number of appearances in non-Martiniana.¹⁴¹

These are a few notable instances:¹⁴²

In the Vita Columbani Columban visits Martin's tomb and spends the night in meditation there.

¹⁴⁰This proposition is based on Vielberg (286). A Vielberg argues, Severus already unconsciously laid the foundations for a dossier, thus anticipating the growth and supplementation of his own work.

¹⁴¹As for motifs, Thompson's (1975) *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* has two entries for the saint. Under "V.411.8" the entry reads: "Jesus appears to St. Martin when he gives his cloak to the beggar"; more interestingly, under "T362.1" the entry reads: "Nun so opposed to seeing men that she refuses to see St. Martin."

¹⁴²All these examples have been found and were presented by Hamilton (1979: 36-9).

In the Vita Senani Martin appears twice. In the one instance, Senanus (ca. 488-560) and Martin have a conversation – disregarding the fact that they lived in different times – about Martin’s act of transcribing the New Testament. In the other episode, Martin visits Senanus “to say mass and to give him communion” (Hamilton 1979: 37).

In the Vita Endei it is mentioned that Endeus was also a soldier like Martin, obviously so as to defend Endeus’ status as a soldier.

In the Vita Santhanna Santhanna shares his cloak with a leper, which is reminiscent of the Charity of St Martin (SVM 3).

The Tumlachtense Martyrology and the Hieronymian Martyrology both mention the dedication of the basilica at Tours.

In the Liber Ballymotens there is tale of an Irish man visiting Tours and learning about the power the city obtains from the presence of Martin.

In the Aran Islands (Ireland) “there circulated a story about a visit by Martin to the house of a widow. Having given away all his goods to the poor, he was searching for food, and, finding none, cooked the widow’s child. Later, however, the woman found the child unharmed. To commemorate this event, a yearly sacrifice of a living creature was made on the saint’s feast day” (Hamilton 1979: 39).

One of Martin’s notable appearances is in an extant French fabliau that features the saint as a side-character. A (typical) fabliau is a short, comic tale which features protagonists from the lower classes of society, and which is often marked by comic obscenity.¹⁴³ The genre, which was very popular in the later Middle Ages, is known to readers of English literature especially through Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*; the *Miller’s Tale* represents the most popular example of an English fabliau. The Old French text of the fabliau called *St Martin’s Four Wishes* is extant in:¹⁴⁴

- Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 354, fols. 167v-169r
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, MS 837, fols. 189r-190r

¹⁴³This short definition does not do justice to the rich variety which presents itself in the extant literature. See Cobby (2009) for a comprehensive monograph on the “Old French Fabliau”, and Hines (1993) for “The Fabliau in English”.

¹⁴⁴Dubin’s (2013) edition features an English translation on facing pages; cf. the edition by Levy (1978), and Short and Percy (2000)

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, 12603, fol. 244v
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86, fols. 113r-114r

I shall present a brief synopsis. There once lived a peasant who venerated St Martin by calling his name every day before beginning his work in the fields. Then, one day, St Martin appeared to him in the field, appreciating the peasant's veneration and granting him four wishes as a reward for his piety. The peasant happily returned home to his wife, who convinced him to grant her one wish for herself. Despite second thoughts, he granted it, whereupon she wished that he may have many penises, so as to be able to satisfy her sexually. The wish granted and the peasant being unnerved by the stupidity of her wish and the abundance of penises on his whole body, wished in turn that she may have as many vaginas as he had penises. That wish also granted, they were both detested by their waste of two wishes, and wished their penises and vaginas to be removed again. Finding themselves without any penis and vagina thereafter, they had to spend their final wish to be restored with one penis and one vagina, eventually being forced to accept that they had neither won nor lost anything.

The story can be said to represent a perfect example for the genre's tendencies towards obscenity and a questionable moral. St Martin is indeed only a side-character. His role in the narrative is not connected in any way to the obscenity of the main plot, from which a certain respect on the side of the author could be deduced. A certain popularity is also obvious from the veneration by the peasant. St Martin, of course, simply serves as a powerful Christian figure who grants wishes, a role for which the author could certainly not have employed Christ for the heresy of it. Still, his popularity is quite obvious.¹⁴⁵

In the time after Alcuin, the city of Tours prospered further from the popularity of its saint. Around 900, Radbod, Bishop of Utrecht (899-917) reports that Tours was spared from a Norman raid through Martin's intervention.¹⁴⁶ The next Bishop of Tours who would collect and write down the miracles performed by Martin in the basilica was Herbernus (890-917).¹⁴⁷ Another significant Bishop of Tours was St Odo (d. 942), who left an antiphony about Martin, as well as three rhymed hymns on the Saint (Vielberg 2006: 297-300).

Tours cathedral was demolished in 1562 in the course of the Huguenot Wars, and then again in the course of the French Revolution in 1793. It was

¹⁴⁵Cf. the studies in Långfors (1917: 435), Stengel (1871: 28), and Levy (1978).

¹⁴⁶Vielberg (2006: 295 and n. 10) refers to the text in "Radbodus, Libellus de Miraculo S. Martini, MGH XV, 1239-1244."

¹⁴⁷See Hofer, M., ed. (1852-66), *Nouvelle biographie universelle depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, avec les renseignements bibliographiques et l'indication des sources à consulter*, 46 vols., Paris: vol. 23 s.v. *Héberne de Tours*.

only in 1860, on 14 December, that the grave of St Martin was rediscovered (Groß 1997b: 167). St Martin of Tours has generally enjoyed great popularity as a saint.

Chapter 2

The Cult in Anglo-Saxon England

Alcuin's creation of the *Martinellus* provided the textual basis for a thriving hagiography in different languages. I have introduced the Latin texts which made up the dossier, and I will now turn to the Old English lives of St Martin of Tours. There is reason to believe that while the English saints became more and more prominent and popular in late Anglo-Saxon England, St Martin of Tours continuously represented one of the major saints for Anglo-Saxon Christians. The first Christian church built on English soil was dedicated to St Martin of Tours. St Augustine, the very missionary to christianize the heathen Anglo-Saxons, settled in Canterbury in 597, and soon afterwards had a church built and dedicated it to St Martin. Kelly (2003: 193) suggested that "St Martin of Tours was particularly popular in the Anglo-Saxon Church because his life and works represented the perfect model for a young and expanding church: conversion followed by baptism and, thereafter, a perfect life as a Christian."

The extant evidence to prove Kelly's conclusion – or rather the extant manifestations of the cult of St Martin in Anglo-Saxon England that might allow for drawing conclusions on the saint's popularity – is limited. Bond (1914: 161) regards the *vita's* quality the major reason for his popularity.¹ I will present a few more hints in this chapter that suggest the reasons for the saint's popularity in Anglo-Saxon England. Due to the scarcity of available data, I will have to draw conclusions mainly from the evidence of churches dedicated to the saint,

¹Bond (1914: 161) writes "The more romantic the biography, and the better written, the more popular the saint. Hence, among other things, the enormous popularity of S. Martin of Tours." He also pointed out (p. 92) that the Anglo-Saxon Church specifically favoured pacifism, and, therefore, saints like Martin.

and the evidence gathered from church calendars. The textual culture offers more insight; the richness presented to us by the extant Anglo-Latin Martinelli indicates the significance of his cult; so do the great number of his appearances in Old English non-Martiniana, which could be analysed by help of the *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE) corpus. The Martiniana in Old English will be the subject of a separate chapter, since they will be presented in the edition.

Proem: The Christianization of Anglo-Saxon England

Christianity was well established in Roman Britain by the fifth century, when the heathen Germanic tribes that would make up the Anglo-Saxons settled in the British Isles. It has been shown that Martin was remarkably popular in Celtic Ireland, that is, from the very beginning of Christianity in Ireland. Christianity was brought to Ireland in the second half of the fifth century by St Patrick, who has been patron saint of Ireland ever since. In the early days of Christianity in Ireland, St Martin was the other major saint for Irish Christians. Martin was regarded for some time as the uncle of St Patrick (Hamilton 1979: 39). The connection between St Patrick and St Martin presents itself in one of the oldest manuscript containing Old Irish, the *Book of Armagh*, or *Liber Ardmachanus*, in Dublin, Trinity College MS 52. Besides several texts related to St Patrick, and an extensive collection of books from the New Testament, it contains Severus' *vita*.² We also know that St Martin enjoyed comparable popularity in Iceland.³

The cult of St Martin in Celtic Britain is more difficult to grasp. There is no reason why Martin would not have been as popular there. As Walsh (2000: 239) has found out,

[t]here are at least three early St Martin churches in Cornwall, with one of the Scilly Islands preserving his name as well. The Martin chapel (c. 712) at Mancheys Island near Wedmore, Somerset and St Martin's, Brampton built within a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall

²See Gwynn, J. (1913). *Liber Ardmachanus: the Book of Armagh*, Dublin. For the Patrician texts, see the edition (and translation) by Bieler, L., ed. (1979), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 10, Dublin.

³For the Irish cult of St Martin, see Paulus Grosjean (1937) and Gwynn (1966, an article named "The Cult of St. Martin in Ireland") and Herbert (2002); a short summary can be found in Hamilton (1979: 36-7), who notes that stories of St Martin circulated throughout Ireland, that the name of Martin was a popular name for clerics, and that the city of Tours often appears in Irish works of literature. The Icelandic textual culture was studied together with Old English texts in Vermillion (1980: esp. ch. 5, pp. 117f.). See also Stokes, W. (1873-5), "A Middle-Irish Homily on S. Martin of Tours", in *Revue Celtique* 2, 381-402.

and possibly founded by Ninian, further testify to the saint's early popularity along Britain's "Celtic fringe." Six of the eight Martin well dedications in England are at Roman sites, moreover.

In fact, Gallic Bishops like Hilary of Poitiers or Gregory of Tours were generally very popular in Celtic Britain (Warren and Stevenson 1987: 59-60). This might well have been transported into the new Germanic society. The cultural contact between the Romanized and Christianized Celts, on the one hand, and the (for the time being) heathen Germanic invaders, on the other hand, has left many traces among the Germanic peoples; one example for such a trace is the motif of the "ruined hall". The motif recurs vibrantly, for instance, in the Old English Elegies (Hamilton 1979: 39), such as *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*. In fact, more closely analyzed, the motif as represented in the Old English elegiac poem *The Wanderer* could derive from a text about St Martin, i.e. the epic by Venantius Fortunatus (Brandl 1919: 84).

The beginning of the fifth century saw the withdrawal of Roman troops from Britain. The vacuum of power was filled by invading Germanic (heathen) tribes from the continent.⁴ Traditionally, the arrival of the missionary (St) Augustine in 597 is regarded as the starting point for their Christianization. Pope Gregory the Great (540-604, Pope from 590) commissioned Augustine (d. 604) to convert the Anglo-Saxon tribes in the British Isles. The subsequent Christianization of Anglo-Saxon England was a story of success. The religion spread widely, perhaps due to the fact that it met with the Anglo-Saxons' strong penchant for loyalty, a long cultivated social bond between the Germanic warrior and his warlord, and a bond to tie together society. Loyalty as a Christian virtue certainly presented an instrument for integrating Christianity into Germanic society. As a recurring theme, loyalty is vibrant in the great Old English epics such as *Beowulf*.⁵ There is a hint of this in another major poetic landmark in Anglo-Saxon literature called the *Dream of the Rood*, in which the complicated relationship between the personified cross and the figure of Christ possibly mirrors schemes of loyalty and touches upon socio-cultural issues.⁶ It is well imaginable that St Martin was a particularly worshipped saint for his past as a soldier and, therefore, presented a character with whom the Anglo-Saxon warrior elite might easily identify. Another example for a soldier-saint popular

⁴There is a succinct synopsis of the Germanic invasion in Britain in Vermillion (1980: 74f.).

⁵See, for instance, the study by Gardiner-Stallaert (1998) on loyalty; as the "pillar" (p. 217) of Germanic society, the concept of loyalty was modified by the Christian tradition in Anglo-Saxon England; cf. above, p. 19, and concerning this aspect in the Blickling Homilies see Hamilton (1979: 11f.).

⁶*The Dream of the Rood* is one of the great narrative poems of classical Old English verse. It is extant in MS Vercelli (see the chapter on MS D below).

among the Anglo-Saxons is St Guthlac, a Germanic warrior who converted to Christianity and became a *miles Dei*, i.e. a ‘soldier of God’.⁷

A common practice by missionaries was to spread the religion top-down, i.e. by converting powerful rulers or other people of prestige, hoping their subjects would soon follow the new religion. In this respect, the conversion of King Æthelberht of Kent represented a milestone. His conversion was a joint project by Augustine who landed in Canterbury, Kent, and Æthelberht’s queen Bertha (ca. 565-601), daughter of the Merovingian Charibert I, and a Christian who was allowed by her husband to practice her religion. Augustine was received with open arms by Bertha, and Æthelberht was baptized in the same year of Augustine’s landing in 597. Despite Æthelberht’s son Eadbald’s backlash to paganism, and the backlashes of some of his descendants, Christianity was established in the course of the seventh century by the preaching of missionaries (e.g. Augustine in Wessex after 603, Paulinus in Northumbria after 625, etc.) and by the baptisms of the Anglo-Saxon elite (e.g. 604: Sæberht of Essex, 627: Edwin of Northumbria, 635: Cynegils of Wessex and Cwichelm of Wessex, 653: Sigeberht of Essex, 662: Swithelm of Essex, etc.).⁸

Christianity in England owed much to Bertha of Kent, who was subsequently canonized as saint. Since she was Merovingian and St Martin was the dynasty’s patron saint, the cult of St Martin benefitted from her initiative. It can be noticed that “[b]y the end of the eighth century, the figure of St Martin had gained unique significance in the English church” (Hamilton 1979: 40). In fact, the first church to be built in England, by Augustine and Bertha, was St Martin’s Church, Canterbury, which brings me to the material culture.

Churches, Calendars and Folk Tradition

Bede tells us that St Martin’s, Canterbury, was one of the earliest churches in England.⁹ Today, it is the oldest church of England in continuous use, and it remains an intact Anglo-Saxon building in usage which dates back to the sixth century. It has been recognized as a World Heritage Site.¹⁰

⁷See Vermillion (1980: 80); Old English poems as well as a homily on St Guthlac are extant in the *Exeter Book* and MS Vercelli.

⁸For an extensive overview of the history of the English church, see Hunt (1899).

⁹See Hamilton (1979: 40), and Bede, ed. Colgrave and Mynor (1969: 77). Turn to Wilson’s (1968) concise article for more information on St Martin’s, Canterbury, and to the extensive monograph by Charles Francis Routledge (1891), *The History of St. Martin’s Church, Canterbury: A Monograph*, London et al., with descriptions of the church’s exterior and interior, pp. 119f.

¹⁰The Unesco’s web portal features a complete list of the World Heritage Sites under “<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>” (08 Aug 2015). The heritage site includes Canterbury

In fact, it might not have been the first church of St Martin in the British Isles. “In 397, the year of Martin’s death, a church bearing his name was erected at Whithorn in the South of Scotland by Ninian who had trained at Tours under St. Martin”.¹¹ No archaeological evidence of the church remains,¹² but the Venerable Bede can be trusted. His *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*¹³ (ca. 731), a history of the church in England, is one of the most important literary relics of the English Middle Ages.

Farmer (1979: 266) calls Canterbury and Whithorn “the most ancient examples” of churches of St Martin and goes on: “At least four more were dedicated to him before the end of the eighth century, while by 1800 173 ancient churches bore his name”. The Anglo-Saxon Wihtred (690-725), King of Kent, founded a church and monastery at Dover.¹⁴ Hamilton found out about “an oratorium near Lyminge in Kent” (Hamilton 1979: 40; refers to Levison 1946: 36) and “a church at Martinseye in Somerset, near the river Axe” (Hamilton 1979: 40; refers to Levison 1946: 36). Another pre-Conquest dedication is St Martin’s Church, Wareham, Dorset (7th century, destroyed 1015, rebuilt c. 1030).

Bond’s “List of Saints, with Number of Dedications, Arranged in Order of Popularity” (1914: 17) counts 173 dedications of churches and chapelries in England “up to the end of the seventeenth century” (Bond 1914: 16) and, thus, Martin ranks no. 16 among the most popular saints with regard to church dedications.¹⁵ Annett (1997: 107), who studied saints in Herefordshire, finds it surprising that in that county there is only one church dedicated to the popular Martin, i.e. the parish church in Hereford city. But Annett also adds that there was a St Martin’s chapel in Hereford castle in the 12th century (ibid.),

Cathedral and St Augustine’s Abbey.

¹¹See Vermillion (1980: 74); As Hamilton writes, Bede mentions a “fifth-century church built at Whithorn” (Hamilton 1979: 40; Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 222, iii, 4) that was later “seat of an English Bishopric” (Hamilton 1979: 40). See Bond (1914: 96) for some more information on Ninian.

¹²There is a ruin of a 12 century priory at Whithorn, possibly on the site of the former St Martin’s.

¹³The standard edition is that by Colgrave and Mynors (1969). Cf. the new edition of *The Old English Version of Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica* by Sharon M. Rowley (2011, Cambridge), and the recent study by Lemke, A. (2015), *The Old English Translation of Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum in its Historical and Cultural Context*, Göttinger Schriften zur Englischen Philologie 8, Göttingen.

¹⁴See Hamilton (1979: 40), who refers to Levison (1946: 34). Also Walsh (2000: 239) mentions the church at Dover.

¹⁵The top three (and by far the most popular dedications) in Bond’s list are the “Blessed Virgin”, All Saints and St Peter. The website “<http://www.viasanctimartini.eu/cultural-database/churches>” (31 Jul 2016) counts 212 churches dedicated so St Martin in Great Britain.

as well as one church at the end of the Wye bridge, which was destroyed in 1645 and “replaced in 1845 by the present church on the Ross Road.” (ibid.). There was also a St Martin’s church at Marstow, though it is today dedicated to St Matthew. If one analyses Bond’s lists of dedications in the single counties of England, one notices a predominance of dedications to the saint in the southern counties.¹⁶ Possibly, the Normans had some impact on the number of dedications to St Martin in post-Conquest England.¹⁷ On the continent, the Duchy of Normandy had “Martinian churches in the hundreds” (Walsh 2000: 239).

Church calendars are a helpful tool for determining how widespread the cult of a saint was. They show which saints’ feasts were observed in which church.¹⁸ As Walsh (2000: 239 n. 6) notes on the Anglo-Saxon Calendars, “Martin’s winter feast was recognised by the Anglo-Saxons as early as the beginning of the eighth century in the *Calendar of St Willibrord*. According to the calendars of Wells and Winchester, the octave¹⁹ of St Martin (18 November) was observed in the Anglo-Saxon period there as well.” Thanks to Rushforth’s (2008) edition of Anglo-Saxon calendars, we have a more extensive and easier insight into the observation of Martinmas in the churches of Anglo-Saxon England from the 8th to the 11th century. The work lists 27 English Calendars and presents their entries in tables and, thus, provides a wonderful basis to investigate the popularity of a saint.²⁰ In the calendars, Martin appears on one or several days of the following dates: 8 May, 11 May, 3 July, 4 July, 5 July, 11 November and 18 November. Sometimes his name appears simply as “Martin”, sometimes with an abbreviation classifying him as bishop or confessor or noting it concerns his *translatio, ordinatio*, octave (i.e. an additional mass one week

¹⁶Bond’s lists count the dedications to St Martin as follows: Yorkshire: 14 (Martin ranks 14th among the saints listed); Northumberland: 0; Durham: 0; Lincolnshire: 14 (ranks 11th); Nottinghamshire: 6 (ranks 12th); Kent: 18 (ranks 7th); Wiltshire: 5 (ranks 17th); Somerset: 9 (ranks 15th); Devon: 12 (ranks 10th); Shropshire: 2 (ranks 20th); Pembrokeshire: 2 (ranks 13th).

¹⁷According to Bond, the Pembrokeshire “dedications, including those to the Blessed Virgin, are no doubt due to the immigration of Anglo-Normans and Flemings into the county” (Bond 1914: 217).

¹⁸It is a common procedure to make conclusions on a saint’s popularity based on the number of observances in calendars; for example, Gretsche (2005: 9) suggests that since Julian and Basilissa were only commemorated in three calendars, their cult cannot have been widespread.

¹⁹The octave celebrated the day one week after the saint’s feast day, counting eight (octave) days to celebrate on the same day of the week.

²⁰Rushforth presents 27 calendars, that is seven more than in the preceding standard work on calendars by Wormald. Rushforth published her work in 2002 as “An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Calendars”. She published a revised version in 2008. Page 17 has a table collecting all the manuscripts that contain the calendars she presents, the earliest being from the beginning of the eighth century, the latest from around 1100. She introduces all the manuscripts briefly in her introduction.

after the actual day of veneration), or a combination of these. On the basis of Rushforth's data I have counted that Martin appears:

under 8 May once (in Oxford MS Bodley 579)

under 11 May once (in CCCC MS 9, the calendar of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary)

under 3 July once (in Oxford MS Bodley 579)

under 4 July 23 times, out of 25 calendars which have dates for July

under 5 July once (in CCCC MS 9, the calendar of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary)

under 11 November in all 23 manuscripts that have entries for November

under 18 November in 5 out of 23 manuscripts that have entries for November

This shows that both the translation/ordination date (usually 4 July, once as 3 July, once as 5 July) and the burial date (11 November) were observed in all calendars. To put this into perspective I have chosen three saints for comparison, one English saint, a less known soldier saint and an early Roman martyr:

St Oswald, King and Martyr (8 August) appears in 22 out of 25 calendars (i.e. the 25 calendars which have entries for August at all).

St Menna, Martyr (11 November) 18 times out of 23.²¹

St Tecla, Virgin Martyr (17 November) 6 times out of 23.

Other Saints with observation in November who prove to be quite popular are St Cecilia (22x), St Andrew (30x), St Briccius (13x), St Clemens (23x), Four Crowned Martyrs (8x) and St Theodore (9x).

Hardly anything can be said about the existence of folk traditions around Martinmas, though maybe this is not by chance. November was the "blood-month" for heathen Anglo-Saxons, as the OE *Martyrology* reports for the beginning of the month. "Se monoð is nemned on læden Novmbres ond on ure geðeode blodmonað, forðon ure ylðran, ða hy hæðenne wæron on ðam

²¹Perhaps it would be worth studying whether soldier-saints were unequally more popular in England than other saints.

monðe hy bleoton a, þæt is þæt hy betæhton ond benæmdon hyra deofolgyldum ða neat þa ðe hy woldon syllan.”²² The passage alludes to heathen practices which have obviously been passed on from generation to generation, also after the Christianization of England had begun. The passage does not specify what exactly the practices were, but obviously the rites were about an annual sacrifice of blood. According to Walsh (2000: 238), this somewhat diminished “the role of the carnivorous feast of Martinmas.” But as Walsh also suggests, “[t]he Martinmas wine associations were apparently somewhat longer lived.” Walsh (2000: 231) concluded that Martinmas was “a micro-season of the agricultural year, roughly the middle two weeks of November, chiefly characterized by the slaughter of beasts for winter provision and the testing of the new wine”. Moreover, in accordance with the continental practice, 11 November was definitely the day when local tax-collectors made their annual collection. “Medieval records for Oxfordshire show Martinmas as payment date for such fees as the “church-scot”, “salt-sylver” and “warde-penny”, due the priest, lord of the manor and sheriff respectively.” After all, there is no reason to believe that Martinmas was not as great a feast in harvest-time as on the continent.

Textual Culture

Anglo-Latin Martinelli and Martiniana

Overview

A Martinellus has been defined as a dossier of Martiniana, which themselves have been defined as texts that are primarily concerned with the saint. I will first present an overview of Martinelli and Martiniana “Written or Owned in England up to 1100”.²³ Conveniently, Gneuss also made use of the term Martinellus in his *Handlist* of manuscripts from that category. The manuscripts in question are:

- Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 29

²²See the entry for 1 November, for instance, in the edition by Kotzor (1981). I translated it as “The month is called November in Latin, and in our language blood-month, because our elders when they had been heathens; in this month they always sacrificed, that is that they took and devoted to their devil-gildes the cattle which they wished to offer.” Cf. Rauer (2013: 209) who comments (p. 303) that we should read *blotmonað* (i.e. ‘month of sacrifice’) rather than “blood-month” and refers to BT s.v. *blotmonað*.

²³Gneuss’s *Handlist* of manuscripts is an important tool for Anglo-Saxonists and Anglo-Latinists alike; Gneuss drew the line in the year 1100 though, while Ker’s *Catalogue* of manuscripts “containing Anglo-Saxon” collects manuscripts up to 1150. In 2014, Gneuss and Lapidge published a bibliographical handlist based on Gneuss’s 2002 handlist.

- Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.VI.11
- London, British Library, MS Additional 40074
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius D.iv
- Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg.lat. 489

The Cotton Corpus Legendary, which contains a Martinellus, survives in two manuscripts:

- London, British Library, Cotton Nero E.i Part II, fols. 1-165
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9

Manuscripts in Gneuss containing single Martiniana are:

- Oxford, Trinity College MS 4
- London, Collection of R. A. Linenthal Esq., without a number

Another manuscript, which Gneuss did not list, is:

- Cambridge, Trinity Hall MS 21

Anglo-Latin *Martinelli*

I shall provide some basic information on the manuscripts' contents (as listed in Gneuss) in the following .

Hereford, Cathedral Library, O.VI.11 s. xi ex., Gneuss *Handlist* no. 264, contains "Paschasius Radbertus, De assumptione B. M. V. ; Jerome, Epistolae 39, 31, 54, 22; ('Martinellus'): Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini, Epistolae I and III; Gregory of Tours, Excerpts from De virtutibus S. Martini and Historia Francorum, Vita S. Bricii (from Historia Francorum, II.1) ; Sulpicius Severus, Dialogi II, III, I ; Guitmund of Aversa, Confessio de S. Trinitate ; Odo of Glanfeuil (Pseudo- Faustus), Vita S. Mauri; Two responsories (added; including W 12877a): s. xi ex., (prov. Hereford, St. Guthlac's Priory)." The Martiniana contained are: SVM, SEP, SET, GVM, GHF, SDS, SDP, and SDT. The collection of Martiniana excludes Severus' second epistle (SES) and puts the second dialogue (SDS) before the first (SDP). This odd arrangement possibly corresponds to the scribe's source, otherwise it does not make any sense. The exclusion could perhaps be explained by the scarcity of significant biographical data on the saint. Still, the manuscript offers quite an extensive dossier on St Martin.

London, BL, MS Additional 40074 s. x/xi, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 296, contains "(Martinellus): Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini, Epistolae, Dialogi; Pseudo-Sulpicius, Tituli metrici de S. Martino [...]; Note on the basilica at Tours; Symbolum 'Clemens Trinitas': s. x/xi, Canterbury." The manuscript contains SVM, SE, SD, a Pseudo-Sulpicius²⁴ and Notes on the Basilica at Tours.²⁵ The manuscript is an exclusive Martinellus, i.e. the entire codex is exclusively concerned with St Martin; obviously GVM and GHF was not available to the scribe, otherwise it would have presented an extraordinarily comprehensive Martinellus.

London, BL MS Cotton Tiberius D.IV, fols. 1-105 s. xi/xii, Gneuss *Handlist* no 378.5, contains: "42 Lives of Saints (including 'Martinellus'): s. xi/xii, N France (or England?), prov. prob. Winchester OM."²⁶ From consulting the manuscript in the British Library I was able to determine exactly the contents of the Martinellus. Beg. on fol. 88r the manuscript contains in this order: SVM, SE, GHF, SD, AVM, GVM. The manuscript represents the most extensive Martinellus owned (and possibly written) in England.

Avranches, Bibliotheque Municipale 29 s. x/xi, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 782, contains: "55 Homilies; Two prayers to the Virgin (s. xi); ('Martinellus'): Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini (f); Excerpts from Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* and *De virtutibus Sancti Martini*; Sulpicius Severus, *Epistola III*: s. x/xi, S England, prov. Mont Saint-Michel."²⁷ It contains SVM, GHF, GVM and SET. This little set of texts provides the reader with the minimum of a complete biography of Martin, including the life (SVM) and death (SET) of the saint and combines with it material concerned with the miraculous power of Martin's grave (GVM and GHF).

²⁴The British Library gives more detailed information on the content and states about the Pseudo-Sulpicius: "Incipiunt versus in foribus primae cellae sancti Martini episcopi": the collection of eighteen metrical inscriptions, etc. (Babut, l.c.), beg. "Venimus en istue," printed in E. le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule.*, 1856, nos. 166-183 (nos. 6, 7 are joined as one, and so are 10 and 11, 14 and 15, 17 and 18, but the name "Eusebi" is prefixed to 18). f. 89 b". It is printed in Blant, which is available at "<https://archive.org/stream/inscriptionschr01lebluoft#page/240/mode/2up>" (16 Dec 2014), see pp. 228-246.

²⁵The Note on the Basilica is the epitaph composed by Paulinus on demand of Bishop Perpetuus for the new basilica (see above p. 46)

²⁶Gneuss refers to secondary literature, i.e. "Th. Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library* 1696, repr. and ed. C. G. C. Tite (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 27-28."

²⁷The manuscript has been digitized and is available under "<http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=848>" (17 Nov 2015).

Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat. 489, fols. 61-124 s. xi¹, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 915 contains: “(‘Martinellus’) : Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini, Epistolae, Dialogi; Gregory of Tours, Extracts from *Historia Francorum* and *De virtutibus S. Martini* ; Vita S. Bricii (from *Historia Francorum* ii.l) : s. xi¹ or earlier.” The manuscript contains almost all *Martiana*, the exception being *AVM*. If one regards the life of St Brice (St Martin’s successor in office) as a text with additional material on Martin, it is another exclusive *Martinellus*. It is tempting to suppose that this manuscript might have been the extensive source for Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin*, given its date and the unknown place of production.

The Cotton Corpus Legendary

The following two manuscripts are referred to as the *Cotton Corpus Legendary*. In short, a legendary is a collection of saints’ legends or *vitae*.²⁸ The contents were usually determined by the feasts in the respective church’s liturgical year. No matter whether they were used for private reading or for preaching, they could be read repetitively from the year’s beginning to its end, from January to December.²⁹ The compilers would organize such a collection so as to provide textual material for the major feasts of the liturgical year. Since local saints would be more prominent in some areas, the legends’ contents could vary markedly from region to region. An English saint such as St Oswald is more likely to appear in an English legendary than in a continental. Commonly, a legendary would cover major saints of international significance. In the case of St Martin, the saint was represented by a dossier within the legendary, as in the *Cotton Corpus Legendary* (henceforth CCL).

The eighth century saw an increased production of legends and the 12th century reached the “period of greatest production”.³⁰ Of the surviving Anglo-Latin legends, the oldest was produced in a Canterbury scriptorium in the “earlier ninth century”.³¹ The CCL represents the earliest extant multivolume English legendary (Jackson and Lapidge 1996: 132); it survives in two manu-

²⁸Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 131) defined it this way; they also note that a collection consisting mainly of passions (*vitae* of saints who suffered martyrdom) is referred to as a *passional*.

²⁹The liturgical year would usually begin with Advent, but the Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*, for instance, begins with Christmas (noticed by Clemoes 1959b: 214 n. 4); the Cotton-Corpus Legendary – or at least the surviving manuscript – begins with 1 January (St Martina).

³⁰Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 132) outline the history of English legends briefly to introduce the Cotton Corpus Legendary.

³¹This manuscript is kept in the BN in Paris today, as Paris BN, lat. 10861, see Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 132). They refer to the study by Brown, M.P. (1986), “Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861 and the Scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury”, in *ASE* 15, 119-37.

scripts, that is London, BL, MS Cotton Nero E.i (Parts I + II) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9. The legendary is called so because it is constituted by a manuscript from the Cotton Library (part of the British Library), London and a manuscript from the library at the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The legendary as a whole was written in the middle of the 11th century in a Worcester scriptorium.³² It must have been separated into two volumes already by the end of the century and it was probably “in early modern times”³³ that the Cotton manuscript was again separated into two volumes (referred to as Part I and Part II).

Here is a comprehensive list of the contents:³⁴

Cotton Nero E.i, Part I 1-2 List of Contents in a 16th century hand

3r-53r 4 items in one hand (ca. 1050-75): 1. Vita Oswaldi, 2. Vita Ecgwini, 3. Lantfred’s *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, 4. “Aurea Lux Patria” (a Winchester hymn)

53v-54r by one hand (ca. 1125-1150): *Passio S. Andrae* (fragmentary: capitula and first ten chapters)

55r-208 (end) by one hand (ca. 1050-75): LEGENDARY (January-May), beginning with St Martina (1 January), ending with St Philippus (1 May)

Cotton Nero E.i, Part II 1-155 LEGENDARY (May-September) beginning with Sts Gordianus and Epimachus (10 May), ending with St Jerome (30 September)³⁵

156-65 saints lives in the hand which wrote the 4 items on 3r-53r in Part I (e.g. St Frithuswith)

166-80 LEGENDARY (December), i.e. the continuation of the abrupt end in MS CCC 9 with 4 items: 1. the rest of Sts Benedict and

³²MS CCC9 “contains work by known Worcester scribes” and was written “before 1062”. That is the information on the manuscript by the Parker Web library at “https://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms_no=9” (20 Jan 2015). Cf. Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 13 and fn. 15) for more information on the date of production and references to other literature.

³³See Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 132); as they argue “each volume began to attract accretions from that time onward.”

³⁴This list results from a study of the original manuscripts, aligned with Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 132), who have listed all single items and added missing dates from other sources. The numbering refers to the foliation or pagination as found in the manuscript.

³⁵In the manuscript dated erroneously as 27 September, but with the correct date in the list of contents. Jackson and Lapidge write that fol. 95v contains the ending of St Genesis (25 August) and beginning of Possidius’ *Vita s. Augustini* (28 August), though the folio contains chapter six from GHF.

Scholastica (4 December), 2. Holy Cross (14 September), 3. St Silvester (31 December), 4. St Columba (31 December)

181-222 items in different hands: 1. a Worcester cartulary (fragmentary), 2. "IV Edgar", a law code, 3. "a text of a *Vita S. Bedae*", 4. a passion

CCCC 9 1-2 computistica

3-14 liturgical calendar³⁶

15-6 Easter tables for the years 1032-94

17-60 hagiography in various hands (late 11th and 12th century): 1. St Salvius, 2. St Nicholas, 3. St Rumwold, 4. Sts Cyricus (also called Curiaqos) and Julietta

61-458 LEGENDARY (October-December) beginning with a list of contents, followed by St Remigius (1 October (feast of translation)), ending abruptly within Sts Benedict and Scholastica (4 December³⁷).

All in all, the Legendary comprises 165 *passiones* and *vitae*.³⁸ In order of the church year, the parts are separated as

January-May MS Cotton Nero E.i, Part I, fols. 55-208

May-September MS Cotton Nero E.i, Part II, fols. 1-155

October-December MS CCCC 9, pp. 61-458

December MS Cotton Nero E.i, Part II, fols. 166-80

The compilation of sources probably began around 900, possibly in Noyon Tournai (France), and by the late 10th century some version of the compilation must have been in England.³⁹ Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 134) write: "Although the Cotton-Corpus legendary was almost certainly compiled on the continent, its manuscript transmission is wholly English, inasmuch as all the manuscripts that preserve it are of English origin."

³⁶According to Rushforth (2002: 30-1), the calendar has a rather unusual form, so perhaps it was not part of the original manuscript.

³⁷The rubric and date read "aduentus et exceptio corporis [...] in agrum Floriacensem".

³⁸Jackson and Lapidge (1996) list all these 165 items that form the legendary.

³⁹That is according to Jackson and Lapidge (1996: 134). Zettel (1982: 18) writes it was probably compiled in the north of France because of the predominance of French and Flemish saints. Zettel (1982: 18) also states it was definitely after 863, since one of the items in the compilation was written in that year. Cf. Lapidge (2003: 578), Lapidge (2006: 47) and Gretsich (2005: 6).

The Martinellus is contained in CCCC MS 9 and contains SVM, SEP, SET (on MS pp. 275-99), as well as an “account of miracles that occurred at his first translation” (Jackson and Lapidge 1996: 142). This is followed by Gregory of Tours’ *Vita S. Bricii* (MS pp. 299-301); this is, once again, St Brice, who was Martin’s successor as Bishop of Tours. Brice’s *vita* is followed by SDS and SDT (301-19). To this, we must add the sixth chapter of GHF, which is on fol. 95v of MS Cotton Nero E.i Part II, all of which adds up to an extensive Martinellus.

Other Anglo-Latin Martiniana

The following two manuscripts contain a single text counted among the Martiniana. In both cases this single text is GVM.

Oxford, Trinity College MS 4 s. x/xi?, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 689 contains: “Excerpts from Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus S. Martini*; Augustine, *De libero arbitrio*, *De agone Christiano*; Gregorius Nazianzenus (Rufinus), *Liber apologeticus* (Oratio 2); [Passio S. Mauricii sociorumque by Marbod of Rennes : add.?] : s. x/xi?, Angers or Tours, prov. Canterbury StA prob. s. xi ex.”

London, Collection of R. A. Linenthal Esq., without a number s. xi¹, Gneuss *Handlist* no 774.1 contains: “Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus S. Martini* (f): s. xi¹.”

Finally, I shall present a few short passages from Anglo-Latin works which cannot be counted among the Martiniana (cf. the following chapter), but which presents an interesting mentioning of our saint.⁴⁰ This passage is at the beginning of chapter 89 in Asser’s Latin biography of King Alfred the Great and reads:

Nam primo illo testimonio scripto, confestim legere et in Saxonica lingua interpretari, atque inde perplures instituere studuit, ac veluti de illo felici latrone cautum est, Dominum Iesum Christum, Dominum suum, immoque omnium, iuxta se in venerabili sanctae Crucis patibulo pendentem cognoscente; quo subnixis precibus, inclinatis solummodo corporalibus oculis, quia aliter non poterat, erat enim totus confixus clavis, submissa voce clamaret: ‘Memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum, Christe,’ qui Christianae fidei rudimenta in gabulo primitus inchoavit discere. Hic aut aliter, quamvis dissimili modo, in regia potestate sanctae rudimenta scripturae, divinitus instinctus, praesumpsit incipere in venerabili Mar-

⁴⁰I thank my colleague Dr. Andreas Lemke for bringing this passage to my attention.

tini solemnitate. Quos flosculos undecunque collectos a quibuslibet magistris discere et in corpore unius libelli, mixtim quamvis, sicut tunc suppetebat, redigere, usque adeo protelavit quousque prope modum ad magnitudinem unius psalterii perveniret. Quem enchiridion suum, id est manulem librum, nominari voluit, eo quod ad manum illum die noctuque solertissime habebat; in quo non mediocre, sicut tunc aiebat, habebat solatium.⁴¹

What does Alfred beginning his studies of the Holy Scripture on Martinmas imply? It certainly enhances the event's significance. Perhaps it also implies that Alfred was inspired by Martin to engage in such an undertaking. Maybe Asser regarded the connection between Alfred and the soldier-saint Martin purposeful in shedding a positive light on the king, i.e. by assigning to Alfred both the attributes of wisdom and vigour.

I have found three tropes for Martinmas from Anglo-Saxon England, which I repeat here without comment. A trope is a phrase or verse sung by a choir and part of a mass. In the *Winchester Troper*, dating back to ca. 1000 AD, extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 473, there is a trope for Martinmas. Frere's (1894) edition of the *Winchester Troper*⁴² edits on pp. 116-7 the following short trope in praise of St Martin:

ITEM. (§ lx.) Dicat in aethera deo laudes et contio tota, martinoque simul decantent organa uocis : Sidera qui statuit, martinum et ipse sacrauit: Christus ut ecclesie sanctae sua iura libaret : Palma dec-

⁴¹Ed. in Stevenson (1959: 75); Keynes and Lapidge (1983: 100) translated: "Now as soon as that first passage had been copied, he was eager to read it at once and to translate it into English, and thereupon to instruct many others, just as we are admonished by the example of that fortunate thief who recognized the Lord Jesus Christ – his Lord and indeed Lord of all things – hanging next to him on the venerable gallows of the Holy Cross, and petitioned Him with earnest prayers. Turning his fleshly eyes only (he could not do anything else, since he was completely pinned down with nails), he called out in a reverential voice: 'Christ, remember me when thou shalt come into thy kingdom.' [Luke xxiii, 42] This thief first began to learn the rudiments of Christian faith on the gallows; the king likewise (even though in a different way, give his royal station), prompted from heaven, took it upon himself to begin on the rudiments of Holy Scripture on St. Martin's Day [11 November] and to study these flowers collected here and there from various masters and to assemble them within the body of one little book (even though they were all mixed up) as the occasion demanded. He expanded it so much that it nearly approached the size of a psalter. He wished it to be called his enchiridion (that is to say, "hand-book"), because he conscientiously kept it to hand by day and night. As he then used to say, he derived no small comfort from it."

⁴²There is a facsimile by Rankin, S., ed. (2007), *The Winchester Troper: Facsimile Edition and Introduction*, London.

ora uelut nitet ether in ordine phebi: ALII. (§ lxi.) Inclitus hie rutilo celebremus stemate martine plebs ueneranda patre modulando canamus in unum : Et tibi christe decus ditasti munere summo : Aecclesiam proprio firmans per s̄cla patrono Et decus ore pio celum super esse rogasti

In Milfull's (1996) edition of *Hymns from the Anglo-Saxon church from the 11th century Durham Hymnal*, Milfull edits two hymns on St Martin. One anonymous hymn, in "Ambrosian iambic dimeter with some irregularities" for Martin reads

MARTINE, CONFESSOR dei
 valens vigore spiritus,
 carnis fatescens artubus,
 mortis futurę prescius,

qui pace Christi affluens,
 in unitate spiritus
 divisa membra æcclesię
 paci reformans unice,

quem *vita* fert probabilem,
 quem mors cruenta non ledet,
 qui callidi versutias
 in mortis hora derogat,

haec plebs fide promptissima
 tue diei gaudia
 votis colit fidelibus.
 Adesto mitis omnibus.

Per te quies sit temporum,
 vitæ detur solacium,
 pacis redundet commodum,
 sedetur omne scandalum,

ut caritatis gratia
 sic affluamus spiritu,
 quo corde cum suspiriis

Christum sequamur intimis.
Deo patri sit gloria.⁴³

Milfull (1996: 445-6) also edits the following hymn ascribed to Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856):

DE SANCTE MARTINI EPISCOPI

Fratres unanimes federe nexili,
mecum participes luminis annui,
quo solis hodie fulminat orbita
Martini revehens festa celebria,
cantemus pariter carmen amabile

Martini meritis oppido nobili.
Clerus cum populis consonet organo.
Grandi nam volupe est psallere gaudio,
Martinus quoniam vota fidelia

accendit tribuens cuncta salubria.
Confert hic famulis rite canentibus
stellis aureola sarta micantibus.
Cunctis candelabrum luminis extitit,

a multis tenebris mortis & expulit.
Virtutum statuit crescere germina,
in quorum fuerant pectore crimina.
His nos subsidiis undique prediti

pangamus proprio cantica presuli.
Laudemus parili voce, quod approbat,

⁴³Ed. Milfull (1996: 366-7) as item 101. Milfull (ibid.) translates: "1. Martin, confessor of God strong with the force of the spirit, you who were aware of coming death, when you grew weary in your fleshly limbs, 2. you who are rich in the peace of Christ, you who reunited the members of the church, who were divided against each other, together in one peace, in oneness of the spirit, 3. you whom life showed to be praiseworthy, whom cruel death could not harm, whose scorned the tricks of the sly one in the hour of death, 4. this crowd most readily in its faith celebrates the joyful occasion of your birthday with faithful prayers. Be with them all in your gentleness. 5. May tranquility prevail in these times by your agency, may alleviation of life be conferred by you, may the advantages of peace abound, may all scandal be silenced 6. in order that by the grace of charity we may overflow with the spirit so that we follow Christ with sighs felt from the bottom of our heart."

dampnemus vigili mente, quod improbat.
 Martinum precibus gens modo Gallica

dignis sollicitet nostraque Anglia.
 Martinus faciat tempora prospera.
 Mundi, Christe, salus, O, tibi gratia.
 amen.⁴⁴

St Martin in Old English Non-Martiniana

If Martiniana comprise all texts which are primarily concerned with the saint, then I might refer to all other texts which mention the saint as non-Martiniana. St Martin appears dozens of times in Old English texts; however, his appearance is often confined to the mere mentioning of his name. I have categorized these appearances according to their contexts and present them in the following.

Let me begin, however, with a rather extraordinary piece of Old English text. On fol. 114v of MS C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (so-called “Abingdon Chronicle II”, in BL, MS Cotton Tiberius B. i), there is a 231-lines-long *Menologium*, usually a service-book, but this succinct overview of the year’s *sanctorale* serves the purposes of a brief legendary. As Dobbie (1942: lxi) puts it: “The Menologium is only one of many medieval texts, in Latin and in the vernacular languages, which deal in one way or another with the chronology of the Christian year. Besides the simple tabular calendars which were prefixed to many kinds of liturgical books [...] there were a considerable number of calendars and martyrologies in more extended form, verse or prose, which made some pretensions to literary worth.” I quote the short section on Martin here:

⁴⁴Milfull translates on p. 446: “1. Brothers united in spirit with a tightly knit bond, who share with me each year that light with which the sun in its course sparkles today as it brings to us again the renowned feast of Martin, 2. let us sing together a delightful and very glorious song on the merits of Martin. Let the clergy sing in harmony together with the people, for it pleases us to sing with great joy, 3. since Martin inspires faithful prayer by granting everything good for us. On his servants who sing fittingly he bestows lovely golden wreaths with gleaming stars. 4. He was a candle-stick shining with light to everyone and he drew them often from the shadows of death. He caused seedlings of virtue to sprout in those in whose breast there had been iniquity. 5. Because we are given this assistance at every point, let us sing our songs to our Bishop. Let us praise with one voice what he approves of, let us condemn with vigilant attention what he disapproves of. 6. Let the French people and our England now urge Martin with fitting prayers. May Martin make our times prosperous. Thanks be to you, O salvation of the world, Christ.”

	Dæs ymb feower niht
þætte Martinus	mære geleorde,
wer womma leas	wealdend sohte,
upengla weard. ⁴⁵	

The short section on Martin is not rich in content, but it is wonderfully reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon verse. It employs – amongst other typical rhetorical figures – variation. The two phrases *wealdend sohte* and *upengla weard* express in two different ways that Martin died, the key information being when exactly he died (*feower niht*, i.e. four nights after the preceding feast). The other instances where the saint appears are categorized as follows:

1. reference to a church or monastery of St Martin, or to the foundation or dedication of such a place
2. reference to Martinmas:
 - (a) regulations, as in law codes and charters concerning the payment of church tax or tithe at Martinmas, or references to this practice
 - (b) monastic and other rules for Martinmas and the subsequent fasting-period
 - (c) the use of Martinmas to assign a date to an event (esp. utilized in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles)
3. reference to relics of St Martin
4. reference to his person in other contexts
5. narratives/themes/motives inspired by Martiniana

⁴⁵It is ed. as “Menologium” in O’Brien O’Keeffe (2001: 9). The entire text is online under “<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/ascp/a14.htm>” (08 Aug 2015). Lapidge (1991a: 249) translated: “It was four nights on that glorious Martin died, the blameless man, sought the Almighty Ruler, the Lord of angels”; Cf. Lapidge’s (1991a: 249) information on the *Metrical Calendar of York*, a Latin verse form of a calendar that contains a line on St Martin, which Lapidge translates: “At its beginning November shines with a multi-faceted jewel: It gleams with the praise of All Saints. Martin of Tours ascends the stars on the ides. Thecla finished her life on the fifteenth kalends [...]”, p. 248.

1.

*Reference to a Church or Monastery of St Martin, or to the Foundation or
Dedication of such a Place*

Non-Runic Inscription on a York Stone: reference to the dedication of one church; Okasha notes “Incomplete sandstone slab, with incomplete rather deteriorated text set on visible face. Mixed OE/Latin, dedication formula. AS capitals. Tenth to eleventh century.” and *ibid.* Okasha interpreted: “[...:]ard and Grim and Æse raised (this) church in the name of the holy Lord Christ, and to (or of) St Mary and St Martin and St [?Cuthbert:] and All Saints.” (Okasha 1971: 131 no. 146).

Waerferth’s Translation of Gregory the Great’s Dialogues: reference to an oratory of St Martin; stating how St Benedict destroys a heathen temple and builds a *gebedhus* (oratory) dedicated to Martin (Hecht 1900: 121).

Old English Life of St Machutus: reference to a church of St Martin, including the explanation that St Martin was Bishop of Tours (Yerkes 1984: 54).

Bede’s Old English Historia: reference to the monastery in Tours; stating that a certain John, who was abbot of the monastery, participated in a synod (Miller 1959: 314).

Bede’s Old English Historia: reference to the church of St Martin, Canterbury; stating that King Æthelberht of Kent was buried there (Miller 1959: 110).

Bede’s Old English Historia: reference to the church of St Martin in Tours; reports the death of a person in Tours who was buried there in the church of St Martin (Miller 1959: 316).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS A: reference to Ninian’s construction of the church of St Martin in Whithorn (Bately 1986: A.D. 565).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E: reference to Ninian’s construction of the church of St Martin in Whithorn (Irvine 2004: A.D. 565).

Ælfric’s Catholic Homily on St Benedict: reference to an oratory of St Martin; stating how St Benedict destroys a heathen temple and builds a *gebedhus* (‘oratory’) dedicated to Martin (Godden 1979: 97).

Ælfric’s Life of St Maur: reference to a church of St Martin; stating that St Maur prayed to God in a church of St Martin (Skeat 1966 I: 164).

Ælfric's Interrogations of Sigewulf: reference to a monastery of St Martin; stating that a certain Albinus lived in a monastery of St Martin, where many learned men dwell (MacLean 1883: 58).

Charter: reference to the church of St Martin, Canterbury; a charter by King Æthelred granting Wighelm a seat in St Martin's; charter titled: "Grant by Eðelred, King of the W. Saxons and Kent, to Wighelm, of a *sedes* or *setl* in St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, A.D. 867. With confirmation by the Archbishop and clergy." (Birch 1887 II: no. 516).

Charter to St. Martin's-Le-Grand, London: titled by Stevenson as "An Old English Charter of William the Conqueror in favour of St. Martin's-Le-Grand, London, A.D. 1068" (Stevenson 1896: 731f.⁴⁶). William officially confirms the foundation of St. Martin's-Le-Grand in the presence of Bishops, abbots, knights, chaplains, two Roman cardinals, and the founders Ingelric and Girard (41 signatures); the document – especially the fact that an Old English version is appended to the Latin text – testifies that William deliberately adapted the document in accordance with the traditions of the Old English chancery of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, for example, the Old English text is set in Anglo-Saxon insular script (the Latin in Carolingian characters), and with employment of the traditional formulae of Anglo-Saxon royal diplomata.

2(a)

Regulations, as in Law Codes and Charters Concerning the Payment of Church Tax or Tithe at Martinmas, or References to this Practice

Record of the Dues Rendered to the Church of Lambourn: regulating the church tax for Lambourn church; reads: "These are the dues which belong to the church at Lambourn, [...] and 12 pence from every hide above Coppington as church dues at Martinmas" (Robertson 1956: 240-1).

Anglo-Saxon Laws (Rectitudines): regulating peasants' legal obligations, with Martinmas as due date⁴⁷ (Liebermann 1960 I: 446-7, no. 4,1).

⁴⁶Stevenson edits the Latin and subsequently the Old English text, pp. 740f.

⁴⁷Liebermann translated into German: "Des Bauern Rechtspflichten. Bauernrechtspflichten sind verschieden. [...] Er muss an Michaelisfesttag (29. Sept.) 10 Zinspfennig zahlen und an Martinus' Festtag 23 Sextar Gerste und zwei Hennen, zu Ostern ein Jungschaf oder 2 Pfennig. [...] Und von der Zeit an, da man zuerst (im Herbst) pflügt, bis Martinus' Fest muss er in jeder Woche 1 Acker pflügen, und (dazu) das Saatkorn selbst in des Herrn Scheune erholen;"

Anglo-Saxon Laws (Rectitudines): regulating goatherds' legal obligations, with Martinmas as due date⁴⁸ (Liebermann 1960 I: 451, no. 15).

Anglo-Saxon Laws (Canute): regulating that church tax be paid at Martinmas (Liebermann 1960 I: 292, no. 10]).

Anglo-Saxon Laws (Eadgar): regulating that church tax be paid at Martinmas (Liebermann 1960 I: 196, no. 3).

Anglo-Saxon Laws (Rectitudines): regulating that church tax be paid at Martinmas (Liebermann 1960 I: 446, no. 3,4).

Anglo-Saxon Laws (Rectitudines): regulating that church tax be paid at Martinmas, specifically 13 vessels of beer and 2 hens (Liebermann 1960 I: 446, no. 4.1).

Anglo-Saxon Laws (Æthelred): regulating that church tax be paid at Martinmas (Liebermann 1960 I: 252, no. 18,1).

Anglo-Saxon Law (Alfred-Ine): regulating that church tax be paid at Martinmas (Liebermann 1960 I: 3,2).

Exeter List of Guild Members: regulating payment at Martinmas to St Peter's Minster (Thorpe: 1865: 609).

Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar: reference to church tax (*ciricsceat*) be paid at Martinmas (Fowler 1972: no. 54).

Wulfstan's "To eallum folce": reference to church tax being paid at Martinmas (Ostheeren 1967: 116).

Wulfstan's "Sunnandægges spell": reference to church tax being paid at Martinmas (Ostheeren 1967: 208).

Wulfstan's "Be cristendome": reference to church tax being paid at Martinmas (Ostheeren 1967: 311).

The entries in this list give testimony of the fact that Martinmas had a considerable relevance for Anglo-Saxon society. If we look at the kings whose law codes include this reference, we also see that the latter extend well over two centuries

⁴⁸Liebermann translated into German: "Vom Ziegenhirten. Dem Ziegenhirten gebührt die Milch seiner Herde nach Martinus' Festtag, und vorher sein Theil Molken und ein Zicklein vom Jungvieh des Jahres, wenn er seine Herde wohl besorgt."

from the 9th to the 11th century as well as over the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

2(b)

Monastic and Other Rules for Martinmas and the Subsequent Fasting-Period

Rule of Chrodegang: regulation for the fasting-period after Martinmas, as well as for a prescribed diet before Martinmas; reads: “Fram pentecosten oð sancte Iohannes gebyrdtide, þæs fulwihteres, ealswa eton tuwa on dæg and forgan flæsc. Fram sancte Iohannes gebyrdtide oð sancte Martinus forðsið ealswa eton tuwa on dæg, and wodnesdæge and frigedæge forgan flæsc. Þonne fram sancte Martinus mæssan oð midne winter forgan ealle flæsc, and fæston to nones, and ælc þara daga eton on beoderne; and on þone timan wodnesdæge and frigedæge forgan flæsc.”⁴⁹ (Langefeld 2003: 239).

Rule of Chrodegang: regulation for the proper apparel of priests at Martinmas; reads: “And ælce geara to preosta gescy finde man biccene heorðan, and feower gemacan sceona finde man ælcum. And nimon heora werreaf to sancte Martinus mæssan, and oferslipas to eastron, and heora gescy on þam monðe nouembre.”⁵⁰ (Langefeld 2003: 249).

Rule of Chrodegang: regulation for the proper veneration of holidays, titled “Be þam hu man healice freols sceal wurdian.”, reading “An healicum freolsum, þæt is an middanwintra, and an þone eahtoðan mæssedæg, and an twelftan dæg, and an easterdæg, and an Cristes upstige, and an pentecosten, and an heahmæssedagum: þæt is sancte Stephanes, and sancte Iohannes þæs godspelleres, and þara haligra cilda, and candelmesse, and sancta Marian forðsið, and þara twelf apostola, and sancte Iohannes þæs fulwihtres, and sancte Laurentius, and sancte Martinus, and swa hwylces sanctes mæssedæg swylce an þære scyre beo synderlice wurdod, hæbbe

⁴⁹Translating “From Pentecost until the Nativity of St John, the Baptist (24 June), always eat twice a day and abstain from meat. From St John’s birthday until St Martin’s death (11 November) always eat twice a day, and on Wednesdays and Fridays abstain from meat. Then from Martinmas until mid-winter (22 December) abstain from meat completely, and fast until none (around 3 p.m.), and each of these days eat in the refectory; and on Wednesdays and Fridays abstain from meat.” (My translation)

⁵⁰“And every year goatskin leather shall be provided for the footwear of the priests, and everybody shall receive four pairs of shoes. And they shall receive their garments on St Martin’s Day and their surplices at Easter and their footwear in the month of November” (transl. Langefeld).

ma to eallum þysum fulle þenuncge, and eton tuwa on dæg”⁵¹ (Langefeld 2003: 313).

Regularis Concordia: regulation for the proper veneration of holidays; Latin text with OE interlinear glosses that read: “on freols *sancte martines gereordum gebroþrum* cyrcean ingangedum si gedon tacn nones þæt fylige se tidsang þæne non na fylige scenc oþ to cyricgange”⁵² (Kornexl 1993: 56 (no. 660)).

I might add the following from a Anglo-Latin text to the list of items in this category, namely from Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham’s *Letter to the Monks at Eynsham*. Ælfric gives instructions to his monks and rule 15 reads: “A festiuitate sancti Martini post nonam non bibant fratres festiuis diebus usque ad Purificationem sanctae Mariae.”⁵³

The rule of Chrodegang (p. 80) for the diet at the high feasts is especially interesting for its listing of high feast days (*heahmæssedagum*) and for the distinction made between feast days in order to state exactly when the rule applies. The high feasts were, according to the rule, the masses at St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, Candelmas, Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Twelve Apostles, St John the Baptist, St Laurence and St Martin, plus “any other saint whose mass-day is especially celebrated in the diocese”. These feast are defined here as being superior to other feasts. So, Martinmas is counted here among the few high feast days of the church year and this might be reason enough to count Martin among the major saints for Anglo-Saxon Christianity.⁵⁴

⁵¹“On high feast-days, that is at Christmas, on the eighth mass-day, on Twelfth-Night, at Easter, on Ascension Day, and on high mass-days, that is St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, and on that of the Holy Innocents, on Candelmas, on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, on the day of the Twelve Apostles, St John the Baptist, St Laurence, St Martin and any other saint whose mass-day is especially celebrated in the diocese, a full church service shall be performed for all these and they shall eat twice a day.” (transl. Langefeld).

⁵²The translation of the Latin by Symons (1953: 27) reads: “On the feast of St Martin, as the brethren enter the church after the meal, the bell shall be rung and None shall follow. This Office is not again followed by *potus* until the Purification of St Mary.” Symons (ibid. fn. 3) explains “*potus*”: “The drink after the Office of None took place whenever there were two meals, *prandium* and *cena*, i.e., on all Sundays and feasts of twelve lessons throughout the year, except from the feast of St Martin until Candlemas and on ordinary days in summer (fast days presumably excepted) until September 14th. [...] This custom was of general observance in the tenth century.”

⁵³Ed. in Jones (1998: 116); Jones translated: “From the feast of St Martin until the Purification of St Mary, the brothers are not to take a drink after None on feast days.”

⁵⁴See Langefeld (2003), pp. 8f. for the significance of Chrodegang’s *Rule* for the Frankish and for the Anglo-Saxon Church.

2(c)

The Use of Martinmas to Assign a Date to an Event

In a number of instances, Martinmas is used to designate a date to a certain event. The authors of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles practised this especially; this probably added a certain significance to the event. The date of Martinmas itself is addressed in the Anglo-Saxon *Computus*, ed. by Henel (1967: 72). The following instances are categorized as 2(c):

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS C: King Eadwerd ordered the construction of a “norðran burh æt Heortforda betweoh Meran & Beneficcean & Ligenan” around Martinmas (O’Brien O’Keeffe 2001: A.D. 913).⁵⁵

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS C: King Eadwerd went to Buckingham around Martinmas (O’Brien O’Keeffe 2001: A.D. 915)⁵⁶.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS C: Archbishop Oskitel of York died at All Hallows, ten days before Martinmas: “he forðferde on Ealra Halgena mæsse-niht X nihton ær Martines mæssan æt Tame”. Note here that All Hallows needs to be explained by help of its relationship to the (obviously more popular) Martinmas (O’Brien O’Keeffe, 2001: A.D. 971).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS C: King Canute outlawed Earl Þurkil around Martinmas (O’Brien O’Keeffe 2001: A.D. 1021).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS D: there was a major earthquake at “Translatione sancti Martini” in 1060; the passage reads: “On þisan gere wæs micel eorð-dyne on Translatione sancti Martini” (Cubbin 1996: A.D. 1060).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS D: Bishop Godwin died at Martinmas in 1060 (Cubbin 1996: A.D. 1060).⁵⁷

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E: There was a heavy storm in the night of the octave of St Martin in 1114; the passage reads “Þises geares wæron swiðe mycele windas on Octobris monðe, ac he wæs ormæte mycel on þa niht octave Sancti Martini, & þet gehwær on wudan & on tunan gecyðde” (Irvine 2004: A.D. 1114).

⁵⁵Cf. the passage in the other versions, e.g. MS D-version (Cubbin 1996: A.D. 913).

⁵⁶Cf. the passage in the other versions, e.g. MS D-version (Cubbin 1996: A.D. 915).

⁵⁷This passage can be found in the Chronicle in MS E, too.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E: King William II went to Normandy around Martinmas in 1097 (Irvine 2004: A.D. 1097).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E: around Martinmas in 1099, there was a great flood, “like never before”; the passage reads: “Ðises geares eac on Sancte Martines mæssedæg asprang up <to> þan swiðe sæflod & swa mycel to hearne gedýde swa nan man ne gemunet þet hit æfre æror dyde” (Irvine 2004: A.D. 1099).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E: In 1089, some men were still harvesting around Martinmas and later; the passage reads: “Swilce eac gewarð ofer eall Engleland mycel eorðstyrung on þone dæg III idus Augusti, & wæs swiðe lætsum gear on corne & on ælces cynnes wæstmum swa þet manig men ræpon heora corn onbutan Martines mæssan & gyt lator.” (Irvine 2004: 1089).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E: King Henry married Matilda of Scotland on Martinmas (Irvine 2004: A.D. 1100).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS F: the annal for A.D. 444 (ccccxliiii) reads: “Her forðferde sanctus Martinus” (Baker 2000: A.D. 444); Baker notes that “a 15th century annotator” added the words “Hic obiit beatus Martinus”.⁵⁸

3.

Reference to Relics of St Martin

Exeter List of Relics: reference to St Martin, explaining that he revived three dead persons (Förster: 1943: 76, no. 70⁵⁹).

Ælfric’s Lives of Saints (St Maur): reports how St Benedict sends gifts to St Maur, including something “of Martin’s relics” (“of martines reliquium”⁶⁰) (Skeat 1966: 152).

Winchester List of Relics: contains the entry “sancte Martines toð” in the list of relics (Birch 1892: 161).

⁵⁸It is unknown where the annotator gathered this information and why he inserted it. Similarly inexplicable information can be found in the “Annals of St. Neots”, which Stevenson (1896) edited in his appendix, one annal (p. 118) reads: “Martinus transiit CCCCXII”, i.e. A.D. 412.

⁵⁹Cf. Förster’s note on p. 87.

⁶⁰Note here the use of the loan word in this text from the 990s. The first recorded use of the (anglicized) word *relikes* is in the *Ancrene Riwle* (ca.1225); see OED s.v. *relic*, n. (1a).

4.

Reference to His Person in Other Contexts

OE Martyrology (St Hilary): mentions that St Hilary [of Poitiers] was St Martin's teacher ("Se wæs sancte Martines lareow") (Kotzor 1981 I: 15).

Ælfric's Grammar: *Martinus* is an exemplary name in the context of a rule of grammar (Zupitza 1966: 29).

Ælfric's Letter for Wulfstan: lists monks who were great Bishops, including Martin (Fehr 1914: 136).

Letter to Sigefyrth: Martin as an example for a great Bishop and monk who lived chastely (Assmann 1964: 22).

Lists of Kings in MS CCC 201: reporting that Wihtred build the monastery at Dover, and that St Martin had appeared to Wihtred in a dream, instructing Wihtred where to build the monastery (Liebermann 1889: 7); the passage reads "Ðonne wæs Wihtred cyningc Ecgbrihtes sunu cyninges, and he arærde þæt mynster on Doferan and hit gehalgode sancte Martine to wurdunge, and sanctus Martinus him silf ær þa stowe getacnode, þæt he his mynster þar habban wolde, and he þa swa dyde and þa Godes þeowas þarto gesette mid þare landare, þe he heom þarto geuðe, þe hig git big libbað oð þisne andweardan dæg."

Translatio St Swithuni: reports that a miraculous healing occurred on 4th July (date of the *translatio/ordinatio* of St Martin) near the tower of St Martin in a Winchester church.⁶¹

The first entry in this list perhaps testifies to the diminishing significance of St Hilary, or his insignificance in Anglo-Saxon England; in any case, the Old English Martyrologist found the information noteworthy enough to include it in Hilary's entry in the *Martyrology*, regardless of whether it testifies to Martin's

⁶¹Lapidge (2003: 14) summarizes: "In 969 a man named Æthelsige, who was suffering from the pain of a terrible hump-back, heard in a dream that there was a saint in Winchester who could cure all infirmity. The man goes to Winchester, and after a long (and largely irrelevant) story involving his genial host at Winchester, a moneyer who apparently had some social standing but who is not named by Lantfred, he goes to the tomb of St Swithun and falls asleep there; he is immediately cured. However, because the tomb was situated near a tower dedicated to St Martin, and because the cure took place on 4 July, the feast of St Martin's ordination, the monks of the Old Minster assumed that the cure had taken place through the agency of St Martin."

significance or Hilary's insignificance. More importantly, we can see that Martin seems to have been very present in Ælfric's mind; in fact, I discuss below that Ælfric was particularly fond of St Martin (see p. 135).

5.

Narratives/Themes/Motives Inspired by Martiniana

There are two narratives/themes/motives which were obviously inspired by St Martin of Tours in Old English Literature,⁶² which will hopefully be an incentive to further studies on the subject in order to fully exploit the cultural impact of St Martin in Anglo-Saxon England. There are certainly a number of Old English texts in which certain aspects are reminiscent of Martinian episodes. I have checked the Ælfrician *Lives* of some Anglo-Saxon Saints to see if their authors – or Ælfric whilst collating, re-narrating and versifying – could possibly have been inspired by Martinian episodes. For neither of these can it be stated with certainty that they were inspired by St Martin, or by Christ, whose virtues and deeds Martin, in turn, sought to imitate.

OE Life of St Chad: the influence of Severus' *Vita Martini* can be traced in the Old English *Life of St Chad*.⁶³

Bede's Old English Historia: reports how Sigeberht, who had abdicated as ruler over the East Anglians, was forced by his fellow people to join them in battle against the attacking Mercians under King Penda. Refusing to take up arms because of his profession as a monk, Sigeberht was put weaponless before the hostile army and was killed by the Mercians. The fact that he steadfastly refused to go into battle, as well as being thrown weaponless before a hostile army is reminiscent of St Martin's debate with emperor Julian, where Martin offers – in order to prove his steadfastness – to go into battle without shield or weapon, but with the sign of the cross instead, after which the battle does not take place and Martin is dismissed

⁶²For such influences on continental narratives, see Manitius (1889+1890), who lists a few, for example, the prologue to the *Vita Karoli Magni*, where Einhard copied the structure from Severus' prologue to the *vita* (1889: 166).

⁶³Vermillion (1980: 81) writes that the "Life of St Chad written during this period contains introductory and concluding lines taken from [SVM:]". See Vleeskruyer (1953) for an edition of the OE Chad. The text survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 116. The MS is described in Ker, no. 333; Ker writes "[Item:] 1. pp. 1-18 In natale sancti ceadde episcopi. 7 confessoris. Beg. 'Men pa leofestan. ic eow onginnu secgan'. Pr. Napier 1881,141; Vleeskruyer 1953, 162. A translation of Bede, Hist. eccl. iv. 2-3, with homiletic beginning and end derived from Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini*."

from military service. Since Sigeberht was baptized in Gaul, as Bede's account tells us, he must have been acquainted with the episode. Possibly Martin's example inspired Sigeberht to follow in Martin's footsteps;⁶⁴ even though the outcome for Sigeberht was his violent death, the episode was certainly successful in painting a powerful image of Christian pacifism and incorporating Martin's example into the Anglo-Saxon world.

Ælfric's Life of St Oswald: as king, Oswald is said to have lived like a monk among the laity and "became very charitable and humble" and founded many churches and monastic foundations in his kingdom "with great zeal" (Skeat no. xxvi, ll. 81-6);

Ælfric's Life of St Edmund: in the episode where King Edmund faces Danish invader Hingwar, "he stood within his hall mindful of the Saviour, and threw away his weapons, desiring to imitate Christ's example", which is reminiscent of St Martin's confrontation with the emperor Julian. Like Julian, Hingwar is enraged about Edmund's steadfastness (Skeat no xxxii, ll. 101f.).

Outlook: Development of the Cult in England

I shall confine myself to outlining the cult of Martin until today only briefly. The study of ME Martiniana and non-Martiniana goes beyond the scope of this work.⁶⁵ Further studies would certainly be worthwhile, especially with regard to the historians and histories of the Middle English period, such as William of Malmesbury, John of Worcester, Symeon of Durham, Osbert of Clare, Henry of Huntingdon, Giraldus Cambrensis, Roger of Howden, Richard of Devizes, John of Wallingford, Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, Robert of Gloucester, John of Oxnead, Bartholomew Cotton, Ranulf Higden, Richard of Cirencester, the *Crowland Chronicle*, *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, Thomas Rudborne, the *Chronicon Wintoniense*, the *Liber Historialis*, the *Annales Breves*, or *Vigilantius*.

After 1066, there are more records on the veneration of St Martin, as well as more rural parishes and villages bearing his name (Walsh 2000: 239). The list of Martinian churches above (p. 61) has shown a significant increase in the number of new churches dedicated to St Martin in the 12th century, a phenomenon that can possibly be explained by the popularity St Martin enjoyed among the Normans.

⁶⁴See Book III, ch. XVIII, as ed. by Colgrave and Mynors (1969); they edit the Latin text (pp. 266+268) and present their English translation (pp. 267+269) on facing pages.

⁶⁵Walsh (2000) touches upon the Middle English period.

One special example of a Norman church dedicated to St Martin is the so-called *Battle Abbey*, or *Sancto Martino de Bello* (lit. ‘St Martin of the War’). There are two myths concerning its construction. The first myth is that William the Conqueror vowed to build the abbey as a penance, after Pope Alexander II had demanded some form of penance on William’s side after his pernicious conquest of England. The second is that William had vowed to build a church of St Martin as thanks for his successful conquest.⁶⁶ Its construction was finished by William II in 1094; the building was lost due to the dissolution of the monasteries under the Tudor King Henry VIII, but the site can be visited today.

Influence of St Martin can be found in the lives of early Norman bishops in England, most notably in the life of St Hugh of Lincoln (by Adam of Eynsham), in the life of St Edmund (by Mathew Paris, ca. 1250) or in the *Life* of Archbishop Thomas of York (d. 1100) (by Hugh the Chanter).⁶⁷ There is an anecdote about Henry II and – his then chancellor – Thomas Becket,⁶⁸ who when encountering a thinly clothed beggar are said to have struggled over the chancellor’s coat, because Henry sought to give it away to the beggar to emulate the charity of St Martin.

Martinmas gained similar prominence as a popular folk feast to that on the continent. Walsh (2000: 241) concludes in his article that “Martinmas feasts were often occasions of excess”, calling the feast an “English carnival”, stating: “The relative size of a monastic Martinmas feast can be glimpsed in the 1492 Diet Roll of St Swithun’s Priory, Winchester. For the Sunday of the *Festum Sancti Martini Episcopi* beef, mutton, calves feet, “numbles” and wine were laid on to the tune of £1. 12s. 8d., as compared with only 10s. 9d. for Christmas, or 9s. 1d. for Ephiphany [...]. Martinmas was three times as large a feast!” There are also other hints to a popularity of Martin’s feast in early Tudor England.⁶⁹

There is a depiction of St. Martin of Tours, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection MS 2, fol. 245v. According to library’s online presence MS 2 holds: “Psalter, Hours, Breviary Offices, etc. France, mid 15th century”.⁷⁰ It is actually known to many medieval scholars as the logo of the Leeds

⁶⁶See Walsh (2000: 239), who refers to Searle, E. (1974), *Lordship and Battle and its Banlieu, 1066-1538*, Toronto. It is perhaps in the same context that the Charter of William to the church of St Martin-Le-Grand was produced; see its full text in: W. H. Stevenson (1896), “An Old-English Charter of William the Conqueror in Favour of St. Martin’s-Le-Grand, London, AD 1068”, in *English Historical Review* 11, 731-4.

⁶⁷See Walsh (2000: 240) for more details.

⁶⁸The anecdote is recounted in Greenaway (1961: 44-5) and cited in Walsh (2000: 240).

⁶⁹Walsh (2000: 242-3) collects more descriptive evidence.

⁷⁰See the library’s website at “http://library.leeds.ac.uk/info/254/search_special_collections/161/summary_guide_to_medieval_manuscripts/2” (08 Aug 2015).

“International Medieval Congress” (IMC), which represents “the largest conference of its kind in Europe, with annually over 2,000 medievalists from all over the world attending”, as the organizers claim on their online presence.⁷¹ The MS (and IMC logo) shows a colourful depiction of the charity of St Martin in great artistic quality.

Until Shakespeare’s time, Martinmas came to be connected especially with the slaughtering and salting of domestic animals to prepare meat for the coming winter. This gained the feast a rather negative connotation through a connection with gluttony. In Shakespeare’s *Henry IV*, the corpulent Falstaff is rather negatively referred to as “Martlemas”, that term being an ancient form of Martinmas, which here probably denoted something like “fattened ox”, a negative connotation similarly to be found in Marlowe.⁷² “Sir John Falstaff also appropriates that other ingredient of Martinmas feasting as practised on the continent even today, the November new-wine or *must*” Walsh (2000: 235).

After the reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries in England, the veneration of saints was practically done away with.⁷³ At the beginning of the Great War, the London church of St Martin-in-the-Fields became the central shelter for British soldiers on their way to the front. They would come to this particular church to pray before leaving their home country. But if that had called back the saint to cultural memory, Armistice Day was the final end of the significance of Martinmas. The ceasefire was deliberately set for the eleventh minute of the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month in 1918. “By sheer historical coincidence the date continues to be honoured in present day England as Armistice Day”, as Walsh (2000: 231) writes. One exception to the rule is perhaps the “Wroth Silver Ceremony”, which has some kind of a connection to Martinmas. It celebrates a voluntary collection of money for charitable purposes, traditionally organized by the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry; the ceremony before dawn on Martinmas includes that a tithe of “Wroth Silver” is paid into the stump of an ancient cross on Knightlow Hill, Warwickshire, by representatives of the twenty-five parishes in the Knightlow Hundred. The practice can be traced back to 1236.” (Walsh 2000: 245) It is, as the organizers on their website claim, “Britain’s Oldest Annual Ceremony”.⁷⁴

⁷¹See the university’s website at “http://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/homepage/451/international_medieval_congress” (09 Aug 2015).

⁷²See OED s.v. *Martinmas* and consult Walsh (2000: 232-3). The episode in *Henry IV* is in Act II, Scene 2 and in Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* Act 2, Scene 1. Walsh has found some more episodes from texts that reach back into the ME period.

⁷³See Walsh (2000: 231), who also regards the Industrial Revolution a force that subdued folk tradition on saints’ feast days (2000: 248).

⁷⁴See “<http://www.wrothsilver.org.uk>” (10 Mar 2015).

Finally, one phenomenon that vibrates recurrences of St Martin in British culture is the term *St Martin's Summer*. The natural phenomenon referred to in North America as an "Indian summer", usually reaching its climax in October, is called St Martin's summer in Britain whenever the phenomenon reaches into November (Walsh 2000: 236).⁷⁵

⁷⁵Walsh (2000: 236) has found an episode in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Act 1, Scene 2. that refers to St Martin's summer. Merriam-Webster define it s.v. *Saint Martin's summer* as an "Indian summer when occurring in November".

Chapter 3

Old English Martiniana

Overview

St. Martin of Tours is one of the few saints whose life appears in five major manuscripts of Old English religious prose - the Blickling Homilies, the Vercelli Homilies, Ælfric's second series of Catholic homilies, his Lives of Saints and a fragmentary, unedited, but nonetheless important homily in ms. Junius 86. Martin is, indeed, one of only two saints whose *vita* is represented in the Vercelli Book and he is the only monk whose life appears in the Blickling homiliary. Vernacular accounts of his life thus span a range of Old English homiletic writing, dating presumably from both before and after the monastic reforms of the tenth century.

This is a conclusion by Dalbey (1984: 422); she summarizes wonderfully what a prominent place St Martin has in Old English hagiography,¹ and she lists almost all the Old English Martiniana I shall present in the edition. This is an overview of the Old English texts presented in this edition:

An Entry for St Martin in the *Old English Martyrology*, surviving in two manuscripts

An Anonymous Homily for Martinmas surviving in three manuscripts

A Homily for Martinmas by Ælfric of Eynsham, from the *Catholic Homilies* series, surviving in three manuscripts

¹For an extensive overview of Old English Hagiography in general, see Wolpers (1964) and Gerould (1969).

A Life of St Martin by Ælfric of Eynsham, from the *Lives of Saints* series, surviving in two manuscripts

A 12th-century version of Ælfric's Life of St Martin in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343

I shall introduce the Old English Martiniana individually in the following.

St Martin in the Old English Martyrology

The *Old English Martyrology* is a legendary that presents brief texts in Old English which give basic information on saints. The legendary is concerned predominantly with martyrs, hence the name martyrology, though it actually addresses a variety of different topics. The entries are in the order of the saints' feast days between the *Birth of Christ* (25 December) and St Thomas (21 December). The most recent edition of the *Martyrology* draws material from six different Old English manuscripts, two of which are the most extensive and cover several months, while the other manuscripts add single or few entries to the collection as a whole. Furthermore, there is an early modern witness which adds to the Old English material. I will present those two manuscripts which are the most extensive in the following chapters, since they contain an entry on St Martin.²

Though the *Martyrology* is mainly concerned with saints, it must be regarded as a large-scale encyclopedic project, since it touches upon topics such as "time measurement, the season of the year, biblical events, and cosmology" (Rauer 2013: 1). It aspires to paint a universal picture of the Christian world, bridging 6000 years of history and covering a wide geographical area, and verifiably drawing from more than 250 earlier works.³ A recently posed question is whether the Old English writer composed the work or translated a Latin original, a question which gives no hope of ever being answered.

Linguistic studies have resulted in the supposition of an Anglian origin,⁴ though the extant manuscripts present a variety of different regional forms and

²See the list of manuscripts in Herzfeld's edition (1900: xi), who knew four manuscripts, and Rauer (2013: 32). Kotzor's (1981) edition features an extensive study of all manuscripts; he produced a manuscript stemma which illustrates the results of his studies, see p. 143.

³See Rauer (2013: 11) for the literary context and the possible connection King Alfred's educational programme.

⁴Kotzor's (1981) edition features an extensive linguistic study of all manuscripts; Kotzor founded much of his study on the Anglian vocabulary (pp. 329f.) on Wenisch, F. (1979), *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordhumbrischen Interlinearglossierungen des Lukasevangeliums*, Anglistische Forschungen 132, Heidelberg.

do not allow for any evidential confirmation of its origin. The two manuscripts which contain St Martin are especially distinctively West-Saxon. The presence of a number of dialects has prompted scholars to suppose an intended or unintended supradialectal language in the archetype.⁵

The *Martyrology*'s composition has been dated to the end of the ninth century on the basis of its oldest extant manuscripts, but parts of the text have been connected to sources from the early eighth century. Internal evidence, such as the presence of eighth-century saints, and other evidence altogether points towards an early ninth-century composition, though there is also the possibility that the material assembled in the martyrology presents a corpus of texts which grew over centuries, a project supposedly begun as a martyrology. So far, the generous frame between 800 and 900 could be established as the date of its composition.⁶

The earliest modern edition of the *Martyrology* was published as part of the series of editions by the Early English Text Society (EETS), edited by Herzfeld (1900),⁷ who provided the standard edition until Kotzor's edition (1981),⁸ which is enriched by an extensive linguistic study of all manuscripts,⁹ as well as a summary of the state of research (pp. 9f.). Christine Rauer (2013) recently added a new edition featuring a translation and a commentary.¹⁰

MS A: London, British Library, Cotton Julius A.x

Cotton Julius A.x (Ker no. 161; Gneuss no. 338) is the most important base text for editions, since it covers much of the *Martyrology*'s text and is believed to be close to the original (Rauer 2013: 20). Folios 2-43 contain a Latin *Vita Oswini*, from the late 12th or early 13th century that was bound together with

⁵See the concise summary of the state of dialectological research in Rauer (2013: 5-7).

⁶See a discussion on the matter in Rauer (2013: 2/15), and (Kotzor 1981 I: 52-4); Kotzor presents his results concisely on pp. 443f. (origin) and pp. 449f. (date).

⁷Herzfeld's edition of the whole collection gathered from four manuscripts was preceded by a partial edition by T.O. Cockayne, a collection called "The Shrine. A Collection of Occasional Papers on Dry Subjects" (London, 1864-1870), which is hard to come by today, cf. Kotzor (1981 I: 3 and n. 3).

⁸Kotzor (1981 I: 4-5) saw the necessity for a new edition especially in the unreliability of Herzfeld's edition.

⁹Another important linguistic study is by Stossberg, F. (1905), *Die Sprache des altenglischen Martyrologiums*, Bonn; cf. Kotzor's discussion of Herzberg (pp. 16f.) and Stossberg (pp. 23f.). One edition of the *Martyrology*-manuscript British Library, MS Additional 40165 represents another important study on the *Martyrology*, see Sisam, C. (1953), "An Early Fragment of the Old English Martyrology", *Review of English Studies*, N.S. 4, 209-20.

¹⁰Rauer had included the results from her study on the martyrology's sources (Rauer 2003). For the context of Old English prose homilies, see Scragg (2000: 105), and Scragg (1979: 226+256).

the *Martyrology* in early modern times.¹¹ Folios 44-175 contain the OE *Martyrology*, “beginning imperfectly at 31 December (Columba, virgo)” (Ker), then continuing with gaps (esp. in February, March, July) until 11 November, ending imperfectly right in the introductory sentence of the entry on St Martin. The *Martyrology* in MS A features 229 items in total. Four scribes are “easily distinguishable” (Ker), the first of whom wrote fols. 44-129. Kotzor (1981: 58f.) detected two contemporary correctors. Glastonbury has been proposed as a possible origin based on internal evidence (Rauer 2013: 20), and Kotzor confirmed (or at least he did not falsify) Ker’s dating to 975-1025.¹²

The great number of marginalia suggests a usage that extended into the post-Conquest era.¹³

MS B: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196

Corpus Christi College 196 (Ker no. 47; Gneuss no. 62), in its present form with 122 leaves of parchment, contains two texts. Fols. 1 to 111 hold the OE *Martyrology*, and fols. 111-22 contain an Old English Version of the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, which, as the Parker Library’s catalogue explains, is “a translation of an apocryphon which interprets the destruction of the Jewish Temple by Titus in A.D. 70 as motivated by his desire to avenge the Crucifixion upon the Jews.”¹⁴ It was produced at Exeter, probably at the time of Bishop Leofric (d. 1072). MS B was produced along with CCCC MS 191, which contains a bilingual *Rule of Chrodegang*, and CCCC MS 201, which contains a version of the *Martyrology of Usuard* and of the *Capitula Theodulfi*.¹⁵ It was dated by

¹¹Ker gives “s. xii/xiii” as a date for the *vita* and adds that it formed a separate manuscript that was probably added by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571–1631).

¹²See Ker’s *Catalogue* (no. 161) and Kotzor (1981 I: 57f.) for a physical description.

¹³See Rauer’s edition (2013: 20) and her article (Rauer, C. (2007), “Usage of the Old English Martyrology”, in Bremmer, D.H. and Dekker, K. (2007), *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, Mediaevalia Groningana New Series 9, Groningen). On the marginalia cf. Kotzor (1981 I: 56-7).

¹⁴See “https://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms_no=196” (22 Oct 2014). Cf. Biggs (2003: 25), and Cross (1996: 6-8) for studies and editions on the *Vindicta*.

¹⁵On the origin of the Exeter Book and manuscript production, see Gameson (1996) esp. p. 144. For the context of the relation of English Bishops with textual culture, see Treharne (2007: 17), and for the relation to Exeter, see Treharne (2003: 157-62). Bishop (1971: 24) studied the paleographic association of MS B with CCCC MS 191. For CCCC MS 201 and the *Capitula Theodulfi*, see Sauer (1978). For codicology and paleography, there is detailed information from the Leeds University online project called “The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220”, see “<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.CCCC.196.htm>” (13 Nov 2015).

Robinson (1988: no. 141) to the time between 1050-72, and through the hands of collector Matthew Parker (1504-75) it came to Cambridge.¹⁶

The *Martyrology* begins imperfectly on 19 March and ends as imperfectly at 21 December, and was possibly written by a single scribe.¹⁷ It contains 207 *Martyrology* items in total.

The Anonymous Old English Homily for Martinmas

A homily is a religious discourse which is to be preached in church and is, thus, similar to a sermon, though also differing in some respect. As Tristram (1995: 3 n. 2) explains, “[i]n the strict sense, the *homily* expounds the pericope of the day of the Church year on which it is delivered and the *sermon* teaches important moral and catechetical topics. Thus the *homily* is basically exegesis and the *sermon* catechesis.” In fact, however, the two terms are often employed synonymously in the secondary literature.¹⁸ The central characteristics of a homily are its link to a narrative, predominantly a biblical episode, and its undertone of edification. Homilies were written to be read out aloud in church services and also for “meditative readings in the monastic Office”,¹⁹ and they were probably also used for private study. A homiliary is a collection of homilies, though often an Old English homiliary features texts that can be categorized rather as sermons or saints’ lives.

There was probably a demand for preaching material and sources in the vernacular as soon as Christian missionaries began preaching in Anglo-Saxon England. At first, this was certainly as problematic in England as it was on the continent. “The council of Tours (813) and Mainz (847) issued canons authorizing preaching in the vernacular though not the writing – i.e. the composition – of homilies in languages other than Latin” (Hamilton 1979: 7). Nevertheless, the end of the ninth century already saw a vibrant production of homilies, sermons and saints’ lives in English, throughout the rest of the Anglo-Saxon age.

The three homilies in MS Vercelli, MS Blickling and MS Junius 86 derive

¹⁶For provenance, see Budny (1997), and for the provenance and the history of the manuscripts in the times of Parker, see Kleist (2007: 463), Page (1981), Page (1993), and Kotzor (1981 I: 83f.). For a physical description, see also Kotzor (1981 I: 76f.), and Ker’s *Catalogue*. See Hofstetter (1987: 409-10) for a connection to Winchester.

¹⁷See Ker, and also Kotzor (1981: 75-88) on the paleography.

¹⁸Tristram (1995: 3 n. 2) explains that “scholarship since the 19th century has used the term ‘homily’ loosely to cover all kinds of Old English pastoral address.”

¹⁹See Kelly (2003: xviii), who says that the Benedictine Rule from the sixth century refers to this practice.

from one homily composed by one (anonymous) author/translator. It is unknown who composed the original homily, as is when and where it was composed. Dalbey (1984: 432) writes about the three versions that “[d]ifferences among them are relatively minor, and, except in two or three instances, are primarily verbal rather than substantive”, which is true for their opening sections. There are a few substantial differences with regard to their endings, however. For all we know, the text which makes use of Severus’ Vita (SVM) and his third epistle (SET) could have been composed in the early days of Christendom in England (after the sixth century), or it could have been inspired by King Alfred of Wessex’ translational programme (end of the ninth century), or it could have been from the time that the surviving manuscripts were produced (second half of the 10th century). It is also unknown whether we are dealing with an Anglo-Saxon author or a translator; it is possible that he or she gathered and reorganized the Latin material (from SVM and SET) to create a new homily in Old English, but it is as possible that he or she translated an existing (now lost or unknown) Latin homily. I shall refer in the following to this anonymous author or translator simply as the homilist. This is an overview of the three manuscripts in chronological order:

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| C | <i>Vercelli Homily for Martinmas</i> | Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII, s. x ² , Ker <i>Catalogue</i> no. 394 (item 20), Gneuss <i>Handlist</i> no. 941. |
| D | <i>Blickling Homily for Martinmas</i> | Princeton, Princeton University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection 71, s. x/xi., Ker <i>Catalogue</i> no. 382 (item 17), Gneuss <i>Handlist</i> no. 905. |
| E | <i>Junius Homily for Martinmas</i> | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86, s. xi med., Ker <i>Catalogue</i> no. 336 (item 8), Gneuss <i>Handlist</i> no. 642. |

I shall address all three manuscripts individually hereafter, but the following may be said about their common origin and relationship.

The general consensus is that the texts on Martin in manuscripts C, D and E derive from one source, since their “wording is identical at many points” (Gaites 1982: 36). As Hardy (1889) and Napier (1904) have shown in their studies on MS Blickling (D), the three versions can be subdivided into two groups with regard to their relation to their archetype. Napier underlined his results very concisely and accurately with evidence; these are his results:²⁰

²⁰Napier (1904: 1-2) has collected “emended passages” for his inquiry and numbered them from 1 to 32.

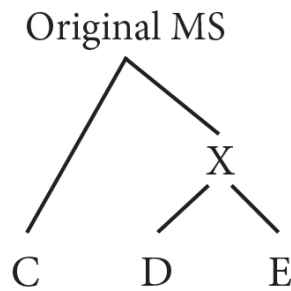
D and E form a subgroup because they lack one passage that is in C (Napier passage no. 32) and because they share wrong readings that are correct in C (nos. 4, 7, 14, 26, 31, 36).

The archetype for D and E is not derived from C because MS C shows wrong readings which are correct in D and E (nos. 24, 25).

E is not derived from D because of certain variants (nos. 2, 3, 6, 11, 15, 20, 21, 24, 34, 38, 39).

D is not derived from E because of “numerous errors” in E (no. 22).

This is Napier’s stemma (with my sigla), in which he terms the archetype “Original MS”:



Rosser (2000: 133 n. 2) suggests that the Old English homilist did not translate from SVM, SE, etc. but rather translated an existing Latin homily. Rosser does not present a Latin homily to prove his point, and disregards the versions’ different endings. The C-text also differs from the other two in that it seems to be of a more “personal” character and more concerned with “penitential and eschatological themes”.²¹ I will introduce the three manuscripts individually in the following .

MS C: The *Vercelli Book*

The manuscript in the Vercelli Biblioteca Capitolare, no. 117 (Ker no. 394) is widely known among Anglo-Saxonists as the *Vercelli Book*. It contains homilies in Old English and a few major Old English poems. In fact, it is one of only

²¹See Kelly (2003: xxiii), who gives a short overview of the matter, and cf. Gatch (1965: 143-4).

four surviving codices that contain Old English poetry.²² The combination and arrangement of texts is odd and still raises many questions today. The homilies present preaching material, but the manuscript as a whole can hardly be categorized as a homiliary.²³ The arrangement has led Sisam to assume that it was designed as a “reading book” (Sisam 1953: 118), and this has become a more or less accepted general consensus.

When exactly the codex was produced is unknown. Its texts were drawn from various sources from various ages, so the contents do not help much in dating the manuscript’s production. Some of the homilies were probably composed just before they were copied into MS C.²⁴ On paleographical grounds, the manuscript was dated to 960-80 (Szarmach 1981: xx), a frame that can be supported – or at least it cannot be contradicted – by internal evidence. Some of the texts were probably composed much earlier, such as the homily on St Martin, which on linguistic grounds dates back to the early 10th century (Szarmach 1981: xx). In any case, the manuscript represents the “earliest extant collection of homiletic texts in English” (Scragg 1992: xx). Worcester has been proposed as the possible place of the manuscript’s scriptorium and so have Winchester, Barking Abbey and Canterbury (ibid.).²⁵

The manuscript’s greatest mystery, however, lies in its provenance in northern Italy, in the small city of Vercelli. Kenneth Sisam found out that it must have been in Italy by the 11th century, which Sisam based on his finding of a psalm and neums on folio 24v, which are in north Italian script. The “generally accepted” (Scragg 1992: xxiv) view is that it has been in Vercelli since the early 12th century. Sisam proposed the idea that the manuscript was carried by an Englishman on his pilgrimage to Rome; the route is likely to have included a stop at Vercelli.²⁶

It was discovered in the Vercelli library in 1822, when the lawyer Friedrich Blume identified the language as Anglo-Saxon and mentioned the manuscript in a publication in 1824. Knowledge about its existence spread and reached England in 1832 (Szarmach 1981: xxi). One C. Maier was then sent to Vercelli for a transcription. He brought the transcript to England (Szarmach 1981:

²²The other three are the *Exeter Book* (*Codex Exoniensis* in Exeter Cathedral), the *Beowulf* MS (BL, Cotton MS Vitellius MS A.XV), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11.

²³Scragg (1992: xix) points out that the term *Vercelli Homilies* is misleading, since it suggests that the manuscript represents a homiliary.

²⁴Scragg (1992: xx) names homilies 19, 20, and 21 as examples.

²⁵The sign <xb> in the margin on four folios was interpreted as indicating a Canterbury origin. As Szarmach (1981: xix) points out, it can be interpreted as a pen trial that is also a prayer, <xb> standing for *criste benedic*.

²⁶For other propositions and further literature on the issue see Szarmach (1981: xx-xxi).

xxi). The successful transcription was, however, accompanied by an unfortunate study of the manuscript. In trying to decipher and illuminate some illegible and faded portions of text Maier applied a liquid reagent on the parchment. It is questionable whether the transcript benefitted from this, and these portions of text have ever since been covered by a brownish layer. Sometimes the reagent was applied to the whole page, thus rendering great portions of text more or less illegible. The first folio, for example, is completely illegible on both sides. There is “little hope of recovering any texts from beneath these stains” (Scragg 1992: xxiii). This does not concern the homily on St Martin.

The manuscript’s (single) scribe who collated the material probably had no “preconceived idea” (Scragg 1992: xx) of the book as a whole, and collated from various sources. There are 29 remaining items in English, comprising 23 homiletic texts (homilies/sermons/vitae) interspersed with 6 pieces of alliterative poetry in Old English.²⁷ In few places there are “sentences” and “additions” in Latin (Szarmach 1981: xix). The Vercelli scribe may have collated his material from several booklets to create his final product (Kelly 2003: xxiii). The homiliary items, as presented by Scragg (1973: 194), can be divided according to their source material; some derive from a south-eastern collection from ca. 950-1000 AD (homilies VI-X), some, including the homily on Martin, derive from a Mercian collection (homilies XV-XVIII) and some from a late West-Saxon collection (homilies XIX-XXI).

The whole codex was written by one scribe who took some freedom in his layout in terms of size of script, number of lines, etc.; there is a notable change after the 15th quire (fol. 105r). At least 12 leaves were lost from the codex,²⁸ unfortunately, that disrupts the edited text on St Martin in two instances. The codex consists of 135 folios of “fine parchment” (Szarmach 1981: xix). Among a few scribal peculiarities are zoomorphic initials and decorations, whose purpose have not been studied satisfactorily so far.²⁹ One phenomenon which can be found in the text on St Martin is a *mon-rune*³⁰; its placement seems rather random; it is unclear why the scribe has put it in this particular place.

The language bears marks of a late West-Saxon dialect, though interspersed with plenty of non-West-Saxon forms. The scribe obviously did not strive for “linguistic uniformity” (Scragg 1992: xx) but has left some dialectal marks on the manuscript. Accents in the manuscript indicate vowel length (e.g. *godes*

²⁷ Szarmach (1981: xix) is very helpful as an overview, cf. Scragg (1973) and Sisam (1976); Ker’s *Catalogue* lists all contents.

²⁸ Scragg (1992) lists them on p. xxiii; cf. Szarmach (1981: xix).

²⁹ See Szarmach (1981: xx); a thorough study is still a desideratum.

³⁰ See p. 423 in the appendix; the *man-rune* or *mon-rune* represents the indefinite pronoun *man/mon* (Szarmach 1981: xx).

gód), and “sentence emphasis” (e.g. *án*) (Peterson 1951: vii). The language of the homily on St Martin provides enough linguistic evidence to identify a Mercian origin.³¹

The manuscript’s editorial history is quite extraordinary in that there are many partial editions. The Old English verse texts (Andreas, Fates of the Apostles, Soul and Body I, Homiletic Fragment I, Dream of the Rood, and Elene) appeared in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (ASPR), ed. by G.P. Krapp (1932), featuring notes. The prose homilies (St Martin is no. 18) were edited as follows:³²

Whole MS ed. as facsimile by the Vatican (Förster 1913)

Homs. 9, 15, 22 Förster “Der Vercelli-Codex” in *Studien zur Englischen Philologie* 50 (1913)

“hitherto unedited homilies” unpublished dissertation by Willard (1925)

Homs. 1-8 Förster “Die Vercelli-Homilien”, *Bibliothek der ags. Prosa* 12 (1932)³³

Hom. 10 Napier “Sammlung [...] Wulfstan” (1863)

Hom. 11 Willard “Vercelli Homily XI and Its Sources” (1949)

Hom. 13 Wülker “Über das Vercellibuch”, in *Anglia* 5

Hom. 23 Gonser “Das ags. Prosaleben Guthlac” (1907)

Homs. 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21 unpublished dissertation by Peterson (1951)

Hom. 10 McCabe (1968)

Homs. 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21 Pinski (1966)

Homs. 9-23 Szarmach (1981)

³¹For the manuscript’s language, see Scragg’s (1970) extensive, unpublished dissertation on the topic; Szarmach (1981: xxii) presents some of Scragg’s results. The Mercian origin is supported by Schabram’s (1965) study.

³²I took the contents of this table from Peterson (1951: iii) and updated it, and exchanged the Roman numerals with arabic for convenience. A complete list can also be found in Anderson (1949: 356); cf. Peterson (1951: iv).

³³Scragg (1992: xxii): Förster probably used the transcript from Napier which the latter used for the inclusion of notes in his “Contributions to Old English Lexicography” (1906).

Finally, in 1992, the prose homilies were published altogether by Donald Scragg,³⁴ whose edition for the EETS is the standard edition for the homilies. Nicholson (1991) presented a modern English translation of all the homilies.

MS D: The *Blickling Manuscript*

While the provenance of MS Vercelli is a mystery, the provenance of the so-called Blickling MS (Ker no. 382) in the U.S.A. is recorded well. MS Blickling was probably in Lincoln Cathedral before the 14th century. After 1304 (at the latest), it was used in the Common Council of Lincoln as a “casual notebook” (Kelly 2003: xliv). It was integrated later into the house library of the Blickling Hall estate (hence the name) in Norfolk, UK. It was there that Benjamin Thorpe consulted (but not edited) the manuscript for his edition of Ælfric of Eynhsam’s *Catholic Homilies*, which he published in 1844-6. In 1850, the estate (including the properties) was bequeathed to the 7th Marquis of Lothian. The Marquis’ widow obviously made the manuscript available to Richard Morris, who edited the *Blickling Homilies* for the first time. His three volumes for the EETS were published in 1874-80.³⁵ After the death of the 10th Marquis of Lothian in 1930, the manuscript, among other rare books, found new owners through auctions in the United States.³⁶ In 1938, the manuscript was bought by John Hinsdale Scheide of Princeton, New Jersey, (Kelly 2003: xxix); today it is kept in the Scheide Library of Princeton University, New Jersey.³⁷

Today, the manuscript contains a calendar (mid-15th century), a “selection of Gospel passages for administering oaths” (early 14th century), and an Anglo-Saxon homiliary comprising nineteen items.³⁸ The homiliary covers major feasts of the church year (Hamilton 1979: 1), including movable as well as unmovable feasts.³⁹

³⁴“The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts” appeared in 1992; Scragg discusses the manuscript’s editorial history, see pp. xxi-xxii.

³⁵In its third volume, Morris included a preface, dating 7th November 1879, in which he thanks the 7th Marquis’ widow and the 9th Marquis.

³⁶I followed the more detailed account on the history of the estate and the manuscript by Kelly (2003: esp. pp. xxix-xxx). See also the brief “description” of the manuscript’s online version at “<http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/x346d4176>” (19 Apr 2014).

³⁷The Scheides were renowned book collectors. The Princeton University’s Scheide Library was assembled by William T. Scheide (1847-1907), by his son, John H. Scheide (1875-1942), and finally by his son, William H. Scheide (1914-2014). The library’s official website is at “<http://www.princeton.edu/~rbsc/departement/scheide/>” (19 Jan 2014).

³⁸Cf. Kelly (2003) for information on the calendar (p. xlii), the Gospels (p. xl) and historical and present bindings (p. xxxiii.); for a detailed list of contents, see Ker’s *Catalogue*, no. 382.

³⁹No. 13, the *Assumption*, is not in the usual place, however. According to its date in the liturgical year (August 15) it should appear between Sts Peter and Paul (June 29) and St Michael

The manuscript was written by two scribes, and can be divided into three parts:⁴⁰

fols. 1r - 49v were written by Hand A.

fols. 50r - 119v were mainly written by Hand A, but in most items, Hand B either interrupts (e.g. no. X), concludes (e.g. no. XII) or begins (e.g. no. VII) the item.

fols. 120r - 129v were written by Hand B.

The two scribes are regarded as contemporary and were possibly writing in the same scriptorium (Kelly 2003: xxxvii), since they seem to take each other's place from time to time.⁴¹ They make use of punctus, punctus versus and rarely of punctus elevatus. Some texts (esp. III - V) show an inexplicable richness of punctuation, probably through "extensive repointing" (Kelly 2003: xxxviii). They use Roman and Uncial capital letters: *H* and *M* can appear both as Roman and Uncial.

The manuscript dates back to the end of the 10th century; for a long time, the manuscript was believed to date back exactly to the year of 971. In the tenth homily, for Holy Thursday, the text claims that the world shall come to an end (to which the second scribe added *on þam sexta elddo* ('in the sixth age')) and that 971 years have already passed. Morris (1874-80: viii) concluded that this would be the date of the manuscript's production. Förster (1919 "Beowulf-Handschrift": 43) remarks justifiably, however, that though this might be the year when the text was composed, it might not necessarily be the year that the manuscript was written.⁴² It is known that some of the homilies "antedate the MS, in some cases by about a century" (Hamilton 1979: 6).

From the time of the manuscript's usage as a "register of municipal memoranda" (Kelly 2003: xlv), it features numerous scribblings in the outer and inner

(September 29) in this collection. Cf. Hamilton (1979: 1).

⁴⁰See Morris 1967: viii, and Kelly (2003), who provides a detailed table on p. 197. A substantial work on the Blickling homilies, esp. scribes, and codicology is the article by Scragg, "The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript", pp. 299-316 in Lapidge, M. and Gneuss, H., eds. (1985), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Cambridge et al.

⁴¹Ker gives some more details on the scribes' paleography, pp. 454; cf. Kelly 2003: xxxvii f.

⁴²In 1965, Hans Schabram called Morris' conclusion a widely circulated "Trugschluss" ('fallacy') (Schabram 1965: 73). It may prove him right to read in Gaites (1982: 36) "The Blickling MS can be assigned to 971, while the Vercelli collection and MS Bodleian Junius 86 are thought to have been compiled slightly earlier." Of course it is comprehensible that readers of Morris' edition trust his enthusiastic assignment to the year 971, but today's reader can, therefore, only be encouraged to make use of Kelly's (2003) edition.

margins. A certain “George Davys” appears in the margin of both sides of fol. 129, that is on the folios of our homily. Davys was one of several officials (i.e. sword-bearers, mace-bearers and bellmen) who made themselves – or rather their names – immortal by putting their names and statuses in the margin of several folios (Kelly 2003: xlv).

The Blickling homilies’ language is late West-Saxon, though it incorporates many non-West-Saxon forms. The vocabulary and orthography point especially toward an Anglian origin.⁴³ The text features many archaic words (Hamilton 1979: 5; Menner 1949: 59) which could hint at an early West-Saxon origin, perhaps going back to the early ninth century. The collators of the Blickling homilies probably collated different homilies from different dialects and decades for their new manuscript,⁴⁴ although West-Saxon forms dominate (Hamilton 1979: 7).⁴⁵

The collection is extraordinary for its prevalent “theme of imminent doom” (Hamilton 1979: 11) that recurs vibrantly in the homilist’s work, a fact that seems to point at the imminence of the close of the millennium. As a result, the Blickling Homilies dwell very much on the idea of good works to positively affect the individual’s salvation. In other words, the Homilies are rather teleological in character (Hamilton 1979: 13). The homilist behind it is an author who mastered his rhetorical craft very effectually, touching the boundary towards poetic language.⁴⁶

As mentioned, the first edition was that of Morris, as EETS o.s. volumes 58 (1874), 63 (1876) and 73 (1880). It was reprinted as one volume in 1967. It has a very short introduction (“Preface”) and a list of items with references to other manuscripts with versions of the item (xi-xvi) in Morris. Morris’ edition provides a modern English translation on facing pages and features plot-summaries for paragraphs in the margin. Behind the text, the reader finds the *Blickling Glosses* (OE-Latin) and an extensive “index of words”, i.e. a glossary (OE-ModE). Rudolph Willard (1960) published a facsimile as part of the *Early*

⁴³Hamilton (1979: 2-5) lists representative forms; there is extensive linguistic study in Hardy (1899). See also the list of Anglian words in the MS in Menner (1949: 58).

⁴⁴Through the discovery of some Anglian words Campbell could establish a connection to the Old English Bede, see Campbell, J.J. (1951), “The Dialect Vocabulary of the Old English Bede”, in *JEGP* 50, 349-72, p. 356.

⁴⁵There are a number of linguistic commentaries on the Blickling Homilies. There have already been a few by the time of Swaen (1940); Swaen lists a good number of linguistic studies and claims he himself “offer[s] a few additional conjectures and corrections” (Swaen 1940: 264). Hamilton (1979), studied the homily on St Martin exclusively; cf. Kelly’s (2003) introductory chapters.

⁴⁶Morris (1967: vi-vii) found, for instance, a passage that resembles one in the Old English epic *Beowulf*.

English Manuscripts in Facsimile (EEMF) series. There was a new edition of the whole collection of homilies by Richard J. Kelly in 2003. Kelly presented a modernized translation on facing pages and an extensive introduction, textual notes and tables and in fact he printed a black/white photograph of the beginning of the homily on St Martin (fol. 127r) (behind p. lvi). The homily on St Martin has been edited on its own in Hamilton (1979). The Princeton library recently published a freely available scan of the whole manuscript online.⁴⁷

MS E: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86

MS Junius 86 (Ker no. 336, Gneuss no. 642) represents the second part of one volume, the first part being MS Junius 85. In fact, the manuscripts are often presented as one. Wilcox calls the manuscript an “incongruously scruffy, messy, materially poor, well-used collection” and notes that it demands some imagination to see the original volume in the two volumes of Junius 85 and Junius 86. The pagination suggests that it was one book; in fact, a homily that ends imperfectly in Junius 85 is continued in the first folio of Junius 86. It is also special through its dimensions; it was “small enough to fit into a pocket or satchel”.⁴⁸ Wilcox states that “[t]he relatively scruffy low-status Junius 85/86 is exceptionally useful for providing a hint of something else: first of circulation in booklets and then of circulation in a small portable book suitable for use at a modest community level.” (Wilcox 2009: 368). DiPaolo Healey, who edited the OE *Vision of St Paul* (1978) from the MS, is more enthusiastic about its value, which in her view “lies precisely in its unfinished state” (p. 16).

One scribe⁴⁹ wrote the volume in the middle of the 11th century.⁵⁰ DiPaolo Healey argues for an origin at the scriptorium at St Augustine’s, Canterbury, but has to admit that the absence of clear evidence prevents any final assignment. She also suggests that the original volume might have been designed specifically as a homiliary for Lent (see p. 16), i.e. the fasting period of forty days (*Quadragesima*) before Easter Sunday. The inclusion of the homily for Martinmas would contradict this assumption, even if it was to serve a reading at

⁴⁷The permanent link is “<http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/x346d4176>” (19 Jan 2014).

⁴⁸See Wilcox (2009: 355), also for the exact proportions; cf. Ker’s *Catalogue*, no. 336; cf. also Scragg (2009: 56). There is also a physical description in diPaolo Healey (1978: 3)

⁴⁹Ker notes with regard to scribes that the “writing varies in appearance” and that he can distinguish at least two hands.

⁵⁰Ker and also Pächt and Alexander (1973: no. 47) date it “xi med.”; Pächt and Alexander include the manuscripts for its “Initials and marginal ornaments”; they note on the manuscript’s provenance that a marginal inscription refers to “Richborough, Kent”, which suits the background of the volume’s southern language; they also state it was “given to Junius by Isaac Vossius”.

the feast of Martin's ordination (4 July), a fact which diPaolo Healey obviously did not consider. She is certainly right in stating, however, that the inclusion of the *Vision of St Paul* does not contradict this idea, considering that its moralistic and apocalyptic themes underline the significance of fasting. Perhaps the significance of fasting in the collection provides an answer to this question. Fasting is actually the link between the Lenten homilies and the homily for Martinmas. Both Easter Sunday and Martinmas share a connection to a fasting period, if we take the *Quadragesima* after Martinmas into consideration again. So perhaps this might hint at the collection's intended purpose. Again, however, clear evidence for this is lacking.

I will present a full list of contents which includes the items in Junius 85 so as to give an idea of the original volume:⁵¹

1. **MS Junius 85's** binding leaf contains a "missal fragment" (diPaolo Healey 1978: 9)
2. fol. 2r: Homily for Tuesday in Rogationtide (fragmentary)⁵²
3. fols. 2v: the opening of an *Address of the Soul and Body*⁵³
4. fols. 3r-11v: The OE *Vision of St Paul* (ed. in diPaolo Healey 1978)
5. fol. 12r-17v: continuation of item 3.
6. fol. 17: four charms in Latin, with OE titles
7. fols. 18r-24r: Ælfric of Eynsham's *Homily for the First Sunday in Lent* (*CH* II: pp. 98f. in Thorpe, pp. 60f. in Godden)
8. fols. 25r-35v: Anonymous Homily for an unspecified occasion, possibly for the second Sunday in lent (see diPaolo Healey 1987: 12)
9. **MS Junius 86** fols. 36r-40v: continuation of item 8 in MS Junius 85
10. fols. 40v-61v: Anonymous Homily for the third Sunday in Lent (so titled in the Blickling-MS, see diPaolo Healey (1987: 13)); ends imperfectly
11. fols. 62r-81r: Anonymous Homily for Martinmas (edited here)

⁵¹For the MS's contents, see the list of items in Ker's *Catalogue* and cf. diPaolo Healey (1978) for further information and secondary literature. See also Godden (1979: lix-lx).

⁵²DiPaolo Healey (1978: 9) notes that it is no. 49 in Napier's (1883) edition of Wulfstan's homilies (see Napier and Ostheeren 1967), also homily no. 10 in the Vercelli-MS and no. 9 in the Blickling-MS.

⁵³See diPaolo Healey (1978: 10+11).

There is reason to believe that the Ælfric homily was an independent booklet before it was bound into Junius 85/86: “It appears, then, that this quire was first copied as a freestanding booklet (or, conceivably, as a quire in a different, now lost, small format book), but may not have circulated in that form for long (or at all) since it was selected soon thereafter for inclusion in the composite manuscript, Junius 85/86.” (Wilcox 2009: 358)

Parts of the volume have been edited, but so far there is no edition of the volume as a whole and this present edition is the first edition of the whole *Anonymous Homily for Martinmas* from MS E. Moreover, a thorough study of the manuscript’s language and scribes is still pending, which I ascribe to the fact that the small volume has such a bad reputation regarding its quality. Nevertheless, I believe it is apt to reveal more than has hitherto been revealed.

Ælfric of Eynsham’s Old English Martiniana

The Author and His Works

Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham was “by far the most prolific Old English writer” (Magennis 2009: 7). Wilcox (2009: 345 and n. 2) calculated, with help of the DOE-Corpus, that Ælfric’s works make up 15% of Anglo-Saxon texts. Of course, this number relates to the surviving body of texts, but certainly the great quality of his texts secured their survival. There has been much praise for his texts, especially for his clear and simple style of writing. It would be repetitive to elaborate on the significance of this writer, since it has been done so often. However, to give one telling example for his significance, Mechthild Gretsch (2005: 1) has stated that the first Old English book in print was an Ælfrician text, i.e. his Easter homily.⁵⁴ Ælfric provided the English church with uniform preaching material for at least a century.

Long after his material was no longer preached, it was promoted by order of King Henry VIII to testify a long English tradition of Protestant ideas (Wilcox 2009: 345). Therefore, it is not by chance that Ælfric is “one of the best-researched authors in OE literature” (Gretsch 2005: 1). However, much of the data about his life we can deduce only from his own writings. Let me present a brief biography.⁵⁵

⁵⁴For the interest in Ælfric in Early Modern times cf. Magennis (2009: 8).

⁵⁵Despite the richness of his surviving body of texts and in research, Michael Lapidge has justifiably pointed out that “[t]here is no satisfactory monograph on Ælfric”. Lapidge (2003: 575, fn. 2) goes on: “those frequently cited include C. L. White, *Ælfric: a New Study of his Life and Writings*, rev. M. R. Godden (New York, 1974; originally published 1898) and J. Hurt, *Ælfric* (New York, 1972). One is better served by the introductions to *CH I* and *II*, taken together

Ælfric was a common name in Anglo-Saxon England, so it took researchers quite some time to find enough evidence to discern which historical person named Ælfric was the one who names himself as the author of the *Catholic Homilies* and the *Lives of Saints* in the two works' prefaces. Franz Eduard Dietrich found out who this Ælfric was.⁵⁶ The author in question is now commonly referred to as Ælfric of Eynsham. He was born around 955⁵⁷ in or in the vicinity of Winchester and he probably entered the Old Minster as a child. In any case, he himself states that he became a student of Æthelwold, who was Bishop of Winchester from 963 to 984.⁵⁸ Ælfric also stated that he had learned Latin from a teacher called Iorvert, about whom nothing else is known. Ælfric was also a student of Dunstan (d. 988), who was later Archbishop of Canterbury (959-88), which involved studies at Glastonbury.⁵⁹ These two must have had some major influence on Ælfric, considering how much the monastic reform movement, called the *English Benedictine Reform*,⁶⁰ surfaces in his works.

Ælfric's "name appears in the list of Old Minster monks as 'Ælfric sacerdos'" (Lapidge 2003: 575). His Winchester training "will no doubt have guaranteed a thorough knowledge of Aldhelm" (Gretsch 2005: 23). We know which texts influenced Ælfric, thanks to Michael Lapidge's thorough studies of inventories, manuscripts and citations. Lapidge (2002: 127-8) was also able to reconstruct Ælfric's library at Winchester. Among the works he must have studied there were the major patristic works, such as Gregory's *Dialogi*, *Homilia in*

with the article cited below, n. 3. There is a valuable bibliography: L. M. Reinsma, *Ælfric: an Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1987), recently updated by A. Kleist, "An annotated bibliography of Ælfrician studies: 1983-1996", in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (New York, 2000), pp. 503-52; see also K. J. and K. P. Quinn, *A Manual of Old English Prose* (New York, 1990), nos. B001, B004, B007, G816, H004, H201." "A Companion to Ælfric" was published by Magennis and Swan in 2009, which presents a major contribution on the study of Ælfric and his writings; see esp. Joyce Hill's biography in chapter two.

⁵⁶See Gneuss (2002a: 2) for a brief summary of the research that led to Dietrich's final ascertainment of facts and Magennis (2009: 5f.) for an article on "Ælfric Scholarship"; Magennis refers to Dietrich as Eduard Dietrich, his second first name.

⁵⁷See Lapidge (2003: 575) for a concise biography; for the dating of Ælfric's birth, see White (1974: 35), who argues for the years around 955 as the years of Ælfric's birth; Clemoes (1959b) and recently Hill (2009) addressed the matter; Hill concludes that Ælfric was born "in or not long before 957" (p. 37).

⁵⁸See the collection of essays on Æthelwold in Yorke, B., ed. (1988), *Bishop Æthelwold*, Bury St Edmunds, which features many significant contributions on the historical figure.

⁵⁹See Lapidge (2003: 575) and Gneuss (2002a: 3). Lapidge contributed an essay on "Ælfric's Schooldays" (Lapidge 2002).

⁶⁰The key figures behind this movement were the said Dunstan, the said Æthelwold and Oswald, Archbishop of York (971-92). For literature on the movement and a chronological overview, see Barrow, J. (2008). "The Chronology of the Benedictine 'Reform'", in Scragg, D., ed. (2008), *Edgar, King of the English 959-975*, Woodbridge, 211-23.

Evangelia, *Moralia in Job*, *Regula Pastoralis*, Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, *De naturare rerum*, *Etymologiae*, *Synonyma*, Jerome's *Epistulae*, *Commentarius in Evangelium Matthaei*, Augustine's *De Ciuitate Dei*, *De Trinitate*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *Enchiridion*, *epistulae*, *sermones*, but also other works such as Cassian's *Conlationes*, Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Arator's *Historia apostolica*, Juvenicus' *Euangelia*, Prosper's *Epigrammata*, Caelius Sedulius' *Carmen paschale*, later also Caesarius' *Sermones*, and Boethius' *Consolatio*.

Ælfric was consecrated as a priest in 987 and seconded to Cerne Abbas (Dorset) by Ælfheah, Æthelwold's successor as Bishop of Winchester (984-1006). The new monastery at Cerne had been founded by an ealdorman named Æthelweard and his son Æthelmaer.⁶¹ It was there at Cerne where Ælfric commenced composing homilies, sermons and saints' lives in the vernacular, an activity which was probably inspired – if not actively supported – by Æthelweard and/or Æthelmær, as far as we can deduce from Ælfric's preface.⁶² It was probably there in Cerne Abbas that he wrote the major portion of his writings.

Æthelmær founded another monastery at Eynsham in 1005 and “at the instigation of Æthelmær” (Lapidge 2003: 576) Ælfric became its first abbot. When exactly Ælfric died is unknown, perhaps around 1010 (Clemoes 1959b: 245). Gneuss (2002a: 9) states that Ælfric probably wrote most of his works when he was abbot in Eynsham, but if we consider the *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints* his major works and they were written in the 990s, the most important part of his work was created at Cerne Abbas. We do not know about his writing activities as abbot at Eynsham; Ælfric may have confined himself to correcting the work of his scribes.

Ælfric meticulously corrected copies of his texts on the side of scribes. In BL, MS Royal 7 C XII, one can find several notes which are believed to be by Ælfric himself.⁶³ We can assume that several other manuscripts containing *Catholic Homilies* as well as other manuscripts were “copied under Ælfric's personal supervision” (Lapidge 2003: 577).

Ælfric took great care of his products for a good reason. He greatly deplored what he perceived as “a lack of clergy and a lack of trained clergy” (Vermillion 1980: 79). All the more, Ælfric criticized pride and indulgence among the clergy, their inclination towards gluttony and drinking. Very much like King Alfred before him,⁶⁴ he deplored a loss of learning (esp. of Latin) in

⁶¹See Cubitt (2009) for an essay on “Ælfric's Lay Patrons”; Æthelweard was a direct descendant of King Æthelwulf I (865-71) of Wessex, brother to King Alfred the Great. He and his son Æthelmær were “leading figures at the court of Æthelread the Unready” (Cubitt 2009: 165-6).

⁶²See Vermillion (1980: 88), cf. Lapidge (2003: 576) and Donoghue (2004: 84).

⁶³Gneuss (1970: 156) reports that Pope made this discovery.

⁶⁴See, for instance, Alfred's popular preface to the *Pastoral Care*, ed. Whitelock (2000).

his homeland (Vermillion 1980: 79). Similar to Alfred, Ælfric saw two methods to counteract this development: 1. promoting translations of Latin works into Old English and 2. providing a Latin grammar and glossaries to support learning of Latin (Vermillion 1980: 80). Set against the background of the *Benedictine Reform*, the small circle of the movement's key figures, thus, "produced a literary movement whose chief representative was Ælfric".⁶⁵

Ælfric has left a great body of texts as a legacy that give authentic testimony to the learning and great care of a devoted, well-tempered writer and lover of biblical narratives. He left more than 160 homilies (Gneuss 2002a: 7). Ælfric of Eynsham was, as Gretsch (2005: 21) noted, a teacher, priest, Benedictine monk, Winchester alumnus, prose writer and at times a poet. Yet he always presented himself first and foremost as a modest person. In this respect, Ælfric has very often been compared with his contemporary Wulfstan (II), Archbishop of York (d. 1023), since they could not have been more different in temper. As Peter Hunter Blair puts it: "Wulfstan was as much statesman as ecclesiastic and his style was that of the preacher and rhetorician rather than of the cloistered teacher such as Ælfric."⁶⁶ Ælfric's writings have enjoyed more impact and circulation than those of any other European writer of his age (Gneuss 2002a: 9). His achievement may perhaps be best underlined by the fact that his writings withstood the grave changes in the English church in the time after the Norman Conquest (Vermillion 1980: 88).

Ælfric wrote significant works both in English and Latin. Among his most significant works⁶⁷ in Old English are a collection of (predominantly) homiletic texts commonly referred to as the *Catholic Homilies (CH)*, and a collection of (predominantly) hagiographic texts commonly referred to as the *Lives of Saints (LS)*. Both works will be addressed in the following two chapters since the two Martiniana edited below are part of these two collections.

Ælfric's style in his prose, in English as well as in Latin, is marked by sim-

⁶⁵See Vermillion (1980: 78); recent research, however, has also perceived that Ælfric "is sometimes distinct from the main lines of the Benedictine Reform that he otherwise seems to embody." (Wilcox 2009: 346 and n. 11); see also Jones' (2009) article on "Ælfric and the Limits of the Benedictine Reform" and Gretsch (2009); Szarmach (2000) is also somewhat concerned with the wider context of the reform (see esp. p. 590) when studying "Ælfric's and the Problem of Women".

⁶⁶See Hunter Blair (2003: 359); note the introduction to Ælfric's life and his works on pp. 357-9; on the relationship between Wulfstan and Ælfric, see Hill (2000b) and Stanley (2004).

⁶⁷An extensive list of works by him and a discussion of his authorship in some doubtful cases can be found in the much-quoted and influential article by Clemoes "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works" (1959b). It features a chronological list of works on pp. 244-5. A good summary of Ælfric's works can be found in Lapidge (2003: 576), cf. Gneuss (2002a: 8-9). John (1983) bemoans that "the main thrust of Aelfrician studies has been philological".

plicity and clarity. He tends to reduce “excessive verbosity, simply (as it were) by drawing a red pencil”.⁶⁸ In doing so, Ælfric has painted a picture of himself as a simple and modest servant of the church and the English people. His style is particularly plain in his *Grammar*,⁶⁹ where he explains in Old English the Latin language to an English (monastic) audience. In fact, he produced the first Latin grammar in a vernacular (Greenfield and Calder 1986: 38). As a translator, Ælfric followed an English tradition when he translated sense for sense rather than word for word (Needham 1966: 17). Topic-wise he was concerned with a wide range of works and managed to render all in a clear style and show his ability to “communicate effectively to the particular audience he was addressing.” (Vermillion 1980: 89). Amongst his other notable works, which I will not further introduce, are his *Letter to Monks at Eynsham*,⁷⁰ the Latin *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* about his mentor Æthelwold of Winchester, *De Temporibus Anni*,⁷¹ the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesis*,⁷² and his Bible translations.⁷³ Students of Old English know Ælfric especially for his *Colloquy*, because it is so “peculiarly suited to the needs of beginners.”⁷⁴ It presents a dialogue between a school master and his pupils and it is a purely educational piece that teaches Latin, particularly for conversation. The Latin text of the *Colloquy* survives in four manuscripts; one of these features a continuous interlinear Old English glossing (Garmonysway 1967: 2). Therefore, Ælfric’s *Colloquy* serves as superb teaching material for students of Old English.

⁶⁸See Lapidge (2003: 560) and more on the techniques of Ælfric in Lapidge (2003: 560-1).

⁶⁹The grammar was edited by Zupitza, whose 1880 standard edition has been revised by Gneuss (Zupitza 2003); see the article by Grundy (2000), who studies the *Grammar* from a wider cultural perspective.

⁷⁰The *Letter* has recently been edited by Jones (1998), who presents the Latin text and a Modern English translation on facing pages (pp. 110f.); cf. Hill (2009: 40) and Clemoes’ chronology of Ælfric’s works (1959b).

⁷¹The text was recently edited by Blake (2009), in whose eyes the work presents a “chronology, [...] cosmology and the sequence of Creation, the rudiments of computus and elements of natural science, particularly meteorology” (p. 1).

⁷²See Clemoes (1959b: 244) for the table that shows his results on the “Chronology of Ælfric’s Works” and the concise overview in Hill (2009).

⁷³Most notably Ælfric’s Old English *Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford, S.J., ed. (1969), *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Ælfric’s Treatise on the Old and New Testament and His Preface to Genesis*, EETS o.s. 160, London and recently ed. again by Marsden, R., ed. (2008), *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric’s Libellus De Veteri Testamento Et Novo. Vol. I: Introduction and Text*, EETS o.s. 330, Oxford; the 2nd vol. with notes and glossary is still pending.

⁷⁴See Garmonysway, G.N., ed. (1967) *Ælfric’s Colloquy*, Methuen’s Old English Library, repr. of the 2nd edition, London, p. v, which is the edition frequently used in classrooms.

Ælfric's Catholic Homilies

The set of homiletic text commonly referred to as *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* (CH) was probably finished between 990 and 994; this is the assumed time frame based on the fact that the Latin preface addresses Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury.⁷⁵ It was to serve two purposes: the “one is reading aloud in church, the other private devotional reading” (Kelly 2003: xxv). In the Latin preface, *Ælfric* speaks of *legentium vel audientium* (‘reader or listener’), but the twofold purpose is also evident from the homily on Job, which has “Gif hwilc gelæred man þas race oferræde, oððe rædan gehyre”.⁷⁶ In Sisam’s words, *Ælfric* “wanted to supply the English clergy with a foundational book which would cover the principal occasions for preaching” (Sisam 1953: 164).

One distinctive feature of both the homilies and the *Lives of Saints* is that they are written in a style that is easily comprehensible, to a degree that suggests that the set is designed for a lay audience.⁷⁷ Undeniably, however, there are “distinctly monastic features in the homiliaries”.⁷⁸ *Ælfric*’s goal of “salvation” of the “unlearned”⁷⁹ adds to the notion of a suggested lay audience. For Godden (1996: 262), it is “still unclear” what purpose they were to serve and he suggests “verbatim preaching”, “models for others’ preaching”, or “private reading”. Therefore, it has been proposed that the set “may originally have been written for a monastic audience and only afterwards adapted for a lay congregation” (Kelly 2003: xxvi). The double purpose reveals itself perhaps also in the two favorite moral themes: “the duty of priests and teachers to spread the word of God” and for everybody to engage in “chastity, spiritual as well as fleshly.” (Vermillion: 1980: 91). Kelly goes on to suggest that maybe *Ælfric* combined two homiliary traditions (i.e. monkish and lay), because he “when writing, had a Winchester or Cerne context in mind, where the laity would have been preached to in the monastic church with the monks also present” (Kelly 2003: xxvii). The texts fulfill all these purposes and they have certainly been written so as to provide material for a great number of suitable occasions that would enhance the spirituality of all parts of society, i.e. through the circulation of the stories, their moral teachings and saintly role models. *Ælfric*’s motivation as pronounced by him in his preface was to fight *gedwyld* (‘error, heresy’, see BT

⁷⁵See Szarmach (2003: 42); cf. Kelly (2003: xxiv), Clemoes (1959b: 222), Pope (1967-8: 34-5 and Godden (1979: xliii).

⁷⁶See Kelly (2003: xxv); quoted from *CH* II (p. 267, ll. 227-9).

⁷⁷Kelly (2003: xxv) writes the set was “intended for preaching to the laity”; see Wilcox (2006: 258-9) who lists a number of different possible purposes.

⁷⁸See Gatch (1977: 53-4); cf. Kelly (2003: xxvi).

⁷⁹See the transl. of the Latin preface by Thorpe *CH* II: 2.

s.v. *ge-dawylð*), i.e. his people's unorthodoxy, blasphemy and paganism, all of which finally "prompted him to write his own homilies" (Godden 1996: 264).

Topic-wise the *Catholic Homilies* are a broad project; they "present a survey of Christian History from Genesis to the Apocalypse."⁸⁰ The collection covers church feasts both from the liturgical cycle of the *temporale* and the *sanctorale*, i.e. saints' feast days such as those of John the Evangelist, Gregory, Cuthbert, Benedict and Martin.⁸¹ Despite this diversity, the *Catholic Homilies* deserve their title because of the predominance of homiletic texts; similarly, Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (see next chapter) are marked by a predominance of hagiographic texts. Ælfric remarks in his preface (to *CHI*) that he has presented *tractatus* as well as *passiones vel vitae* (*CHI*: 1). He remarks in the preface to the second series that they are not all taken from the gospels (*CHII*: 2). Probably the availability of sources influenced the selection as much as did Ælfric's own personal preferences. Ælfric knew collections such as the *Blickling Homilies* and so was perhaps influenced by them, although they were not his source.⁸² As Zettel showed, Ælfric had drawn intensely from the Cotton-Corpus Legendary.⁸³

Homilies by Ælfric survive in dozens of manuscripts, which I do not list here, instead I refer to the previous editions. I will introduce those manuscripts which are edited below in the following chapters. The first edition of Ælfric's Homilies was published by Benjamin Thorpe (1844-6 in two vols.) for the Ælfric Society under the title *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, which provides a modern English translation on facing pages that is still valuable for scholars today.

John C. Pope made a valuable contribution to this when he published a *Supplementary Collection* of Ælfric's homilies (1967-8 in 2 vols.), valuable especially for its introduction, which scholars have often referred to until this day. He edited "from all the known manuscripts", which are twenty-eight manuscripts (p. xvii) and presented an introduction to them. Malcolm Godden (1979) drew from the work of Thorpe and Pope and published *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series Text* (1979); in it he lists thirty manuscripts (p. xiii) and provides a short introduction to each manuscript (pp. xxv f.).

Finally, Peter Clemons published his edition of the *First Series* (1997) and ever since scholars have been provided with two profound standard EETS edi-

⁸⁰See Vermillion (1980: 90 and n. 56).

⁸¹Cf. below, p. 113 for the terms. These saints were given as examples of saints' lives in the collection by Godden (1996: 262).

⁸²For the sources of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, see Godden (1979: 263); there is one instance which suggests Ælfric's ignorance of the *Anonymous Homily*, see the comment below on p. 395.

⁸³See Godden (1979: 263); cf. the discussion of Zettel below, p. 146.

tions of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*. Clemoes drew from thirty-four manuscripts (xvii-xviii) and, like Godden and Pope, introduced them (pp. 1-64).

Ælfric's Lives of Saints

Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (*LS*) is a collection of texts (predominantly) constituted by hagiographic texts.⁸⁴ The most important manuscript of the *Lives of Saints* is London, BL MS Cotton Julius E.VII. (here MS J), which holds ca. 40 items, four of which are not by Ælfric.⁸⁵ So it probably does not represent the original compilation of texts,⁸⁶ which is also due to the fact that the collection "has an unfortunate history of loss and damage".⁸⁷

Old Testament translations and miscellaneous instructive pieces are interspersed among the hagiographic items (Alexander 1982: 36). As Ælfric himself explains, the collection comprises saints venerated in monasteries ("þe mynstermenn mid heora þenungum betwux him wurðiað" (Skeat 1966 I: 14)). The collection, therefore, covers major saints, with some English saints added on. However, the selection of feasts and saints raises many questions, Gretsch (2005: 2) called the collection "surprising". It has been proposed that the *Catholic Homilies* contain saints that were venerated nationwide, whereas the *Lives of Saints* put emphasis on saints commemorated in monasteries,⁸⁸ a proposition which cannot be verified, nor falsified; we can safely say, however, that the availability of sources had a major influence on the selection of material.⁸⁹ The Cotton Corpus Legendary especially did more to shape the selection of saints and topics than personal preference, or ethical or political agendas.⁹⁰ The following is a list

⁸⁴Cf. Lapidge (2003: 576) who writes the *Lives of Saints* are "principally but not exclusively hagiographical in form and content". Kelly writes they are a "collection of *vitae*, mixed with some sermons and homilies" (Kelly 2003: xxvii).

⁸⁵Lapidge states (2003 577) that MS J "contains four interpolated items which were demonstrably not composed by Ælfric". The number of forty items relates to Skeat's edition and, therefore, the number of items often referred to the *Lives of Saints*. E.g. Gretsch (2005: 2 n. 6) counted from Skeat's edition.

⁸⁶Joyce Hill (1996: 236) points to the fact that J "does not represent the collection issued by Ælfric, even though he demands that in his preface". Ælfric was quite an authority, however, if one considers the scribal changes performed on other Old English compilations in comparison. We shall not forget that scriptorium felt free to change material and adapt it to their own specific needs.

⁸⁷That is Joyce's (1996: 252) conclusive remark in her study on the "Dissemination" of the *Lives of Saints*.

⁸⁸Cf. Gretsch (2005: 4 and n. 12), Godden (1979: 2).

⁸⁹Gretsch (2005: 6-7) points to the evidence Lapidge gathered to show that Ælfric had used the legendary, and tries to show the CCL's influence on Ælfric's selection in his sanctorale (cf. p. 9f.).

⁹⁰See Gretsch (2005: 4), who argued that Ælfric included Forty Soldiers, the prayer of Moses,

of the *Lives of Saints* as edited by Skeat (publ. 1881-1900, reprinted 1966).

Skeat no.	short title	form
I	Nativity of Christ	prose
II	St Eugenia	verse
III	St Basilius	verse
IV	Sts Julian and Basilissa	verse
V	St Sebastian	verse
VI	St Maur	verse
VII	St Agnes	verse
VIII	St Agatha	verse
IX	St Lucy	verse
X	St Peter	verse
XI	Forty Soldiers	verse
XII	Ash-Wednesday	both
XIII	Moses	verse
XIV	St George	verse
XV	Mark	verse
XVI	Memory of Saints	verse (prose intro)
XVII	On Auguries	both
XVIII	From the <i>Book of Kings</i>	verse
XIX	St Alban	verse
XX	St Æthelthryth	verse
XXI	St Swithhun	verse
XXII	St Apollinaris	verse
XXIII	Seven Sleepers	prose
XXIV	Sts Abdon and Sennes	verse
XXV	Maccabees	verse
XXVI	St Oswald	verse
XXVII	Exaltation of the Holy Cross	verse
XXVIII	St Maurice	verse
XXIX	St Denis	verse
XXX	St Eustace	prose

Kings, Achitophel and Absalom, the Maccabees, St Maurice and St Martin “because of the parallels to contemporary political conditions which they provided and for their potential for serving as a vehicle for the political and ethical instruction of a lay audience.” In addition, as Gretsch (2005: 56-7) explains, the renewed Viking attacks in the 990s might have prompted the production of texts to renew and strengthen the Christian faith in England; Gretsch regrets that this aspect of Ælfric’s possible motivation for the *Lives of Saints* has not been explored yet. Ælfric’s connection to politics has been illuminated by Clayton (2000) with regard to his relationship with king Æthelred.

XXXI	St Martin	verse
XXXII	St Edmund	verse (prose intro)
XXXIII	St Eufrasia	prose
XXXIV	St Cecilia	verse
XXXV	Sts Chrysanthus and Daria	verse
XXXVI	Thomas	verse ⁹¹

It would also be conceivable that Ælfric sought to provide the monastery with a proper source for the feasts of the *sanctorale*, whereas the *Catholic Homilies* pertained more to the feasts of the *temporale*. The two terms denote the difference between feasts in the liturgical year. Feasts such as saint's feasts or Christmas have fixed (or unmovable) dates in the calendar, whereas the dates of Easter and all the feasts whose dates relate to Easter (Pentecost, Ascension Day, etc.) are different in every calendar year and have to be calculated for every year. Such calculations are called *computus*. In the calendar year, Easter can be as early as 22 March, or as late as 25 April. This means that sometimes Easter would be celebrated before, say, the feast of St Mary of Egypt (1 April) and sometimes after that feast. Therefore, it would have made sense to produce two volumes, one for the *temporale* cycle and one for the *sanctorale* cycle.⁹² Then, however, a doubling of material, such as that regarding St Martin, would not make any sense. Ælfric simply might have intended a multivolume project of an English legendary.⁹³

After all, we can only make conclusions from what Ælfric put forward in his Latin and Old English prefaces. He states that items in the collection are to be read in services for monks and laymen.⁹⁴ The twofold target audience of clerics and lay people is obvious from the preface, since the work is dedicated to Ælfric's noble lay patrons Æthelweard and Æthelmær. The *Lives of Saints* "could have been used privately by a devout laity", especially by the two patrons.⁹⁵ It is imaginable that Æthelweard and Æthelmær's tastes also affected the collation of material.⁹⁶ The inclusion of St Thomas has been

⁹¹The list refers to the reprint of Skeat as a two-volume edition in 1966 and omits the "item alia".

⁹²See Gretsch (2005: 2-3) on the matter.

⁹³See Lapidge (2003: 577), who proposes that Ælfric might have had something like the Cotton Corpus Legendary in mind, "which was copied at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century" (ibid.).

⁹⁴Lapidge proposed that their usage was possibly extended to the monks' Night Offices (Lapidge 2003: 68).

⁹⁵The dedication to the two noblemen is referred to in Alexander (1982: 36), Lapidge (2003: 68) and (Kelly 2003: xxvii). See also Whatley's (2002) article on "Ælfric, Vernacular Hagiography and the Lay Reader".

⁹⁶See Magennis (2006: 58f.) on the issue and Wilcox (2006: 246f.).

regarded as proof that Ælfric wanted “to comply with the predilections of his patrons.” (Gretsch 2005: 4), though, for instance, the predominance of heroic saints might as well have strung a chord with Ælfric’s own predilections. One definitely has to bear in mind, however, the demands and expectations of Ælfric’s intended lay audience (Lees 1994: 108); Ælfric seems to have considered these while composing, judging from the exegesis and simplicity in expression and the provision of background information. To conclude, there is probably a multifaceted motivation behind the production of the *Lives of Saints*. Perhaps all motivations proposed hitherto contributed to their production; considering the massive investment of resources and devoted labour that the production of such volumes demanded, it would not be surprising to find multifaceted motivation and purposes for the collection.

As opposed to that, the date of their composition is quite evident. Their composition began soon after the completion of the *CH*; perhaps Ælfric began his work directly after finishing the series of homilies; this could have been as early as 992, but the composition of the *Lives of Saints* is usually dated to the years between 994-8, mainly on the basis of its dedication to the ealdorman Æthelweard, who died – as far as can be established – in 998.⁹⁷

In the following centuries, the *Lives of Saints* was circulated widely in England, also after the Norman Conquest, though not as widely as the *CH* (Wilcox 2009: 347). Parts of the *Lives of Saints* survive in eighteen manuscripts, most importantly the manuscript in London, BL, Cotton Julius E.VII (MS J) holds a collection of texts which is probably very close to the original collection as created by Ælfric. W.W. Skeat published the first volume of an EETS edition of Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* in 1880, as series nos. 76, 82, 94, 114 (original series; last vol. publ. 1900). He presented an “Account” of the eighteen manuscripts from which he collated material to add up to the base text (*LS* II, pp. vii f.), which is MS J. In 1966, Skeat’s edition was reprinted in two volumes and, to this day, his edition presents the standard edition of the *Lives of Saints*, although there have been calls for a new edition. Alexander (1977: 3) called loudly for a new edition of the *Lives of Saints*, arguing that Skeat did not collate all MS, that MS

⁹⁷See the argument in Lapidge (1996: 117) and Lapidge’s concise summary when he writes “The dedication enables us to establish the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Lives of Saints*: the existence of Ealdorman Æthelweard is last attested in 998 and it may be presumed that he died in that year. On the other hand, it is clear from the preface of the *Lives of Saints* that the collection was assembled after the publication of the first two series of Catholic Homilies; of these, the First Series was dedicated to Archbishop Sigeric (990-4), with the Second Series being completed roughly a year later. The implication is that the collection was made after 992 but before 998.” (Lapidge 2003: 577). Szarmach writes the *Lives of Saints* were written “more or less immediately after *CH* II” (Szarmach 2003: 42); he also notes that for all we know Ælfric could have written the two Martiniana at the same time.

J was not the best choice for a base text, that Skeat failed to recover erased or written-over readings and accused Skeat of a general mistreatment of corrections.⁹⁸ However, an editorial project that presents the entire collection does not seem to be in sight, which is probably due to the great quantity the text presents.⁹⁹ Parts of the *Lives of Saints* have been re-edited, though, for example, Needham's (1966) edition of three English saints or Corona's "St Basil" (2006) or Upchurch's "Virgin Spouses" (i.e. Basilissa, Cecilia and Daria) (2007).

Ælfric's Verse

Ælfric of Eynsham composed homilies in prose and verse. The two *Martins* presented in the edition below classify as verse texts. In this chapter, I will describe this particular verse form which has hitherto been categorized by the term 'Rhythmical Prose', a term that itself can only be categorized as highly misleading. Not only is that term problematic in theory by forcing the prose label on the verse texts but it has also prompted editors to present Ælfric's verse as prose, i.e. in a prose layout with random line breaks. The prose layout fails to present the texts' inherent verse structure to the reader.

Similarly to classical Old English verse,¹⁰⁰ Ælfric's verse line consists of two half-lines constituted by two stressed syllables which are bound by alliteration to the two stressed syllables in the following half-line, thus producing an alliterative "long-line". This structure does not surface in the manuscript; actually, lineation as verse is neither original, nor historical, as Doane (1998: 48) points out. Anglo-Saxon scribes have minutely made use of every inch of the text block on the expensive parchment and have, therefore, not employed a verse layout for a verse text. Nevertheless, it is a common practice by editors of Old English verse texts that their editions highlight the inherent verse structure by featuring a caesura to mark the end of a half-line and a line break to mark the end of the long-line. Such a layout is just as adequate for Ælfric's verse, which I am going to show in the following and in the edited text.

Right from the beginning of the editorial history of Ælfric's homilies, the

⁹⁸Alexander repeated his call in 1982, coming to the conclusion that a "new edition is imperative" (1982: 49). There, Alexander postulated comprising demands that a new edition of the *Lives of Saints*, or MS J respectively, should meet.

⁹⁹As Skeat explains in his preface (1966 vol. II), he had a big staff at his disposal, including two secretaries who translated the texts for him.

¹⁰⁰Classical Old English verse here refers to the Old English texts for which Eduard Sievers established a system describing accurately the Old English metre of prototypical texts such as *Beowulf*, the *Elegies*, *Maldon*, *Brunanburh*. See Sievers, E. (1885), "Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 12, 209-314 (see also pp. 451-544); and Sievers, E. (1883), *Altgermanische Metrik*, Halle.

inherent verse structure and the similarity to Old English classical verse attracted scholarly attention. As early as 1895, Jakob Schipper analyzed Ælfric's verse by matching it with the system that Eduard Sievers proposed to describe classical Old English verse.¹⁰¹ His results were that about 11% of the lines lack alliteration and about one-third match with the types from Sievers' system. A large-scale analysis of all verse texts in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* was undertaken in 1975 by Gerold Deffner, whose results were largely ignored in the field, a misfortune which I ascribe to the fact that Deffner has presented his results in German.¹⁰² Deffner committed his entire doctoral thesis to the statistical analysis of the *Lives*' long-lines as presented in the edition by Skeat. His results were the following:¹⁰³

1. about 90% of the long-lines have four stresses (p. 431)
2. about 11% of the lines do not alliterate (p. 414)
3. there is an average of about seven syllables per half-line, in contrast to *Beowulf*, where the average is slightly less than five (p. 424)
4. the higher number of syllables per line is most frequently due to hypotactic constructions of sentences including pan-syllabic conjunctions (e.g. *forðan þe* ('because') p. 424)
5. conjunctions and longer prepositions can bear stresses, whereas nouns can be unstressed (p. 418)

¹⁰¹Sievers' system still represents the prevailing system to describe the metre of Old English poetry, though it is disputable. Cf. Pope and Fulk (2001: 130) "Though today most metrists doubt the theoretical adequacy of Sievers' analysis, few dispute its descriptive accuracy. As a result, even scholars whose methods of scansion differ widely from Sievers' usually regard his basic metrical types as a touchstone and the efficacy of alternative systems is generally gauged by their ability to account for the regularities uncovered by Sievers. Accordingly, the analysis of verse forms presented in the following pages is that of Sievers, modified slightly in the light of subsequent findings.". Cf. Pope (1967-8: 115) "Most of the four-syllable lines [in Ælfric's verse] resemble type A in the Sievers classification and start abruptly without anacrusis." Bredehoft (2008: 80) says "Traditionally, the single greatest obstacle to identifying Ælfric's rhythmical compositions as verse has been a scholarly inability to identify any clear metrical system that might describe them."

¹⁰²The fact that Deffner's study has not had any impact in the field is best underlined by Szarmach's (2003: 45) remark that "Pope's call for a thorough study of the alliterative style has not received any comprehensive response". Deffner's 1975 study is exactly this response.

¹⁰³Cf. Corona (2008: 170f.), who makes some other interesting observations on Ælfric's highly complex structure. Cf. also Corona's introduction to her (2006) edition of Ælfric's *Life of St Basil*.

6. alliterative binding of consecutive long-lines occurs in Ælfric's verse more frequently than in classical Old English verse (p. 417)
7. the number of syllables per long-line is at least nine and adds up to a maximum of 19 (p. 60)
8. the most frequent pattern of alliteration in Ælfric's verse is *xaax* (where *a* represents the recurring sound and *x* represents any other initial sound), seldom *aaax* and *axax*, which in classical verse is exactly the other way around (p. 431)

Thanks to Deffner, we know that Ælfric adhered to a metrical form, even though he was slightly inconsistent, about 10% with regard to the number of stresses per line and 11% with regard to alliteration within a line. There does not seem to be any particular reason for this other than Ælfric allowed himself some artistic freedom as a writer; it is imaginable that he considered the effect of his narrative more crucial than the effect of his form, or, in other words, he perhaps preferred content over form whenever he thought he had to decide between the two. More significantly, his form differs from the classical verse with regard to the number of unaccented syllables. I believe it is this difference which creates the prosaic feel which many scholars have perceived; it must be noted here, though, that especially in the opening lines of his verse texts, Ælfric achieved great mastery in the classical form (cf. the opening lines of St Edmund below, p. 164). It is in the second series of the *Catholic Homilies* that Ælfric turns from writing prose to writing verse. To be precise, the *CH*'s first series (ed. Clemoes) contains prose homilies, the second (ed. Godden) contains prose homilies as well as verse homilies. In Cuthbert (no. 10 in Godden), Ælfric employs the form for the first time; the *Lives of Saints* (ed. Skeat) features predominantly verse homilies. I suggest employing the terms "verse homilies" to refer to those homilies in which this style is prevalent and "prose homilies" to refer to texts in which verse lines are non-existent or merely occasional.

I believe it is unreasonable to employ the term "Rhythmical Prose" to define Ælfric's verse. The term has caused confusion among scholars and students alike. All the more, its usage is inconsistent. Prevalently the term is "Rhythmical Prose", but "Rhythmic Prose" is almost as common.¹⁰⁴

The problem we are facing concerns basic categorization. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) has s.v. 'prose, n. and adj.', A.1.a. "Language in the form in which it is typically written (or spoken), usually characterized as having no

¹⁰⁴Take, for instance, the titles of Szarmach's article "Abbot Ælfric and His Rhythmical Prose in the Computer Age" (1998) and of Gerould's article "Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose" (1925).

deliberate metrical structure (in contrast with verse or poetry)".¹⁰⁵ A metrical structure is exactly what marks Ælfric's form of discourse as described above. This precludes the classification as prose.¹⁰⁶ Still, many scholars would not be content with the term verse. Scholars very often argue that Ælfric's style is different from *Beowulf's* and since *Beowulf* is poetry, they conclude that Ælfric's form must be prose. Verse, in turn, is defined s.v. 'verse, n.' 1. a. (a) as "A succession of words arranged according to natural or recognized rules of prosody and forming a complete metrical line; one of the lines of a poem or piece of versification." This describes Ælfric's form perfectly, putting emphasis on the existence of a line. As a result, with the help of the OED alone, one must define Ælfric's form of discourse as verse, though one must still make a distinction from poetry: the OED defines s.v. 'poetry, n.', 2. a. "Composition in verse or some comparable patterned arrangement of language in which the expression of feelings and ideas is given intensity by the use of distinctive style and rhythm; the art of such a composition." The "expression of feelings and ideas" is clearly not on Ælfric's mind in the *Lives of Saints*, so his verse homilies are best categorized as verse narratives or verse epics. The classification as "epic" is all the more sensible if we consider that the biblical epic is a popular genre in Old English literature, for example, the epics *Judith*, *Elene*, or *Andreas*. In any case, I find it sensible and correct to employ the term 'verse' for the form, which, in turn, makes Ælfric a writer of verse; it is questionable, though, whether he should be called a poet.¹⁰⁷

Ælfric's product differs in several aspects from poetry. Old English poetry is generally characterized by a formal structure of two-stressed half-lines (i.e. a four-stressed long-line respectively), but also by the employment of certain rhetorical figures, such as certain types of metaphor, esp. kenningar and variation and a certain poetic diction. Ælfric's verse features the formal structure of classical Old English verse, but what can we make of the fact that he did not make use of a similar imagery and diction?¹⁰⁸ For Alexandra Olsen (2001), a

¹⁰⁵The terms "prose-rhythm" and "prose-poetry" as defined by the OED are not helpful, so I refrain from discussing them here.

¹⁰⁶Deffner (1975), who has come to the same conclusion, points out that poetry and prose are not mutually exclusive, but prose and verse are. Therefore, the term 'Rhythmical Prose' should be dismissed, see p. 424.

¹⁰⁷Sherman Kuhn (1973, see references) raised exactly this question with his article "Was Ælfric a Poet?" and concluded that he was. Kuhn shed new light on the idea, but his attempt to recategorize Ælfric did not bear much fruit.

¹⁰⁸Compare Lapidge (2003: 579), who states "the putative 'half-lines' frequently have intolerable numbers of unstressed syllables between the two principal stresses (sometimes as many as five to nine syllables). Also, Ælfric's prose is (understandably) characterized by prosaic rather than poetic vocabulary". Olsen (2001: 8) says that unlike the Vercelli and Blickling Homilies,

clue lies in the *Canons of Edgar* by Wulfstan, where he writes “we lærað þæt ænig preost ne beo ealascop”.¹⁰⁹ According to Olsen this is “suggesting that the written oral lay and vernacular traditions were completely discrete” (p. 1) and she further argues that “as late as the eleventh century, Old English poetry was so important to Anglo-Saxon clerics that Wulfstan had to pronounce warnings against it” (ibid.). The idea is that though priests would effectually play on the laity’s listening habits to preach to them in the vernacular, they would, at the same time, try to maintain a distance to vernacular (pagan) storytelling. Therefore, Ælfric does not employ the typical kenningar, metaphors and motifs. The evident contact and association between Ælfric and Wulfstan supports this idea. In any case, there is a notable absence of such devices. It seems that Ælfric sought very deliberately to avoid them.

The comparison of Ælfric’s verse to classical Old English verse is very popular. Many scholars, while noticing the – seeming – incompatibility of Ælfric’s form and the classical verse, have looked elsewhere to find possible models. Einenkel (1882) and Trautmann (1884) supposed an influence by one German poet named Otfrid of Weissenburg (d. 875).¹¹⁰ Other German philologists followed this idea, which has never been popular among English-speaking scholars and, thus, today is practically obsolete.¹¹¹ Schipper’s analysis followed in 1895 and checked on the validity of Sievers’ system for Ælfric’s form, thus turning to the classical Old English verse. Because of his results, he concluded that it represents a degeneration of Old English verse (Schipper 1895: 41-3). After Karl Luick (1905) raised the question whether Ælfric was actually writing prose or poetry, Gordon H. Gerould (1925: 365) put forward that Ælfric “was writing prose of a studied sort rather than clumsy and formless verse”.¹¹² He suggested that the style’s origin lies in Latin prose, which was vigorously refuted, however.¹¹³ Otto Funke (1962) returned to Ælfric’s native homiletic

Ælfric seems to avoid “terminology that echoes poetic language, so much so that it seems that he did so deliberately”; compare Gretsich (2005: 113): Ælfric “makes no sustained attempt to imitate Old English poetic vocabulary and poetic diction”.

¹⁰⁹“We teach that no priest should be an ale-scop” (my translation). Wulfstan’s own form of discourse offers a lot of interesting material, too, especially with regard to the comparison with Ælfric’s form. A forthcoming edition under the supervision of Andy Orchard intends to render some of his texts in a layout of consecutive half-lines, i.e. with line breaks in between every half-line.

¹¹⁰Trautmann already noted the resemblance with *Laȝamon*, the Katherine Group and Wulfstan, an aspect which was taken up again by Kuhn (1973) and Bredehoft (2005 and 2008).

¹¹¹Esp. Cuthbert (*CH* II no. 10) and Martin (*CH* II no. 34) would bear Otfrid’s form of verse, see Trautmann (1884: 211-5).

¹¹²Note that the idea of Ælfric being disparaged by the comparison with Old English verse can also be found in Pope and, thus, did have some weight.

¹¹³Gerould compares Latin rhymed prose and its *cursus* forms with Ælfric. Bethurum (1932),

tradition as a source, which he saw exemplified by the Vercelli and Blickling Homilies.¹¹⁴ Malcolm Godden (1978) emphasized similarities to the Alfredian prose. This form of prose, however, clearly lacks the half-line structure;¹¹⁵ Mechthild Gretsch (2005) proposed Bede's metrical version of the *Life of Cuthbert* as a possible model. Undeniably, Ælfric was greatly influenced by Bede's writings.¹¹⁶ Further study and comparison of the two forms would certainly be valuable, considering the fact that Ælfric's version in *CH II* marks the first homily where he employs his verse form. The idea is that Ælfric might have seen Bede's metrical *Cuthbert* for the first time when writing his second series and it inspired him immediately to transfer into the vernacular what Bede had done in his Latin verse.¹¹⁷

It was perhaps the abundance of possible models that made Sherman Kuhn turn away from searching for the origin, instead making Ælfric the inventor of his own form. For him, Ælfric was not only a collator of material and translator of biblical texts, but Kuhn also regards him an innovator who invented the (Early) Middle English verse.¹¹⁸ For him, the idea of Ælfric as an innovator is closely connected with the idea that he was in fact a poet.¹¹⁹ Though Kuhn's article had some impact, it did not effect a reconsideration of the prose label.¹²⁰

Pope (1967-8), Lipp (1969) and Kuhn (1973) have collected enough convincing arguments to repudiate Gerould on this matter.

¹¹⁴Funke names other works as well. He is concerned with the rejection of Gerould and with a study of alliterating word pairs, see esp. p. 36.

¹¹⁵Compare Ian A. Gordon (1966: 41f.), who concentrates on Ælfric's aim to persuade with his texts, which Gordon says he mastered just like Cicero and Augustine. His conclusion is eventually to differentiate between a "utilitarian" (Reinsma 1987: 123) Alfredian prose and Ælfric's rhythmic prose.

¹¹⁶The *Vita Cuthberti* exists as a prose and as a metrical version. It is, according to Gretsch (2005: 108-9) "one of its most ornate passages, embellished by an elaborate diction, rhythmical prose and heavy alliteration". Though alliteration is not as heavy there as in Ælfric's form (cf. Jaeger 1935: 22-3), it would certainly be justified to say that through Bede's usage, Ælfric regarded alliteration a sanctified means to employ in his own texts. Ælfric also refers directly to Bede in one homily: "Us sæde soðlice beda. þæt se eadiga Cuðberhtus...", (ed. Godden 1979: 81). "Truly Bede told us that the blessed Cuthbert..." (my translation).

¹¹⁷Another similarity in this respect is the prominence of dactyls and anapaests, which occurs in Bede in his hexameters simultaneously.

¹¹⁸See Kuhn (1973). The idea is not entirely new. Much earlier, Dorothy Bethurum (1935) has drawn attention to the similarities to the Katherine Group of homilies and David Hamilton (1968) to Apollonius of Tyre respectively. Cf. also Brehe's (1994) comparison with *Lazamon*. William W. Ryan (1969) wrote an interesting article on the antecedents of wordplay in *Piers Plowman* and finds many examples in Ælfric's homilies.

¹¹⁹Kuhn underlined his idea with the fact that the later imitators, such as *Lazamon*, are considered to be poets.

¹²⁰Paul Szarmach (1998: 102) criticised Kuhn for his rather subjective statements. Kuhn was so bold as to employ his intuition as an element of his argumentation.

Another appreciable rethinking was undertaken by Thomas Bredehoft.¹²¹ After Kuhn regarded Ælfric's verse the precedent of Early Middle English verse, Bredehoft regards the whole issue a coherent "evolution" that connects Old English classical verse with Ælfric and with *Lazamon* and which involves a "relaxation of rules in late OE verse".¹²² Bredehoft does not stand alone; Brehe (1994: 79) also hinted to a link to Middle English verse and especially to the *Harley Lyrics* and the texts of the *Alliterative Revival*.

Despite these scholars' efforts, 'Rhythmic Prose' as a term still dominates the secondary literature that seeks to briefly explain Ælfric's form. I would like to contribute two more aspects to the ongoing discussion.

Scholars of medieval German literature employ the term *Schwellvers* (lit. 'swollen verse') for a particular kind of verse. The term has been translated as "hypermetric verse" or "expanded lines"¹²³ to denote an alliterative verse line whose chief characteristic is a richness in syllables. *Schwellvers* – sometimes also called *Streckvers* (lit. 'stretched verse') – produces an even and falling rhythm which enhances a slow, festive tempo and which often features more than four accent-bearing syllables per line.¹²⁴ The work that features this kind of verse line most prominently is – of all – the Old Saxon verse epic *Heliand*.¹²⁵ This is particularly interesting because this Old Saxon text is preserved in an English manuscript, BL, MS Cotton Caligula A.vii.¹²⁶ The manuscript might well have

¹²¹In Bredehoft's monograph of 2005 he establishes a new theory of Early Middle English verse; note also his 2008 article in the bibliography below.

¹²²See Bredehoft (2008: 79+81), cf. Brehe (1994: esp. 85f). Instead of employing Sievers' system, Bredehoft (2008: 82 n. 16) suggests that Geoffrey Russom's (1987) system proves more helpful.

¹²³See Johannes Hoop (1968), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 27, s.v. *Schwellvers* (p. 517), for the entry by E. Marold: *Schwellvers* "ist eine Bezeichnung für längere, silbenreiche Stabreimverse mit bis zu 11 Silben im Halbvers, die v.a. in der ags. und as. Dichtung vorkommen." In this definition, Marold notes that this kind of verse is prevalent especially in Old English and Old Saxon poetry. Sievers has added to his studies of the Old English metre a separate (rather disregarded) article on the *Schwellvers*, see Sievers, E. (1887), "Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses. III. Der angelsächsische *Schwellvers*", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 12, 454-482, following the article on the *Schwellvers* by Luick, who applied Sievers' system to the Old English epic *Judith*, written in *Schwellvers*, see Luick, K. (1886), "Über den Versbau des angelsächsischen Gedichtes *Judith*", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 11, 470-492.

¹²⁴See *ibid.*: "Charakteristisch ist ein gleichmäßiger, fallender Rhythmus, wodurch ein feierlich-langsameres Tempo entsteht."

¹²⁵The standard edition is by Sievers, E., ed. (1877), *Heliand*, Halle; for literature on the *Heliand*, turn to the more recent edition by Cathey, J.E., ed. (2002) *Heliand: Text and Commentary*, Morgantown, WV; there is a recent collection of essays in Pakis, V.A. (2010), *Perspectives on the Old Saxon Heliand: Introductory and Critical Essays, with an Edition of the Leipzig fragment*, Morgantown, WV.

¹²⁶See Gneuss HL no. 308: "*Heliand* (in Old Saxon); Charm* (s. xi¹): s. x² S England." Another

been known to Ælfric. It might also be added that the two languages were so closely kindred that Ælfric would not have faced any problem in reading it; let alone the fact that the manuscript was preserved in England speaks for its readability and certainly for some kind of appreciation by its English keepers. This kind of verse also appears in at least one other non-Ælfrician verse text, i.e. the *Dream of the Rood* in MS Vercelli, see ll. 8-10, 20-3. It is, therefore, imaginable that Ælfric aimed for this kind of verse when composing his verse texts.

Secondly, I would like to add Ælfric's own definition of verse and prose to the discussion. We are in the fortunate situation that we indeed have the author's own definition, though, so far, it seems to have been neglected in the debate. Ælfric defines and explains basic linguistic terms in his *Grammar*, which includes the terms prose and verse. In his chapter on "Triginta Divisiones Grammaticae Artis", he distinguishes 30 "divisions" in the art of grammar and writes:

(XXVII) Sum ðæra is PROSA, þæt is forðriht lêden búton lêoðcræfte gelencged and gelôgod. (XXVIII) Sume sind gehâtene METRA on grêcisc, ðæt is on lêden MENSVRAE and on englisc gemetu. ðâ gemetu gebyrjað tô lêdenum lêoðcræfte. se cræft is swâ âmeten, þæt ðær ne môt bêon furðon ân stæf ofer getel, ac bêoð ealle þâ fers gemnytte be ânum getele, gif hit âht bêon sceal.¹²⁷

We can learn two things from this passage. Firstly, Ælfric was clearly aware of the distinction and the definition of the two categories. This is underlined by a subordinate remark in the *Grammar's* Latin preface, where Ælfric writes "cum prosa absoluta sit a lege metri", i.e. "even though prose is not subject to the laws of metre".¹²⁸ Secondly, his rules of metre regulate the counting of staves, not syllables. This emphasis on staves, which adorn stressed syllables, could possibly explain the abundance of unaccented syllables in his lines and, therefore, the prosaic feel. He distinguishes this craft very clearly from prose.

In this respect, it must be noted that the OE *fers*, also translates as "scriptural verse/passage, section of a psalm or other biblical passage" (DOE s.v. *fers*, *uers*

manuscript which preserves parts of the text is München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 25, Cim. III, 4, a.

¹²⁷See Zupitza (1880: 295-6): "One of these is *prosa*, that is forthright Latin that is not extended and arranged by song-craft. Some are called *metra* in Greek, that is *mensurae* in Latin and in English *measure*; that measure pertains to song-craft in Latin. The craft measures so that there must not be a further stave (alliterating letter) in one unit, but all lines (verses) must be leveled by one number, if it is to be properly performed." (my translation). BT translate (s.v.) *lêoðcræfte* with "art of poetry"; I regard "song-craft" a more appropriate, closer translation.

¹²⁸Transl. (and ed.) Wilcox (2009: 130); ed. in Zupitza (1880) on p. 2.

(2.)). Its meaning can be very close to “sentence”, when it applies to a passage that is divided by punctuation, as Ælfric himself explains in his *Grammar*.

(XIII) Sume sind POSITVRAE, þâ sind on ôðre wîson gehâtene
DISTINCTIONES, þæt sind tôdâl, hû man tôdælð þâ fers on rædinge.
se forma prica on þâm ferse is gehâten MEDIA DISTINCTIO, þæt
is on middan tôdâl. se ôðer hâtte SVBDISTINCTIO, þæt is under-
tôdâl. se þridda hâtte DISTINCTIO oððe PERIODOS, sê belÿcð
þæt fers. DISTINCTIO is tôdâl and PERIODOS is clÿsing oððe
geendung þæs fereses. (Zupitza 1880: 291)

In Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin*, the author employs the term *fers* in one occasion; ll. 278f. in the *Life* read:

[...] rædde him ætforan [SVM 9,6-7] þæt wæs þis fers
Of unsprecendra muþe . and sucendra
þu fulfremedest þin lof drihten for þinum feondum .
þæt þu towurpe feond and defensor .
Sona swa þis fers wæs ætforan him geræd [...]

Ælfric employs the term *gemetu* (‘measure’) to denote a verse line rather than *fers* (‘verse’), which, in turn, he employs as “sentence”, or “bible-verse”.

To conclude, I hope to have shown that “Rhythmic Prose” is an unfortunate term to define Ælfric’s form of verse. Moreover, I hope to have established a proper theoretical foundation for my editorial decision to present the two Ælfrician *Martins* in a half-line verse layout.

Ælfric’s Catholic Homily for Martinmas

Ælfric’s *Catholic Homily* for Martinmas naturally shares certain characteristics with the Anonymous Homily because they both represent a homily, a text first and foremost designed for preaching. Both present a concise biography of the saint. However, within these parameters, the two homilies could not be more different. The preceding chapter may hopefully have shed light on Ælfric’s style and diction;¹²⁹ the Anonymous Homily is a prose text – one in which the reader can find the occasional employment of alliterative pairs, but inarguably a

¹²⁹Pope (1967-8: 113) and Godden (1979: lxxxi-lxxxii) agree that the first paragraph of Ælfric Homily is in prose, the rest is alliterative; I found that it can be identified as verse nevertheless. The introduction to the *Life* is definitely alliterative (Szarmach 2003: 45). Cf. Ælfric’s *Life of St Edmund*, which has a prose introduction.

prose text. Ælfric presents his homily in lines of alliterative verse. Apart from the matter of style, Ælfric seems to take greater care with his audience, which manifests itself, for instance, in the omission of a number of names of places, such as Amiens, or historical persons, such as emperors Julian and Constantine, or specific historical background, such as the emperor's order concerning the forced military service. This was also observed by Bethurum (1932: 519), who interpreted that Ælfric "omitted all that did not contribute to effective storytelling". Whether this was in order to enhance storytelling, or a didactic reduction to ensure the focus was kept on the protagonist's moral example is unclear; perhaps, as Masi (1968: 30) pointed out, "Ælfric has chosen details which serve the more human side of the narrative".

Ælfric's care for his audience also manifests itself in the treatment of some of the source material's critical issues. Martin's past as soldier has been addressed in the chapter on the historical figure above; Ælfric's intention in both his homilies on Martin seems to have been to downplay that fact, for example, by not mentioning Martin's status as an elite-soldier (SVM 2,2 and cf. below p. 132). He also avoids mentioning Martin's shabby appearance and the difficulties it generated for the election to Bishop. In the *Life*, he at least refers to Martin's *wacum gyrlum* ('mean raiment'), cf. SVM 9,4 (Vermillion 1980: 175).

It has often been stated that a certain warrior ethic characterized Anglo-Saxon society, therefore, the concepts of honour and shame represented an "essential preoccupation"¹³⁰ for Anglo-Saxon society. Loyalty, especially that between lord and warrior, also represented an important social issue. Therefore, Martin's attempt to withdraw from military service on the eve of a battle must have presented a critical issue in the eyes of Ælfric. Ælfric copes with the situation by placing "the emphasis on Martin's boldness, honesty and bravery" when opposing the emperor (Vermillion 1980: 94).

In MS F and MS G (see next two chapters), the homily on Martin is followed by a short text titled "excusatio dictantis", translated in Thorpe's edition as "The inditer's apology". It is believed to be Ælfric who tells his reader that he had to omit much significant material for the sake of brevity.¹³¹ Why he had the impulse to write such an interspersed statement and why he or his scribes inserted it in this place are two questions to which there are no answers. The nature of the work's outset to provide homilies would have sufficed to clarify the limitations of the project. Possibly, it could hint at a feeling of sadness on

¹³⁰See Magennis (2006: 32); his article is illuminating especially because he is concerned with "Ælfric and Heroic Literature".

¹³¹Szarmach (2003: 40) summarizes: "In this note Ælfric announces that he realizes that he has omitted many Gospel passages but, even with his impulse to keep the book length under control, he will offer items on apostles, martyrs, confessors and holy women."

Ælfric's side about the fact that he had to ignore much of the extensive material on St Martin which was available to him. Possibly, Ælfric sought to compensate this by presenting an extensive *Life of St Martin* in the *Lives of Saints*.

There is no way of knowing whether this text and its claims are related in any way to the preceding text on Martin. In my view, the author's main concern is to explain the omission of a homily on St Thomas. Therefore, it is not part of this edition; nevertheless, I will present the text here, as edited by Godden (1979):

EXCUSATIO DICTANTIS:—

Fela fægere godspel we forlætað on ðisum gedihte. ða mæg awendan se ðe wile; Ne durre we ðas bók na miccle swiðor gelengan. ði læs ðe heo úngemetegod sy. and mannum æðryt þurh hire micelnysse astyrige; We willað swa ðeah gyt. ane feawa cwydas on ðissere bec geendebyrdian. gemænelice be apostolum. and martirum. andeterum. and halgum fæmnum. þam hælende to lofe; Thomes ðrowunge we forlætað unawritene. for ðan ðe heo wæs gefýrn awend. of ledene on englisc on leoðwison. ac swa ðeah se wisa Augustinus sæde on sumore his trahtnunge. þæt an ðing wære ungeleaflic on ðære race geset. þæt is be ðam byrle þe ðone apostol earplætte. and be ðam hunde ðe his hand eft inn abær; Be ðam cwæð augustinus. þis rádað mid micelre gecneordnyse ða ðe wrace lufiað. ac ús is alyfed be ðisum to twynienne. þæt se apostol wolde gewrecan. swa wælhreawlice his teonan; For ðyssere twynunge nolde we hreppan his ðrowunge; Heo is swa ðeah eall full geleaflic. buton ðam anum þe augustinus wiðsæcð,¹³²

¹³²Thorpe translates: "MANY excellent gospels we omit in this composition: he may translate them who will. We dare not lengthen this book much more, lest it be out of moderation and excite men's aversion through its magnitude. We will, nevertheless, yet set forth in this book a few discourses indiscriminately concerning apostles and martyrs, confessors and holy females, to the praise of Jesus. The passion of Thomas we leave unwritten, because it has long since been turned from Latin into English in song-wise; but the wise Augustine, however, has said in some treatise of his, that one thing incredible was set in that narrative, that is of the cupbearer who struck the apostle on the ear and of the dog which brought his hand in again. Of this Augustine said, "This those read with great diligence who love vengeance; but it is allowed us to doubt in this, that the apostle would so cruelly avenge his injury." For this doubt we would not touch his passion. It is, nevertheless, all quite credible, except that only which Augustine gainsays."

MS F: Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3.28

Ælfric's Homily for Martinmas survives in three manuscripts. MS F (Ker no. 15; Gneuss no. 11)¹³³ is the oldest of the three manuscripts, in fact old enough to be "very close to the author" (Szarmach 2003: 39). According to Godden (1979: xliii), MS F is "either a product of Ælfric's own scriptorium or a remarkably faithful copy of such a manuscript." Possibly, it was produced at Cerne around 1000 AD, which could imply that it was produced under Ælfric's own supervision. By the 12th century, it appears in a catalogue of Durham Cathedral Priory (Ker). Pope (1967-8: 35) dates it to 993-5 AD.

It contains the first and second series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* (see Ker for a list of all 92 items) and other Ælfrician works: *De temporibus anni*,¹³⁴ Prayers, *De Paenitentia* and an incomplete *Pastoral Letter*.

It was written "mainly" (Ker) by one scribe; only a few short passages are by another hand.

MS G: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198

MS G (Ker no 48; Gneuss no. 64)¹³⁵ contains an "orderly set of homilies" (Clemoes 1997: 11), most of which are by Ælfric (see the 66 items in Ker), a version of the *Phoenix Story* (titled *De sancto iohanne*) and an Office of St Guthlac (part; s. xi ex.).¹³⁶

Perhaps it was a Worcester scriptorium which produced the manuscript in the first half of the 11th century.¹³⁷ In any way, its contents grew over the century; there were a number of additions until the end of the century, the last being the office for the feast of St Guthlac.

¹³³See also the introductions in the editions of Ælfrician Homilies by Pope (1967-8: 34-5), Godden (1979: xliii) and Clemoes (1997: 24-5).

¹³⁴Blake (2009: 15f.) introduces the manuscript for his edition of *De temporibus anni*.

¹³⁵See also the introductions in the editions of Ælfrician Homilies by Pope (1967-8: 20-2), Godden (1979: xxviii-xxxi) and Clemoes (1997: 10-3).

¹³⁶See Acker, P. (2004), "Three Tables of Contents, One Old English Homiliary in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178", in Lionarons, J.T., ed. (2004), *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context*, Morgantown, WV, p. 133, for a study of the manuscript's table of contents in comparison with two other manuscripts.

¹³⁷Though Bishop (1971: 20) places its origin in Worcester, the Corpus Christi Library's web presence states more carefully: "The book is copiously glossed in Latin throughout and chiefly by the same curious tremulous hand which has annotated MS 12 and MS 178. This must mean that in cent. xii the three books MS 12, MS 178 and MS 198 were in the same monastery. That the monastery in question was Worcester admits of no doubt. See on MS 12. The same hand appears in manuscripts at Oxford which are clearly from Worcester", see "https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=198" (17 Nov 2014).

There are “four principal scribes” (Ker) and a great number of scribes who wrote the additions. The manuscript is actually quite popular among scholars because of a famous annotator. The annotator often referred to as the “Tremulous Hand” is “considered to be a Worcester glossator of the thirteenth century”, who, as Szarmach aptly expressed it, “struggles to understand the text and the scribal practice in front of him” (Szarmach 2003: 40). In the *Catholic Homily* for Martinmas, the tremulous hand added a brownish *de obitu eius* in a blank space in MS G, which the original scribe left out, but which can be found in MS F. Less eye-catching is a corrector whose script seems close enough to the manuscript’s scribe to date him to the 11th century.

MS H: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D.XVII

MS H (Ker no. 222; Gneuss no. 406)¹³⁸ contains 45 items by Ælfric, from *CH* (25 items) as well as from *LS* (20 items), many of which are “now lost or fragmentary” (Gneuss); the manuscript was damaged in a fire in 1731.¹³⁹

The second major item is a *Passio S. Pantaleonis*, which survives exclusively in this manuscript. It was produced in the middle of the 11th century, but its exact origin is unknown. Ker was able to distinguish three scribes; Clemoes (1997: 63 and n. 1) discusses the possibility of a fourth hand and notes that Latin glosses were added in the 12th century. Godden (1979) collated material from this manuscript under the siglum f^k and also pleads for a fourth hand (p. lviii).

Ælfric’s Life of St Martin

Ælfric’s Life of St Martin stands out among the texts presented in this edition and among the *Lives of Saints*. It is by far the longest of the Old English Martiniana. The saint himself takes a very special position in Ælfric’s works; he is the only saint who appears in both Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* and his *Lives of Saints*. In fact, its uniqueness already presents itself in its title.

In the *Lives of Saints*’ key manuscript, London BL MS Julius E.VII, the *Life* begins with “INCIPIT VITA SANCTI MARTINI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS . ANGLICAE” which translates literally as “Here begins the *Life* of St Martin, of the Bishop and of the Confessor, in English”. Nowhere else in the collection can we find such a remark. Why would Ælfric (or the scribe respectively) point to the fact that the *Life* is in English? Possibly, this information relates to a remark in the introductory note that follows it.

¹³⁸See also the introductions in the editions of *CHI* and *II* by Godden (1979: lvii-lix) and Clemoes (1997: 61-3).

¹³⁹See the list of the manuscript’s items, including the lost items, in Clemoes (1997: 61f.).

In the introductory note (ll. 1-10), Ælfric explains that a certain writer called Sulpicius wrote about the saint's life and deeds from first-hand experience.¹⁴⁰ He goes on to state that "the English", i.e. his own English text, is taken from this account, though confined to Martin's own miracles, which was probably to express that Ælfric had to ignore much of the material available to him. The introductory note itself raises a number of questions, but, first of all, it is remarkable to see that an Anglo-Saxon author points at his source; this is quite unique, especially in a homiletic text designed for preaching. This could of course suggest that this particular text was meant for private study rather than preaching; but then how can one explain the fact that the life is metrical? Does that suggest oral delivery? Possibly, the introductory note represents a recommendation to his readers.

It has been noted that Ælfric refers to Severus as a source, but that he does not mention Gregory's works (GHF/GVM). Analyzing Ælfric's sources for the *Homily* and the *Life*, Biggs reads from the passage that Ælfric sought to express that he preferred Severus' text over a version of Gregory modified by Alcuin.¹⁴¹ The note is unclear enough to conceal its exact purpose. Maybe Rosser (2000: 137 n. 15) is right in stating: "This passage also shows Ælfric's concern for the authenticity and integrity of the story."

It is noteworthy that the introductory note is metrical. Compare Ælfric's *Life of St Edmund* in the *Lives of Saints*, where Ælfric wrote an introductory note in prose and the *Life* itself is in verse. Perhaps he intended to present his work on St Martin as one mould. This would be borne out by the fact that the text closes with a metrical prayer in Latin (see the chapter below, p. 133).

One of the interesting things about the *Life* is how Ælfric readjusted and modified his source material in order to create his own narrative. He provided a new consistent order. Like the Anonymous Homilist, Ælfric reorganized the material to form a narrative that comprises the saint's birth, life and miracles and death. But Ælfric went a step further and collected material from all available sources. Whereas the Anonymous Homilist was able to draw a concise pic-

¹⁴⁰The edition below has "SVLPICIVS HATTE SVM WRITERE . ÐE WOLDE AWRI|tan þa wundra and mihta þe martinus se mæra mihtiglice gefremode on þisre worulde . and he wrot þa be him þa ðing þe he ofaxode . oððe æt him sylfum . oððe æt oþrum mannum . forðan þe manegum wæron his wundra cuþe . þe god worhte þurh hine . and we þæt englic nimað of þære ylcan gesetnyse . ac we ne writað na mare . buton his agene wundra ." which translates: "Sulpicius was the name of one writer who wanted to write [down] the miracles and mighty works which the great Martin mightily performed in this world and he wrote about him then the things which he had learned, either from himself, or from other men, because to many were his miracles known, which God performed through him and we take the English from that same composition; but we will not write of more than his own miracles."

¹⁴¹See Biggs (1996: 295). Cf. the discussion of Biggs below, p. 147.

ture of the saint with the help of SVM and SET, Ælfric included the accounts of Gregory, Alcuin and Severus' *Dialogues* as well and merged all accounts into one comprising biography.

Gaites concluded that the 55 sections of Ælfric's *Life* are arranged as follows:

- A. 1-3 : (Introduction) Upbringing and Military Service
- B. 4-6 : Formation and Early Miracles
- C. 7-50 : Bishopric of Tours and Miracles
- D. 51-55 : Death and Sepulture

Ælfric also works on the material to enhance narrative cohesion in more than a few instances. Gaites (1982: 28) rightly points out that Ælfric took different miracles from the *Vita*, the *Dialogii* and the *Epistles* and groups "incidents of a similar nature"¹⁴², for example, sections 10-13 about the destruction of heathen temples, and sections 14-20 about miraculous healings. In SVM 10,1-2, where Severus reports of Martin's election to Bishop, the report is somewhat interrupted by musings on Martin's character, which Severus also describes again at the end of the *Vita*, in SVM 26,2. Ælfric does not hesitate to gather the information from both accounts to combine them in one short account of Martin's character (see ll. 288f.). Severus – though well-organized and effectful through his crafted prose style – seems almost jumpy in comparison with Ælfric's chronological narrative.

Furthermore, Ælfric did not hesitate to correct Severus. In one account, Ælfric is "equipping Martin with a donkey [ll. 970f.] in a scene where Sulpicius confusingly has Martin walking and later riding." (Vermillion 1980: 101) A different occasion where Ælfric intervenes is in order to explain matters to his audience that did not need explanation for Severus' audience: for one, Ælfric added a definition of exorcist in ll. 141-2. These instances show Ælfric as a teacher. In fact, Gaites (1982: 24) interprets the whole outset to be principally didactic. Ælfric sought "to tell the story in a way that would meet his didactic aims as a preacher", by adaptation as well as supplementation from other sources, abridgment, omission and reordering of the source material; Gaites analyses a number of such procedures in her study.

Ælfric differs a lot from Severus; he is a different author and he writes for a different audience. Severus made use of rhetorical tricks and adornments he

¹⁴²Gaites' (1982) article is concerned with "Ælfric's Longer Life of St Martin and Its Latin Sources: A Study in Narrative Technique" and represents a significant contribution to the topic of St Martin in England.

knew and mastered to boast and to satisfy his elite Christian readership. Ælfric, on the other hand, is a totally different character, who, as an author, steps into the background and prefers a plain and simple style, save for the adornment of verse lines with powerful alliterative stresses,¹⁴³ both in the *Homily* as well as in the *Life* (Szarmach 2003: 51). Ælfric did make use of his rhetorical toolbox, but, contrary to Severus, he managed to employ techniques more sparingly, possibly in order to enhance their effect in those rare instances, such as when he makes use of direct speech in the scene of Martin's death (Gaites 1982: 26). Ælfric refrains from long, artistic sentences to enhance clarity and, therefore, prefers parataxis over hypotaxis.

All of this was probably to the tastes of his English audience, also when he omits the names of places. In opposition to the Anonymous Homilist, Ælfric omits the place name of Martin's youth, Pavia, in the *Homily*. In the *Life*, however, he presents the name (l. 13).¹⁴⁴ The idea has been proposed by Vermillion (1980: 103) that Ælfric omitted "names of places and individuals which contribute little to the story and would probably have had little meaning to his audience", which as a didactic reduction would suit Ælfric's goals as a teacher. In one episode in SEP 10, Severus describes how Martin fights a fire. The fire had been started through a dysfunctional hypocaust, a Roman underfloor heating system unknown to Anglo-Saxons. Obviously Ælfric changed the passage so as to avoid confusion among his audience and disturb the effectful flow of his narrative (see ll. 847f. (Gaites 1982: 35)). It has also been noted that "Martin's conversion of the heathen and his suppression of heresy" (Rosser 2000: 134-5) seems to have been of particular importance to Ælfric.¹⁴⁵

The most striking adaptation resulting from cultural disparities is the intercultural translation of the names of heathen gods in section 24, ll. 708f., which is based on SVM 22,1-2.

Mid þusend searocræftum wolde se swicola deofol
þone halgan wer on sume wisan beswican .
and hine gesewenlicne on manegum scinhiwum
þam halgan æteowde . on þæra hæþenra goda hiwe .

¹⁴³This was also emphasized by Gaites (1982: esp. 24-8), who writes, for example, "He is equally skilled in the arts of rhetoric, but practices them only to express his meaning in the most effective way, never for sheer delight in obvious rhetorical adornment." (28).

¹⁴⁴See Gerould (1925: 209) and Gaites (1982: 32): Gerould points to the selectiveness concerning the inclusion of place names; Gaites argues that Ælfric "retains only those which his audience will be likely to recognise."

¹⁴⁵Cf. the article by Magennis (2000), who studied conversion as a theme in Old English saints' lives; see also Bankert (2002) on conversion in Ælfric's *Lives* of St Agnes and St Gallicanus.

hwilon on ioues hiwe . þe is gehaten þór .
 hwilon on mercuries . þe men hatað oþon .
 hwilon on ueneris þære fulan gyden .
 þe men hatað fricg . and on manegum oþrum hiwum
 hine bræd se deofol on þæs bisceopes gesihþe .¹⁴⁶

The passage shows Ælfric's capacity to explain special phenomena unknown to his audience in order to ascertain bringing home the message. The translation itself seems odd at first sight. There are certain parallels in Greek/Roman and Germanic mythology, but Ælfric's connections are surprising for the modern reader. Mercury (Greek Hermes) is regarded as the herald and messenger of the gods, whereas the juxtaposed Odin was the major god in Germanic mythology, being parallel to Jove (or Jupiter, Greek Zeus). Venus would not correspond to Frigg, who as wife to Odin would correspond to Juno (Greek Hera). This odd attribution by Ælfric is explicable, however, through the existence of Latin-OE glosses of a text by the classical Latin author Tacitus; the glosses correspond to Ælfric.¹⁴⁷

Ælfric adapted Martin's character to suit the tastes of his audience, too. It has been suggested above that the Anglo-Saxon audience had a taste for a rather heroic image of Christ, as exemplified by such poems as *The Dream of the Rood*. Therefore, it is not surprising to observe that Ælfric staged Martin as a heroic protagonist.¹⁴⁸ Severus' Martin is humble and un-heroic almost to the degree of being naive, for example, when in SVM 19, he is miraculously healed after falling down a ladder. In Severus, the reason for Martin's fall is simply his own clumsiness, while in Ælfric (ll. 602f.), the ladder is defective.¹⁴⁹ In SVM 3,

¹⁴⁶Skeat translated "With a thousand wily arts did the treacherous devil strive in some way to deceive the holy man, and he showed himself visible in divers phantasms to the saint, in the appearance of the gods of the heathen; sometimes in Jove's form, who is called Thor, sometimes in Mercury's who is called Odin, sometimes in that of Venus, the foul goddess, whom men call Fricg; and into many other shapes the devil transformed himself in the Bishop's sight".

¹⁴⁷Cf. Chadwick (1899: 29-30); confusions of the sort are numerous; BT s.v. *Wódnes-dæg* refer to Anglia viii, p. 321, l. 16, where Kluge edits "Angelsächsische Excerpte aus Byrhtferth's Handboc oder Enchiridion" (Anglo-Saxon excerpts from Byrhtferth's *Handboc* or *Enchiridion*), from Oxford, MS Ashmole 328. The correspondence is also extant in names of days, as Wednesday derives from Odin (south Germanic Wodan), which in French is *mercredi*, deriving from Mercurius, etc.

¹⁴⁸In her study on Ælfric and the cult of saints, Gretsich (2005: 12) has come to the conclusion that Ælfric "seems to have had a penchant" for the "genre of heroic saints' uitaes".

¹⁴⁹The different notions of character of Ælfric's and Severus' Martin were analyzed by Vermillion (1980), see esp. pp. 102-3.

Severus' Martin is the subject of his fellow soldiers' laughter because of his shabby appearance after he has cut his cloak; Martin is *deformis*, i.e. 'unsightly'. In Ælfric's *Life*, however, Martin's comrades laugh at the sight of the cut cloak (ll. 47f.).¹⁵⁰ In SVM 2,5, Severus' Martin reverses the roles between himself and his slave, by serving the slave rather than being served by him, whereas in In the *Life* (ll. 31f.), Ælfric downplays the reversion of roles and displays Martin and his slave as equals.¹⁵¹ One could identify more such adaptations; I will confine myself to one more that was found by Olsen (2004: 469), concerning SDT 4 and *Life* ll. 1144f. In this episode, Martin seeks contact to one Avitianus to convince him of merciful behavior towards prisoners. Ælfric confines himself to stating that Martin achieved his goal and ignores the trouble and humiliation Martin had to experience to even attract Avitianus' attention. Olsen concludes (ibid. 470) that Ælfric does not share Severus' "keen sense of Martin's humility" and does everything else but highlight Martin's "neglect of social propriety".¹⁵²

Thus, Ælfric has staged Martin as a hero. On the other hand, Ælfric had to make sure to handle well the problematic issue of Martin's past as a soldier. It has been proposed by Dalbey that the Anonymous Homilist and Ælfric downplayed Martin's military activity in different ways. Dalbey (1984: 424 n. 9) writes that the OE word *þegn* – which BT translate (s.v. *þegen*) as 'servant' or 'retainer' – is used by the Anonymous Homilist to play down the fact that he was a soldier, which would correspond to OE *cempa*.¹⁵³ As opposed to the Anonymous Homilist, Ælfric makes use of the word *cempa*, which can only be understood as 'soldier', or more closely as 'fighter' (comp. modern German *Kämpfer*). The way in which he employs it in the *Life* is quite ingenious, however. At first, he does not use the word directly to refer to Martin and only speaks of his *campdome*. This changes after the scene in which Martin's asks for the emperor's leave to quit service. Martin calls himself *godes cempan*, i.e. 'god's soldier'. After this, Ælfric often refers to Martin as *godes cempan*, thus

¹⁵⁰See Olsen (2004: 62), who later makes clear that this was not in order to achieve a concise narrative, since he "retains so many other parts in his long *vita*" (Olsen 2004: 462).

¹⁵¹See Olsen (2004: 463-4) and cf. Whatley (E.G. (1997), "Lost in Translation: Omissions of Episodes in Some Old English Prose Saints' Legends", in *ASE* 26, 187-208, who found and analyzed a comparable adaptation in the Old English *Life of Machutus* (p. 205). Cf. Gaites (1982: 26-7).

¹⁵²Olsen's goal as stated by her is the following: "I will illustrate that, unlike Sulpicius, Ælfric was much concerned with the preservation of Martin's dignity mainly because of the high status a Bishop enjoyed in his own time and that this concern caused him to omit any unfavorable details associated with the saint's life both before and during his career as Bishop." (Olsen 2004: 464)

¹⁵³I have to remark here that the OE *þegn* is translated by BT under lemma I. 'a servant', but that lemma III. reads "where the service is military, a *soldier*".

shifting the whole image in favour of Martin.

Dalbey, who has contributed an important study on the topic, summarizes the overall portrayal in the Anonymous Homily and *Ælfric's Life* as follows:

Ælfric shows Martin as the militant Christian soldier whose prime duty is to overthrow the forces of the devil and establish Christianity in the world; the anonymous writers characterize Martin as a shepherd who shelters the flock of the faithful and by his example leads them. (Dalbey 1984: 425)

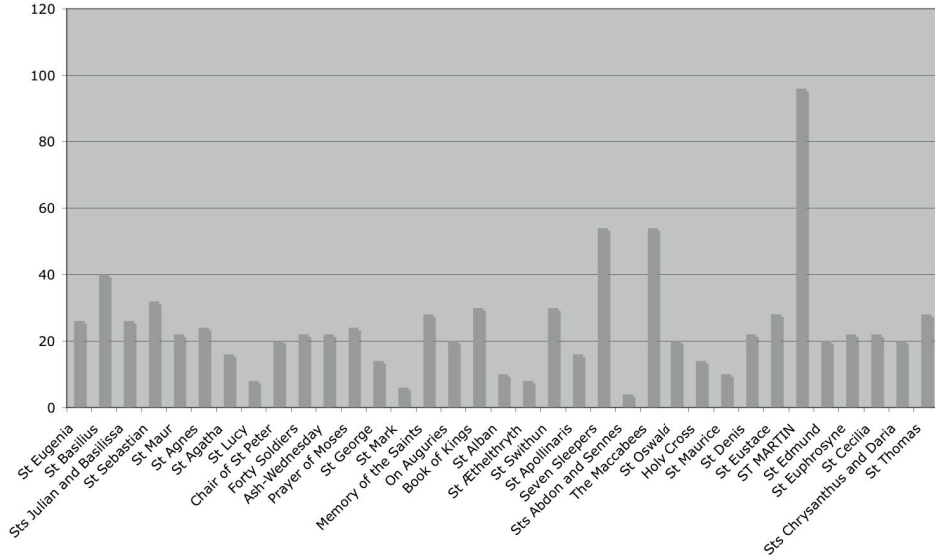
Dalbey explains this by pointing out that the homilist wrote his version in the time of the monastic reforms, whereas *Ælfric* wrote in the time of the new Danish (i.e. heathen) invasions, implying that he sought to instrumentalize Martin to enhance the fighting spirit of the Anglo-Saxons. She finds another example for this in the episode in which Martin revives a dead man. The Anonymous Homilist seems to focus on the emotional substance of the episode. *Ælfric*, on the other hand, seems to focus on Martin's victory, even omitting "any reference to the other monks" (Dalbey 1984: 426-7) who are with him. Dalbey argues, it is *Ælfric's* aim to keep monks from taking "material weapons of war" and, thus, also defends his "divisions of society (laboratores, oratores, bellatores)", arguing that clerics are supposed to take up spiritual weapons exclusively (Dalbey 1984: 434). She also points out that Martin appears to be a people's person in the anonymous homilists, whereas *Ælfric* portrays him as the leader of soldiers ("his soldiers are his monks" (Dalbey (1984: 427))).

On the whole, Martin appears to be a "God on earth" (Dalbey 1984: 430) rather than an extraordinary human. "The anonymous authors recount two major categories of miracles – those of healing and those of conversion. [...] *Ælfric*, unlike the anonymous homilists, emphasizes the saint's activities rather than his feelings." (432). She is right in pointing out that *Ælfric* recounts all the deeds "unadorned" (433), which is quite a euphemism, considering that from the sheer number of miracles reported, the narrative reads like a grocery list at times. However, on the whole, *Ælfric* surpassed his own *Homily* on Martin with the *Life* in many ways.

There are two more aspects that make *Ælfric's Life of St Martin* unique; there is the question of the *Life's* length and – possibly connected to it – the question of the Latin verse prayer at the end of the *Life*.

The *Life* numbers 1503 lines of verse, including the Latin epitaph. This length goes beyond the scope of a homily as part of a church service. Whereas most of the other lives could be "easily adapted to homiletic use", the *Life* is simply far too long (Vermillion 1980: 97). In comparison with the *Catholic Homilies*, the items in the *Lives of Saints* are quite variable in length, but the

Life is still outstanding. I tried to display this in the following diagram, which shows the number of pages of the single items in Skeat's edition.¹⁵⁴



What does this tell us? Possibly, the *Life* is so long because the saint was particularly favoured, either by Ælfric, or by his intended audience of laymen and/or monks, or by Ælfric's patrons Æthelweard and Æthelmær, or possibly by all parties. It is well imaginable that Ælfric favoured Martin, which I am not the first to suggest. Olsen (2004: 461) wrote:

If Ælfric had been asked to choose his favourite saint, Martin of Tours may well have been a final candidate. Not only is Martin the one saint that finds a place both in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*

¹⁵⁴This is the diagram's data, including the number of ll. for those pieces which are written in verse. I disregarded the *item alia* and the non-Ælfrician *Life* of St Mary of Egypt: Nativity of Christ: 14 (prose); St Eugenia: 26 (428 ll.); St Basilius: 40 (670 ll.); Sts Julian and Basilissa: 26 (434 ll.); St Sebastian: 32 (474 ll.); St Maur: 22 (367 ll.); St Agnes: 24 (429 ll.); St Agatha: 16 (236 ll.); St Lucy: 8 (152 ll.); Chair of St Peter: 20 (293 ll.); Forty Soldiers: 22 (364 ll.); Ash-Wednesday: 22 (294 ll.); Prayer of Moses: 24 (328 ll.); St George: 14 (184 ll.); St Mark: 6 (226 ll.); Memory of the Saints: 28 (384 ll.); On Auguries: 20 (271 ll., incl. 48 ll. of prose intro); From the Book of Kings: 30 (481 ll.); St Alban: 10 (154 ll.); St Æthelthryth: 8 (135 ll.); St Swithun: 30 (498 ll.); St Apollinaris: 16 (253 ll.); Seven Sleepers: 54 (prose); Sts Abdon and Sennes: 4 The Maccabees: 54 (862 ll.); St Oswald: 20 (288 ll.); Holy Cross: 14 (219 ll.); St Maurice: 10 (178 ll.); St Denis: 22 (340 ll.); St Eustace: 28 (prose); ST MARTIN: 96 (1503 ll.); St Edmund: 20 (276 (incl. 12 prose lines); St Euphrosyne: 22; (prose); St Cecilia: 22 (363 ll.); Sts Chrysanthus and Daria: 20 (361 ll.); St Thomas: 28 (424 incl. 12 Latin prose lines).

and *Lives of Saints*,¹⁵⁵ but his life and death are also treated in a thorough and comprehensive manner in the latter work.

The idea that Ælfric particularly favoured Martin is best underlined by the Latin verse prayer behind the *Life*, a short text underrated for its potential to provide an answer to the question of the *Life*'s length. In MS J, the *Life* is directly followed by a few lines of verse in Latin. The edition has:

Olim haec trastuli . sicuti ualui .
 sed modo praecibus . constrictus plenius .
 O martine *sanctae* . meritis praeclare .
 iuua me miserum . meritis modicum .
 Caream quo neuis . mihimet nocuus .
 castiusque uiuam . Nactus iam ueniam .

No scholar has translated these six lines, which I put down to the fact that it is extraordinarily dense and ambiguous and riddled by medieval Latin forms and, therefore, difficult to translate. Szarmach (2003: 41 n. 21), who argued that Ælfric was the composer, translated the first two lines as “I translated this before, as best as I could, but now, pressed by requests, more fully.” I translated, as best as I could:

Once I translated this, as best as I could,
 but now, constricted by many biddings, more fully.
 Oh, St Martin, celebrated for your merits,
 help me wretched, poor in merits.
 I shall dispense what you disclaim, I who am harming myself,
 I shall live chaster, already if I am forgiven.

We do not know for certain, of course, that Ælfric composed these lines. If he did, they would be his only lines of Latin verse that we know of.¹⁵⁶ But in this epilogue or prayer the poet clearly defines himself as the author, or lit. translator (*trastuli*, i.e. ‘I have translated’) of the *Life*, asking for the saint’s approval of the work and his blessing. Since no one ever doubted Ælfric’s authorship of the *Life*, there is no reason to doubt his authorship of the epilogue. Its tone of humbleness would certainly match the voice of Ælfric as it can be grasped from

¹⁵⁵The double appearance and significance of Martin for Ælfric was also noted by Szarmach (2003: 45).

¹⁵⁶Lapidge (2003: 553 n. 3) wrote: “The only Latin poetry known to have been composed by Ælfric is six lines of rhythmical verse (in the form 6pp + 6pp, to use Norberg’s system of notation), beginning ‘Olim haec trastuli sicuti ualui’”.

the prefaces.¹⁵⁷ From the first two lines, it is tangible that Ælfric was asked or even requested by several individuals or groups of people to write a more extensive *Life*. It is a pity that he is not more precise about this. Still, the epilogue gives testimony to the demand for an extensive *Life*.¹⁵⁸

The prayer is only extant in MS J and not in K and L. Clemoes (1959b: 220) has drawn attention to the fact that the main hand wrote the Latin in insular script. The English is usually in insular script, while the Latin, like in Ælfric's preface, is set off with Caroline script. Maybe the scribe simply did not care or notice, or decided against it for the passage's brevity. Certainly, this was not to denigrate the prayer to a saint.

How else is the *Life*'s length explicable? It is well imaginable that Ælfric could have seen Martin as a proper instrument for his own political agenda. Martin's fights against heresy must have appealed to Ælfric (Rosser 2000: 136). Ælfric's critique of his fellow clerics' unorthodoxy and their adherence to pagan practices comes to mind.¹⁵⁹ Severus' *vita* contains exemplary passages for Ælfric in this respect. One example is the passage in which Martin removes the altar of a falsely consecrated martyr. Ælfric's age was marked by an ever-growing number of saints, also because of the lack of regulations for the procedure of consecration.¹⁶⁰ This probably disturbed Ælfric; at least he was rather skeptical towards saintly people, since for him the "age of miracles" and, therefore, of living saints, was over.¹⁶¹ The episode in Martin's *vita* was at least exemplary in teaching skepticism towards the veneration of new Anglo-Saxon saints.

¹⁵⁷Szarmach (2003: 41 n. 21) held the same position, stating "it seems very transparent that the sentiments are Ælfric's."

¹⁵⁸Vermillion (1980: 102) interprets the epilogue as Ælfric "prays to Martin and demonstrates simply and eloquently his personal belief in the efficacy prayer to St Martin".

¹⁵⁹See, for instance, Davis (2009: 325) on Ælfric's critique of fellow clerics.

¹⁶⁰Lapidge (1991a) explains that it was as late as in the 13th century that Pope Gregory IX issued decrees dealing with the matter. By then, the early Middle Ages had produced a large number of saints.

¹⁶¹See Magennis (2011: 98), who points at Ælfric in *CHI*, "These wonders were needful at the beginning of Christianity, for by these signs was the heathen folk inclined to faith. The man who plants trees or herbs, waters them so long until they have taken root ; when they are growing he ceases from watering : so also the Almighty God so long showed his miracles to the heathen folk, until they were believing : when faith had sprung up over all the world, then miracles ceased.", transl. Thorpe, p. 305. Cf. Gretsch (2005: 60) and Godden essay "Ælfric's Saints Lives and the Problem of Miracles" (2000b).

It is also well imaginable that Ælfric saw the *Life's* potential to appeal to a wide audience, specifically monks. It has been stated that the *Lives of Saints* offered not only preaching material, but also material for intensive study by monks. Ælfric himself was a monk and, as abbot, took care of a small community of monks. Martin certainly served well as an idol for monks. Martin is well known for his modesty, a character trait that Ælfric certainly appreciated. Even on his death-bed, for instance, Martin preferred a bedding of straw over any comfortable bedding. The idea is that Ælfric sought to offer a lot of material to his monks and to all other monks who would study his text on St Martin. Perhaps Ælfric had the idea that Martin not only represented a glorious example, but the very embodiment of the whole conception of the English Benedictine Reform. It has been put forward that Ælfric “presents an ideal picture of monastic order and productivity under Martin’s rule” to his own monks (Vermillion 1980: 102). This would be supported by the idea that the *Life* was intended as reading material for the monastic night office.¹⁶²

For laymen, on the other hand, the saint offered a fascinating narrative and displayed exemplary behaviour, too.¹⁶³ As a matter of fact, the *Lives of Saints* were instigated by laymen, i.e. the two noble kinsmen Æthelweard and Æthelmer. Certainly, they had some influence on the selection of material. Possibly, the length of the *Life* could have been at their wish because they favoured the saint, too. After all, Martin was a soldier as well as a saint and possibly represented an ideal to live up to, or at least a saintly figure to identify with. In Szarmach’s words, “Martin is a major saint for the untoured and the toured” (Szarmach 2003: 43).

It is well imaginable that the combination of interests and tastes of different audiences as well as the author’s own has contributed to the *Life's* extraordinary length. Certainly, the richness in available source material was another factor. Ælfric could not have produced such a longish account on St Martin had he not found an extensive Martinellus available to him.

Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin* survives in two manuscripts, MS J and London, BL Cotton Caligula A.XIV (here as MS K). Both feature numbered sections in Roman numerals from 2 to 55,¹⁶⁴ which could have been inspired by the numbered sections in the Latin source in MS CCCC 9 (Severus’ *Dialogii* in the

¹⁶²Kelly (2003: xxviii) explains that in the age of Ælfric, homiliaries exclusively designed for the monastic Night Office came into being, also offering the opportunity for private devotional reading.

¹⁶³A wide circle of addressees is also suggested by Kelly (2003 xxviii), who writes: “What Ælfric is doing to an ever-increasing extent is rendering ‘monastic’ material into the vernacular [...] providing monastic material while still generally addressing the people as a whole.”

¹⁶⁴The numeral for I is missing in J; in K the entire passage is lost.

Cotton Corpus Legendary), which might have been the source for Ælfric (Szarmach 2003: 41). A third manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343 (here as MS L) contains a 12th-century shortened copy of the *Life*. In total, MS L omits 32 of the 55 sections. This is an overview of the sections of the *Life* as preserved in the three manuscripts:

section	line in this edition	MS J	MS K	MS L
Incipit	1	✓	missing	✓
1	10	✓	missing	✓
2	58	✓	missing	✓
3	95	✓	missing	✓
4	132	✓	missing	omitted
5	208	✓	missing	✓
6	240	✓	missing	✓
7	255	✓	missing	✓
8	342	✓	missing	omitted
9	367	✓	missing un- til l. 375	✓
10	389	✓	✓	omitted
11	428	✓	✓	✓
12	440	✓	✓	✓
13	465	✓	✓	omitted
14	488	✓	✓	✓
15	507	✓	✓	✓
16	528	✓	✓	omitted
17	549	✓	✓	omitted
18	563	✓	✓	✓
19	575	✓	✓	omitted
20	602	✓	✓	omitted
21	611	✓	missing from l. 630	omitted
22	651	✓	missing un- til l. 672	omitted
23	683	✓	✓	✓
24	707	✓	✓	omitted
25	750	✓	✓	omitted
26	776	✓	✓	✓
27	793	✓	✓	omitted
28	846	✓	✓	omitted
29	902	✓	✓	omitted

30	941	✓	✓	omitted
31	950	✓	✓	omitted
32	966	✓	✓	omitted
33	1012	✓	✓	omitted
34	1039	✓	✓	✓
35	1057	✓	✓	omitted
36	1067	✓	✓	omitted
37	1104	✓	✓	omitted
38	1120	✓	✓	omitted
39	1131	✓	✓	omitted
40	1136	✓	✓	✓
41	1144	✓	✓	omitted
42	1179	✓	✓	omitted
43	1199	✓	✓	omitted
44	1216	✓	✓	omitted
45	1230	✓	✓	omitted
46	1246	✓	✓	omitted
47	1257	✓	✓	omitted
48	1260	✓	✓	✓
49	1266	✓	✓	✓
50	1278	✓	✓	✓
51	1307	✓	✓	✓
52	1329	✓	✓	✓
53	1386	✓	✓	✓
54	1413	✓	✓	✓
55	1442	✓	✓	✓
Latin prayer	1496	✓	omitted	omitted

MS J: London, British Library, Cotton Julius E.VII

MS J (Ker no. 162; Gneuss no. 339) is famous for holding Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, but it does not contain Ælfrician works exclusively. In total, it features 42 items, written in one hand. It is hybrid in the sense that there are a number of non-hagiographical items interspersed. These are:¹⁶⁵

The Nativity (Skeat I) on the birth of Christ

Ash Wednesday (Skeat XII) "recognized in the manuscript as suitable for preaching in anticipation on the previous Sunday" (Hill 1996: 237)

¹⁶⁵I followed the list by Joyce (1996: 237), who follows Zettel's (1979: 42) classification of "non-hagiographical".

The Prayer of Moses (Skeat XIII) “also rubricated for Mid-Lent Sunday” (Hill 1996: 237)

The Memory of the Saints (Skeat XVI) Clemoes (1959b: 222) suggests this was intended by Ælfric to stand as the first item

On Auguries (Skeat XVII) listed by the scribe as “De Auguriis”, rubricated “Sermo in laetania maiore”

Book of Kings (Skeat XVIII) from the Old Testament

Maccabees (Skeat XXV) from the Old Testament

It is not known why they are in the manuscript and why they are in this order.¹⁶⁶ In spite of this, the manuscript’s completeness surpasses comparable collections. Apart from the *Lives of Saints*, there are two¹⁶⁷ other Ælfrician items behind the *Lives*, which are not edited in Skeat. This is a version of Alcuin’s *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin* (ff. 230r-238r) and an incomplete *De falsis diis* (ff. 238r-240v).

The one scribe wrote carefully in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, at the beginning of the 11th century. Perhaps copying took him a long time, since the character of the hand changes during the course of the manuscript (Ker). A corrector made corrections in the first half of the 11th century (Ker).¹⁶⁸

MS K: London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.XIV

MS K (Ker no. 138; Gneuss no. 310) was written in the middle of the 11th century, probably by one scribe.¹⁶⁹ Ker describes only the contents of folios 93f., since the first 92 folios are entirely Latin. They contain hymns, including musical notation and illumination. The first 36 folios of this part of the manuscript are also called the “Cotton Troper”.¹⁷⁰ There is a blank folio with the pencil number 92.

Fols. 93r-111v contain Ælfric’s *Life of St Martin*, beg. “for his ingange...” (ll. 672f. in the edition).

¹⁶⁶Scragg (1996: 218) has made suggestions about the order of these items and has presented his results in a “chronology of writing”.

¹⁶⁷Skeat notes in his introduction to the edition (p. ix) that MS J originally also contained an imperfect version of *Of the Twelve Abuses* at its end.

¹⁶⁸See Lapidge (2003: 581f.) and Needham (1966: 6-7) for more information; Torkar (1971) found out that the scribe copied from two source manuscripts.

¹⁶⁹Ker is not sure whether the *Life of St Mildred* is in a different hand or not.

¹⁷⁰See the dissertation by Teviotdale (1991), devoted entirely to the study of the Troper; Gneuss no. 309.

Fols. 111v-121v contain the passion St Thomas the Apostle from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (with a latin prologue on fol. 111v-112r).

Fols. 121v-124v contain an anonymous *Life of St Mildred*.

Fols. 125r-130v contain another part of Ælfric's *Life of St Martin*, beg. "and þa bærmen..." (l. 375).

One folio of the *Life* is missing between fols. 130 and 93 (therefore, ll. 631-73 are missing in the edition). Skeat presents lexical variants of the first two items in his apparatus in the edition of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. Swanton (1975) has edited *Mildred* from this manuscript (base text). Wilcox (2006) has presented a study of the drawing in MS K on fol. 111v.

MS L: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343

Anglo-Saxon homilists had supplied England with a respectable quantity of great homiletic material. It is not surprising that there was an extensive use of their Old English material right into the 12th century, that is after the Norman Conquest.¹⁷¹ This usage was not reduced to a redaction and preservation of the manuscript and preaching and reading from them. Up to the 12th century, new copies of the Old English texts were produced in English scriptoria.

One such copy is the 12th-century manuscript in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343 (Ker no. 310, not in Gneuss, since it is later than 1100).¹⁷² It contains a great number of homilies, sometimes referred to as the Bodley Homilies,¹⁷³ which were written by Ælfric, Wulfstan and anonymous authors; the volume features a small number of Latin texts (sermons and sequences) as well. Ker lists 90 items in total; among the numerous items there is a copy of Ælfric's *Life*.¹⁷⁴ A good number of the texts is by Ælfric and thirty-one of them were taken from the *CHI* alone (Clemoes 1997: 2).

This *Life*'s text in MS L is a verbatim, but significantly shortened copy. The copyist omitted several chapters, especially from the *Life*'s middle sections. Another considerable difference to the original text is the language. The text

¹⁷¹The use and reuse of Old English manuscripts in the 12th century has been studied at length in Swan and Treharne (2000). For MS Bodley 343, see especially pp. 57-61 in the article by Irvine. Szarmach (2003: 40) points to the glosses of the Tremulous Hand in MS G to show that even in the 13th century MS G "was not a dead text." On the "Uses of Old English Homiletic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period" see Treharne (2006b).

¹⁷²See also the introductions in the editions of Ælfrician Homilies by Pope (1967-8: 14-8), Godden (1979: xxxvii-xl) and Clemoes (1997: 1-5).

¹⁷³E.g. in Pächt and Alexander (1973), where the MS is item no. 182.

¹⁷⁴See the detailed list of items by sections/quires and the comments in Clemoes (1997: 1-5).

is mainly by one scribe, who wrote in the second half of the 12th century.¹⁷⁵ Ælfric's late Old English original was transferred into an early middle English West Midland dialect. The evident language change alone is fascinating to observe when MS L is juxtaposed to MS J.

The question why the text was shortened has already been addressed by scholars, who in unison came to the conclusion that the Life was "drastically abbreviated to a manageable preaching length, consistent with the other items in the manuscript".¹⁷⁶ This leaves nothing to add, especially when considering Wilcox (2009: 351):

"Other manuscripts have broadly similar dimensions and quality, ranging from the earliest surviving copy, the late 10th-century first series of Catholic Homilies produced under Ælfric's own guidance at Cerne Abbas, London MS BL Royal 7 C xii, with leaves measuring 310 x 205 mm and a writing block of 237 x 145 mm, to the augmented late sequence in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, produced in the West Midlands in the second half of the twelfth century, with leaves measuring 308 x 200 mm and a writing block of 235-258 x 145-165 mm."

The manuscript was written by two scribes; the first wrote fols. vi-xxxix, the second wrote fols. 1-170.¹⁷⁷ MS L represents a huge collection of homilies, sermons and saints lives. Ker notes that 48 of the 90 items were taken from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*.¹⁷⁸ The list of saints included seem to consist of "first-grade saints venerated by monks and laity alike" (Rosser 2000: 135).

The table above, p. 138, shows which sections of the version in J and K were omitted by the copyist of L. The fact that the copyist of L shortened Ælfric's *Life* suggests that Ælfric's *Homily for Martinmas* (already in preaching length) was not available to him (Rosser 2000: 136). The middle sections from the *Life* were especially omitted. Sections 1-7 were all copied except for section 4; half of the sections 8-18 were omitted; only four sections were copied from sections 19-47; sections 48-55 were all copied. It is obvious that the copyist concentrated on collecting information on Martin's birth, conversion, miracles and death.

But there is more to conclude. Rosser (2000: 138) did some important work on the issue and summarized the omitted section 4 with "Hilary's influence on

¹⁷⁵Ker dates "s. xii²", Pächt and Alexander (1973: no. 182) date s. xii^{3/4}; cf. Clemoes (1997: 5) for the scribes of the fly-leaves.

¹⁷⁶See Joyce (1996: 249). On the manuscript's function of the and its use as a preaching text, see Irvine (1993: lii-liii) and Rosser (2000: 136 and n. 12)

¹⁷⁷See Irvine (2000: 55) and especially Irvine's (1993: xviii) account of the manuscript.

¹⁷⁸Irvine (1993: xxii f.) presents a more detailed list of contents.

Martin, Martin's fight against Arian heretics and finally the saint's foundation of a monastery near Poitiers." The omission of this passage, which presents a brief halt in the narrative, suggests that the copyist sought to concentrate on plot, preferring action and deed over background information. Moreover, the omission of Hilary could indicate that he wanted to save his audience from any side character irrelevant to the narrative as such. Another reason for disregarding Hilary might have been that while Martin's acquaintance with St Hilary certainly impressed Severus' audience, it probably did not impress the copyist as much, since by the 12th century St Hilary had lost popularity and significance.

Section 8 was omitted, which tells of the veneration of a false martyr. Section 9 was included, in which Martin stops a heathen procession with a movement of his hand. In the omitted section 10, Martin destroys a heathen tree-shrine; both sections 11 and 12, the spectacular destruction of entire heathen temples, were included. The copyist omitted Martin's conversion of heathens in section 13. With section 21, he omitted a chapter that also the anonymous homilist and Ælfric (in the *CH*-Martin) omitted (Rosser 2000: 139). Rosser concluded from all of this that the copyist/abbreviator of L "did not share [Ælfric's] interest in ecclesiastical behaviour and monastic *regula*". However, he does include Martin's "suppression of heathen practices" (ibid.). The inclusion of the four sections between sections 19 and 47 suggest that the copyist preferred to include the more entertaining, spectacular and more impressive episodes. Similarly, Rosser (2000: 140) concluded that the "abbreviator includes representative examples of Martin's incredible powers", whereas he omitted "sections that describe similar events" for the sake of brevity. Rosser rightly observed that the inclusion of a section is more likely if it is both short and of a "representative nature", for example, sections 34 and 40.

As a consequence, the leaps and gaps have produced a narrative that at times is "hard to follow"; This is true in at least one instance. The text in L jumps from SVM 8,3 straight to SVM 12,1 (l. 178 in L). This omits Martin's election and ordination as Bishop, so it must have surprised the audience to hear how all of a sudden he "férde [...] on his biscopríce" (ll. 179-80). Rosser concludes that "the audience was expected to be sufficiently familiar with the legend not to be troubled by the omissions" (Rosser 2000: 141). There is no chance of knowing whether the audience was troubled, nor can we make reasonable enquiries about the contemporary popularity or criticism of a text other than determining how many copies were made.

The present edition is the first edition of Ælfric's *Life of St Martin* from MS L. There are two editions which present homilies from MS L. Belfour (1909) as well as Irvine (1993) selected a small number of homilies for their editions;

Ælfric's *Life of St Martin* is not among them. Skeat has collated lexical variants from MS L in his edition of the *Life*.

Concluding Remarks and Overviews

I have introduced the Latin Martiniana and the Old English Martiniana which derived from it. This final chapter presents overviews of the material presented and draws some conclusions regarding the text and source relationships. In the present edition, I have indicated for each Old English passage which Latin passage it translates or refers to. The following table uses this data to show which Latin texts the Old English writers made use of.¹⁷⁹

OE Text	SVM	SEP	SES	SET	SDP	SDS	SDT	AVM	GHF	GVM
<i>Martyrology</i>	✓						✓			
<i>Anon. Homily</i>	✓			✓						
<i>Ælfric's Homily</i>	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
<i>Ælfric's Life</i>	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

It is obvious from the table that no Old English homilist made use of Severus' second *Epistle* (SES) and Severus' first *Dialogue* (SDP). It is also obvious that only Ælfric made use of Gregory's texts, whereas the Anonymous Homilist was content with the material presented in Severus' *vita* and his third *epistula*. The next is an overview of the contents of the different AS "Martinelli"; reference to the manuscripts is with the help of Gneuss's *Handlist* number.

Gneuss no.	SVM	SEP	SES	SET	SDP	SDS	SDT	AVM	GHF	GVM
HL 689										✓
HL 296	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
HL 782	✓			✓					✓	✓
HL 774.1										✓
HL 915	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
HL 344									✓	
HL 36	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓			
HL 264	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
HL 378.5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

As we can see, the Old English Martyrologist would have been content with the material from nos. 36, 264, 296, 378.5 and 915. But, of course, we can exclude from the list of possible sources all those manuscripts which were written later than the supposed Old English texts' dates of compositions. Therefore, I present the dates of the Old English and Latin manuscripts. These are the

¹⁷⁹The Fontes-Project has proven a helpful tool for analyzing text and source relationships; the "Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project", can be found at "<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>" (12 Nov 2014). The project does not make a distinction between the different parts of the *Dialogii*, i.e. SDP, SDS and SDT, so I have added these references.

edited texts and their manuscripts in chronological order:¹⁸⁰

St Martin in the OE Martyrology	composed	ca. 900-950
A London, British Library, Cotton Julius A. x.		ca. 975-1025
B Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196		ca. 1050-1100
Anonymous <i>Homily for Martinmas</i>	composed	ca. 900-950
C Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII		ca. 950-1000
D Princeton, University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection 71		ca. 975-1025
E Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86		ca. 950
Ælfric's <i>Catholic Homily for Martinmas</i>	composed	ca. 990-995
F Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3.28.		ca. 990-1025 ¹⁸¹
G Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198		ca. 1000-1050
H British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. XVII		ca. 1050
Ælfric's <i>Life of St Martin</i>	composed	ca. 995-1000
J London, British Library, Cotton Julius E.VII		ca. 1000-1025
K London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.XIV		ca. 1050
L Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343		ca. 1150-1200

These are the dates of the manuscripts (again from Gneuss) written or owned in England and containing Martinelli, in their chronological order.

HL 689 Oxford, Trinity College, MS 4	ca. 975-1025 ¹⁸²
HL 296 London, BL, MS Additional 40074	ca. 975-1025
HL 782 Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 29	ca. 975-1025
HL 774.1 London, Collection of R. A. Linenthal Esq., MS s.n.	ca. 1000-1050
HL 915 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg.lat. 489	ca. 1000-1050
HL 344 London, BL, MS Cotton Nero E.i (CCL) ¹⁸³	ca. 1050-1075
HL 36 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9 (CCL)	ca. 1050-1075
HL 264 Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.VI.11	ca. 1075-1100
HL 378.5 London, BL, MS Tiberius D.iv	ca. 1075-1125

¹⁸⁰I took Gneuss's dates for the manuscripts, but transferred his dating system (e.g. "s. x¹", or "s. xi med.", etc.) to numerals.

¹⁸¹Gneuss's date for the MS is "s. x/xi", which usually stands for a time frame between 975 and 1025; I adapted the earlier year here because the production of the MS cannot have been earlier than the text's composition, whose dating results from internal evidence.

¹⁸²Gneuss is uncertain about the exact date and writes "x/xi?"; but he adds "prov. Canterbury [St Augustine's] prob. s. xi ex."

¹⁸³HL 344 and 36 are "companion volumes" (Gneuss) with regard to the office legendary ("Cotton Corpus Legendary") they contain. HL 344 covers the legendary from January to September, while HL 36 covers October to December.

The tables show that none of the surviving Martinelli manuscripts could have been the direct source for the Old English Martyrologist, nor for the Anonymous Homilist. HL nos. 689, 296 and 782 could well have been the source for Ælfric's Martiniana if we consider the date of their production. But then again, as we can see from the tables, none of these offered all the material of which Ælfric made use. We can only notice the possibility that Ælfric might have drawn single sections or passages from the three manuscripts in question, always assuming they were at his disposal in the first place. As a result, none of the surviving Anglo-Latin Martinellus manuscripts provided the Latin source text for the surviving Old English Martiniana.

Though we cannot ascribe Anglo-Latin Manuscripts to the Old English texts, we can deduce facts about the Latin sources themselves. Frederick Biggs focused on the two Ælfrician Martins to treat the question of sources in greater detail, by focusing on the notable differences of Ælfric's *Homily* and his *Life*. He explains in his study:

I would like to argue that Ælfric probably did not consult Sulpicius's *Dialogues* when he wrote the *Depositio* and that, when he used this work in writing his second Life of Martin, it led him to reject the *Laudationes* [by Alcuin] as authoritative. In doing so, Ælfric shows an awareness of the relative value of historical sources, ultimately preferring Sulpicius's firsthand account to Alcuin's redaction. (Biggs 1996: 289)

Biggs and Patrick Zettel¹⁸⁴ come to the conclusion that the "Cotton Corpus Legendary" was the "chief quarry for hagiographic matter both in the Homilies and in the Lives."¹⁸⁵ Biggs argues some of the manuscripts (those later than Ælfric) give the impression that they have accumulated material over time, which he exemplifies with the *Dialogii*. CCCC 9, for example, contains two of the three books of the *Dialogii* and Bodley 354 contains all three. For him, there is reason to believe that the manuscripts known to Ælfric did not contain the *Dialogues*, but that later the material fell into his lap and so he used them for the composition of the *Life*.¹⁸⁶ To underline this, Biggs gathered "internal

¹⁸⁴Patrick Zettel's (1979) study of Ælfric's sources in his PhD dissertation presents a major contribution on the topic; unfortunately, it has not been published. It is concerned primarily with Ælfric's sources for the composition of his *Catholic Homilies*. Biggs (1996) takes up Zettel's results and presents them in his own study, so I must refer to Biggs here.

¹⁸⁵I had to quote Zettel from Biggs (290), who refers to Zettel, p. 22.

¹⁸⁶Biggs (1996: 290) writes: "Manuscripts known in Anglo-Saxon England that contain the Vita, Dialogues and Epistles include London, BL Additional 40074; Cambridge, Trinity Hall 21; Vatican, Reg. Lat. 489; and Hereford Cathedral Library O.6.xi. Moreover all three works

evidence”, referring to text passages (see pp. 291f. in Biggs) and the works’ structures.¹⁸⁷

Biggs’ study is interesting for its juxtaposition of Ælfric’s *Homily* and the *Life*, but it disregards the Latin prayer at the end of the *Life*, in which Ælfric states that he was asked to write a longer version of the homily. To read the Latin prayer this way is more substantial in my view than to argue that more material fell into Ælfric’s hands after he had composed the homily. Still, Biggs made some important observations and adds a lot to the study of Ælfric’s two texts. Biggs noted that Ælfric reorganized the material in order to create a consistent, chronological narrative.¹⁸⁸ Zettel’s conclusion is that Ælfric made

are included in the Cotton-Corpus legendary, which Zettel has identified as Ælfric’s “chief quarry for hagiographic matter both in the Homilies and in the Lives.” [quotes from Zettel, p. 22]. However, the exact contents of this collection at the moment when Ælfric would have known it are still open to dispute. The earliest version – contained in London, BL Cotton Nero E.i parts 1 and 2 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 – includes, among other texts about the saint, the two books of the Dialogues that concern Martin, but the manuscript was written some fifty years after Ælfric’s death. Two 12th-century versions of the collection – Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 354 and Hereford, Cathedral Library P.7.vi – include all three books of the Dialogues and differ in some other respects in the material that they include about Martin, one of which will be discussed later. These differences create the impression that the contents of the collection, at least as far as Martin is concerned, grew over time and so it is at least possible that Ælfric’s version of the legendary did not contain the Dialogues.” Cf. Biggs (302): “To Förster [1913] and Gerould [1925], the question of Ælfric’s sources appeared relatively simple: Sulpicius and Gregory of Tours provided all the necessary information. Zettel discovered that the situation is more complicated in that Alcuin’s redaction clearly underlies much of the *Depositio* [i.e. ÆCH], which for him helped to confirm the status of the Cotton-Corpus legendary as Ælfric’s primary source for hagiographic material. One purpose of this essay has been to suggest that we may not yet have reached a full understanding of the situation, because a particular manuscript such as Pembroke College 25 may provide a Latin source even closer to Ælfric’s version than the printed edition in the *Patrologia Latina*. The main object, however, of a source study such as this one is not solely to find the exact text that an author used, but rather to use the available information to discover what authors themselves thought of their sources. In the case of Ælfric’s two Lives of Martin, this larger question is particularly interesting because – if the argument of this essay is correct – Ælfric himself comes to discriminate between his sources: he eventually favors Sulpicius’s works to Alcuin’s redaction and in doing so he shows good historical judgment even while working in a genre as notoriously unhistorical as hagiography.”

¹⁸⁷To give an example of the latter: “This issue will become more important when considering the structure of the second life; the point here is that when Ælfric finds information in the Dialogues that clarifies an event, he follows it even if he does not wish to provide a longer account of an incident.” (Biggs 1996: 293). To give an example for the first: Biggs explains Ælfric’s statement in the prologue to the *Life* “of þære ylcan gesetnysse” in a way that Ælfric preferred Severus’ material over Alcuin’s version, which includes Alcuin’s redactions; always assuming Ælfric had this material at his disposal only after the composition of the *Catholic Homilies*. See Biggs (1996: 295).

¹⁸⁸Biggs (1996), p. 298 “In the Lives of Saints Ælfric provides his own synthesis of material from

use of a legendary similar to that of the Cotton Corpus Legendary.¹⁸⁹ It is tempting to suppose that Ælfric had an extensive legendary before him (like the Cotton Corpus Legendary) which offered all the material for him to compose his Old English version and that this material was at his disposal in the shape of a single manuscript. But for all we know, it is possible that Ælfric drew his material from a great number of different manuscripts.

A comparison of the Anonymous *Homily for Martinmas* and Ælfric's two *Martiniana* is no less fruitful than a comparative study of the latter two. There are a few remarkable differences, for instance, in their approach to the collation and translation of the Latin material. Both the homilist and Ælfric followed the "normal hagiographical form: Birth, Parents, Exemplary Youth, Vocation, Miracles, Death."¹⁹⁰ As shown, SVM and SET offered sufficient material for the Anonymous Homilist, whereas Ælfric gathered more material to create a homily and the extensive *Life*. Both the homilist and Ælfric adapt the material to their own tastes or to their audience's respectively. Both, for instance, disregard Martin's shabby appearance (SVM 9). The Anonymous Homilist excludes Martin's election to Bishop from his narrative (Vermillion 1980: 86). Generally, as pointed out by Vermillion (1980: 87), the saint is more heroic in the Old English accounts, though he is also less rebellious with regard to authorities. "Martin is now the exemplar of God's thane within the culture and context of Anglo-Saxon England."¹⁹¹ All Old English accounts share an emphasis of Martin's "boldness and loyalty" (Vermillion 1980: 107), so that the "basic image" of Martin as *miles dei* is intact (Vermillion 1980: 108). In addition, the Anonymous Homilist "avoids" Martin's "clash" with Julian and only mentions Martin's "service with Hilary" (Szarmach 1978: 258). The "anti-episcopal" (Szarmach 1978: 259) tone in SVM has not been taken over by the Anonymous Homilist, nor by Ælfric. The critique of Bishops that Severus obviously found necessary to mention can be found neither in the Anonymous Homily, nor in Ælfric. Instead Martin was to be presented as an impeccable "Christian model" (*ibid.*). However, all accounts retained – as Szarmach (1978: 259) points out – "stories concerning Martin's campaigns against heathendom". This seems to have been of interest for homilists and audiences alike.

the Vita and the Dialogues, including virtually all of the miracles in both.", or on p. 300: "[Ælfric] attempts his own historical synthesis of the material."

¹⁸⁹I have to refer to Szarmach (2003: 43) here, who refers to Zettel.

¹⁹⁰See Vermillion (1980: 84), who says that saints lives have become formalized between Severus and the Old English translations (and the Icelandic which he analyzes) in the 10th century, so that the translators had to collate their material from Severus' different works on Martin to create one text that would correspond to this demanded form.

¹⁹¹See Vermillion *ibid.* Cf. also Vermillion (1980: 106) for this issue.

All accounts tend to omit certain details that would confuse their audience rather than add anything of interest to the narrative. The Roman emperors' commandment, for instance, that sons of soldiers must enter service (SVM 2,5), was ignored by all accounts except for the *Life*. The Anonymous Homilist makes use of the typical homiletic marker "men þa leofestan" as an opening formula to focus the audience's attention, whereas Ælfric makes use of the formula only rarely, for example, in the *Maccabees* (*Lives of Saints* no. XXV). The Blickling translator follows the Latin closely, even when the Latin has *duodeviginti* he translates "twæm læs þe twentig".¹⁹² Where SVM has *rege*, which, in fact, stands for the emperor,¹⁹³ the Anonymous Homilist translates *cyning*, whereas Ælfric correctly translates *casere*.

Some of these differences and similarities might be explained by the distinctive audience of both the Homilist and Ælfric. Gaites (1982: 36) notes that the Blickling homily was intended for oral delivery, which she concludes from the formula "men tha leofestan", whereas Ælfric's *Life* could have been read and studied, as he proclaims in the preface.

A notable difference between the Anonymous Homilist and Ælfric is presented by their mode of abbreviating and collating the Latin material to create their Old English version. The homilist shortens Severus' account by omitting passages, whereas Ælfric condenses the material. He seems to translate not word for word or sense for sense. Rather it seems that he read a passage and then recounted the narrative in his own sentences, which is perhaps also due to the fact that he sought to render the passage in verse lines, which makes a word for word translation impossible anyway. As a result, the homilist's version is more paratactic than Ælfric's.¹⁹⁴

Both the homilist and Ælfric have left us with great narratives in Old English. The Anonymous Homily for Martinmas surpasses many other homilies from the Vercelli Book, for example, homily XXIII on St Guthlac. *Guthlac* is "no attempt to present any kind of full-scale *vita*, linear or non-linear." (Szarmach 1978: 261).

Ælfric, in turn, seems to have surpassed the Anonymous Homilist. His two Martiniana are an even greater literary achievement in the respect that Ælfric put a lot of effort into versifying the texts to enhance their oral delivery. There is no use in comparing the homilist's and Ælfric's achievement; if Ælfric is deemed the greater writer, then one has to bear in mind what Szarmach (1978:

¹⁹²See Gaites 1982: 37; this might actually be a hint to the origin of the homilist's Latin source, cf. the commentary, p. 393 below.

¹⁹³SVM's *rege* (from *rex*) is not pejorative, according to Huber-Rebenich (2010: 77 n. 24).

¹⁹⁴Gaites (1982: 38) has also noticed that the homilist prefers parataxis over hypotaxis.

263) pointed out when stating that Ælfric (and Wulfstan) “are the more accomplished writers [...] because such earlier authors [like the Anonymous Homilist] have shown the way.”

In the end, we are left with a considerable number of great Old English Martiniana, whose evolution reached a final climax in the long account by Ælfric of Eynsham; all Old English Martiniana are worth studying and, therefore, worth editing.

Part II

**Editions of the Old English
Martiniana**

Editorial Policy

The present edition is designed so as to satisfy the demands of two different kinds of scholars. First and foremost, I hope to have provided Anglo-Saxonists with an edition that presents the Old English texts in the highest possible transparency with regard to their manuscript material. In attaching a lot of importance to transparency, I am following Susan Irvine's (2000: 255) well-expressed demand that "[s]cholars must have the opportunity to disagree with editorial changes on the basis of full information". In fact, this represents the guiding principle of this edition. While bearing in mind Liuzza's (2006: 256) statement that different audiences demand different editions, I am, nevertheless, hoping to also satisfy the demands of other scholars and readers who have never encountered Old English texts (and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts respectively), such as theologians, Martin-scholars, or any reader who may approach the edited texts because of their value for literary and cultural studies.

To present the manuscripts' texts in the highest possible transparency to scholars of Old English and yet to make them accessible to other scholars constitutes my editorial policy generally and specifically my decisions concerning emendations and modernizations. In doing so, I generally preferred a rather conservative over a liberal approach,¹ in that I refrained from any unnecessary

¹I refer to the debate around conservative and liberal editorial politics, the two terms representing the two directly opposed attitudes which editors of Old English might have towards their material. An important read is Caie (1999), whose article is particularly valuable for his balanced attitude towards the topic, which is perhaps best epitomized in his statement: "Without sitting on the fence, I believe that the answer must be between the two extremes of the ultra-conservative who produces a near-diplomatic edition and the reckless emender who creates a new work according to what he thinks the author should have written." (90), and: "In the end an editor is damned if he does and damned if he does not emend. All that he or she can depend on is a good ear, a sound knowledge of the corpus of literature in the period, a solid philological background and, most important, common sense. The editor's job is to create an accurate and readable text and to make it accessible to the target audience." (95) Cf. Ikegami (2005: 89f.) for a good summary of the five main approaches towards the manuscript material, and Lapidge (1991) for his liberal and self-confident approach. To be exact, he proposes the liberal approach

emendation and included only such modernizations which proved instrumental in simplifying the approach for non-experts. This whole procedure I will explain in detail in this section.

All original manuscripts were consulted to recheck spelling, punctuation, scribal peculiarities, damages, etc. The only exceptions are MS “Blickling” in Princeton, University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection 71 and the manuscripts in the Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge. Both the Princeton University Library and the Corpus Christi Library provide high-resolution scans which allowed for a sufficient study of the material.²

Since we turn to an age which did not know a universal standard concerning orthography, grammar, etc., that is perhaps with the exception of the Winchester school,³ I considered it useless to make corrections in the texts on the basis of such a standard. All possible emendations would be conjectural emendations if considering the evidence that can be gathered from the small corpus of surviving Old English texts, even if the corpus in question is huge in comparison with other vernaculars of the period.⁴ The critical moment in

of editors of Anglo-Latin texts as a proper model for the editors of Old English texts and wishes for more dialogue between the editors in different fields. The following two quotes might stand as archetypical of Lapidge’s attitude: “Textual criticism is the process of ascertaining and reproducing what an author wrote.”, p. 17, and “whereas the medieval scribe would not change a classical text because of his respect, the opposite is true for medieval texts. Copying these meant to alter it to his or his institution’s requirements”, p. 29, and cf. also Lapidge (1994) for more arguments on the debate. Generally, a moderate conservative approach is predominant in the field, not least due to the practice of this approach in the numerous editions of Old English texts by the Early English Text Society (EETS).

²The Blickling MS is freely available at “<http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/x346d4176>” (24 Jan 2014). The CCC library gives access to the scans in high-resolution only to its subscribed users. However, scholars can obtain a short-term license, see “<http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page.do?forward=home>” (24 Jan 2014)

³Anglo-Saxonists have discussed the existence of “Standard Old English”, to no satisfying or universal end, however. Nevertheless, it is highly interesting what some scholars have found out about the “Winchester school” around Æthelwold, Dunstan and Ælfric. In the context of the “Benedictine Reform”, there were notable ambitions regarding creating a standardized grammar, or at least some standard scribal procedure, out of which literary context the rich Old English literature in the West-Saxon dialect emerged. The central work in this field is Helmut Gneuss’s “The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold’s school at Winchester” (1972), cf. also Gretsch (2003), Jones (2009) and Hofstetter (1987).

⁴The article by Kane (1969) on “Conjectural Emendation” is very illuminating in this respect. Also worth reading is Stanley (1985), though I disagree with his statement that “[o]n the whole emendation is truly essential only when a manuscript reading does not make sense” (269). I disagree because I do not see any good reason for any emendation. The only instance in which I regard an intervention necessary is when the editor is concerned to present the text in a student’s edition. Otherwise I would always trust the readers to find their own interpretation, “on the

following this practice is when the editor encounters “clear” mistakes. Many editors proclaim that they have only emended in such instances. Often, however, these editors do not define exactly what they consider a clear mistake. Needless to say, that the scholarly debate on that matter has not produced applicable procedures. If editing the text as it stands in the manuscript, on the one hand, and changing the text on the basis of some conceivable principle, on the other hand, are considered the diametrically opposed procedures, two other moderate procedures would be to emend and mark this somehow,⁵ or not to emend and discuss the phenomenon. Generally, I preferred the latter. I emended in the edited text only in very rare cases and, of course, such deviations are always marked by italics and commented on in the apparatus below the text.

One silent deviation was the contraction of words separated by seemingly accidental blank spaces. It is a typical peculiarity of Anglo-Saxon manuscript’s texts that words appear as disconnected, though often systematically according to their syllables. One frequent example from MS J is *gehaten* (‘was called’). It appears often as *ge haten* in the texts, without any apparent reason, therefore, I connected it without further notice. Compounds such as *gold hord*, a compound consisting of two substantives, are given as *goldhord*, since I generally sought to refrain from adding letters and signs that are not in the MS and, thus, distanced myself from the common practice of inserting hyphens in such instances. Correspondingly, the reader finds *ofaxode* (‘inquired’, lit. ‘asked of’) in *LM*, l. 5, which in Skeat is *of-axode*. Words divided by line-breakings were treated similarly without any indication.⁶

Abbreviations in the manuscripts have been expanded, but never silently. They are consistently marked with italics, a common practice of editors in the field.⁷ I shall briefly describe the typical scribal practices with regard to abbreviation in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The usual abbreviation for *and* and its variants (e.g. *ond* or *ant*) is the *tironian nota*. It is realized by a short horizontal stroke on the median line and a downstroke that often descends the baseline and often curves to the left. It is similar to the modern numeral <7>. In fact, many modern editions and especially web-editions of Old English texts employ

basis of full information”, to quote Irvine again.

⁵It is one of Gneuss’s (1994: 17) basic rules that whenever the editor deviates from text of the manuscript they must draw the reader’s attention to this deviation. Gneuss’s article was published in the context of the plan for the *Dictionary of Old English*, therefore, his rules had some impact in the field.

⁶Claus-Dieter Wetzel (1981) has studied line-breakings in Old English manuscripts extensively. See his pp. 42f. for some of his conclusions.

⁷With this practice, I followed Skeat’s edition of *Ælfric’s LS*, to give but one example. It is also a common practice in the EETS series of editions.

the numeral for simplicity. The edited texts represent the tironian nota as an italicized, expanded form, which is commonly *and* or *ond*. In each MS case I was able to find an unabbreviated form that served as a model for the rest of the text.⁸ Another typical abbreviation in the manuscripts is a *crossed thorn* <þ̅>, which stands for *þæt* ('that'). In the present edition, I have expanded the form and marked the expanded letters with italics; the word rarely appears written out (and correspondingly without italics in the edition). Finally, a common abbreviation for a nasal (mostly *m*, only rarely *n*) is a tilde above the preceding letter. This occurs predominantly in words with an *m* in a final position, which might be due to the fact that *-um* is a frequent suffix in Old English (the typical ending for dative plural forms). A frequent example is OE *eallum* ('to all'), which appears as *eallū̃*.⁹ This kind of abbreviation occurs rarely in a non-final position; one instance would be *gelamp*, from MS C, l. 1504 and *cempa* from MS J, l. 8.

Regarding the replacement and retainment of obsolete letters, I followed the usual practice.¹⁰ The runic <ƿ> ('wynn') has been replaced by *w* and <ȝ> ('yogh') by *g*. The letters which remain are *thorn* <þ> (today otherwise represented by *th*), *eth* <ð> (also *th* today) and *ash* <æ> (today *a*, *e*, or *ae*). I have not made a distinction or remark in the few instances where the manuscripts show a round <s> or a long <s> instead of the ordinary (descending) <s> of the Anglo-Saxon minuscule.

Accents have been retained, even if their exact purpose is unclear.¹¹ Among editors of OE texts, a "much fought-over battlefield"¹² is punctuation, which,

⁸In our text, the form is *and* in the Vercelli-Martin (see an unabbreviated form in l. 1504), Junius-Martin (see the note on the manuscript's language before the edited text) and LM (unabbreviated form in l. 178). The form *ond* appears in Blickling (unabbreviated form in l. 1504) and in the Martyrology-Martin (no unabbreviated form in the entry on St Martin, see Herzfeld's edition). For the phenomenon of darkening of *a* to *o* before a nasal cf. GrSB § 79. Another variant is in MS L. Though the MS contains darkened forms like *lond* (l. 12) it has *ant* spelled out five times (e.g. l. 97).

⁹This is probably a practice resulting from scribal economy, since the omission of the letter *m* saves the scribe three strokes.

¹⁰This common practice has also been recommended by Gneuss (1994).

¹¹There is no comprehensive study of OE accents. Gneuss (1994: 18) finds their "value doubtful" and, therefore, does not regard it necessary to present them, but I still prefer to pass them on to the readers to allow them their own observations on the matter. See more on the debate concerning the representation of accents in Alexander (1982: 52) for whom word accents are worth retaining despite their lack of system. Because of the sheer number of accents in the OE texts, I refrained from listing them here.

¹²This apt statement by Bruce Mitchell (2005a: 151) is by one scholar who argues vehemently for the retainment of original punctuation in modern editions, cf. esp. Mitchell (1980). Dumville (1994) argues for modernized capitalization and punctuation (p. 46) and bemoans that the

if modernized, often generates a modernized capitalization. The laws and purposes of punctuation in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is still a matter of discussion. It was predominantly syntactical, but sometimes also metrical and probably derived from Latin models.¹³ Many editors have taken the lack of an identifiable or consistently performed system as a reason to force their own (modern) punctuation on the text. These editors often argued that modern punctuation would provide help for the inexperienced reader for whom the language is a serious obstacle. The reasons for me to adhere to the original punctuation concerns interpretation. The editors who force their own punctuation on the text also force their own interpretation on the reader. It would be tedious to insert a modern punctuation and explain the original to provide “full information”. Original punctuation allows readers to develop their own understanding of the section, sentence, or phrase. All the more, readers will be able to study the scribe’s system of punctuation themselves.

The majority of our manuscripts employ only the *punctus*, which is a simple dot, mostly on the base line, which I have represented as such in the edition. A typical phenomenon is that the *punctus* is in an intermediate position between two words, i.e. it is preceded and followed by a small blank space. In reproducing this in the edition, I followed Skeat’s practice for the *LS* again. Few of our manuscripts employ a *punctus versus*, which looks very much like a semicolon, and some employ a *punctus elevatus*, which resembles an inverted semicolon. I have represented both with a semicolon, which again is a common practice among editors of Old English texts. For the *punctus interrogativus*, which serves the purpose of a modern question mark, I have put a question mark (occurs only in the *Life*). In the manuscript, it resembles a *punctus versus* with a long stroke to the right. The very rare colon is represented by a colon.

Any insertions are marked by square brackets < [] >.¹⁴ Most of these insertions are the reference to the Latin source text, which is presented in the apparatus on the facing page. The Latin text sections by Severus are quoted from Fontaine’s edition (cf. the list of abbreviations on p. xiii). In a few instances, I inserted a *punctus* in brackets in the Old English to enhance readability.

tendency towards diplomatic editions is inconvenient for historians. If editors, as he concludes, ignore the demands of historians, lawyers, Latinists and neighboring vernaculars, their editions are “likely to fail”, p. 52.

¹³Cf. Mitchell (1980: 385) who supposes that the purposes of punctuation could have been grammatical, syntactical, rhetorical or rhythmical; there will probably never be an ultimate answer to this question. Compare Ikegami (2005: 93) who says that “[t]he original punctuation tells us how a scribe read, or wanted read, a certain passage.” For an extensive history on the matter of punctuation, see Parkes (1993).

¹⁴In accordance with Alexander (1982: 53), I suggest that the editor of Old English texts follows the system of signs in Godden’s edition of Ælfric’s *CH*, see p. xcvi of his editorial policy.

In accordance with my general policy, I have also represented capitals exactly like they are in the MS. Based on the scribal practices of the material presented I have taken the common practice one step further though: in a number of instances, the beginning of a section is indicated by a capital (or uppercase) letter, sometimes a disproportionately large letter, sometimes in a differently coloured ink, but some of our texts know a third kind of capitalization, that is an enlarged lowercase letter. One enlarged lowercase *h* appears in Vercelli, l. 1504. This can also frequently be observed for *þ* and *ð*, which is due to the fact that many sentences in the narratives begin with *þa* ('then', 'when'), or *ða* respectively. These capitals and enlarged lowercase letters are reproduced in the edition. A vertical bar <|> in the edited text marks the beginning of the manuscript's next page. The foliation or pagination is given in the right margin next to the line.

There are comments below the text as well as a general commentary behind the edition. In the edited texts, the upper part of the apparatus collects variants and contains information on the manuscript material, that is, information on the physicality, including damages, scribal corrections and the like, as well as variants from collated manuscripts (which is relevant for Ælfric's *CH* and *LS*).¹⁵ The apparatus contains only "significant"¹⁶ variants; above all, these are lexical variants, though I also included variation with regard to phrasing, word order, spelling (i.e. phonological/dialectal and morphological differences) and accents. I disregarded, however, any spelling variation with regard to the graphemes *þ* and *ð* in order to restrict the entries to a sensible number. For the edition of the *Anonymous Homily*, I treat MS E as a base text (cf. p. 161). Since MSS C, D, are significantly different in their spelling, wording and even phrasing (cf. below p. 161), they are printed in a three-column table in the appendix (pp. 402f.). Therefore, variants may best be studied there and, thus, the apparatus below the edited text of the *Anonymous Homily* covers variants from C and D only if they affect meaning.

The lower part of the apparatus is a linguistic and literary commentary. It contains comments on linguistic peculiarities concerning diction, syntax, etc., as well as on motifs, literary or bible references, annotations to persons, places, etc. Another commentary following the edited texts (pp. 391f.) collects comments which are concerned with intertextual issues, or which concern the Latin

¹⁵This apparatus is a negative apparatus. Negative apparatuses list only deviations in the collated manuscripts, whereas a positive apparatus lists all forms. For an explanation and discussion of the different types of apparatuses, see Gneuss (1994: 23). Some interesting thoughts on the topic can be found in Scragg (1994).

¹⁶See Gneuss (1994: 21) for the demands that an apparatus should fulfill and Gneuss (1998: 134) for more on the problem of "significant" variants.

text and, therefore, concern two or more of the edited texts.¹⁷

Another issue I have to explain here is my choice of a base text. In all cases, I edit one MS as a base text and deploy the upper part of the critical apparatus to represent the other manuscripts through lemmata. The *Martyrology*'s entry for St Martin actually survives only in one manuscript. MS A contains only the first line from the text, so the edition presents the text from MS B and the line from A in the apparatus. The *Anonymous Homily* survives in three manuscript. I will present the text from MS E in the edition, since the text is defective both in C and D. MS C lacks two leaves, which interrupts the text twice. The text in MS D ends imperfectly, so the end of the *Homily* is missing in D. Therefore, the edited text is based on MS E, which contains the full text, with the exception of only one passage which is added from C since the D and E omit this passage. Another major reason for presenting the text from E is that the full text has never been printed before. MS E serves well as a base text for the critical edition, but since the three versions are so different from each other and complement each other perfectly, I decided to present all three texts juxtaposed on one page in the appendix (see pp. 402f.).

Like Godden, I have chosen MS F as a base text for the edition of Ælfric's *Homily*, because the MS can be regarded as very close to Ælfric's original, or "archetype", as the author's original version of the text is often called. The archetype is always the desired version of the text, since, by definition, it is free of the changes of scribes/copiers and, thus, would represent the author's intentions most directly. Godden writes about MS F that it "is either a product of Ælfric's own scriptorium or a remarkably faithful copy of such a manuscript" (Godden 1969: xliii). Variants from the other two manuscripts are collected in the apparatus. The text of Ælfric's *Life* is taken from MS J, the oldest of the three manuscripts and probably the one which is closest to Ælfric's archetype¹⁸ and qualifies to serve as a base text. K is not only later, but also fragmentary. Lines 631-71 in the edited text are missing in K, and rather than jumping from an edition of K to J and then back to K, I chose to present J as a base text and represent the few deviations in K in the apparatus.¹⁹ MS L is not represented

¹⁷The comments on the Latin texts benefited from the extensive commentary of the Latin text's standard edition by Fontaine and the edition by Huber-Rebenich (2010). I am highly indebted to earlier editions of the OE texts as well.

¹⁸Szarmach (2003: 41) writes it is the "consensus omnium" that J is the "closest extant manuscript to Ælfric's ur-text of LS", albeit not his autograph.

¹⁹The oldest MS is not necessarily the best, but it is a common procedure and quite reasonable to try and choose a version close to the author's archetype. For the rejection of the fragmentary MS K, I may fall back on Lapidge (2003: 582), who made the same decision in his edition of Ælfric's *Life of St Swithun*: "Given that G and O are mere fragments of the text, any editor must necessarily adopt [J] as the base text." Lapidge edits the *Life of St Swithun* and takes J

in the edition of Ælfric's *Life*. It is a late 12th-century copy of *LM* which omits whole passages, presumably in order to reduce it to an appropriate length for a sermon as part of a church service. I have edited the text from L on its own in the Appendix (pp. 432f.) for two reasons. Firstly, the text is so different from its two precursors that it represents an Early Middle English translation rather than another survivor of the Old English text. Its language and omissions can hardly be studied through the small number of lemmata that could possibly be part of the apparatus below the Old English text. Secondly, the full text in MS L is in print here for the first time. Other texts from the MS have been edited twice, but both editions of homilies in the MS omitted the *Life of St Martin*.²⁰

On facing pages, the reader will find a modern English translation of the Old English text; the apparatus below the translation holds the text of the Latin source as quoted from Fontaine's editions and other sources (cf. the list of abbreviations before the *Introduction* above). The translation adheres closely to the Old English text. In the verse texts, the translation demanded for some freedom with regard to word order so as to clarify the subject-object relation, therefore, a translation of half-lines proved inconvenient.

I have chosen a rather unorthodox, but practicable and justifiable method of presenting the two Ælfrician *Martins* by choosing a verse layout. In doing so, I am following the lead of the first (and hitherto only) edition of Ælfric's *Life of St Martin* by W. W. Skeat (1900, republ. 1966). I take his procedure a step further, however, by presenting the text in a half-line layout where Skeat presented a long-line. In practice, I would add a caesura in the form of a blank space in between the two half-lines that make up the long-line. This practice is hitherto prevalent in editions of classical OE verse texts such as *Beowulf*. In the words of Thomas Bredehoft, I have to "realize I run against the tide" when I apply this practice to an Ælfrician text; what is more: some scholars regard it unorthodox.²¹ I have, nevertheless, chosen the verse layout for the following three reasons:

as base text, the other two he also represents in his critical apparatus, "G" being Gloucester, Cathedral Library 35 and "O" being London, BL Cotton Otho B.x. As Alexander (1977: 3) points out, it might not be the best choice for an edition of the whole collection, though.

²⁰Neither Belfour's "Twelfth Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343" (1909), nor Irvine's "Old English Homilies from MS Bodley 343" (1993) presents Ælfric's *Life of St Martin*.

²¹See Bredehoft (2008), p. 78. In his 2008 article as well as in his 2005 monograph (see References below), he is as bold as to attempt a reconsideration of our understanding of the late OE verse, arguing that an evolution from classical to late OE to the Early Middle English verse is discernible. I am using his terms with regard to his distinction between an earlier, classical OE verse as opposed to a late OE verse.

1. The classification as prose is a misconception. The form employed can only be classified as verse. In the chapter on Ælfric's verse above (see pp. 115f.), I have outlined its characteristics, and I have discussed the term *Rhythmical Prose*, to the end that the employment of the term to denote Ælfric's form is a wide-spread misconception among scholars in the field.

2. A prose layout prevents insight into the inherent verse structure by concealing the metrical line, or, in turn, only a verse layout enables the reader to perceive and inspect Ælfric's metre. To illustrate my point, I present a passage from Ælfric's *Life* in different layouts. MS J, fol. 179v reads:²²

Hwæt ða færlice wearð þæs fyrlenen leodscipes
 onræs into gallias . and Iulianus þe casere gegadero
 de his here . and began to gifenne . ælcum his cem
 pum cynelice sylene . swa swa hit ge wunelic wæs .
 Ða wende martinus þæt he þa wel mihte wilnian æt
 þam casere þæt he of þam campdome þa cuman
 moste . him ne ðuhte na fremfullic þæt he fenge to
 þære gife . and syððan ne campode mid þam casere
 forð. [...] ²³

Skeat's edition highlighted the inherent verse structure by introducing deliberate line-breaking (p. 226, ll. 94-102):

Hwæt ða færlice wearð þæs fyrlenen leodscipes
 onræs into gallias . and Iulianus þe casere
 gegaderode his here . and began to gifenne .
 ælcum his cempum cynelice sylene .
 swa swa hit ge-wunelic wæs . Ða wende martinus
 þæt he þa wel mihte wilnian æt þam casere
 þæt he of þam campdome þa cuman moste .
 him ne ðuhte na fremfullic þæt he fenge to þære gife .
 and syððan ne campode mid þam casere forð .

²²The line breaks correspond to those of the MS. I have rendered the text with substitutions of the *tironian note* with *and*, and with the common replacements for letters such as <ƿ>, <ʒ> and <p> (*s*, *g* and *w*). Abbreviations have been silently expanded here (compare the edition).

²³Skeat's translation is: 'Well then, there suddenly took place an invasion of Gaul by a foreign nation. And Julian the emperor gathered his army, and began to give to each of his soldiers a royal donation, even as was usual. Then Martin thought that he might well request from the emperor leave to depart from military service. It seemed not profitable to him to receive the donation, and afterwards not to go forth with the emperor to battle.', see p. 227.

I have added a caesura in the following version:

Hwæt ða færllice wearð þæs fyrlenen leodscipes
 onræs into gallias . and Iulianus þe casere
 gegaderode his here . and began to gifenne .
 ælcum his cempum cynelice sylene .
 swa swa hit ge-wunelic wæs . Ða wende martinus
 þæt he þa wel mihte wilnian æt þam casere
 þæt he of þam campdome þa cuman moste .
 him ne ðuhte na fremfullic þæt he fenge to þære gife .
 and syððan ne campode mid þam casere forð .

Skeat's version represents a sensible adjustment of the material. My version goes a step further by breaking the text down into its compositional components. What is apparent in all versions, but clearer in the last version, is that Ælfric employs different patterns for his composition. Perhaps the most unmissable of these is the patterning of sounds. The text alliterates, as classical OE verse typically does. Half-lines share recurring sounds that coincide with stressed syllables. Note for instance the line "ælcum his cempum / cynelice sylene," in which /k/ (represented by the letter *c*) is the recurring sound. On a metrical level each of the half-lines contain two stressed syllables. The resulting form of discourse enhances the texts' aural appeal. On a syntactical level, the half-lines represent single syntactical units. The phrasing "and Iulianus se casere / gegaderode his here / and began to gifenne" coincides with the half-line structure. In this case, a noun phrase is followed by two verb phrases. The manuscript's punctuation – quite consistently – marks the end of long-lines.

I would like to present another Ælfrician text in which the structure is even more apparent. The following is an excerpt from Ælfric's *Life of St Edmund* (Skeat no. 32) as edited in Mitchell and Robinson's *Guide to Old English* (2007). Mitchell, strongest opponent of the verse layout, describes Ælfric's half-line structure in an introductory remark to the text with a few exemplifying lines that are displayed as verse, including accents on stressed syllables and underlining of alliterating letters. His prose layout in the edited text on the facing page, however, demonstrates that the alliterative structure formerly described is completely invisible.²⁴ Here is the edition's introductory layout:

²⁴Mitchell and Robinson (2007: 208) explain: "But alliterative prose is sufficiently similar to verse that modern editors usually print it in verse lines like poetry. We decline to follow that practice here [...] but it may be well to print a few sentences lineated as verse in order to make clear the form that Ælfric is using"; and "Here alliterating sounds are underlined and the four syllables bearing primary stress in each line are marked with an acute accent."

Éadmund se Éadiga Éastengla cýning
 wæs snótor and wúrdful and wúrdode sýmble
 mid æþelum þéawum þone ælmihtigan Gód.
 He wæs éadmod and geþúngen and swa ánræd þurhwúnode
 þæt he nólde abúgan to býsmorfullum léahtrum
 ne on náþre héalfe he ne ahýlde his þéawas
 ac wæs sýmble gemyndig þære sóþan láre.
 'Þu eart to héafodmen gesét? Ne ahéfe þu ðé
 ac béo betwux mánnum swa swa an mán of hím.'

Now see their edited text:

Eādmund se eadiga, Eāstengla cyning, wæs snotor and wurðful and
 wurðode symble mid æþelum þéawum þone ælmihtigan God. Hē
 wæs eādmōd and geþungen and swā ānræd þurhwunode þæt hē
 nolde ābūgan tō bysmorfullum leahtrum, ne on nāþre healfe hē ne
 āhylde his þéawas, ac wæs symble gemyndig þære sōþan lāre, 'þū
 eart tō hēafodmen geset? ne āhefe þū ðē, ac bēo betwux mannum
 swā swā ān man of him'.

Involuntarily, Mitchell and Robinson have demonstrated that this mode of presentation prevents any insight into the text's verse structure, which they admit is inherent to it. Next, I shall present passage from *Beowulf* as a final example. The first is the transcription from the manuscript (British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv, fol. 129r) and the second is from Klaeber's (2008: 3) edition:

HWÆT WE GARDE
 na in gear dazum . þeod cýninga
 þrym ze frunon hu ða æðelingas ellen
 fremedon. [...]

Hwæt, wē Gār-Dena in gēardagum,
 þēodcyninga þrym gefrūnon,
 hū ðā æþelingas ellen fremedon.

Pope (1967-8: 135) also sees the problems students would face without the verse setting. Pope decides ultimately for verse lineation, since he is concerned that "[a] reader is likely to miss the pairing of phrases somewhere and start floundering. If he misses Ælfric's basic rhythm he does not respond to the word-order and puts the emphasis in the wrong place." So Pope employs a verse layout with long lines like Skeat.

To the best of my knowledge, there is only one edition in existence that adds a caesura to the verse line is Cassidy and Ringler's (1971) student's edition of *St Oswald*. They explain: "Following the lead of Skeat, and latterly of Pope, we have arranged the text as verse, in the belief that so helpful a guide to Ælfric's phrasing and to his rhetorical and rhythmical intentions ought to be exploited as fully as possible." (239)

3. Ælfric's weaknesses as a writer of verse are no argument. I believe the prose layout has become popular because editors have tended to choose on the safe side. Skeat and Pope decided on verse lineation, but uttered uncertainty about the classification as such. Skeat's standard edition of the *Lives* presents verse lines, despite Skeat's own irresolution in the preface to his edition.²⁵ Pope's introduction to his edition of Ælfrician Homilies had a special impact on the field. There is a much-quoted statement concerning his own editorial procedure:

The term 'rhythmical prose' as applied to Ælfric's compositions must be understood to refer to a loosely metrical form resembling in basic structural principles the alliterative verse of the Old English poets, but differing markedly in the character and range of its rhythms as in strictness of alliterative practice, and altogether distinct in diction, rhetoric, and tone. It is better regarded as a mildly ornamental, rhythmically ordered prose than as a debased, pedestrian poetry.²⁶

This last sentence is frequently referred to by editors who decide on the prose setting.²⁷ Pope expressed his uncertainty about whether it would actually be discrediting for the author if the editor presents the text similarly to a classical OE verse text like *Beowulf*. This would seem to be to the disadvantage of Ælfric; before Pope had labelled Ælfric's verse as "pedestrian", Gerould (1925: 365) had

²⁵See pp. xlvii-llii, where he expresses his concerns that readers might be dissatisfied with his decision to print some of the texts in long-lines.

²⁶See Pope (1967-8: 105). His whole chapter on Ælfric's style is worth reading and still has great weight in the debate. Pope edited his set of supplementary homilies as verse, i.a. for the reason that their form is "too insistently regular", p. 135.

²⁷Take, for instance, Michael Lapidge (2003): "For the purposes of the present edition, I agree with John Pope, that the prose of the *Lives of Saints* is 'better regarded as a mildly ornamental, rhythmically ordered prose than as a debased, pedestrian poetry' ", p. 579 and *ibid.* "I have therefore printed the 'Life of St Swithun' as continuous prose. Another editor might well take a different view." Similarly, many others refer to that sentence by Pope, even though at the end of his chapter Pope gives very good reasons to set it as verse anyway, reasons which most scholars have obviously disregarded.

labelled it “clumsy and formless”. The comparison of Ælfric to the *Beowulf* poet is undoubtedly to Ælfric’s disadvantage.²⁸

Pope’s statement had more impact on later editors than the fact that he decided on a verse layout. As a result, several editors decided on a prose layout in order not to discredit Ælfric as a writer. I do not regard this a proper argument and I do not regard Pope’s and Gerould criticism valid. In my view, Bruce Mitchell’s fear is as subjective as it is unfounded when he states:

[B]oth W. W. Skeat [...] and J. C. Pope print the alliterative prose in metrical lines – a decision I regret because of my naive fear that other beginners will share my experience of believing for quite a long time that Ælfric wrote bad poetry rather than good prose [...] (Mitchell 1980: 389)

However, anyone who is afraid that Ælfric’s reputation might be at stake should consider Kuhn’s (1973: 646) question: “If Ælfric’s poetry is, in fact, debased and pedestrian, can one really improve it by calling it prose [...]?”

* * * * *

The reader will find key information on the edited text in three short sections directly preceding the Old English texts, that is, a list of the manuscripts in which the text or parts of it survives, an *Editorial Note* and a short introduction to the language of the base text manuscript (cf. the introductions to all manuscripts above (pp. 90f.), which will address some specific linguistic features the text in the respective manuscript presents. Since all edited texts were written in late West-Saxon dialect, and since MS J has been best researched, readers will find most information on the Old English language in the late West-Saxon dialect there.

²⁸Cf. e.g. Gerould (1925: 354), who compared the two and concluded: “The tune is another tune.” In defence of Ælfric, Donoghue (2004: 96) highlights the existence of cadences, sound play and rhetorical “pyrotechniques” in Ælfric’s verse.

St Martin in the *Old English Martyrology*

Manuscripts

- A : London, British Museum, Cotton Julius A. x.: p. 175 (s. x/xi, Ker *Catalogue* no. 161, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 338).
- B : Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196: pp. 98-99 (s. xi², Ker *Catalogue* no. 47, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 62).²⁹

Editorial Note

Like Herzfeld, Kotzor and Rauer, I edit from MS B, since A has only one line from the beginning of the text. The two MSS read:

A : ON þone .xiⁿ. dag þæs monðes bið .

B : ON þone endlyftan dæg þæs monðes byð

This first line from the text on St Martin is the bottom line on page 175 (the manuscript has a page numbering) and it is the final line of this manuscript. MS B is also paginated, not foliated.

The manuscript's punctuation consists only of a *punctus* on the middle line (cf. Kotzor, p. 83). Kotzor (80-1) analyzed accents in MS B and noticed that accents occur predominantly in one-syllabic words, and predominantly on long vowels and diphthongs in polysyllabic words. Note here, for instance, *sæ* and *án* in l. 12.

²⁹For the other manuscripts which hold other parts of the OE Martyrology, see Herzfeld p. xif. and Kotzor p. 43f.

Language

The manuscript's language has been thoroughly studied by Kotzor (I: 315-442).

Phonology: The text's phonology shows mainly West-Saxon forms. The reader will notice the preponderance of *y*, which results from various phonological developments. It is a typical IWS feature, see GrSB §§ 22, 31, 91, 104, 107; cf. GrC §§ 316-8. In expanding the tironian nota (*and/ond*) I followed Kotzor (I: 82), who while considering the rules concerning *a/o* before nasals (cf. GrSB § 79) gathered the necessary evidence to settle the case for *and*, which is the dominating form in the manuscript. *o* before nasal can be observed in our text in *ongit* (l. 8), or *ongean* (l. 4). WS breaking before *l+cons.* can be observed for example in *cealdum* (l. 5), or *gesealde* (l. 6) and before *r+cons.* in *tocearf* (l. 5), or *þearfende* (l. 5) and before */x/+cons.* in *aweahhte* (l. 9), cf. GrC §§ 143-5. The text shows WS palatal diphthongization, for example *ceastre* (l. 3), and *ongean* (l. 4). *myclum* (l. 12) with *y* is typical for WS, already in eWS, see GrSB §22, Anm. 2. A WS change towards IWS can be observed in *sylfne* (l. 7), where eWS would show *selfne* (GrSB §§ 124, 339; GrC § 325).

Inflectional Morphology: The pronouns show many *y*-forms, as is typical for IWS (GrSB § 334, Anm. 1; GrC § 704), e.g. *hym* (l. 4), *hyne* (l. 6) or *hys* (l. 5). There is one Anglian form in the weak verbs: *-ede* in *gegyrede* is an Anglian form of Class II weak verbs, cf. GrSB § 413(6); GrC § 757, see l. 7.

TEXT

[n.s.] ON þone endlyftan dæg þæs monðes byð *sancti martines* gewyten-
nys þæs halgan bysceopes þæs lychama rested on þære mægðe þe ys nemned
gallea . and on þære ceastre toronice þa we nemnað turnum .

[SVM 3,1-3] *sancti martynes* æryste wundor wæs . þæt hym com ongan
5 an þearfende man nacod on cealdum wyntra . þa tocearf he hys scyccel on twa
and þa hyne gesealde healfne þam þearfendum men . and myd healfum he hyne
sylfne eft gegyrede . | and þa þære ylcan nyht ætywde ure dryhten hyne hym on
þam ylcan gegyrlan þe he þam þearfendum men ær gesealde and cwæð . ongit
10 þurh crystes fultum . [SDS 4,3] and *sanctus martinus* aweahte þry men of deaðe
hreof and he wæs sona hal . [SDT 14,1-2] and an scyp wæs syncende on sá for
anum myclum storme . þa genemde þæra scypmanna án *sanctus martynus* and
hyne bæd hylpes . þa stylde se storm sona and seo sá wearð eft smylte . and hig
comon gesunde to hyðe .

B p. 99

1 ON] *The initial O is enlarged and in blue ink.*

1 endlyftan] ‘the ordinal number eleventh’, see DOE s.v. *endlyftan*; on OE numerals see GrSB § 326, and on the numeral <11> see von Mengden (2010: 82); concerning the phonology of this form cf. GrSB § 97, Anm. 2; § 138, 2; § 188, Anm. 1; § 198, Amn. 1.

1–2 gewytennys] This spelling is only recorded in the Martyrology (four times, according to DOEWC), cf. BT s.v. *gewitennes* (‘departure’/‘death’).

2 nemned] Past pret. of *nemnan*, ‘to name’ (BT); another (infrequent) p.pret. form is *nemde*.

3 gallea] This spelling is not recorded anywhere else (DOEWC), see BT s.v. *Gallias*, glossed ‘The Gauls, the Franks’, i.e. the people of Gaul, whereas the geographical region is modern English *Gaul*, which is in OE literature extant only as *Gallia rice* (BT); this is the only instance of the term denoting the region; possibly the scribe overlooked a *rice* in the original, and failed to write *gallea rice*. The DOE knows only *gallisc*, ‘of or pertaining to Gaul, Gallic, Gaulish’.

3 turnum] Both *toronice* and *turnum* refer to Tours, the place of Martin’s bishopric and his burial place; the text provides both the Latin/French name and the OE, possibly because of the city’s significance as a destination for pilgrims; cf. the introduction on Tours, pp. 32f., and the comment below, p. 395.

4 martynes] The odd spelling with *y* is recorded three times (DOEWC), i.e. twice here and once in ÆLM below, l. 1096. Cf. the note on the MS’s *y*-spellings before the edited text.

5 scyccel] Appears five times (DOEWC), BT s.v. *sciccel* gloss ‘cloak, mantle’.

5 on twa] In the sense ‘into two halves’; *a-twain* is not recorded until 1377 (OED s.v. *a-twain*); von Mengden (2010: 196) classifies the phrase as a “lexicalized idiom”.

9 SDS 4,3] This could also relate to the single episodes which tell of individual revivifications (e.g. SVM 7).

13 stylde] ‘to become still or calm’ (BT s.v. *stillan*), recorded more frequently in the pret. (prefixed) form *gestilde*.

[n.s.] On the eleventh day of the month is St Martin's death, the holy bishop's, whose body rests in the country which is called Gaul, and in the city of Tours, which we call *turnum*.

[SVM 3,1-3] St Martin's first miracle was that he came across a poor naked
 5 man in the cold winter. Then he cut his cloak atwain and then gave the one
 half to the poor man, and with half a cloak he clothed himself again. And then
 in the same night our Lord showed himself to him in the same coat which he
 had earlier given to the poor man and said: "Recognize this coat now." [SDS
 4,3] And St Martin revived three men from death through Christ's help, [SVM
 10 18,3] and he kissed the man who was awfully leprous, and he was soon healed.
 [SDT 14,1-2] And a ship was sinking on the sea because of a big storm; then
 one of the sailors called the name of St Martin and asked him for help. Then the
 storm abated soon, and the sea was calm again, and they returned unharmed to
 a harbour.

4 SVM 3,1-3] Quodam itaque tempore, cum iam nihil praeter arma et simplicem militiae uestem haberet, media hieme quae solito asperior inhorruerat, adeo ut plerosque uis algoris extingueret, obuuium habet in porta Ambianensium ciuitatis pauperem nudum. Qui cum praetereuntes ut sui miserentur oraret omnesque miserum praeterirent, intellexit uir Deo plenus sibi illum, aliis misericordiam non praestantibus, reseruari. 2. Quid tamen ageret? Nihil praeter chlamydem, qua indutus erat, habebat: iam enim reliqua in opus simile consumpserat. Arrepto itaque ferro quo accinctus erat, mediam diuidit partemque eius pauperi tribuit, reliqua rursus induitur. Interea de circumstantibus ridere nonnulli, quia deformis esse truncatus habitu uideretur; multi tamen, quibus erat mens sanior, altius gemere, quod nihil simile fecissent, cum utique plus habentes uestire pauperem sine sua nuditate potuissent. 3. Nocte igitur insecta, cum se sopori dedisset, uidit Christum chlamydis suae, qua pauperem texerat, parte uestitum. Intueri diligentissime Dominum uestemque, quam dederat, iubetur agnoscere. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem audit Iesum clara uoce dicentem: Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me ueste contextit.

8-9 SDS 4,3] Quod uerum esse, uel ex his quae conperta nobis sunt nec latere potuerunt, possumus aestimare, siquidem ante episcopatum duos mortuos uitae restituerit, quod liber tuus plenius est locutus, in episcopatu uero, quod praetermissis te miror, unum tantummodo suscitavit. Cuius rei ego testis sum, si tamen nihil de idoneo teste dubitatis. Id ipsum autem uobis, qualiter gestum sit, explicabo.

9-10 SVM 18,3] Apud Parisios uero, dum portam ciuitatis illius magnis secum turbis euntibus introiret, leprosum miserabili facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est atque benedixit. Statimque omni malo emundatus [...].

11 SDT 14,1-2] Sed plane, ut experti sumus, inminutam ad tempus gratiam multiplicata mercede reparauit. Vidi postea ad pseudoforum monasterii ipsius adductum energumenum, et prius quam limen adtingeret, fuisse curatum. Testantem quendam nuper audiui, cum in Tyrrheno mari cursu illo, quo Romam tenditur, nauigaret, subito turbinibus exortis extremum uitae omnium fuisse discrimen. 2. In quo cum quidam Aegyptius negotiator necdum Christianus magna uoce clamauerit «Deus Martini eripe nos», mox tempestatem fuisse sedatam, seque optatum cursum cum summa placati aequoris quiete tenuisse.

The Anonymous

Homily for Martinmas

Manuscripts

- C : Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXVII, fols. 95r - 101r, s. x², Ker *Catalogue* no. 394 (item 20), Gneuss *Handlist* no. 941, ed. Scragg.
- D : Princeton, Princeton University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection MS 71, fols. 127r - 135v, s. x/xi., Ker *Catalogue* no. 382, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 905.
- E : Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86, fols. 62r - 81r, s. xi med., Ker *Catalogue* no. 336, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 642 (base text of this edition).

Editorial Note

The margins of the folios following fol. 72r are damaged, therefore, the text is defective; additions have been made in these instances in accordance with MS D. The text after fol. 80r is legible thanks to the retouching of a later hand/corrector.

The homily has previously been edited from MS C in Scragg (1992), Peterson (1951), and Szarmach (1981), and from MS D in Morris (1874-80, repr. 1967), Hamilton (1979), and Kelly (2003). References to these editions give page and line numbers. This is the first edition of the homily's text in MS E.

Language

There is no study of the manuscript's language,³⁰ but diPaolo Healey (1978) studied the language of the *Vision of St Paul* in the manuscript, and her linguistic data is valid for the other items as well. The text shows mainly WS forms. It is clear from this that the tironian nota – unfortunately there is not a single spelled out *and* or *ond* to settle the case – stands for *and*. Where WS and Kt. show *a*, Angl. would show *o* (GrSB § 79), for example, *man* (l. 4), *mannes* (l. 27), *andweardnesse* (l. 3), *ándweard* (l. 102), *hándan* (l. 126), to name a few. However, some extraordinary forms of *o* before nasals do appear in our text, for example *ondlyfan* (l. 34).

Phonology: The text shows *e* through i-Umlaut of *æ* (GrW § 55), e.g. *secgan* (l. 1), where Nh. would be *sæcgan* (GrC § 766), and WS *æ* where Angl. and Kt. would show *ē* (GrW § 188), e.g. *dǣdum* (l. 4), and WS *ea* from WG *au* where Angl. (through Angl. smoothing) would show *ē* (GrSB § 119), e.g. *fleah* (l. 15), and *eac* (l. 82), as well as WS *y* where non-WS would show *i* (GrSB § 22 Anm. 2 / GrC § 318), e.g. *cyricean* (l. 15). Where after palatal diphthongization WS would show *ea*, the text once has *æ* in *gær* (l. 20); perhaps it is smoothed (IWS smoothing (GrC § 312)), which would, however, rather produce *gēr* (cf. GrC § 185). *i* rounded to *y* is typical for IWS (GrSB § 116), e.g. *hwylcum* (l. 1), though it also appears unrounded in *hwilcum* (l. 69). *yl dran* (l. 7) is typical for IWS (GrC § 301). *eo* from WG *e* before *l+cons.*, or *r+cons.* is typical for IWS, as in *sceolde* (l. 9), or *mildhéortnesse* (l. 99). Late WS *eo* in *sceolde* (which is never Nh. or Mc.) appears next to eWS *scolde*. (GrSB § 92 Anm. 6). Another typical IWS form is *syllan* (l. 58) (GrSB § 124). The mutation of *morgen* to *mergen* is typical for IWS (and Nh.) (GrC § 192 n. 6), though here it appears as *mærgendæge* / *mergendæges* (ll. 36 / 38). Gmc. *a* before /x/ is broken in WS and Kt. to *ea* (GrSB § 86), e.g. *meahte* (l. 170). Moreover, syncopation of an unaccented vowel before *r* or *l* is typical for IWS, cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5a), as in *bismrodan*, l. 55, or *ængla* (l. 64, Lat. *angelus*), Hamilton: 3 (5b), or *deoflum* (l. 144). *y* (or *i*) following a palatal is also typical for IWS, cf. Hamilton: 3, as in *gescyldode*, l. 166.

Inflectional Morphology: The pronouns show WS forms generally, and specifically the typical WS form *hie* (l. 28, GrSB 130.3). The suffix in *lufode* is WS rather than Angl. or Kt. (Sauer and Waxensberger (2012: 9 (4))). The past form of *slēpan* is always weak (*slepte*) in Angl., whereas our text shows a strong declension once (GrSB § 395 2. Anm. 2) in *slēp* ('he slept', l. 60).

³⁰Gneuss and Lapidge (2014) do not list a single study on the manuscript's language in their bibliographical handlist.

Vocabulary: The occurrence of *óferhýdig* (l. 74) points to a non-WS origin.³¹ However, where Engl. would prefer *bebygan* (Sauer and Waxensberger (2013: 11.4 (3)) our text has *sellan* (l. 32), and since all three MSS show *sellan/syllan*, this could point to a WS origin of the archetype.

³¹Sauer and Waxenberger (2012: 354). Cf. Hofstetter's (1987) study of the Winchester language, and the list of words in Sauer and Waxenberger (2012: 357). It is also a non-Winchester word.

TEXT

[n.s.] **HER** we magon hwylcum hwega wórdum secgan . be ðære árwyrdan gebýrda . *and* be þam halgan lífe *and* forðfore ðæs éadigan weres . *sanctus* martínus . ðe we nú on andweardnesse his tíð wyrðiað . *and* mársiað . wæs ðæt gode swiðe gecóren man on his dáedum .

5 [SVM 2,1] he wæs on pannania ðære mægðe árest on wyrolde gecumen . in arrea ðam túne . wæs he hwáðere in italia aféded . in ticinam ðære byrig [.] wæs he for wyrolde swiðe góðra gebyrda *and* æðelra . wáron his ylðran hwæðere . | 62v
 10 *fáeder and moder* butu haðene . [SVM 2,2] wæs his fador árest cyninges ðegen . *and* ða atnihan geðáh þæt he wæs cyninges ðægna éaldorman . ða sceolde he *sanctus* martínus nýde béon on his géogodháde on ðære geferráedene árest on constantínes dágum . *and* þa eft on iuliam ðæs káseres . nalás þæt he his willum on ðam wyroldfolgoðe wære . Ac he sóne on his geogode godes ðewdóm micle swiðor lúfode ðanne ða idlan dréamas ðisse wýrolde .

[SVM 2,3] þa he wæs .x. wíntre . *and* hine his ylðran to woruldfolgoðe | 63r
 15 tyhton . *and* lárdon . ða fleah he to godes cyricean . *and* bæd þæt hine man gecristnode . þæt se áresta dæl his on onginnes . *and* lífes wáron to geléafan gecyrred . *and* to fulwihte . [SVM 2,4] *and* he ða sóna mid ealle his lífe ymbe

1 **HER**] *The h is slightly decorated, in a red ink; C titled DE SANCTO MARTINO CONFESORE; D titled TO SANCTE MARTINES MÆSSAN.* 1-2 be ðære árwyrdan gebýrda] *C* be þære arwyrdnesse þysse halgan tide . *and* be þære arwyrdan gebyrde 3 *and* mársiað] *D om.* 4 dáedum] *C* þeawum 6 ticinam] *C om.* 7 ylðran hwæðere] *C om.* 9 cyninges ðægna éaldorman] *C* tribunus þæt is ealdorman cyninges þegna 13 idlan dréamas] *C* dreamas *and* þa welan; *D* idlan þreas 14 .x.] *D* tyn 17 mid] *C* nú on 17 ymbe] *C* on

1 hwylcum hwega] Lit. 'which-somewhat' or 'some-somewhat' (see BT s.v. *hwilc* and s.v. *hwega*, cf. s.v. *hwæt-hwega*); Morris translates 'some few', Kelly 'brief few', Hamilton 'a few'; BT does not support a translation with 'few'. 3 ðe] Hamilton (51,3) suggests that the particle serving as a relative pronoun should be translated with 'whose' rather than with 'which' (as Morris translates), since it refers to *martines* rather than to *life and forðfore*; though I agree with Hamilton, 'whose' does not make sense for the sentence.

4 gode] Hamilton (51,4) emends to *he Gode*, arguing that *gode* means 'God' rather than 'good', thus suggesting the Blickling copyist misread *good*.

7 wáron] Hamilton (51,7-8) comments that the OE text "implies that Martin's parents were heathen despite their nobility" where the Latin source "gives no such implication." But, as Szarmach (1981) notes, Hoare (1954) and Fontaine (1967) have already "construed *gentilibus* to refer to religion, not social class." The OE translator followed the Latin closely, which has "*gentilibus tamen*", lit. 'yet heathen', cf. BT s.v. *hwæðre* which is glossed 'yet, nevertheless, however'. Morrison translated 'yet' which correspond to BT and which is a proper translation if considering the temporal connotation of 'yet', anticipating Martin's mother's conversion.

[n.s.] Here we may say some words about the honorable birth and about the holy life and death of the blessed man St Martin, whom we now commemorate and celebrate at the presence of his time. He was very dear to God for his deeds.

5 [SVM 2,1] He first came into the world in the land of Pannonia, in the town of Sabaria. He was, however, raised in Italy, in the city of Ticino. Worldly, he was of very good and noble birth; his parents, however, father and mother, were but heathens. [SVM 2,2] His father was first the king's soldier, and at next thrived so that he became a commander of the king's soldiers. Then, he, 10 St Martin, was compelled in his youth to be among the king's fellowship, first in the days of Constantine, and afterwards in those of the emperor Julian. Not less against his will he was in that worldly service; but soon in his youth he much more loved the service of God than the idle joys of this world.

[SVM 2,3] When he was ten winters [old], and his parents intended him 15 for worldly service and instructed him thus, then he fled to God's church, and entreated to be christened, that the first part of his undertaking and of his life might be turned towards belief and to baptism. [SVM 2,4] And soon his whole

5 SVM 2,1] Igitur Martinus Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit, sed intra Italiam Ticini altus est, parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen. 8 SVM 2,2] Pater eius miles primum, post tribunus militum fuit. Ipse, armatam militiam in adulescentia secutus, inter scholares alas sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesare militavit; non tamen sponte, quia a primis fere annis diuinam potius seruitutem sacra inlustris pueri spirauit infantia. 14 SVM 2,3] Nam cum esset annorum decem, inuitis parentibus ad ecclesiam confugit seque catechumenum fieri postulauit. 17 SVM 2,4] Mox mirum in modum totus in Dei opere conuersus, cum esset annorum duodecim, eremum concupiuit, fecissetque uotis satis, si aetatis infirmitas non fuisset impedimento. Animus tamen, aut circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus, meditabatur adhuc in aetate puerili quod postea deuotus inpleuit.

8 *cyninges*] The OE text has *cyninges* to refer to the emperor because SVM has *rege* ('rex', i.e. "king"), which is not derogatory, however; cf. above, p. 149.

10 *geferrædene*] ... or *geferræddenne* (C) translates *scholares* in SVM, a mounted elite unit, cf. above p. 9, and Huber-Rebenich (2010: 77 n. 23).

11 *káseres*] Cf. OED s.v. *kaser* (first attested c. 888 AD), and obsolete in PDE;

the OED derives the modern *Kaiser* from ME *caisere* (first attested c. 1160 AD), see also MED s.v. *casere* and DOE s.v. *casere*. 12 *wyroldfolgoðe*] I.e. 'military (lit. 'secular') service', see. BT s.v. *folgop* II. 12 *sóne*] Hamilton (52,12) underlines the "force" of *sóne* (*sona* in D); for him the phrase must be read as "from the earliest period of his youth", which would, however, not be a close translation.

- godes ðeowdom abisgod wæs . [SVM 2,5] ða hé wæs fifténe wíntre ða nyddan
hine his ylðran to ðan þæt he scéolde woroldlicum wæpnum onfón . *and* on
20 cyninges ðegna geféredena béon . [SVM 2,6] ða wáron .iii. gær ár his fulwihte .
þæt he wyrold wæpna . wæg . *and* he hine hwæðere wiþ eallum ðam healicum
wæpnum | geheold ða ðe woruldmen fremmað on mænniſscum ðingum . 63v
- [SVM 2,7] he háfde micle lúfan . *and* ealle wærnesse to álcum mæn . *and*
he wæs geðyldig . *and* éadmód . *and* gemetfæst . on eallum his lífe . *and* ðeah
25 ðe he ða gét on lárwedumháde beon scolde hwæðere he to ðæs forwyrnednesse
háfde . on eallum ðingum . þæt he éfne munuclífe gýt swiðor lífde þanne
lárweddes mannes . wæs he for his árfestum dáðdum eallum his geféran léof .
and wyrð . *and* andresne . *and* hie hine ealle synderlice mid lúfan wýrðedan .
[SVM 2,8] *and* ðeah ðe | he ða gýt nære fulllice æfter oþenre ændebyrdnesse 64r
30 gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ár sáde . hwæðere he þæt geréne ðare
halgan fulwihte mid godum dáðdum geheold . *and* fullode . he wolde ðam
winnendum gefultumien . *and* éarmre fréfrían . *and* híngrendum mete sellan .
and nacode scrydan . *and* eall þæt he on his folgoðe begéat eal he þæt for gódes
lufan gedáelde . nemne ðáne dæg hwamlican ondlyfan anne . ðe he néde biglyfian
35 sceolde . gemunde he þæt drihten . bebéad on his godspelle | De crastino non 64v
cogitáre . ðæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæge ðæncean . ðylás þæt
wære þæt he ðurh ænig ðára góða forylde þæt he þanne ði dáge gedón méahte .
and ðanne wéninga hwæðer he eft ðæs meregendæges gebídan moste .
- [n.s.] magon we ðara árfæstra dáða sume gehéran secgan . ðe he ðés eadiga
40 wer . *sanctus* martínus . sóna on his cnihtháde gedyde . ðeah ðe he his ðara
góðra dáða má wære . ðanne áenig man asecgan máge .

18 abisgod] Cgecyrrd 18 fifténe] Cxv. 19 woroldlicum] Com. 20 .iii.] Cþreo; D fewer 22 wæpnum] Csynnum 22 mænniſscum ðingum] Cmissenlicum þingum 23 wærnesse] swetnesse 24 on eallum his lífe] Con eallum þingum on eallum his lífe 25 forwyrnednesse] Cforhæfdnesse; D wærnesse 27 lárweddes mannes] Csume gehadode men 29 nære] MS wære (*sic!*); C ne wære; D nære 29 oþenre] Ccierican 31 fullode] Clufade 33–34 for gódes lufan] Cfor gode 34 gedáelde] CD sealde 35 his] D þæm 38 ðanne] C in 39 magon] C M[en þa leofestan] magon 39 gehéran] Com.

20 .iii.] SVM reports that the incident was three years before Martin’s baptism (*Triennium fere ante baptismum in armis fuit*). Szarmach (1981: 63,18) suggests that D reads *fewer* (“four”) because of a misreading of minims, i.e. the copyist misread the Roman numeral in his source. 22 mænniſscum ðingum] SVM has *vitia*; Huber-Rebenich (2010: 78 n. 34) remarks that here it denotes immaculacy from vices

related to warfare rather than gluttony. Hamilton (54,22) praises Severus’ ingenuity in enhancing Martin’s “holiness in a military context”. 41 ðe he ðés ... máge] Hamilton (1979: 55,41) notes that C, D and E are notably different in this passage, and that D offers the clearest phrasing. See the appendix on p. 406.

life was engaged in God's service. [SVM 2,5] When he was fifteen winters [old], his parents compelled him to take to worldly arms and to be among the king's
 20 fellowship. [SVM 2,6] It was three years before his baptism that he bore worldly arms, and he nevertheless abstained from all those distinguished weapons which are of use for worldly men in human affairs.

[SVM 2,7] He had much love and was very considerate to everybody, and he was very patient, humble, and moderate in all his life. And though he was
 25 yet compelled to lead a lay life, he nevertheless had such circumspection in all things that he even lived the life of a monk much rather than that of a layman. For his kind deeds he was dear to all his fellows, and honoured, and respected; and they all privately honoured him with love. [SVM 2,8] And though he was yet not fully baptized according to subsequent ordinances, but was (only)
 30 christened, as I said earlier, nevertheless he kept and fulfilled the sacrament of holy baptism by good deeds. He would aid the struggling, comfort the poor, give meat to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and everything that he obtained through his service he shared for love of God, except for the daily bread alone which he needed to live. He was mindful of what the Lord commanded in his
 35 Gospel, *de crastino non cogitare*, that a man of God should not think about tomorrow, lest it happen that he thereby should put off any of the good deeds that he might do on that day, and then perhaps nevertheless he again must abide the day after.

[n.s.] May we hear of some of the merciful deeds which he, this blessed
 40 man, St Martin, performed early in his youth, though of those good deeds there were more than any man might relate.

18 SVM 2,5] Sed cum edictum esset a regibus ut ueteranorum filii ad militiam scriberentur, prodente patre qui felicibus eius actibus inuidebat, cum esset annorum quindecim, captus et cate-natus sacramentis militaribus implicatus est, uno tantum seruo comite contentus, cui tamen uersa uice dominus seruebat, adeo ut plerumque ei et calciamenta ipse detraheret et ipse detergeret, cibum una caperent, hic tamen saepius ministraret. 20 SVM 2,6] Triennium fere ante bap-tismum in armis fuit, integer tamen ab his uitiis quibus illud hominum genus implicari solet. 23 SVM 2,7] Multa illius circa commilitones benignitas, mira caritas, patientia uero atque hu-militas ultra humanum modum. Nam frugalitatem in eo laudari non est necesse, qua ita usus est, ut iam illo tempore non miles, sed monachus putaretur. Pro quibus rebus ita sibi omnes commilitones deuinxerat ut eum miro adfectu uenerarentur. 28 SVM 2,8] Necdum tamen regeneratus in Christo, agebat quendam bonis operibus baptismi candidatum: adsistere scilicet laborantibus, opem ferre miseris, alere egentes, uestire nudos, nihil sibi ex militiae stipendiis praeter cotidianum uictum reseruare. Iam tum euangelii non surdus auditor de crastino non cogitabat.

[SVM 3,1] þæt gelamp sume siðe . þæt he gefyrde mid oðrum cyninges
 ðegenum on ða | burh ðe ambinensus hatte . wæs on middum wintre . *and* wæs 65r
 se wintre ðy gære to ðæs grim þæt efne manig man his fyrh for cyle geséalde.
 45 ðá sáet ðær sum ðearfa æt ðam burhgæte sæt éac nacod bæd him ða for gode his
 hrægles on ælmessan . ða fýrdon hie ealle forð be him . *and* hyra nán him to
 gecyrran wólde . ne him ánige áre gedón . ða ongeat se godes wer . *sanctus*
martinus þæt drihten him ðone ðéarfan geheold . þæt he him miltsian sceolde
 ða ðara oðera manna him | nán árian wolde . [SVM 3,2] nyste ðeah hwæðere 65v
 50 hwæt he him dón sceolde . forðan ðe he naht elles náfde bútan his anfealdne
 gýrelan . Ac eall þæt he ma háfde . eall he þæt ár beforan on gelíc wyrc ateah .
and for gode geséalde . geteah ða his sex . *and* genam his sciccels ðe he him
 onháfde . *and* tosnað ða hine . on twá . *and* ða healf geséalde ðam ðearfan .
and mid héalfe hine besweop . ða wáron manige men . ðe þæt gesáwon . *and*
 55 hie hine on ðan tældon . *and* bismrodan . þæt he his swa an|féaldne gýrelan 66r
 tosníðan scéolde . sume ðanne eft ða ðe beteran módes wáron . *and* ánige
 lufan to gode háfdan . hie sélfe be þan ongáeton þæt hie swa ne dydan . *and*
 wistan þæt hie mete háfdon . þæt hie æghwæðer ge ðam ðéarfan hrægel syllan
 mihtan . ge éac heom selfum genóh háfdon . [SVM 3,3] ða wæs sóna on ðære
 60 áfterfylgendan nihte . ða he se eadiga wer slép . ða geseah he críst sélfne . mid 66v
 ði ilcan hrægle . gegyrwydne . ðe he ár ðan þéarfan geséalde . | ða wæs him
 beboden gýrnlicor þæt he hine úrne drihten ongáete . *and* þæt hrægel ðe he
 ár ðam ðéarfan geséalde . Mox angelórum circumstántium multitudinem . ða
 geseah he mycele máenige ængla ymbe hine drihten stándan . *and* ða gehýrde he
 65 drihten sélfne mid swa cuðre stéfnne . *and* to þan ænglum cwæð . martínus nu
 ðu éart gecristnod ár his fulwihte . mid ðisum hrægle . ðu me gegýredest .

43 ambinensus] C ambinensis 44 efne] D om. 45 sæt éac nacod] C sæt ... wel neah ðon
and se nacoda 46 on ælmessan] D ond ælmessan 47-48 wer . *sanctus martinus*] C man
 48 ðéarfan] C þearfendan man 49 wolde] C D ne wolde 49 ðeah] C þa 50 naht]
 C nowiht 52 ða] D þeah 54 hine besweop] C hine eft besweop; D hine sylfne besweop
 57 be] C on 57 ongáeton] C D oncuðon 58 mete] C má; D mare 59 éac] C hwæðre;
 D hweþre 63 Mox] *The M's legs are rounded; the letter is decorated with two brown dots inside*
its legs 64 máenige ængla] C engla weorod; D mengeo engla 64 hine] C þane 65 cuðre]
 C switolre 66 ðu éart] C iu cwæð þus 66 his] D þinum

63 Mox ... multitudinem] From SVM; lit. 'Soon to a surrounding multitude of angels...?'

[SVM 3,1] It happened at some time that he went with other soldiers of the king to the city called Amiens. It was in midwinter, and the winter was so severe that year that many a man lost his life for the cold. Then there sat a
 45 pauper at the city's gate; he sat naked, and begged by God for himself garments as alms. Then they all went past him and none of them would turn towards him, nor do him any favour. Then the man of God, St Martin, perceived that the Lord had reserved the pauper for him, that he should take pity upon him, since of the other men none would show mercy to him. [SVM 3,2] He did
 50 not know, however, what he should do for him, because he [had] nothing else but his one single garment; all which he previously had more of, all that he had disposed of earlier in a similar deed, and had given it away for God's sake. Then he drew his sword, and took his cloak which he had on, and cut it in two and gave the one half to the pauper, and with the other half clothed himself.
 55 There were many men who saw that and insulted and mocked him for thus cutting his single garment. Some again, who were of a better disposition and had some love to God, chided themselves for not doing so, and knew that they had more, both to give garment to the pauper, and also to have enough for themselves. [SVM 3,3] Soon after on the following night it was, when he, the
 60 blessed man, slept, that he saw Christ himself, clothed with the same garment which he had given the pauper before. Then he was earnestly commanded that he would behold our Lord and the garment which he had given to the pauper before. *Mox angelorum circumstantium multitudinem.* Then he saw a great many angels standing around him. And then he heard the Lord himself, with
 65 such a clear voice, saying to the angels, 'Martin, now you are christened before your baptism; with this garment you clothed me.'

42 SVM 3,1] Quodam itaque tempore, cum iam nihil praeter arma et simplicem militiae uestem haberet, media hieme quae solito asperior inhorruerat, adeo ut plerosque uis algoris extingueret, obuium habet in porta Ambianensium ciuitatis pauperem nudum. Qui cum praetereuntes ut sui miserentur oraret omnesque miserum praeterirent, intellexit uir Deo plenus sibi illum, aliis misericordiam non praestantibus, reseruari. 49 SVM 3,2] Quid tamen ageret? Nihil praeter chlamydem, qua indutus erat, habebat: iam enim reliqua in opus simile consumpserat. Arrepto itaque ferro quo accinctus erat, mediam diuidit partemque eius pauperi tribuit, reliqua rursus induitur. Interea de circumstantibus ridere nonnulli, quia deformis esse truncatus habitu uideretur; multi tamen, quibus erat mens sanior, altius gemere, quod nihil simile fecissent, cum utique plus habentes uestire pauperem sine sua nuditate potuissent. 59 SVM 3,3] Nocte igitur insecuta, cum se sopori dedisset, uidit Christum chlamydis suae, qua pauperem texerat, parte uestitum. Intueri diligentissime Dominum uestemque, quam dederat, iubetur agnoscere. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem audit Iesum clara uoce dicentem: Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me ueste contextit.

[SVM 3,4] wæs on ðære dæde swiðe cuð . þæt ure drihten is swiðe gemýndig
 67r ðæs his cwi|des ðe he selfa éar cwæð . Quamdiu fecisti . Swa hwæt swa ge
 hwilcum earmúm to góde ge doð . for minum naman efne ge ðæt me selfum
 70 ge doð . and he ða wolde ðane cwide getryman on ðære godcundan dáda and
 hine selfne to ðan geeaðmedde þæt he hine on ðæs déarfán gyrelan ætéowde
 ðam éadigan were . sancte martíne . [SVM 3,5] Quo uisv uír non in gloriam
 elátus est . Pa he se eadyga martínus . ða gesihþe geseah ða næs he naht swiðe on
 67v óferhýdig ahafen . on mennisc . wúndor . ac he godes gód on ðære | his dæda
 75 ongæt . [SVM 3,6] ða he ða háfde twam læs twéntig wíntra . ða gefullode hine
 man . on ðære cyrican éndebyrdnesse . and wæs he beforan éar ðam .iii. gær .
 gecrístnod swa ic éar sáede .

[SVM 5,1] ða forlet he ealne ðane wyroldfolgoð ænne . and ða gewát he
 to sancte hilárie ðam bysceope . ðe in pictáue ðære býrig wæs bysceop . and
 80 wæs þæt swiðe foremáre . man for gode . se bysceop . and his gód wæs swiðe
 gecýðeð . and he ða ðisne ýdigan wer fulfrémedlice on godes á . and on godes
 68r ðéowdom | getýde . and gelærde . [s.u.] eac ðan ða hine god sélfne innan
 gemanode . wæs he swiðe geðungen on his ðéawum . and stadolfæst . on
 his wordum . and hluttur . and cláne on his lífe . and he wæs árfæst . and
 85 gemétfæst . and mildhyrt on his dædum . and geornful . and be gewyrhtum .
 ymbe drihtnes láre . and on eallum góðum . for gode fulfrémede .

67 cuð] C sweotol 68 Swa] *The capital S is decorated with two dots inside the arms in brown ink.* 69 earmúm] *So in MS* 70 ge] *ge is a scribal correction* 70 getryman] C gefyllan
 70 godcundan] C godan 71 hine] C wolde 71 ætéowde] C ætywan 72 sancte] *Note the unusual abbreviation, usually it is s̄ce. Here it is st̄e* 72 Quo] *The Q is decorated with a brown-ink dot inside.* 73 Pa] *The letter thorn is decorated with a brown-ink dot inside it.* 73 se eadyga martínus] C ða se eadiga wer *sanctus martinus*; D þa se eadiga wer *sanctus martinus* 73 naht swiðe] C hwæðre oht ofor þan; D noht feor 74 wúndor] C wuldore; D wuldor 75 ða] *The eth is decorated with a brown-ink dot inside it.* 76 on ðære] C æfter 76 .iii.] C D þreo
 79 hilárie] C ilario 79 pictáue] C pictauensis; D pictauie 80 for gode . se bysceop] C se bisceop; D for gode 82 eac] D toeacan 85–86 be gewyrhtum . ymbe] C bíwyrde in
 86 góðum] C þingum

68 Quamdiu fecisti] Lit. ‘Inasmuch as ye have done’, cf. the biblical passage in BS Mt 25,40.

72–73 Quo ... est] From SVM; lit. ‘After this vision the man was not puffed up with human glory/pride...’.

75 ond he þa wolde ... ongeat] Hamilton (58,74–81) notes that the OE homilist stretches the Latin text to serve the

“homiletic purpose”, which in Hamilton’s view highlights Martin’s humility and “slow[s] the story’s pace”.

82 s.u.] The source for the section is unclear; possibly the OE homilist drew material for this short description of Martin’s character from the respective sections in the vita, esp. SVM 25,2 / 25,5–6 / 26,2 / 27,1–2.

[SVM 3,4] By this deed it was very evident that our Lord is very mindful of that saying of his which he said before, '*quamdiu fecisti*', 'Whatever good [deed] you do to any any pauper in my name, even that you do to me.' And he would
 70 confirm the saying by that divine action; and he then humbled himself so as to show himself to the blessed man, St Martin, in the pauper's garment. [SVM 3,5] *Quo visu vir non in gloriam elatus est*. When the blessed Martin saw that sight, he was not greatly exalted in the pride of human glory, but he perceived in his deed the goodness of God. [SVM 3,6] When he had [completed] his
 75 eighteenth winter, he was baptized according to the ordinances of the church; and he had been christened three years before, as I said earlier.

[SVM 5,1] Then he left his worldly fellowship alone, and went to St Hilary, the bishop, who was bishop in the city of Poitiers, and who was a very illustrious man of God, the bishop, and his goodness was very renowned, and then
 80 he perfectly instructed and taught this blessed man in God's law and in God's service. [s.u.] Also, God himself admonished him inwardly; he was very excellent in his conduct, and steadfast in his words, and pure and clean in his life; and he was honest, and modest, and merciful in his deeds, and diligent, and in his works concerning the Lord's lore, and perfect in all good [things] for God.

67 SVM 3,4] Vere memor Dominus dictorum suorum, qui ante praedixerat: quamdiu fecistis uni ex minimis istis, mihi fecistis, se in paupere professus est fuisse uestitum; et ad confirmandum tam boni operis testimonium in eodem se habitu, quem pauper acceperat, est dignatus ostendere. 71-72 SVM 3,5] Quo uiso, uir beatissimus non in gloriam est elatus humanam, sed bonitatem Dei in suo opere cognoscens, cum esset annorum duodeuiginti, ad baptismum conuolauit. Nec tamen statim militiae renuntiauit, tribuni sui precibus euictus, cui contubernium familiare praestabat: etenim transacto tribunatus sui tempore renuntiatum se saeculo pollicebatur. 74 SVM 3,6] Qua Martinus expectatione suspensus per biennium fere posteaquam est baptismum consecutus solo licet nomine militauit. 77 SVM 5,1] Exinde, relicta militia, sanctum Hilarium Pictauae episcopum ciuitatis, cuius tunc in Dei rebus spectata et cognita fides habebatur, expetiit et aequandiu apud eum commoratus est.

[SVM 7,1] ða gelamp æfter ðan þæt se eadiga wer *sanctus* martínus . súm mynster getimbrede . *and* he on ðam mánigra godes ðeowa gástlic fáeder gewéarð [.] ða gelamp sume siþe þæt ðær | com sum ungecrístnod . man to him 68v
 90 þæt he wolde mid his láre . *and* mid his lífes bísene beon ingetimbred . ða ða he ðær wæs wel monige dagas . ða wearð he úntrum on féferadle . [SVM 7,2] ða gelámp on ða tíð . þæt *sanctus* martínus wæs on sumre fóre . ealle .iii. gár . ða he ða eft hám cóm . ða gemette he ðane man . fórdférendne . ðe ðær áer úntrum wæs . *and* hine éfne swa fárlice deað fornam . þæt he ungefullod 95 forðfére . ða he ða *sanctus* martínus . þæt geseah þæt ða oðre gebroðre ealle swa unróte wáran . ymbe þæt líc . ða weop he . *and* éode in to | him *and* 69r wæs him swiðe micle wyrce þæt he swa ungefullod fórdgeféran scéolde . [SVM 7,3] getrywde ðæhwæðere mid ealle móde . on ælmihtiges godes miht . *and* his mildhéortnesse . *and* éode on ða cýtan ðær se lichama inne wæs . *and* hét ða 100 oðre men út gárgan . *and* ða ða duru beléac æfter him . *and* he him ða gebæd . *and* astréahte ofer ða léoma ðæs aswóltonan mannes [.] ða he ða lánge hwile on ðan gebede wæs . ða ongæt he þæt ðær wæs godcundlic mágen ándweard . *and* he ðære mildheortnesse únforht | onbád . ða wæs ýmbe hwíle ða gefélde 69v he þæt se deada man his léoma . ealle astyroðan . *and* his éagan up ahóf . *and* 105 fórdlócode .

[SVM 7,4] ða he ða *sanctus* martinus . ðæt geseah ða wæs he swiðe geféonde . *and* ða clýpode he hlúdre stéfn . *and* ealmihtigum gode ðære gife ðanc sáede . Þa ðæt ða oðre broðran . gehýrdan ðe ðær úte wáron ða éodon hie ín to him .

87 se] C þes 89 ungecrístnod] CD gecristnod 90 ingetimbred] CD ontimbred 91 féferadle] C weforáðle 92–93 .iii. gár] C dogor; D þry dagas 95 forðfére] C forðgewát 96 wáran] C leton; D om. 96 in] C om. 97 wæs him] D him wæs þæt 99 on ða cýtan] C he ða hwæðre In þæt hus 99 wæs] C læg 101 aswóltonan] D deadan 102 godcundlic] C godcund 103 ðære mildheortnesse] C þara dryhtnes mildheortnesse 103 únforht] C unforhtlice; D unsorh 103–104 gefélde he] *The text in C breaks off after these words because of a missing folio; continues below, see E's l. 1504* 107 hlúdre stéfn] D hlude mid mycelre stefne 108 Ða] *The capital thorn is decorated with a brown-ink dot inside it*

87–88 súm mynster] Martin built the monastery at Logociacum, today Ligugé, France. Huber-Rebenich (2010: 81 n. 59) notes that this represented the first community of cenobitic monasticism in western Christendom, an event which initiated a transition period from Christian hermitage towards monastic community. 89 ungecrístnod] E is wrong here; in C

and D the man who joins Martin is christened, as reported in SVM.

92–93 .iii. gár] E is wrong here, C is unspecific. D is right (cf. SVM) in that Martin had been gone for three days.

103–104 gefélde he] In his edition of the text in C Scragg (p. 297) inserts the text from D to make up for the missing folio; Szarmach (p. 59) inserts the text from E.

85 [SVM 7,1] Afterwards it happened that this blessed man, St Martin, built a monastery, and there he was the spiritual father of many servants of God. Then it happened at some time that there came an unchristened man to him, who wished to be instructed by his lore and by his exemplary life. When he had been there for many days, he then fell ill with fever. [SVM 7,2] This happened
 90 at a time when St Martin was on a journey for three full days. When he came home again, he found the man dead who had previously been ill; and death had taken him away even so suddenly that he had died unbaptized. When St Martin saw that all the other brothers were so troubled, [standing] around the body, he wept and went in to him, and it affected him so very much that he should
 95 die so, unbaptized. [SVM 7,3] He trusted, nevertheless, with all his mind in the power of the almighty God, and in his mercy, and he went into the cell wherein the body was, and bid the other men go outside and lock the doors after them. And he then prayed and stretched himself over the limbs of the dead man. When he had been in prayer for a long while, then he perceived that
 100 there was a divine power present, and he fearlessly awaited the mercy [of God]. After a little while he felt that the dead man moved all his limbs, and lifted up his eyes and looked forth.

[SVM 7,4] When he, St Martin, saw that, then he was very glad, and cried in a loud voice, and said thanks to the almighty God for that grace. When the
 105 other brethren heard that, who were outside, then they went in to him; then

85 SVM 7,1] Cum iam Hilarius praeterisset, Pictauros eum est uestigiis persecutus; cumque ab eo gratissime fuisset exceptus, haut longe sibi ab oppido monasterium conlocavit. Quo tempore se ei quidam catechumenus iunxit, cupiens sanctissimi uiri institui disciplinis. Paucisque interpositis diebus, languore correptus ui febrim laborabat. 89 SVM 7,2] Ac tum Martinus forte discesserat. Et cum per triduum defuisset, regressus exanime corpus inuenit: ita subita mors fuerat, ut absque baptismo humanis rebus excederet. Corpus in medio positum tristi maerentium fratrum frequentabatur officio, cum Martinus flens et eiulans accurrit. 95 SVM 7,3] Tum uero, tota sanctum spiritum mente concipiens, egredi cellulam, in qua corpus iacebat, ceteros iubet, ac foribus obseratis super exanimata defuncti fratris membra prosternitur. Et cum aliquandiu orationi incubuisset sensissetque per spiritum Domini adesse uirtutem, erectus paululum et in defuncti ora defixus, orationis suae ac misericordiae Domini intrepidus expectabat euentum. Vixque duarum fere horarum spatium intercesserat, uidet defunctum paulatim membris omnibus commoueri et laxatis in usum uidendi palpitare luminibus. 103 SVM 7,4] Tum uero, magna ad Dominum uoce conuersus, gratias agens cellulam clamore compleuerat. Quo audito, qui pro foribus adstiterant statim inruunt. Mirum spectaculum, quod uidebant uiuere quem mortuum reliquissent.

- 110 ða gesáwon hie wúndorlice gewyrd ðane man lýfiende ðane hie áer déadne for-
 léton . [SVM 7,5] *and* hine man ða sóna gefullode . *and* he fela géara | æfter ðan 70r
 lífde . [SVM 7,7] wæs ðis ðærawundra árst ðe ðes eadiga wer ópenlice befóran
 oðrum mannum geworhte . *and* ða æfter ðisse dáde his nama wæs syððan á
 wyrð . *and* máre gewórden . *and* hine eall þæt folc haligne . *and* mihtigne
 ongátan on his dáedum .
 115 [n.s.] swylce éac eft gelamp oðer wúndor . ðisse anlicnesse . he fyrde
 sume siþe ðes eadiga wer to ánes mannes túne . ðe lupicinus wæs geháten . ða
 gehyrde he ðær on ðan túne mycelne héaf . *and* wóp . *and* mánige cléopodan 70v
 mid miclere stéfn . | [SVM 8,2] þa gestód he . *and* ácsode hwæt syo clypfung
 wáre . ða sáde him man þæt ðær wáre sum man éarmlice deaðe geswolten .
 120 þæt he hine selfne awyrgde . ða he ða *sanctus* martínus . ðæs mannes deað swa
 éarmlice gehýrde . ða wæs him þæt sóna swiðe sár . *and* on mycle wýrce . *and*
 ða eode on ða cýten . ðær se lichama inne læg . ðæs aswóltenan mannes . *and*
 het ða oðre mæn ealle út gangan . *and* ða duru betýnan *and* hine ðær ða on
 gebede astréahte . ða he ða hwile on ðon gebede wæs . [SVM 8,3] ða fáringe
 125 weard se déada man cwyc *and* eft forðlocode . *and* tylode to arísanne . | ða 71r
 genam *sanctus* martinus hine be his hándan . *and* up heah arérde . *and* hine
 gelædde forð to ðan cauertúne ðæs húses . *and* hine eft ðam mannum halne .
and gesúndne agéaf . ðe hie áer déadne forléton .
 130 [n.s.] ðas wundor . *and* manig oðer ælmihtig god ðurh ðysne éadigan wer
 gewrohte . ær ðanne he áfre wáre bysceop . ac syððan he ðan býsceopháde
 onféng . in turna ðære byrig [.] Nis ánig man þæt ða wundor eall asécge . ða
 ðe god syððan ðurh hine gewrohte .

110 gefullode] *D* gefulwade 111 ðæra] *MS* ðare (*sic!*) 112–113 á wyrð] *D* weorð 114 ongátan
 on his dáedum] *D* ongeat *ond* apostolicne on his dáedum 116 ánes] *D* sumes 117 wóp]
D wó 119 deaðe] *MS* deað 119 geswolten] *D* aswolten swa 122 aswóltenan] *D* deadan
 128 forléton] *D* leton 131 turna] *D* turnan 131 ánig] *D* nænig 131 asécge] *D* asecggan
 mæge 132 gewrohte] *D* worhte

111 SVM 7,7] The *Anonymous Homily*
 (in *D* and *E*; text in *C* is missing) omits the
 passage in SVM 7,6, which reports “The
 same man was wont to relate that, when he
 left the body, he was brought before the
 tribunal of the Judge, and being assigned to
 gloomy regions and vulgar crowds, he
 received a severe sentence. Then, however,
 he added, it was suggested by two angels of
 the Judge that he was the man for whom
 Martin was praying; and that, on this

account, he was ordered to be led back by
 the same angels, and given up to Martin,
 and restored to his former life.” (transl.
 Roberts).

111 ðæra] Szarmach (65,C6) emends *ðare*
 likewise.

119 deaðe] Szarmach emends likewise.

130 ðanne] Expansion in accordance
 with *MS D*; expanded likewise in
 Szarmach (ll. 20-1).

they saw the wonderful event – the man living whom before they had left dead. [SVM 7,5] And soon they baptized him, and he lived many years afterwards. [SVM 7,7] This was the first of wonders that this blessed man openly performed before other men. And after this deed his name became ever since honoured and
 110 renowned, and all the people perceived the holiness and power in his works.

[n.s.] There also happened another miracle like this afterwards. [SVM 8,1] At some time he, this blessed man, travelled to the town of a man who was called Lupicinus. Then he heard in that town great wailing and weeping, and many cried with a loud voice. [SVM 8,2] Then he stood and asked what the
 115 crying would be [about]. Then they told him that there a certain man had died a miserable death, that he had strangled himself. When he, St Martin, so miserably heard of this man's death, he was immediately very grievous, and in great pain, and then went into the cell where the body of this dead man lay; and then he bid all other men go out and close the doors, and he stretched himself
 120 [over the body] in prayer. And for a while he was in prayer; [SVM 8,3] then suddenly the dead man became alive, and looked forth again, and endeavoured to rise. Then St Martin took him by the hand, and raised him up, and led him forth to the hall of the house, and gave him back again whole and sound to those men who before had left him dead.

125 [n.s.] These wonders and many others the almighty God performed through this blessed man, before ever he became a bishop. But after that he received the bishopric in the city of Tours. There is no man who could recount all the miracles which God performed through him.

107 SVM 7,5] Ita redditus uitae, statim baptismum consecutus, plures postea uixit annos, primusque apud nos Martin uirtutum uel materia uel testimonium fuit. 108 SVM 7,7] Ab hoc primum tempore beati uiri nomen enituit, ut qui sanctus iam ab omnibus habebatur, potens etiam et uere apostolicus haberetur. 111 SVM 8,1] Nec multo post, dum agrum Lupicini cuiusdam, honorati secundum saeculum uiri, praeteriret, clamore et luctu turbae plangentis excipitur. 114 SVM 8,2] Ad quam cum sollicitus adstitisset et quis esset hic fletus inquireret, indicatur unum ex familia seruulum laqueo sibi uitam extorsisse. Quo cognito, cellulam, in qua corpus iacebat, ingreditur, exclusisque omnibus turbis superstratus corpori aliquantisper orauit. 120 SVM 8,3] Mox uiuescente uultu, marcentibus oculis in ora illius defunctus erigitur; lentoque conamine enisus adsurgere, adprehensa beati uiri dextera in pedes constitit, atque ita cum eo usque ad uestibulum domus, turba omni inspectante, processit. 125 n.s.] *Martin's election to bishop of Tours is narrated in SVM 9,1-7: Sub idem fere tempus, ad episcopatum Turonicae ecclesiae petebatur [...].*

[SVM 10,1] *and* ðeah ðe he ða máran háð háfde . *and* éac for wyrolde
 135 ríca béon scéolde . ðanne he áer wæs | [SVM 10,2] *hwæðere* he háfde ða ilcan 71v
 eadmodnesse . an his hýrtan *and* ða ilcan fórwýrnednesse on his lichaman .
 æghwæðer ge on mete ge on hrágle . ge on æghwilcum ðing éfne swa he áer
 háfde . *and* he his byscephád swa gedéfelice geheold . for gode . swa he
 hwæðer næfre þæt mágen . *and* ða foresetenesse his munuchádes ánneforlét .
 [s.u.] *Omnes namque unanimiter cupiebant . and ealle men* ða ðe feor ge néah
 140 ðyses éadigan weres lif cuðan oððe gehýrdan . ealle hie þæt ánmóðlice wilnodan 72r
 þæt hi | his word geheran mostan . *and* his larum gelyfan . for ðan hie swutolice
 on him ongáton godes lufe *and* his blisse . [SVM 13,9] wæs he forðan swiðe
 máere geond middangéard . *and* he manig templ . *and* deofolgeld tobrác *and*
 gefelde ðæt hæðne men áer deoflum onguldun . *and* ðanne ðær he þæt deofolgyld
 145 gefelde . ðanne asette he ðær godes cyricean . oððe fullice mynster getimbrede .

[SVM 14,1] þæt gelamp sume siðe þæt he ongán báernan sum déofolgyld
 þæt mid hæðenum mannum swiðe wyrð . *and* máere | wæs . Pa stóð ðær sum 72v
 nytwyrð hús be ðan gelde ðe he ðær báernan ongan . ða sloh se wind ðane légt
 150 on þæt oðer hús . *and* him ðuhte þæt hit eall forbýrnan scolde . [SVM 14,2] ða
 he ða *sanctus martinus* þæt geseah ða arn he sóna up on þæt hús . *and* ða gestóð
 ongæn ðam légte . ða gelamp wúndorlic gewýrd þæt se légt ongán slean . *and*
 breacan ongæn ðane wind . *and* éfne swa se wind swiðor slóh on ðane légt . swa
 brác he swiðor ongæn ðam wínde . *and* éfne on ða gelícnesse swa ða gescáfta
 155 twá be heom twýonum gefyhton | sceoldan . *and* swa se légt wæs geðreatod 73r

134 wæs] *D* wære 134 *hwæðere*] *MS* ni wæðere; *the ni is in a different ink, apparently a later addition; according to Scragg, the hw was overwritten.* 136 mete] *MS* mee 138 næfre] *D* næfde 139 unanimiter] ‘presumed’ <ter> “written into spine” (*Szarmach* l. C27) 140 lif] *MS* has only l; *the full word was added by a corrector* 140 gehýrdan] *D* forehyrdon 141 gelyfan] *C* lufian; *D* fylgean 141–142 swutolice on him ongáton godes lufe *and* his blisse] *C* swa cuðe *and* godes gife on him wæs; *D* sweotollice on him ongeaton godes gife *and* his blisse 142 he] *C* his hlisa 143 middangéard] *C* ealne middangeard 143 tobrác] *CD* gebrác 144–146 ðæt hæðne ... getimbrede] *C* *and* he þonne þær asette godes cirican . oððe fullice þær mynster getimbrade 154 on ða gelícnesse swa] *D* þæm gelicost swylce 155 be heom twýonum] *C* *D* him betweenan

136 mete] Emended as in *Szarmach*.
 139 *Omnes ... cupiebant*] Lit. ‘And so all unanimously desired’; the quote’s origin is unknown.

143 middangéard] Lit. ‘middle-dwelling’, a common expression in OE for ‘the earth, world’ (BT s.v. *middan-geard* I.).

[SVM 10,1] And though he held this important office, and would also have
 130 possessed more worldly power, he nevertheless was then like [he had been]
 before; [SVM 10,2] nevertheless, he had the same humility in his heart, and the
 same abstinence regarding to his body, both in food and garments, and also in
 everything even which he had before. And he as fitly held his bishophood so
 as if he had never abandoned the virtue and prudence of his monkhood. [s.u.]
 135 *Omnes namque unanimiter cupiebant.* And almost all men who knew or heard
 of this blessed man's life, all unanimously wished that they might hear his words
 and believe in his lore, because they clearly perceived God's love and joy in him.
 [SVM 13,9] He was therefore very famous all over the earth, and he broke and
 140 felled many temples and idols where heathen men had made offerings to devils
 before. And then, where he destroyed idols, there he placed churches of God
 or fully built a monastery.

[SVM 14,1] It happened at some time that he began to burn an idol which
 among heathen men was very valuable and famous. There stood a useful house
 near the idol which he began to burn; then the wind drove the fire towards that
 145 other house, and it appeared to him that it would burn up completely. [SVM
 14,2] When he, St Martin, saw that, then he ran at once towards the house and
 stood against the fire. Then there happened a wonderful event – the fire struck
 and burst against the wind, and even as the wind struck heavily against the fire,
 so it heavily burst against the wind, and even in the likeness as if two creatures
 150 fight each other, and so the fire was oppressed by St Martin's prayers, so that it

129 SVM 10,1] Iam uero, sumpto episcopatu qualem se quantumque praestiterit, non est nos-
 trae facultatis euoluere. Idem enim constantissime perseuerabat qui prius fuerat. 131 SVM
 10,2] Eadem in corde eius humilitas, eadem in uestitu eius uilitas erat; atque ita, plenus auctori-
 tatis et gratiae, inplebat episcopi dignitatem, ut non tamen propositum monachi uirtutemque
 desereret. 138 SVM 13,9] Tum uero, in caelum clamore sublato, gentiles stupere miraculo,
 monachi flere prae gaudio, Christi nomen in commune ab omnibus praedicari; satisque constitit
 eo die salutem illi uenisse regioni. Nam nemo fere ex inmani illa multitudine gentilium fuit, qui
 non impositione manus desiderata Dominum Iesum, relicto impietatis errore, crediderit. Et uere
 ante Martinum pauci admodum, immo paene nulli in illis regionibus Christi nomen receper-
 ant. Quod adeo uirtutibus illius exemploque conualuit, ut iam ibi nullus locus sit qui non aut
 ecclesiis frequentissimis aut monasteriis sit repletus. Nam ubi fana destruxerat, statim ibi aut
 ecclesias aut monasteria construebat. 142 SVM 14,1] Nec minorem, sub idem fere tempus,
 eodem in opere uirtutem edidit. Nam cum, in uico quodam, fano antiquissimo et celeberrimo
 ignem inmisisset, in proximam, immo adhaerentem domum agente uento flammaram globi fere-
 bantur. 145–146 SVM 14,2] Quod ubi Martinus aduertit, rapido cursu tectum domus scandit,
 obuium se aduenientibus flammis inferens. Tum uero, mirum in modum, cernieres contra uim
 uenti ignem retorqueri, ut compugnantium inter se elementorum quidam conflictus uideretur.
 Ita uirtute Martini ibi tantum ignis est operatus, ubi iussus est.

ðurh *sancte* martínes gebyde . þæt he nánigum oðrum ár scaðian ne méahte . éfne ðam déofolgyldde ánum ðe he ðær bárnan ongan .

- [SVM 14,3] Swlyce gelamp eft oðer wundor ðysum gelíc . he com to sumen túne ðe libassa wæs geháten . ða wæs ðær sum geld ðe ða hæðenæn swiðe
 160 wyrðedan . ða wolde he *sanctus* martínus ælce ðinga þæt geld abrécan . *and*
 gefyllan . ða wiðstóðan him ða hæðenan mæn . *and* hine mid téonan on weg
 adrifon . [SVM 14,4] ða éode he ðærrihte big on sume stówe | *and* hine ða 73v
 gegyrede mid hárem hrægele swiðe hearde . *and* unwynsume . *and* gefáste .iii.
 dagas . *and* ælmihtigne . god gebæd . þæt he ðurh his godcundan gemiht .
 165 þæt déofolgyld gebráce. *and* gefelde . ða he hit for manna téonan gebrecan ne
 moste . [SVM 14,5] ða cóman ðær sáemninga .ii. ænglas to him gescyldode .
and gespýrode . *and* mid heregeatwum gegyrede éfne swylce hie to cámpe féran
 woldan . *and* cwædan þæt hie god self gesánde þæt hie sceoldan þæt hæðene
 werod geflýman . *and* martíne on fultume béon . | þæt he þæt déofolgyld 74r
 170 gebrecan meahte . *and* gefyllan . [SVM 14,6] ða eodan hie eft to ðan túne .
and þæt geld gebræcon á oð ðone grúnd . [SVM 14,7] *and* ða hæðenan men .
 tolócodan . ac hie hwæðere wáeron mid godcunde mægene gefyrhte . *and* hyra
 nán him wiðstandan ne dorste . ac hie ealle to drihtenes geléafan gecyrdon .
and hie cwædan to him . þæt se wære ána sóð god se ðe martinus gehýrde . *and*
 175 þæt hyra hæðengyld wáran ealle ídele . *and* unnytte *and* þæt hie na hwæðere ne
 heom selfum geðáncan ne meahtan . | ne ænies þara gehelpan ðe to him ænigre 74v
 are wilnodon .

156 ár scaðian ne méahte] C þingum ne derede 157 éfne] C butan; D buton 159 libassa] C libras 159 hæðenæn swiðe] C hæðenan men godgild heton *and* hie hine swiðe 163 unwynsume] C swiðe unwynsome 163 gefáste] *The e is a scribal correction* 163 .iii.] C þry; D þrý 166 .ii.] C D twegen 166 to] D om. 167 gespýrode] C gesweordode; D geswerdode 167 heregeatwum] D heora geatwum 168 self gesánde] C sylfa to him sende 169 on fultume béon] C gefultumian; D gefultmian 170 gebrecan meahte . *and* gefyllan] C gebræce *and* gefylde; D mihte gefyllan 171 á oð ðone grúnd] C *and* gefylðon áá oð grund; D *ond* gefylðan eal oþ grund 172 godcunde] MS codcunde *sic*; C þy godcundan 172 gefyrhte] C D to þæs swiðe gefyrhte 173 wiðstandan ne dorste] C wiðstandan meahte ne ne dorste 176 geðáncan] C gehelpan; D helpan 176 ænies] D nanum 176 ænigre] D om.

171 SVM 14,7] Cf. the discussion on the Latin source MS in Szarmach (l. 117-8).
 175 ídele . *and* unnytte] Note the occasional occurrence of alliterative pairs,

or passages resonant of classical Old English alliterative verse, until SVM 14,7; cf. Berger (1993) on binomials generally, and p. 101 for this particular pair.

would not be able to harm anything except the idol alone which he set about to burn there.

[SVM 14,3] There also happened afterwards another miracle like to this. He came to a town which was called Levroux; there was an idol which the
 155 heathen venerated greatly. Then he, St Martin, wished, at all events, to destroy and cast down the idol. The heathen men opposed him, and angrily drove him away. [SVM 14,4] Then he went straightway to a certain place, and clothed himself with haircloth, very hard and unpleasant, and fasted for three days, and bid the almighty God that he, by his divine power, should break and cast
 160 down that idol, since for the men's anger he was not able to destroy it. [SVM 14,5] Then there suddenly two angels came to him, with shield and spear, and provided with equipment, even as if they wished to go to war, and they said that God himself had sent them, that they should put to flight the heathen host, and be of help to Martin, that he might destroy and cast down that idol. [SVM
 165 14,6] Then they went afterwards to the town and razed the idol to the ground. [SVM 14,7] And then the heathen men watched, but they were, however, so terrified by the divine power, and none of them dared to oppose – but they all converted to the Lord's faith, and they said to him that there was one true God, the one whom Martin followed, and that their heathen idols were all vain and
 170 useless, and that they neither were able to reward themselves, nor help any of those who do honour to them.

153 SVM 14,3] In uico autem, cui Leprosum nomen est, cum itidem templum opulentissimum superstitione religionis uoluisset euertere, restitit ei multitudo gentilium, adeo ut non absque iniuria sit repulsus. 157 SVM 14,4] Itaque secessit ad proxima loca. Ibi per triduum cilicio tectus et cinere, ieiunans semper atque orans, precabatur ad Dominum, ut, quia templum illud euertere humana manus non potuisset, uirtus illud diuina dirueret. 160–161 SVM 14,5] Tum subito ei duo angeli hastati atque scutati instar militiae caelestis se obtulerunt, dicentes missos se a Domino ut rusticam multitudinem fugarent praesidiumque Martino ferrent, ne quis, dum templum dirueretur, obsisteret: rediret ergo et opus coeptum deuotus impleret. 164–165 SVM 14,6] Ita regressus ad uicum, spectantibus gentilium turbis et quiescentibus, dum profanam aedem usque ad fundamenta dirueret, aras omnes atque simulacra redegit in puluerem. 166 SVM 14,7] Quo uiso, rustici, cum se intellexerent diuino nutu obstupefactos adque perterritos ne episcopo repugnarent, omnes fere Iesum Dominum crediderunt, clamantes palam et confitentes Deum Martini colendum, idola autem neglegenda, quae sibi adesse non possent.

[SVM 15,1] swylce gelamp sume siðe þæt he sum gyld tobræc . þæt ðær
 gearn mycele mánego to him ðara hæðenra manna . *and* ealle wáeron swiðe
 180 yrre . ða wæs hyra sum hweðra *and* hátheortra ðanne ða oðre [...] gebræd ða
 his swyrde . *and* gemynte hine to sléanne . ða he ða *sanctus martinus* þæt
 geseah . ða dyde he sóna þæt hrægel ef his swyran *and* léat forð to ðam men .
 ðe hine sléan mynte [SVM 15,2] ða he ða se hæðena man uparéahte mid ðære
 swiðran hánd . *and* hine sléan mýnte . ða feol he fáringa on bæcling . *and*
 185 ne ahte his | lichaman nán gewéald ac he wæs mid godcunde mægne geðréad . 75r
and he him ða ðane éadigan wer forgyfenesse gebæd . [SVM 15,3] Swylce wæs
 eft oðer wundor ðæs ánlícnesse . þæt gelamp sume siðe ðær he sum deofolgeld
 tobræc . *and* gefylde . ða gebræd ðara hæðenra manna sum his séaxe ða he hine
 ða stíngan mynte . þa nyste he fáringa hwær þæt seax becóm . þæt he ðær on
 190 hánda háfde . [SVM 15,4] gelomlice þæt ðanne wæs þæt he ða hæðenan gyld
 gebræc . *and* him ða hæðenan men wiðerwéarde wáeron þæt hie ðurh his lare .
and ðurh his drihtnes | gife hyra hyortan to godes *geleafan* gecyrde . þæt hie 75v
 ætnyhstan selfe éac mid hyra hándum ða ídlan gyld gebræcan *and* gefyldan .
 [SVM 16,1] *and* to ðæs mihtig he ðanne wæs ælce untrumnesse to hælanne .
 195 *and* to ðæs mycel gyfe he ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt næs ánig to ðæs untrum ðe
 hine gesóhte þæt he sóna hálo ne begáte . [SVM 18,4] ge þæt oft á gelamp
 ðanne men hwilcne dæl his hrægles to untruman men gebrohte þæt he ðanne
 ðurh ðæt sóna wæs hál gewórden . [SVM 20,1] *and* ðæs he wæs þanne éalra
 swiðast | herianne þæt he náfre ne ænigum worldlicum mæn ne cyninge selfum 76r
 200 ðurh léase oláccunge swiðor onbúgan wolde . þanne hit riht wære . *and* éac he á

178 tobræc] Cgebræc; Dbræc 180 hweðra] CD reðra 182 men] MS has m̄ 184 swiðran] C om. 184 mýnte] C sceolde 185 nán] C om. 185 mægne] C egesan swiðe 187 ðæs ánlícnesse] C þyssum onlic; D þæm onlic 189 mynte] C wolde 189 ðær] CD ær 190 þæt] CD þær 190 hæðenan] CD idlan 191 hie] CD he 192 his] CD om. 192 *geleafan*] Szarmach; MS has ge/fan 193 ætnyhstan] C om. 193 gebræcan *and*] D om. 195 þæt næs ánig] C þætte ne wæs ænig man 196 begáte] CD onfenge 196 á] CD om. 197 men hwilcne dæl] C hwylc man 198 wæs] CD weard 198 *and* ðæs he wæs þanne] C In þyssum he þonne wæs 200 oláccunge] C olihtunge 200 wolde] D nolde

179 hæðenra manna] I.e. the Celtic tribe of the Aedui (or Haedui, or Hedui), who settled mainly in the area between the two rivers Loire and Saône (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 84 n. 96).

194 ælce untrumnesse to hælanne] Cf. BS 1 Cor 12.28-30, which addresses God's distribution of talents; the reference here

enhances Martin's divine gifts (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 84 n. 97).

200 oláccunge] In SVM the flattery refers to other present bishops; see p. 12 above on the issue of criticism towards contemporary bishops, and Huber-Rebenich (2010: 114).

[SVM 15,1] Likewise it happened at some time, when he destroyed an idol, that there ran upon him a great many of the heathen men, and all [of them] were much enraged; there was one of them [who was] fiercer and more furious
 175 than the others; he drew his sword and intended to slay him. When St Martin saw that, he forthwith put off his garment from his neck, and leaped forth to the man who intended to slay him. [SVM 15,2] When the heathen man raised up [his sword] with the right hand and intended to slay him, then suddenly he fell backwards, and had no command over his body, but was oppressed by
 180 divine power, and then he begged forgiveness of the blessed man. [SVM 15,3] There was also another miracle like this, which happened at some time when he destroyed and cast down an idol; then one of the heathen men drew his sword; then he intended to stab him; then suddenly he knew not what had become of the sword which he had had in his hand. [SVM 15,4] Frequently, when he was
 185 destroying heathen idols and the heathen men opposed him, [then] through his lore and through his Lord's grace he turned their hearts to God's faith, so that they at next with their [own] hands destroyed and cast down their vain idols.

[SVM 16,1] And he was so mighty as to heal every sickness, and had received so much of God's grace, that there was no one so sick [of those] who
 190 sought him, that he did not regain his health again. [SVM 18,4] It also often happened that when men brought parts of his garment to a sick man, that then he soon became whole. [SVM 20,1] And most of all is he to be praised for that he would never condescend to any worldly man, nor even to any king through false flattery, more than it would be right; and also always to every man he

172 SVM 15,1] Quid etiam in pago Aeduorum gestum sit referam. Vbi dum templum itidem euerteret, furens gentilium rusticorum in eum inruit multitudo. Cumque unus audacior ceteris stricto eum gladio peteret, rejecto pallio nudam ceruicem percussuro praebuit. 177 SVM 15,2] Nec cunctatus ferire gentilis, sed, cum dexteram altius extulisset, resupinus ruit, consternatusque diuino metu ueniam precabatur. 180 SVM 15,3] Nec dissimile huic fuit illud. Cum eum idola destruentem cultro quidam ferire uoluisset, in ipso ictu ferrum ei de manibus excussum non comparuit. 184 SVM 15,4] Plerumque autem contra dicentibus sibi rusticis, ne eorum fana destrueret, ita praedicatione sancta gentiles animos mitigabat ut, luce eis ueritatis ostensa, ipsi sua templa subuerterent. 188 SVM 16,1] Curationum uero tam potens in eo gratia erat, ut nullus fere ad eum aegrotus accesserit, qui non continuo receperit sanitatem. Quod uel ex consequenti liquebit exemplo. 190 SVM 18,4] postero die ad ecclesiam ueniens nitenti cute gratias pro sanitate, quam receperat, agebat. Nec praetereundum est quod fimbriae uestimento eius cilicioque detractae crebras super infirmantibus egere uirtutes. 5. Nam digitis inligatae aut collo inditae, persaepe ab aegrotantibus morbos fugauerunt. 192 SVM 20,1] Conuiuiae autem aderant, uelut ad diem festum euocati, summi atque inlustres uiri, praefectus idemque consul Euodius, uir quo nihil umquam iustius fuit, comites duo summa potestate praediti, frater regis et patruus. Medius inter hos Martini presbyter accubuerat, ipse autem in sellula iuxta regem posita consererat.

æghwīlcum men soð *and* riht sprecan wolde *and* dón . [SVM 26,5] Vere beatus uir . In quo dolus . Þis wæs soðlice eadig wer ne wæs áfre fácen ne inwid on his hyortan ne he ánigne man unrihtlice ne gedémde . ne he wíte ne nam ne ánig yfel mid yfele ne geald . [SVM 27,1-2] ne hine ánig man yrne . ne grammodne
 205 geráhte . ac he wæs á in ánum mode *and* efne | heofonlicne blis . *and* geféan 76v
 mann mohte á on his andwlitan angytan . ne gehýrde ánig man aht elles of his muðe nemne crístes lof . *and* nytte spráce . ne aht elles on his hyortan . nemne árfæstnesse . *and* mildhyortnesse . *and* sibbe .

[SET 6] swylce éac ðes eadiga wer mycle ár beforan ðone dæg wiste his
 210 forþfærnesse . *and* him drihten gecýðed háfde . *and* he ðanne his gebroþrum
 sáde þæt hit ða ryhte wære . þæt he of ðisse werolde sceolde . ða wiste he sumne
 hýrd on his bysceopscýre ða ðe undwære *and* ungesibbe heom betwéonum | 77r
 wéran . ða fyrde he ðider mid his discipulum ðeah ðe he wiste þæt hie ða æt
 215 his daga ænde wære . þæt he huru wolde þæt hie ealle on sibbe wáran ær he of
 werolde gefýrde swylce .

201 æghwīlcum] *Com.* 201 sprecan wolde *and* dón] *C* dón wolde; *D* sprecende wæs *ond* dónde
 202 wæs] *C* is 203 ánigne man] *C* ænigne; *D* nænigne man 203 gedémde] *C* demde; *D*
 fordémde 204 grammodne] *C* gramheortne 205 geráhte] *C* geseah; *D* ne funde 206 ánig]
C nænig 206–207 aht elles of his muðe nemne] *C* aht elles of his muðe butan; *D* his muþe
 oht elles nefne 208 sibbe] *C* sybbe *and* eaðmodnesse 209 swylce] *D* Swa 209–210 wiste
 his forþfærnesse] *C* wisse his forðsiðe; *D* wiste his forðfore 212 undwære *and* ungesibbe]
C ungeþwære *and* ungesybsume; *D* ungeþwære *and* ungesibbe 213 discipulum] *C* þegnum
 214 daga ænde] *C* deaðdæge

201–202 Vere beatus uir . In quo dolus]
 From SVM, lit. ‘Truly blessed man in
 whom [there was no] guile’.
 204 yfel mid yfele ne geald] The phrase is
 from BS Lc 6.37 and BS *Romans* 12.17
 (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 90 n. 157).
 205 in ánum mode] I.e. an allusion to the

Christian ideal of stoicism (Fontaine:
 1103).
 209–210 wiste his forþfærnesse] Martin
 does not feel but knows about his passing;
 cp. SVM 20,8, where he also predicts the
 future (Fontaine: 1285).

195 wished to tell and do what was true and just. [SVM 26,5] *Vere beatus vir in quo dolus*. This was truly a blessed man; never was deceit or guile in his heart, nor did he condemn any man unjustly, nor did he punish, nor did he return any evil with evil; [SVM 27,1-2] nor did any man see him angry or cruel, but he was always in the same mood; and truly one might always behold heavenly
 200 bliss and joy in his face; nor would any man hear anything else from his mouth than Christ's love and edifying language, nor would [be] anything else in his heart but piety and pity and peace.

[SET 6] Likewise also, the blessed man knew of his death long before the day, and the Lord had made it known to him. And he then told his brethren
 205 that the time would be near when he should leave this world. Then, he learned of a certain community in his bishopric who were at enmity and in discord with each other; then he went there with his disciples – even though he knew that he would be near the end of his days – he desired for them that they all should be at peace before he would leave the world.

195 SVM 26,5] O uere uir beatus, in quo dolus non fuit: neminem iudicans, neminem damnans, nulli malum pro malo reddens. Tantam quippe aduersum omnes iniurias patientiam adsumpserat, ut, cum esset summus sacerdos, inpune etiam ab infimis clericis laederetur, nec propter id eos aut loco umquam amouerit aut a sua, quantum in ipso fuit, caritate reppulerit. 198 SVM 27,1-2] Nemo umquam illum uidit iratum, nemo commotum, nemo maerentem, nemo ridentem; unus idemque fuit semper: caelestem quodammodo laetitiam vultu praeferens, extra naturam hominis uidebatur. Numquam in illius ore nisi Christus, 2. numquam in illius corde nisi pietas, nisi pax, nisi misericordia erat. Plerumque etiam pro eorum, qui illius obtrectatores uidebantur, solebat flere peccatis, qui remotum et quietum uenenatis linguis et uiperio ore carcebant. 203 SET 6] Martinus igitur obitum suum longe ante praesciuit dixitque fratribus dissolutionem sui corporis imminere. Interea causa extitit qua Condacensem dioecesim uisitaret. Nam, clericis inter se ecclesiae illius discordantibus, pacem cupiens reformare, licet finem dierum suorum non ignorasset, proficisci tamen ob istius modi causam non recusauit, bonam hanc uirtutum suarum consummationem existimans, si pacem ecclesiae redditam reliquisset.

[SET 7] þa cwomon hie to sumre ea . þa gesawon hie þara wel feala þara fugela þe we scealfras nemnaþ *and* hie ða fixas uptugon of þære ea *and* þeah þe heora hwylc þone fisc forswulge þonne wæs he eft swa gifre swa he ær wæs . þæt he oðerne gename . þa cwæð *sanctus martinus* hwæt þas wiht habbað de-
 220 ofla onlicnesse swa þe deofol á sætaþ hwær he mæge unware men beswican . *and* he næfre to þæs feala berædeð . þæt he æfre ful sie . [SET 8] ða bebead *sanctus martinus* þam fugelum þæt hie þanon fram þam wætere gewiten *and* on westen *and drige* land sohton *and* efne on þa gelicnesse swa he þone deoful of stowa gehwylcre geflymde þær he þonne wæs . Swa ða fugelas sona ealle
 225 ætsomne on weg gewiton þæt heora nan ætstod furðum behindan *and* hie þæt wundredon þe þæt gesawon *and* his fera wæron þæt ða fugelas sylfe eac *sancte martine* gehyrdon]

[SET 9] Ða he ða háfde ðane hýred gesibbod ðe he ðær to gefýrde . *and* ðær wel mænige dagas wæs ða he ða eft gemynte mid his discipulum to his mynstere
 230 féran . ða weað he fáringa swiðe untrum ða gehet he him ealle his discipulas to . *and* heom sáde þæt he ða forðferan sceolde . [SET 10] ða weopan hie sóna

223 *drige*] *MS* ðrige 225 ætsomne] *MS* ętsomne (*scribal correction*) 225 furðum] *MS* furþun
 229 discipulum] *C* þegnum 230 untrum] *C* mettrum 230 discipulas] *C* þegnas; *D* discipulos
 231–232 weopan hie sóna ealle *and* sárlice gebérdan] *C* weopan hie ealle sona *and* sarlice
 gebærdon for heora hlaforde; *D* wæron hie ealle sona unróte *and* sárlice gebærdon

216 þa cwomon ... martine gehyrdon]
 The version surviving in MSS D and E omits this section which is based on SET 7, as well as the following section based on SET 8; I inserted the text from MS C. For a brief note on the language of MS C turn to the introduction to appendix I below, p. 401. This passage, which is omitted in D and E, is possibly mirroring Martin's combat against an insatiable foe, which eventually ends for him with his imminent death, as well as it is a final didactic message for his disciples.

217 scealfras] In SVM *mergatores*; Szarmach (l. 152) writes: "the birds in question appear to be mergansers (*mergus merganser*) [BE: goosander] rather than loons (*colymbus torquatus*) [BE: divers] or grebes (*podiceps cristatus*). Wright 1884 gives *mergus/mergulus/mergula/turdella* as glosses for *scealfor*. On the bottom of fol.

77r in [E] there is a drawing of a bird that appears to have a crested head. Whether it is meant to represent a *scealfor* is doubtful, since [E] lacks the incident; the anecdote of the *scealfras* would, however, have begun on fol. 77r if it had been included in the [E] version." The version in D omits the passage, too.

223 *drige*] Peterson (85,237) suggests to read *drige*, ('dry'); Szarmach (l. 158) emends so.

225 furðum] Emended as in Szarmach (l. 160).

231–232 weopan hie sóna ealle *and* sárlice gebérdan] SET has *Tum uero maeror et luctus omnium et uox una plangentium* (*Then indeed, sorrow and grief took possession of all, and there was but one voice of them lamenting, and saying...* (transl. Roberts)), so D is closest to the Latin. Cf. Hamilton (68,227).

210 [SET 7] Then they came to a certain river, there they saw a great many of
 those birds which we call divers, and they snatched the fish from the river, and
 though each of them devoured fish, afterwards it was as greedy as it had been
 before, and caught another one. Then St Martin spoke: “Lo, these creatures
 215 have a likeness to devils, in that the devil sits wherever he may seduce unaware
 men, and he never betrays so many that he would ever be satisfied.” [SET 8]
 Then St Martin commanded the birds that they should depart thence from the
 water, and seek the desert and dry land, just like when he put the devil to flight
 from some place where he was at that time. Thus, at once the birds all together
 departed, so that none stayed behind; and they who saw this were amazed, and
 220 it seemed to his disciples the birds themselves obeyed St Martin.

[SET 9] When he had reconciled the community to which he had gone,
 and was there many days, then he intended to go back with his disciples to his
 monastery. Then, he suddenly became very ill and called all his disciples to
 him, and said to them that he should die. [SET 10] Then soon they all wept,

210 SET 7] Ita profectus cum suo illo, ut semper, frequentissimo discipulorum sanctissimoque comitatu, mergos in flumine conspicatur piscium praedam sequi et rapacem ingluuiem adsiduis urguere capturis. «Forma, inquit, haec daemonum est: insidiantur incautis, capiunt nescientes, captos deuorant exsaturarique non queunt deuoratis.» 215 SET 8] Imperat deinde potenti uerbo ut eum cui innatabant gurgitem relinquentes aridas peterent desertasque regiones, eo nimirum circa aues illas usus imperio quo daemones fugare consueuerat. Ita, grege facto, omnes in unum illae uolucres congregatae, relicto flumine, montes siluasque petierunt, non sine admiratione multorum, qui tantam in Martino uirtutem uiderent ut etiam auibus imperaret. 221 SET 9] Aliquandiu ergo in uico illo uel in ecclesia ad quam ierat commoratus, pace inter clericos restituta cum iam regredi ad monasterium cogitaret, uiribus corporis coepit repente destitui conuocatisque fratribus indicat se iam resolui. 224 SET 10] Tum uero maeror et luctus omnium et uox una plangentium: «cur nos, pater, deseris? aut cui nos desolatos relinquis? Inuadent gregem tuum lupi rapaces: quis nos a morsibus eorum, percusso pastore, prohibebit? Scimus quidem desiderare te Christum, sed salua tibi sunt tua praemia nec dilata minuentur; nostri potius misere, quos deseris.»

ealle *and* sárlice gebérdan . *and* ðis cwáedan to him . | forhwan forlétst fader 77v
 us nu gyt . oððe gif ðu gewítest hwam bebéodest ðu ús . Cur nos páter deseris
 cui nos desolátus . Cumað risende wulfas . *and* todrífað ðine hýorde . hwa
 235 forstándeð hie gif ðu hie ne scyldest . we þæt witon þæt þæt is ðines módes
 willa . þæt ðu móte ðas wyrold forlétan . *and* críst geséon . ac gemiltsa ðu
 hwæðere ús . *and* gemune úra ðéarfa . [SET 11] ða he ða ðás word gesprác .
and ðis gehyrde . *and* he ealle wépende geseah . ða wéop he éac selfa . *and* his
 mód wæs onstýred mid ðam hera wórdum . swa he wæs manna mildhéortast .
 240 | *and* he efne mid wépendre stéfnne ðus to drihtne cwæð . *Domine* si ad húc 78r
 populo tuo sum necessarius . Drihtne cwæð he gif ic nu gét sie ðinum folce
 ðéarflic hér on wórule to habbanne . ðanne ne wiðsace ic ðam gewinne . ac sie
 ðæs ðin willa .

[SET 12] wæs he to ðæs árfæst þæt him wæs æghwæðer on wýrce ge þæt
 245 he ða gebroðran forlete . ge ðanne huru éac þæt he læng fram crístes onsýne
 wáre þæt he ðane gesáwe . he ða forðan drihtnes willa sohte . [SET 13] *and* ðus
 cwæð min drihten lánge ic nu wæs on ðan héardan cámpe her on wyrolde . ac

234 risende] C rixiende; D arisende 237–238 ða he ða ðás word gesprác . *and* ðis gehyrde]
 C ða he ða heora spræce þyllice gehyrde; D ða he þa þás word sprác 239 onstýred] C swiðe
 onstýred 240 efne] D om. 242 ðéarflic] C midþearflice; D nedþearflic 242–243 ac sie ðæs
 ðin willa] C þæt ic nu gyt mid him sie 245 ða gebroðran forlete . ge ðanne huru éac þæt he]
 D om. 246 gesáwe] C breaks off again after gesawe due to a missing folio; continues below, E l.
 279

233–234 Cur nos páter deseris cui nos desolátus] Translates: ‘Why, dear father, will you leave us? Or to whom can you commit us in our desolation?’ (transl. Roberts). Note that the translation precedes the Latin quote; D shows the usual order.

236 Cumað ... forlétan] Cf. BS *St Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians* 1.21–7. The inner combat here is between the desire to meet Christ and to take care of the disciples (Fontaine: 1303f.).

237–238 ða he ða ðás word gesprác . *and* ðis gehyrde] Hamilton (68,234) notes that D and E are confusing, while C has a correct version with regard to context: Martin is listening, not speaking, and weeps.

240–241 *Domine* si ad húc populo tuo sum necessarius] Translates: ‘if I am still necessary to thy people’ (transl. Roberts).

246 willa] Szarmach emends to *willa <n>*, as in D.

225 and grieved deeply, and said this to him: ‘Father, what for do you leave us now,
 or if you depart, to whom do you commit us? *Cur nos, pater, deseris aut cui nos*
desolatos relinquis? Rising wolves will come that will scatter your flock. Who
 will withstand them if you do not shield them? We know that it is your soul’s
 230 our needs.’ [SET 11] When they had spoken these words, and (he) had heard,
 and he saw them all weep, then he wept himself too, and his mind was stirred
 by their words, so mild-hearted a man was he; and he with weeping voice thus
 said unto the Lord: *Domine si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius.* ‘Lord,’ he
 235 then I will not refuse the struggle, but let it be [according to] thy will.’

[SET 12] He was so pious that he was both in pain from leaving his brothers,
 as well as from it being long for Christ’s want that he would see him.
 Therefore he sought the Lord’s will, [SET 13] and thus said, ‘My Lord, long
 have I now been in hard struggle here in the world, but nevertheless I shall not

230 SET 11] *Tunc ille motus his fletibus, ut totus semper in Domino misericordiae uisceribus adfluebat, lacrimasse perhibetur; conuersusque ad Dominum hac tantum flentibus uoce respondit: «Domine, si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem: fiat uoluntas tua.»*
 236 SET 12] *Nimirum inter spem maeroremque positus dubitauit paene quid mallet, quia nec hos deserere nec a Christo uolebat diutius separari. Nihil tamen in uoto suo ponens aut uoluntati relinquens, totam se Domini arbitrio potestatique committens, 238 SET 13] sic orauit dicens: «Grauis quidem est, Domine, corporeae pugna militiae et iam satis est quod hucusque certauit; sed si adhuc in eodem labore pro castris tuis stare me praecipis, non recuso nec fatiscentem causabor aetatem. Munia tua devotus inplebo, sub signis tuis, quoadusque ipse tu iusseris, militabo, et, quamuis optata sit seni remissio post laborem, est tamen animus uictor annorum et cedere nescius senectuti. Quodsi et iam parcis aetati, bonum mihi est, Domine, uoluntas tua; hos uero, quibus timeo, ipse custodies.»*

- ðanne hwæðere ne wiðsace ic ðan þæt ic on ðan campe | læng sie gif hit ðin willa 78v
 swiðor *bið* ac ic mid ðinum wæpnum getrymed on ðinum feðan fæste stānde .
 250 *and* for ðe cāmpige ða hwile ðe ðin willa bið .
 [SET 14] wæs him æghwæðer ðam éadigan were gesyo godes lufu to ðæs
 hát . ge to ðæs byrht . on his hýortan . ði he for ðan deaðe . ne fórhode . ac
 him ðæs héardost lāngode hwanne he of ðisse wyrolde moste . *and* him ðanne
 wæs éac manna lufu to ðæs mycel . þæt him nānig gewin hér on wyrolde to
 255 lang . ne to héard ne ðuhte . ðæs ðe hýra sáulum to hælo . *and* to ráde gewinnan
 meahthe [.] ða wæs he wel manige dagas mid þam | *feferadle* swiðe gestānden . ac 79r
 he hwæðere nāfre gódes wýrces ne blon . ac he hwilum ealle niht ðurhwacode
 on halgum gebedum . *and* ðeah ðe se lichama wære mid ðære untrumnesse
 swiðe geswānced hwæðere his mód wæs ahéard . *and* geféonde on drihten .
 260 *and* ðanne he reste . ðanne wæs his seo æðeleste rest on his *hearan* . oððe elcora
 nihte on nacodre eorðran .
 [SET 15] ða bædan hine ða his discipulos þæt hie mostan hwilce hwegā
 uncyme strætnessa him under gedón for his úntrumnesse . ða cwæð he bearn
 ne biddað ge ðæs ne gedáfenað cristan *men* | þæt he elcora *do butan* swa he efne 79v
 265 on acsan *and* on duste *licge* . gif ic éow oðres ðinges bisene onstelle . þanne
 agylte ic . *and* á ðær *he læg* . á he háfde his hánda upweardes . *and* mid his
 éagnum up to héofonum lócode . ðider his módgeðanc á seted wæs . ða bædan
 hine ða godes déowas ða ðe ðider to him coman . þæt hie hine móstan on oðre
 sidan oncyrran . *and* ða cwæð he to heom . Sinite *fratres* sinite celum potius
 270 respícere . Fórlétað gebroðra he cwæð ða spráce . forlætað me héofon . swiðor
 geseon ðanne eorðan þæt *minum* gāste sio to drihtne wég | *ðider he feran scyl* . 80r

250 for ðe cāmpige] *D* for þinre campunga 252 ge] *D om.* 252 ði] *D* þeah 256 *feferadle*]
A later hand/corrector corrected the MS's feðradle; D feforádle 257 hwæðere] *D* þeah 260 *hearan*]
MS earan; D earan 260–261 *elcora nihte*] *D om.* 261 *eorðran*] *So in MS* 262 *hwilce*
hwegā] *D huru sume* 263 *strætnessa*] *D streownesse* 264 *elcora*] *D elles* 268 *ðider*]
D þær 271 *þæt*] *Reconstructed, MS damaged.* 271 *minum*] *MS þinum (sic!); D minum*

248 ic ðan ... campe] As Szarmach (l. C101) also notes, “this last MS line on fol. 78r is begun well away from the margin and is double-underlined”.
 249 *bið*] Illegible, added from D, as in Szarmach (l. C102).
 256 ða wæs ... mid] As Szarmach (l. C109) also notes and accurately describes, “below this last line on fol. 78v is a bird-like head with a rather longish neck”.
 260 *hearan*] Förster (1893) suggests this emendation, Napier agrees, Szarmach (l.

C113) emends likewise.
 265 *þæt he elcora ... licge*] Hardly legible; I followed Szarmach, who added *do butan* and *licge* from D.
 266 *he*] Added by Szarmach (l. C117).
 269–270 *Sinite fratres sinite celum potius respícere*] Translates: ‘Allow me, dear brother, to fix my looks rather on heaven’ (transl. Roberts).
 271 *ðider he*] Added likewise by Szarmach (l. C121).

240 refuse to be in that struggle longer, if it be thy will; but strengthened with thy weapons, I shall stand fast in thy army and for thy struggle, the while it is thy will.'

[SET 14] Not only was the love of God so warm and bright in the heart of this blessed man that he did not fear death, but he longed so greatly [to know] 245 when he should leave this world, and his love for mankind was so great that he deemed no struggle here in the world too long or too hard for winning their souls for salvation and counsel. Then he was attacked by a fever for many days, but nevertheless he never ceased from God's work, but at times he stayed awake all night in holy prayers, and though his body was very afflicted by his illness, 250 nevertheless his mind was firm and joyful in the Lord; and when he rested, then his noblest bed was his haircloth or else at night on the naked earth.

[SET 15] Then his disciples bid his leave that they might put some paltry bedding under him, considering his illness; then he said, 'Children, do not ask that, it does not befit a Christian man that he do otherwise than ever to lie 255 on ashes and on dust. If I give you any other example, then I will become guilty.' And always he lay there, always he had his hands upward, and with his eyes looked up to heaven, where his mind was set. Then the servants of God who came to him begged his leave that they might turn him on the other side, and then he said to them, '*Sinite, fratres, sinite, celum potius respicere.*' 'Let go, 260 brothers,' he said, then spoke, 'let me rather see heaven than earth, so that your spirit be towards the Lord, whither it shall go.'

243 SET 14] O uirum ineffabilem, nec labore uictum nec morte uincendum, qui in nullam se partem pronior inclinauerit, nec mori timuerit nec uiuere recusarit! Itaque cum iam per aliquot dies ui februm teneretur, non tamen ab opere Dei cessabat: pernoctans in orationibus et uigiliis fatiscentes artus spiritui seruire cogebat, nobili illo strato suo in cinere et cilicio recubans. 252 SET 15] Et cum a discipulis rogaretur ut saltim uilia sibi sineret stramenta subponi: Non decet, inquit, christianum nisi in cinere mori; ego si aliud uobis exemplum relinquo, peccauī.» Oculis tamen ac manibus in caelum semper intentis, inuictum ab oratione spiritum non relaxabat; et cum a presbyteris, qui tunc ad eum convenerant, rogaretur ut corpusculum lateris mutatione releuaret: «Sinite, inquit, sinite me, fratres, caelum potius respicere quam terram, ut suo iam itinere iturus a Dominum spiritus dirigatur.»

- [SET 16] ða he ða ðus *spræc* . ða geseah he ðane awergedan gást déofol ðær únfeor standan [.] ða cwæð he to him . Quid adstas cruénda urá nihil in me funeste repperes . hwæt stándeð ðu wælgrim . wildeor ná fast ðu méde aht æt
 275 me . ac me scyl abrahámes béarm þæt is seo éce rést onfón . [SET 17] ða he ða ðis cwæð ða wearð his *andwrita* swa bliðelic *and* his mod swa geféonde . þæt hie éfne meahtan on ðan gære ongytan þæt he gástlicne geféan geseah . *and* þæt hine héafonlic werod gefétode . *and* he ða swa ge|feonde ðas sarlican *hofo* gelet . 80v
and hine ða úre *drihten* to his ðam héofonlican ríce nam .
- [n.s.] hwæt wé nu gehérad hu eaðmodlice ðes eadiga wer his líf for gode gelyfode . ða hwile ðe he her on wuolde wæs . *and* hu fáger edlean he æt urum drihtne onféng . *and* nu á ða hwile ðe ðeos wúrold stándeð his god mæn mærsiad geond éalne ðisne middangéard . on godes cyricean . *and* hé nu mid eallum halgum to wídan féore on heofena ríce for drihtnes | *onsyne* gefehð . *and* 81r
 285 blissað . ac utan *we* tyligan þæt we ðyses éadigan weres líf . *and* his dæda onhyrgan ðæs ðe úre gemet sige . *and* wutan hine biddan ðæt he us sige on heofonum ðíngere wið urne drihten . nu we her on eorðan his gemynd wyrðiað . to ðan ús gefúltumige ure drihten . se leofað . *and* ricsað . a butan ánde . A M E N —

273 urá] *Dom.* 280 eaðmodlice] *Chaloglice* 283 ðisne] *Com.* 285 *we* tyligan] *C* we la tilian 285 éadigan] *Chalgan* 286 wutan] *MS* utan (*sic!*) 287 his gemynd] *C* hine geond middangearð 288 a butan] *C* áá in eallra worulda world a butan

272 *spræc*] *spræc* was supplied by later hand/corrector.

273 urá] Szarmach (l. C123) suggests the scribe meant *uestra*, and emends to D's *bestia*.

274 funeste] Szarmach emends to *finiste*.

274 Quid ... repperes] Translates: 'Why do you stand here, bloody monster? Thou shalt find nothing in me' (transl. Roberts).

275] As in BS Lc 16.22 with Lazarus, Martin is received in Abraham's bosom, cp. BS Lc 1.55, where all men of God are said to be received (Fontaine).

278 *hofo*] As Scragg (1992: 308/9,298) notes, *ofogelet* and other defective words on these last folios were retouched by a later hand, though "some wrongly"; he suggests *ofagelet*.

279 *drihten*] Only *dri* is legible; I expanded in accordance with earlier forms

and Napier (307), Szarmach (l. C128) and Hamilton (92).

280 gehérad] Hamilton (92,6) emends to *gebyrad*.

281 wuolde] Hamilton (92,8) emends to *world*.

282 mæn] Hamilton (92,8) emends to *man*.

285–286 onhyrgan] Hamilton (92,12) emends to *onberien*.

286 sige] Napier (307) and Hamilton (92,12) emend *sige* to *sie*.

286 wutan] *MS* has *utan*. Napier (307) and Hamilton (92,12) also (suggest to) emend to *wutan*, as in *C* (*wuton*).

288 se leofað] Hamilton (92,12) emends to *se ðe leofað*.

288 ánde] Hamilton (93,14) emends to *ende*.

[SET 16] When he had thus spoken, then he saw the accursed spirit, the devil, there standing near him. Then he said to him, *‘Quid adstas, cruénda úra? Nihil in me funeste repperes.’* ‘What for do you stand [there], cruel beast? In me, you shall not find anything as meed; but I will be received in Abraham’s bosom for eternal rest.’ [SET 17] When he had said this, then his face became so blissful, and his spirit rejoiced so much that they could even see at that moment that he rejoiced spiritually, and that the heavenly band fetched him, and then he, thus rejoicing, left this painful dwelling and our Lord took him to his heavenly kingdom.

[n.s.] Lo, we have now heard how humbly this blessed man lived his life for God, while he was here in the world, and what a sweet reward he received from our Lord. And now, for as long as this world shall stand, man shall praise his goodness all over this earth, in God’s churches, and with all the saints he will exult and rejoice far and wide in His heavenly kingdom, in the presence of the Lord. But let us strive to emulate this blessed man’s life and his deeds, that this be our measure, and let us ask him that he sits with us well in your heaven, with our Lord. Now, we here on earth honour his memory; for that help us, our Lord, who lives and reigns forever without end. Amen.

262 SET 16] Haec locutus diabolum uidit propter adsistere. «Quid hic, inquit, adstas, cruenta bestia? nihil in me, funeste, reperies: Abrahae me sinus recipit.» 266 SET 17] Cum hac ergo uoce spiritum caelo reddidit. Testatique nobis sunt qui ibidem fuerunt uidisse se uultum eius tamquam uultum angeli; membra autem eius candida tamquam nix uidebantur, ita ut dicerent: «Quis istum umquam cilicio tectum, quis in cineribus crederet inuolutum?» Iam enim sic uidebatur, quasi in futurae resurrectionis gloria et natura demutatae carnis ostensus esset.

Ælfric of Eynsham's *Catholic Homily for Martinmas*

Manuscripts

- F : Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3.28., fols. 234v - 238v, s. x/xi, Ker *Catalogue* no. 15, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 11 (base text of this edition).
- G : Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198, fols. 378r - 385v, s. xi¹, Ker *Catalogue* no. 48, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 64.
- H : British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. XVII, fols. 96r - 101v, s. xi med., Ker *Catalogue* no. 222, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 406.

Editorial Note

MS F served as the base text; lexical variants from manuscripts G and H can be found in the upper apparatus. I followed Godden's editorial method, but I did not print a prose layout, and tried to highlight the underlying verse structure instead (see my "Editorial Policy"). For the re-checking of MS H, I had to rely heavily on Godden's apparatus, since the MS (esp. the folios in question) is in a poor state, poorer as it must have been when Godden consulted it. The apparatus contains only those variants which are clearly decipherable in H. Parts of the text block are often cut away at the outer and upper margin. Folio numbers on fols. 96r-101v (i.e. the section of our text) are entirely lost,³² therefore, I do not present them in the edition's margin.

³²The parchment folios were bound into paper. Most of the paper pages have a pencil numbering in the upper right corner on the recto side; the text on St Martin in this numbering is fols. 58r to 63v. Some folios show the original numbering in the lower right corner on the recto side. The pencil numbering is probably from 1964 (the last page reads "Examined after binding [indcipherable signature] 29.7.64")

I have – as in all edited texts – included variants of accents. However, I ignored the variant of *hé/he* (MS F / MS G) to limit the entries from G in the apparatus to a sensible number. The scribe of F generally employed far more accents than the scribe of G. F's scribe uses accents frequently on long vowels, and sometimes in order to differentiate between <u> and <i> (Deffner 1975: 48-9).

Language

Ælfric's IWS language has been the subject of much research. Godden's edition of the *Catholic Homilies* presents introductions to the manuscripts he edits (see pp. lxxviii-lxxxii for MS F), but Pope's (1967-8) edition pays more attention to their language (esp. pp. 177f.). Hofstetter (1987) deals specifically with Ælfric's (Winchester) language, and pays much attention to MS F (check pp. 38-66), whereas Scragg's (2006) article focusses on "Ælfric's Scribes", and in this respect has much to say about MS F.³³

Phonology and Spelling: MS F's orthography is very regular, and studies have shown that it probably originates from Ælfric's own scriptorium and its production was under his supervision (cf. the section on the MS above, p. 126). Therefore, the text represents an exemplary late West-Saxon language. I will confine myself here to collect a few specifically late West-Saxon characteristics, and may direct readers to the more comprehensive introduction to MS J's language before the *Life* below, p. 257.

Specifically IWS is the appearance of *eo* from West Germanic *e* before *l+cons.*, as in *geheolp* (l. 35), or *heold* (l. 92); cf. Hardy: 14/15, Hamilton: 3 (7). *ea* from eWS *e* before *h+cons.* is also typical IWS, cf. Hardy: 7(b); Hamilton: 3(8), e.g. *wiðfeht* l. 118. Also, *y* (or *i*) following a palatal is typical for IWS, as in *scylde* (l. 74) (Hamilton: 3.) The syncopation of an unaccented vowel before *l* is another typical IWS feature, e.g. *englum* (l. 56, from Lat. *angelus*), or *deofle* (l. 106), cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5b). The syncopation of an unaccented vowel before *r* is also typical for IWS, cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5a), e.g. *mynstre* (l. 153), or *healicro* l. 258; cp. the variant in MS G: *healicroe*, which does not show the syncopation. MS G shows a few more variants which present an interesting contrast to the forms in MS F, therefore, I have inserted a few linguistic comments at the respective location. *hiwe* (l. 194) is a typical form in IWS, cf. Hamilton: 3; GrSB § 78, and § 107 (5).

³³For studies of Ælfric's language, see the language sections in Reinsma's (1987: 135f.) and Kleist's (2000) annotated bibliographies of studies on Ælfric, as well as to Gretsch (2006), Earl (2007), and Gretsch (2009).

Vocabulary: Unsurprisingly, the text shows some words that are not only specifically West-Saxon, but part of the Winchester vocabulary, as analyzed by Hofstetter (1987). In our text we find *tocwysan*, (l. 253), and *tocwysed* (l. 300) (Hofstetter: 16 (10)), as well as *modig* (l. 30, Hofstetter: 17 (12)).

TEXT

III . IDUS NOUEMBRIS . DEPOSITIO SANCTI MARTINI EPISCOPI : —

- [SVM 2,1] MARTINUS se wuldorfulla godes andetere
 wæs acenned of æþelborenum magum .
 on ðam earde þe is geháten pannonia .
 5 on þære byrig ðe is gecweden Sabaria .
and he wæs siððan afed on Italia .
 þæt is Romana rice ; [SVM 2,2] his fæder wæs æþelboren .
 ærest cempa . *and* siððan cempena ealdor .
 on hæðenscipe wunigende . *and* his gemæcca samod ;
 10 ða gestryndon hí þone gecorenan godes
 cempnan martinum . *and* hé mærllice geðeah ;
 [SVM 2,3] Witodlice ða ða hé tyn wyntre on ylde wæs .
 ða árn hé to cyrcan buton his freonda
 foresceawunge fulluhtes biddende .
 15 *and* he wearð þa gecristnod . *and* on wunderlicum gemete gecyrred .
 [SVM 2,4] smeagende symle ymbe godes cyrcan .
and hú he on westene wunian mihte ;
 [SVM 2,5] Þa aspráng þæs caseres gebán þæt ðæra cempena bearn
 þe forealdode wæron . wurdon genamode
 20 to ðam ylcan gewinne þe heora fæderas on wæron ;
 hwæt ða martinus wearð ameldod fram his agenum fæder .
 ðe on his weorcum andode .

2 MARTINUS] *The M is enlarged; the other capital letters have been adorned with red ink.*
 2 andetere] *GH* andetere 3 acenned] *G* acænned 4 geháten] *G* gehaten 6 he] *G* hé
 6 siððan] *H* syððan 7 Romana] *G* romá-na (*judging from the colour of the ink the accent and the hyphen are by a later hand*) 7 rice] *H* ri 8 cempa] *G* cæmpa 8 siððan cempena] *G*
 syððan cæmpana 8 ealdor] *H* eal 9 wunigende] *G* wuniende 9 gemæcca] *G* gemeccea
 10 hí] *G* hio 11 cempnan] *G* cæmpnan 12 ða ða] *H* þa 12 tyn] *G* teon 12 wyntre] *G*
H wintre 12 ylde] *G* elde 13 árn hé] *G* arn he 13 buton] *G* butan 14 foresceawunge]
G foresceawungea 15 wunderlicum] *G* wundorlicum 15 gecyrred] *G* gecerred 16 cyrcan]
G circan 17 hú] *G* hu 17 westene] *G* westen ne (*scratched-out e*) 18 aspráng] *G* asprang
 18 cempena] *G* cæmpena 20 ylcan] *G* ilcan 21 ameldod] *G* ámeldod

2 andetere] Meaning ‘confessor’ (DOE s.v. *andettere*). As Masi (183) points out the term is not in SVM at this point; he suggests that Ælfric inserted it “from necessity of liturgical categorization”, in accordance with his “organizational principle” in the sanctorale.

8 cempa] The variants in F and G present one example for the variants produced by i-Umlaut of Germanic æ, i.e. OE *e* (WS) and *æ* (nWS); cf. Masi (63), and GrC § 192(2). Another example in this homily is *bendas/bændas*.

- 3rd IDES OF NOVEMBER. THE DEPOSITION OF ST MARTIN, BISHOP
 [SVM 2,1] Martin, the glorious, confessor of God,
 was born of noble parents,
 in the country which is called Pannonia,
 5 in the city which is called Sabaria;
 and he was afterwards brought up in Italy,
 that is the Roman empire. [SVM 2,2] His father was of noble birth,
 first a soldier, and afterwards a commander of soldiers,
 living as heathen, together with his consort.
 10 They then begat God's chosen
 soldier Martin, and he thrived magnificently.
 [SVM 2,3] Truly, when he was ten winters of age,
 then he ran to church without his friends'
 foreseeing, requiring baptism;
 15 and then he was christened, and in a wonderful manner converted,
 [SVM 2,4] constantly meditating on God's church,
 and how he might live in the desert.
 [SVM 2,5] Then came forth the emperor's decree that the sons of those soldiers
 who had become old would be appointed
 20 to the same warfare in which their fathers were engaged.
 Lo, Martin was enrolled by his own father,
 who envied his deeds.

2 SVM 2,1] Igitur Martinus Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit, sed intra Italiam Ticini altus est, parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen. 7 SVM 2,2] Pater eius miles primum, post tribunus militum fuit. Ipse, armatam militiam in adulescentia secutus, inter scholares alas sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesare militavit; non tamen sponte, quia a primis fere annis diuinam potius seruitutem sacra inlustris pueri spirauit infantia. 12 SVM 2,3] Nam cum esset annorum decem, inuitis parentibus ad ecclesiam confugit seque catechumenum fieri postulauit. 16 SVM 2,4] Mox mirum in modum totus in Dei opere conuersus, cum esset annorum duodecim, eremum concupiuit, fecissetque uotis satis, si aetatis infirmitas non fuisset impedimento. Animus tamen, aut circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus, meditabatur adhuc in aetate puerili quod postea deuotus impleuit. 18 SVM 2,5] Sed cum edictum esset a regibus ut ueteranorum filii ad militiam scriberentur, prodente patre qui felicibus eius actibus inuidebat, cum esset annorum quindecim, captus et catenatus sacramentis militaribus implicatus est, uno tantum seruo comite contentus, cui tamen uersa uice dominus seruiebat, adeo ut plerumque ei et calciamenta ipse detraheret et ipse detergeret, cibum una caperent, hic tamen saepius ministraret.

- and* he wearð þa gelæht to þam laðum gecampe .
and on racenteagum gelæd . þa ða hé fyftyne geara wæs ;
 25 Ænne cniht hé hæfde to his ðenungum forð .
 ðam he sylf ðenode swa swiðe swa he him ;
 hé folgode þam casere ærest constantinum .
and siððan Iuliane þam wælhreowan wiðersacan .
 [SVM 2,6] *and* he on ðam folgode ealle fulnysse forbeah .
 30 | lybbende swa swa munuc . na swa swa modig cempa ; G 378v
 [SVM 2,7] he æteowode ða soðan lufe symle his geferum .
and ormæte eadmodnysse mid eallum geðylde .
and his efencempan ða hine endemes wurdodon .
 [SVM 2,8] He wæs swiðe geswæs eallum swincendum .
 35 *and* on mislicum yrmðum mannum geheolp
 wædligum *and* wanscryddum . *and* næs ðeah ða gýt gefullod ;
 [SVM 3,1] Ða gemette martinus on middes wintres cycle
 ænne nacodne ðearfan . *and* his nan man ne gymde .
 þeah ðe hé mid hream . ða riddan þæs bæde ;

23 to þam laðum gecampe] *G and* to þam laðum gecampe; *H defective* 24 *and* on racenteagum] *G* on racentegum 24 hé fyftyne geara] *G* he . xu . gara 26 sylf] *G* self 27 constantinum] *MS* constantium; *G* constantinum 28 siððan] *GH* syððan 29 fulnysse] *G* fylnesse 30 munuc] *G* mununc 30 cempa] *G* cæmpa 31 æteowode] *G* æteowde 31 lufe] *G* lufa 31 symle] *G* symble 33 his efencempan] *G* hio seofem cæmpan 34 geswæs] *G* geswæs 35 mislicum] *G* myslicum 36 gýt] *G* git 38 nan] *G* nán 39 ða] *G* þam

24 *and* on racenteagum] The two variants in F and G show that Germanic *au* became *ea* in eWS, which in turn became *e* before *c*, *g*, *h* in late West-Saxon; cf. GrW § 163 (Masi 67).

27 constantinum] Emended as in Godden. I.e. the Roman emperor Constantius II., who reigned 337-61 AD. Note that the emperor's name appears in Severus already in SVM 2,2, cp. E and the commentary below.

28 Iuliane] I.e. the pagan Roman emperor Julius (Apostatus), who reigned 360-3 AD. This emperor's name also appears in Severus already in SVM 2,2, cp. the text in E and the commentary.

30 modig] Masi (187) notes that the translation 'brave' or 'courageous' should be preferred over Thorpe's 'insolent';

Hofstetter (1987: 17 (12)) identified *modig* as typical for the specific Winchester-vocabulary.

30 lybbende ... cempa] Find a discussion on this line and its alliterative style in comparison with Ælfric's *Life* in Szarmach (2003: 46).

31 symle] On the intrusion of letters such as in the variant in G see Masi (70-1), and cf. GrC § 478.

34 swincendum] Masi (187) suggests to translate 'laborers' rather than 'the afflicted' (as in Thorpe).

38 nacodne ðearfan] As Masi (187) also notices, there is no reason for Thorpe to translate 'blind pauper'.

39 hream] The alliteration with *riddan* suggests a silent *h* in *hream*.

And he was seized for the hateful warfare,
 and led in chains, when he was fifteen years [old].
 25 He had one servant still in his service,
 whom he himself served rather than he did to him.
 He followed the emperor Constantius first,
 and afterwards Julian, the bloodthirsty apostate,
 [SVM 2,6] and in that service he avoided all impurity,
 30 living like a monk rather than like an impetuous soldier.
 [SVM 2,7] He always manifested true love for his companions,
 and boundless humility with all patience,
 and his fellow-soldiers honoured him likewise.
 [SVM 2,8] He was very kind to all [who were] troubled,
 35 and helped men in different miseries,
 the poor and ill-clad, and still was not yet baptized.
 [SVM 3,1] Then Martin met, in midwinter's coldness,
 one naked pauper, and no man heeded him,
 though he with outcry prayed the horsemen therefore.

29 SVM 2,6] Triennium fere ante baptismum in armis fuit, integer tamen ab his uitiiis quibus illud hominum genus implicari solet. 31 SVM 2,7] Multa illius circa commilitones benignitas, mira caritas, patientia uero atque humilitas ultra humanum modum. Nam frugalitatem in eo laudari non est necesse, qua ita usus est, ut iam illo tempore non miles, sed monachus putaretur. Pro quibus rebus ita sibi omnes commilitones deuinxerat ut eum miro adfectu uenerentur. 34 SVM 2,8] Necdum tamen regeneratus in Christo, agebat quendam bonis operibus baptismi candidatum: adsistere scilicet laborantibus, opem ferre miseris, alere egentes, uestire nudos, nihil sibi ex militiae stipendiis praeter cotidianum uictum reseruare. Iam tum euangelii non surdus auditor de crastino non cogitabat. 37 SVM 3,1] Quodam itaque tempore, cum iam nihil praeter arma et simplicem militiae uestem haberet, media hieme quae solito asperior inhorruerat, adeo ut plerosque uis algoris extingueret, obuium habet in porta Ambianensium ciuitatis pauperem nudum. Qui cum praetererentes ut sui misererentur oraret omnesque miserum praeterirent, intellexit uir Deo plenus sibi illum, aliis misericordiam non praestantibus, reseruari.

- 40 [SVM 3,2] ða næfde martinus nan ðing to sylenne
 þam nacedan ðearfan . þe ðær swa ðearle hrymde
 buton his | gewædum þe hé wel behófode . 235r
 and hæfde ár his ðing þearfum gedælede ;
 hé ne mihte swa ðeah on his mode afindan .
 45 þæt he ðone nacodan mid nahte ne gefrefrode .
 ac tocearf his basing on emtwa mid sexe .
 and sealde oðerne dæl þam earman wædlan .
 and mid þam ofcyrfe hine eft bewæfde ;
 Ða hlogon ða cempan sume ðæs básinges .
 50 Sume eac geomerodon swiðe on mode .
 þæt hí naht ðyllices ðam ðearfan ne gebudon .
 ða ða hí eðelicor hine mihton scrydan ;
 [SVM 3,3] On þære ylcan nihte æteowode crist hine sylfne
 martine on swefne mid ðam basinge gescrydne .
 55 and het hine sceawian gif he ða sylene oncneowe .
 and se hælend sona his englum ðus sæde ;
 Martinus me bewæfde efne mid ðyssere wæde .
 þeah ðe hé ungefullod | gyt farende sy ; G 379r
 [SVM 3,5] Martinus ða fægnode þære fægeran gesihðe .
 60 and wearð þa gefullod forhraðe on criste
 ða ða he on ylde eahtatyne geara wæs ;

40 sylenne] G sellene 41 ðearfan] *H omits* 41 hrymde] G hremde 42 gewædum] G gewædum 42 hé] *GH* he 42 behófode] G behofode 43 ár] G ær 43 þearfum] G þearfan 44 afindan] G findan; *H defective* 45 nacodan] G nacoden 45 gefrefrode] G frefrode 46 emtwa mid sexe] G mid sexe ón emtwa 47 dæl] G dæl 49 hlogon] G hlogon 49 cempan] G cæmpan 49 básinges] G basinges 50 geomerodon] G geomorodan 51 hí] G hio 52 hí] G hio 52 eðelicor] G eaðelicor; *H eaþelicor* 53 ylcan] G ilcan 53 æteowode] *GH* æteowde 53 sylfne] G selfne 55 sylene] G selene 56 englum] G ænglum 57 wæde] G wæde 61 eahtatyne] G xuiii

56 hælend] Masi (188) criticizes Thorpe for translating 'Jesus', and obviously reads 'Lord'. According to BT (s.v. *hælend*) it translates 'A healer, saviour, Jesus'; the cognate is 'healer', cf. German *Heiland* or the Old Saxon *Heliand*.

- 40 [SVM 3,2] Then, Martin had nothing to give
to the naked pauper, who cried so hard there,
except for his garments, which he well needed,
and he had before distributed his goods to paupers.
He could not, however, find it in his heart
45 not to comfort the naked with anything;
but cut his cloak in two with a sword,
and gave the other part to the poor beggar,
and with the cut-off part he clothed himself again.
Then some of the soldiers laughed at the cloak.
50 Some also grieved much in spirit
that they had not offered anything of the like to the pauper,
since they more easily might have clothed him.
[SVM 3,3] In the same night Christ showed himself
to Martin in a dream, clad with the cloak,
55 and bid him behold, whether he recognised the gift;
and the saviour promptly said thus to his angels:
“Martin clothed me with this very garment,
though unbaptized he yet be.”
[SVM 3,5] Martin then rejoiced at the fair vision,
60 and was then promptly baptized in Christ,
when he was eighteen years of age.

40 SVM 3,2] Quid tamen ageret? Nihil praeter chlamydem, qua indutus erat, habebat: iam enim reliqua in opus simile consumpserat. Arrepto itaque ferro quo accinctus erat, mediam diuidit partemque eius pauperi tribuit, reliqua rursus induitur. Interea de circumstantibus ridere nonnulli, quia deformis esse truncatus habitu uideretur; multi tamen, quibus erat mens sanior, altius gemere, quod nihil simile fecissent, cum utique plus habentes uestire pauperem sine sua nuditate potuissent. 53 SVM 3,3] Nocte igitur insecuta, cum se sopori dedisset, uidit Christum chlamydis suae, qua pauperem texerat, parte uestitum. Intueri diligentissime Dominum uestemque, quam dederat, iubetur agnoscere. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem audit Iesum clara uoce dicentem: Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me ueste contextit. 59 SVM 3,5] Quo uiso, uir beatissimus non in gloriam est elatus humanam, sed bonitatem Dei in suo opere cognoscens, cum esset annorum duodeuiginti, ad baptismum conuolauit. Nec tamen statim militiae renuntiauit, tribuni sui precibus euictus, cui contubernium familiare praestabat: etenim transacto tribunatus sui tempore renuntiatum se saeculo pollicebatur.

- [SVM 4,1] Æfter ðisum gelamp on ðære leode gewinn .
 þæt Iulianus se casere gecwæð to geféohte .
 and dælde his cempum cynelice sylene .
- 65 þæt hí on ðam gewinne werlice ongunnon ;
 [SVM 4,2-3] Ða nolde martinus geniman his gife .
 ne on ðam gefeohte his handa afylan .
 ac cwæð þæt he wolde criste ðeowian .
 on gastlicum gecampe æfter his cristendome ;
- 70 [SVM 4,4] Ða cwæð se wælhreowa þæt he wære afyrht
 for ðan towardan gefeohte . na for criste eawfæst ;
 [SVM 4,5] Ða andwyrde martinus unforht ðam casere ;
 Ic wille ðurhgán orsorh ðone here
 mid rodetacne gewæpnod . na mid readum scylde .
- 75 oððe mid héfegum helme . oþþe heardre byrnan .
 [SVM 4,6] Ða het se hæðena cyning healdan martinum
 þæt hé wurde aworpen ungewæpnod ðam here ;
 [SVM 4,7-9] Ða nolde se hælend his ðegen forlætan .
 ac gesibbode þæt folc sona þæs on merien .
- 80 þæt hí to ðæs caseres cynegyrde gebugon ;

62 gewinn] *G* gewin 63 geféohte] *G* gefeohte 64 cempum] *G* cæmpan 65 hí] *G* hio; *H* hi 65 werlice] *G* wærlice 65 ongunnon] *G* ongunne 69 cristendome] *G* cristendome 71 ðan] *G* ðam 72 andwyrde] *H* andwyrde 73 wille] *H* wylle 73 ðurhgán] *G* þurhgán 74 scylde] *G* scelde 75 héfegum] *G* hefegum 75 heardre] *H* hreadre 76 healdan] *G* heal-don 79 merien] *G* mergen; *H* merigen 80 hí] *G* hio; *H* hi 80 gebugon] *G* gebugen

62 gewinn] As Masi (69) notes for *n* in final position the “reasons are not always discernible”. He further notes that such variants are frequent in F and G. In this case I would propose that the double *n* in F is in analogy to the earlier *gewinne*, l. 20. 73 wille] F and G show here an example

for the free variation of the IWS product of i-Umlaut of Germanic *ea* and *io*, i.e. *y* and *i*; cf. Masi (62); another example from this homily is *syððan/siððan*.

74 rodetacne] Loan translation from Latin *crucifix*, i.e. ‘cross-sign’ (Sauer 2013: 277).

- [SVM 4,1] After this, it happened, in the war of these men,
that the emperor Julian called for battle,
and distributed among his soldiers a royal gift,
65 so that in that conflict they would act manfully.
[SVM 4,2-3] Then Martin would not take his gift,
nor defile his hands in the battle,
but said that he wanted to serve Christ
in spiritual war in accordance with his Christianity.
70 [SVM 4,4] Then the bloodthirsty said that he would be afraid
because of the forthcoming battle, not pious for Christ.
[SVM 4,5] Then Martin boldly answered the emperor:
“I will fearlessly go through the host,
armed with the sign of the cross, not with a red shield,
75 or with heavy helm, or hard corselet.”
[SVM 4,6] Then the heathen king commanded to hold Martin,
that he might be thrown unarmed before the host.
[SVM 4,7-9] Then the saviour would not forsake his servant,
but reconciled the people soon in the morrow,
80 so that they submitted to the emperor's sceptre.

62 SVM 4,1] Interea inruentibus intra Gallias barbaris, Iulianus Caesar, coacto in unum exercitu apud Vangionum ciuitatem, donatium coepit erogare militibus, et, ut est consuetudinis, singuli citabantur, donec ad Martinum uentum est. 66 SVM 4,2-3] Tum uero oportunum tempus existimans, quo peteret missionem – neque enim integrum sibi fore arbitrabatur, si donatium non militaturus acciperet – : 3. hactenus, inquit ad Caesarem, militauit tibi; patere ut nunc militem Deo. Donatium tuum pugnaturus accipiat; Christi ego miles sum: pugnare mihi non licet. 70 SVM 4,4] Tum uero aduersus hanc uocem tyrannus infremuit dicens eum metu pugnae, quae postero die erat futura, non religionis gratia detractare militiam. 72 SVM 4,5] At Martinus intrepidus, immo inlato sibi terrore constantior: si hoc, inquit, ignauiae adscribitur, non fidei, crastina die ante aciem inermis adstabo et in nomine Domini Iesu, signo crucis, non clipeo protectus aut galea, hostium cuneos penetrabo securus. 76 SVM 4,6] Retrudi ergo in custodiam iubetur, facturus fidem dictis, ut inermis barbaris obiceretur. 78 SVM 4,7-9] Postero die hostes legatos de pace miserunt, sua omnia seque dedentes. Vnde quis dubitet hanc uere beati uiri fuisse uictoriam, cui praestitum sit ne inermis ad proelium mitteretur. 8. Et quamuis pius Dominus seruare militem suum licet inter hostium gladios et tela potuisset, tamen, ne uel aliorum mortibus sancti uiolarentur obtutus, exemit pugnae necessitatem. 9. Neque enim aliam pro milite suo Christus debuit praestare uictoriam, quam ut, subactis sine sanguine hostibus, nemo moreretur.

- [SVM 5,1-3] Hwæt ða *martinus* ðone wælhreowan forlet .
and beah to *hilarium* þam gelæredan biscope .
 se ðe ða on worulde wuldorful wæs gehæfd .
 scinende swa swa tungel . on soðre lare ;
 85 Mid ðam he wunode on weligre lare
 to langum fyrste . oð þæt he his frynd geneosode
 on fyrrenum earde . wolde hí feondum ætbredan .
 ðurh halwendum fulluhte . ðe ða gýt hæðene wunodon ;
 [SVM 5,4] Ða ða | hé com to munton ða gemetton hine sceaðan . G 379v
 90 *and* heora án hine slóh mid æxe on his heafod ;
 he wearð þa gebunden . *and* heora anum betæht ;
 [SVM 5,5] ða befrán se sceaða þe hine onsundron heold
 hwæt hé manna wære . oððe wære ofdræd ;
Martinus him to cwæð . þæt hé cristen | wære . 235v
 95 *and* on eallum his life nære swa orsorh ;
 [SVM 5,6] Begánn ða to secgenne þam sceaðan geleafan .
and mid boclicere lare hine læran ongann ;
 hwæt ða se sceaða sona gelyfde .
 on ðone lifigendan god . *and* tolysd e ða bendas .
 100 his halwendan lareowes . *and* him swa filigde
 on eawfæstum ðeawum . siððan á lybbende ;

82 gelæredan] G gelæredum 83 wuldorful] H wuldorfull 85 weligre] G welihre 86 frynd]
 G freond 87 hí] G hio; H hi 88 ðe] G þa 88 gýt] G gyt 88 wunodon] G wune-
 don 89 munton] G muntan; H muntum 89 sceaðan] G scaðan 90 heora án] G hiora
 an 90 slóh] G sloh 90 his] G þæt 91 gebunden] G gebundan 91 heora] G hiora
 92 sceaða] G scaðe 92 onsundron] G H onsundrum 93 oððe wære] G oððe gif he wære
 94 hé] G H he 96 Begánn] G Began 96 sceaðan] G scaðan 97 boclicere] G bóclicere
 97 ongann] G H ongan 98 sceaða] G scaðe 98 gelyfde] G gelefde 99 lifigendan] G li-
 fiendan 99 bendas] G bændas 100 lareowes] G lareowas 101 siððan] G H syððan 101 á
 lybbende] G a libbende

82 gelæredan] Masi (66) notes that this
 variation of *a* and *u* occurs only in G.

93 hwæt hé manna wære] In the sense
 “what kind of a man he would be”.

98 gelyfde] *y* from West-Germanic *ea*
 through i-Umlaut is typical for IWS

(Hamilton: 2), whereas G’s *e* is nWS.

99 bendas] F and G present here another
 example for variants of a Germanic sound,
 cf. above *cempan*, l. 8.

101 siððan] Cf. the note on *wille/wylle*
 above, l. 73.

[SVM 5,1-3] Lo, then Martin left the bloodthirsty,
 and turned to Hilary, the learned bishop,
 who then was held in great esteem in the world,
 shining like a star with true teaching.
 85 He lived with him, in rich instruction,
 for a long time, until he visited his friends
 in a distant country; he wanted to release them from the foes,
 through wholesome baptism, they who yet remained heathen.
 [SVM 5,4] When he came to the mountains, robbers met him,
 90 and one of them struck him with an axe on his head.
 Then he was tied up and committed to one of them.
 [SVM 5,5] Then the robber asked, who kept him separately,
 what [kind of] man he was, or whether he was afraid.
 Martin said to him, that he would be a Christian,
 95 and in all his life he was never so unconcerned.
 [SVM 5,6] He then began to tell the robber of faith,
 and with book learning set about teaching him .
 Lo, then the robber soon believed
 in the living God, and loosened the bonds
 100 of his salutary teacher, and so followed him,
 living in pious service ever after.

81 SVM 5,1-3] Exinde, relicta militia, sanctum Hilarium Pictavae episcopum ciuitatis, cuius tunc in Dei rebus spectata et cognita fides habebatur, expetiit et ahquandiu apud eum commoratus est. 2. Temptauit autem idem Hilarius inposito diaconatus officio sibi eum artius implicare et ministerio uincire diuino, sed eum saepissime restitisset, indignum se esse uociferans, intellexit uir altioris ingenii uno eum modo posse constringi, si id ei officii imponeret in quo quidam locus iniuriae uideretur. Itaque exorcistam eum esse praecepit. Quam ille ordinationem, ne despexisse tamquam humiliorem uideretur, non repudiauit. 3. Nec multo post admonitus per soporem ut patriam parentesque, quos adhuc gentilitas detinebat, religiosa sollicitudine uisitare, ex uoluntate sancti Hilari profectus est, multis ab eo obstrictus precibus et lacrimis ut rediret. Maestus, ut ferunt, peregrinationem illam ingressus est, contestatus fratribus multa se aduersa passurum: quod postea probauit euentus. 89 SVM 5,4] Ac primum inter Alpes deuia secutus incidit in latrones. Cumque unus securi eleuata in caput eius librasset ictum, ferientis dexteram sustinuit alter; uinctis tamen post tergum manibus, uni adseruandus et spoliandus traditur. Qui cum eum ad remotiora duxisset, percontari ab eo coepit quisnam esset. Respondit Christianum se esse. 92 SVM 5,5] Quaerebat etiam ab eo an timeret. Tum uero constantissime profitebatur numquam se tam fuisse securum, quia sciret misericordiam Domini maxime in temptationibus adfuturam; se magis illi dolere, qui Christi misericordia, utpote latronica exercens, esset indignus. 96 SVM 5,6] Ingressusque euangelicam disputationem uerbum Dei latroni praedicabat. Quid longius morer? Latro credidit prosecutusque Martinum uiae reddidit, orans ut pro se Dominum precaretur. Idemque postea religiosam agens uitam uisus est, adeo ut haec, quae supra rettulimus, ex ipso audita dicantur.

- [SVM 6,1] *Æfter ðisum gemette martinus þone deofol .*
 Se *áxode* ardlice hwider he siðode .
- [SVM 6,2] *sæde þæt he wolde his wiðerwinna beon .*
 105 on eallum his færeldre . swa hwider swa hé ferde ;
 Ða *andwyrde* se halga sona ðan deoffle .
 Ne ondræde ic ðe . Drihten is min gefylsta .
and se sceocca fordwán of his gesihðe ða ;
- [SVM 6,3] *Martinus ða siððan siðode to his magum .*
 110 *and* awende his moder of *mánfullum* hæðenscipe .
and manega hire to eacan eac to gode gebigde .
 þeah ðe se fæder ána hæðengildá wunode ;
 Be ðam we magon tocnawan þæt gehwilce geðeoð
 to heofenan rice . þeah ðe heora frynd losian .
- 115 þa ða se mæra wer swa micclum geðeah .
and his fæder forwearð on fulum hæðenscipe .
- [SVM 6,4] On ðam timan asprang Arrianes gedwyld
 wide geond eorðan . þam | martinus wiðfeht . G 380r
 oð þæt he forwel oft yfele wearð geswenct ;
- 120 [SVM 6,5-6] he ðygde unlybban eac on his mete .
 ac he ða frecednysse þæs færlican attres
 mid gebedum aflugde . þurh fultum drihtnes ;

102 deofol] *G* deoful 103 *áxode*] *G* axode 104 *sæde*] *G* and *sæde* 106 *andwyrde*] *H* andwyrde 106 ðan] *G* þam 107 Drihten] *G* dryhten; *H* driht 108 sceocca fordwán] *G* scucca fordwan 108 gesihðe] *G* gesyhðe 109 siððan] *GH* syððan 109 siðode] *G* syðode 110 moder] *GH* modor 110 *mánfullum*] *G* manfullum 111 eacan] *G* ecan 112 ána] *GH* ana 112 hæðengildá] *G* on hæðengilda; *H* hæþengylða 113 ðam] *G* ðon 113 gehwilce] *GH* gehwylce 113 geðeoð] *H* ðeoð 114 heofenan] *GH* heofonan 114 heora frynd] *G* hiora freond 115 micclum] *G* miclum 116 fulum] *G* fullum 117 Arrianes gedwyld] *G* arrianes gedwild; *H* arrianus gecwyld, probably a scribal error (missing stroke) in *H*. 118 wide] *G* wyde 119 geswenct] *G* geswænct 120 ðygde] *GH* þigde 120 unlybban] *G* unlibban 121 frecednysse] *GH* fræcednysse

102 deofol] Masi (67) notes that this variation of *o* and *u* occurs in unaccented syllables; cf. GrC § 373.
 107 Drihten] Note that the capitalization of the word for God is modern, here it

presents an exception.
 117 SVM 6,4] Masi (193) notes that Ælfric (here as well as in the *Life*) does not mention Illyris, and shortens the passage on Martin's fight against Arrianism.

[SVM 6,1] After this Martin met the devil,
 who promptly asked where he was travelling,
 [SVM 6,2] said that he would be his adversary
 105 in all his course, wherever he would go.
 Then the saint straightaway answered the devil:
 "I do not fear you. The Lord is my stay.",
 and then the devil vanished from his sight.
 [SVM 6,3] Afterwards, Martin travelled to his parents,
 110 and turned his mother away from wicked heathendom,
 and many besides her turned to God,
 though the father alone remained an idolater.
 From this we may know that anyone may thrive
 to the heavenly kingdom, though their friends may perish,
 115 when this great man thrived so greatly,
 and his father perished in foul heathendom.
 [SVM 6,4] At that time the heresy of Arius spread
 widely on the earth, which Martin fought against,
 so that he very often was evilly harassed.
 120 [SVM 6,5-6] He received poison also in his food,
 but the danger from the sudden venom,
 he drove away with prayers, by help of the Lord.

102 SVM 6,1] Igitur Martinus inde progressus cum Mediolanum praeterisset, diabolus in itinere, humana specie adsumpta, se ei obuium tulit, quo tenderet quaerens. Cumque id a Martino responsi accepisset, se quo Dominus uocaret intendere, ait ad eum: 104 SVM 6,2] quocumque ieris uel quaecumque temptaueris, diabolus tibi aduersabitur. Tune ei prophetica uoce respondens: Dominus mihi, inquit, adiutor est; non timebo quid faciat mihi homo. Statimque de conspectu eius inimicus euanuit. 109 SVM 6,3] Itaque, ut animo ac mente conceperat, matrem gentilitatis absoluit errore, patre in malis perseuerante; plures tamen suo saluauit exemplo. 117 SVM 6,4] Dehinc cum haeresis Arriana per totum orbem et maxime intra Illyricum pullulasset, cum aduersus perfidiam sacerdotum solus paene acerrime repugnaret multisque suppliciis esset adfectus – nam et publico uirgis caesus est et ad extremum de ciuitate exire compulsus –, Italiam repetens, cum intra Gallias quoque discessu sancti Hilari, quem ad exilium haereticorum uis coegerat, turbatam ecclesiam comperisset, Mediolani sibi monasterium statuit. Ibi quoque eum Auxentius, auctor et princeps Arrianorum, grauissime insectatus est, multisque adfectum iniuriis de ciuitate exturbauit. 120 SVM 6,5-6] Cedendum itaque tempori ratus, ad insulam, cui Gallinaria nomen est, secessit, comite quodam presbytero magnarum uirtutum uiro. Hic aliquandiu radicibus uixit herbarum. Quo tempore helleborum, uenenatum, ut ferunt, gramen, in cibum sumpsit. 6. Sed cum uim ueneni in se grassantis uicina iam morte sensisset, imminens periculum oratione repulit statimque omnis dolor fugatus est.

- [SVM 6,7] Ða cyrde martinus ongean to hilarium
 swa swa he mid wope hine georne bæd .
 125 þæt hé æfter ðam siðe . hine gesecan sceolde .
 [SVM 7,1] Hilarius ða eft mid estfullum mode
 hine underfeng . fægen his cymes .
 and martinus siððan him mynster arærde .
 buton ðære byrig mid munuclicere onbryrdnyse ;
 130 Æfter ðisum geðeodde sum hæðen wer him to .
 and se binnon feawum dagum swa færllice swealt .
 [SVM 7,2] þæt hé on fulluhte underfangen næs .
 for ðan ðe martinus ða on neawiste næs .
 ac com ða to huse [SVM 7,3] hearde gedrefed .
 135 and hine sylfne astrehte . sona ofer ðone deadan .
 drihten biddende . þæt he him lif sealde .
 and he wearð ða geedcucod æfter lytlum fyrste .
 [SVM 7,5] and sona gefullod . gesundful leofode
 to manegum gearum . [SVM 7,6] and gewisslice sæde
 140 þæt hé wære gelæd to leohtleasre stowe .
 and swærlice geswenct . on sweartum witum ;
 ða comon þær fleogende twegen fægre englas .
 and hine gelæddon ongean to life
 for martines bene . swa swa he bæd æt gode ;

123 cyrde] *G* cerde 123 hilarium] *H*hilárium 124 mid wope] *H*hine mid wope 124 hine] *H*om. 125 sceolde] *G* scolde 128 siððan] *H*syððan 129 onbryrdnyse] *G* onbryrdnesse 130 ðisum] *G* þissum; *H*þysum 131 binnon] *G* binnan 131 swealt] *H*forswealt 132 næs] *G* nes 137 geedcucod] *H*edcucod 138 gesundful] *G* and gesundful; *H*gesundfull 139 gearum] *G*gærum 139 gewisslice] *G**H*gewislice 140 hé] *H*he 141 geswenct] *G*geswænct 142 fægre englas] *G*fægere ænglas 144 martines] *G*martinus 144 bæd æt gode] *G*æt gode bæd; *H*defective

130 sum hæðen wer him to] The verb *com* is obviously missing in the b-verse (compare the *Life*, ll. 209f.).
 144 martines] F and G present two variants of *e* and *u*, which Masi (65)

discusses and categorizes as possibly “regional orthographic custom”, not having enough material to draw other conclusions. Another example is *burhware/burhwaru*.

[SVM 6,7] Then Martin returned to Hilary,
 as he had earnestly with weeping asked of him,
 125 that he, after his journey, should seek him.
 [SVM 7,1] Then Hilary with devoted spirit
 received him, joyful about his coming,
 and Martin afterwards erected for himself a monastery,
 outside the city, with monastic inspiration.
 130 After this a certain heathen man joined him,
 and he, within a few days, died so suddenly,
 [SVM 7,2] that he had not received baptism,
 because Martin was not in proximity,
 but came to the house, [SVM 7,3] deeply troubled,
 135 and soon stretched himself over the dead,
 praying the Lord that he would give him life,
 and he was then revived, after a little while,
 [SVM 7,5] and soon baptized, lived in good health
 for many years, and truly told
 140 that he had been led to a lightless place,
 and severely afflicted with dismal torments.
 Then there came flying two fair angels,
 and led him again to life,
 because of Martin's prayer, as he had asked of God.

123 SVM 6,7] Nec multo post, cum sancto Hilario comperisset regis paenitentia potestatem indultam fuisse redeundi, Romae ei temptauit occurrere profectusque ad urbem est. 126 SVM 7,1] Cum iam Hilarius praeterisset, Pictauos eum est uestigiis persecutus; cumque ab eo gratis fuisset exceptus, haut longe sibi ab oppido monasterium conlocauit. Quo tempore se ei quidam catechumenus iunxit, cupiens sanctissimi uiri institui disciplinis. Paucisque interpositis diebus, languore correptus ui februum laborabat. 132 SVM 7,2] Ac tum Martinus forte discesserat. Et cum per triduum defuisset, regressus exanime corpus inuenit: ita subita mors fuerat, ut absque baptismo humanis rebus excederet. Corpus in medio positum tristi maerentium fratrum frequentabatur officio, cum Martinus flens et eiulans accurrit. 134 SVM 7,3] Tum uero, tota sanctum spiritum mente concipiens, egredi cellulam, in qua corpus iacebat, ceteros iubet, ac foribus obseratis super exanimata defuncti fratris membra prosternitur. Et cum aliquandiu orationi incubisset sensissetque per spiritum Domini adesse uirtutem, erectus paululum et in defuncti ora defixus, orationis suae ac misericordiae Domini intrepidus expectabat euentum. Vixque duarum fere horarum spatium intercesserat, uidet defunctum paulatim membris omnibus commoueri et laxatis in usum uidendi palpitare luminibus. 138 SVM 7,5] Ita redditus uitae, statim baptismum consecutus, plures postea uixit annos, primusque apud nos Martin uirtutum uel materia uel testimonium fuit.

- 145 [SVM 8,1-2] Sum ungesceadwis man hine sylfne aheng
 þæt hé fotum span . and his feorh forlét .
 þæt wearð ða mid wope þam halgan were gecydd .
 and hé genealæhte þam lifleasan men .
 [SVM 8,3] | and hine unwurðne of deaðe arærde . G 380v
- 150 | þurh his ðingrædene wið þone soðan god ; 236r
 [SVM 9,1] þæt turonisce folc hine ða geceas
 him to leodbiscope . ðeah ðe he lange wiðcwæde .
 and of mynstre nolde nawar beon gemet .
 oð þæt sum fæmne hí facenlice hiwode
- 155 sárlice seoce . and asende wið his ;
 [SVM 9,2-3] Ða ferde martinus and þæt folc his cepte .
 and hine gelæhton swa swa hí ær geleornodon
 ealle clypigende mid anre stemne .
 þæt martinus wære wyrðe þæs hades .
- 160 and þæt folc gesælig ðurh swilcne biscop ;
 [SVM 10,1] he wearð ða gehalgod swa swa hí ealle gecuron .
 and ðone hád geheold mid soðre eadmodnysse
 on ðære ylcan anrædnysse þe he ár on leofode ;
 [SVM 10,2] He heold his ðeawas swa swa healic biscop .
- 165 and his muneclice ingehyd swa þeah betwux mannum ;

145 ungesceadwis] G ungescadwis 145 sylfne] G selfne 146 forlét] G forlet 147 gecydd]
 G gecyd 148 genealæhte] G genealehte 152 wiðcwæde] G wiðcwæðe 153 nawar] G
 H nahwar 154 hí] G hio; H hi 154 hiwode] G gehiwode 155 sárlice] G sarlice 155 asen-
 de] G asænde 156 Ða ferde martinus] H Ða MARTINUS ferde 157 hí] G hio; H hi
 157 geleornodon] H leornodon 158 clypigende] G H clypiende 158 stemne] G stefne
 160 gesælig] G gesælig wurde 160 swilcne] G swylcne 161 hí] G hio; H hi 162 hád]
 G had 163 ylcan] G ilcan 163 ár] G H ær 165 muneclice] G munuclice; H munuclie
 165 ingehyd] H ingehid

- 145 [SVM 8,1-2] Some unreasonable man hanged himself,
 so that he span with his feet, and forsook his life.
 Then with weeping that was reported to the holy man,
 and he approached the lifeless man,
 [SVM 8,3] and raised him, the unworthy, from death,
 150 through his pleading, with the true God.
 [SVM 9,1] The people of Tours then chose him
 for their diocesan bishop, though he long refused,
 and would not be found anywhere outside the monastery,
 until some woman deceitfully feigned herself
 155 sorely sick, and sent for him.
 [SVM 9,2-3] Then Martin went, and the people awaited him,
 and took him, as they before had been instructed,
 all crying with one voice,
 that Martin would be worthy of the position,
 160 and the people blessed by such a bishop.
 [SVM 10,1] He was then consecrated, as they all had chosen,
 and held that position with true humility,
 with the same steadfastness which he had lived by before.
 [SVM 10,2] He observed his duties like a distinguished bishop,
 165 and his monastic strictness among men nevertheless.

145 SVM 8,1-2] *Nec multo post, dum agrum Lupicini cuiusdam, honorati secundum saeculum uiri, praeteriret, clamore et luctu turbae plangentis excipitur. 2. Ad quam cum sollicitus adstisset et quis esset hic fletus inquireret, indicatur unum ex familia seruulum laqueo sibi uitam extorsisse. Quo cognito, cellulam, in qua corpus iacebat, ingreditur, exclusisque omnibus turbis superstratus corpori aliquantisper orauit. 149 SVM 8,3] Mox uiuescente uultu, marcentibus oculis in ora illius defunctus erigitur; lentoque conamine enisus adsurgere, adprehensa beati uiri dextera in pedes constitit, atque ita cum eo usque ad uestibulum domus, turba omni inspectante, processit. 151 SVM 9,1] Sub idem fere tempus, ad episcopatum Turonicae ecclesiae petebatur; sed cum erui monasterio suo non facile posset, Rusticius quidam, unus e ciuibus, uxoris languore simulato ad genua illius prouolutus, ut egrederetur obtinuit. 156 SVM 9,2-3] Ita, dispositis iam in itinere ciuium turbis, sub quadam custodia ad ciuitatem usque deducitur. Mirum in modum incredibilis multitudo non solum ex illo oppido, sed etiam ex uicinis urbibus ad suffragia ferenda conuenerat. 3. Vna omnium uoluntas, eadem uota eademque sententia: Martinum episcopatus esse dignissimum; felicem fore tali ecclesiam sacerdote. Pauci tamen, et nonnulli ex episcopis qui ad constituendum antistitem fuerant euocati, impie repugnabant, dicentes scilicet contemptibilem esse personam, indignum esse episcopatu hominem uultu despicabilem, ueste sordidum, crine deformem. 161 SVM 10,1] Iam uero, sumpto episcopatu qualem se quantumque praestiterit, non est nostrae facultatis euoluere. Idem enim constantissime perseuerabat qui prius fuerat. 164 SVM 10,2] Eadem in corde eius humilitas, eadem in uestitu eius uilitas erat; atque ita, plenus auctoritatis et gratiae, inplebat episcopi dignitatem, ut non tamen propositum monachi uirtutemque desereret.*

- [SVM 10,3-5] he arærde him munuclif on micelre digelnyse
 twa mila fram ðære ceastre turoniscre ðeode ;
 þæt mynster he gelogode mid wellybbendum mannum .
 þæt wæron hundehtatig muneca . þe him anmodlice gehyrdon .
 170 *and* him eallum wæron heora ðing gemæne .
 æfter regollicere gesetnyse [SVM 10,6] ne hi naht synderlices næfdon .
 Næs heora nanum alyfed on ðam life ænig cræft .
 buton halgum gebedum . *and* heora gewritum ;
 Seo yld hí gebæd . *and* seo iuguð wrat ;
 175 Symle hí sæton ætsomne to gereorde .
 næs þær wines drenc buton wannhalum mannum .
 [SVM 10,8] heo|ra forwel fela wæron mid waces olfendes hærum *G 381r*
 to lice gescrydde . *and* þær laðode softnys ;
 Of ðam mynstre geðugon æðele biscopas .
 180 þurh martines lare gehwīlcum leodum ;
 [SVM 11,1-2] ðær wæs ða gehæfd gehende ðære byrig
 swilce halig stow . mid healicum gedwylde .
and weofod geset mid micclum wurðmynte
 swilce ðær gereste sum halig cyðere ;
 185 Ða befrán martinus æt þam mæssepreostum
 ðæs martires naman . þe hí swa micclum wurðodon ;
 ða nyste heora nán his naman to secgenne .

166 munuclif] *G* munucliff 166 micelre] *G* mycelre 167 ceastre] *G* cæstre 168 wellyb-
 bendum] *G* wellibbendum 169 wæron] *G* wæreon 169 gehyrdon] *G* geherdon 174 hí]
GH hi 174 iuguð] *H* geogoð 175 Symle] *G* Symble 175 hí] *G* hio; *H* hi 176 drenc]
G drænc 176 wannhalum] *G* wanhalan; *H* wanhalum 177 fela] *G* feola 177 olfendes]
G oluendes 178 gescrydde] *G* gescridde 178 softnys] *G* softnes; *H* softnyse 180 martines]
G martinus 180 gehwīlcum] *G* gehwylcum 181 gehende] *G* gehænde 182 swilce] *G* swylce
 182 gedwylde] *G* gedwilde (*erroneus e after l has been scratched out*) 184 swilce] *G* swylce
 185 befrán] *G* befran 186 martires] *GH* martyres 186 hí] *GH* hi 186 micclum] *G* mi-
 clum 187 nyste heora] *G* niste hiora 187 secgenne] *G* gesæcgenne

168 wellyb-bendum] Lit. 'well-living', in
 the sense 'noble'.
 177 fela] According to Masi (68) and

GrW (§ 48) the variant in *G* presents an
 Anglian form as a result of an umlaut of *e*.

[SVM 10,3-5] He build up for himself a monastery in great solitariness,
 two miles from the city of the people of Tours.
 That monastery he lodged with men of good life;
 that were eighty monks, who unanimously obeyed him,
 170 and to them all their things were in common,
 in canonical tradition, [SVM 10,6] nor owned they anything privately.
 To none of them any craft was allowed in that life
 but holy prayers and their writings.
 The elderly prayed, and the youth wrote.
 175 They always sat together at meals;
 there was no drink of wine, except for sick men.
 [SVM 10,8] A great many of them with poor camel's hair
 clothed their bodies, and loathed softness there.
 From that monastery thrived noble bishops,
 180 through Martin's instruction, to many people.
 [SVM 11,1-2] There was then near the city
 such a holy place held in fundamental error,
 and an altar set up with great honour,
 such as if there rested some holy martyr.
 185 Then Martin inquired of the mass-priests
 the name of the martyr whom they so greatly honoured.
 Then none of them knew to say his name,

166 SVM 10,3-5] Aliquandiu ergo adhaerenti ad ecclesiam cellula usus est; dein, cum iniquitatem se frequentantium ferre non posset, duobus fere extra ciuitatem milibus monasterium sibi statuit. 4. Qui locus tam secretus et remotus erat, ut eremi solitudinem non desideraret. Ex uno enim latere praecisa montis excelsi rupe ambiebatur, reliquam planitiem Liger fluius reducto paululum sinu cluserat; una tantum eademque arta admodum uia adiri poterat. Ipse ex lignis contextam cellulam habebat, 5. multique ex fratribus in eundem modum; plerique saxo superiecti montis cauato receptacula sibi fecerant. Discipuli fere octoginta erant, qui ad exemplum beati magistri instituebantur. 171 SVM 10,6] Nemo ibi quicquam proprium habebat, omnia in medium conferebantur. Non emere aut uendere, ut plerisque monachis moris est, quicquam licebat; ars ibi, exceptis scriptoribus, nulla habebatur, cui tamen operi minor aetas deputabatur: maiores orationi uacabant. 177 SVM 10,8] Plerique camelorum saetis uestiebantur: mollior ibi habitus pro crimine erat. Quod eo magis sit mirum necesse est, quod multi inter eos nobiles habebantur, qui longe aliter educati ad hanc se humilitatem et patientiam coegerant; pluresque ex eis postea episcopos uidimus. 181 SVM 11,1-2] Sed ut reliquas uirtutes eius, quas in episcopatu egit, adgrediar, erat haud longe ab oppido proximus monasterio locus, quem falsa hominum opinio, uelut consepultis ibi martyribus, sacrauerat: 2. nam et altare ibi a superioribus episcopis constitutum habebatur. Sed Martinus non temere adhibens incertis fidem, ab his, qui maiores natu erant, presbyteris uel clericis flagitabat nomen sibi martyris, tempus passionis ostendi: grandi se scrupulo permoueri, quod nihil certi constans sibi maiorum memoria tradidisset.

- ne on hwæs timan he ðrowunge underhnige ;
 [SVM 11,3-4] hwæt ða se biscop mid his gebroðrum
 190 ferde to þære ylcan stowe . and þone ælmihtigan bæd
 þæt hé geswutelode mid soðre gebicnunge .
 hwæne ðær swa mærne þæt mennisc wurðode ;
 Ða wearð þær æteowod an atelic sceadu
 on sweartum hiwe . and sæde þæt he wære
 195 for stale ofslegen . na for soðum geleafan .
 and wunode on wite mid wælhreawum sceaðum .
 for his mándædum . na mid drihtnes cyðerum ;
 [SVM 11,5] ða towende se biscop þæt weofod sona .
 and þa dwollican socne mid ealle adwæscte ;
 200 [AVM 660A] hit gelamp eac swilce on oðrum timan .
 þæt anre wydewan sunu wearð to deaðe | gebroht . 236v
 and hrædlice gewát fram woruldlicum bricum .
 and se halga martinus for hine gebæd
 on ðæs folces gesihðe . and hé sona arás
 205 to ðam lænan | life þe hé ær forlet ; G 381v
 Purh ðam tacne gelyfdon of ðære leode gehwilce
 on ðone lifigendan god . ðe hine to life arærde ;
 [AVM 660B] On ðære ylcan byrig he gehælde án mæden
 mid halwendum smyrelse gehalgodes eles .
 210 þæt ðe fram cildháde symle ær dumb wæs ;

188 underhnige] G underfenge 189 ða se biscop] G ða martinus se biscop 190 ferde] G ferðe 190 ylcan] G ilcan 190 ælmihtigan] G ælmihtigne 191 hé] GH he 191 geswutelode] G geswutulode 191 gebicnunge] G bicnunge 192 hwæne] G hwæne hio 192 mennisc] G mænnisc 193 sceadu] G scaða 194 on] G mid 194 sweartum] H sweartan 195 ofslegen] G ofslægen; H ofslogen 196 wælhreawum] G wælhreowan 196 sceaðum] G scaðum 197 mándædum] G mandædum 197 drihtnes] G dryhtnes 197 cyðerum] GH martyrum 201 wydewan] G wuduwan (second u is a scribal correction from e) 202 hrædlice] G hwætlice 202 gewát] GH gewat 204 hé] GH he 204 arás] GH aras 205 hé] G H he 206 ðam tacne] G þæt tanc 206 gehwilce] G gehwylce 207 lifigendan] GH lifigendan 208 ylcan] G ilcan 208 án] GH an 209 smyrelse] G smerelse 210 cildháde] G H cildhade 210 symle] G symble 210 ær] GH ær

205 lænan life] Masi (195) proposes 'passing life' as a more literal translation, instead of Thorpe's 'poor life'; 'lent life' is even closer.

nor in whose time he had undergone his passion.
 [SVM 11,3-4] So, then the bishop with his brothers
 190 went to the same place, and prayed the Almighty
 that he would show with a true sign
 whom there so greatly the people honoured.
 There appeared then a horrid shade
 in dark colour, and said that he had been
 195 put to death for theft, not for true faith,
 and dwelled in torment with bloodthirsty robbers,
 for his wicked deeds, not with the Lord's martyrs.
 [SVM 11,5] The bishop then straightaway overthrew the altar,
 and suppressed the false sanctuary.
 200 [AVM 660A] It also happened, at another time,
 that a widow's son was brought to death,
 and suddenly departed from worldly realms;
 and the holy Martin prayed for him
 in sight of the people, and soon he arose
 205 to the granted life that he had left before.
 Through this miracle everyone from that people believed
 in the living God, who had raised him to life.
 [AVM 660B] In the same city he healed a maiden,
 with a wholesome unction of holy oil,
 210 who from childhood had always been dumb before.

189 SVM 11,3-4] Cum aliquandiu ergo a loco illo se abstinisset, nec derogans religioni, quia incertus erat, nec auctoritatem suam uulgo adcommodans, ne superstitio conualesceret, quodam die paucis secum adhibitis fratribus ad locum perguit. 4. Dehinc super sepulchrum ipsum adstans orauit ad Dominum, ut quis esset uel cuius meriti esset sepultus ostenderet. Tum conuersus ad laeuam uidet prope adsistere imbram sordidam, trucem; imperat nomen meritumque loqueretur. Nomen edicit, de crimine confitetur: latronem se fuisse, ob scelera percussus, uulgi errore celebratum; sibi nihil cum martyribus esse commune, cum illos gloria, se poena retineret. 198 SVM 11,5] Mirum in modum, uocem loquentis qui aderant audiebant, personam tamen non uidebant. Tum Martinus quid uidisset exposuit iussitque ex loco altare, quod ibi fuerat, submoueri, atque ita populum superstitionis illius absoluit errore. 200 AVM 660A] Tertium ab eodem sancto viro, in Carnoteno oppido, cuiusdam mulieris flentem filium sola oratione in conspectu populi resuscitauit. Quo miraculo viso, plurimi ex populo crediderunt Christo. 208 AVM 660B] Succedente itidem tempore, in eodem oppido, mutam ab infantia puellam benedicti olei inunctione sanauit.

- [SVM 12,1-5] he ferde eft siððan embe sumere neode .
 þa ofseah hé feorran ða hæðenan ferian
 án lic to eorðan . mid anþræcum gehlyde .
and hé ealle gefæstnode heora fét to eorðan
 215 on ðære stowe þe hí steppende wæron
 mid his strangan bene swilce mid bende ;
 hí tyrndon mid bodige gebigedum sceancum .
and heora fótwyllmas awendan ne mihton .
 oð þæt se halga hí eft alysde .
 220 *and* lét hí forðgán . for his gódnysse ;
 [SVM 13,1] Se halga towearp eac sum hæðengyld .
and wolde aheawan ænne heahne pinbeam .
 se wæs ær gehalgod þam hæðenum godum ;
 [SVM 13,2] ða noldon ða hæðenan þam halgan geðafian .
 225 þæt hé swa halig treow æfre hynan sceolde ;
 [SVM 13,3] Cwæð þeah heora án þæt he hit underfenge
 feallende to foldan . *and* hí hit forcurfon .
 gif hé on god truwode þurh trumne geleafan ;

211 siððan] *GH*syððan 211 embe] *G*ymbe 212 hé] *GH*he 212 feorran] *H*feorran
 213 án] *G*an 213 eorðan] *H*eorðe 214 hé] *GH*he 214 fét] *GH*fet 215 hí] *G*
*H*hi 215 steppende] *H*stæppende 215 wæron] *MS* bæron (*sic!*) 216 swilce] *G*swylce
 216 bende] *G*bænde 217 hí] *G*hio; *H*hi 217 tyrndon mid] *G*tyrndan mid; *H*tyrndon
 þa mid 217 sceancum] *G*scancum 218 fótwyllmas] *H*fotwyllmas 219 hí] *GH*hi 220 lét
 hí forðgán] *G*lét hi forðgan; *H*let hi forðgan 220 gódnysse] *GH*godnysse 221 hæðengyld]
*G*hæðengild 225 hé] *GH*he 226 án] *GH*an 227 hí] *GH*hi 228 hé] *GH*he

213 he ferde ... gehlyde] Ogawa (1996: 469) discusses the use of *þa* in this passage.

- [SVM 12,1-3] Afterwards, he went about for some endeavour,
 when he observed the heathens bearing
 a corpse to the earth with a horrible clamour,
 and he fastened all their feet to the earth,
 215 on the place where they were walking,
 with his powerful prayer, so as if with a bond.
 [SVM 12,4-5] Their bodies turned, with bended legs,
 and they could not move their foot-soles,
 until the holy man again released them,
 220 and let them go on, because of his goodness.
 [SVM 13,1] The saint also destroyed an idol,
 and intended to hew down a high pine tree,
 which had before been dedicated to the heathen gods.
 [SVM 13,2] Then the heathens would not allow the saint
 225 that he should ever treat ill so holy a tree.
 [SVM 13,3] One of them said, that he should receive it
 when it falls to the earth, and they would cut it down,
 if he trusted in God with firm belief.

211 SVM 12,1-3] *Accidit autem insequenti tempore, dum iter ageret, ut gentilis cuiusdam corpus, quod ad sepulchrum cum superstizioso funere deferebatur, obuuium haberet; conspicatusque eminus uenientium turbam, quidnam id esset ignarus, pauluium stetit. Nam fere quingentorum passuum interualium erat, ut difficile fuerit dinoscere quid uideret. 2. Tamen, quia rusticam manum cerneret et, agente uento, lintea corpori superiecta uolitant, profanos sacrificiorum ritus agi credidit, quia esset haec Gallorum rusticis consuetudo, simulacra daemonum candido tecta uelamine misera per agros suos circumferre dementia. 3. Leuato ergo in aduersos signo crucis, imperat turbae non moueri loco onusque deponere. Hic uero, mirum in modum, uideres miseros primum uelut saxa riguisse. 217 SVM 12,4-5] Dein, cum promouere se summo conamine niterentur, ultra accedere non ualentes ridiculam in uertiginem rotabantur, donec uicti corporis onus ponunt. Attoniti et semet inuicem aspicientes, quidnam sibi accidisset taciti cogitabant. 5. Sed cum beatus uir conperisset exequiarum esse illam frequentiam, non sacrorum, eleuata rursus manu dat eis abeundi et tollendi corporis potestatem. Ita eos et, cum uoluit, stare conpult et, cum libuit, abire permisit. 221 SVM 13,1] Item, cum in uico quodam templum antiquissimum diruisset et arborem pinum, quae fano erat proxima, esset adgressus excidere, tum uero antistes loci illius ceteraque gentilium turba coepit obsistere. 224 SVM 13,2] Et cum idem illi, dum templum euertitur, imperante Domino quieuisent, succidi arborem non patiebantur, ille eos sedulo commonere nihil esse religionis in stipite; Deum potius, cui seruiret ipse, sequerentur; arborem illam excidi oportere, quia esset daemonei dedicata. 226 SVM 13,3] Tum unus ex illis, qui erat audacior ceteris: si habes, inquit, aliquam de Deo tuo, quem dicis te colere, fiduciam, nosmet ipsi succidemus hanc arborem, tu ruentem excipe; et si tecum est tuus, ut dicis, Dominus, euades.*

- [SVM 13,4-5] Ða geðafode *martinus* . þæt mid gebylde .
 230 *and* wearð gebunden under ðam beame geset
 ðider ðe hé bigde mid *healicum bogum* .
and næs him nán wen þæt hé ahwár wende
 buton to ðam halgan . swa swa he ahyld wæs ;
 [SVM 13,6] Hwæt ða ða hæðenan aheowon þæt treow
 235 mid ormætre blisse . þæt hit brastliende sáh
 to ðam halgan were . hetelice swiðe ;
 [SVM 13,8] Ða worhte hé ongean ðam hreosendum treowe
 þæs hæ|lendes rodetácñ . *and* hit ðærrihte ætstód . G 382r
 wende ða ongean . *and* hreas underbæc .
 240 *and* fornean offeoll ða ðe hit ær forcurfon ;
 [SVM 13,9] Ða awurpon ða hæðenan sona heora gedwyld .
and to heora scyppende sæmtinges gebugon
 mid micclum geleafan ðurh martines lare ;
 [SVM 14,1] Eft hé ontende sum hæðen *templ* .
 245 ða gewende se líg ðurh þæs windes blæd
 to sumes mannes huse ðe þær gehende stód .

230 geset] *H* gesett 231 hé] *GH* he 232 wen] *G* wén 232 ahwár] *G* ahwær 232 wende] *G* wænde 233 swa swa] *G* omits until halgan in l. 236, probably the scribe accidentally skipped a line from his original 235 sáh] *H* sah 237 worhte] *G* wrohte 237 hé] *GH* he 238 rodetácñ] *G* rodetacne 238 ætstód] *GH* ætstod 239 wende] *G* wænde 240 fornean offeoll] *G* forneah offeol 241 gedwyld] *G* gedwild 242 heora scyppende] *G* hiora sceppende 243 martines] *G* martinus 244 hé] *G* *H* he 244 hæðen *templ*] *G* æþele tempel 245 líg] *G* *H* lig 245 windes] *G* liftes; *H* lyftes 246 gehende] *G* gehænde 246 stód] *GH* stod

- 230 [SVM 13,4-5] Then Martin consented to that with boldness,
and was set bound under the tree,
where it bent with its high boughs,
and they had no expectation that it would turn anywhere else
than to the holy man, so as it was inclined.
- 235 [SVM 13,6] So, then the heathens cut that tree
with excessive bliss, so that it sank crackling
towards the holy man, very violently.
- [SVM 13,8] Then he made towards the falling tree
the sign of the Saviour's cross, and right away it stood still,
then turned again, and fell backwards,
240 and nearly fell on those who had cut it before.
- [SVM 13,9] Then the heathens immediately renounced their heresy,
and instantly turned to their creator,
with great faith, through Martin's instruction.
- 245 [SVM 14,1] Afterwards, he set fire to some heathen temple.
Then the flame turned, through the wind's blast,
to some man's house, which was standing there nearby,

229 SVM 13,4-5] Tum ille, intrepide confisus in Domino, facturum se pollicetur. Hic uero ad istius modi condicionem omnis illa gentilium turba consensus, facilemque arboris suae habuere iacturam, si inimicum sacrorum suorum casu illius obruissent. 5. Itaque, cum unam in partem pinus illa esset adclinis, it non esset dubium quam in partem succisa corrueret, eo loci uinctus statuitur pro arbitrio rusticorum, quo arborem esse casuram nemo dubitabat. 234 SVM 13,6] Succidere igitur ipsi suam pinum cum ingenti gaudio laetitiaque coeperunt. Aderat eminus turba mirantium. Iamque paulatim nutare pinus et ruinam suam casura minitari. 237 SVM 13,8] At ille confisus in Domino, intrepidus opperiens, cum iam fragorem sui pinus concidens edidisset, iam cadenti, iam super se ruenti, eleuata obuiam manu, signum salutis opponit. Tum uero, – uelut turbinis modo retro actam putares, – diuersam in partem ruit, adeo ut rusticos, qui tuto in loco steterant, paene prostrauerit. 241 SVM 13,9] Tum uero, in caelum clamore sublato, gentiles stupere miraculo, monachi flere prae gaudio, Christi nomen in commune ab omnibus praedicari; satisque constitit eo die salutem illi uenisse regioni. Nam nemo fere ex inmani illa multitudine gentilium fuit, qui non impositione manus desiderata Dominum Iesum, relicto impietatis errore, crediderit. Et uere ante Martinum pauci admodum, immo paene nulli in illis regionibus Christi nomen receperant. Quod adeo uirtutibus illius exemploque conualuit, ut iam ibi nullus locus sit qui non aut ecclesiis frequentissimis aut monasteriis sit repletus. Nam ubi fana destruxerat, statim ibi aut ecclesias aut monasteria construebat. 244 SVM 14,1] Nec minorem, sub idem fere tempus, eodem in opere uirtutem edidit. Nam cum, in uico quodam, fano antiquissimo et celeberrimo ignem inmisisset, in proximam, immo adhaerentem domum agente uento flammaram globi ferebantur.

- [SVM 14,2] ac martinus astah on ðam sticelan hrofe .
and sette hine sylfne ongean ðam swegendum lige .
and he sona ðreow ðwyres wið þæs windes
 250 mid micclum gewinne for ðæs weres mihte .
and wæs ða geholpen ðam unscyldigum huse ;
 [SVM 14,3-4] Gelóme he towearp gehwær hæðene gyld .
 þa wolde hé æne án eald hus tocwysan
 þe wæs mid gedwylde . deofflum gehalgod .
 255 ac mennisce handa hit ne mihton towurpan .
 | for ðam fæstum gefege þæs feondlican temples ; 237r
 [SVM 14,5] Þa comon ðær fleogende færlice englas
 of healicre heofenan . *and* hí þæt hús towurpon .
 þurh gastlicne cræft . ðam góðan to blisse ;
 260 [SVM 15,2] Sum hæðen man wolde hine acwellan
 mid atogenum swurde . *and* se halga aleat
and astrehte his swuran under ðam scinendan brande .
 ða feoll se cwellere afyrht underbæc
 arleas oð þæt . *and* ða bæd forgifenyssse .
 265 gecnæwe his manes to ðam mæran were ;
 [SVM 15,3] Eac sum oðer arleas hine wolde slean
 | on his halgan heafde mid heardum isene . G 382v
 ac þæt wæpen wánd aweg mid þam slege
 of ðæs reðan handum þe hine hynan wolde ;

248 sylfne] G selfne 248 swegendum] G swegendan 250 micclum] G miclum 252 Gelóme] GH gelome 252 hæðene gyld] G hæðene gild; H hæðengyld 253 hé] GH he 253 án] G Han 254 gedwyl-de] G gedwilde 255 mennisce] G mæniscce 255 towurpan] G towearpan 256 ðam] G ðan 256 temples] G templas 257 englas] G ænglas 258 healicre heofenan] G healicere heofonan 258 hí] G him; H hi 258 hús] GH hus 259 gastlicne cræft] H gastlicum cræfte 259 ðam] G þa 259 góðan] H godan 260 man] H mann 262 astrehte] G ástrehte 262 swuran] G swaran 262 ðam scinendan brande] G þone scinendan bran; H þam scinendum brande 263 feoll] G feol 263 underbæc] G underbæc 264 *and*] G he 264 forgife-nyssse] G forgifnyssse 265 gecnæwe] H gecnæw 265 his manes] G hís mánes; H his manes 265 mæran] G mære 267 halgan] G halgum; H defective 268 wánd] G H wand 269 reðan] GH hreðan 269 hynan] G henan

250 weres mihte] Masi (195) points to Thorpe's erroneous translation 'the wind's might'; instead it must be translated 'man's might'.

267 halgan] Masi (69) writes about such variants (here F and G) that "[m]any of these variants occur in adjectives that replace strong for weak endings".

[SVM 14,2] but Martin ascended the steep roof,
 and set himself against the roaring flame,
 and he immediately threw [it] around against the wind,
 250 with great struggle, because of this man's power;
 and then the innocent house was saved.
 [SVM 14,3-4] He frequently destroyed heathen idols everywhere.
 At that time, he sought to destroy an old house alone
 which was in heresy dedicated to devils;
 255 but human hands could not destroy it,
 because of the firm construction of the hostile temple.
 [SVM 14,5] Then suddenly there came angels flying
 from high heaven, and they destroyed the house,
 through spiritual power, to the joy of the good [man].
 260 [SVM 15,2] Some heathen man sought to kill him
 with a drawn sword, and the saint bent down,
 and stretched out his neck under the shining brand.
 Then the murderer fell back, terrified,
 impious until then, and then begged forgiveness,
 265 acknowledging his crime to the exalted man.
 [SVM 15,3] Also, some other impious [man] sought to strike him
 on his holy head with hard iron,
 but the weapon turned away with the stroke
 out of the hand of the fierce [man] who sought to abuse him.

247 SVM 14,2] Quod ubi Martinus aduertit, rapido cursu tectum domus scandit, obuium se aduenientibus flammis inferens. Tum uero, mirum in modum, cernieres contra uim uenti ignem retorqueri, ut compugnantium inter se elementorum quidam conflictus uideretur. Ita uirtute Martini ibi tantum ignis est operatus, ubi iussus est. 252 SVM 14,3-4] In uico autem, cui Leprosorum nomen est, cum itidem templum opulentissimum superstitione religionis uoluisset euertere, restitit ei multitudo gentilium, adeo ut non absque iniuria sit repulsus. 4. Itaque secessit ad proxima loca. Ibi per triduum cilicio tectus et cinere, ieiunans semper atque orans, precabatur ad Dominum, ut, quia templum illud euertere humana manus non potuisset, uirtus illud diuina dirueret. 257 SVM 14,5] Tum subito ei duo angeli hastati atque scutati instar militiae caelestis se obtulerunt, dicentes missos se a Domino ut rusticam multitudinem fugarent praesidiumque Martino ferrent, ne quis, dum templum dirueretur, obsisteret: rediret ergo et opus coeptum deuotus impleret. 260 SVM 15,2] Nec cunctatus ferire gentilis, sed, cum dexteram altius extulisset, resupinus ruit, consternatusque diuino metu veniam precabatur. 266 SVM 15,3] Nec dissimile huic fuit illud. Cum eum idola destruentem cultro quidam ferire uoluisset, in ipso ictu ferrum ei de manibus excussum non conparuit.

- 270 [SVM 16,2-8] Sum mæden he gehælde mid gehalgodum ele .
 þæt þe langlice læg on legerbedde seoc .
 toslopen on limum . samcucu geðuht .
 and aras ða gesund on gesihðe þæs folces ;
 [SVM 17,1] Tetradius hatte sum hæðen þegen
 275 his ðeowcnapena án wearð þearle awed .
 [SVM 17,4] þa sette martinus his handa him onuppon .
 and se feond fleah forht for ðam halgan .
 and se ðeowa siððan gesundful leofode .
 and his hlaford beah mid geleafan to gode
 280 mid eallum his hirede . þe ær ðan hæðen wæs ;
 [SVM 17,5-6] Martinus eac cóm to anes mannes huse
 his cnapa wæs awed wunderlice ðurh deofol .
 and árn him togeanes mid gyniendum muðe ;
 Ða bestáng se halga his hand him on muð.
 285 het hine ceowan mid scarpum toðum .
 his liðegan fingras . gif him alyfed wære ;

270 gehalgodum] G gehalgodan 275 án] G a 276 onuppon] G anuppan 278 siððan]
 G syoððan; H syððan 278 gesundful] H gesundfull 281 cóm] G H com 282 deofol]
 G deoful 283 árn] G H arn 283 gyniendum] G geoniendum; H gynigendum 284 bestáng]
 G bestang 284 him on] G on his 286 liðegan] G leoðian 286 alyfed] G aléfed

272 toslopen on limum] Lit. 'asleep in the limbs', i.e. 'paralyzed'.

- 270 [SVM 16,2-8] He healed some girl with hallowed oil,
 who had lain long in bed, sick,
 with paralyzed limbs, considered half-dead,
 and she arose whole in sight of the people.
 [SVM 17,1] Tetradius was the name of one heathen thane;
 275 one of his servants became exceedingly mad;
 [SVM 17,4] then Martin put his hand upon him,
 and the fiend flew affrighted from the saint,
 and the servant afterwards lived sound,
 and his master turned with belief to God,
 280 with all his household, who had been heathen before.
 [SVM 17,5-6] Martin also came to one man's house
 whose boy was wonderfully maddened by the devil,
 and ran towards him with yawning mouth.
 Then the saint put his hand on his mouth,
 285 told him to gnaw with sharp teeth
 his flexile fingers, if it were possible for him.

270 SVM 16,2-8] Treueris puella quaedam dira paralysis aegriludine tenebatur, ita ut iam per multum tempus nullo ad humanos usus corporis officio fungeretur: omni ex parte praemortua uix tenui spiritu palpitabat. [...] 7. Ac primum, quae erant illius familiaria in istius modi rebus arma, solo prostratus orauit. Deinde, aegram intuens, dari sibi oleum postulat. Quod cum benedixisset, in os puellae uim sancti liquoris infundit, statimque uox reddita est. 8. Tum paulatim singula contactu eius coeperunt membra uiuescere, donec firmatis gressibus populo teste surrexit. 274 SVM 17,1] Eodem tempore, Taetradii cuiusdam proconsularis uiri seruus, daemonio correptus, dolendo exitu cruciabatur. Rogatus ergo Martinus ut ei manum inponeret, deduci eum ad se iubet, sed nequam spiritus nullo proferri modo de cellula, in qua erat, potuit: ita in aduenientes rabidis dentibus saeuiebat. 276 SVM 17,4] Ita Martinus, inposita manu puero, inmundum ab eo spiritum eiecit. Quo uiso, Taetradius Dominum lesum credidit, statimque catechumenus factus, nec multo post baptizatus est semperque Martinum salutis suae auctorem miro coluit affectu. 281 SVM 17,5-6] Per idem tempus, in eodem oppido, ingressus patris familias cuiusdam domum, in limine ipso restitit, dicens horribile in atrio domus daemonium se uidere. Cui cum ut discederet imperaret, cocum patris familias qui in interiore parte aedium morabatur arripuit. Saeuire dentibus miser coepit, et obuios quosque laniare. Commota domus, familia turbata, populus in fugam uersus. 6. Martinus se furenti obiecit, ac primum stare ei imperat. Sed cum dentibus fremeret hiantique ore morsum minaretur, digitos ei Martinus in os intulit: si habes, inquit, aliquid potestatis, hos deuora.

- [SVM 17,7] Se wóða ða awende aweg his ceafflas
 fram ðære halgan handa . swilce fram hátum isene .
and se awyrgeða gast gewát of ðam men
 290 út ðurh his gesceapu . mid sceandlicum fleame ;
 [SVM 18,3-4] Martinus gelacnode mid ænlipium cosse
 ænne hreofinne mannan fram his micclan coðe .
and fram atelicum hiwe his unsmeðan lices ;
 Manega eac wurdon mettrume gehælede
 295 þurh his reafes hrepunge . swa swa | hit geræd is ; *G 383r*
 [SVM 19,1] Sumes gerefan dohtor hé ahredde fram fefore .
 ðurh his ærendgewrit þe heo adlig underfeng ;
 [SVM 19,4] Eft æt sumum sæle ætslád se halga wer
 on ðam healicum gradum æt þam halgum weofode .
 300 swa þæt he fornean eal wearð tocwysed .
 ac on þære nihte hine gelacnode god
 ðurh his halgan engel to ansundre hæle ;
 [SDS 12,11] Oft hine geneosodon englas of heofenum .
and cuðlice tospræcon for his clænan life ;

287 wóða] *H* woda 287 awende] *G* awænde 287 aweg] *G* on weg 288 swilce] *G* swylce
 288 hátum] *GH* hatum 289 awyrgeða] *G* awerigeda; *H* awyrigeda 289 gewát] *GH* gewat
 289 of] *G* fram 290 út] *GH* ut 290 gesceapu] *G* gescapu 290 sceandlicum] *G* scan-
 dlicum 291 ænlipium] *G* anlipigum; *H* ænlepium 292 hreofinne mannan] *G* hreoflicne
 man 292 micclan] *G* myclum 294 gehælede] *GH* gehælede 295 reafes hrepunge] *G* hreas
 hrepunge 296 Sumes] *G* Sumæs 296 dohtor] *G* dohter 296 hé] *GH* he 297 heo] *G*
 hio 298 ætslád] *GH* ætslad 299 halgum] *G* halgan 300 fornean] *G* forneah 300 eal]
Heall 302 engel] *G* engle 303 geneosodon] *G* geneosodan 303 englas] *G* ænglas 303 heofenum]
GH heofonum

290 gesceapu] Masi (196) notes that Ælfric made “sexual” what was only “scatological” in SVM.
 Probably Masi read *gesceapu* as ‘privy members’ (BT s.v. *ge-sceap* III.). Ælfric probably preferred
 the word for the alliteration, cf. the passage in the *Life*, l. 549.

[SVM 17,7] The madman then turned away his jaws
 from the saint's hand, as if from hot iron,
 and the accursed spirit departed from the man
 290 out through his genitals, with shameful flight.
 [SVM 18,3-4] Martin healed with a single kiss
 a leprous man from his great disease,
 and from the horrid appearance of his uneven body.
 Many ill were also healed
 295 through the touch of his garment, as it is read.
 [SVM 19,1] Some prefect's daughter he rescued from a fever
 through his written message, which she received while sick.
 [SVM 19,4] Again, at some time, the holy man slid
 on the high steps at the holy altar,
 300 so that he was bruised almost all over;
 but in the night God healed him,
 through his holy angel, to sound health.
 [SDS 12,11] Often angels from heaven visited him,
 and familiarly spoke with him because of his pure life.

287 SVM 17,7] Tum uero, ac si candens ferrum faucibus accepisset, longe reductis dentibus digitos beati uiri uitabat attingere; et cum fugere de obsessio corpore poenis et cruciatibus cogere-
 tur, nec tamen exire ei per os liceret, foeda relinquens uestigia fluxu uentris egestus est. 291 SVM
 18,3-4] Apud Parisios uero, dum portam ciuitatis illius magnis secum turbis euntibus introiret,
 leprosum miserabili facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est atque benedixit. Statimque omni
 malo emundatus, 4. postero die ad ecclesiam ueniens nitenti cute gratias pro sanitate, quam
 receperat, agebat. Nec praetereundum est quod fimbriae uestimento eius cilicioque detractae
 crebras super infirmantibus egere uirtutes. 296 SVM 19,1] Arborius autem, uir praefectorius,
 sancti admodum et fidelis ingenii, cum filia eius grauissimis quartanae febribus ureretur, epis-
 tulam Martini, quae casu ad eum delata fuerat, pectori puellae in ipso accentu ardoris inseruit,
 statimque fugata febris est. 298 SVM 19,4] Ipse autem, cum casu quodam esset de cenaculo
 deuolutus et, per confragosos scalae gradus decidens, multis uulneribus esset adfectus, cum exan-
 imis iaceret in cellula et inmodicis doloribus cruciaretur, nocte ei angelus uisus est eluere uulnera
 et salubri unguedine contusi corporis superlinire liuores. Atque ita, postero die, restitutus est
 sanitati, ut nihil umquam pertulisse incommodi putaretur. 303 SDS 12,11] Sed quo me ducit
 oratio? Paululum iste liberior sermo reprimendus est, ne in aliquorum forsitan incurrat offen-
 sam. Etenim infidelibus obiurgationis uerba non proderunt, fidelibus autem satisfaciet exem-
 plum. Verum ego ita uirtutem huius uirginis praedicabo, ut tamen nihil illis, quae ad Martinum
 uidendum ex longinquis regionibus saepe uenerunt, arbitrer derogandum, siquidem hoc beatum
 uirum frequenter affectu etiam angeli frequentarint.

- 305 [SDS 13,5] Seo halige MARIA eac swilce gecom
to ðam halgan were on sumere tide
mid twám apostolum . Petre . and Paule .
mid twam mædenum . Tecla . and Agna .
and mid hire geneosunge hine gearwurðode .
310 and micclum gehyrte . þurh hire andwerdnysse ;
Eac se halga | biscop geseah gelome 237v
þa awyrigedan deoflu mid mislicum gedwymorum ;
he nateshwon ne ondred heora deofellican hîw .
ne hé næs bepæht ðurh heora leasungum ;
315 [SVM 24,4-6] Hwilon com se deofol on anre digelnyse
mid purpuran gescryd . and mid helme geglengd
to ðam halgan were þær hé hine gebæd .
and cwæð þæt hé wære witodlice se hælend ;
[SVM 24,7] Þa beseah martinus wið þæs sceoccan leoht .
320 gemyndig on mode . hu se metoda drihten
cwæð on his godspelle be his godcundan tocyme .
and cwæð to ðam leasan mid gelæredum muðe ;
Ne sæde ure hælend þæt hé swa wolde beon
mid purpuran gehíwod . oþþe mid helme scinende .
325 þonne he eft come mid engla ðrymme ;

305 Seo] *HSe* 305 MARIA] *All capitals are decorated with red ink.* 305 swilce] *G* swylce
305 gecom] *G* com 306 were] *G* waere 308 mid] *G* and mid; *H* defective 309 hire]
G hiora 310 andwerdnysse] *G* andwearðnyse 312 awyrigedan] *G* awerigedan 312 gedwy-
morum] *G* gedwimerum 313 heora deofellican] *G* hiora deofollican 314 hé] *G H* he
314 heora] *G* hiora 315 deofol] *G* deoful 315 digelnyse] *G* degolnesse; *H* dygelnyse
316 gescryd] *G* gescrið 316 geglengd] *G* geglænged 319 sceoccan] *G* scuccan 320 gemynd-
ig] *G* and wæs gemyndig 320 metoda] *G H* meotoda 321 tocyme] *H* tocume 324 gehí-
wod] *G H* gehiwod 325 engla] *G* ængla

310 andwerdnysse] The two variants in *F*
and *G* show: Germanic *au* became *ea* in
eWS, which in turn became *e* before *c*, *g*, *h*
in *IWS*, see *GrW* § 163 (Masi 67).

314 leasungum] Masi (198) suggests to
replace Thorpe's archaic translation
'leasings' with 'deceits'.

315 Hwilon ...] Masi (198) notes that
"many" of the following miracles "serve no
particular purpose" other than

"entertainment for an audience eager to
hear wonders", which might be true for
Ælfrics audience. In *SVM*, Severus
probably rather gathered and
instrumentalized a quantity of miracles as
evidence for Martin's holiness.
320 metoda] According to Masi (68) and
GrW (§ 48) the variants in *G* and *H* show
an Anglian form as a result of an umlaut of
e.

- 305 [SDS 13,5] The holy Mary likewise also came
to the holy man at some time,
with two apostles, Peter and Paul,
with two maidens, Thecla and Agnes,
and with their visitation honoured him,
310 and greatly cheered him by their presence.
Also, the holy bishop often saw
the accursed devils with different illusions.
He did not dread at all their devilish shape,
nor was he deceived by their deceptions.
- 315 [SVM 24,4-6] One time the devil came in secrecy,
clothed with purple and adorned with a crown,
to the holy man, where he prayed,
and said that he would truly be the Saviour.
[SVM 24,7] Then Martin beheld the fiend's splendour,
320 mindful in mind of how the Creator Lord
said in his gospel of his divine advent,
and said to the false [one] with learned mouth:
“Our Saviour did not say that he would be
so arrayed in purple, or with shining crown,
325 when he should come again with a host of angels.”

305 SDS 13,5] «Dicam, inquit, uobis, sed uos nulli quaeso dicatis: Agnes, Thecla et Maria mecum fuerant.» Referebat autem nobis uultum atque habitum singularum. 315 SVM 24,4-6] Non praetereundum autem uidetur quanta Martinum sub isdem diebus diabolus arte temptauerit. Quodam enim die, praemissa prae se et circumiectus ipse luce purpurea, quo facilius claritate adsumpti fulgoris inluderet, ueste etiam regia indutus, diademate ex gemmis auroque redimitus, calceis auro inlitis, sereno ore, laeta facie, ut nihil minus quam diabolus putaretur, orantiin cellula adstitit. 5. Cumque Martinus primo aspectu eius fuisset hebetatus, diu mutum silentium ambo tenuerunt. Tum prior diabolus: agnosce, inquit, Martine, quem cernis: Christus ego sum; descensus ad terram prius me manifestare tibi uolui. 6. Ad haec cum Martinus taceret nec quidquam responsi referret, iterare ausus est diabolus professionis audaciam: Martine, quid dubitas? Crede, cum uideas! Christus ego sum. 319 SVM 24,7] Tum ille, reuelante sibi spiritu ut intellegeret diabolum esse, non Doninum: non se, inquit, Iesus Dominus purpuratum nec diademate renidentem uenturum esse praedixit; ego Christum, nisi in eo habitu formaque qua passus est, nisi crucis stigmata praeferentem, uenisse non credam.

- [SVM 24,8] ða fordwán | se deofol dreorig him fram . G 383v
and seo stow ða stánc mid ormætum stence .
 after andwerdnyse þæs egeslican gastes .
 [SVM 21,5] Martinus se halga scean on witegunge .
 330 *and* mannum witegode manega towearde ðing ;
 ðe wæron gefyllede swa swa hé foresæde ;
 [SDS 2,1] hwilon æt his mæssan men gesawon scinan
 færlice æt his hnolle swilce fyren clywen .
 swa þæt se scinenda líg his locc up ateah ;
 335 [SDS 2,3] he wolde geneosian sumne adlignen mannan
 æt sumon sæle . se hatte Euanthus .
 ac he wearð gehæled . ær se halga come
 into his huse . þurh þæs hælendes gife ;
 [SDS 2,4-5] Þa wæs ðær án cnapa geættrod þurh næddran
 340 swiðe toswollen . þurh ðæs wyrmes slege .
 unwene his lifes . ac he wearð ahredde
 þurh martines hrepunge fram ðam reðan attre .
 [s.u.] Se eadmoda biscop ðe we ymbe sprecað
 wæs swiðe geðyldig wið þwyrum mannum .
 345 *and* him ne eglode heora hospspræc .
 ac forbær bliðelice ðeah ðe him man bysmor cwæde .
 He nolde olæcan ænigum rican
 mid geswæsum wordum . ne eac soð forsuwian .

326 fordwán] G fordwan 326 deofol] G deoful; H deofel 327 ða stánc] G þa stanc;
 H stanc ða 327 stence] G stænce 328 andwerdnyse] G andwearðnyse; H andwærd-
 nyse 329 scean] G scan 329 witegunge] H witegunga 331 hé] GH he 333 færlice]
 Gom. 333 swilce] G swylce 334 líg] GH lig 334 locc] GH loc 335 mannan] G man
 336 Euanthus] G euantris; H euántius 337 ær] G ár 339 án] GH an 339 næddran]
 H neddran 341 unwene] Gunwéne 341 ahredde] GH ahred 342 martines] G martinus
 343 biscop] G bisscop 344 þwyrum] G þwirum 345 eglode] H eglode 346 bysmor]
 G bismær 347 olæcan] G olecan 348 forsuwian] G forswugian

329 scean] According to Masi (68) and GrC (§ 179) the form in F shows an glide vowel (e) that
 occurs often when following palatal sc.

[SVM 24,8] Then the devil vanished sadly from him,
and the place stank with an immense stench,
after the presence of the terrible spirit.

[SVM 21,5] The holy Martin shone in prophecy,
330 and prophesied to men many future things
which were fulfilled so as he had foretold.

[SDS 2,1] Once at his mass, men saw shining
suddenly on his crown such [thing] as a fiery clew,
so that the shining flame drew up his locks.

335 [SDS 2,3] He sought to visit some sick man,
at some time, who was called Evantius,
but he was healed before the saint came
into his house, through the Saviour's grace.

[SDS 2,4-5] Then there was a boy, poisoned by an adder,
340 greatly swollen from the worm's strike,
hopeless of his life, but he was saved,
by Martin's touch, from the cruel poison.

[s.u.] The humble bishop, about whom we speak,
was very patient with irrational men,
345 and their insulting language did not trouble him,
but he kindly bore it, [even] though one would speak blasphemy to him.
He would not flatter any rich [man]
with sweet words, nor silently hide the truth.

326 SVM 24,8] Ad hanc ille uocem statim ut fumus euanuit. Cellulam tanto foetore compleuit ut indubia indicia relinqueret diabolus se fuisse. Hoc itaque gestum, ut supra rettuli, ex ip-sius Martini ore cognoui, ne quis forte existimet fabulosum. 329 SVM 21,5] In Martino illud mirabile erat quod non solum hoc, quod supra rettulimus, sed multa istius modi, si quotiens accidissent, longe antea praeuidebat aut sibi nuntiata fratribus indicabat. 332 SDS 2,1] Cum hac igitur oblaturus sacrificium Deo ueste procedit. Quo quidem die – mira dicturus sum –, cum iam altarium, sicut est sollemne, benediceret, globum ignis de capite illius uidimus emicare, ita ut in sublime contendens longum admodum crinem flamma produceret. 335 SDS 2,3] Per idem fere tempus, cum Euanthius auunculus meus, uir, licet saeculi negotiis occupatus, admodum Christianus, grauissima aegritudine extremo mortis periculo coepisset urgueri, Martinum euocauit. Nec cunctatus ille properauit. Prius tamen quam medium uiae spatium uir beatus euolueret, uir-tutem aduenientis sentit aegrotus, recepta que continuo sanitate uenientibus nobis obuiam ipse processit. 339 SDS 2,4-5] Altera die redire cupientem magna prece tenuit, cum interim unum e familia puerum letali ictu serpens perculit. Quem, iam exanimem ui ueneni, ipse Euanthius suis umeris inlatum ante pedes sancti uiri, nihil illi impossibile confisus, exposuit. Iamque se malum serpens per omnia membra diffuderat: 5. cerneret omnibus uenis inflatam cutem et ad utris instar tensa uitalia. Martinus, porrecta manu uniuersa pueri membra pertractans, digitum prope ipsum uulnusculum, quo bestia uirus infuderat fixit.

- Gif him ænig heafodman hwilces ðinges forwyrnde .
 350 ðonne wende he to gode mid gewunelicum gebedum .
and him sona getiðode his scyppendes arfæstnys
 þæs ðe se woruldrica him forwyrnde on *ær* ;
 [SDS 8,9] hit gelamp hwilon þæt an wód man
 gesæt þær ðær se eadiga wer hine *ær* gereste .
 355 *and* he wearð gewittig ðurh þæs weres gearnungum
 þe on *ær* þæt setl swa gebletsode ;
 Menn hé gehælde fram | mislicum coðum . *G 384r*
and eac swilce nytenum læcedom forgeafe ahredde
 fram wódnysse . *and* hét faran aweg
 360 to þære eowode þe hí of adwelodon ;
 [SDS 9,6] Swa micel mildheortnys wæs on martine .
 þæt hé hét hwilon ða hundas ætstandan .
 þe urnon on dræfe deorum getenge .
and ahredde | ða déor . fram andwerdum deaðe ; *238r*
 365 [SDT 9,3] Sum earm wif wæs eallunge geswenct .
 þurh bloddes gyte . *and* heo ongann hreppan
 þæs halgan gewædu . *and* wearð sona hál ;
 [n.s.] Ne mage we awritan ealle his wundra
 on ðisum scortan cwyde . mid cuðum gereorde .
 370 ac we wyllað secgan hu se soðfæsta gewat ;

349 hwilces] *G* hwylces 351 getiðode] *G* getyðode 351 scyppendes] *G* sceppendes 352 se]
G seo 352 *ær*] *G H* *ær* 353 an] *G* *án* 353 wód] *G H* wod 354 gesæt] *G H* gesæt
 356 *ær*] *G* *ær* 357 Menn] *G* Mæn; *H* Men 357 hé] *G H* he 358 swilce] *G* swylce
 358 forgeafe] *G H* forgeaf . *and* 358 ahredde] *G* aredde 359 wódnysse] *G* wodnysse
 359 hét] *G* het 359 aweg] *G* on weg 360 eowode] *G* eowde 360 hí] *G* hi 361 micel]
G mycel 362 hé hét] *G H* he het 363 dræfe] *G* ðræfe 363 getenge] *G* getæncge 364 déor]
G H deor 364 andwerdum] *G* andweardum 365 geswenct] *G* geswænct 366 bloddes
 gyte] *H* blodgyte 366 heo] *G* he 366 ongann] *G H* ongan 367 gewædu] *G H* gewædu
 367 hál] *G H* hal 368 mage] *G* magon 369 ðisum] *H* þysum 369 scortan cwyde] *G*
 sortan cwíde 370 wyllað secgan] *G* willað sæcgan

If any leader denied him anything,
 350 then he would turn to God with his wont prayers,
 and soon his Creator's goodness granted him
 that which the worldly leader had denied him before.
 [SDS 8,9] It happened once that an upset man
 sat there where the blessed man had rested before,
 355 and he became sane through the man's merits,
 who had so blessed that seat before.
 He healed men from diverse diseases,
 and also gave medicine to animals and saved them
 from madness, and commended them to go away
 360 to the herd from which they had strayed.
 [SDS 9,6] So great compassion was in Martin,
 that once he commanded the hounds to stop
 which were on the hunt, pressing upon an animal,
 and saved the animal from present death.
 365 [SDT 9,3] Some poor woman was greatly afflicted
 by a flow of blood, and she set about to touch
 the saint's garments, and soon became whole.
 [n.s.] We cannot write down all his miracles
 in this short sermon, with familiar language,
 370 but we will say how the righteous [man] departed.

353 SDS 8,9] Vna earum post dies paucos partem straminis, quam sibi pro benedictione col-
 legerat, energumeno, quem spiritus erroris agitabat, de ceruice suspendit. Nec mora, dicto citius
 eiecto daemone persona curata est. 361 SDS 9,6] Quodam tempore, cum dioeceses circuiret,
 uenantium agmen incurrimus. Canes leporem sequebantur; iamque multo spatio uicta bestiola,
 cum undique campis late patentibus nullum esset effugium, mortem imminentem iam iamque
 capienda crebris flexibus differebat. Cuius periculum uir beatus pia mente miseratus, imperat
 canibus, desisterent sequi et sinerent abire fugientem. Continuo ad primum sermonis imperium
 constiterunt: crederes uinctos, immo potius adfixos in suis haerere uestigiis. Ita lepusculus per-
 secutoribus alligatis incolumis euasit. 365 SDT 9,3] Idem autem Refrigerius mihi testis est
 mulierem profluuiio sanguinis laborantem, cum Martini uestem exemplo mulieris illius euangel-
 icæ contigisset, sub momento temporis fuisse sanātam. 4. Serpens flumen secans ad ripam, in
 qua constiteramus, adnabat: «In nomine, inquit, Domini iubeo te redire». Mox se mala bestia
 ad uerbum sancti retorsit et in ulteriorem ripam, nobis inspectantibus, transmeauit. Quod cum
 omnes non sine miraculo cerneremus, altius ingemescens ait: «Serpentes me audiunt, et homines
 non audiunt!»

DE EIUS OBITU :

- [SET 6] MARTINUS se eadiga wiste his geendunge
 gefyrn . ær hé ferde fram eallum frecednyssum
 ðises lænan lifes to his leofan drihtne .
 375 and hé cydde his forðsið sumum his gebroðrum ;
 Ða wæron on ðam timan . ungeðwære preostas .
 on anum his mynstra . ða he wolde sibbian .
 ær his forðsiðe . and ðider siðode ;
 [SET 7] Ða geseah he swymman . scealfran on flode .
 380 and gelome doppelan . adúne to grunde .
 ehtende ðearle . þære éa fixa ;
 Ða cwæð se halga wer to his geferan ;
 Ðas fugelas habbað feonda gelicnysse .
 ðe gehwilce menn unwære beswicað .
 385 and grædelice gripað to grimre helle ;
 [SET 8] Ða het martinus ða mæðleasan fugelas .
 ðæs fixnodes gewican . and to westene siðian .
 and ða scealfran gewiton . aweg to holte .
 ealle endemes . and ða éa forleton .
 390 be martines hæse . þæs mæran weres ;

371 DE EIUS OBITU] in red ink; *G* has here a small black cross and in capital letters de obitu eius (in the 13th-cent. hand); *H* om. 372 MARTINUS] All capitals adorned with red ink, the *M* is enlarged and its legs rounded. 373 ær hé] *GH* ær he 373 frecednyssum] *GH* fræcednyssum 374 drihtne] *G* dryhtne 375 hé] *GH* he 377 mynstra] *G* mynstre 378 ðider] *G* þidor 379 swymman] *G* swinman; *H* swimman 380 doppelan] *GH* doppelan 380 adúne] *G* adune 381 ehtende] *G* eahtende 381 éa] *G* ea; *H* éa 382 geferan] *G* geferum 384 gehwilce] *G* gehwylce 384 menn] *GH* men 385 grædelice] *H* grædilice 385 gripað] *G* gegripað 386 ða mæðleasan] *G* þam æðleasan 386 fugelas] *GH* scealfran 387 fixnodes] *G* fixodæs; *H* fisconopes 388 scealfran] *GH* fugelas 389 endemes] *G* ændemes 389 éa] *G* ea 390 martines] *G* martinus

371 DE EIUS OBITU] Szarmach (2003: 40) suggests that the blank space in MS *G* was left for the rubricator, who never inserted “de obitu eius”. Instead, the Tremulous Hand inserted it in the 13th century.

379 scealfran] Masi (198) notes that Thorpe’s translation ‘plungeons’ is more

accurate as Bosworth’s ‘sea gull’. BT has (s.v. *scealfor*) ‘A diver (bird)’; Szarmach discusses it in his edition of *C*, see l. 000, and decides for ‘mergansers’ (*SVM* has *mergatores*).

382 geferan] Masi (66) notes that this variation of *a* and *u* occurs only in *G*.

OF HIS DEATH

[SET 6] The blessed Martin knew of his end
long before he went from all the perils
of this granted life to his dear Lord;

375 and he announced his departure to some of his brothers.
There were at that time discordant priests
in one of his monasteries; he sought to reconcile these
before his departure, and travelled there.

[SET 7] Then he saw divers swimming in a river,

380 and frequently dipping down to the ground,
eagerly chasing the fishes of the river.

Then said the holy man to his companions:

“These birds have a likeness to the fiends
who deceive any unwary men,

385 and greedily snatch them to grim hell.”

[SET 8] Then Martin commanded the greedy birds

to stop the fishing, and go to the desert;

and the divers went away to the wood,

all together, and left the river,

390 at the command of Martin, that great man.

372 SET 6] Martinus igitur obitum suum longe ante praesciuit dixitque fratribus dissolutionem sui corporis imminere. Interea causa exitit qua Condacensem dioecesim uisitaret. Nam, clericis inter se ecclesiae illius discordantibus, pacem cupiens reformare, licet finem dierum suorum non ignorasset, proficisci tamen ob istius modi causam non recusauit, bonam hanc uirtutum suarum consummationem existimans, si pacem ecclesiae redditam reliquisset. 379 SET 7] Ita profectus cum suo illo, ut semper, frequentissimo discipulorum sanctissimoque comitatu, mergos in flumine conspicatur piscium praedam sequi et rapacem ingluuiem adsiduis urgere capturis. «Forma, inquit, haec daemonum est: insidiantur incautis, capiunt nescientes, captos deuorant exsaturarique non queunt deuoratis.» 386 SET 8] Imperat deinde potenti uerbo ut eum cui innatabant gurgitem relinquentes aridas peterent desertasque regiones, eo nimirum circa aues illas usus imperio quo daemones fugare consueuerat. Ita, grege facto, omnes in unum illae uolucres congregatae, relicto flumine, montes siluasque petierunt, non sine admiratione multorum, qui tantam in Martino uirtutem uiderent ut etiam auibus imperaret.

- [SET 9] *Æfter ðisum becom* se biscop | to ðam mynstre . G 384v
and ða ungeðwæran preostas ðreade for gyltum .
and on sibbe gebrohte mid geswæsre lāre ;
 ða wearð he geuntrumod eallum lymum .
 395 *and* sæde his gyngrum þæt he sceolde gewítan ;
 [SET 10] Ða wurdon hí ealle endemes astyrede .
and mid micelre heofunge hine befrinon ;
 hwí forlætst þu fæder . ðine fostorcild?
 Oððe hwam betæhst ðu ús nu forlätene?
 400 Soðlice becomað ungesewenlice wulfas
 to ðinre eowode . *and* hwá bewerað hí?
 We witon þæt ðu gewilnast to ðam wuldorfullan drihtne .
 ac þe sind gehealdene ðine meda gewisse .
 gemiltsa ús swiðor . *and* swa gýt ne forlæt ;
 405 [SET 11] *Martinus* ða wende mid ðisum wordum to gode .
 Ne wiðcweðe ic drihten to deorfenne gyt .
 gif ic nýdbehefe eom gýt þinum folce .
 Ne ic ne beládige . gýt me for ylde .
 beo ðin willa . á . weroda drihten ;
 410 [SET 12] *Æfter ðisum* gebede hé abád on ðam legere
 ane feawa dagas mid fefore gewæht .
 þurhwacol on gebedum . on flore licgende .
 bestreowod mid axum . on stiðre hæran
 upahafenum eagum . *and* handum to heofenum .
 415 *and* ne geswác his gebeda . oð þæt he sawlode ;

393 lāre] *GH*lare 394 lymum] *G*limum; *H*leomum 395 gyngrum] *G*gingrum 395 sceolde gewítan] *G*scolde gewitan 396 hí] *G*hio; *H*hi 398 hwí] *G*hwy; *H*hwi 398 forlætst] *GH*forlæst 398 þu] *G*ðu nu 399 ús] *GH*us 401 eowode] *GH*eowde 401 *and*] *Hom.* 401 hwá] *GH*hwa 401 hí] *G*hio; *H*hi 403 meda] *G*mede 404 gemiltsa] *G*gemiltsa 404 ús] *GH*us 404 gýt] *GH*gyt 405 wordum] *G*worde 407 nýdbehefe] *G*neodbehefe 407 gýt þinum folce] *G*has gyt þine 408 beládige] *GH*beladige 408 gýt] *GH*gyt 408 ylde] *G*elde 409 drihten] *G*dryhten 410 hé] *GH*he 410 abád] *H*abad 411 ane] *H*ana 411 feawa] *G*feawe 412 þurhwacol] *G*þurwacol 412 flore] *H*flora 413 stiðre] *G*stiðere 414 heofenum] *GH*heofonum 415 geswác] *G*swác; *H*geswac 415 sawlode] *G*sawlode

400 Soðlice] Masi (198) notes that Thorpe disregarded the word (which means ‘truly’) in his translation.

- [SET 9] After this the bishop came to the monastery,
and rebuked the discordant priests for their sins,
and brought about peace with kind advice.
Then he became enfeebled in all his limbs,
395 and said to his disciples that he should depart.
[SET 10] Thereupon they were altogether agitated,
and with great lamenting asked him:
“Why, father, do you forsake your foster-children?
Or to whom will you commit us now forsaken?
400 Truly, invisible wolves will come
to thy flock, and who will defend it?
We know that you long for the glorious Lord,
but certainly your rewards are kept for you;
rather have pity on us, and do not thus leave us yet.”
405 [SET 11] Martin then turned to God with these words:
“I shall not oppose, Lord, to labour still,
if I am yet needful to Thy people,
nor will I yet excuse myself because of [my] age.
Be thy will, forever, Lord of hosts!”
410 [SET 12] After this prayer, he abode in sickness
a few days, weakened by fever,
watchful in prayer, lying on the floor,
bestrewed with ashes, in stiff haircloth,
eyes and hands uplifted to heaven,
415 and ceased not his prayers until he expired.

391 SET 9] Aliquandiu ergo in uico illo uel in ecclesia ad quam ierat commoratus, pace inter clericos restituta cum iam regredi ad monasterium cogitaret, uiribus corporis coepit repente destitui conuocatisque fratribus indicat se iam resolui. 396 SET 10] Tum uero maeror et luctus omnium et uox una plangentium: «cur nos, pater, deseris? aut cui nos desolatos relinquis? Inuadent gregem tuum lupi rapaces: quis nos a morsibus eorum, percusso pastore, prohibebit? Scimus quidem desiderare te Christum, sed salua tibi sunt tua praemia nec dilata minuentur; nostri potius miserere, quos deseris.» 405 SET 11] Tune ille motus his fletibus, ut totus semper in Domino misericordiae uisceribus adfluebat, lacrimasse perhibetur; conuersusque ad Dominum hac tantum flentibus uoce respondit: «Domine, si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem: fiat uoluntas tua.» 410 SET 12] Nimirum inter spem maeroremque positus dubitauit paene quid mallet, quia nec hos deserere nec a Christo uolebat diutius separari. Nihil tamen in uoto suo ponens aut uoluntati relinquens, totam se Domini arbitrio potestatique committens,

- [SET 16] he geseah ðone deofol standan swiðe gehende .
and hine orsorchlice axian ongann ;
 Ðu wælhreowe nyten to hwi stenst ðu þus gehende?
 Ne gemetst þu on me . aht | witniendlices . 238v
- 420 Me soðlice underfehð se heahfæder Abraham .
 into his wununge on ecere wynne ;
 [SET 17] Æfter ðisum worde gewát seo sawul
 of ðam geswenctan lichaman sona to gode ;
 [GHF 1,48] hwæt ða gehyrdon gehwilce on life
 425 halige englas singan | on his forðsiðe . G 385r
 bliðe on heofenum þæs halgan tocymes .
 [SET 17] His lic wearð gesewen sona on wuldre .
 beorhtre ðonne glæs . hwittre ðonne meoloc .
and his andwlita scan swiðor þonne leoht .
- 430 þa íu gewuldrod to ðam toweardan æriste ;
 [GHF 1,48] hundeatig geara hé wæs on his life .
 ða ða hé of worulde gewat to heofenum ;
 [SET 18] Eala hwilc heofung holdra . *and* geleaffulra .
 hlude ða swegde . *and* swiðost ðæra muneca .
 435 *and* mynecena wop . on martines deaðe .

416 deofol] *G* deoful 416 gehende] *G* gehænde 417 ongann] *GH*ongan 418 wælhreowe]
G wællhreowa 418 hwi stenst ðu] *G* hwy stæntstu 418 þus] *GH* swa 418 gehende]
G gehænde 419 gemetst] *G* gemettest 419 witniendlices] *G* wihtnieudlices 421 ecere]
G eccre 422 gewát] *GH* gewat 423 geswenctan] *G* geswænctan 424 gehyrdon] *H* geherdon
 424 gehwilce] *G* gehwylce 425 englas] *G* ænglas 426 heofenum] *GH* heofonum 426 tocymes]
G tocýmæs 428 beorhtre] *G* breohtre 428 meoloc] *GH* meolc 429 scan] *G* scán
 430 íu] *G* om. 431 hundeatig] *G* hundeatig 431 geara] *G* gæra 431 hé] *GH* he
 432 hé] *GH* he 432 worulde] *G* weorulde 432 heofenum] *GH* heofonum 433 hwilc]
G hwylc 433 holdra] *H* holdre 433 geleaffulra] *G* geleafra 434 swegde] *G* swægde
 434 muneca] *G* munuca 435 wop] *G* wóp 435 martines] *G* martinus

[SET 16] He saw the devil standing very near at hand,
and fearlessly began to ask him:
“You bloodthirsty beast, why do you stand thus at hand?
You will not find in me anything that is punishable;
truly, the patriarch Abraham will receive me
420 into his dwelling in eternal joy.”

[SET 17] After these words the soul departed
from the afflicted body, directly to God.

[GHF 1,48] Lo, then some living [persons] heard
425 holy angels sing at his departure
blithely in heaven at the saint's coming.

[SET 17] His body soon appeared in glory,
brighter than glass, whiter than milk,
and his face shone more than light,
430 then already glorified for the future resurrection.

[GHF 1,48] Eighty years he was in his life,
when he departed from the world to heaven.

[SET 18] Alas, what lament of the devoted and faithful
loudly sounded then, and most of all the monks'
435 and nuns' weeping at Martin's death.

416 SET 16] Haec locutus diabolum uidit propter adsistere. «Quid hic, inquit, adstas, cruenta bestia? nihil in me, funeste, reperies: Abrahae me sinus recipit.» 422 SET 17] Cum hac ergo uoce spiritum caelo reddidit. Testatique nobis sunt qui ibidem fuerunt uidisse se uultum eius tamquam uultum angeli; membra autem eius candida tamquam nix uidebantur, ita ut dicerent: «Quis istum umquam cilicio tectum, quis in cineribus crederet inuolutum?» Iam enim sic uidebatur, quasi in futurae resurrectionis gloria et natura demutatae carnis ostensus esset. 424 GHF 1,48] Multi enim in eius transitum psallentium audierunt in caelum, quod in libro virtutum eius primo plenius exposuimus. 427 SET 17] Cum hac ergo uoce spiritum caelo reddidit. Testatique nobis sunt qui ibidem fuerunt uidisse se uultum eius tamquam uultum angeli; membra autem eius candida tamquam nix uidebantur, ita ut dicerent: «Quis istum umquam cilicio tectum, quis in cineribus crederet inuolutum?» Iam enim sic uidebatur, quasi in futurae resurrectionis gloria et natura demutatae carnis ostensus esset. 431 GHF 1,48] Arcadi uero et Honori secundo imperii anno sanctus Martinus Turonorum episcopus, plenus uirtutibus et sanctitate, praebens infirmis multa beneficia, octuaginsimo et primo aetatis suae anno, episcopatum autem vicissimo sexto, 433 SET 18] In obsequium uero funeris credi non potest quanta hominum multitudo conuenerit. Tota obuiam corpori ciuitas ruit, cuncti ex agris atque uicis multique de uicinis etiam urbibus adfuerunt. O quantus luctus omnium, quanta praecipue maerentium lamenta monachorum! Qui eo die fere ad duo milia conuenisse dicuntur, specialis Martini gloria: eius exemplum in Domini seruitutem stirpes tantae fruticauerant.

- [GHF 1,48] Is eac to gehyrenne hu ða leoda wunnon ;
 ymbe þæs halgan líc . him betwynan þearle ;
 Seo burhwaru wolde ðe hé on biscop wæs .
 þæt sind Turonisce ðone halgan geniman .
 440 *and* Pictauienscise þearle wiðcwædon .
 woldon habban ðone ylcan þe hí ær alándon
 to ðam biscopdome . of heora burhscire .
 cwædon þæt hé wære heora munuc æt fruman .
and woldon hine habban . huru swa deadne ;
 445 Betwux ðisum gewinne wearð se dæg geendod .
and butu ða burhwara besæton ðone halgan ;
 Ða on middere nihte . gewurdon on slæpe .
 pictauienscise . bepæhte forswiðe .
 þæt of ealre ðære menigu . án man ne wacode .
 450 Hwæt ða Turonisce þone halgan gelæhton .
and to scipe bæron mid swiðlicere blisse .
and mid gastlicum sange þone sanct ferodon .
 to ðære ylcan byrig . þe hé on biscop wæs ;
 ða wurdon ða oðre . awrehte mid þam sange .
 455 *and* gecyrdon him ham . hearde ofsceamode ;

437 him betwynan] *G* hiom betweenan 438 burhwaru] *G* burhware; *H* burhwara 438 hé] *G H* he 439 geniman] *G* genioman 440 wiðcwædon] *G* wiðcwædon 441 ylcan] *G H* ilcan 441 hí] *G* hio 441 ær] *G H* ær 441 alándon] *G* alæddan 442 burhscire] *G* burhscipe 443 hé] *G H* he 445 wearð] *G* gewearð 445 geendod] *G* geændod 446 burhwara] *G* burhwaru 447 slæpe] *G* slape 449 ealre] *G* eallre 449 menigu] *G* meniu 449 án] *G* an 451 swiðlicere] *G* swiðlere 452 ferodon] *H* feredon 453 ylcan] *G* ilcan 453 hé] *G H* he 453 biscop] *G* byscop 455 him] *G* hiom 455 ofsceamode] *G* ofscamede

438 burhwaru] Cf. comment above, l. 144.

439 geniman] *io* in *G* derives from Germanic *i* (Masi 67).

455 ofsceamode] According to Masi (68) and GrC (§ 179) the form in *F* shows an glide vowel (*e*) that occurs often when following palatal *sc*.

[GHF 1,48] It must also be heard how the people fought
 for the saint's body between themselves.
 The inhabitants of the city of which he was bishop,
 that are the Turonians, wanted to take the saint,
 440 and the Poitevins firmly opposed,
 [and] wanted to have the same whom they had lent before
 for the bishopric, from their province,
 [and] said that he had been their monk originally,
 and wanted to have him at least as a dead.
 445 During this quarrel the day ended,
 and both townspeople sat by the saint.
 Then, at midnight, in [their] sleep were
 the Poitevins greatly deceived.
 in that among all of the crowd not one man was awake.
 450 So, the Turonians seized the saint,
 and carried him to a ship, with great joy,
 and with spiritual song conveyed the saint
 to the same city in which he had been bishop.
 Then the others were awakened by the song,
 455 and returned home, deeply ashamed.

436 GHF 1,48] Nam cum primitus sanctus Dei apud Condatinsem, ut dixemus, vicum aegrotare coepisset, Pectavi populi ad eius transitum sicut Toronici convenerunt. Quo migrante, grandis altercatio in utrumque surrexit populum. Dicebant enim Pectavi: 'Noster est monachus, nobis abba extetit, nos requiremus commendatum. Sufficiat vobis, quod, dum esset in mundo episcopus, usi fuistis eius conloquium, participastis convivio, firmati fuistis benedictionibus, insuper et virtutibus iocundati. Sufficiant ergo vobis ista omnia, nobis liciat auferre vel cadaver exanimum'. Ad haec Toronici respondebant: 'Si virtutum nobis facta sufficere dicitis, scitote, quia vobiscum positus amplius est quam hic operatus. Nam, ut praetermittamus plurimum, vobis suscitavit duos mortuos, nobis unum; et, ut ipse saepe dicebat, maior ei virtus ante episcopatum fuit, quam post episcopatum. Ergo necesse est, ut, quod nobiscum non inplevit vivens, expleat vel defunctus. Vobis est enim ablatus, nobis a Deo donatus. Virum si mus antiquitus institutus servatur, in urbe qua ordenatus est habebit Deo iubente sepulchrum. Certe si pro monasthrio privilegio cupitis vindicare, scetote, quia primum ei monasthrium cum Mediolaninsibus fuit'. His ergo litigantibus, sol ruente nox clauditur, corpusque in medio positum, firmatis serra uesteis, ab utroque populo costoditur, futurum ut mane facto a Pectavensibus per violentiam aufereretur. Sed Deus omnipotens noluit urbem Toronicam a proprio frustrari patrono. Denique nocte media omnes Pectava somno falanga conpraemitur, nec ullus superfuit, qui ex hac multitudine vigilaret. Igitur ubi Toronici eos conspiciunt obdormisse, adpraehensam sanctissimi corporis glebam, alii per fenestram eiciunt, alii a foris suscipiunt, positumque in navi, cum omni populo per Vingennam fluvium discendunt, ingressique Legeris alveum, ad urbem Toronicam cum magnis laudibus psallentioque dirigunt copioso. De quorum vocibus Pectavi expergefacti, nihil de thesauro quem costodiebant habentes, cum magna confusione ad propria sunt reversi.

On ðisum dæge gewát se halga wer to gode .
 mærlíce of worulde . mid micclum wundrum geglencged ;
 [n.s.] Uton hine biddan þæt hé us | ðingige *G 385v*
 to þam lifigendan gode . ðe hé on life gecwémde ;
 460 Sy ðam á wuldor on ecere worulde .
 ðe leofað *and* rixað þurh hine sylfne god ;
 AMEN : -

456 gewát] *GH* gewat 456 to] *G* tó 457 worulde] *G* weorulde 457 micclum] *G* miclum
 457 geglencged] *G* geglænged 458 hé] *G H* he 458 ðingige] *G* þingie 459 lifigendan]
G lifendan 459 hé] *G H* he 459 gecwémde] *G H* gecwemde 460 Sy] *G* Syo 460 á]
G H a

On this day the saint departed to God,
gloriously from the world, adorned with great miracles.

[n.s.] Let us pray to him that he intercede for us
to the living God, whom he pleased in life.

460 To Him ever be glory in the eternal world,
who lives and reigns, through himself, God.
Amen.

Ælfric of Eynsham's *Life of St Martin*

Manuscripts

- J : London, British Library, Cotton Julius E.VII, fols. 177v - 201r, s. xi in., Ker *Catalogue* no. 162, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 339 (base text of this edition).
- K : London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.XIV, fols. 125r - 130v, 93r - 111v, s. xi med., Ker *Catalogue* no. 138, Gneuss *Handlist* no. 310.
- L : Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, fols. 35r - 39v, s. xii², Ker *Catalogue* no. 310.³⁴

Editorial Note

MS J served as a base text; the upper apparatus presents lexical variants from MS K wherever the text in K is extant. MS L represents a verbatim but shortened 12th-century copy of Ælfric's *Life*. It is edited on its own in the appendix (II) below.

Language

MS J's language has been studied by Otto Schüller (1908), who comprehensively analyzed MS J's phonology ("*Lautlehre*"). More recently, the manuscript has been studied by Mechthild Gretsch (2003) with regard to the question of a "Standard Old English". She argues that the orthography is not as regularized as in MS F, and both this and the inclusion of non-Ælfrician texts – "a tampering with Ælfric's original collection" (Gretsch 2003: 43) – suggests that the

³⁴MS L is not listed in Gneuss's *Handlist* because it is later than 1100.

texts in MS J “had passed out of their author’s control” (Gretsch 2003: 43). Still, as Gretsch concludes, J’s orthography is fairly consistent, and readers may find this all the more true if compared to the edited text from MS E above. Several editors who have re-edited single *Lives* from the collection in MS J have also included studies or introductions to the manuscript’s language in their editions, e.g. Needham (1966: esp. 6-11 (MS A)), who re-edited *Lives of Three English Saints*, or Upchurch (2007: esp. 26-9), who re-edited three “Lives of the Virgin Spouses”, or Corona (2006), who re-edited St Basil. Two significant articles on the manuscript and its language are 1. Needham’s (1958) about “Additions and Alterations in Cotton MS Julius E VII”, and 2. Torkar’s (1971) about the sources for MS J.

Phonology and Spelling: Despite the IWS features, and the mainly regularized orthography of the Winchester school, J presents unusual orthographies at times.³⁵ J’s scribe, for example, frequently writes *e* for *ea*, as in *towerdum*, or *cyrwærde* (cf. below).³⁶ J’s scribe confused *y* and *i* (cf. Gretsch: 46 (2)), which produced variants like *bisceop/bysceop*, though not in the *Life*, which always shows *bisceop(e)*; the scribe also confused *se* and *seo*, and *he* and *heo*, as well as the suffixes *-on*, *-an*, *-en*; another peculiar orthography is the frequent *cg* after *n*, e.g. *cynincges*.³⁷ Since Schüller (1908) analyzed J’s phonology so comprehensively, I shall briefly outline some developments of the vowels, which are representative for Ælfric’s IWS language, and add examples from the *Life*. *a* before nasal remained *a*, e.g. *naman* (l. 86), or *samod* (l. 40). WG *a* is usually *æ*, as in *æfter* (l. 15), or *cræft* (328); only rarely it appears as *e*, e.g. *ceppan* (l. 471), or *bed* (preterite, l. 508), or *arfestnysse* (l. 746), or *dege* (dat., l. 1224). WG *ā* is always *æ*, as in *dædum* (l. 302), *forlætan* (l. 93), and there is no exception to this in the *Life*. WG *e* is usually *e*, as in *gebede* (l. 1031), or *fela* (l. 571), but infrequently also *æ*, as in *gebæde* (l. 170), or in *awæg* (l. 366) (n.b.: MS K shows the variant *aweg*). WG *ē* is *e*, as in *her* (l. 1368). WG *i* is *i*, as in *drincan* (l. 603), *mislice* (l. 307), or *y* as in *clypian* (l. 82), *scylde* (l. 116), *sybbe* (l. 121). WG *ī* is mainly *i*, as in *lichaman* (l. 251), or *arisende* (l. 253), but also often *y*, as in *blysse* (l. 422), next to *blisse* (l. 1479), or *burhscyre* (l. 135), next to *burhscire* (l. 258). WG *o*

³⁵Gretsch writes: “[T]he Ælfrician texts contained in this manuscript were, in all probability, first written down in pure West Saxon Standard, but very shortly afterwards (s. xi in.) they were copied into Julius E. vii in an unknown centre in South England, most of them by one scribe who clearly had not been trained by someone thoroughly imbued with Ælfric’s ideas of writing correct English, and who is noted for quite a number of orthographic peculiarities.”

³⁶Gretsch (2003: 46 (1)) also notes an infrequent confusion between long and short *æ* and *e*, e.g. in *fec/fæc*, or *bæd/bed*, which does not appear in the *Life*, however.

³⁷Corona (2006: 138), Needham (1966: 6-7) and Upchurch (2007: 26-9) all include short listings to collect these orthographies.

is usually *o*, as in *goldhord* (l. 602), or *dohtor* (l. 576). WG *ō* is always *o*, as in *blode* (l. 964), *flode* (l. 1316), *fotum* (l. 930), *modor* (l. 149). WG *u* is always *u*, as in *burh* (l. 59), *lufe* (l. 46), *wuldor* (l. 1102), *wunda* (l. 961). WG *ū* is always *u*, as in *truwan* (l. 403), or *þusend* (l. 712). WG *ai* consistently developed to *ā*, e.g. in *gast* (l. 1012), *halig* (l. 240), just like the Latin *ae* developed to *ā*, as in *casere* (l. 19). WG *au* is generally *ea*, as in *eac* (l. 28), *deaðe* (l. 129), *geleafa* (dat. l. 113). eWS *sel-* shows as IWS *syl-*, e.g. *sylfum* (l. 6). eWS *ie* is *y*, e.g. *gelyfed* (l. 240), *gefylled* (l. 292). Before *l+cons.* WG *a* is usually broken to *ea*, as in *eall* (l. 26), *getealde* (l. 336), *sealde* (l. 67). *eo* from WG *e* before *l+cons.* is typical IWS, cf. Hardy: 14/15, Hamilton: 3 (7), e.g. *heold* (l. 56), *beheolde* (l. 78), *sceolde* (l. 130). Before *r+cons.* WG *a* is also usually broken to *ea*, as in *sweartum* (dat. pl., l. 973), but an exception is *forbærnde* (l. 440), and *-werd* (*towerde*, l. 163, *cyr-canwerd*, l. 904, *æfterwerd*, l. 997); Schüller (1908: 61) suggests the reason might lie in its unstressed quality. *eo* from West Germanic *e* before *r+cons.* is typical IWS, e.g. *weorcum* (l. 36), *georne* (l. 151), *mildheortnyse* l. (164). Before *h+cons.* WG *a* is also usually broken to *ea*, as in *eahtatyne* (l. 92), *leahtrum* (l. 1084). *y* (or *i*) following a palatal is typical for IWS, Hamilton: 3 (4), e.g. *gescyld* (l. 116), *deofolgild* (l. 373). Syncopation of an unaccented vowel before *r* is typical IWS, cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5a), e.g. *woruldlicre* (l. 36), *mynstre* (l. 256), *healicro* (l. 288), *heofonlicre* (l. 449), *waccre* (l. 1354). Syncopation of an unaccented vowel before *l* is typical for IWS, cf. Hardy: 52; Hamilton: 3 (5b), e.g. *englum* (l. 82), *deoflum* (l. 144).

Inflectional Morphology: The IWS pronouns in J are very regular in that there is “little variation”.³⁸ Exemplary for this is the occurrence of both *þisne* and *þysne* (the *Life* shows only *þisne*, e.g. l. 559). Other observations are that the nouns tend towards a levelling of inflectional endings, which is unsurprising for IWS, however.

Vocabulary: As expected, the text shows a number of typical Winchester-words. They are *gerihlæhte* (l. 185, see Hofstetter 1987: 15 (9)), *ogan* (l. 549; Hofstetter 14 (8)), *behreowsian* (l. 746; Hofstetter 16 (11)), *geladunge* (ll. 1069, 1437; Hofstetter 9 (5)), *tocwysan* (ll. 253, 450, 1249; Hofstetter 16 (10)), *gearcode* (l. 1278, Hofstetter 9 (4)), *mihte* (l. 1437, when translating *virtus*, Hofstetter 12 (6)).

³⁸See Gretsich (2003: 48), and cf. Upchurch (2007: 27-9) for more peculiarities with regard to inflectional endings in J.

TEXT

INCIPIT VITA SANCTI MARTINI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS . ANGLICAE . —

[n.s.] SVLPICIUS HATTE SVM WRITERE .

ÐE WOLDE AWRI|tan þa wundra *and* mihta

178r

þe martinus se mæra mihtiglice gefremode

5 on þisre worulde . *and* he wrat þa be him

þa ðing þe he ofaxode . oððe æt him sylfum .

oððe æt oþrum mannum . forðan þe manegum wæron

his wundra cuþe . þe god worhte þurh hine .

and we þæt englic nimað of þære ylcan gesetnysse .

10 ac we ne writað na mare . buton his agene wundra .

[SVM 2,1] MARTINUS SE MÆRA BISCEOP WÆS GEBOREN

on þam fæstene sabaria gehaten pannoniscre scire .

and on ticinis he wæs afed italian landes .

He com of hæðenum magum æþelborenum swaðeah

15 of wurðfulre mægðe . æfter woruldþingum .

[SVM 2,2] his fæder wæs ærest cempa . *and* eft cempena ealdor .

and martinus wæs gewenod to wæpnum fram cildhade .

and campdome fyligde betwux larlicum gefylcum .

ærest under constantine þam æþelan casere .

20 *and* eft under iuliane þam arleasan wiðersacan .

na swaþeah sylfwilles . forþan þe he fram cildhade wæs swiðor

onbryrd þurh god to godcundlicum þeowdome

þonne to woruldlicum campdome . swa swa he cydde syððan .

[SVM 2,3] Ða ða he wæs tyn wintra þa wearð he gecristnod

25 his maga unþances . *and* on wundorlicum gemete

sona to godes þeowdome he wæs eall gehwyrfed .

and þa þe he wæs twelf wintra he gewilnode to westene .

and he hit eac gefremode gif he þa ylde hæfde .

2 SVLPICIUS] *The initial S is decorated and in red ink.* 11 MARTINUS] *The initial M is decorated and in a red ink.*

2 SVLPICIUS] I.e. Sulpicius Severus, author of the *Vita Martini*, see the biography above, pp. 14f.
6 ofaxode] I.e. a prefixation that

categorizes among “Combinations with locative particles” (Sauer 2013: 259, 261); Skeat hyphenated the particle and verb; cf. the editorial policy above, p. 157.

HERE BEGINS THE LIFE OF ST MARTIN, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR, IN ENGLISH
 [n.s.] One writer was called Sulpicius,
 who wanted to write [down] the miracles and mighty works
 which the great Martin had mightily performed
 5 in this world, and then he wrote about him
 the things which he had learned, either from himself,
 or from other men, because to many were
 his miracles known, which God had performed through him,
 and we take the English from that same composition;
 10 but we will not write of more than his own miracles.
 [SVM 2,1] Martin, the great bishop, was born
 in the fastness called Sabaria, in the province of Pannonia,
 and in Ticinum he was brought up, in the Italian land.
 He came of heathen parents, of noble birth nevertheless,
 15 from an honourable family, according to worldly matters.
 [SVM 2,2] His father was first a soldier and then a commander of soldiers,
 and Martin was accustomed to weapons from childhood,
 and engaged in warfare amongst a training group,
 first under Constantine, the noble emperor,
 20 and then under Julian, the honourless apostate;
 not, however, by his own will, because from childhood he was very
 inspired by God to divine service
 rather than to worldly warfare, as he related afterwards.
 [SVM 2,3] When he was ten winters [old], then he was christened
 25 to his parents' displeasure, and in a wonderful degree
 he soon was wholly turned towards God's service,
 and when he was twelve winters [old] he desired [to go] to the desert,
 and he would also have accomplished it, if he had been of age.

11 SVM 2,1] Igitur Martinus Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit, sed intra Italiam Ticini altus est, parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen. 16 SVM 2,2] Pater eius miles primum, post tribunus militum fuit. Ipse, armatam militiam in adolescentia secutus, inter scholares alas sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesare militavit; non tamen sponte, quia a primis fere annis diuinam potius seruitutem sacra inlustris pueri spirauit infantia. 24 SVM 2,3] Nam cum esset annorum decem, inuitis parentibus ad ecclesiam confugit seque catechumenum fieri postulauit.

- [SVM 2,4] His mod wæs swaþeah æfre embe mynstru smeagende .
 30 oþþe embe cyrcan . *and* godes gesetnyssum .
 he smeade þa on cildhade . þæt he siððan gefremode .
 [SVM 2,5] Ða wæs þære casere bebod | þæt þæra cempena suna 178v
 þe wæron forealdode wurdon genamode
 to þam ylcan campdome þe heora fæderas on wæron .
 35 *and martinus* þa wearð ameldod fram his fæder .
 þe on his weorcum andode . *and* he wearð geracenteagod
 þa þa he fiftyne wintre wæs . betæht to þam gewinne
 mid anum his þeowan þe his gesiðe wæs .
 þam he sylf þenode . swiþor þonne he him .
 40 *and samod* hi gereordoden swa swa gelícan .
 [SVM 2,6] Ðreo gear he ferde mid þam folclicum cempum .
 buton gewæpnunge ærþan þe he wære gefullod
 ungewemmed swaþeah fram woruldlicre besmitennysse
 on þære þe mennisc cynn micclum on syngað .
 45 [SVM 2,7] Embe his efencempan he hæfde welwillendnysse .
and micele lufe . *and* gemetfæst geðyld .
and soðe eadmodnysse . ofer mennisc gemett .
 Swa micele forhæfednysse he hæfde on his bigleofan .
 swilce he munuc wære swiðor þonne cempa .
 50 *and* for his ædelum þeawum his efencempan ealle
 þa hine arwurðodon mid wundorlicre lufe .

49 swilce ... cempa] Find a discussion of this line and its alliterative style in comparison with Ælfric's *Homily* in Szarmach (2003: 46).

- [SVM 2,4] His mind was, nevertheless, ever meditating over monasteries
 30 or about churches and God's law;
 he pondered in childhood about that which he performed afterwards.
 [SVM 2,5] Then there was the emperor's edict that the soldiers' sons
 who had grown old enough would be appointed
 to the same warfare in which their fathers had been,
 35 and Martin was thereupon enrolled by his father,
 who envied his works, and he was put in chains
 when he was fifteen winters [old], assigned to the war
 with one of his slaves who was his follower,
 whom he himself served rather than he him;
 40 and they ate together just as equals.
 [SVM 2,6] Three years he marched with the common soldiers
 without weapons, before he would be baptized,
 unspoiled, however, by worldly defilement
 in which mankind sins greatly.
 45 [SVM 2,7] [Being] Around his fellow-soldiers he had goodwill,
 and much love, and modest patience,
 and true humility above man's measure.
 So much temperance he had with regard to his diet
 such as if he were a monk rather than a soldier,
 50 and for his noble conduct all his fellow-soldiers
 revered him then with a wonderful love.

29 SVM 2,4] Mox mirum in modum totus in Dei opere conuersus, cum esset annorum duodecim, eremum concupiuit, fecissetque uotis satis, si aetatis infirmitas non fuisset impedimento. Animus tamen, aut circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus, meditabatur adhuc in aetate puerili quod postea deuotus inpleuit. 32 SVM 2,5] Sed cum edictum esset a regibus ut ueteranorum filii ad militiam scriberentur, prodente patre qui felicibus eius actibus inuidebat, cum esset annorum quindecim, captus et catenatus sacramentis militaribus implicatus est, uno tantum seruo comite contentus, cui tamen uersa uice dominus seruiebat, adeo ut plerumque ei et calciamenta ipse detraheret et ipse detergeret, cibum una caperent, hic tamen saepius ministraret. 41 SVM 2,6] Triennium fere ante baptismum in armis fuit, integer tamen ab his uitiiis quibus illud hominum genus implicari solet. 45 SVM 2,7] Multa illius circa commilitones benignitas, mira caritas, patientia uero atque humilitas ultra humanum modum. Nam frugalitatem in eo laudari non est necesse, qua ita usus est, ut iam illo tempore non miles, sed monachus putaretur. Pro quibus rebus ita sibi omnes commilitones deuinxerat ut eum miro adfectu uenerentur.

- [SVM 2,8] He næs þa git gefullod . ac he gefylde swaþeah
 þæs fulluhtes dæda mid fulfremedum weorcum .
 swa þæt he swincendum fylste . *and* fedde þearfende .
 55 *and* nacode scrydde . *and* nan þing him sylfum
 of his campdomesscipe on his seode ne heold .
 buton þæt he dæghwamllice to bigleofan hæfde .
 swa swa þæt godspel sægð . Ne þenc þu be mergene .
 [SVM 3,1] II . ON sumere tide he ferde forð þurh ane burh
 60 ambianis gehaten on hetelicum wintra .
 on swa swiðlicum cyle . þæt sume men swulton þurh þone .
 Ða gemette he ðær ænne þearfan | nacodne 179r
 biddende þa riddon þæt hi him sum reaf sealdon .
 ac hi ridon him forð . ne rohton his clypunge .
 65 *Martinus* þa ongeat þæt he moste his helpan .
 þa ða þa oþre noldon [SVM 3,2] ac he nyste swaþeah
 hwæt he sealde þam nacodan forþan þe he sylf næfde
 naht butan his gewædum . *and* his gewæpnunge .
 forðan þe he on swilce weorc aspende ær his ðing .
 70 He gelæhte ða his sex . *and* forcearf his basing .
and sealde healfne dæl þam gesæligan þearfan .
and þone healfan dæl he dyde on his hricg .
 Ða hlogon his geferan þæs forcorfenan basinges .
 sume eac besargodon þæt hi swilces naht ne dydon
 75 þonne hi butan næcednyse him bet mihton tiðian .

58 be] *be is a scribal correction* 59 II . ON] *Number and punctus are in a brown ink; the O of ON is decorated and in red ink.* 65 *Martinus*] *The initial M is slightly enlarged and has rounded legs* 70 his] *a second his has been scratched out*

63 riddon] Skeat suggests to read *riddan*.
 65 his helpan] In OE the direct object to *helpan* can be both genitive or dative, see Shipley (1903: 45).
 75 þonne] This is an example in which

þonne “clearly introduces a clause describing a single act which had been completed in the past when it was related”; in these rare instances it can be glossed “because, since, seeing that” (OES § 2567).

- [SVM 2,8] He was not yet baptized then, but he fulfilled, nevertheless,
 the deeds of baptism with perfect works,
 so that he helped the oppressed, and fed paupers,
 55 and clothed the naked, and no thing for himself,
 from his warfare, he kept in his pouch,
 save what he daily had for food,
 so as the gospel says: "Do not you think about tomorrow".
 [SVM 3,1] II. At some time he travelled forward through a city
 60 called Amiens, in a harsh winter,
 in such severe cold that some men died of it.
 Then he met there a pauper, naked,
 beseeching the riders that they would give him some clothing;
 but they rode past him, nor cared for his cry.
 65 Then Martin perceived that he must help him,
 since the others would not; [SVM 3,2] but he knew not, however,
 what he would give to the naked [man], because he himself did not have
 anything but his clothes and his armour,
 since he, by a similar deed, had spent his things before.
 70 He drew his sword then, and cut through his cloak,
 and gave half a part to the blessed pauper,
 and half a part he put on his back.
 Then his comrades laughed at the cut cloak;
 [but] some also deplored that they had not done anything similar,
 75 since they, without nakedness, might have helped him better.

52 SVM 2,8] Necdum tamen regeneratus in Christo, agebat quendam bonis operibus baptismi candidatum: adistere scilicet laborantibus, opem ferre miseris, alere egentes, uestire nudos, nihil sibi ex militiae stipendiis praeter cotidianum uictum reseruare. Iam tum euangelii non surdus auditor de crastino non cogitabat. 59 SVM 3,1] Quodam itaque tempore, cum iam nihil praeter arma et simplicem militiae uestem haberet, media hieme quae solito asperior inhorruerat, adeo ut plerosque uis algoris extingueret, obuium habet in porta Ambianensium ciuitatis pauperem nudum. Qui cum praetereuntes ut sui misererentur oraret omnesque miserum praeterirent, intellexit uir Deo plenus sibi illum, aliis misericordiam non praestantibus, reseruari. 66 SVM 3,2] Quid tamen ageret? Nihil praeter chlamydem, qua indutus erat, habebat: iam enim reliqua in opus simile consumpserat. Arrepto itaque ferro quo accinctus erat, mediam diuidit partemque eius pauperi tribuit, reliqua rursus induitur. Interea de circumstantibus ridere nonnulli, quia deformis esse truncatus habitu uideretur; multi tamen, quibus erat mens sanior, altius gemere, quod nihil simile fecissent, cum utique plus habentes uestire pauperem sine sua nuditate potuissent.

- [SVM 3,3] On þære ylcan nihte he geseah on swefne
 þone hælend gescrydne mid þam healfan basinge .
 þe he sealde þam þearfan . and hét þæt he beheolde
 to his drihtne werd . and oncneowe þæt reaf
 80 þe he sealde þam þearfan .
 Pærrihte gehyrde se halga martinus .
 þone hælend clypian to his halgum englum
 mid beorhtre stemne . and to him ymbstandendum . cwæð .
 Martinus þe git nis gefullod me mid þysum reafe gescrydde .
 85 [SVM 3,4] He gemunde þa his cwydes þe he cwæð on his godspelle .
 þæt þæt ge doð on minum naman anum of þysum læstum .
 þæt ge doþ me sylfum . and forþi he geswutelode
 hine sylfne martine on swefne mid þam reafe
 þe se þearfa underfeng for his naman on ár .
 90 [SVM 3,5] Se halga wer swaþeah næs ahafen þurh þa gesihþe .
 ac godes godnyse he oncneow on his weorce .
 and þa þa he wæs eahtatyne wintre . he wearð gefullod on gode .
 nolde þeah git forlætan . for his leofan ealdormenn .
 þone | folclican campdom . [SVM 3,6] ac for his benum swa wunode 179v
 95 twa gear fullice . siððan he gefullod wæs .
 [SVM 4,1] III . Hwæt ða færlice wearð þæs fyrhlenan leodscipes
 onræs into gallias . and Iulianus se casere
 gegaderode his here . and began to gifenne
 ælcum his cempum cynelice sylene .

80 þe he sealde þam þearfan] *Probably an eye-skip by the scribe, who repeats the line. This might be suggested by the missing b-verse, though the phrase is not preceded by the same word (basing/reaf), which would more strongly suggest this. Skeat omits the phrase. 96 III . Hwæt] The numeral is in a brown ink, the H has the height of 3 lines (no ornamentation) and is in red ink.*

93 nolde ... wunode] Szarmach (2003: 47) remarks that Ælfric obviously felt the need of an explanation that Martin remained in the military service for two more years, since there is no such

explanation in SVM (Severus confines himself to stating that Martin continued military service “just by name” (*nomine militauit*)).

- [SVM 3,3] In the same night he saw in a dream
the Saviour clothed with the half-cloak
which he had given to the pauper, and told him to behold
his Lord's clothing, and recognize the robe
80 which he had given to the pauper.
Right away the holy Martin heard
the Saviour call to His holy angels
with clear voice, and to those who stood around Him [He] said:
“Martin, who is not baptized yet, clothed Me with this robe.”
85 [SVM 3,4] Then He bore in mind His saying, which He said in His gospel:
“‘That which you do in my name to one of these least,
that you do to Myself.’” And therefore He showed
Himself to Martin in a dream with the robe
which the pauper had received in His name before.
90 [SVM 3,5] The holy man, however, was not presumptuous through the vision,
but he recognized the goodness of God in his deed.
And when he was eighteen winters [old], he was baptized in God,
though he would not yet leave, because of his dear commander,
worldly fighting; [SVM 3,6] but, at his entreaty, continued in it
95 fully two years, after he was baptised.
[SVM 4,1] III. Lo, suddenly there was a foreign nation's
invasion into Gaul. And Julian the emperor
gathered his army, and began to give
to each of his soldiers a royal gift,

76 SVM 3,3] Nocte igitur insecta, cum se sopori dedisset, uidit Christum chlamydis suae, qua pauperem texerat, parte uestitum. Intueri diligentissime Dominum uestemque, quam dederat, iubetur agnoscere. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem audit Iesum clara uoce dicentem: Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me ueste contexit. 85 SVM 3,4] Vere memor Dominus dictorum suorum, qui ante praedixerat: quamdiu fecistis uni ex minimis istis, mihi fecistis, se in paupere professus est fuisse uestitum; et ad confirmandum tam boni operis testimonium in eodem se habitu, quem pauper acceperat, est dignatus ostendere. 90 SVM 3,5] Quo uiso, uir beatissimus non in gloriam est elatus humanam, sed bonitatem Dei in suo opere cognoscens, cum esset annorum duodeuiginti, ad baptismum conuolauit. Nec tamen statim militiae renuntiauit, tribuni sui precibus euictus, cui contubernium familiare praestabat: etenim transacto tribunatus sui tempore renuntiaturum se saeculo pollicebatur. 94 SVM 3,6] Qua Martinus expectatione suspensus per biennium fere posteaquam est baptismum consecutus solo licet nomine militauit. 96 SVM 4,1] Interea inruentibus intra Gallias barbaris, Iulianus Caesar, coacto in unum exercitu apud Vangionum ciuitatem, donatium coepit erogare militibus, et, ut est consuetudinis, singuli citabantur, donec ad Martinum uentum est.

- 100 swa swa hit gewunelic wæs . [SVM 4,2] Ða wende *martinus*
 þæt he þa wel mihte wilnian æt þam casere
 þæt he of þam campdome þa cuman moste .
 him ne ðuhte na fremfullic þæt he fenge to þære gife .
and syððan ne campode mid þam casere forð .
- 105 [SVM 4,3] He cwæð þa to þam arleasan . oð þis ic campode þe .
 geþafa nu þæt ic gode campige heononforð .
and underfó þine gife . se ðe feohte mid ðe .
 ic eom godes cempa ne mot ic na feohtan .
 [SVM 4,4] Ða gebealh hine se casere . *and* cwæð . þæt he for yrhðe
- 110 þæs towardan gefeohtes . na for eawfæstnysse
 hine sylfne ætbrude swa þam campdome .
 [SVM 4,5] Ac *martinus* unforht to þam manfullan cwæð .
 Gif ðu to yrhðe þis telst . *and* na to geleafan .
 nu to mergen ic stande on mines drihtnes naman
- 115 ætforan þam truman . *and* ic fare orsorh
 mid rodetacne gescyld . na mid readum scylde .
 oððe mid helme þurh þæs heres werod .
 [SVM 4,6] Ða het se arlease healdan þone halgan
 þæt he wurde wæpnlæs aworpen þam hæðenum .
- 120 [SVM 4,7] On þam æftran dæg dydon þa hæðenan
 þæt hi budon sybbe . *and* hí sylfe þam casere .
and ealle heora ðing to his anwealde .
 hwam twynað lá forði þæt þæs geleaffullan weres
 wære . se sige . þa þa him wæs getipod
- 125 þæt he wæpenleas nære aworpen þam here .

108 cempa] Ælfric prefers the word *cempa* to *þegn*, which is the word commonly used by the Anonymous Homilist; cp. Ælfric's *Homily* above, l. 10,

and cf. the commentary under SVM 2,2. 108 ne mot ic na] Double negation is possible in OE, see Molencki (2012: 298 (2.3)).

- 100 just as it was customary. [SVM 4,2] Then Martin thought
that he well might ask the emperor
for his leave to quit warfare;
it did not seem profitable to him to receive the gift,
and afterwards not to fight with the emperor any longer.
- 105 [SVM 4,3] He said to the impious one: “until now I have fought for you,
permit now that I fight for God henceforth,
and [who] received your gift, he might fight with you.
I am God’s soldier, I must not fight.”
[SVM 4,4] Then the emperor grew angry, and said that he for cowardice,
110 because of the imminent battle, not for piety,
would withdraw himself thus from warfare.
[SVM 4,5] But Martin fearlessly said to the evil man:
“If you count this as cowardice, and not as true faith,
now, tomorrow, I will stand in my Lord’s name,
115 before the cohort, and I will march unconcernedly,
shielded by the sign of the cross, not by a red shield,
nor with any helmet, through the host of this army.”
[SVM 4,6] Then the impious man commended to seize the saint,
that he might be thrown weaponless before the heathens.
- 120 [SVM 4,7] On the next day the heathen so did
that they proffered peace and themselves to the emperor,
and all their property at his disposal.
Lo, who doubts therefore that it was because of this faithful man
that there was victory, since to him it was granted,
125 that he might not be cast weaponless to the army?

100 SVM 4,2] Tum uero oportunitatem tempus existimans, quo peteret missionem – neque enim integrum sibi fore arbitrabatur, si donatium non militaturus acciperet. 105 SVM 4,3] hactenus, inquit ad Caesarem, militaui tibi; patere ut nunc militem Deo. Donatium tuum pugnaturus accipiat; Christi ego miles sum: pugnare mihi non licet. 109 SVM 4,4] Tum uero aduersus hanc uocem tyrannus infremuit dicens eum metu pugnae, quae postero die erat futura, non religionis gratia detractare militiam. 112 SVM 4,5] At Martinus intrepidus, immo inlato sibi terrore constantior: si hoc, inquit, ignauiae adscribitur, non fidei, crastina die ante aciem inermis adstabo et in nomine Domini Iesu, signo crucis, non clipeo protectus aut galea, hostium cuneos penetrabo securus. 118 SVM 4,6] Retrudi ergo in custodiam iubetur, facturus fidem dictis, ut inermis barbaris obiceretur. 120 SVM 4,7] Postero die hostes legatos de pace miserunt, sua omnia seque dedentes. Vnde quis dubitet hanc uere beati uiri fuisse uictoriam, cui praestitum sit ne inermis ad proelium mitteretur.

- þeah þe se arfæsta drihten eape
 mihte gehealdan andsundne his ceman .
 [SVM 4,8] He ætbræd þæt | gefeoht . þæt furðon næron gewemmede 180r
 martines gesihþa on oðra manna deaðe .
 130 [SVM 4,9] Hwilcne oþerne sige sceolde ure drihten
 syllan for his ceman selran þonne þone .
 þæt nan man ne swulte . ac þæt hí to sibbe fengon .
 [SVM 5,1] IIII . Ða forlet martinus swa he gemynte gefyrn .
 þone woruldlican campdom . and to þam halgan were ferde .
 135 hilarium þam bisceope on þære burhscyre
 þe is pictaus gehaten . forðan þe he wæs acunnod
 on godes geleafan . and on goddre lare .
 and he þa wunode mid þam were sume hwile .
 [SVM 5,2] Ða wolde se halga háðian hine to diacone
 140 ac he wiðcwæð gelome . cwæð þæt he wyrðe nære .
 þa underget se bisceop þæt he mihte hine gebigan
 gif he him bude læssan háð . and bead him þæt he wære
 gehadod to exorcista . þæt we hatað halsigend
 þe ðe bebyt deofflum . þæt hi of gedrehtum mannum faran .
 145 and he þa ne forsóc þone eadmoddran háð .
 ac wearð swa gehadod æt þam halgan bisceope .
 [SVM 5,3] Ða æfter sumum fyrste he wearð on swefne gemynegod .
 þæt he sceolde his eþel . and his eard geneosian .
 and fæder . and modor . þe fúllice wæron hæþene .
 150 and he ferde ða be leafa þæs foresædan bisceopes .

133 IIII . Ða] *The numeral and the following punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.*

139 diacone] A frequent loanword in OE, see DOE s.v. *diacon*, glossed ‘deacon, one of an order of ministers in the medieval western Christian church ranking below bishop and priest, who among other things assists the priest, especially in the celebration of Mass’.

- Although the beneficent Lord easily
 might have kept His soldier unhurt.
 [SVM 4,8] He prevented that battle, even so as not to stain
 Martin's eyes by other men's death.
- 130 [SVM 4,9] What other victory could our Lord
 have given for His soldier's sake better than this,
 that no man would die, but that they should come to peace?
 [SVM 5,1] IV. Then Martin quit, as he had meant to do long ago,
 worldly warfare and went to the holy man
- 135 Hilary, the bishop, in the city
 which is called Poitiers, because he was experienced
 in God's faith and in good doctrine,
 and then abode with the man some while.
 [SVM 5,2] Then the saint wanted to ordain him deacon,
 140 but he frequently refused, [he] said that he was not worthy.
 Then the bishop perceived that he might persuade him
 if he offered him a lesser office, and begged him that he would be
 ordained exorcist, which we call a conjurer
 who commands devils that they should depart possessed men;
 145 and he then refused not the humble office,
 but was so ordained by the holy bishop.
 [SVM 5,3] Then, after some time, he was admonished in a dream
 that he should visit his country and his home,
 and father and mother, who were wickedly heathen;
 150 and he went thereupon by leave of the aforesaid bishop,

128 SVM 4,8] Et quamuis pius Dominus seruare militem suum licet inter hostium gladios et tela potuisset, tamen, ne uel aliorum mortibus sancti uiolarentur obtutus, exemit pugnae necessitatem. 130 SVM 4,9] Neque enim aliam pro milite suo Christus debuit praestare uictoriam, quam ut, subactis sine sanguine hostibus, nemo moreretur. 133 SVM 5,1] Exinde, relicta militia, sanctum Hilarium Pictauae episcopum ciuitatis, cuius tunc in Dei rebus spectata et cognita fides habebatur, expetiit et ahquandiu apud eum commoratus est. 139 SVM 5,2] Temptauit autem idem Hilarius inposito diaconatus officio sibi eum artius implicare et ministerio uincire diuino, sed eum saepissime restitisset, indignum se esse uociferans, intellexit uir altioris ingenii uno eum modo posse constringi, si id ei officii imponeret in quo quidam locus iniuriae uideretur. Itaque exorcistam eum esse praecepit. Quam ille ordinationem, ne despexisse tamquam humilio-rem uideretur, non repudiauit. 147 SVM 5,3] Nec multo post admonitus per soporem ut patriam parentesque, quos adhuc gentilitas detinebat, religiosa sollicitudine uisitaret, ex uoluntate sancti Hilari profectus est, multis ab eo obstrictus precibus et lacrimis ut rediret. Maestus, ut ferunt, peregrinationem illam ingressus est, contestatus fratribus multa se aduersa passurum: quod postea probauit euentus.

- and* he hine georne bæd þæt he ongean cuman sceolde .
 [SVM 5,4] *Martinus* þa ferde to þam fyrlenen lande .
and þa þa he com to muntum . þa gemette he sceaðan .
and heora an sona his exe up abræd .
 155 wolde hine slean . ac him forwyrnde sum oþer .
 swa þæt he þæt hylfe gelæhte . *and* wiðhæfde þæt slege .
 He wearð swapeah gebunden bæftan to his bæce .
and heora anum | betæht þæt he hine bereafode . 180v
 [SVM 5,5] Ða ongan se hine befrinan hwæðer he forht wære .
 160 oððe hwæt he manna wære . oþþe he cristen wære .
 Ða *and*wyrde *martinus* him anrædlice . *and* cwæð
 þæt he nære swa orsorh on eallum his life .
 for þam þe he wiste towerde godes
 mildheortnyse swiþost on þam costnungum .
 165 *and* cwæð þæt he besargode swiðor his gedwyldes
 þæt he unwyrðe wæs godes mildheortnyse .
 [SVM 5,6] Began ða to bodigenne þa godspellican lare
 swa lange þam sceaðan oþþæt he gelyfde on god .
and *martine* fyligde micclum hine biddende
 170 þæt he him fore gebæde . *and* he forð þurhwunode
 on æwfæstre drohtnunge . *and* eft us þis cydde .
 [SVM 6,1] Ða þa he com to *mediolana* . þa gemette hé ænne deofol
 on *menniscum híwe* . *and* he *martinum* befrán
 hwider he siðode . Ða sæde him se halga
 175 þæt he þider ferde þe hine drihten clypode .
 Ða cwæð se *scucca* sona him to andsware .

172 *mediolana*] I.e. Milano in Italy; the *Life* is the only text among the OE Martiniana which includes the episode.

and he earnestly begged that he should come [back] again.
 [SVM 5,4] Then Martin travelled to the distant land,
 and when he came to the mountains, then he met robbers,
 and one of them at once lifted up his ax,
 155 meant to slay him; but another hindered him,
 in that he caught the helve and restrained the blow.
 He was, however, tied up behind his back,
 and committed to one of them, so that he might rob him.
 [SVM 5,5] Then this man began to question him whether he was afraid,
 160 or what kind of man he be, or if he be a Christian.
 Then Martin answered him boldly, and said
 that he had not been as untroubled in all his life,
 because he knew of God's
 mercy, most especially in temptations;
 165 and said that he sorrowed rather for his error,
 [and] that he was unworthy of God's mercy.
 [SVM 5,6] Then he began to preach the gospel teaching,
 so long [a while] to the robber until he believed in God,
 and followed Martin, earnestly entreating him
 170 that he would pray for him, and he lived henceforth
 a pious life, and afterwards told us of this.
 [SVM 6,1] When he came to Milan he met a devil
 in a human shape, and he asked Martin
 whither he travelled. Then the Saint said to him
 175 that he was going where the Lord had called him to.
 Then the demon said to him straightaway in answer:

152 SVM 5,4] Ac primum inter Alpes deuia secutus incidit in latrones. Cumque unus securi eleuata in caput eius librasset ictum, ferientis dexteram sustinuit alter; uinctis tamen post tergum manibus, uni adseruandus et spoliandus traditur. Qui cum eum ad remotiora duxisset, percontari ab eo coepit quisnam esset. Respondit Christianum se esse. 159 SVM 5,5] Quarebat etiam ab eo an timeret. Tum uero constantissime profitebatur numquam se tam fuisse securum, quia sciret misericordiam Domini maxime in temptationibus adfuturam; se magis illi dolere, qui Christi misericordia, utpote latronicia exercens, esset indignus. 167 SVM 5,6] Ingressusque euangelicam disputationem uerbum Dei latroni praedicabat. Quid longius morer? Latro crediti prosecutusque Martinum uiae reddidit, orans ut pro se Dominum precaretur. Idemque postea religiosam agens uitam uisus est, adeo ut haec, quae supra rettulimus, ex ipso audita dicantur. 172 SVM 6,1] Igitur Martinus inde progressus cum Mediolanum praeterisset, diabolus in itinere, humana specie adsumpta, se ei obuium tulit, quo tenderet quaerens. Cumque id a Martino responsi accepisset, se quo Dominus uocaret intendere, ait ad eum:

- [SVM 6,2] Swa hwider swa þu færst . oððe swa hwæt swa þu beġinst .
 þe bið wiþerræde seo deofol . and se halga wer him cwæð to .
 Drihten me is on fultume . ne ondræde ic hwæt man me dó .
 180 *and* se deofol þærrihthe fordwán on his gesihðe .
 [SVM 6,3] Martinus þa ferde forð swa he gemynte .
and his modor gebigde to godes biggencgum .
and to þam halgan fulluhte . þeah þe his fæder nolde
 bugan of þam gedwylde . *and* þeah þurh drihtnes fultum
 185 *martinus* gerihtlæhte manega of þam folce .
 [SVM 6,4] Ða asprang geond ealle woruld arrianes gedwylde .
and *martinus* mid geleafan micclum wan ongean .
 oðþæt he wearð | geswenct mid swiðlicum witum . 181r
and openlice beswungen . *and* of þære byrig adræfed .
 190 [SVM 6,5] He ferde þa ongean to italian lande .
and on mediolana him mynster arærde .
 forðan þe se foresæda hilarius wæs afaren to wræcsiðe .
 for þam ylcan gedwylde þe þa dwollice asprang .
 ac þa gedwolmen sona hine adrifon þanon .
 195 *and* hé ferde swá þanon to sumum iglande
 gallinaria gehaten . mid anum halgum mæssepreoste .
 se leofode on wæstene be wyrta morum lange .
 [SVM 6,6] *Martinus* þa on þære tide on his mete þigde
 þa ættrian wyrt . þe elleborum hatte .
 200 *and* þæt attor sona hine swiðe þreade

195 *and* hé ferde swá þanon] *A scribal correction in the margin*

196 *gallinaria*] I.e. the island Gallinara,
 70km south-east of Genoa, Italy
 (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 81 n. 56; Fontaine:
 600).

197 *wyrta morum*] Perhaps the root in
 question is a carrot, or parsnip, see BTS
 s.v. *more*; both *wyrta* and *morum* denote
 edible roots.

[SVM 6,2] “Wherever you go, or whatever you begin,
the devil shall be your adversary!”, and the holy man said to him:
“The Lord is my succour, I do not fear what man may do to me.”,

180 and the devil straightaway vanished from his sight.

[SVM 6,3] Then Martin travelled on as he had meant to do,
and his mother submitted to the worship of God
and to holy baptism, though his father would not
turn away from heresy, and yet, by help of God,

185 Martin corrected many of the people.

[SVM 6,4] Then all over the world the heresy of Arius arose,
and Martin with faith strongly contended against it
until he was tortured with cruel torments,
and openly scourged and driven out of the city.

190 [SVM 6,5] Then he went back again to the Italian land,
and in Milan [he] established for himself a monastery,
because the aforesaid Hilary had gone into exile
because of the same heresy which then erroneously arose;
but the heretics soon drove him away from there,

195 and so he departed thence to an island
called Gallinara, with a holy mass-priest
who had lived long in the desert on edible roots.

[SVM 6,6] Then Martin at that time in his diet consumed
the poisonous plant which is called hellebore,

200 and the poison soon tormented him greatly

177 SVM 6,2] quocumque ieris uel quaecumque temptaueris, diabolus tibi aduersabitur. Tunc ei prophetica uoce respondens: Dominus mihi, inquit, adiutor est; non timebo quid faciat mihi homo. Statimque de conspectu eius inimicus euanuit. 181 SVM 6,3] Itaque, ut animo ac mente conceperat, matrem gentilitatis absoluit errore, patre in malis perseuerante; plures tamen suo saluauit exemplo. 186 SVM 6,4] Dehinc cum haeresis Arriana per totum orbem et maxime intra Illyricum pullulasset, cum aduersus perfidiam sacerdotum solus paene acerrime repugnaret multisque suppliciis esset adfectus nam et publico uirgis caesus est et ad extremum de ciuitate exire compulsus -, Italiam repetens, cum intra Gallias quoque discessu sancti Hilari, quem ad exilium haeticorum uis coegerat, turbatam ecclesiam comperisset, Mediolani sibi monasterium statuit. Ibi quoque eum Auxentius, auctor et princeps Arrianorum, grauissime insectatus est, multisque adfectum iniuriis de ciuitate exturbauit. 190 SVM 6,5] Cedendum itaque tempori ratus, ad insulam, cui Gallinaria nomen est, secessit, comite quodam presbytero magnarum uirtutum uiro. Hic aliquandiu radicibus uixit herbarum. Quo tempore helleborum, uenenatum, ut ferunt, gramen, in cibum sumpsit. 198 SVM 6,6] Sed cum uim ueneni in se grassantis uicina iam morte sensisset, imminens periculum oratione repulit statimque omnis dolor fugatus est.

- fornean to deaðe . ac he feng to his gebedum .
and eall seo sarnys him sona fram gewát .
 [SVM 6,7] Ða æfter sumum fyrste þa ða he ofaxod hæfde
 þæt se halga hilarius ham cyrran moste .
 205 of þam wrecsiðe . þa gewende he to him .
and he mid arwurðnysse hine eft underfeng .
and martinus ða siððan him mynster þær arærde .
 gehende þære byrig . þe is gehaten pictauis .
 [SVM 7,1] V . Ða com an gecristnod man *and* gecuðlæhte to martine .
 210 *and* wunode mid him wolde his lare underfón
 ac æfter feawum dagum he wearð færlice seoc .
 swa þæt he forðferde ungefullod sona .
 [SVM 7,2] *and* se halga martinus næs æt ham þa hwile .
 Ða gebroþra sarige þa sæton ofer þæt lic .
 215 [SVM 7,3] *and* martinus com þa micclum dreorig .
and het hi gan út *and* behæpsode þa duru .
and astrehte hine sylfne sona ofer þone deadan
 biddende his drihten þæt he þone deadan arærde .
 Ða æfter | sumum fyrste he gefredde on his mode .
 220 þæt godes miht wæs towerd . *and* he astod þa up
 anbidigende unforht his bena tiða .
 Ða æfter twam tidum astyrode se deada
 eallum limum . *and* lociende wæs .

181v

209 V . Ð_a] *The numeral and the initial are in the same brownish red ink and the initial is enlarged.*

216 behæpsode] This is the only occurrence of the word in OE, see DOE s.v. *be-hæpsian*, which is glossed ‘to fasten (a door acc.) with a hasp’; SVM has *foribus*

obseratis; however, Skeat’s translation “and hasped the door” accurately represents the OE syntax.

almost to death; but he took to his prayers,
and all the pain soon departed from him.

[SVM 6,7] Then after some time when he had learned
that the holy Hilary was allowed to return home
205 from his exile, then he went to him,
and with reverence he received him again,
and then afterwards Martin built himself a monastery there
near the city which is called Poitiers.

[SVM 7,1] V. Then there came a catechumen, and made friends with Martin,
210 and lived with him, [and] wanted to receive his lore,
but after a few days he suddenly got sick
so that he soon died, unbaptized,

[SVM 7,2] and the holy Martin was not at home for a while.

Then the sorrowful brethren sat around the corpse,
215 [SVM 7,3] and then Martin came, [was] very sad,
and bade them go out, and hasped the door,
and immediately stretched himself over the dead,
praying his Lord that He would raise the dead man.

Then after some time he perceived in his mind
220 that God's power was present, and then he stood up,
expecting fearlessly the granting of his prayers.

Then after two hours the dead man moved
all limbs and was looking [up].

203 SVM 6,7] Nec multo post, cum sancto Hilario comperisset regis paenitentia potestatem indultam fuisse redeundi, Romae ei temptauit occurrere profectusque ad urbem est. 209 SVM 7,1] Cum iam Hilarius praeterisset, Pictauos eum est uestigiis persecutus; cumque ab eo gratisime fuisset exceptus, haut longe sibi ab oppido monasterium conlocauit. Quo tempore se ei quidam catechumenus iunxit, cupiens sanctissimi uiri institui disciplinis. Paucisque interpositis diebus, languore correptus ui februm laborabat. 213 SVM 7,2] Ac tum Martinus forte discesserat. Et cum per triduum defuisset, regressus exanime corpus inuenit: ita subita mors fuerat, ut absque baptismo humanis rebus excederet. Corpus in medio positum tristi maerentium fratrum frequentabatur officio, cum Martinus flens et eiulans accurrit. 215 SVM 7,3] Tum uero, tota sanctum spiritum mente concipiens, egredi cellulam, in qua corpus iacebat, ceteros iubet, ac foribus obseratis super exanimata defuncti fratris membra prosternitur. Et cum aliquandiu orationi incubuisset sensissetque per spiritum Domini adesse uirtutem, erectus paululum et in defuncti ora defixus, orationis suae ac misericordiae Domini intrepidus expectabat euentum. Vixque duarum fere horarum spatium intercesserat, uidet defunctum paulatim membris omnibus commoueri et laxatis in usum uidendi palpitare luminibus.

- [SVM 7,4] Ða clypode *martinus* micclum þancigende gode .
 225 *and* þa þe þærute stodon instopon sona
 swiðe ablicgede . þæt hi gesawon þa libban
 þone þe hi ær forleton deadne .
 [SVM 7,5] He wearð þa sona gefullod . *and* he siððan leofode
 manega gear . [SVM 7,6] *and* mannum sæde
 230 þæt he to þæs hextan deman hehsetle wære gebroht .
and þær him wæs gedemed to dimre stowe .
 þær he unrot wunode mid woruldmannum .
 on witnungum þa hwile . *and* þa wearð gecyð
 þurh twegen englas þam ælmihtigan deman
 235 þæt he se man wære þe *martinus* fore gebæd .
and þa wearð eft geboden . þurh þa ylcan englas
 þæt he wurde gelæd to life ongean .
and martine agifen . *and* hit wearð þa swa .
 [SVM 7,7] Ða asprang martines hlisa geond þæt land wide .
 240 þæt se þe halig wæs on weorcum . wære apostolic wer gelyfed .
 [SVM 8,1] VI. Eft æfter sumum fyrste ferde se halga wer
 ofer sumes þegenes land *lupicinus* gehaten .
 þa gehyrde he feorran færlice hream .
 wependre meniu . [SVM 8,2] *and* he wearð þa gestedegod
 245 befrinende georne hwæt þæt færlices wære .
 Him wearþ þa gesæd þæt sum ungesælig man
 hine sylfne ahenge . of þære hiwrædene .
and swa hangigende hine sylfne adyde .

241 VI. Eft] *The numeral and the initial are in a brown ink.*

239 hlisa] The alliteration with *land* in the b-verse suggests a silent *h*.

240 apostolic] A frequent loan word in OE; cf. DOE s.v. *apostollic*, *apostolic*, here

in the sense 'following the example of / derived / handed down from the Apostles' (3.).

- 225 [SVM 7,4] Then Martin cried out, greatly thanking God,
and those who stood outside immediately stepped inside,
greatly amazed to see him living
whom they had left dead before.
- [SVM 7,5] Then was he baptized right away, and afterwards lived
for many years, [SVM 7,6] and related to men
230 that he had been brought before the throne of the highest judge,
and there he was condemned to a dim place;
there he dwelt joyless with worldly men
in torments for a while; and then it was made known
by two angels to the almighty judge
- 235 that he was the man for whom Martin prayed,
and then it was commanded again that, by the same angels,
that he should be brought to life again
and returned to Martin; and then so it happened.
- [SVM 7,7] Then Martin's fame sprang widely throughout the land,
240 so that he, who was holy in works, was believed to be an apostolic man.
- [SVM 8,1] VI. Again after some time the holy man travelled
through a nobleman's land, [who was] called Lupicinus.
Then suddenly he heard far off the cry
of a weeping crowd, [SVM 8,2] and it made him stand still,
245 enquiring anxiously what this unexpected [incident] might be.
It was told to him that some unhappy man
had hung himself, [one] of the household,
and thus [by] hanging had killed himself.

224 SVM 7,4] Tum uero, magna ad Dominum uoce conuersus, gratias agens cellulam clamore compleuerat. Quo audito, qui pro foribus adstiterant statim inruunt. Mirum spectaculum, quod uidebant uiuere quem mortuum reliquissent. 228 SVM 7,5] Ita redditus uitae, statim baptismum consecutus, plures postea uixit annos, primusque apud nos Martin uirtutum uel materia uel testimonium fuit. 229 SVM 7,6] Idem tamen referre erat solitus se corpore exutum ad tribunal iudicis ductum, deputandumque obscuris locis et uulgaribus turbis tristem excepisse sententiam; tum per duos angelos iudici fuisse suggestum, hanc esse pro quo Martinus oraret; ita per eosdem angelos se iussum reduci, et Martino redditum uitaeque pristinae restituro. 239 SVM 7,7] Ab hoc primum tempore beati uiri nomen enituit, ut qui sanctus iam ab omnibus habebatur, potens etiam et uere apostolicus haberetur. 241 SVM 8,1] Nec multo post, dum agrum Lupicini cuiusdam, honorati secundum saeculum uiri, praeteriret, clamore et luctu turbae plangentis excipitur. 244 SVM 8,2] Ad quam cum sollicitus adstisset et quis esset hic fletus inquireret, indicatur unum ex familia seruulum laqueo sibi uitam extorsisse. Quo cognito, cellulam, in qua corpus iacebat, ingreditur, exclusisque omnibus turbis superstratus corpori aliquantisper orauit.

- Martinus þa inneode þær se man læg dead .
 250 *and* adræfde ut ealle þa meniu .
and hine sylfne astreh|te ofer þone sawlleasan lichaman . 182r
 sume hwile on gebedum . [SVM 8,3] *and* he sona geedcucode .
and mid geornfulre elnunge up arisende wæs .
and nam martinus swiþran hand mid him astod
 255 *and* forðstop mid him . on þæs folces gesihðe .
 [SVM 9,1] VII[.] On þære ylcan tide þæt turonisce folc
 wilnigende wæs þæt martinus wære
 to bisceope gehalgod to heora burhscire .
 ac martinus nolde ut of þam mynstre na hwider .
 260 oþ þæt sum his nehgebura gesohte his fet
 sæde þæt his wif lage swiðe gebrocod .
and begeat þa uneaþe þæt he ut ferde .
 [SVM 9,2] *and* seo burhwaru cepte hwænne he ut come .
and gelæhton hine sona . *and* gelæddon to þære byrig
 265 turonia gehaten þæt he wurde gehadod .
 [SVM 9,3] Ða clypode eall seo meniu *and* cwædon anmodlice
 þæt martinus wære wyrðe þæs hades .
and gesælig sacerð to swilcum bisceopdome .
 [SVM 9,4] Ðær wæron bisceopas of gehwilcum burgum
 270 to þære gecorennysse . þa wiðcwædon hí sume
 þæt martinus nære wyrðe swa miceles hades .
 for his wacum gyrlum . *and* þær wiðcwæð swiþost

256 VII[.] On] *The numeral is in a brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in a red ink.*
 269 wæron bisceopas] *In between the two words is an erasure, hiding an indecipherable three-letter word starting with þ*

268 sacerð] *A frequent loan word (from Latin) in OE, meaning 'priest', see BT s.v. sacerð.*

Then Martin went inside, where the man lay dead,
 250 and drove out all the crowd,
 and stretched himself over the soulless body
 for some while in prayers; [SVM 8,3] and soon he revived
 and with fervent zeal rose up,
 and took Martin's right hand, stood beside him,
 255 and stepped forth with him in sight of the people.
 [SVM 9,1] VII. At that same time the people of Tours
 were desirous that Martin should be
 consecrated as bishop of their city,
 but Martin would not go there out of the monastery,
 260 until one of his neighbours sought his feet,
 saying that his wife lay badly afflicted,
 and with difficulty convinced him to go out.
 [SVM 9,2] And the citizens watched when he would come out,
 and immediately seized him and led him to the city
 265 called Tours, that he might be consecrated.
 [SVM 9,3] Then all the crowd cried out and said unanimously
 that Martin was worthy of the office,
 and a fortunate priest for such a bishopric.
 [SVM 9,4] There were bishops from various cities
 270 at the election; then some of them objected
 that Martin would not be worthy of so great a dignity
 on account of his poor clothing; and there objected most strongly

252 SVM 8,3] Mox uiuescente uultu, marcentibus oculis in ora illius defunctus erigitur; lentoque conamine enisus adsurgere, adprehensa beati uiri dextera in pedes constitit, atque ita cum eo usque ad uestibulum domus, turba omni inspectante, processit. 256 SVM 9,1] Sub idem fere tempus, ad episcopatum Turonicae ecclesiae petebatur; sed cum erui monasterio suo non facile posset, Rusticius quidam, unus e ciuibus, uxoris languore simulato ad genua illius prouolutus, ut egrederetur obtinuit. 263 SVM 9,2] Ita, dispositis iam in itinere ciuium turbis, sub quadam custodia ad ciuitatem usque deducitur. Mirum in modum incredibilis multitudo non solum ex illo oppido, sed etiam ex uicinis urbibus ad suffragia ferenda conuenerat. 266 SVM 9,3] Vna omnium uoluntas, eadem uota eademque sententia: Martinum episcopatus esse dignissimum; felicem fore tali ecclesiam sacerdote. Pauci tamen, et nonnulli ex episcopis qui ad constituendum antistitem fuerant euocati, impie repugnabant, dicentes scilicet contemptibilem esse personam, indignum esse episcopatu hominem uultu despicabilem, ueste sordidum, crine deformem. 269 SVM 9,4] Ita a populo sententiae sanioris haec illorum inrisa dementia est, qui inlustrem uirum, dum uituperare cupiunt, praedicabant. Nec uero aliud his facere licuit quam quod populus, Domino uolente, cogitabat. Inter episcopos tamen, qui adfuerant, praecipue Defensor quidam dicitur restitisse. Vnde animaduersum est grauitur illum lectione prophetica tum notatum.

- an þæra bisceopa defensor gehaten .
 ac he wearð gescynd þurh godes seþunge .
 275 [SVM 9,5] Ða sceolde man rædan sume rædinge him ætforan .
 ac se rædere wæs utan belocen . þa gelæhte sum preost
 ænne sealtere sona . *and* þæt ærest gemette
 rædde him ætforan [SVM 9,6-7] þæt wæs þis fers .
 Of unsprecendra muþe . *and* sucendra
 280 þu fulfremedest þin lof drihten for þinum feondum .
 þæt þu towurpe feond *and* defensor .
 Sona swa þis fers wæs ætforan him geræd .
 þa wearð þæt folc astyrod | on swiðlicum hreame . 182v
 þæt godes sylfes seðung þær geswutelod wære .
 285 *and* defensor mihte his mán þær tocnawan .
and þæt god wolde wyrcan his lof
 on þam unscæððigan martine . *and* gescyndan defensor .
 [SVM 10,1-2] Ða underfeng se halga wer bisceophadunge þær .
and þone hád swa geheold . swa hit is unsecgendlic .
 290 mid þære ylcan anrednysse . þe he ær onwunode .
 mid þær ylcan eadmodnysse . *and* mid þam ærran reafe .
and swa he wæs gefylled mid geþungennysse .
and mid þæs hades wurðscype . þæt he mid weorcum gefylde
 ge þone bisceopdóm . mid eallum wurðscype .
 295 ge þone munuchád betwux mannum geheold .
 He wæs soðfæst on dome . *and* estful on bodunge .
 arwurðful on þeawum . *and* þurhwacol on gebedum .
 singal on rædinge . gestæððig on his lece .
 arfæst on gewilnunge . *and* arwurðful on his þenungum .

273 defensor] I.e. Defensor, probably Bishop of Angers, of whom nothing else is known; cf. above p. 12.

278 fers] The verse is from the eighth Psalm; cf. the discussion on the Old

English word *fers* above, p. 123.

288 Ða underfeng ... glædnysse] Ælfric interspersed information from the account on Martin's character (SVM 26+27, e.g. 26,5) in this section.

one of the bishops called Defensor,
 but he was put to shame by a God's attestation.
 275 [SVM 9,5] Then one was to read some lesson before them,
 but the lector was shut out; then a certain priest seized
 a psalter soon, and that [which] he first found
 he read before them; [SVM 9,6-7] that was this verse:
 'Out of the mouth of the unspeaking and of sucklings
 280 Thou hast perfected Thy praise, Lord, for Thine enemies,
 that Thou mightest destroy the enemy and the defender.'
 As soon as this verse was read before them,
 the people were agitated, in such great uproar,
 that the attestation of God Himself had there been manifested,
 285 and Defensor ought to acknowledge his wickedness,
 and that God wished to work His praise
 in the innocent Martin, and to shame Defensor.
 [SVM 10,1-2] Then the holy man received the ordination as bishop there,
 and held the office thus, as is indescribable,
 290 with the same steadfastness in which he had lived before,
 and with the same humility, and with his former garment,
 and he was so filled with piety
 and with the office's dignity that he fulfilled through his works
 both the episcopal office with all honour
 295 inasmuch as he kept his monkhood amongst men.
 He was righteous in judgement, and devout in preaching,
 venerable in conduct and vigilant in prayers,
 constant in reading, steadfast in his look,
 virtuous in desire, and reverent in his duties.

275 SVM 9,5] Nam cum fortuito lector, cui legendi eo die officium erat, interclusus a populo defuisset, turbatis ministris, dum expectatur qui non aderat, unus e circumstantibus, sumpto psalterio, quem primum uersum inuenit, arripuit. 278 SVM 9,6-7] Psalmus autem hic erat: ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et defensorem. Quo lecto, clamor populi tollitur, pars diuersa confunditur. 7. Atque ita habitum est diuino nutu psalmum hunc lectum fuisse, ut testimonium operis sui Defensor audiret, qui ex ore infantium atque lactantium, in Martino Domini laude perfecta, et ostensus pariter et destructus esset inimicus. 288 SVM 10,1-2] Iam uero, sumpto episcopatu qualem se quantumque praestiterit, non est nostrae facultatis euoluere. Idem enim constantissime perseuerabat qui prius fuerat. 2. Eadem in corde eius humilitas, eadem in uestitu eius uilitas erat; atque ita, plenus auctoritatis et gratiae, inplebat episcopi dignitatem, ut non tamen propositum monachi uirtutemque desereret.

- 300 Eala hwilc welwillendnys wæs on his spræcum .
and hwilc geþungennys wæs on his þeawum .
and hu micel glædnys on gastlicum dædum
wunode on þam halgan mid healicre fremminge .
Eadig wæs se wer . on þam ne wunode nan facn .
- 305 nænne hé ne fordemde . ne nanum hé ne forgeald
yfel mid yfele . ac he eaðelice forbær
manna teonrædene mid micclum geþylde .
Ne geseah hine nan man nateshwon yrre .
ne on mode murcnigende . ne mislice geworhtne .
- 310 ac on anre anrædnysse æfre wunigende
ofer mannes gemet . mid mycelre glædnysse .
[SVM 10,3] Sume hwile he hæfde hus wiþ þa cyrcan .
þa æfter sumum fyrste | for þæs folces bysnunge . 183r
and for þære unstillnysse . he gestaðelode him mynster
- 315 twa mila of þære byrig . [SVM 10,4] *and* seo stow wæs swa digle
þæt he ne gewilnode nanes oþres wæstenes .
On ane healfe þæs mynstres wæs an ormæte clif
ascoren rihte adune . *and* seo deope ea
liger gehaten . læg on oðre sidan .
- 320 swa þæt man ne mihte to þam mynstre cuman
butan þurh ænne pæð þæt he inganges bæde .
[SVM 10,5] Hundahtatig muneca on þam mynstre wunodon
under martines lareowdome mærllice drohtnigende .
and ealle heora þincg him wæron gemæne .

320 mynstre] *MS* mynste (*sic!* Cf. *Skeat*)

306 yfel mid yfele] A commonplace in OE, after BS 1 *Peter* 3.9, collocates with *for-gildan*, ‘to repay’, BT s.v. *for-gildan*. Cf. als BS Lc 6.37 and *Romans* 12.17

(Huber-Rebenich 2010: 90 n. 157).

319 liger] I.e. the river Loire, which runs through Tours; *Liger* is the common name in Latin.

300 Oh, what benignity was in his sayings,
 and what excellence was in his manners,
 and how much gladness in spiritual deeds
 dwelt in the Saint with sublime perfection!
 Blessed was the man, in him dwelt no malice;
 305 he condemned no one, nor did he repay
 evil with evil, but he meekly endured
 men's wrongs with great patience.
 No man ever saw him angry at all,
 nor murmuring in mind, nor evilly disposed,
 310 but ever remaining in one steadfastness
 above man's measure with much gladness.
 [SVM 10,3] For a while he had a house next to the church;
 then, after some time, as an example for the people
 and because of the noisiness, he established for himself a monastery
 315 two miles from the city; [SVM 10,4] and the place was so hidden
 that he desired no other wilderness.
 On one side of the monastery was an immense cliff
 scarped right down, and the deep river,
 called Loire, lay on the other side,
 320 so that one could not come to the monastery
 except by a single path, so he should ask for entry.
 [SVM 10,5] Eighty monks dwelt in that monastery
 under Martin's instruction, living excellently;
 and all their things were in common between them,

312 SVM 10,3] Aliquandiu ergo adhaerenti ad ecclesiam cellula usus est; dein, cum inquietudinem
 se frequentantium ferre non posset, duobus fere extra ciuitatem milibus monasterium sibi statuit.
 315 SVM 10,4] Qui locus tam secretus et remotus erat, ut eremi solitudinem non desideraret.
 Ex uno enim latere praecisa montis excelsi rupe ambiebatur, reliquam planitiem Liger fluius
 reducto paululum sinu clauserat; una tantum eademque arta admodum uia adiri poterat. Ipse ex
 lignis contextam cellulam habebat, 322 SVM 10,5] multique ex fratribus in eundem modum;
 plerique saxo superiecti montis cauato receptacula sibi fecerant. Discipuli fere octoginta erant,
 qui ad exemplum beati magistri instituebantur.

- 325 [SVM 10,6] *and* þær nan man næfde nan þing synderlices .
 ne hi cepes ne gymdon . ne naht syllan ne moston .
 buta þam anum þe heora bigleofan forð dydon .
 ne moste þær nan broðor begán nænne cræft .
 buton he hine gebæde . oððe béc write .
- 330 Þa wæron gebysgode þa ylðran gebroðra
 on singalum gebedum . *and* seo iuguð wrat .
and wunodon on stilnyse . swa swa him gewissode martinus .
 [SVM 10,7] Ætsomne hi æton on gesettum timan .
and hi wines ne gymdon buton wanhalum mannum .
- 335 *and* manega þær hæfdon hæran to lice .
and þær hnesce gewæda . wæron to læhtre getealde .
 [SVM 10,8] Æþelborene weras þær wunodon on þam mynstre .
 þe wæron estlice afedde . ac hi gewylðon hi swaþeah
 to þære ylcan stiðnyse þe þær stod on þam mynstre .
- 340 *and* manega we gesawon siððan of þam bisceopas .
 [SVM 10,9] Lá hwilc burhscír wæs þe nolde bisceop geceosan
 of martines mynstre . for his mærum gebysnungum .
 [SVM 11,1-2] UIII . Ðær wæs þa gehende þam halgan mynstre
 | swilce an halig stow swyðe gewurðod 183v
- 345 fram folces mannum . swilce ðær martyres lagon .
and þa ærran bisceopas arwurðoden þa stowe .
and þær weofod gehalgodon wolicc swaðeah .
 Martinus ða ne gelyfde þam leasum gedwimore .

343 UIII . Ðær] *The numeral and the following punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.* 348 Martinus] *The initial M is slightly enlarged, and the legs are rounded*

- 325 [SVM 10,6] and there no man had anything privately,
 nor would they care for trading, nor might they sell anything,
 save only those things which provided for their food;
 nor might there any brother practise any craft
 save to pray or to write books.
- 330 The elder brothers were busied then
 in perpetual prayers, and the youth wrote
 and abode in silence, even as Martin instructed them.
 [SVM 10,7] They ate together at set times,
 and they did not care for wine, except for the sick men;
- 335 and many there had haircloth on their body,
 and there soft clothing was accounted as sin.
 [SVM 10,8] Nobly born men lived there in the monastery
 who had been raised delicately, but they subjected themselves, nevertheless,
 to the same austerity which was established there in the monastery,
- 340 and many of them we have seen as bishops afterwards.
 [SVM 10,9] Oh, what city was there which would not choose a bishop
 from Martin's monastery, because of his glorious example.
 [SVM 11,1-2] VIII. There was then, near the holy monastery
 [a place] like a holy place, greatly venerated
- 345 by the common people, as if martyrs lay there;
 and the former bishops had venerated the place
 and had consecrated an altar there, wrongly, however.
 Martin then did not believe the false delusion,

325 SVM 10,6] Nemo ibi quicquam proprium habebat, omnia in medium conferebantur. Non emere aut uendere, ut plerisque monachis moris est, quicquam licebat; ars ibi, exceptis scriptoribus, nulla habebatur, cui tamen operi minor aetas deputabatur: maiores orationi uacabant. 333 SVM 10,7] Rarus cuiquam extra cellulam suam egressus, nisi cum ad locum orationis conueniebant. Cibum una omnes post horam ieiunii accipiebant. Vinum nemo nouerat, nisi quem infirmitas coegisset. 337 SVM 10,8] Plerique camelorum saetis uestiebantur: mollior ibi habitus pro crimine erat. Quod eo magis sit mirum necesse est, quod multi inter eos nobiles habebantur, qui longe aliter educati ad hanc se humilitatem et patientiam coegerant; pluresque ex eis postea episcopos uidimus. 341 SVM 10,9] Quae enim esset ciuitas aut ecclesia, quae non sibi de Martini monasterio cuperet sacerdotem? 343 SVM 11,1-2] Sed ut reliquas uirtutes eius, quas in episcopatu egit, adgrediar, erat haud longe ab oppido proximus monasterio locus, quem falsa hominum opinio, uelut consepultis ibi martyribus, sacrauerat: 2. nam et altare ibi a superioribus episcopis constitutum habebatur. Sed Martinus non temere adhibens incertis fidem, ab his, qui maiores natu erant, presbyteris uel clericis flagitabat nomen sibi martyris, tempus passionis ostendi: grandi se scrupulo permoueri, quod nihil certi constans sibi maiorum memoria tradidisset.

- ac axode smealice þa yldostan preostas
 350 þæs martyres naman . oþþe hwænne he gemartyrod wære .
 ac heora nan nyste nan gewis be þam .
 [SVM 11,3] Ða nolde martinus geneosian þa stowe .
 ne þam folce ne lyfde . ac fór sume dæg tó
 mid feawum gebroþrum . [SVM 11,4] and stóð æt þære byrgene .
 355 biddende þone ælmihtigan god . þæt he be þam geswutelode
 hwæt he soþlice wære . oððe hwilcere geearnunge .
 þe þær bebyrged wæs . and gewurðod oþþæt .
 Ða beseah se halga wer to his wynstran healfe .
 and geseah þær standan ane atelice sceade .
 360 and sæde þæt he wære ofslagen for ðyffþe .
 and on wite wunode . na on wuldre mid martyrum .
 and wære gewurðod wolice fram þam folce .
 [SVM 11,5] Hit wæs wundorlic swaþeah þæt hine swutollice gehyrdon
 ealle þe ðær wæron . ac hi ne gesawon hine
 365 butan martinus ana . þe hit him eallum sæde .
 He het sona þa awæg dón þæt weofod of þære stowe .
 and þæt folc alysde fram þam leasum gedwylde .
 [SVM 12,1] UIII . Æft on sumne sæl siðode martinus
 on his bisceoprice . þa bær man þær an líc
 370 anes hæðenes mannes þæt hi hine bebyrigdon .
 Ða beheold martinus þa hæðenan feorran .
 [SVM 12,2] and wende þæt hi bæron swa swa heora gewune wæs
 heora deofolgild dwollice ofer heora land .

350 martyres naman] *A signe-de-renvoi marks this as the correct order of the two words* 368 UIII
 . Æft] *Numeral and punctus are on a brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in a red ink.*

but enquired minutely of the oldest priests
 350 the martyr's name, or when he was martyred;
 but none of them knew anything certain about him.
 [SVM 11,3] Then Martin would not visit the place
 nor allow the people to do so, but went away one day
 with a few brethren [SVM 11,4] and stood at the tomb,
 355 praying the almighty God that He would reveal about the man
 what he had really been or of what merit,
 he who was buried there and had been venerated until then.
 Then the bishop looked on his left side,
 and saw there standing a horrid shade,
 360 and said that he had been slain for theft,
 and abode in torment, not in glory with martyrs,
 and that he was wrongfully venerated by the people.
 [SVM 11,5] It was wondrous, however, that he was clearly heard
 by all who were there, but they saw him not
 365 save Martin only, who told it to them all.
 Then he commanded immediately to remove the altar from the place,
 and delivered the people from the false error.
 [SVM 12,1] IX. Again on a certain occasion Martin was travelling
 in his diocese, when there was carried a corpse
 370 of a heathen man, so that they would bury him.
 Then Martin beheld the heathen men from afar,
 [SVM 12,2] and supposed that they carried, even as was their custom
 their idol wrongfully over their land,

352 SVM 11,3] Cum aliquandiu ergo a loco illo se abstinisset, nec derogans religioni, quia incertus erat, nec auctoritatem suam uulgo adcommo-
 dans, ne superstitio conualesceret, quodam die paucis secum adhibitis fratribus ad locum pergit. 363 SVM 11,5] 5. Mirum in modum, uocem loquentis qui aderant audiebant, personam tamen non uidebant. Tum Martinus quid uidisset exposuit iussitque ex loco altare, quod ibi fuerat, submoueri, atque ita populum superstitionis illius absoluit errore. 368 SVM 12,1] Accidit autem insequenti tempore, dum iter ageret, ut gentilis cuiusdam corpus, quod ad sepulchrum cum superstitioso funere deferebatur, obuium haberet; conspicatusque eminus uenientium turbam, quidnam id esset ignarus, pauluim stetit. Nam fere quingentorum passuum interualium erat, ut difficile fuerit dinoscere quid uideret. 372 SVM 12,2] Tamen, quia rusticam manum cerneret et, agente uento, lintea corpori superiecta uolarent, profanos sacrificiorum ritus agi credidit, quia esset haec Gallorum rusticis consuetudo, simulacra daemonum candido tecta uelamine misera per agros suos circumferre dementia.

- [SVM 12,3] *and* worhte þa rodetacn wiþ þæs folces werd .
 375 *and* bead him | on godes naman þæt hi hit ne bæron na furðor . 184r
 ac aledon þa byrðene . [SVM 12,4] **and* þa bærmenn sona *MS K enters
 stedefæste stodon . swilce hi astifode wæron . on fol. 125r
 Ðær mihte wundrian se ðe wære gehende
 hu þa earman bærmenn gebundene to earðan
 380 wendon hi abutan . woldon forð gán .
 ac ða þa hi ne mihton of þære moldan astyrian .
 þa asetton hí þæt lic . *and* beseah ælc to oþrum
 swiðe wundrigende . hwi him swa gelumpe .
 [SVM 12,5] Ac þa þa martinus oncneow þæt hí mid lice ferdon
 385 na mid deofolgilde . þa dyde he up his hand .
and sealde him leafe to siþigenne forð .
and þæt líc to berenne to byrgene . swa swa hí gemynton .
 Ðus se halga bisceop geband hí mid worde .
and eft þa ða he wolde let hí awæg gán .
 390 [SVM 13,1] X[.] Se halga martinus towearp sum hæðengild
 on sumere tide . on sumere stowe .
 þa wæs an pintreow wið þæt templ gefriðed
 swiðe halig geteald on þa hæþenan wisan .
 þa wolde he forceorfan eac swilce þæt treow .
 395 [SVM 13,2] ac ða hæðengildan þam halgan wiðcwædon .
 sædon þæt hi ne mihton on heora mode findan .
 þæt he þæt treow forcurfe . þeah ðe he heora templ towurpe .
 Ða cwæð se halga bisceop | þæt on þam beame K 125v
 nære nan synderlic halignyss . *and* sæde þam hæþenum

376 bærmenn] K bármenn 377 swilce] K swylce 379 bærmenn] K bármenn 382 beseah
 ælc] K beah elc 389 awæg] K aweg 390 X[.] Se] The numeral is in a brown ink; the initial
 is enlarged and in a red ink. 396 mode] K moda

[SVM 12,3] and he made the sign of the cross towards the people,
 375 and commanded them in God's name not to carry it any further
 but lay down the burden, [SVM 12,4] and the carriers at once
 stood steadfast, as if they had been stiffened.
 Then he who was at hand might have wondered
 how the poor carriers, bound to the earth,
 380 turned about, wished to go forward,
 but when they could not stir from the ground,
 they set down the corpse and looked about, each to the other,
 greatly wondering why it should thus happen to them.
 [SVM 12,5] But when Martin understood that they travelled with a corpse,
 385 not with an idol, then he lifted up his hand,
 and gave them leave to journey on
 and to carry the body to the tomb as they had intended.
 Thus the holy bishop bound them with a word,
 and again, when he would, let them go away.
 390 [SVM 13,1] X. The holy Martin destroyed an idol
 at some time, in some place;
 and there was a pine tree next to the temple, protected,
 as if very holy in a heathen manner.
 Then he wanted to cut down the tree, too,
 395 [SVM 13,2] but the idolaters opposed the saint,
 saying that they could not find it in their hearts
 that he should cut down the tree, even though he had destroyed their temple.
 Then the holy bishop said that in that tree
 there was no peculiar holiness, and told the heathen

374 SVM 12,3] *Leuato ergo in aduersos signo crucis, imperat turbæ non moueri loco onusque deponere. Hic uero, mirum in modum, uideres miseros primum uelut saxa riguisse.* 376 SVM 12,4] *Dein, cum promouere se summo conamine niterentur, ultra accedere non ualentes ridiculam in uertiginem rotabantur, donec uicti corporis onus ponunt. Attoniti et semet inuicem aspicientes, quidnam sibi accidisset taciti cogitabant.* 384 SVM 12,5] *Sed cum beatus uir conperisset exequiarum esse illam frequentiam, non sacrorum, eleuata rursus manu dat eis abeundi et tollendi corporis potestatem. Ita eos et, cum uoluit, stare conpulit et, cum libuit, abire permisit.* 390 SVM 13,1] *Item, cum in uico quodam templum antiquissimum diruisset et arborem pinum, quæ fano erat proxima, esset adgressus excidere, tum uero antistes loci illius ceteraque gentilium turba coepit obsistere.* 395 SVM 13,2] *Et cum idem illi, dum templum euertitur, imperante Domino quieuisent, succidi arborem non patiebantur, ille eos sedulo commonere nihil esse religionis in stipite; Deum potius, cui seruiret ipse, sequerentur; arborem illam excidi oportere, quia esset daemoni dedicata.*

- 400 þæt hi swiðor sceoldon þone soðan god wurðian .
 and aheawen þæt treow þe wæs gehalgod deofle .
 [SVM 13,3] Ða cwæð an ðæra hæþenra to þam halgan bisceope .
 Gif þu ænigne truwan hæbbe on þinum gode .
 we forceorfað þæt treow . and þu hit feallende underfoh .
 405 and gif þin god is mid ðe . þu gæst aweg gesund .
 [SVM 13,4-5] | Martinus ða unforht fæste on god gebyld 184v
 behet þæt he wolde mid weorcum þæt gefyllan .
 [SVM 13,6] Hi þa ealle glædmode begunnon to ceorfenne
 þone heagan pinbeam . and he wæs ahyld
 410 on ane healfe þæt man eaðe mihte witan
 hwider he sigan wolde . and hi setton martinum
 þærforan ongean . þæt he hine offeallan sceolde .
 [SVM 13,7] Ða wæron his munecas wundorlice afyrhte .
 and nan oðer ne wendon buton he wurde ðær ofhroren .
 415 and se beam þa feallende beah to martine .
 [SVM 13,8] Martinus þa unforht ongean þæt feallende treow
 worhte rodetacn . and hit wende þa ongean .
 swilce hit sum færlíc þoden þydde | underbæc . K 126r
 swa þæt hit offeol fornean þæs folces
 420 micelne dæl . þe þær orsorge stodon .

- 400 that they should rather worship the true God,
and hew down the tree which was consecrated to the devil.
[SVM 13,3] Then one of the heathen said to the holy bishop;
“If you have any trust in your God,
we will cut down the tree, and you shall receive it when falling,
405 and if your God is with you, you shall go away safe.”
[SVM 13,4-5] Then Martin, undismayed, and firmly confident in God,
promised that he would fulfil that [condition] by his deeds.
[SVM 13,6] Then they all gladly began to cut down
the high pine tree, and it was inclined
410 to one side, so that one might easily know
where it would fall; and they put Martin
there opposite to it, that it might fall upon him.
[SVM 13,7] Then his monks were wondrously terrified,
and supposed nothing else but that it would fall down there;
415 and the tree while falling bent towards Martin.
[SVM 13,8] Then Martin, undismayed, towards the falling tree
made the sign of the cross, and then it turned backward,
as if some sudden impulse had thrust it backward,
so that it almost fell on the people's
420 greater crowd who stood there carelessly.

402 SVM 13,3] Tum unus ex illis, qui erat audacior ceteris: si habes, inquit, aliquam de Deo tuo, quem dicis te colere, fiduciam, nosmet ipsi succidemus hanc arborem, tu ruentem excipe; et si tecum est tuus, ut dicis, Dominus, euades. 406 SVM 13,4-5] Tum ille, intrepide confisus in Domino, facturum se pollicetur. Hic uero ad istius modi condicionem omnis illa gentilium turba consensus, facilemque arboris suae habuere iacturam, si inimicum sacrorum suorum casu illius obruissent. 5. Itaque, cum unam in partem pinus illa esset adclinis, it non esset dubium quam in partem succisa corrueret, eo loci uinctus statuitur pro arbitrio rusticorum, quo arborem esse casuram nemo dubitabat. 408 SVM 13,6] Succidere igitur ipsi suam pinum cum ingenti gaudio laetitiaeque coeperunt. Aderat eminus turba mirantium. Iamque paulatim nutare pinus et ruinam suam casura minitari. 413 SVM 13,7] Pallebant eminus monachi et periculo iam propiore conterriti spem omnem fidemque perdiderant, solam Martini mortem expectantes. 416 SVM 13,8] At ille confisus in Domino, intrepidus opperens, cum iam fragorem sui pinus concidens edidisset, iam cadenti, iam super se ruenti, eleuata obuiam manu, signum salutis opponit. Tum uero, uelut turbinis modo retro actam putares, diuersam in partem ruit, adeo ut rusticos, qui tuto in loco steterant, paene prostrauerit.

- [SVM 13,9] Ða hrymdon þa hæþenan mid healicre wundrunge .
and þa munecas weopan for þære wundorlican blysse .
and hi ealle cristes naman clypodon mid herunge .
and eall se leodscipe to geleafan þa beah .
- 425 To þam swiðe hi wurdon þurh þæt wundor gecyrrede .
 þæt hi geond eall þæt land mid geleafan arærdon
 cyrcan . *and* mynstra . *and* martinus æfre
 swa hwær swa he þa deofolgild towearp . swa worhte he cyrcan .
- [SVM 14,1] XI . Hwilon eac se halga wer towearp an hæðengild .
- 430 þa sette he sona fyr on þæt feondlice templ
 þæt hit bradum lige brastligende hreas .
 Ða wende þæt fyr forð mid þam winde
 to anum þære huse þe þær gehendost stód .
- [SVM 14,2] ac martinus mid ofste uppon þæt hus astah .
- 435 *and* sette hine sylfne ongean þone swegendan fyr .
 Ðær mihte wundor ða | geseon . se ðe wære gehende . 185r
 hu se wínd . *and* se líg . wunnon him betwinan .
 se wind bleow ðone líg . ac he wand ongean
 forbeah þone halgan wer þe on þam | huse wæs . K 126v
- 440 *and* þæt án forbærnde þe him beboden wæs
 [SVM 14,3] XII . Eft on sumere wic ðe wæs librosum gehaten .
 wolde se halga martinus towurpan an templ
 þæt wæs þearle welig hus gewurðod þam deoflum
 þa forwyrndon þa hæþenan þam halgan were þæs .

429 XI . Hwilon] *The numeral and the subsequent punctus are in brown ink, the initial E is enlarged and in red ink.* 437 betwinan] *K betwynan* 441 XII . Eft] *Numeral and punctus are in a brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.*

[SVM 13,9] Then the heathen cried out with great astonishment,
and the monks wept for the wonderful joy,
and they hailed the name of Christ in praise,
and all the people turned to the faith.

425 So greatly they were converted by that miracle,
that through all that land they reared with faith
churches and monasteries, and Martin always,
whereever he destroyed idolatry, he built churches.

[SVM 14,1] XI. Once also the holy man destroyed an idol,
430 and right away he set fire to the hostile temple
so that it fell crackling with broad flame.

Then the fire turned forward with the wind
towards one of the houses which stood there nearest,
[SVM 14,2] but Martin with haste climbed up the house,
435 and set himself against the roaring fire.

Then those who were near were able to see a miracle,
how the wind and the flame strove between them;
the wind blew the flame, but it turned backwards,
avoided the holy man who was on the house,
440 and burned that one [thing] which it was commanded to burn.

[SVM 14,3] XII. Again in some town which was called Lévrout
the holy Martin wanted to destroy a temple
which was an exceedingly rich house dedicated to the devils;
then the heathen refused this to the holy man

421 SVM 13,9] Tum uero, in caelum clamore sublato, gentiles stupere miraculo, monachi flere prae gaudio, Christi nomen in commune ab omnibus praedicari; satisque constitit eo die salutem illi uenisse regioni. Nam nemo fere ex inmani illa multitudine gentilium fuit, qui non impositione manus desiderata Dominum Iesum, relicto impietatis errore, crediderit. Et uere ante Martinum pauci admodum, immo paene nulli in illis regionibus Christi nomen receperant. Quod adeo uirtutibus illius exemploque conualuit, ut iam ibi nullus locus sit qui non aut ecclesiis frequentissimis aut monasteriis sit repletus. Nam ubi fana destruxerat, statim ibi aut ecclesias aut monasteria construebat. 429 SVM 14,1] Nec minorem, sub idem fere tempus, eodem in opere uirtutem edidit. Nam cum, in uico quodam, fano antiquissimo et celeberrimo ignem immisisset, in proximam, immo adhaerentem domum agente uento flammaram globi ferebantur. 434 SVM 14,2] Quod ubi Martinus aduertit, rapido cursu tectum domus scandit, obuium se aduenientibus flammis inferens. Tum uero, mirum in modum, cernieres contra uim uenti ignem retorqueri, ut compugnantium inter se elementorum quidam conflictus uideretur. Ita uirtute Martini ibi tantum ignis est operatus, ubi iussus est. 441 SVM 14,3] In uico autem, cui Leprosus nomen est, cum itidem templum opulentissimum superstitione religionis uoluisset euertere, restitit ei multitudo gentilium, adeo ut non absque iniuria sit repulsus.

- 445 *and* hine adræfdon gedrefedne þanon .
 [SVM 14,4] Ða ferde *martinus* na swyðe feor þanon
and scrydde hine mid hæran *and* mid axan bestreowode
 fæstende þry dagas . *and* his drihten bæd .
 þæt he mid heofonlicre mihte þæt hæðene templ
- 450 þa þa he mid his cræfte hit tocwysan ne mihte .
 [SVM 14,5] Æfter ðam fæstene him comon færlice to
 twegen scinende englas . mid *sperum and scyldum* .
 swilce on gelicnysses heofonlices werodes .
 secgende þam halgan þæt se hælend hi sende
- 455 þæt hí þæt cyrlisce folc afligan sceoldon .
and martine fultumian þæt hi ne mihton wiðstandan .
 [SVM 14,6] *Martinus* þa ferde to þære foresædan deofolgilde .
and mid þæra engla fultume *mannum onlocigendum*
 þæt tempel eall towearp . *and* þa weofode to duste .
- 460 ealle þa anlicnyssa heora arwurðra | goda . K 127r
 [SVM 14,7] Ða ne mihton þa hæðenan martine wiðcweðan .
 ac þurh þa godcundan mihte micclum wurdon afyrhte .
and gelyfdon on god . mid geleafan clypigende .
 þæt se god wære to wurþigenne þe se halga wer bodode .
- 465 *and* heora godas to forlætenne þe him fremion ne mihton .
 [SVM 15,1] XIII . hwilon on sumere tide swa swa us segð seo racu .
 towearp se halga bisceop sum swiþlice hæþengild .
 þa sáh him ón sona | þæt cyrlisce folc 185v
 swyðe wedende swa swa hi wæron hæþene .
- 470 *and* heora án sona his swurd ateah .

446 Ða ... þanon] *The text is in the margin and a scribal correction.* 457 *Martinus*] *The initial is slightly enlarged and the legs are rounded* 465 fremion] *K fremian* 466 XIII . hwilon] *Numeral, punctus, and the initial are in a brown ink.*

458 *mannum onlocigendum*] *Cf. l. 507 below and the comment on the syntax in the apparatus.*

- 445 and drove him away, grievously troubled.
 [SVM 14,4] Then Martin went not very far from there,
 and clothed himself with haircloth, and bestrewed himself with ashes,
 fasting three days, and asked his Lord
 that he by heavenly power [would destroy] the heathen temple,
 450 since he by his power could not destroy it.
 [SVM 14,5] After that fasting there suddenly came to him
 two shining angels with spears and shields,
 as if in the likeness of a heavenly army,
 saying to the saint that the Saviour had sent them,
 455 that they might drive away the rural folk,
 and succour Martin, so that they would not oppose him.
 [SVM 14,6] Then Martin went to the aforesaid idol,
 and with the succour of the angels, the people watching,
 utterly destroyed the temple and the altar to dust,
 460 [and] all the images of their venerated gods.
 [SVM 14,7] Then the heathen could not resist Martin,
 but were greatly terrified by the divine might,
 and believed in God, crying out in the belief
 that that God whom the holy man preached was to be worshipped,
 465 and their gods, who could not profit them, were to be forsaken.
 [SVM 15,1] XIII. Once, at some time, even as the account tells us,
 the holy bishop destroyed a vast idol;
 then soon the rural folk sought him out,
 fiercely raging, because they were heathen,
 470 and one of them at once drew his sword.

446 SVM 14,4] Itaque secessit ad proxima loca. Ibi per triduum cilicio tectus et cinere, ieiunans semper atque orans, precabatur ad Dominum, ut, quia templum illud euertere humana manus non potuisset, uirtus illud diuina dirueret. 451 SVM 14,5] Tum subito ei duo angeli hastati atque scutati instar militiae caelestis se obtulerunt, dicentes missos se a Domino ut rusticam multitudinem fugarent praesidiumque Martino ferrent, ne quis, dum templum dirueretur, obsisteret: rediret ergo et opus coeptum deuotus impleret. 457 SVM 14,6] Ita regressus ad uicum, spectantibus gentilium turbis et quiescentibus, dum profanam aedem usque ad fundamenta dirueret, aras omnes atque simulacra redegit in puluerem. 461 SVM 14,7] Quo uiso, rustici, cum se intellexerent diuino nutu obstupefactos adque perterritos ne episcopo repugnarent, omnes fere Iesum Dominum crediderunt, clamantes palam et confitentes Deum Martini colendum, idola autem neglegenda, quae sibi adesse non possent. 466 SVM 15,1] Quid etiam in pago Aeduorum gestum sit referam. Vbi dum templum itidem euerteret, furens gentilium rusticorum in eum inruit multitudo. Cumque unus audacior ceteris stricto eum gladio peteret, rejecto pallio nudam ceruicem percussuro praebuit.

- Se bisceop him togeanes bræd of his ceppan .
and aþenode his swuran þam sleandum hæþenum .
 [SVM 15,2] *and* se hæþena ða . þa þa he hine slean wolde .
 þa feoll he underbæc mid fyrhte fornumen .
 475 *and* bæd him forgifennysse æt þam halgan bisceope .
 [SVM 15,3] Þysum weorce wæs sum oþer gelíc
 þa þa he eac towearp sum oðer hæþengild .
 þa sloh sum hæþen man to þam halgan were .
 ac mid þam swenge hæpte þæt swurd him of handum .
 480 *and* ne mihte nan hit næfre syððan findan .
 [SVM 15,4] Witodlice foroft þa þa him wiðcwædon
 þa hæþenan | þæt he heora hæþengild K 127v
 swa huxlice ne towende . þa bodode he him swa lange
 þone soðan geleafan . oðþæt he gelipewæhte .
 485 to geleafan heora wurðfullan templ .
 [SVM 16,1] Swa micele mihte he hæfde menn to gehælenne .
 þæt nan adlig man naht eaðe him to ne com .
 þæt he ne wurde sona wundorlice gehæled .
 [SVM 16,2] XIII . On treueris wæs sum mæden swiðlice geuntrumod
 490 licgende on paralisin . oððæt hire lima ealle
 wurdon adeadode . *and* heo unwene læg .
 [SVM 16,3-4] Ða wearþ gecydd þam fæder þæt martinus come þa
 into þære byrig . *and* he arn to þam halgan .
and gesohte his fét mid swyðlicum wope

471 ceppan] *K* cæppan 473 hæþena] *K* hæðene 489 XIII] *J* has XIII (*sic*), *K* counts correctly; in *J* the numeral is in a brown ink. 489 On] The initial is enlarged and in a red ink. 492 gecydd] *K* gecyd

478 Þysum weorce ... halgan were] Mitchell (OES § 3802) discusses the occurrence of *apo koinou* in this passage.

490 paralisin] A rare word in OE, see DOEWC s.v. *paralysis*; more frequent is (DOE s.v.) *crypnelnes*.

The bishop, [going] towards him, took off his cape,
 and stretched out his neck to the murderous heathen;
 [SVM 15,2] and then the heathen, when he sought to slay him,
 then he fell backwards, seized with terror,
 475 and asked his forgiveness from the holy bishop.
 [SVM 15,3] This work was similar to another:
 when he destroyed some other idol, too,
 then a heathen fellow struck at the holy man,
 but with the swing the sword flew out of his hand,
 480 and no one could ever find it afterwards.
 [SVM 15,4] Indeed, very often when he was opposed
 by the heathen, that he should not their idols
 so shamefully destroy, then he preached to them for so long
 the true faith until he rendered suitable
 485 for the faith their venerated temple.
 [SVM 16,1] Such great power he had to heal men
 that no sick man did not simply come to him
 [and] that he would not be wondrously healed at once.
 [SVM 16,2] XIV. In Treves [there] was a girl grievously afflicted,
 490 lying in paralysis until all her limbs
 were deadened, and she lay hopelessly.
 [SVM 16,3-4] Then it was made known to the father that Martin had come then
 into the city, and he ran to the saint
 and sought his feet with bitter weeping,

473 SVM 15,2] *Nec cunctatus ferire gentilis, sed, cum dexteram altius extulisset, resupinus ruit, consternatusque diuino metu ueniam precabatur.* 476 SVM 15,3] *Nec dissimile huic fuit illud. Cum eum idola destruentem cultro quidam ferire uoluisset, in ipso ictu ferrum ei de manibus excussum non conparuit.* 481 SVM 15,4] *Plerumque autem contra dicentibus sibi rusticis, ne eorum fana destrueret, ita praedicatione sancta gentiles animos mitigabat ut, luce eis ueritatis ostensa, ipsi sua templa subuerterent.* 486 SVM 16,1] *Curationum uero tam potens in eo gratia erat, ut nullus fere ad eum aegrotus accesserit, qui non continuo receperit sanitatem. Quod uel ex consequenti liquebit exemplo.* 489 SVM 16,2] *Treueris puella quaedam dira paralysis aegriludine tenebatur, ita ut iam per multum tempus nullo ad humanos usus corporis officio fungeretur: omni ex parte praemortua uix tenui spiritu palpitabat.* 492 SVM 16,3-4] *Tristes ad solam funeris expectationem adstabant propinqui, cum subito ad ciuitatem illam Martinum uenisse nuntiatur. Quod ubi puellae pater conperit, currit exanimis pro filia rogaturus. 4. Et forte Martinus iam ecclesiam fuerat ingressus. Ibi, spectante populo multisque aliis praesentibus episcopis, eiulans senex genua eius amplectitur, dicens: filia mea moritur misero genere languoris, et, quod ipsa est morte crudelius, solo spiritu uiuit, iam carne praemortua. Rogo ut eam adeas atque benedicas: confido enim quod per te reddenda sit sanitati.*

- 495 biddende þone bisceop þæt he hi bletsode .
 ic gelyfe he cwæð . þæt heo libbe þurh þe .
 [SVM 16,5-6] Martinus þa cwæð . þæt hit his mihta næron
 to swilcere dæde . ac se fæder ne geswác
 hine to biddenne mid wope oþþæt þa oþre bisceopas
 500 þe mid martine wæron gemacodon þæt he eode
 to þam licgendan | mædene . and ormæte meniu 186r
 þærute andbidode hwæt se bisceop don wolde .
 [SVM 16,7] Ða astrehte martinus to moldan his lima .
 | and gehalgode siððan sumne dæl eles K 128r
 505 and dyde on þæs mædenes muð . and heo mihte þa spræcan .
 [SVM 16,8] and ealle hire lima endemes cucodon .
 and heo ða hál arás þam folce onlocigendum
 [SVM 17,1] XU . Ða wæs sum heahþegen gehaten tetradius .
 and his þeowa manna an wæs þearle awed .
 510 þa bed he þone halgan þæt he his hand him onrette .
 Martinus þa hét þa þone man him to lædan .
 ac nan man ne dorste to þam deofolseocan gán
 forþanðe he wundorlice wedde . mid þam muþe .
 and elcne wolde teran þe him in toeode .
 515 [SVM 17,2-3] Tetradius þa sylf com . and gesohte þone halgan
 biddende eadmodlice þæt he to þam earman eode .
 Ða cwæð se halga wer þæt he to his huse gan nolde
 hæþenes mannes and manfulles lifes .

505 spræcan] K sprecan 508 XU . Ða] Numeral, punctus and initial are in the same brown ink. 510 bed] K bæd

507 þam folce onlocigendum] Ælfric represents the Latin ablative absolute (*populo teste*) with a dative absolute; cf. Ringe and Taylor (2014: 495) on the absolute construction and this line.

495 beseeching the bishop that he would bless her.
 "I believe," he said, "that she will live through you!"
 [SVM 16,5-6] Then Martin said that his abilities would not suffice
 for such a deed; but the father did not cease
 to entreat him with weeping until the other bishops
 500 who were with Martin compelled him to go
 to the recumbent girl, and a vast crowd
 awaited there outside what the bishop would do.
 [SVM 16,7] Then Martin stretched out his limbs on the ground,
 and next hallowed a portion of oil,
 505 and put it on the girl's mouth, and then she was able to speak,
 [SVM 16,8] and all her limbs likewise became alive,
 and then she arose whole, the people watching [it].
 [SVM 17,1] XV. There was a great thane called Tetradius,
 and one of his servants was raving mad;
 510 then he prayed the saint to lay his hand upon him.
 So Martin ordered them to bring the man to him,
 but no man dared to go to the devil-sickened [man],
 because he wondrously foamed at the mouth,
 and attempted to bite every one who went in to him.
 515 [SVM 17,2-3] Then Tetradius himself came and sought the saint,
 asking humbly that he would go to the poor [man].
 Then the holy man said that he would not go to his house,
 a heathen man, and of evil life.

497 SVM 16,5-6] *Qua ille uoce confusus obstipuit, et refugit dicens hoc suae non esse uirtutis, senem errare iudicio, non esse se dignum per quem Dominus signum uirtutis ostenderet. Perstare uehementius flens pater et orare ut exanimem uisitaret. 6. Postremo, a circumstantibus episcopis ire compulsus, descendit ad domum puellae. Ingens turba pro foribus, expectans quidnam Dei seruus esset facturus. 503 SVM 16,7] Ac primum, quae erant illius familiaria in istius modi rebus arma, solo prostratus orauit. Deinde, aegram intuens, dari sibi oleum postulat. Quod cum benedixisset, in os puellae uim sancti liquoris infundit, statimque uox reddita est. 506 SVM 16,8] Tum paulatim singula contactu eius coeperunt membra uiuescere, donec firmatis gressibus populo teste surrexit. 508 SVM 17,1] Eodem tempore, Taetradii cuiusdam proconsularis uiri seruus, daemonio correptus, dolendo exitu cruciabatur. Rogatus ergo Martinus ut ei manum inponeret, deduci eum ad se iubet, sed nequam spiritus nullo proferri modo de cellula, in qua erat, potuit: ita in aduenientes rabidis dentibus saeuiebat. 515 SVM 17,2-3] Tum Taetradius ad genua beati uiri aduoluit, orans ut ad domum, in qua daemonicus habebatur, ipse descenderet. Tum uero, Martinus negare se profani et gentilis domum adire posse. 3. Nam Taetradius, eo tempore, adhuc gentilitatis errore implicitus tenebatur. Spondet ergo se, si de puero daemon fuiste exactus, christianum fore.*

- Se hæðena þegen þa behet þam halgan were
 520 þæt he wolde cristen beon . gif se cnapa wurde hal .
 [SVM 17,4] *and* martinus sona siðode to þam wodan .
and his hand him on asette . *and* gescynde þone deofol
 fram þam gewitleasum men . *and* he wearð sona hál .
 Tetradius | ða sona þa he þæt geseah . K 128v
- 525 gelyfde on urne drihten . *and* let hine cristnian .
and æfter lytlum fyrste he wearð gefullod .
and martinum wurðode mid wundorlicre lufe .
 forþanðe he wæs ealdor witodlice his hæle .
 [SVM 17,5] XUI . ON ðære ylcan tide on þam ylcan fæstene
 530 eode martinus to anes mannes huse .
 þa ætstod he færlice ætforan þam þrexwolde .
 cwæð þæt he egeslicne feond on þam incofan gesawe .
 Martinus þa het þone hetolan deofol .
 þæt he | þanon gewite . *and* he wearð þa yrre 186v
- 535 gelæhte ænne mannan *and* wearð him oninnan .
 of þæs þegenes hiwrædene . *and* he þearle þa wedde .
and began to toterenne þa þe he to mihte .
 [SVM 17,6] Ða fleah seo hiwræden . *and* þæt folc eac swá .
 ac martinus eode ðam wodan men togeanes
 540 het hine sona standan . *and* he stod þa gynigende .
and þywde mid muþe þæt he martinum abite .
 Ða dyde martinus on muð þam wodan
 his agenne fingras . *and* het hine fretan
 gif he ænige mihte hæfde . ac he wiðbræd þa ceafflas
 545 fram þære halgan handa . swilce fram hatan | isene . K 129r

527 wundorlicre] *MS* wudorlicre (*sic! Emended as in Skeat*); *K* wundorlicre 529 XUI . ON]
Numeral and punctus are in brown ink, the initial is enlarged and in a red ink. 532 egeslicne] *K*
 egeslice

519 hæðena] *Skeat* suggests to read “hæðene, as in *K* and [L]”.

Then the heathen thane promised the holy man
 520 that he would be a Christian if the boy became whole.
 [SVM 17,4] And Martin immediately went to the madman,
 and put his hand on him and quickly drove the devil
 from the witless man, and he became whole immediately.
 Then Tetradius, as soon as he saw that,
 525 believed in our Lord, and had himself christened,
 and after a short time he was baptized,
 and revered Martin with wonderful love,
 because truly he was the author of his salvation.
 [SVM 17,5] XVI. At the same time in the same town
 530 Martin went to a man's house,
 when suddenly he stopped before the threshold,
 [and] said that he saw a terrible fiend in the chamber.
 Then Martin commanded the hateful devil
 to depart thence, and then he became angry,
 535 seized a man (and entered into him)
 of the thane's household, and then he raged immensely,
 and began to harass those he could.
 [SVM 17,6] Then the household fled and the people likewise,
 but Martin went towards the madman,
 540 and commanded him to stand immediately, and then he stood, gaping,
 and threatened with his mouth to bite Martin.
 Then, into the mouth of the madman Martin put
 his own fingers, and told him to bite them off
 if he had any power; but he withdrew his jaws
 545 from the holy hand, as if from hot iron.

521 SVM 17,4] Ita Martinus, inposita manu puero, inmundum ab eo spiritum eiecit. Quo uiso, Tetradius Dominum Iesum credidit, statimque catechumenus factus, nec multo post baptizatus est semperque Martinum salutis suae auctorem miro coluit affectu. 529 SVM 17,5] Per idem tempus, in eodem oppido, ingressus patris familias cuiusdam domum, in limine ipso restitit, dicens horribile in atrio domus daemonium se uidere. Cui cum ut discederet imperaret, cocum patris familias qui in interiore parte aedium morabatur arripuit. Saeuire dentibus miser coepit, et obuios quosque laniare. Commota domus, familia turbata, populus in fugam uersus. 538 SVM 17,6] Martinus se furenti obiecit, ac primum stare ei imperat. Sed cum dentibus fremeret hiantique ore morsum minaretur, digitos ei Martinus in os intulit: si habes, inquit, aliquid potestatis, hos deuora.

- [SVM 17,7] Ða adræfde se halga wer þone hetolan deofol
of þam gedrehton menn . ac he ne moste faran
þurh þone muð ut þe martinus hrepode .
ac fúllice ferde þurh his forðgang ut .
- 550 [SVM 18,1] XUII . Betwux þam þe se bisceop on þære byrig wunode .
þa cydde man geond þa burh þæt þær cuman wolde tó .
onsigendan here . and hergian þa burh .
Ða wearð eall seo burhwaru wundorlice afyrht .
for þæs heres ogan . þa het martinus sona
- 555 him læden to ænne wodne man . and he wearð him to gelæd .
Se halga wer ða het þone wodan secgan
gif hit soð wære be ðam onsigendan here .
[SVM 18,2] Ða andette se deofol þurh þæs gedrehtan muð
þæt sixtyne deofle wæron þe worhton þisne hlisan .
- 560 and toseowon geond þæt folc . þæt hi affigdon martinum
þurh ðone ogan swa of þære byrig .
and hit eall wære leas be þam onsigendan here
þa se fula gast þis sæde þa wæron hí orsorge .
[SVM 18,3] XUIII . Martinus hwilon ferde mid micelre meniu
- 565 to parisian byrig . and þa þa he binnan | þæt get com . 187r
þa wæs þær sum hreofla wundorlice tohroren
| eallum mannum anþræclíc . ac martinus hine cyste . K 129v
and his bletsunge hine sealde . and he sona wearð hal .
[SVM 18,4] and com þæs on mergen to martine blyðe
- 570 mid gehalre hyde . his hæle ðancigende .
Oft wurdon eac gehælede fela untrume men

549 ut] K út 550 XUII . Betwux] *Numeral, punctus, and the initial are in brown ink, the initial is enlarged.* 554 ogan] K ógan 564 XUIII . Martinus] *The numeral and punctus are in a brown ink: the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink.* 571 untrume] K untruma

549 forðgang] The noun occurs usually in the sense ‘going forth / away (from a place)’ (DOE s.v. *forþ-gang* 1.), here ‘excretory passage, the anus’ (DOE *ibid.* (5.)).

[SVM 17,7] Then the holy man drove away the hostile devil
 from the afflicted man, but he could not go out
 through the mouth which Martin had touched,
 but foully went out through his anus.

550 [SVM 18,1] XVII. During the time when the bishop lived in the city,
 it was reported throughout the town that there would come to it
 an approaching army to harry the city.

Then all the citizens became wondrously terrified
 for fear of the army; then Martin requested at once

555 to be brought to a possessed man, and he was brought to him.

Then the holy man commanded the possessed to say
 if it were true about the approaching army.

[SVM 18,2] Then the devil confessed, by the mouth of the afflicted,
 that there were sixteen devils who created this rumour,

560 and sowed it amongst the people, so they would drive Martin away
 by means of that terror thus from the city;

and it was all false about the approaching army;

when the foul spirit had said this, then they were carefree.

[SVM 18,3] XVIII. Martin at one time went with a great crowd

565 to the city of Paris, and when he came within the gate

then there was a leper, wondrously decayed,

horrible to all men, but Martin kissed him,

and gave him his blessing, and he became whole immediately,

[SVM 18,4] and came the next morning to Martin, blissfully,

570 with healthy skin, thanking [him] for his healing.

Often, many sick men were also healed

546 SVM 17,7] Tum uero, ac si candens ferrum faucibus accepisset, longe reductis dentibus digitos beati uiri uitabat attingere; et cum fugere de obsesso corpore poenis et cruciatibus cogere-
 tur, nec tamen exire ei per os liceret, foeda relinquens uestigia fluxu uentris egestus est. 550 SVM
 18,1] Interea cum de motu atque impetu barbarorum subita civitatem fama turbasset, daemo-
 niacum ad se exhiberi iubet; imperat ut an verus esset hic nuntius fateretur. 558 SVM 18,2]
 Tum confessus est decem daemonas secum fuisse, qui rumore hunc per populum dispersissent,
 ut hoc saltim metu ex illo Martinus oppido fugaretur; barbaros nihil minus quam de irruptione
 cogitare. Ita cum haec inmundus spiritus in media ecclesia fateretur, metu et turbatione praesenti
 civitas liberata est. 564 SVM 18,3] Apud Parisios uero, dum portam ciuitatis illius magnis se-
 cum turbis euntibus introiret, leprosum miserabili facie horrentibus cunctis osculatus est atque
 benedixit. Statimque omni malo emundatus, 569 SVM 18,4] postero die ad ecclesiam ueniens
 nitenti cute gratias pro sanitate, quam receperat, agebat. Nec praetereundum est quod fimbriae
 uestimento eius cilicioque detractae crebras super infirmantibus egre uirtutes.

- þurh his reafes fnæda . þe fela men of atugon .
and bundon on þa seocan . *and* him wæs bet sona .
 [SDS 8,9] Eac swilce of his bedstrewen man band on anne wodne .
 575 þa gewat se deofol *him* of . *and* he his gewit underfeng .
 [SVM 19,1] XUIII . Arborius wæs gehaten sum heahþegen on þam lande .
 swiðe geleafful man . *and* his dohtor læg on fefore
 þearle gebrocod . þa brohte man sume dæg
 an ærendgewrit to þam ylcan þegene
 580 fram þam bisceope martine . *and* he hit lede on hire breoste
 ða þa hire hatost wæs *and* heo wearð hal sona .
 [SVM 19,2] Ða wearð se fæder swa onbryrd . þæt he sona behét
 gode hire mægþhád *and* hi to martine brohte .
 þæt he his agene mihte on þam mædene oncneowe .
 585 ne he eac nolde þæt ænig oðer man sceolde
 hire hād onsættan . butan se halga martinus .
 [SVM 19,3] Sum wer hatte paulinus þe wel þeah on gode syððan .
 | þa wurdon his eagan yfele gehefegode . *K 130r*
 mid toswollenum breawum . *and* swiðlicum myste
 590 swa þæt his seon swyðe þeostrodon .
 Ða hrepode martinus mid anre swingan .
and eall seo sarnis him sona fram gewat .
and se mist samod þurh martines hrepunge .
 [SVM 25,4-5] He wæs swiðe welig man . ac he wearð swa onbryrd

576 XUIII . Arborius] *Numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged, slightly ornamented and in red ink.* 581 hatost] *K* hatast 581 hal] *K* hál 583 gode] *K* goda
 586 onsættan] *K* onsettan 589 toswollenum] *K* toswolenum

591 swingan] The Latin has *penicillo*, but it is unclear what kind of device this denotes. Skeat translates *pencil*, but Lewis and Short's (1879) *Latin Dictionary* offers s.v. *penicillum* II. "A roll of lint, a tent, for wounds"; *swingan* could derive from *swinge* (BT s.v. *swinge*), meaning "a stripe, stroke" (I.), so maybe Ælfric had 'a stripe of gauze' in mind.

by fringes of his garment which many men pulled off,
and bound on the sick, and soon they were better.

[SDS 8,9] Moreover, men bound some of his bedstraw on a madman,
575 then the devil departed from him and he regained his reason.

[SVM 19,1] XIX. Arborius was the name of one great thane in that land,
a man of great faith, and his daughter lay in a fever,
severely afflicted; then one day there was brought
a message in a letter to the same thane

580 from the bishop Martin, and he laid it on her breast
where she was hottest, and she became whole immediately.

[SVM 19,2] Then the father was so moved that he immediately vowed
her virginity to God, and brought her to Martin
that he might recognize his own might in the girl,

585 neither would he that any other man should
give her the veil but the holy Martin.

[SVM 19,3] One man was called Paulinus, who thrived in goodness at that time;
then his eyes were evilly afflicted

with swollen brows and a great mist,

590 so that his pupils were greatly darkened.

Then Martin treated them with gauze,
and all the soreness departed from him immediately
and the mist with it, through Martin's touch.

[SVM 25,4-5] He was a very wealthy man, but he was so inspired

574 SDS 8,9] Vna earum post dies paucos partem straminis, quam sibi pro benedictione col-
legerat, energumeno, quem spiritus erroris agitabat, de ceruice suspendit. Nec mora, dicto citius
eiecto daemone persona curata est. 576 SVM 19,1] Arborius autem, uir praefectorius, sancti
admodum et fidelis ingenii, cum filia eius grauissimis quartanae febribus ureretur, epistulam Mar-
tini, quae casu ad eum delata fuerat, pectori puellae in ipso accentu ardoris inseruit, statimque
fugata febris est. 582 SVM 19,2] Quae res apud Arborium in tantum ualuit, ut statim puellam
Deo uouerit et perpetuae uirginitati dicarit. Profectusque ad Martinum, puellam ei, praesens uir-
tutum eius testimonium, quae per absentem licet curata esset, obtulit, neque ab alio eam quam
a Martino habitu uirginitatis inposito passus est consecrari. 587 SVM 19,3] Paulinus magni
uir postmodum futurus exempli, cum oculum grauiter dolere coepisset et iam pupillam eius cras-
sior nubes superducta texisset, oculum ei Martinus penicillo contigit pristinamque ei sanitatem,
sublato omni dolore, restituit. 594 SVM 25,4-5] Sermo autem illius non alius apud nos fuit
quam mundi inlecebras et saeculi onera relinquenda, ut Dominum Iesum liberi expeditique se-
queremur; praestantissimumque nobis praesentium temporum inlustris uiri Paulini, cuius supra
fecimus mentionem, exemplum ingerebat, qui, summis opibus abiectis Christum secutus, solus
paene his temporibus euangelica praecepta conplesset; 5. illum nobis sequendum, illum clamabat
imitandum; beatumque esse praesens saeculum tantae fidei uirtutisque documento, cum, secun-
dum sententiam Domini, diues et possidens multa, uendendo omnia et dando pauperibus, quod
erat factu impossibile possibile fecisset exemplo.

- 595 þæt he ealle his æhta endemes beceapode .
and dælde eall þearfum | for his drihtnes lufon . 187v
 Ða herode martinus þæs mannes dæda swyðe .
and oþrum to bysne sealde oft secgende be him .
 þæt he on þam timan gefylde fægere þone cwyde .
 600 þe ure drihten cwæð . to sumum rican men .
 far *and* syle ealle þine æhta . *and* dæl þæt wurð þearfum .
 þonne hæfst þu goldhord on heofonan rice .
 [SVM 19,4] XX . ON sumere tide martinus stah to anre upflora .
 þa wæron þære hlæddre stapas alefede on ár .
 605 *and* toburston færinga þæt he feol adune .
and mid manegum wundrum gewæht wearð swiðe .
 swa þæt he seoc læg on his synderlican inne .
 On þære nihte him com an engel to him
 sylfum onlocigendum . *and* his lima smyrode
 610 mid halwendre sealfe . *and* he sona | þæs on mergen K 130v
 hal forðeode . swilce he untrum nære .
 [SVM 20,1-2] XXI . Maximus se casere þe wæs on martinus dæge .
 gelaðede foroft þone arwurðan wer
 þa ða he him wið spræc þæt he wære his gemetta .
 615 þa forhæfde he hine æfre fram his gebeorscipe .
 cwæð . þæt he ne mihte his gemetta beon
 þe anne casere ofsloh . *and* oþerne aflymde .

600 þe] K þæt 603 XX . ON] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in the same brown ink; the initial is slightly enlarged.* 603 upflora] K upflore 606 wundrum] *The r seems to have been erased (though wundum does not make any sense)* 612 XXI . Maximus] *The numeral and punctus are in a brown ink, the initial M is in red ink, and its legs are rounded.*

602 goldhord on hefonan rice] The reference is to the New Testament in BS Mt 19.12, Mk 10.12, or Lc 18.22.

614 þa ða he him wið spræc] Mitchell (OES § 3802) discusses the occurrence of *apo koinou* in this passage.

595 that he equally sold all his possessions
 and distributed all to the poor for love of his Lord.
 Then Martin greatly praised the man's deeds,
 and proposed them to others as an example, often saying of him
 that he at that time had beautifully fulfilled the saying
 600 which our Lord spoke to some rich man:
 'Go, and sell all your goods, and bestow the worth to the poor,
 and then you shall have treasure in the kingdom of heaven.'
 [SVM 19,4] XX. At one time Martin ascended to an upper floor;
 then the ladder's steps had become weak before,
 605 and suddenly broke, so that he fell down,
 and was greatly weakened by many wounds,
 so that he lay sick in his private room.
 In that night an angel came to him,
 he himself watched, and anointed his limbs
 610 with wholesome salve, and soon, the next morning, he
 went on soundly, as if he had never been ill.
 [SVM 20,1-2] XXI. Maximus the emperor, who lived in Martin's days,
 invited the venerable man very often,
 so as to speak with him, [and] that he would be his guest.
 615 But he himself always refrained from his banquet,
 saying that he could not be his guest
 who had slain one emperor and banished another.

603 SVM 19,4] Ipse autem, cum casu quodam esset de cenaculo deuolutus et, per confragosos
 scalae gradus decedens, multis uulneribus esset adfectus, cum exanimis iaceret in cellula et inmodi-
 cis doloribus cruciaretur, nocte ei angelus uisus est eluere uulnera et salubri unguedine contusi
 corporis superlinire liuores. Atque ita, postero die, restitutus est sanitati, ut nihil umquam per-
 tulisse incommodi putaretur. 612 SVM 20,1-2] Atque ut minora tantis inseram quamuis, ut
 est nostrorum aetas temporum, quibus iam deprauata omnia atque corrupta sunt, paene prae-
 cipiū sit adulationi regiae sacerdotalem non cessisse constantiam -, cum ad imperatorem Max-
 imum, ferocis ingenii uirum et bellorum ciuiliū uictoria elatum, plures ex diuersis orbis part-
 ibus episcopi conuenissent et foeda circa principem omnium adulatio notaretur seque degenere
 inconstantia regiae clientelae sacerdotalis dignitas subdidisset, in solo Martino apostolica auc-
 toritas permanebat. 2. Nam et si pro aliquibus regi supplicandum fuit, imperauit potius quam
 rogauit, et a conuiuio eius frequenter rogatus abstinuit, dicens se mensae eius participem esse non
 posse, qui imperatores unum regno, alterum uita expulisset.

- [SVM 20,3-5] Ða *and*wyrde maximus martine *and* cwæð .
 þæt he næfre sylfwilles þone anweald ne underfenge .
- 620 ac wære fram his cempum gecoren unþances
 to ðam cynedome . *and* wiðcwæðan ne mihte .
and þæt he ongean godes willan winnan ne mihte .
and forþy mid wæpnum hine werian sceolde .
 cwæð eac þæt nan man nære fram him ofslagen
- 625 buton þam anum þe him onfeohtende wæron .
 Ða wearð martinus mid þæs caseres beladunge .
and eac þurh his bene . gebiged to his gereordunge .
 He nolde næfre lyffettan ne mid olecunge spræcan
 | ne furðon to þam casere swa swa his geferan dydon . 188r
- 630 swa swa he on þam ylcan gereorde geswutelode mid dæde .
 He sæt to þam casere . *and* hi swyðe blyðe wæron | *K ends imperfectly*
 for martines gereordunge . *and* man bær þam casere
 swa swa hit gewunelic wæs wín on anre blede .
 þa het he þone byrle beodon martine ærest .
- 635 wolde æfter ðam bisceope his bletsunge drincan .
 [SVM 20,6] Martinus þa dranc . *and* his mæssepreoste sealde
 healfne dæl þæs wætan þe wæs on þære blede .
 forþanþe he wiste þæt he wurþost wæs .
 æfter him to drincenne . *and* hí ealle þæs wundrodon .
- 640 *and* mærsodon his anrædnysse geond ealne þone hired .
 [SVM 20,8] He sæde þa þam casere swa swa him becom siððan .
 þæt gif he ferde to gefeohte swa he gemynte

631 blyðe wæron] *The text in MS K ends after wæron with the folio; the rest of the text was bound again into the MS, and continues on the folio later numbered as fol. 93r; one folio must have been lost during the process of binding, therefore the text of one entire folio is missing in K; K's text continues below, l. 673*

[SVM 20,3-5] Then Maximus answered Martin, and said
 that he had never received the government of his own will,
 620 but was chosen by his soldiers, against his will,
 to the kingdom, and could not refuse;
 and that he could not strive against God's will,
 and therefore had to defend himself with weapons;
 [he] said also that no man had been slain by him
 625 save only the one who was fighting against him.
 Then Martin was, by the emperor's vindication
 and also by his plea, persuaded [to go] to his banquet.
 He would never pay court, nor speak with flattery,
 not even to the emperor, so as his companions did;
 630 even as he in the same feast manifested in a deed.
 He sat by the emperor, and they were very glad
 about Martin's feasting, and it was brought to the emperor
 even as it was customary, wine in a goblet.
 Then he asked the cup-bearer to offer it to Martin first,
 635 [he] wished to drink after the bishop's blessing.
 [SVM 20,6] Then Martin drank, and gave to his mass-priest
 the half part of the liquid which was in the goblet,
 because he knew that he was worthiest
 to drink after him; and they all wondered at that,
 640 and celebrated his resolution amongst all the household.
 [SVM 20,8] Then he said to the emperor, even as it happened to him afterwards,
 that if he went to battle, as he intended,

618 SVM 20,3-5] Postremo, cum Maximus non sponte sumpsisse imperium adfirmaret, sed inpositam sibi a militibus diuino nutu regni necessitatem armis defendisse, et non alienam ab eo Dei uoluntatem uideri, penes quem tam incredibili euentu uictoria fuisset, nullumque ex aduersariis nisi in acie occubuisse, tandem uictus uel ratione uel precibus ad conuiuium uenit, mirum in modum gaudente rege quod id impetrasset. 4. Conuiuiae autem aderant, uelut ad diem festum euocati, summi atque illustres uiri, praefectus idemque consul Euodius, uir quo nihil umquam iustius fuit, comites duo summa potestate praediti, frater regis et patruus. Medius inter hos Martini presbyter accubuerat, ipse autem in sellula iuxta regem posita consederat. 5. Ad medium fere conuiuium, ut moris est, pateram regi minister obtulit. Ille sancto admodum episcopo potius dari iubet, expectans atque ambiens ut ab illius dextera poculum sumeret. 636 SVM 20,6] Sed Martinus, ubi ebibit, pateram presbytero suo tradidit, nullum scilicet existimans digniorem qui post se prior biberet, nec integrum sibi fore si aut regem ipsum aut eos, qui a rege erant proximi, presbytero praetulisset. 641 SVM 20,8] Eidemque Maximo longe ante praedixit futurum ut, si ad Italiam pergeret quo ire cupiebat bellum Valentiniano imperatori inferens, sciret se primo quidem impetu futurum esse uictorem, sed paruo post tempore esse periturum.

- ongean ualentinianum þe he aflymde ær
 of his cynedome . þæt him come sige .
 645 ac æfter lytlum fyrste he sceolde feallan ofslagan .
 [SVM 20,9] and hit gewearð swa swa him gewitegode martinus .
 He ferde þa siþþan to feohtenne wið þone casere .
 and on þam forman onræse he affigde ualentinianum .
 ac eft embe geares fyrst he beferde maximum
 650 binnan anre byrig aquileiam gehaten .
 and hine þær ofslóh . and siððan to his rice feng .
 [SDS 5,5] XXII . Martinus ferde hwilon to ualentiniane þam casere
 wolde for sumere neode wið hine spræcan .
 ac his micle mod . and his manfulla gebedda
 655 þe mid arrianiscum gedwylde dweligende lyfode .
 noldon geðafian þam halgan bisceope .
 þæt he infær hæfde his ærende to abeodenne .
 ac het se arleasa hine utan belucan .
 forþam ðe he wiste þæt he wolde þæs biddan
 660 | þe he tiðian nolde . and tynde þone halgan . 188v
 Ða com martinus eft embe ða ylcan spræce .
 to þam modigan casere . ac man hine beclysde wið utan .
 [SDS 5,6] and he þa gewende to his gewunelican helpe .
 scrydde hine mid hæran . and mid axum bestreowode .
 665 and fæstende þurhwunode on singallum gebedum

652 XXII . Martinus] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink, the initial is slightly enlarged, and the M's legs are rounded.*

643 ualentinianum þe he aflymde ær]
 Ælfric confuses the two emperors
 Valentinian I and Valentinian II; Biggs
 (1996: 300), who noticed this, explains:
 “Valentinian I ruled from 364-375, and
 although Valentinian II became Augustus
 in name in 375, in reality he did not begin
 exercising power until after the death of
 Maximus in 387. Ælfric, however, is
 apparently unaware that he is conflating
 two emperors of the same name and that
 he has in fact reversed the chronology.
 Without this information, Ælfric’s version
 makes good sense: he relates how Martin

prophecies that a first emperor will be
 conquered by a second and then continues
 with a story about this second emperor.”
 649 maximum] The Roman emperor
 Maximus (ruled 383-8); cf. above, p. 6.
 650 aquileiam] I.e. Aquileia, the ancient
 Roman city. Valentinian’s (and
 Theodosius’, who is not mentioned in
 SVM) campaign can be dated to 387 AD;
 Maximus’ death was in 388 AD, see
 Huber-Rebenich (2010: 88 n. 128).
 662 modigan] Hofstetter (1987: 17 (12))
 identified *modig* as typical for the specific
 Winchester-vocabulary.

against Valentinian, whom he had banished before
 from his kingdom, that he would gain a victory,
 645 but after a short time he would fall slain;
 [SVM 20,9] and it happened just as Martin had prophesied to him.
 He went to fight against that emperor afterwards,
 and in the first assault he put Valentinian to flight,
 but after about a year's time he caught Maximus
 650 within a city called Aquileia,
 and there slew him, and afterwards succeeded to his kingdom.
 [SDS 5,5] XXII. Once Martin travelled to Valentinian the emperor,
 wished to speak with him for some need,
 but his proud mind and his wicked consort,
 655 who lived misled in the Arian heresy,
 would not permit the holy bishop
 to have entrance to announce his errand;
 but the impious man commanded to lock him out,
 because he knew that he would ask that
 660 which he would not grant, and insulted the saint.
 Then Martin came again for the same discourse
 to the stubborn emperor, but they shut him out;
 [SDS 5,6] and he thereupon turned to his accustomed resource;
 he clothed himself with haircloth, and bestrewed himself with ashes,
 665 and continued fasting with unceasing prayers,

646 SVM 20,9] Quod quidem ita uidimus. Nam primo aduentu eius Valentinianus in fugam uersus est; deinde, post annum fere, resumtis uiribus, captum intra Aquileiae muros Maximum interfecit. 652 SDS 5,5] Eo fere tempore, quo primum episcopus elatus est, fuit ei necessitas adire comitatum. Valentinianus tum maior rerum potiebatur. Hic cum Martinum ea petere cognouisset quae praestare nolebat, iussit eum palatii foribus arceri. Etenim ad animum illius inmitem ac superbum uxor accesserat Arriana, quae totum illum a sancto uiro, ne ei debitam reuerentiam praestaret, auerterat. 663 SDS 5,6] Itaque Martinus, ubi semel atque iterum superbum principem adire temptauit, recurrit ad nota praesidia: cilicio obuoluitur, cinere conspergitur, cibo potu que abstinet, orationem noctibus diebusque perpetuat.

- [SDS 5,7-9] oð þæt an scinende engel on þam seofþan dæge
 him com to . *and cwæð* þæt he to þam casere ferde .
and him ælc get sceolde beon open togeanes .
and þæs modigan caseres mod beon geliðegod .
- 670 Se bisceop þa ferde swa swa him bebed se engel .
and him wearð geopenod ælc gæt togeanes .
 oð þæt he færlice stod ætforan þam casere .
 Ða yrsode se casere | for his ingange . *K 93r*
and nolde hine wylcumian . ac þær wearþ godes miht
- 675 swá þæt heofonlic fyr hangode ofer his setl .
and þæt setl ontende . *and* hine sylfne wolde
 gif he þe hraðor ne arise . aworpenre reðnysse .
and þone bisceop cyste . ablicged þurh god .
 þone þe he ær geteohhode mid teonan to forseonne .
- 680 He behet þa geswicennysse sona þam bisceope .
and he him ælces þinges tiþode . ærþanþe he hine bæde
 þæs þe he frymdig wæs . *and* him freondlice tospræc .
and him fela gifa bead . ac he heora onfon nolde .
 [SVM 21,1] XX.III . Oft martinus geseah englas him to cuman
- 685 swa þæt hi hiwcuðlice to þam halgan spræcon .
 [SDS 13,8] *and* on sumne sæl sum engel him sæde
 hwæt þa oþre bisceopas on heora sinoþe spræcon
and se halga ða wiste hwæt hi þær ræddon

677 hraðor] *K* raðer 684 XX.III . Oft] *The numeral and both punctus are in brown ink, the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink.* 685 hi hiwcuðlice] *K* hi him cuðlice

[SDS 5,7-9] until a shining angel on the seventh day
 came to him, and told him go to the emperor,
 and every gate should be open in his way,
 and the stubborn emperor's mind should be softened.
 670 Then the bishop went even as the angel told him to,
 and every gate was opened in his way
 until he suddenly stood before the emperor.
 Then the emperor was angry at his entrance,
 and would not welcome him, but there appeared a miracle of God,
 675 in that heavenly fire hung over his throne,
 and inflamed the throne, and would have [inflamed] himself
 if he had not risen quickly, his anger being cast away,
 and kissed the bishop, having been terrified by God,
 whom he had before determined to scorn with insult.
 680 Then he promised amendment to the bishop immediately,
 and granted him everything which he asked him for
 before he asked him, and spoke friendly to him
 and offered him many gifts, though he would not receive them.
 [SVM 21,1] XXIII. Often Martin saw angels come to him
 685 so that they spoke familiarly to the saint;
 [SDS 13,8] and on one occasion one angel told him
 what the other bishops had spoken in their synod,
 and then the saint knew what they had decided there,

666 SDS 5,7-9] Septimo die adsistit ei angelus; iubet eum ad palatium ire securum: regias fores quamlibet clausas sponte reserandas, imperatoris spiritum superbum molliendum. 8. Igitur, istiusmodi praesentis angeli confirmatus adloquio et fretus auxilio, palatium petit. Patent limina, nullus obsistit. Postremo usque ad regem, nemine prohibente, peruenit. Qui, cum uenientem eminus uideret, frendens cur fuisset admissus, nequaquam adsurgere est dignatus adstanti, donec regiam sellam ignis operiret ipsum que regem ea parte corporis qua sedebat adflaret incendium. 9. Ita e solio suo superbus excutitur et Martino inuitus adsurgit. Multumque complexus quem spernere ante decreuerat, uirtutem sensisse diuinam emendatior fatebatur; nec expectatis Martini precibus, prius omnia praestitit quam rogaretur. 684 SVM 21,1] Constat autem etiam angelos ab eo plerumque visos, ita ut conserto apud eum inuicem sermone loquerentur. Diabolum uero ita conspicabilem et subiectum oculis habebat ut, siue se in propria substantia contineret, siue in diuersas figuras nequitiae transtulisset, qualibet ab eo sub imagine uideretur. 686 SDS 13,8] Rem minimam dicturus sum, sed tamen dicam. Apud Nemausum episcoporum synodus habebatur, ad quam quidem ire noluerat, sed quid gestum esset scire cupiebat. Casu cum eo iste Sulpicius nauigabat, sed procul, ut semper, a ceteris in remota nauis parte residebat. Ibi angelus, quid gestum esset in synodo, ei nuntiauit. Nos postea tempus habiti concilii sollicitate requirentes, satis conpertum habuimus ipsum diem fuisse conuentus et eadem ibi fuisse decreta quae Martino angelus nuntiarat.

- þurh þæs engles segene . þeah ðe he sylf þær ne côme .
 690 [SDS 13,6] Ða halgan apostolas petrum *and* paulum he geseah gelome .
 swa swa he sæde him sylf sulpicio | þam writere 189r
 þe hine axian dorste ælces þinges þe he wolde .
 [SDS 13,1-3] Se ylca sulpicius *and* sum oðer broðor
 sæton sume dæg swiðe | afyrhte K 93v
 695 ætforan martines Inne . *and* he hi þærute nyste .
 þa gehyrdon hí motian wið martine lange .
and he wæs ana ær innan þam huse belocen .
 Eft þa ða he uteode þa axode sulpicius .
and hine eadmodlice bæd þæt he him geopenian sceolde
 700 hwa him wiðspræce . [SDS 13,4-5] þa wandode he lange
 him þæt to secgenne . ac he sæde swaþeah .
 ic halsige eow nu . þæt ge hit nanum ne secgan .
 Maria cristes modor com to me hider .
 mid twam oþrum mædenum tecla *and* agne .
 705 *and* na on þisum anum dæge ac oft rædllice ær
 hi comon to me . *and* he sæde him eac
 hwilc heora wlitu wæs . *and* hu hi wæron gescrydde .
 [SDS 13,6] XXIII . Eac swilce þa deofla mid heora searocræftum
 him comon gelome to . *and* he oncneow hi æfre .

695 Inne] *So in MS.* 708 XXIII . Eac] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink, the initial is slightly enlarged.*

704 tecla] St Thecla, an early martyr of the first century and pupil of St Paul the Apostle; see CE s.v. *Thecla of Iconium*.
 704 agne] St Agnes, a fourth-century Roman virgin martyr; see NEB s.v. *Saint*

Agnes.
 708 Eac ...] Ælfric interspersed information from SVM 21,1-2 in this section.

by the angel's saying, though he did not go there himself.
 690 [SDS 13,6] The holy apostles Peter and Paul he saw frequently,
 even as he said himself to Sulpicius the writer,
 who dared to ask him anything that he wished.
 [SDS 13,1-3] The same Sulpicius and one other brother
 sat one day, greatly afraid,
 695 before Martin's room, and he did not know they were outside;
 then they heard conversation with Martin for a long time,
 and he had been locked in alone in the house before.
 Afterwards, when he came out, then Sulpicius asked
 and humbly asked of him that he would reveal to him
 700 who had been speaking with him; [SDS 13,4-5] then he hesitated long
 to tell him that, but he said nevertheless,
 "I entreat you now that you tell it to no one.
 Mary, Christ's mother, came to me here
 with two other virgins, Thecla and Agnes,
 705 and not on this one day but often before readily
 they have come to me." And he told him also
 what their appearance had been and how they were clothed.
 [SDS 13,6] XXIV. Likewise also the devils with their treacherous arts
 came to him frequently, and he always recognized them,

690 SDS 13,6] Nec uero illo tantum die, sed frequenter se ab eis confessus est uisitari: Petrum etiam et Paulum Apostolos uideri a se saepius non negauit. Iam uero daemones, prout ad eum quisque uenisset, suis nominibus increpabat. Mercurium maxime patiebatur infestum, Iouem brutum atque hebetem esse dicebat. 693 SDS 13,1-3] Ceterum hoc, quod dicturus sum, Sulpici, hoc te – me autem intuebatur – teste perhibeo. Quodam die, ego et iste Sulpicius pro foribus illius excubantes, iam per aliquot horas cum silentio sedebamus, ingenti horrore et tremore, ac si ante angeli tabernaculum mandatas excubias duceremus, cum quidem nos, clauso cellulae suae ostio, ibi esse nesciret. 2. Interim conloquentium murmur audimus et mox horrore quodam circumfundimur ac stupore, nec ignorare potuimus nescio quid fuisse diuinum. 3. Post duas fere horas ad nos Martinus egreditur. Ac tum eum iste Sulpicius, sicut apud eum nemo familiaris loquebatur, coepit orare ut pie quaerentibus indicaret, quid illud diuini fuisset horroris quod fatebamur nos ambo sensisse, uel cum quibus fuisset in cellula conlocutus: tenuem enim nos scilicet et uix intellectum sermocinantium sonum pro foribus audisse. 700 SDS 13,4-5] Tum ille, diu multum que cunctatus – sed nihil erat quod ei Sulpicius non extorqueret inuito (incredibilia forte dicturus sum, sed Christo teste non mentior, nisi quisquam est tam sacrilegus, ut Martinum aestimet fuisse mentitum). 5. «Dicam, inquit, uobis, sed uos nulli quaeso dicatis: Agnes, Thecla et Maria me cum fuerant.» Referebat autem nobis uultum atque habitum singularum. 708 SDS 13,6] Nec uero illo tantum die, sed frequenter se ab eis confessus est uisitari: Petrum etiam et Paulum Apostolos uideri a se saepius non negauit. Iam uero daemones, prout ad eum quisque uenisset, suis nominibus increpabat. Mercurium maxime patiebatur infestum, Iouem brutum atque hebetem esse dicebat.

- 710 forþanþe him nan deofol ne mihte bediglian hine sylfne .
 ne on agenre edwiste ne on oþrum hiwe .
 [SVM 22,1-2] Mid þusend searocræftum wolde se swicola deofol
 þone halgan wer on sume wisan beswican .
and hine gesewenlicne on manegum scinhiwum
- 715 þam halgan æteowde . on þæra hæþenra goda hiwe .
 hwilon on ioues hiwe . þe is gehaten þór .
 hwilon | on mercuries . þe men hatað oþon . K 94r
 hwilon on ueneris þære fulan gyden .
 þe men hatað fricg . *and* on manegum oþrum hiwum
- 720 hine bræd se deofol on þæs bisceopes gesihþe .
 Martinus þær togeanes mearcode hine sylfne
 symle mid rodetacn . *and* sang his gebedu
 unforht þurhwunigende . *and* æfre on god truwigende .
- 725 Ða þa se deofol | geseah þæt he hine bedydrian ne mihte 189v
 mid his searocræftum . þa sæde he him hospword .
and mid manegum talum hine tynde foroft .
 ac he næs gestirod for his leasum talum .
 [SVM 22,3] Sume munecas eac þe on þam mynstre wunodon
 sædan to soðan þæt hi swutollice gehyrdon .
- 730 hu se deofol þreade mid dyrstigum stemnum
 ðone halgum martinum . forþam þe he hæfde mid him
 sume underfangene . þe synfulle wæron .
and æfter heora fulluhte fela to yfele dydon .
and sæde openlice hwæt heora ælces syn wære .
- 735 [SVM 22,4] Martinus þa *and*wyrde þam manfullum deofle .

731 halgum] (*sic*), also K

712 Mid ... talum] Cf. the discussion of the Roman Gods in this passage above, p. 130.

- 710 because no devil could hide himself from him,
 neither in his own substance, nor in any other form.
 [SVM 22,1-2] With a thousand treacherous arts the deceitful devil would
 entice the holy man in some way,
 and visible in diverse illusions
- 715 showed himself to the saint, in the shape of heathen gods,
 sometimes in Jove's form, who is called Thor,
 sometimes in Mercury's, whom one calls Odin,
 sometimes in Venus', the foul goddess,
 whom one calls Frigg, and in many other shapes
- 720 the devil transformed himself in the bishop's sight.
 Martin marked himself against this
 always with the sign of the cross, and sang his prayers,
 enduring [it] fearlessly, and ever trusting in God.
 When the devil saw that he could not delude him
- 725 with his treacherous arts, then he spoke to him words of contempt,
 and often insulted him with many disputes,
 but he was not vexed by his deceitful disputes.
 [SVM 22,3] Some monks who lived in the monastery also
 told truthfully that they had clearly heard
- 730 how the devil threatened with presumptuous words
 the holy Martin, because he had with him
 some included [brothers] who were sinful,
 and did many evil things after their baptism,
 and said openly what the sin of each of them had been.
- 735 [SVM 22,4] Then Martin answered the wicked devil,

712 SVM 22,1-2] *Frequenter autem diabolus, dum mille nocendi artibus sanctum uirum conabatur inludere, uisibilem se ei forma diuersissimis ingerebat. Nam interdum in Iouis personam, plerumque Mercuri, saepe etiam se Veneris ac Mineruae transfiguratum uultibus offerebat; aduersus quem semper interritus signo se crucis et orationis auxilio protegebat. 2. Audiebantur plerumque conuicia quibus illum turba daemonum proteruis uocibus increpabat; sed omnia falsa et uana cognoscens, non mouebatur obiectis. 728 SVM 22,3] Testabantur etiam aliqui ex fratribus audisse se daemonem proteruis Martinum uocibus increpantem cur intra monasterium aliquos ex fratribus, qui olim baptismum diuersis erroribus perdidissent, conuersos postea recepisset, exponentem crimina singulorum; 735 SVM 22,4] Martinum diabolo repugnantem respondisse constanter antiqua delicia melioris uitae conuersatione purgari, et per misericordiam Domini absoluendos esse peccatis qui peccare desierint. Contra dicente diabolo non pertinere ad ueniam crimosos, et semel lapsis nullam a Domino praestari posse clementiam, tunc in hanc uocem fertur exclamasse Martinus:*

- and cwæð þæt þa ealdan synna mid heora gecyrrednysse .*
and beteran drohtnunge . mihton beon adylgode .
and þurh godes mildheortnysse | hi mihton beon alysde . *K 94v*
fram heora synnum . þa ða hi geswicon yfeles .
 740 *Se deofol þa clypode and cwæð him togeanes .*
þæt þa leahterfullan næron nanre miltsunge wurðe .
and þa þe æne aslidan . þæt hi eft ne sceoldon
æt drihtne habban ænigne miltsunge .
 [SVM 22,5] *Þa cwæð martinus to þam manfullan eft ðus .*
 745 *þeah ðu earming woldest on þisum endnextan timan*
manna ehtnysse geswican . and þine dæda behreowsian .
ic on god truwode . þæt ic þe mildsunge behete .
Eala hu halig dyrstignyss be drihtnes arfestnysse
hé geswutelode his swiðlican lufe
 750 *þeah þe he þa fremminge forðbringan ne mihte .*
 [SVM 24,4] *XXU . ON sumne sæl eft siþþan com se swicola deofol*
in to þam halgan were . þær he on his gebedum wæs .
mid purpuran gescryd . and mid kynelicum gyrlum .
mid gyldenum cynehelme . and mid goldfellenum sceon .
 755 *and mid blyþre ansyne . on micelre beorhtnysse .* *190r*
 [SVM 24,5] *Þa ne cwæð . | heora naðor nan word to oþrum*
to langere hwile . and þa embe lang cwæð
se deofol ærest to þam drihtnes men .
Oncnaw nu martine þone | ðe þu gesihst . *K 95r*
 760 *ic eom crist . þe astah to þisre worulde .*
and ic wolde geswutelian me sylfne ærest þe .
 [SVM 24,6] *Martinus þa suwode . and se swicola eft cwæð .*

751 XXU . ON] *Numeral, punctus and the initial are in brown ink; the initial is slightly enlarged.*

743 ænigne] Skeat suggests to read *ænige*.

745 þeah] Mitchell (OES § 3392, cf.

3391) discusses the usage of *þeah* (as opposed to *gif*) for Latin *si* (conditional),

quoting this passage as an example; cf. § 3674, where Mitchell discusses the concessive and conditional usage of *þeah*.

and said that the old sins – by their conversion
and better life – might be deleted
and through God's mercy they might be absolved
from their sins when they ceased from evil.

740 Then the devil cried and answered back to him
that the wicked were not worthy of any mercy,
and when they once relapsed, that afterwards they should not
have any mercy from the Lord.

[SVM 22,5] Then Martin spoke again to the wicked [one] thus:

745 “If you, wretched, would in this end time
cease from the persecution of men and repent your deeds,
I am confident in God that I might promise you mercy.”
Oh, how holy boldness by God's mercy
he manifested in his great love,

750 even though he could not accomplish the act.

[SVM 24,4] XXV. Again some time after this the deceitful devil came
to the holy man where he was in his prayers,
clothed in purple, and with kingly garments,
with a golden crown and with gold leaf shoes,

755 and with a blithe countenance in great brightness.

[SVM 24,5] Then neither of them spoke any word to the other
for a long while, and then after a long time spoke
the devil first to the Lord's man:

“Acknowledge now, Martin, him whom you behold.

760 I am Christ, who came down to this world,
and I wished to show myself to you first.”

[SVM 24,6] Then Martin kept quiet, and the deceitful [one] said again:

744 SVM 22,5] Si tu ipse, miserabilis, ab hominum insectatione desisteres et te factorum tuorum, uel hoc tempore cum dies iudicii in proximo est, paeniteret, ego tibi, uere confisus in Domino Jesu Christo, misericordiam pollicerer. O quam sancta de Domini pietate praesumptio, in qua etsi auctoritatem praestare non potuit, ostendit affectum! 751 SVM 24,4] Non praetereundum autem uidetur quanta Martinum sub isdem diebus diabolus arte temptauerit. Quodam enim die, praemissa prae se et circumiectus ipse luce purpurea, quo facilius claritate adsumpti fulgoris inluderet, ueste etiam regia indutus, diademate ex gemmis auroque redimitus, calceis auro inlitis, sereno ore, laeta facie, ut nihil minus quam diabolus putaretur, oranti in cellula adstitit. 756 SVM 24,5] Cumque Martinus primo aspectu eius fuisset hebetatus, diu mutum silentium ambo tenuerunt. Tum prior diabolus: agnosce, inquit, Martine, quem cernis: Christus ego sum; descensurus ad terram prius me manifestare tibi uolui. 762 SVM 24,6] Ad haec cum Martinus taceret nec quidquam responsi referret, iterare ausus est diabolus professionis audaciam: Martine, quid dubitas? Crede, cum uideas! Christus ego sum.

- Hwæt twynað þe martine . gelyf . ic eom crist .
 [SVM 24,7] Ða underget se halga wer þurh haligne gast .
 765 þæt hit se sylfa deofol wæs . na his drihten . *and* cwæð .
 Ne sæde na ure drihten þæt he mid cynehelme .
 oððe mid purpuran gescryd . cuman wolde to us .
and ic ne gelyfe þæt he to us cume
 buton on þam ylcan hiwe þe he on þrowode .
 770 *and* butan he æteowige þa ylcan dolhswaðe
 þære halgan rode þe he on ahangen wæs .
 [SVM 24,8] Se deofol þærrihte fordwán swa swa smic .
 of þæs halgan gesihðe . *and* þæt hus afylde
 mid ormætum stence . þæt man eaðe mihte witan
 775 þæt hit se deofol wæs . þe hine dwelian wolde .
and þis sæde martinus Sulpicio þam writere .
 [SVM 21,2] XXUI . ON sumne sæl *com* se deofol . mid swyðlicre grimetunge .
 in to þam halgan were . *and* hæfde ænne oxan horn on hande .
and cwæð to martine . Hwær is þin miht nu
 780 ða ænne man ic ofsloh of þinre hiwrædene nu .
and wæs his swyðre hand swilce geblodegod .
 [SVM 21,3-4] Ða clypode martinus his munecas him to .
and sæde | hwæt se deofol him swutolode . K 95v
and het georne secan hwa þær ofslagen wære .
 785 Wæs ða an hyrman to wuda afaren .

777 XXUI . ON] *Numeral and punctus are in a brown ink, the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink.* 783 hwæt] K hwat 783 swutolode] K swutelode

“What makes you doubt, Martin? Believe, I am Christ.”
 [SVM 24,7] Then the holy man perceived, by the Holy Ghost,
 765 that it was the same devil, not his Lord, and said:
 “Our Lord did not say that He with a crown,
 or in purple clothes would come to us,
 and I do not believe that He come to us
 save in the same form in which He suffered,
 770 and unless He show the same scars
 of the holy cross on which he was hung.”
 [SVM 24,8] The devil vanished straightaway like smoke
 from the saint’s sight, and the house was filled
 with an immense stench, so that men could easily know
 775 that it was the devil who had wished to deceive him;
 and Martin told this to Sulpicius the writer.
 [SVM 21,2] XXVI. On one occasion the devil came with horrible roaring
 to the holy man, and had in his hand a horn of an ox,
 and said to Martin, “Where is your power now,
 780 when I have slain a man of your household now?”,
 and his right hand was as if blood-stained.
 [SVM 21,3-4] Then Martin called his monks to him,
 and told what the devil had revealed to him,
 and had them search carefully [him] who was there slain.
 785 There was a servant, [who had] gone to the wood,

764 SVM 24,7] Tum ille, reuelante sibi spiritu ut intellegeret diabolum esse, non Doninum: non se, inquit, Iesus Dominus purpuratum nec diademate reidentem uenturum esse praedixit; ego Christum, nisi in eo habitu formaque qua passus est, nisi crucis stigmata praeferentem, uenisse non credam. 772 SVM 24,8] Ad hanc ille uocem statim ut fumus euanuit. Cellulam tanto foetore conpleuit ut indubia indicia relinqueret diabolum se fuisse. Hoc itaque gestum, ut supra rettuli, ex ipsius Martini ore cognoui, ne quis forte existimet fabulosum. 777 SVM 21,2] Quod cum diabolus sciret se effugere non posse, conuiciis eum frequenter urgebat, quia fallere non posset insidiis. Quodam autem tempore, cornu bouis cruentum in manu tenens, cum ingenti fremitu cellulam eius inrupit, cruentamque ostendens dexteram et admisso recens scelere congaudens: ubi est, inquit, Martine, uirtus tua? unum de tuis modo interfeci. 782 SVM 21,3-4] Tunc ille conuocatis fratribus refert quid diabolus indicasset; sollicitos esse praecipit per cellulas singulorum quisnam hoc casu adfectus fuisset. Neminem quidem deesse de monachis, sed unum rusticum, mercede conductum ut uehiculo ligna deferret, isse ad siluam nuntiant. lubet igitur aliquos ire ei obuam; 4. ita haud longe a monasterio iam paene exanimis inuenitur. Extremum tamen spiritum trahens, indicat fratribus causam mortis et uulneris: iunctis scilicet bubus dum dissoluta artius lora constringit, bouem sibi excusso capite inter inguina cornu adegisse. Nec multo post uitam reddidit. Videris quo iudicio Domini diabolo data fuerit haec potestas.

- se læg gewundod be þam wege samcucu .
and he þa sæde þa þa he his oxan ræpte .
 þa scóc an his heafod . *and* mid þam horne hine þyde .
 on þæt ge|weald swiðe . *and* he þa sona gewat . 190v
 790 [SVM 21,5] Fela þing wiste se halga wer on ær
 lange ær hi gelumpon . *and* þam geleaffullum munecum
 sæde þa þing þe him geswutelode wæron .
and hit syþþan swa áeode swa he him ær sæde .
 [SVM 23,1-2] XXVII. **A**Natolius hatte sum hiwigende munuc
 795 iunglicre ylde se wunode sume hwile
 wið martines mynster mid anum mæran ealdre
 clarus gehaten . *and* behydde his yfelnyse .
 [SVM 23,3-4] He æteowde þa wiðutan ealle eadmodnyse .
and unscæððignyse . *and* sæde ða æt nextan
 800 þæt him englas wið spræcon . *and* gewunelice foroft .
 Eft þa on fyrste þa he furðor dwelode .
 he sæde þæt he dæghwamlice betwux drihtne .
and him ferdon heofonlice englas . *and* he sylf an witega
 unleaslice wære . ac him gelyfde clarus .
 805 He gehet him þa godes yrre . *and* yfele þreala
 hwi he nolde gelyfan þæt he halig wære .
 [SVM 23,5] *and* cwæð ða æt | nextan . þæt him cuman sceolde K 96r
 on þære ylcan nihte fram þam ælmihtigan gode
 heofonlic reaf . *and* he mid þam gescryd
 810 betwux him wunigende godes mihte æteowde .

788 þyde] K þyde 794 XXVII. **A**Natolius] *The numeral and punctus are in brown ink, the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink.* 805 yfele] K yfela

and he lay wounded by the way, half-dead,
and then he told that when he was yoking his oxen,
one shook its head and struck him with its horn
with great force; and then he died soon.

790 [SVM 21,5] The holy man knew of many things before,
long before they happened, and to the faithful monks
he told the things which had been revealed to him,
and afterwards it always happened as he had told them.

[SVM 23,1-2] XXVII. Anatolius was the name of one professing monk,
795 of young age, who lived for some time
close to Martin's monastery with an illustrious elder
called Clarus, and hid his evilness.

[SVM 23,3-4] Outwardly he showed all humility
and innocence, and at last he said
800 that angels had spoken with him, and commonly very often.
Then after some time, when he erred more,
he said that daily – between the Lord and himself –
heavenly angels travelled, and he himself a prophet
truly would be, but yet Clarus believed him.

805 Then he promised him God's anger and evil punishments
if he would not believe that he was holy;

[SVM 23,5] and at last said that there should come to him
in the same night from the almighty God
a heavenly robe; and he, clothed with it,
810 living amongst them, would manifest God's power.

790 SVM 21,5] In Martino illud mirabile erat quod non solum hoc, quod supra rettulimus, sed multa istius modi, si quotiens accidissent, longe antea praeuidebat aut sibi nuntiata fratribus indicabat. 794 SVM 23,1-2] Clarus quidam adulescens nobilissimus, mox presbyter, nunc felici beatus excessu, cum, relictis omnibus, se ad Martinum contulisset, breui tempore ad summum fidei uirtutumque omnium culmen enituit. 2. Itaque cum haud longe sibi ab episcopi monasterio tabernaculum constituisset multique apud eum fratres commorarentur, iuuenis quidam ad eum Anatolius nomine, sub professione monachi omnem humilitatem atque innocentiam mentitus, accessit habitauitque aliquandiu in commune cum ceteris. 798 SVM 23,3-4] Dein, procedente tempore, angelos apud se loqui solere dicebat. Cum fidem nullus adhiberet, signis quibusdam plerosque ad credendum coartabat. Postremo eo usque processit ut inter se ac Deum nuntios discurrere praedicaret, iamque se unum ex profetis haberi uolebat. 4. Clarus tamen nequaquam ad credendum cogi poterat. Ille ei iram Domini et praesentes plagas, cur sancto non crederet, comminari. 807 SVM 23,5] Postremum in hanc uocem erupisse fertur: ecce hac nocte uestem mihi candidam Dominus de caelo dabit, qua indutus in medio uestrum diuersabor; idque uobis signum erit me Dei esse uirtutem, qui Dei ueste donatus sim.

- [SVM 23,6-8] Hwæt þa on middre nihte wearð þæt mynster astyrod .
and wearð micel gehlyd . hlihendra deofla .
and þæs muneces cyte mid leohte wearþ afylled .
and he eode sylf ut mid þam scinendan reafe .
815 *and* anum oþrum munece þa mærþa æteowde .
 Ðær comon þa má . *and* clarus æt nextan .
and sceawodon mid leohte þone scinendan gyrlan .
 hit wæs swiðe hnesce . scinende swa swa purpura .
 ac hi ne mihton tocnawan hwilces cynnes hit wære .
820 ne hí ne mihton undergitan buton hit | wære reaf . 191r
 ne mid heora grapunge . ne mid heora sceawunge .
 [SVM 23,9] Ða gewearð him on mergen þæt hí þone munuc læddon
 to þam halgan martine . ac se munuc nolde .
 cwæð þæt he ne moste to martine cuman .
825 forþanðe he wiste þæt he mid feondlicum cræfte
 ne mihte bedydrian martines gesihðe .
 Hi þa hine tugon unþances þiderweard .
and þæt reaf sona of heora gesihþe fordwán .
and wæs ða geswutelod his scin| cræft . *and* hiwung . K 96v
830 Ðas mihta we tellað to martines geearnungum .
 þæt se deofol ne mihte his gedwimor bediglian
 gif he become ætforan his gesihþe .
 [SVM 24,1] On þam ylcan timan wæron oþre gedwolan
 antecristes lima mid arleasra hiwunge .
835 sum wæs on hispania þe forspeon þæt landfolc .

818 hnesce] *K* nesce 821 grapunge] *K* grapunga 821 sceawunge] *K* sceawunga 830 mihta]
K mihte

835 sum wæs on hispania] Ælfric omits the name; in SVM the false prophet is named Anatolius, see SVM 23,2. This passage alludes to BS Mt 7.15, where Christ warns of false prophets (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 89 n. 137).

[SVM 23,6-8] Lo, then at midnight the monastery was aroused,
 and there was a great noise of mocking devils,
 and the monk's cell was filled with light,
 and he himself went out with the shining robe,
 815 and showed the glorious sights to another monk.
 Then there came more, and Clarus at last,
 and examined the shining garment by the light;
 it was very soft, shining like purple,
 but they could not make out of what kind it would be,
 820 nor could they perceive more than that it was a robe,
 neither by their touch, nor by their sight.
 [SVM 23,9] Then it happened to him in the morning that they led the monk
 to the holy Martin, but the monk would not,
 saying that he could not go to Martin,
 825 because he knew that he with his diabolic craft
 could not deceive Martin's vision.
 Then they dragged him there against his will,
 and at once the robe vanished from their sight,
 and then his sorcery and hypocrisy was manifested.
 830 Those mighty deeds we count among Martin's merits,
 that the devil could not conceal his delusions
 if he came before Martin's sight.
 [SVM 24,1] At that same time there were other deceivers,
 limbs of the antichrist, with infamous pretension;
 835 one was in Spain who seduced the people of the country,

811 SVM 23,6-8] Tum uero, grandis omnium ad hanc professionem expectatio. Itaque ad mediam fere noctem fremitu terram insultantium commoueri omne monasterium loco uisum est; cellulam autem, qua idem adulescens continebatur, crebris cerneret micare luminibus, fremitusque in ea discurrentium et murmur quoddam multarum uocum audiebatur. 7. Dein, facto silentio, egressus unum de fratribus Sabatium nomine ad se uocat tunicamque ei, qua erat indutus, ostendit. 8. Obstupefactus ille conuocat ceteros, ipse etiam Clarus adcurrit, adhibitoque lumine uestem omnes diligenter inspiciunt. Erat autem summa mollitie, candore eximio, micanti purpura, nec tamen cuius esset generis aut uelleris poterat agnosci; curiosis tamen oculis aut digitis adrectata non aliud quam uestis uidebatur. Interea Clarus fratres admonet orationi insistere, ut manifestius eis Dominus quidnam id esset ostenderet. 822 SVM 23,9] Itaque reliquum noctis hymnis psalmisque consumitur. Vbi inluxit dies, adprehensum dextera ad Martinum trahere uolebat, bene conscius inludi illum diaboli arte non posse. 833 SVM 24,1] Animaduersum est tamen eodem tere tempore fuisse in Hispania iuuenem qui, cum sibi multis signis auctoritatem parauisset, eo usque elatus est, ut se Heliam profiteretur.

- and* mid manegum gedwimorum hi bedydrode lange .
and cwæð . þæt he wære helías se witega .
 [SVM 24,2] He cwæð . eft syþþan þæt he crist sylf wære .
and þa sum bisceop for his bilewitnysse .
 840 gelyfde þam hiwære . *and* hine to him gebæd .
and he wearð for þam gedwylde adræfed of his anwealde .
 [SVM 24,3] Sum oþer gedwola wæs eac on eastdæle .
 se cwæð . þæt he wære iohannes se fulluhtere .
 eac swilce lease witegan ær þisre worulde geendunge
 845 on gehwilce land cumað . *and* þone geleafan amyrrað .
 oþ þæt antecrist sylf endenext becymð .
 [SEP 10] XXUIII Martinus com hwilon to middes wintres timan .
 to anum preostlife . *and* hi gelogodon þa his bæd
 on þæs mynstres spræchuse . *and* þær micel fyr wæs gebet .
 850 Þa woldon ða preostas him wurðlice beddian .
and bæron micel streaw to his beddinga .
and þæs fyres ne gymdon | þe on þære flora wæs . *K* 97r
 [SEP 11] Eft þa þa se halga wer com . | þa towearp he þæt streaw 191v
 eall of þære beddinge . forþanþe he oftost læg
 855 uppon anre hæran on þære baran flora .
 Ða onscunede he þa softnysse . þære seltcuðan beddinge .
and læg on þære flora . swa swa we her beforan sædon .
 Þæt inn wæs swyþe nearo . *and* þær lagon stoccas .
and þa on middre nihte þa men fæstost slepon .
 860 þa wearð þæt fyr ontend swyðe færlicum bryne .

847 XXUIII Martinus] *The numeral is in brown ink, the initial is in red ink and slightly enlarged.*

848 bæd] *K* bed 853 streaw] *K* stræaw 856 onscunede] *K* onscunode

849 spræchuse] *Ælfric translates the Latin secretarium, which corresponds to a sacristy, where church vestments and other precious items are stored, and where the church service is prepared (see the Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 13, s.v. 'sacristy'). Note in this section the bolted door which prevents Martin from his flight from the fire.*

and long beguiled them with many delusions,
and said he would be Elias the prophet.

[SVM 24,2] Again afterwards he said he would be Christ himself,
and then some bishop, because of his simplicity,

840 believed the pretender and prayed to him,
and he was driven from his government for that heresy.

[SVM 24,3] There was also one other heretic in the Eastern part,
who said he would be John the Baptist;

so likewise false prophets before this world's ending
845 shall come in every land and mar the faith
until the antichrist himself shall come at last.

[SEP 10] XXVIII. Once Martin came at the time of midwinter
to a priest's house, and so they prepared his bed
in the monastery's secretarium, and a great fire was lit there.

850 Then the priests wished to bed him worthily,
and brought much straw for his bedding,
and disregarded the fire which was on the floor.

[SEP 11] Afterwards, when the holy man came, then he threw the straw
out of the bedding altogether, because he most often lay

855 upon a hair-cloth on the bare floor.

Thus he shunned the softness of the unaccustomed bedding,
and lay on the floor, even as we have said here before.

The room was very narrow and logs were lying there,
and at midnight, when men were fastest asleep,

860 then the fire was kindled with a very sudden burning

838 SVM 24,2] Quod cum plerique temere credidissent, addidit ut se Christum esse diceret; in quo etiam adeo inludit ut eum quidam episcopus Rufus nomine ut Deum adoraret: propter quod eum postea episcopatu deiectum vidimus. 842 SVM 24,3] Plerique etiam nobis ex fratribus rettulerunt eodem tempore in Oriente quendam exitisse qui se Iohannem esse iactauerit. Ex quo conicere possumus, istius modi pseudoprofetis existentibus, Antichristi aduentum imminere, qui iam in istis mysterium iniquitatis operatur. 847 SEP 10] Cum ad dioecesim quandam pro sollemni consuetudine, sicut episcopis uisitare ecclesias suas moris est, media fere hieme Martinus uenisset, mansionem ei in secretario ecclesiae clerici parauerunt multumque ignem scabro iam et pertenui pauimento subdiderunt; lectum ei plurimo stramine extruxerunt. Dein, cum se Martinus cubitum conlocasset, insuetam mollitiem strati male blandientis horrescit, quippe qui nuda humo, uno tantum cilicio superiecto, accubare consueuerat. 853 SEP 11] Itaque quasi accepta permotus iniuria stramentum omne proiecit; casu super fornaculam partem paleae illius, quam removerat, aggressit. ipse, ut erat moris, nuda humo ex lassitudine itineris urgente requieuit. Ad mediam fere noctem per interruptum, ut supra diximus, pauimentum ignis aestuans arentes paleas adprehendit.

- and þæt* litle hus mid þam lige afylde .
 [SEP 12] *Martinus* þa wearð awreht mid þam lige .
and þær næs nan man mid him on þam huse .
and he on þam færlican gelimpe gelæhte þa dura .
 865 *and* ne mihte þa scyttelas unscyttan swa hraðe .
and se lig him wand wælhreowlice onbutan
 swa þæt him forburnon on þam bæce his reaf .
and he for ðam bryne utbræcan ne mihte .
 He beþohte þa hine sylfne . *and* geseah þæt he ne mihte
 870 þurh nænne fleam . þam fyre ætwindan .
 ac þurh godes mihte he hit moste oferswyðan .
 [SEP 13] Forlét þa dura ða . *and* tomiddes þam lige
 to þam ælmihtigan gode anmodlice clypode .
and on þære frecednysse fæstmod þurhwunode .
 875 | *and* þær wearð þa geworden micel wundor þurh god . K 97v
 swa þæt hine forbeah on ælce healfe þæt fyr .
and he orsorh abád . on þam bryne middan .
 þurh drihtnes mihte swilce he on deawe wære .
 Pa wurdon his munecas awrehte mid þam fyre .
 880 þær ðær hi lagon . þa þa hi þone lig gesawon
and tobræcon þa dura . *and* tobrudon þæt fyr .
and martinum gelæhton of þam lige middan .
 Hi wendon þæt he wære witodlice forbærnd .
 on swa langsumum bryne þonne þæt brastligende fyr
 885 on slæpe hi awrehte . [SEP 14] *and* he sæde syððan
 þæt he þæs | fyres bryne gefredde him onbutan 192r

864 dura] *K* duru 868 utbræcan] *K* utbrecan 870 nænne] *K* nanne 872 dura] *K* duru
 881 dura] *K* duru 886 onbutan] *K* unbuton

885 Hi wendon ... awrehte] Cited in Mitchell (OES § 2567) as one example where “temporal/causal *þonne* clauses referring to the past in which a ‘perfect meaning’ is the only satisfactory one.”

and filled the little house with the flame.
 [SEP 12] Then Martin was awakened by the flame,
 and there was no man in the house with him,
 and in the sudden accident he seized the door,
 865 and could not un-shoot the bolts quickly enough,
 and the flame wound fiercely about him
 so that his robe burned on his back,
 and he could not break out because of the heat.
 Then he bethought himself, and saw that he could not
 870 by any kind of flight escape the fire,
 but through God's power he might overcome it.
 [SEP 13] Then he left the door, and in the midst of the flame
 cried persistently to the almighty God
 and continued steadfast in the peril,
 875 and then a great miracle happened through God,
 in that the fire avoided him on either side,
 and he remained secure in the midst of the heat,
 through the Lord's power, as if he were in dew.
 Then his monks were awakened by the fire
 880 where they lay; when they saw the flame
 and broke open the doors and parted the fire,
 and dragged Martin from the midst of the flame,
 they thought that he had truly been burned
 in so long a burning, when the crackling fire
 885 awakened them from sleep, [SEP 14] and he said afterwards
 that he had felt the burning of the fire about him

862 SEP 12] Martinus somno excitus re inopinata, ancipiti periculo et maxime, ut referebat, diabolo insidiante adque urgente praeuentus, tardius quam debuit ad orationis confugit auxilium. Nam erumpere foras cupiens, cum pessulo quem ostio obdiderat diu multumque luctatus, grauisimum circa se sensit incendium, ita ut uestem, qua indutus erat, ignis absumpserit. 872 SEP 13] Tandem in se reuersus, non in fuga, sed in Domino sciens esse praesidium, scutum fidei et orationis arripiens mediis flammis totus ad Dominum conuersus incubuit. Tum uero diuinitus igne submoto, innoxio sibi orbe flammaram, orabat. Monachi autem qui pro foribus erant, crepitante et conluctante incendii sono, obseratas efiringunt fores, demotoque igne de mediis flammis Martinum auferunt, cum iam penitus esse consumptus tam diuturno incendio putaretur. 885 SEP 14] Ceterum, uerbis meis Dominus est testis, mihi ipse referebat et non sine gemitu fatebatur in hoc se diaboli arte deceptum, ut excussus e somno consilium non haberet quo per fidem et orationem periculo repugnaret; denique tam diu circa se saeuisse ignem, quamdiu erumpere ostium turbatus mente temptauerit.

- swa lange swa he wan wið þære dura scyttelsas .
 [SEP 15] Sona swa he hine bletsode . *and* gebæd hine to gode .
 þa beah eall se líg abutan him aweg .
 890 *and* him þuhte swilce he wære on wynsumum deawe .
 He sæde eac foroft mid incundre geomerunge .
 þæt se swicola deofol hine beswác fornean .
 þa þa he of þam slæpe asceacen wearð swa færlice .
 þæt he þone ráed ne cuþe þæt he hine swa hraþe gebæde .
 895 ac to late began hine gebiddan . to gode
 þæt he hine alysde . of þæs liges frecednysse .
 Be þam mæg undergitan se þe | þas bók ræt . *K 98r*
 þæt martinus næs þurh þa micelan frecednysse
 to forwyrde gecostnod . ac wæs afandod
 900 [BS 2 Cor 11.25] swa swa se apostol paulus on his pistole sæde .
 þæt he sylf wunode on ságrunde middan
 ofer dæg *and* ofer niht . ungederod þurh god .
 [SDS 1,1] XXUIII . Martinus eode mid his munecum sume dæg
 to cyrcanwerd on wintres timan .
 905 þa com þær sum þearfa healf nacod him togeanes
 biddende georne þæt he him sumne clað sealde .
 [SDS 1,2] Þa het martinus his ercediacon sona
 þæt he butan yldinge þone þearfan scrydde .
and eode æfter his wunon into þam spræchuse .
 910 *and* þær wunode ana oþ þæt he wolde mæssian .
 [SDS 1,4] Þa nolde se ercediacon þone þearfan scrydan .

887 dura] *K* duru 903 XXUIII . Martinus] *The numeral and punctus are in a brown ink; the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink.*

900 BS 2 Cor 11.25] There is no mentioning of St Paul in Severus, so Ælfric must have inserted the section, or he found it in his original.

so long as he was striving with the bolts of the doors.
 [SEP 15] As soon as he blessed himself and prayed to God,
 all the flame about him bent away,
 890 and it seemed to him as if he were in a pleasant dew.
 He said also very often with inward lamentation
 that the wily devil had almost deceived him,
 when he was so suddenly shaken out of sleep
 that he did not know the wisdom of praying soon enough,
 895 but too late began to beseech God
 that He would deliver him from the peril of the fire.
 May it be understood by him who reads this book
 that Martin was not through that great peril
 tempted to his destruction, but was tried,
 900 [BS 2 Cor 11.25] even as the apostle Paul said in his epistle,
 that he himself abode in the midst of the sea-depths
 a day and a night, unharmed through God.
 [SDS 1,1] XXIX. One day Martin went with his monks
 towards the church in wintertime;
 905 then a pauper came there towards him, half-naked,
 begging earnestly that he would give him some clothing.
 [SDS 1,2] Then Martin bade his archdeacon immediately
 that he should without delay clothe the pauper,
 and went after his wont into the secretarium,
 910 and stayed there alone until he would say mass.
 [SDS 1,4] But the archdeacon would not clothe the pauper,

888 SEP 15] Vbi uero uexillum crucis et orationis arma repetisset, medias cecidisse flammas, seque tum sensisse rorantes quas male esset expertus urentes. Vnde intellegat quisquis haec legerit temptatum quidem illo Martinum periculo, sed uere probatum. 900 BS 2 Cor 11.25] [...] virgis caesus sum semel lapidatus sum ter naufragium feci nocte et die in profundo maris fui [...] 903 SDS 1,1] Quo primo igitur tempore relictis scholis beato me uiro iunxi, paucos post dies euntem ad ecclesiam sequebamur. Interim ei seminudus hibernis mensibus pauper occurrit, orans sibi uestimentum dari. 907 SDS 1,2] Tunc ille, arcessito archidiacono, iussit algentem sine dilatione uestiri; dein, secretarium ingressus, cum solus ut erat consuetudo resideret – hanc enim sibi etiam in ecclesia solitudinem permissa clericis libertate praestabat, cum quidem in alio secretario presbyteri sederent, uel salutationibus uacantes uel audiendis negotiis occupati; Martinum uero, usque in eam horam qua sollemnia populo agi consuetudo deposceret, sua solitudo cohibebat. 911 SDS 1,4] ut sunt istae in usibus seruulorum quas nos, rustici Galli, tripeccias, uos scholastici – aut certe tu, qui de Graecia uenis –, tripodas nuncupatis. Hoc secretum beati uiri pauper ille captatus – cum ei archidiaconus dare tunicam distulisset – inrupit, dissimulatum se a clerico querens, algere deplorans.

- and* se þearfa bestæl in to martine .
and to him bemænde þæt him *wære* þearle cól .
 [SDS 1,5] Martinus þa sona hine sylfne unscrydde
 915 under his ceppan digellice . *and* dyde on þone þearfan
 his agen reaf . *and* het hine útgán .
 Ða æfter lytlum fyrste com se ercediacon .
and cwæð þæt hit tima wære þæt he into cyrcan eode .
 þam folce to mæssigenne . *and* godes mærsunge dón .
 920 [SDS 1,6] Martinus him cwæð to þæt he | | ne mihte na gán 192*v* / *K* 98*v*
 æror to cyrcan . ær se þearfa wære gescryd .
 [SDS 1,7] *and* se ercediacon ne underget . þæt he wiðinnan his cæppan
 nacod þær sæt . *and* sæde þæt he nyste
 hwær se þearfa wære . *and* þa cwæð martinus .
 925 sy þæt reaf gebroht hraðe hider to me .
 ne ateorað us na þearfa to scrydenne .
 [SDS 1,8] Se ercediacon þa yrsigende eode .
and brohte an reaf ungerydelic him to
 wáclíc *and* lytel . mid lytlan wurðe geboht .
 930 *and* mid fullum yrre æt his fotum lede *and* cwæð .
 Hér ís reaf . *and* her nis nan þearfa .
 [SDS 1,9] Ða næs se halga wer for his wordum astyrod .
 ac het hine anbidian þærute sume hwile .
 wolde þæt he nyste þæt he nacod wære .
 935 He scrydde hine ða mid þam ylcan reafe .

915 ceppan] *K* cæppan 920 gán] *K* has gón, but gán was probably intended by the scribe, the attempt of a stroke is discernible 931 ís] *K* is

913 *wære*] Added also by Skeat.

and the pauper stole in to Martin,
and before him bemoaned that he would be very cold.

[SDS 1,5] Then Martin immediately unclothed himself

915 under his cape secretly, and put on the pauper
his own robe, and bade him go out.

Then after a short time the archdeacon came
and said that it would be time that he should go into church
to say mass for the people and do honour to God.

920 [SDS 1,6] Then Martin said to him that he could not go
sooner to church before the pauper would be clothed,

[SDS 1,7] and the archdeacon did not perceive that he under his cape
there sat naked and said that he did not know
where the pauper was, and then Martin said,

925 “Let the robe be brought quickly here to me,
it will not trouble us to clothe a pauper.”

[SDS 1,8] Then the archdeacon, becoming angry, went
and impatiently brought him a robe,

mean and small, bought with little cost,

930 and with great ire laid it at his feet and said:

“Here is a garment, and here is no pauper.”

[SDS 1,9] Then the holy man was not upset by his words,
but bade him wait outside for him for a while,
wishing him not to know that he was naked.

935 Then he clothed himself with the same robe,

914 SDS 1,5] *Nec mora: sanctus paupere non uidente intra amphibalum sibi tunicam laten-
ter eduxit pauperem que contactum discedere iubet. Dein, paulo post, archidiaconus ingressus
admonet pro consuetudine expectare in ecclesia populum, illum ad agenda sollemnia debere pro-
cedere. 920 SDS 1,6] Cui ille respondens ait pauperem prius – de se autem dicebat – oportere
uestiri; se ad ecclesiam non posse procedere, nisi uestem pauper acciperet. 922 SDS 1,7] Di-
aconus uero nihil intellegens, quia extrinsecus indutum amphibalo, ueste nudum interius non
uidebat, postremo pauperem non comparere causatur – «Mihi, inquit, uestis quae parata est de-
feratur: pauper non deerit uestiendus.» 927 SDS 1,8] Arta tum demum clericus necessitate
compulsus, iam felle commoto, e proximis tabernis bigerricam uestem, breuem atque hispidam,
quinque comparatam argenteis rapit, atque ante Martini pedes iratus exponit: «En, inquit, uestem;
sed pauper hic non est.» 932 SDS 1,9] Ille, nihil motus, iubet eum paululum stare pro foribus,
secretum utique procurans dum sibi uestem nudus inponeret, totis uiribus elaborans ut posset
occultum esse quod fecerat. Sed quando in sanctis uiris latent ista quaerentibus? Velint nolint,
cuncta produntur. Cum hac igitur, oblaturus sacrificium Deo, ueste procedit.*

- [SDS 2,1-2] *and* eode to cyrcan . *and* sona mæssode .
 Æt þære ylcan mæssan þry munecas gesawon .
and an þære preosta . *and* án of þam nunnum .
 bufan martinus heafde swilce an byrnende cliwen .
 940 swa þæt se líg abráed þone loc up feor .
and ne moste na má manna þas mihte geseon .
 [SDS 2,3] XXX . ON þam ylcan timan an wær wæs geuntrumod
 euanthus gehaten . swyðe yfele geþread .
 | *and* wende him his deaðes swyðor þonne his lifes . *K 99r*
 945 He wæs swyðe cristen . *and* sende þa to martine
 bæd his neosunge . *and* se bisceop ferde sona
 to þam seocan menn . ac he sona onget
 martines mihte ærþam þe he to midwege come .
and wearð sona gehæled þurh þæs halgan mihte .
 950 *and* eode him togeanes . *and* hine arwurðlice underfeng .
 [SDS 2,4-5] XXXI . Eft þæs on mergen þa martinus fundode .
 þa wearð an cnapa of þæs þegenes hiwrædene .
 þurh næddran geslit nealice adyd .
 swa þæt þæt attor smeh geond ealne þone lichaman .
 955 *and* wæs eall | toblawen . on anre bytte gelicnysse . *193r*
 Se hlaford þa euanthus gelæhte þone cnapan .
and bær to martine micclum truwigende
 þæt him unacumendlic nære þone cnapan to gehælenne .
 Se halga wer þa sona sette his hand on þone cnapan .

938 þære] (*sic*), also in *K* 942 XXX. ON] *The numeral and and punctus are in brown ink, the initial is enlarged and in red ink.* 942 wær] *K* wer 948 ærþam þe] *K* ærdan þe 951 XXXI . Eft] *The numeral and and punctus are in brown ink, the initial is enlarged and in red ink.*

[SDS 2,1-2] and went to church and soon said mass.

During the same mass three of the monks saw –
and one of the priests, and one of the nuns –
above Martin's head something like a burning clew,
940 in that the flame drew the hair up far,
and no more men might see this miracle.

[SDS 2,3] XXX. At that same time one man became sick,
called Evantius, [and] very grievously afflicted,
and he expected his death rather than his life.

945 He was a good Christian, and sent for Martin then
bade his visitation, and the bishop immediately went
to the sick man, but he soon perceived
Martin's power before he had come midway,
and was healed soon through the saint's power,
950 and went towards him and received him reverently.

[SDS 2,4-5] XXXI. After this in the morning, when Martin was setting out,
one boy from the noble's household was
bitten by an adder, [and] nearly killed,
in that the venom had spread through the whole body,
955 and it was all swollen up in the likeness of a butt.

Then the lord, Evantius, took the boy
and carried him to Martin, greatly trusting
that it would not be impossible for him to heal the boy.
Then right away the holy man laid his hand on the boy,

936 SDS 2,1-2] Quo quidem die – mira dicturus sum –, cum iam altarium, sicut est sollempne, benediceret, globum ignis de capite illius uidimus emicare, ita ut in sublime contendens longum admodum crinem flamma produceret. 2. Et licet celeberrimo factum die in magna populi multitudine uiderimus, una tantum de uirginibus et unus de presbyteris, tres tantum uidere de monachis. Ceteri cur non uiderint, non potest nostri esse iudicii. 942 SDS 2,3] Per idem fere tempus, cum Euanthius auunculus meus, uir, licet saeculi negotiis occupatus admodum Christianus, grauissima aegritudine extremo mortis periculo coepisset urgueri, Martinum euocauit. Nec cunctatus ille properauit. Prius tamen quam medium uiae spatium uir beatus euolueret, uirtutem aduenientis sentit aegrotus, receptaque continuo sanitate uenientibus nobis obuiam ipse processit. 951 SDS 2,4-5] Altera die, redire cupientem magna prece tenuit, cum interim unum e familia puerum letali ictu serpens perculit. Quem, iam exanimem ui ueneni, ipse Euanthius suis umeris inlatum ante pedes sancti uiri, nihil illi impossibile confisus, exposuit. Iamque se malum serpens per omnia membra diffuderat: 5. cerneret omnibus uenis inflatam cutem et ad utris instar tensa uitalia. Martinus porrecta manu uniuersa pueri membra pertractans, digitum prope ipsum uulnusculum quo bestia uirus infuderat fixit.

- 960 *and* hrepode eall his lima . *and* æfter þam sette
his finger on þa wunda . þe se wurm toslát .
[SDS 2,6-7] Hi gesawon ða ealle þæt þæt attor fleow ut
of eallum his limum . þurh þa lytlan wunde .
swylce of anre ædran mid his agenum blode .
- 965 *and* se cnapa | gesund up arás . *K 99v*
and hi þa martinum micclum herodon .
[SDS 3,1] XXXII . Se halga wer ferde hwilon þæt folc to lærenne
geond his bisceoprice þa abidon his geferan
for sumere neode bæftan . *and* he sylf rād forð .
- 970 [SDS 3,2] þa comon him togeanes þæra cempa fær .
on cynelicum cræte . *and* hi ne cuþon martinum .
Martinus rad him wið ungerydelice gescryd
mid sweartum clapum . þa scyddon þa mulas
þe þæt cræt tugon ðurh his tocyme afyrhte .
- 975 [SDS 3,3] *and* tomengdon þa getogu . þæt hi teon ne mihton .
Pa wurdon ða cempa wodlice astyrode .
[SDS 3,4] *and* gelæhton martinum . *and* hine lange swungon .
mid swipum . *and* mid stafum . *and* he suwode æfre
swilce he ne gefredde heora swingla nateshwon .
- 980 *and* hi þæs þe woddran wæron him togeanes .
and hetelicor beoton þone halgan wer .
[SDS 3,5] Pa comon his geferan *and* fundon hine licgenne

960 eall] (*sic*), also *K* 966 herodon] *K* herodon 967 XXXII . **S**e] *The numeral and and punctus are in brown ink, the initial is enlarged and in red ink.* 973 scyddon] *K* (*over erasure*) scyhdon 978 *and* mid stafum] *K* and stafum

982 licgenne] Mitchell (OES § 3749, discussing the OE inflected infinitive) suggests that the form is wrong and there should be *licgende*, or *licgendne*; cf. OES § 3767.

- 960 and touched all his limbs, and after that laid
 his fingers on the wound which the worm had bitten.
 [SDS 2,6-7] Then they all saw that the venom flowed out
 of all his limbs through the little wound
 as if from a vein, with his own blood;
- 965 and the boy arose sound,
 and then they greatly praised Martin.
 [SDS 3,1] XXXII. Once the holy man journeyed to teach the people
 throughout his bishopric, and his companions remained
 behind for some need, and he himself rode on.
- 970 [SDS 3,2] Then suddenly a company of soldiers came towards him
 in a royal cart, and they did not know Martin.
 Martin rode towards them, poorly clothed
 in black clothes; then the mules shied
 which drew the cart, frightened at his coming,
- 975 [SDS 3,3] and entangled the traces, so that they could not pull.
 Then the soldiers became furiously upset
 [SDS 3,4] and seized Martin, and scourged him a long while
 with whips and with staves, and he was silent the whole time,
 as if he did not feel their blows at all,
- 980 and for this they were all the more mad at him,
 and more furiously beat the holy man.
 [SDS 3,5] Then came his companions and found him lying

962 SDS 2,6-7] Tum uero – mira dicturus sum – uidimus uenenum ex omni parte prouocatum ad Martini digitum cucurrisse, dein per illud ulceris foramen exiguum ita uirus stipasse cum sanguine ut solet ex uberibus caprarum aut ouium pastorum manu pressis longa linea copiosi lactis effluere. 7. Puer surrexit incolumis. Nos, obstupefacti tantae rei miraculo, id quod ipsa cogebat ueritas fatebamur, non esse sub caelo qui Martinum possit imitari. 967 SDS 3,1] Consequenti itidem tempore, iter cum eo, dum dioeceses uisitatis, agebamus. Nobis nescio qua necessitate remorantibus, aliquantulum ille processerat. 970 SDS 3,2] Interim, per aggerem publicum plena militantibus uiris fiscalis raeda ueniebat. Sed ubi Martinum in ueste hispida nigro et pendulo pallio circumtectum contigua de latere iumenta uiderunt, paululum in partem alteram pauefacta cesserant. 975 SDS 3,3] Dein, funibus implicatis, protentos illos, quibus ut saepe uidistis misera ipsa animalia conglobantur, ordines miscuerunt; dumque aegre expediuntur, moram fecere properantibus. Qua permoti iniuria militantes praecipitatis in terram saltibus se dederunt. 977 SDS 3,4] Dehinc Martinum flagris ac fustibus urguere coeperunt, cum quidem ille, mutus et incredibili patientia praebens terga caedentibus, maiorem insaniam infelicibus commoueret: magis ex hoc furentes, quod ille quasi non sentiens uerbera inlata contemneret. 982 SDS 3,5] Nos, illico consecuti, foede cruentum atque uniuersa corporis parte laniatum, cum exanimis in terram procubisset, inuenimus statimque eum asello suo inposuimus ac, locum caedis illius exsecrantes, raptim abire properauimus. Interea illi, regressi ad raedam suam, furore satiati, agi quo ire coeperant iumenta praecipiant.

- on blodigum limum . *and* tobeatenum lichaman .
and hofon hine up on his assan sona .
- 985 *and* aweg efston þa stowe onscunigende .
 Ða ceman þa woldon mid þam cræte forð .
 [SDS 3,6] ac þa mulas ealle endemes astifodon
 to þære | eorþan afæstnode . swylce hí ærene | wæron . *K 100r / 193v*
 Hi beoton þa mid swipum . *and* mid saglum .
- 990 þa mulas ealle endemes . ac hi æfre stodon
 on þam ylcan stede swilce anlicnyssa .
 [SDS 3,7] Ða ceman ða æt nextan oncneowan þurh ða nytena
 þæt hi mid godcundre mihte gefæstnode wæron .
 [SDS 3,8] *and* begunnon to axienne æt oþrum wegfarendum
- 995 hwæt se man wære þe hi swa wælhreowlice beoton .
 Him wearð þa gesæd þæt wære martinus .
 [SDS 3,9] *and* hi sona urnon ealle him æfterwerd .
 mid duste bestreowode . *and* dreoriglice wepende
 þæt hi þone halgan wer swa huxlice tawoden .
- 1000 *and* lagon æt his fotum mid feorhte astrehte .
 biddende his mildsunge . þæt hi moston faran .
and cwædon þæt hi sylfe wæron swyðor þæs wyrþe .
 þæt hi stodon astifode on stana gelicnysse .
 oþþe þæt seo eorðe hi ealle forswulge .
- 1005 Martinus þa mildsode þam mannum þærrihte .
and lét hi faran forð mid heora cræte .

989 saglum] *K* has saglum (cf. *Skeat*) and above l. 1010 997 æfterwerd] *K* æfterweard 999 tawoden]
K tawaden / towoden (it is not discernible whether the scribe intended o or a, in both instances)
 1000 lagon] *K* lagon / logon not discernible whether scribe intended a or o 1000 feorhte] *K*
 forhte / ferhte 1006 heora] *K* hera

with bleeding limbs and beaten body,
 and soon lifted him up on his ass,
 985 and hastened away, shunning the place.
 Then the soldiers wished to go on with the cart,
 [SDS 3,6] but all the mules alike stiffened,
 fastened to the earth as if they were brazen.
 Then they beat with whips and rods
 990 all the mules alike, but they stood always
 in the same place, like statues.
 [SDS 3,7] Then at length the soldiers understood because of the beasts
 that they had been fastened by divine power,
 [SDS 3,8] and began to inquire of other wayfarers
 995 who the man would be whom they had so cruelly beaten.
 Then it was told them that it would be Martin,
 [SDS 3,9] and they all immediately ran after him,
 bestrewed with dust, and mournfully weeping
 that they had so disgracefully ill-treated the holy man,
 1000 and lay at his feet, stretched out in fear,
 begging for his mercy, that they might proceed,
 and saying that they themselves rather deserved
 to stand stiffened in the likeness of stones,
 or that the earth should swallow them all.
 1005 Then Martin pitied the men right away,
 and let them go forth with their cart,

987 SDS 3,6] Quae cum omnia solo fixa ac si aenea signa riguissent, adtollentibus altius uocem magistris, flagris hinc atque inde resonantibus, nihil penitus mouebantur. Consurgunt deinde omnes pariter in uerbera; consumit Gallicas mularum poena mastigias; 992 SDS 3,7] tota rapitur silua de proximo, trabibus iumenta tunduntur. Sed nihil penitus saeuae manus agebant: uno atque eodem in loco stabant fixa simulacra. Quid agerent infelices homines nesciebant, nec iam ultra dissimulare poterant quin, quamlibet brutis pectoribus, agnoscerent diuino numine se teneri. 994 SDS 3,8] Tandem ergo, in se regressi, coeperunt quaerere quis ille esset quem in eodem loco ante paululum cecidissent, cum percontantes cognoscunt ex uiantibus Martinum a se tam crudeliter uerberatum. Tum uero apparere omnibus causa manifesta; nec ignorare iam poterant quin ob illius uiri iniuriam tenerentur. 997 SDS 3,9] Igitur omnes rapidis nos passibus consequuntur. Consocii facti ac meriti, pudore confusi, flentes et puluere, quo se ipsi foedauerant, caput atque ora conspersi, ante Martini se genua prouoluunt, ueniam precantes et ut eos abire sineret postulantes: satis se uel sola conscientia dedisse poenarum, satsique intellexisse quomode ipsos uiuos absorbere terra potuisset, uel ipsi potius amissis sensibus in immobilem saxorum naturam rigescere debuissent, sicut adfixa locis quibus steterant iumenta uidissent: orare se atque obsecrare ut indulgeret sceleris ueniam et copiam praestaret abeundi.

- and* heora mulas þa mihton gan sona
 þe ær stodon astifode on stana gelicnysse .
 [SDS 3,10] Se halga wer swaþeah wiste þæt hi wæron gefæstnode .
 1010 ærþan þe hí | him to comon . *and* þæt he cydde his gefeferum . *K 100v*
 forðanþe he fela þing feorran oft wiste
 ærþanþe hit gewurde þurh witigendlicne gast .
 [SDS 4,4] XXX III . Se halga wer ferde mid his fare hwilon .
 þa com him færinga to micel folc manna .
 1015 *and* þone feld afylton þær martinus ferde
 swilce for wundrunge þæs halgan weres .
 Ða wæron ealle hæðena . *and* þone hælend ne cuþe
 nan man of þære wíc þe hí of wæron .
 [SDS 4,5] Martinus ða onget þæt he mihte sceolde wyrcan .
 1020 *and* drihtnes word bodode þam dysegum hæþenum .
and mid gelomum siccetungum sarlice mænde .
 þæt swa micel meniu þone ælmihtigan god ne cuþe .
 [SDS 4,6] | Wæs ða godes foresceawung . þæt an wif brohte ðyder *194r*
 hire deadan suna líc þe litle ær forðferde .
 1025 *and* astrehtum handum to þam halgan were cwæð .
 We witon leof þæt ðu eart unleaslice godes freond .
 gehæl me minne sunu forþan ðe he is me ancenned .
 [SDS 4,7] *and* þæt hæþene folc fylste eac þam wife .
 Ða genam se halga wer on his handa þæt líc .
 1030 *and* gebigedum cneowum gebæd hine to gode .
and þa þa he up aras geendedum | gebede *K 101r*

1010 comon] *K* coman / comon 1013 XXX III . Se] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink.* 1014 færinga] *K* færinga; (*Skeat has ferunga (sic!)*) 1018 wæron] *K* comon

and then their mules were able to go immediately,
which before had stood stiff in the likeness of stones.

[SDS 3,10] The holy man knew, however, that they had been fastened
1010 before they had come to him, and related that to his companions,
because he often knew many a thing from afar
before it happened, through the spirit of prophecy.

[SDS 4,4] XXXIII. Once the holy man was travelling with his company,
1015 when suddenly there came a great crowd of men to him,
and filled the field where Martin went along
as if out of astonishment at the holy man.

They were all heathens, and did not know the Saviour,
not any man of the town where they were from.

[SDS 4,5] Then Martin perceived that he should perform a miracle,
1020 and preached the Lord's word to the foolish heathen,
and with frequent sighings grievously lamented
that such great crowd would not know the almighty God.

[SDS 4,6] It was God's providence that a woman brought thither
1025 her dead son's body who had departed shortly before,
and with outstretched hands said to the holy man:

"We know, dear man, that you are truly God's friend,
heal my son for me, for he is my only-begotten [son]."

[SDS 4,7] and the heathen people also helped the woman.
1030 Then the holy man took the body in his hand,
and with bended knees prayed to God,
and when he arose, his prayer being ended,

1009 SDS 3,10] *Senserat etiam, priusquam occurrerent, uir beatus illos teneri, nobisque id ante iam dixerat. Veniam tamen clementer indulisit eosdemque abire permisit, animalibus restitutis.*
1013 SDS 4,4] *Fuerat causa nescio qua, Carnotum oppidum petebamus. Interea, dum uicum quendam habitantium multitudine frequentissimum praeterimus, obuiam nobis inmanis turba processit, quae erat tota gentilium: nam nemo in illo uico nouerat Christianum. Verum ad famam tanti uiri campos omnes late patentes confluentium multitudo contexerat.* 1019 SDS 4,5] *Sensit Martinus operandum et adnuntiante sibi spiritu totus infremuit. Nec mortale sonans, uerbum Dei gentilibus praedicabat, saepius ingemescens cur tanta Dominum Saluatorem turba nesciret.* 1023 SDS 4,6] *Interea, sicut nos incredibilis circumdederat multitudo, mulier quaedam, cuius filius paulo ante defecerat, corpus exanime beato uiro protensis manibus coepit offerre dicens: - «Scimus quia amicus Dei es: restitue mihi filium meum, quia unicus mihi est.» Iunxit se cetera multitudo et matris precibus adclamabat.* 1028 SDS 4,7] *Tum Martinus, uidens pro expectantium salute, ut postea nobis ipse dicebat, consequi se posse uirtutem, defuncti corpus propriis manibus accepit; et cum spectantibus cunctis genua flexisset, ubi consummata oratione surrexit, uiuificatum paruolum matri reddidit.*

- he ageaf þone cnapan cūcenne his meder .
 [SDS 4,8] Ða hæþenan þa clypodon mid healicre stemne .
and cwædon mid geleafan þæt crist wære soð god .
 1035 *and* feollon heapmælum ealle to þæs halgan weres cneowum .
 biddende hine georne þæt he dyde hí cristene .
 He eac ne wandode on þam widgillan felda
 þa hæþenan to cristnigenne þa þa hí on crist gelyfdon .
 ac he hi ealle sona samtingas gecristnode .
 1040 [SDS 9,1] XXXIII . Eft on sumne sæl þær martinus siðode
 mid his geferum . þa com þær færlice yrnan
 an þearle wod cu . *and* þa þe hyre fyligdon
 clypodon to þam halgan were þæt he hine warnian sceolde .
 forþan þe heo hnāt yfele ælcne þe heo gemette .
 1045 [SDS 9,2] Heo com þa yrnende mid egeslicum eagum .
 ac se halga wer sona het hi ætstandan .
and heo þærrihte gehyrsumode his hæse *and* stod .
 [SDS 9,3] Ða geseah se halga wer þæt þær sæt an deofol
 on þære cu hrycge . *and* cwæð to þam scuccan .
 1050 Gewít þu wælhreowa aweg of þam nytene
and þis unscaððige hryþer geswíc to dreccenne .
 Se manfulla gast þa martine gehyrsumode .
 | *and* ferde of ðære cy . [SDS 9,4] *and* heo oncneow sona *K 101v*
 þæt heo alysed wæs . *and* læg aþenod
 1055 ætforan his fotum . onfangenre stilnysse .
 Ða het se halga wer þæt heo ge|wende to þære heorde . *194v*
and heo swa bilewite swa scep . beah to þære draefe .

1040 XXXIII . Eft] *The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is slightly enlarged and in red ink.* 1042 wod] *K wód* 1045 Heo] *K He*

he gave the boy back to his mother alive.

[SDS 4,8] Then the heathen cried with a loud voice,
and said with faith that Christ would be the true God,
1035 and in crowds all fell at the holy man's knees,
earnestly praying him that he would make them Christians.

Nor did he hesitate in the wide field
to christen the heathen, since they believed in Christ,
but he christened them all immediately.

1040 [SDS 9,1] XXXIV. Again on a certain occasion, when Martin was travelling
with his companions, then suddenly there came running
a raving mad cow, and those who followed it
cried to the holy man, that he should beware,
because it thrust badly every one whom it met.

1045 [SDS 9,2] Then it came running with horrible eyes,
but the holy man instantly commanded her to stand still,
and right away it obeyed his command and stood still.

[SDS 9,3] Then the holy man saw that a devil sat there
on the cow's back, and said to the demon:

1050 "Depart, you cruel one, away from the animal,
and cease to vex this innocent cow."

Then the evil spirit obeyed Martin,
and departed from the cow, [SDS 9,4] and it knew immediately
that she was rescued, and lay outstretched

1055 before his feet, with received calmness.

Then the holy man commanded it to go back to the herd,
and it, as innocent as a sheep, turned towards the drove.

1033 SDS 4,8] Tum uero multitudo omnis, in caelum clamore sublato, Christum Deum fateri; postremo, cuncti cateruatim ad genua beati uiri ruere coeperunt, fideliter postulantes ut eos faceret Christianos. 1040 SDS 9,1] Per idem fere tempus, Martino a Treueris reuertenti fit obuiam uacca quam daemon agitabat. Quae, relicto grege suo in homines ferebatur et iam multos noxie petulca confoderat. Verum ubi nobis coepit esse contigua, hi qui eam eminus sequebantur praedicere magna uoce coeperunt ut caueremus. 1045 SDS 9,2] Sed postquam ad nos toruis furibunda luminibus propius accessit, Martinus eleuata obuiam manu pecudem consistere iubet: quae mox ad uerbum illius stare coepit immobilis, 1048 SDS 9,3] cum interea uidit Martinus dorso illius daemonem supersedentem. Quem increpans, - «Discede, inquit, funeste, de pecude et innoxium animal agitare desiste.» Paruit nequam spiritus et recessit. 1053 SDS 9,4] Nec defuit sensus in bucula, quin se intellegeret liberatam: ante pedes sancti, recepta quiete, prosternitur; dein, iubente Martino, gregem suum petiit seque agmini ceterarum oue placidior inmiscuit.

- [SDS 9,6] XXX.U. *Martinus* eac hwilon gemette sumne huntan .
 þa drifan heora hundas swyðe ænne haran .
 1060 geond þone bradan feld . *and* he bigde gelome
 þohte mid þam bigum ætberstan þam deaðe .
 Ða ofhreow þam halgan þæs haran frecednyss .
and þam hundum bebead þæt hi ablunnon þæs rynes .
and þone haran forleton mid fleame ætberstan .
 1065 Ða hundas ða stodon æt þam forman worde
 swilce heora fét wæron gefæstnode to þære eorþan .
and se hara gesund þam hundum æteode .
 [SDS 11,1] XXX UI . Sum woruldcempa wæs þe wolde munuc beon .
and on godes gelaðunge alede his wæpna .
 1070 *and* to munuclife ætforan mannum gecyrde .
and him cytan arærde . on sumere digelnysse .
 swylce he ancersetla eaðe beon mihte .
and *martinus* hæfde gehadod his gebeddan
 on mynecena life | on sumum mynstre . *K 102r*
 1075 Ða besende se deofol swilc geþanc on þone munuc
 þæt he wolde habban his wif him to geferan .
 [SDS 11,2] *and* he ferde to martine . *and* his mod him geopenode .
 Ða cwæð se halga wer þæt hit unþæslic wære .
 þæt þæt wif sceolde wunian eft mid him .

1058 XXX.U. *Martinus*] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged slightly and the M's legs are rounded.* 1068 XXX UI . Sum] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*

- [SDS 9,6] XXXV. Once Martin also met some hunters;
 their dogs were then vigorously pursuing a hare
 1060 over the broad field, and it doubled repeatedly,
 [it] thought to escape death through the doubling.
 Then the saint felt pity because of the hare's peril
 and commanded the hounds to stop running,
 and to let the hare escape by flight.
- 1065 Then the dogs stood, at the first word,
 as if their feet were fastened to the earth,
 and the hare went away from the dogs unharmed.
- [SDS 11,1] XXXVI. There was one worldly soldier who wished to be a monk,
 and laid down his weapons in God's congregation,
 1070 and turned to the monastic life before men,
 and built for himself a cell in privacy
 as if he could easily be an anchorite,
 and Martin had consecrated his wife
 to a nun's life in a certain convent.
- 1075 Then the devil sent such a thought into the monk
 that he wished to have his wife with him as a companion,
 [SDS 11,2] and he went to Martin and revealed his reasoning to him.
 Then the holy man said that it was unbecoming
 that that woman should live with him again

1058 SDS 9,6] Quodam tempore, cum dioeceses circuiret, uenantium agmen incurrimus. Canes leporem sequebantur; iamque multo spatio uicta bestiola, cum undique campis late patentibus nullum esset effugium, mortem inminentem iam iamque capienda crebris flexibus differebat. Cuius periculum uir beatus pia mente miseratus, imperat canibus, desisterent sequi et sinerent abire fugientem. Continuo ad primum sermonis imperium constiterunt: crederes uinctos, immo potius adfixos, in suis haerere uestigiis. Ita lepusculus persecutoribus alligatis incolumis euasit. 1068 SDS 11,1] Miles quidam cingulum in ecclesia, monachum professus, abiecerat; cellulam sibi minus in remoto quasi eremita uicturus erexerat. Interea, astutus inimicus uariis cogitationibus brutum pectus agitabat, ut coniugem suam, quam Martinus in monasterio puellarum esse praeceperat, uoluntate mutata secum potius uellet habitare. 1077 SDS 11,2] Adit ergo Martinum fortis eremita et quid haberet animi confitetur. Ille uero uehementer abnuere feminam uiro rursus, iam monacho non marito, incongrua ratione misceri. Postremo cum miles insisteret, adfirmans nihil hoc proposito esse nociturum, se solo coniugis uti uelle solacio, porro ne rursus se in sua reuoluerent non esse metuendum; se esse militem Christi, illam quoque in eadem militiae sacramenta iurasse: pateretur episcopus sanctos, sexum suum fidei merito nescientes, pariter militare.

- 1080 siððan he munuc wæs . *and* forwyrnde him þæs .
 He swaþeah þurhwunode on his anwilnysse .
and cwæð þæt hit ne sceolde his munuchade derian
 þeah þe he hire frofres *and* fultumes bruce .
 þæt he eft nolde gecyrran to his earrum leahtrum .
- 1085 Þa þa he lange þurhwunode on þære anwilnysse .
 [SDS 11,3] þa cwæð se halga wer to þam hohfullan munece .
 Sege me . ic þe axige gif þu æfre wære
 oððe on gefeohte oþþe on ænigum truman?
 [SDS 11,4] He cwæð þæt he wære | witodlice foroft 195r
- 1090 ægþer ge on truman ge eac on gefeohte .
 Martinus þa cwæð to þam munece eft .
 Gesawe þu ænig wif þa ðu wære on gefeohte
 feohtan forð mid eow atogenum swurde?
 [SDS 11,5] Þa scamode þam munece . *and* he swiðe þancode
- 1095 þæt he mid gesceade oferswyðed wæs .
and þæt he his gedwylde ne moste . for | martyne folgian . K 102v
 [SDS 11,6] Se halga wer þa cwæð . wif ne sceal na faran
 to wera fyrdwicum . ac wunian æt ham .
 forsewenlic biþ þæt werod þæt wifmenn feohtað .
- 1100 [SDS 11,7] feohte se cempa on fyrdlicum truman .
and wif hi gehealde binnan wealle trymmincge .
and heo hæfð hire wuldor gif heo hylt hire clænnysse
 bæftan hire were . *and* þæt biþ hire miht .
and gefylled sige þæt heo gesewen ne beo ute .
- 1105 [SDT 2,3] XXX.UII. Se halga biseop wæs hwilon on carnótina byrig .

1096 martyne] *K* martine 1105 XXX.UII. Se] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*

1083 þeah] Mitchell (OES § 3407-8) discusses the conjunction, which here seems to be in apposition with *hit*.

- 1080 after he became a monk, and refused him this.
 Nevertheless, he continued in his self-will,
 and said that it should not harm his monkhood,
 though he should enjoy her comfort and support,
 [and] that he would not turn again to his former sins.
- 1085 When he had long continued in this obstinacy,
 [SDS 11,3] then the holy man said to the persistent monk:
 "Tell me, I ask you, if you have ever been
 either in battle or in any cohort?"
 [SDS 11,4] He said that he had truly been very often
- 1090 both in a cohort and also in battle.
 Then Martin said to the monk again:
 "Did you see any woman when you were in battle,
 fighting with you, with drawn sword?"
 [SDS 11,5] Then the monk was ashamed, and he thanked dearly,
 1095 that he had been overcome by reason,
 and that he had been prevented from following his error because of Martin.
 [SDS 11,6] Then the holy man said: "A woman should not go
 to men's camps but remain at home;
 that army is contemptible in which women fight;
 1100 [SDS 11,7] let the soldier fight in the military cohort,
 and let the woman remain within the protection of the wall,
 and she shall have her glory if she maintains her chastity
 without her husband, and that shall be her strength,
 and perfect victory, that she be not seen outside."
- 1105 [SDT 2,3] XXXVII. The holy bishop was once in the city of Chartres

1086 SDS 11,3] Tum Martinus (uerba uobis ipsa dicturus sum): - «Dic mihi, inquit, si umquam in bello fuisti, si in acie constitisti.» At ille respondens: - «Frequenter, inquit, in acie steti et in bello frequenter interfui.» 1089 SDS 11,4] Ad haec Martinus: - «Dic mihi ergo: numquid in illa acie, quae armata in proelium parabatur, aut iam aduersus hostilem exercitum, conlato comminus pede, dstricto ense pugnabat, ullam feminam stare aut pugnare uidisti?» 1094 SDS 11,5] Tum demum miles confusus erubuit, gratias agens errori suo se non fuisse permissum, nec aspera increpatione uerborum, sed uera et rationabili secundum personam militis comparatione correctum. 1097 SDS 11,6] Martinus autem conuersus ad nos, sicut eum frequens fratrum turba uallauerat: - «Mulier, inquit, uirorum castra non adeat, acies militum separata consistat; procul femina in suo degens tabernaculo sit remota: contemptibilem enim reddit exercitum, si uirorum cohortibus turba feminea misceatur. 1100 SDS 11,7] Miles in acie, miles pugnet in campo; mulier se intra murorum munimenta contineat. Habet et illa gloriam suam, si pudicitiam uiro absente seruauerit, cuius haec prima uirtus et consummata uictoria est non uideri.» 1105 SDT 2,3] Res in Carnutena gesta est ciuitate. Paterfamilias quidam duodecennem filiam ab utero mutam Martino coepit offerre, poscens ut linguam ligatam meritis suis sanctis uir beatus solueret.

- mid twam oþrum bisceopum . þa brohte sum man
 his dohtor him to . seo wæs dumb geboren
 twelf wintre mæden . *and martinum* bæd
 þæt he þurh his gearnunge hire tungan unlyse .
 1110 [SDT 2,4] Ða wandode se bisceop . ac hine bædon þa oþre .
 [SDT 2,5] *and* fylston þam fæder þæt gefremode his bene .
 Martinus þa hét þa meniu utgán .
 buton þam bisceopum anum . *and* hire agenre fæder .
 astrehte hine sylfne þa . swa swa his gewune wæs .
 1115 on syndrigum gebedum . *and* siððan aras .
 [SDT 2,6] *and* bletsode ele . *and* on hire muð get .
and mid his fingrum heold forewerde hire tungan .
 [SDT 2,7] *and* befrán hi þa siððan hwæt hire | fæder hatte . *K 103r*
 Ðæt mæden sæde sona hire fæder naman .
 1120 *and* hæfde hire spræce mid halre tungan .
 [SDT 3,2] XXX UIII . Se halga wer bletsode anum wife hwilon ele
 on anum fæte þe we anpolan hataþ
 to seocra manna neode . swa swa heo sylf bæd .
and æfter þære bletsun|ge man bær þone ele hire . *195v*
 1125 [SDT 3,3-4] Ða wæs se ele wexende ofer ealne þone weg .
 swa þæt he oferfleow . *and* þeah ful to hire com .

1113 agenre] *So in MS; also in K* 1114 gewune] *K gewuna* 1115 syndrigum] *K sundrigum*
 1121 XXX UIII . Se] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*
 1122 anpolan] *K anpollan*

with two other bishops, when one man brought
 his daughter to him, who was born dumb,
 a girl of twelve winters, and besought Martin
 that he, through his merits, would release her tongue.

1110 [SDT 2,4] Then the bishop hesitated, but the others begged him,
 [SDT 2,5] and helped the father that he should fulfill his request.

Then Martin bade the crowd go out,
 save the bishops only and her own father;
 then he outstretched himself, as was his wont,

1115 in private prayers, and arose afterwards,
 [SDT 2,6] and blessed oil and poured it in her mouth,
 and with his fingers held the tip of her tongue,
 [SDT 2,7] and after that asked her what her father was called.

The girl said her father's name at once,

1120 and had gained her speech with a hale tongue.

[SDT 3,2] XXXVIII. The holy man once blessed oil for one woman
 in a vessel which we call ampulla,

for the need of sick men, so as she herself had asked,
 and after the blessing the oil was brought to her.

1125 [SDT 3,3-4] Then the oil increased all along the way
 so that it overflowed, and nevertheless came to her full.

1110 SDT 2,4] Ille, cedens episcopis qui tum forte latus illius ambiebant, Valentino atque Victricio, inparem se esse tantae moli, sed illis quasi sanctioribus nihil impossibile fatebatur. 1111 SDT 2,5] At illi, pias preces una cum patre supplici uoce iungentes, orare Martinum ut sperata praestaret. Nec cunctatus ultra – utrumque praeclarum, et ostendendo humilitatem nec differendo pietatem –, iubet circumstantis populi multitudinem submoueri; episcopis tantum et puellae patre adsistentibus, in orationem suo illo more prosternitur. 1116 SDT 2,6] Dein pusillum olei cum exorcismi praefatione benedicit, atque ita in os puellae sanctificatum liquorem, cum et linguam illius digitis teneret, infudit. 1118 SDT 2,7] Nec fefellit sanctum uirtutis euentus: patris nomen interrogat, mox illa respondit. Proclamat pater cum gaudio pariter et lacrimis, Martini genua complexus, et hanc primam se filiae audisse uocem, cunctis stupentibus, fatebatur. 1121 SDT 3,2] Auitiani comitis uxorem misisse Martino oleum, quod ad diuersa morborum causas necessarium, sicut est consuetudo, benediceret; ampullam uitream istius modi fuisse, ut rotunda in uentrem cresceret ore producto, sed oris extantis concauum non repletum, quia ita moris sit uascula complere ut pars summa umbonibus obstruendis libera relinquatur. 1125 SDT 3,3-4] Testabatur presbyter uidisse se oleum sub Martini benedictione creuisse, quoad, exundante copia superne, diffliueret eademque, dum ad matremfamilias uasculum referretur, ferbuisset uirtute. 4. Nam inter manus pueri portantis ita semper exundasse oleum, ut omne illius uestimentum copia superfusi liquoris operiret; matronam ita usque ad summum labrum plenum uasculum recepisse, ut presbyter hodieque fateatur obdendi pessuli, quo claudi diligentius seruanda conserunt, in uitro illo spatium non fuisse.

- [SDT 3,5] Oþerne ele he gebletsode on anre glæsenan anpollan .
and gesette þone ele on anum egðyrle .
and þa afylde sum cnapa þæt fæt unwærlice
 1130 uppon þone marmstán . ac hit ne mihte toberstan .
 [SDT 3,6] ne martines bletsung ne moste losian .
 XXXIX Eac swylce oþre menn on martines naman
 wundra gefremodon swa swa se writere sæde
 [SDT 3,7] þæt sum hund burce hetelice on anne man .
 1135 þa het he on martines naman þone hund adumbian .
 [SDT 3,8] *and* he sona suwode . swylce he dumb wære .
 [SDT 14,1] XL . Sume scypmen reowan on þære tyreniscan sæ .
 swa man færð to rome . *and* þa færlice com
 swa mycel unweder him to . þæt hi him ne wendon | þæs lifes . *K 103v*
 1140 [SDT 14,2] Ða wæs on þære fare sum egyptisc mangære
 ungefullod þa git . ac he mid fæstum truwan cwæð .
 Eala þu martines god geneara us nu .
and seo sá sona swyðe smylte wearð .
 ablunnenre hreohnysse . *and* hi bliðe ferdon .
 1145 [SDT 4,1] XLI . Auitianus hatte sum hetol ealdorman .
 wælhreow on his weorcum . se gewrað fela manna .

1132 XXXIX Eac] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*
 1136 swylce he dumb] *K swylce dumb* 1137 XL . Sume] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.* 1145 XLI . Auitianus] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*

1145 Auitianus] A courtier (earl) at emperor Maximus' court, see Fontaine: 301 n. 7.

- [SDT 3,5] Other oil he blessed in an ampulla of glass,
and set down the oil in a window,
and then some boy unwarily knocked the vessel over
1130 onto the marble, but it could not break
[SDT 3,6] nor could it lose Martin's blessing.
XXXIX. Likewise, other men in Martin's name
performed miracles, as the writer [Severus] said,
[SDT 3,7] (e.g.) that some dog barked furiously at a man;
1135 then he commanded the dog in Martin's name to hush,
[SDT 3,8] and he was instantly silent, as if he were dumb.
[SDT 14,1] XL. Some shipmen were rowing on the Tyrrhenian Sea,
as one sails to Rome, and suddenly there came
such a great storm to them that they had no hope of life.
1140 [SDT 14,2] There was one Egyptian merchant in the vessel,
unbaptized yet, but with a firm trust he said;
"Oh you, God of Martin, protect us now!",
and instantly the sea became perfectly calm,
the roughness ceasing, and they went on joyfully.
1145 [SDT 4,1] XLI. Avitianus was the name of one cruel commander,
savage in his deeds, who bound many men

1127 SDT 3,5] *Mirum et illud, quod huic – me autem intuebatur – memini contigisse. Vas uitreum cum oleo quod Martinus benedixerat in fenestra paululum editiore deposuit; puer familiaris incautior linteum superpositum, ampullam ibi esse ignorans, adtraxit. Vas super contratum marmore pauimentum decidit, cunctis metu exterritis benedictio deperisset; ampulla perinde incolumis est reperta, ac si super plumas mollissimas decidisset. 1131 SDT 3,6] Quae res non potius ad casum quam ad Martini est referenda uirtutem, cuius benedictio perire non potuit. Quid illud, quod factum a quodam est, cuius nomen, quia praesens est et prodi se uertit, supprimetur: cui quidem tempori hic etiam Saturninus interfuit. 1134 SDT 3,7] Canis nobis inportunior oblatrabat. – «In nomine, inquit, Martini iubeo te: obmutescere.» Canis – haesit latratus in gutture, linguam abscisam putares – obmutuit. 1136 SDT 3,8] Ita parum est ipsum Martinum fecisse uirtutes: credite mihi quia etiam alii in nomine eius multa fecerunt. 1137 SDT 14,1] Sed plane, ut experti sumus, inminutam ad tempus gratiam multiplicata mercede reparauit. Vidi postea ad pseudofozum monasterii ipsius adductum energumenum, et prius quam limen adtingeret, fuisse curatum. Testantem quendam nuper audiui, cum in Tyrrheni mari cursu illo, quo Romam tenditur, nauigaret, subito turbinibus exortis extremum uitae omnium fuisse discrimen. 1140 SDT 14,2] In quo cum quidam Aegyptius negotiator necdum Christianus magna uoce clamauerit «Deus Martini eripe nos», mox tempestatem fuisse sedatam, seque optatum cursum cum summa placati aequoris quiete tenuisse. 1145 SDT 4,1] Auitiani quondam comitis noueratis barbaram nimis et ultra omnia cruentam feritatem. Hic rabido spiritu ingressus Turonum ciuitatem, sequentibus eum miserabili facie ordinibus catenatis, diuersa perdendis parari iubet genera poenarum, disponit postero die adtonita ciuitate ad opus triste procedere.*

- and* on racenteagum gebrohte to þære byrig turonia
 wolde hí þæs on mergen mislice acwellan
 ætforan þære burhware . [SDT 4,2] þa wearð hit þam bisceope cuð .
 1150 Pa smeade se halga wer hu he heora gehelpan mihte .
and eode to middre nihte ana to his gatum .
and þa þa he inn ne mihte . he anbidode þærute .
 Wearð þa se ealdorman awreht færlice þurh godes engel .
and he him gramlice to cwæð . List ðu *and* rest þe
 1155 *and* godes þeowa lið æt þinum gatum .
 [SDT 4,3] *and* he arás þa afyrht . *and* cwæð to his mannum .
 þæt martinus wære | wiðutan his gatum . 196r
and het hí gán to . *and* undón þa gata .
 þæt se godes þeowa swylcne teonan leng ne þolode .
 1160 [SDT 4,4] Hi eodon þa út to þam inran gæte .
and sædon heora hlaforde þæt hi þær nænne ne gesawon .
and cwædon | þæt he sceolde on slæpe beon bepæht . K 104r
 Auitianus þa eode eft to his bedde .
and wearð eft of slæpe egeslice awreht .
 1165 *and* hrymde to his mannum cwæð þæt martinus stode
 ætforan his gatum . *and* forðy ne moste
 nane reste habban ne modes ne lichaman .
 [SDT 4,5] Hi þa git elcodon . ac he eode sylf
 to þam yttran gete . *and* efne he gemette
 1170 martinum þærute swa him geswutelod wæs .
 He wearð þa ablicged . *and* to þam halgan were cwæð .
 [SDT 4,6] Hwæt la leof hlaford . hwi dest þu swa?

1155 gatum] *K* geatum 1157 gatum] *K* geatum 1158 gata] *K* geatu 1166 gatum] *K*
 geatum 1169 yttran] *K* uttran

and brought them in chains to the city of Tours,
 intending to kill them cruelly in the morning
 in the presence of the citizens; [SDT 4,2] then it became known to the bishop.
 1150 Then the holy man considered how he might help them,
 and went alone to his gates at midnight,
 and then when he could not get in he waited there outside.
 Then the count was suddenly awakened by God's angel;
 and he said to him sternly: "You lie and rest,
 1155 and God's servant lies at your gates."; [SDT 4,3] and then he arose terrified, and said to his men
 that Martin was outside his gates,
 and commanded them to go to and to undo the gates,
 that the servant of God would not suffer such insult any longer.
 1160 [SDT 4,4] Then they went out to the inner gate,
 and told their lord that they did not see anyone there,
 and said that he must have been deceived in sleep.
 Then Avitianus went back to his bed
 and was again awfully awakened from sleep,
 1165 and cried out to his men and said that Martin would stand
 before his gates, and therefore [he] could
 have no rest, neither of mind nor of body.
 [SDT 4,5] Then they still delayed, but he went himself
 to the outer gate, and indeed he found
 1170 Martin there outside, as it had been revealed to him.
 He was astonished then, and said to the holy man:
 [SDT 4,6] "What ho, oh dear lord, why do you do thus?"

1149 SDT 4,2] Quod ubi Martino conpertum est, solus paulo ante mediam noctem ad praetorium bestiae illius tendit. Sed cum profundae noctis silentio quiescentibus cunctis nullus foribus obseratis pateret ingressus, ante limina cruenta prosternitur. Interea, Avitianus graui somno sepultus angelo ingruente percillitur: «Seruus, inquit, Dei ad tua limina iacet et tu quiescis?» 1156 SDT 4,3] qua ille uoce percepta lecto suo turbatus excutitur, conuocatis que seruis trepidus exclamat, Martinum esse pro foribus: irent protinus, claustra reserarent, ne Dei seruus pateretur iniuriam. 1160 SDT 4,4] Sed illi, ut est omnium natura seruorum, uix prima limina egressi, inuidentes dominum suum quod somnio fuisset inlusus, negant quemquam esse pro foribus, ex suomet ingenio coniectantes neminem nocte posse uigilare, nedum illi crederent in illo noctis horrore iacere ante aliena limina sacerdotem; idque Avitiano facile persuasum est. Rursum soluitur in soporem; sed mox, ui maiore concussus, exclamat Martinum stare pro foribus: sibi ideo nullam quietem animi corporisque permitti. 1168 SDT 4,5] Tardantibus seruis, ipse usque ad limina exteriora progreditur: ibi Martinum, ut senserat, deprehendit. Perculsus miserae manifestatione uirtutis: 1172 SDT 4,6] «Quid, inquit, mihi hoc, domine, fecisti? Nihil te loqui necesse est: scio quid desideres, uideo quid requiras. Discede quantocius, ne me ob iniuriam tuam caelestis ira consumat: satis soluerim hucusque poenarum! Crede quia non leuiter apud me actum est ut ipse procederem.»

- Ne þearft þu nan word cwæþan . ne nanes þinges biddan .
 ic wat hwæs þu gewilnast . ac gewend þe nu ham .
- 1175 þe læs þe godes yrre for þinum teonan me fordó .
 [SDT 4,7] Se halga wer þa ham gewende sona .
and se ealdorman het on þære ylcan nihte
 lætan ealle aweg . þa þa he wolde acwellan .
and he sylf ferde afyrht of þære byrig .
- 1180 [SDT 8,1] XLII . His wælhreownysse he cydde on gehwilcum burgum .
and symble he blissode on ungesæligra manna slæge .
 ac ætforan martine he wæs milde geþuht .
and ne dorste on turonia don nane wælhreownysse .
 [SDT 8,2] Se halga martinus | *com* to him hwilon . *K 104v*
- 1185 *and* þa þa he eode into his spræchuse .
 þa geseah he sittan ænne sweartne deofol
 ormætne on his hrycge . *and* he him on ableow .
 Ða wende auitianus þæt he him on ableowe .
and cwæð to þam halgan were . hwi behylst þu me swa halga .
- 1190 Se bisceop him *and*wyrde . Ne behealde ic na þe .
 ac þone sweartan deofol þe sit on þinum hneccan
 ic þe of ableow . [SDT 8,3] *and* se deofol swa aweg gewat .
 | *and* his hiwcuðe setl sona ða forlét . *196v*
- 1195 Auitianus soðlice siðþan wæs mildheortra
 of þam dæge æfre þe se deofol him fram wearð .
 oþþe forþan þe he wiste þæt he his willan ær worhte .
 oþþe forþan þe se unclæne gast him ofafliġed wæs .
 þurh martines mihte . *and* him micclum sceamode

1175 [þe læs þe] *K* ðe les þe 1180 XLII . His] *The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.* 1187 ormætne] *K* ormæte

You need not speak a word, nor ask for anything,
 I know what you desire, but turn home now,
 1175 lest God's anger destroy me for your trouble."
 [SDT 4,7] Then the holy man turned home soon,
 and the commander gave order in the same night
 to let all those go away whom he had intended to kill,
 and he himself departed with fear from the city.
 1180 [SDT 8,1] XLII. He manifested his cruelty in every city,
 and always delighted in the slaughter of unfortunate men,
 but before Martin he appeared mild,
 and did not dare to commit any cruelty in Tours.
 [SDT 8,2] The holy Martin came to him once,
 1185 and when he was going into his secretarium,
 he saw then a huge black devil sitting
 heavily on his back, and he blew upon him.
 Then Avitianus thought that he blew upon him,
 and said to the holy man: "Why do you look at me thus, saint?"
 1190 The bishop answered him; "I do not look at you,
 but at the black devil which sits on your neck;
 I blew him off of you.", [SDT 8,3] and the devil departed thus,
 and instantly left his familiar seat.
 Avitianus truly was merciful afterwards,
 1195 forever from the day the devil departed from him,
 either because he knew that he had been performing his will,
 or because the foul spirit was driven away from him
 through Martin's power, and he was greatly ashamed

1176 SDT 4,7] Post discessum autem sancti, aduocat officiales suos, iubet omnes custodias relaxari, et mox ipse proficiscitur. Ita fugato Auitiano, laetata est ciuitas et liberata. 1180 SDT 8,1] Sed ut ad Auitianum recurram, qui, cum in omnibus locis cunctisque in urbibus ederet crudelitatis suae infanda monumenta, Turonis tantum innocens erat: et illa bestia, quae humano sanguine et infelicium mortibus alebatur, mitem se atque tranquillum beato uiro praesente praestabat. 1184 SDT 8,2] Memini quodam die ad eum uenisse Martinum. Qui ubi secretarium eius ingressus est, uidit post tergum ipsius daemone mirae magnitudinis adsidentem. Quem eminus (ut uerbo, quia ita necesse est, parum Latino loquamur) exsufflans, Auitianus, se exsufflari existimans: - «Quid me, inquit, sancte, sic accipis?» Tum Martinus: - «Non te, inquit, sed eum qui ceruici tuae taeter incumbit.» 1192 SDT 8,3] Cessit diabolus et reliquit familiare subsellium; satsique constat post illum diem Auitianum mitiorem fuisse, seu quod intellexit egisse se semper adsidentis sibi diaboli uoluntatem, seu quod immundus spiritus, ab illius consensu per Martinum fugatus, priuatus est potestate grassandi, cum erubesceret minister auctore nec ministrum auctor urgueret.

- 1200 þæs deofles manrædenne þe he on wæs oþ þæt .
 [SDT 6,2] XLIII . Twa mila hæfde martinus fram his mynstre
 to turonian byrig þær se bisceopstol wæs .
 and swa oft swa he þyder ferde swa forhtodon þa deofla
 on gewitsecum mannum forþan ðe hi wiston his tocyme .
 and þa deofolsecan sona mid swiðlicre grymetunge
 1205 forhtigende wæron . | swa swa þa forðendan þeofas . *K 105r*
 on þæs deman tocyme ofdrædde forhtigað .
 Þonne wæs ðam preostum cuð martinus tocyme
 þurh þære deofla grimetunge . þeah ðe hi hit ær nyston .
 [SDT 6,3] Swa oft swa he wolde adræfan deofla of þam witsecum .
 1210 swa astrehte he hine sylfne on þære cyrcan flora .
 mid hæran gescryd . and mid axum bestreowod
 licgende on his gebedum belocenun durum .
 [SDT 6,4] and þa deofla siþþan of þam geswenctum mannum
 mid wundorlicum gebærum wurdon him sona fram .
 1215 [SDT 6,5] þæt se cwyde mihte beon on martine gefylled .
 þæt halige menn sceolon englum deman .
 [SDT 7,1] XLIII . Sum tún wæs on þam timan on þære senonican scíre
 þe ælce geare oftost wæs awest þurh hagol .
 swa þæt heora æceras ær wæron aþroxene
 1220 ær ænig ryftere þæt geríp gaderode .

1200 XLIII . Twa] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*
 1217 XLIII . Sum] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*

1216 halige ... deman] Severus is referring to a phrase in BS 1 Cor 6.3.

of the devil's serfdom in which he had been until then.
 1200 [SDT 6,2] XLIII. Martin had two miles [to go] from his monastery
 to the city of Tours, where his episcopal see was,
 and as often as he went there the devils trembled
 in possessed men, because they knew of his coming,
 and soon the possessed men, with horrible roaring,
 1205 were frightened, even as condemned thieves
 frightfully fear the judge's coming.
 Thus Martin's coming was made known to the priests
 through the devil's roaring, though they had not known it not before.
 [SDT 6,3] As often as he wished to cast out devils from the insane,
 1210 thus he stretched out himself on the floor of the church,
 clothed with hair-cloth and bestrewed with ashes,
 lying in his prayers with locked doors,
 [SDT 6,4] and afterwards the devils of the afflicted men
 were soon driven away from them in a wonderful manner,
 1215 [SDT 6,5] [so] that the saying might be fulfilled in Martin,
 that holy men shall judge angels.
 [SDT 7,1] XLIII. At that time there was a town in the province of the Senones
 which most often was devastated by hail every year,
 so that their fields were spoiled before
 1220 any reaper had gathered the harvest.

1200 SDT 6,2] Monasterium beati uiri duobus a ciuitate erat milibus disparatum: sed si quous uenturus ad ecclesiam pedem extra cellulae suae limen extulerat, uideres per totam ecclesiam energumenos rugientes, et quasi adueniente iudice agmina damnanda trepidare, ut aduentum episcopi clericis, qui uenturum esse nescirent, daemoniorum gemitus indicaret. Vidi quendam adpropiante Martino in aera raptum, manibus extensis in sublime suspendi, ut nequaquam solum pedibus adtingeret. 1209 SDT 6,3] Si quando autem exorcizandorum daemonum Martinus operam recepisset, neminem manibus adrectabat, neminem sermonibus increpabat sicut plerumque per clericos rotatur turba uerborum, sed, admotis energumenis, ceteros iubebat abscedere, ac foribus obseratis, in medio ecclesiae cilicio circumtectus, cinere respersus, solo stratus orabat. 1213 SDT 6,4] Tum uero cerneres miseris diuerso exitu perurgueri: hos, sublati in sublime pedibus, quasi de nube pendere, nec tamen uestes defluere in faciem, ne faceret uerecundiam nudata pars corporum; at in parte alia uideres sine interrogatione uexatos et sua crimina confidentes. Nomina etiam nullo interrogante prodebant: ille se Iouem, iste Mercurium fatebantur. 1215 SDT 6,5] Postremo cunctos diaboli ministros cum ipso cerneres auctore cruciari, ut iam in Martino illud fateamur inpletum quod scriptum est: «quoniam sancti de angelis iudicabunt.» 1217 SDT 7,1] Pagum quendam in Senonico annis singulis grando uexabat. Conpulsis extremis malis, incolae a Martino auxilium poposcerunt; missa per Auspicium praefectorium uirum satis fida legatio, cuius agros specialiter grauior quam ceterorum adsuerat procella populari.

- Ða sende se tunræd sumne getrywne ærendracan
 to þam halgan martine . his helpes biddende .
 [SDT 7,2] *Martinus* þa gebæd þone mildheortan drihten
 for þam geswenctum mannum . and syþþan of þam dege
 1225 | geond twentig wintra fyrst þe he wunode | on life 197r / K 105v
 ne com on þam earde ænig hagol syððan .
 [SDT 7,3] Ac on þam forman geara þe he forðfaren wæs .
 com eft se hagol and hi yfele geswencte .
 þæt þæs middaneard ongete martines forðsið .
 1230 and his deað beweope þe on his life blissode .
 [SDT 8,4] XLV . Sum deofolgild wæs swiðe fæste getimbrod .
 and mid wundorlicum weorcstanum geworht cræftlice .
 and þær manega gebroðra bogodan syþþan
 on martines timan . [SDT 8,5] þa bead he anum mæssepreoste
 1235 marcellus gehaten þe þær wununge hæfde
 þæt he sceolde towurpan þæt wundorlice deofolgild .
 Eft þa se halga wer com . and þæt weorc stod gehál .
 þa cidde he þam mæssepreoste . [SDT 8,6] and he him cwæð to andsware
 þæt naht eaðe ne mihte ænig camplic meniu
 1240 swilc weorc tobrecan mid swa wundorlicum hefe .
 þe ne sceoldon preostas þe wæron unstrange .
 oððe untrume munecas . swa mycel weorc tobrecan .
 [SDT 8,7] Ða gewende martinus to his gewunelicum fultume .
 and wacode ealle þa niht on his gebedum ana .
 1245 and sona þæs on mergen . wearð swa micel storm .

1223 *Martinus*] *The M's legs are rounded* 1224 *dege*] *K dæge* 1229 *ongete*] *K ongæte*
 1231 *XLV . Sum*] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*

Then the town-council sent a trusty messenger
to the holy Martin, praying for his help.
[SDT 7,2] Then Martin entreated the merciful Lord
on account of the afflicted men, and from that day on
1225 for the time of twenty winters, while he remained in life,
there did not come any hail in that land afterwards.
[SDT 7,3] But in the first year after he was dead
the hail came again, and afflicted them evilly,
[so] that this earth might know of Martin's departure
1230 and weep for his death, as it had rejoiced in his life.
[SDT 8,4] XLV. One idol was very firmly built,
and craftily wrought with admirable hewn stones,
and many brothers dwelt there afterwards,
in Martin's time; [SDT 8,5] then he ordered a mass-priest
1235 called Marcellus, who had his dwelling there,
that he should destroy that wondrous temple.
Afterwards, when the holy man came and the work stood whole,
he chided the mass-priest, [SDT 8,6] and he said to him in answer
that any body of soldiers could not easily
1240 break in pieces such a work of such wondrous weight,
neither could priests who were weak,
nor infirm monks break in pieces so great a work.
[SDT 8,7] Then Martin turned to his accustomed aid,
and watched all that night alone in his prayers,
1245 and soon after in the morning there was so great a storm

1223 SDT 7,2] Sed, facta ibi oratione, Martinus ita uniuersam penitus liberauit ab ingruenti peste regionem ut per uiginti annos quibus postea mansit in corpore, grandinem in illis locis nemo pertulerit. 1227 SDT 7,3] Quod ne fortuitum esse et non potius Martino praestitum putaretur, eo anno quo ille defecit, rursus incubuit rediuiua tempestas. Adeo sensit et mundus uiri fidelis excessum, ut cuius uita iure gaudebat, eiusdem mortem lugeret. 1231 SDT 8,4] In uico Ambatiensi, id est castello ueteri quod nunc frequens habitatur a fratribus, idolum noueratis grande opere constructum. Politissimis saxis moles turrita surrexerat quae, in conum sublime procedens, superstitionem loci operis dignitate seruabat. 1234 SDT 8,5] Huius destructionem Marcello, ibidem consistenti presbytero, uir beatus saepe mandauerat. Post aliquantum tempus regressus, increpat presbyterum, cur adhuc idolii structura consisteret. 1238 SDT 8,6] Ille causatus uix militari manu et ui publicae multitudinis tantam molem posse subuerti, nedum id facile putaret per inbecillos clericos aut infirmos monachos quiuisset curari! 1243 SDT 8,7] Tum Martinus, recurrrens ad nota subsidia, nocte tota in oratione peruigilat: mane orta tempestas aedem idoli usque ad fundamentum prouoluit. Verum haec Marcello teste dicta sint.

- þæt eall þæt ormæte weorc wearð towend grundlunga .
 [SDT 9,1] XLVI . | He wolde eac towurpan ænne wundorlicne swer *K 106r*
 ormætēs hefes . þe þæt hæþengild on stod .
 ac he næfde þæs cræftes . þæt he hine tocwysan mihte .
 1250 He gewende þa eft to his gewunelicum gebedum .
 [SDT 9,2] *and* þær com gesewenlice eall swylc oþer swer
 ufan of heofonum . *and* þone oþerne tosloh .
 þeah þe he ormæte wære . þæt he eall wearð to duste .
 Hit wære hwonlic geþuht þæt þam halgan were
 1255 heofonlic mægen ungesewenlice þeowde .
 butan mennisce eagan mihton eac geseon .
 þæt ðam halgan martine heofonlic miht þenode . *197v*
 [SDT 9,3] XLVII . Sum wif wæs on blodryne þearle geswenct .
 þa hrepode heo his reaf swa man ræt on þam godspelle
 1260 be sumum oþrum wife . *and* heo wearð sona hal .
 [SDT 9,4] XLVIII . Se halga martinus mid his munecum stóð hwilon
 on þære éa ofre . *and* efne þær swam
 an næddre wið heora . Ða cwæð se halga wer .
 Ic ðe beode on godes naman þæt ðu buge ongean .
 1265 *and* se yfela wurm sona be his worde gecyrde
 to þam oþrum staðe . *and* hi ealle þæs wundrodon .
and martinus þa cwæð mid micelre geomerunge .
 Nædran me gehyrað . | *and* men me gehyran nellað . *K 106v*
 [SDT 10,1-2] XL IX . ON easterdagum he wolde etan fisc gif he hæfde .

1247 XLVI . | He] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*
 1248 hæþengild] *K* hedengild 1258 XLVII . Sum] *The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.* 1261 XLVIII . Se] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.* 1268 Nædran] *K* Næddran 1269 XL IX . ON] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.*

1251 swylc] Mitchell (OES § 3323) discusses the usage of *swylce* (or *swelce*) as an indefinite or adverb/conjunction; here, Mitchell claims, Skeat's translation is wrong, and should be 'a second such pillar, in all respects similar'.

1259 Sum wif ...] The episode is indeed inspired by an episode in the New Testament (BS Mt 9.20-2, Mk 5.25-9, Lc 8.43-4), in which Christ likewise heals a woman afflicted with an issue of blood.

that all that enormous work was destroyed to the ground.

[SDT 9,1] XLVI. He also wanted to destroy a wondrous pillar
of immense weight on which the idol stood,
but he did not have the strength so as to be able to shatter it.

1250 Then he turned again to his accustomed prayers,
[SDT 9,2] and there came visibly, just like it were another pillar
from above out of heaven, and demolished the other,
as though it were immense, so that it completely turned into dust.

It would seem slight that for the holy man
1255 heavenly power should serve invisibly,
unless human eyes could also perceive
that heavenly power attends upon the holy Martin.

[SDT 9,3] XLVII. Some woman was severely afflicted with an issue of blood;
then she touched his garment, [just] like we read in the gospel

1260 concerning some other woman, and she became whole immediately.

[SDT 9,4] XLVIII. The holy Martin once stood with his monks
on the riverbank, and truly there swam
a snake towards them. Then the holy man said:

“I command you in God’s name, that you turn back!”,

1265 and the evil worm instantly turned, according to his word,
to the other bank, and they all wondered at that,
and then Martin said with great sadness:

“Snakes hear me, and men will not hear me.”

[SDT 10,1-2] XLIX. On Easter Days he intended to eat fish, if he had it;

1247 SDT 9,1] *Aliam eius non dissimilem in simili opere uirtutem, Refrigerio adstipulante, perhibebo. Columnam immensae molis, cui idolum superstabat, parabat euertere, sed nulla erat facultas qua id daretur effectui. Tum ad orationem suo more conuertitur.* 1251 SDT 9,2] *Visam certum est parilem quodammodo columnam ruere de caelo, quae inpacta idolo totam illam inexpugnabilem molem soluit in puluerem: parum scilicet, si inuisibiliter caeli uirtutibus uteretur, nisi ipsae uirtutes uisibiliter seruire Martino humanis oculis cernerentur.* 1258 SDT 9,3] *Idem autem Refrigerius mihi testis est, mulierem profluuiio sanguinis laborantem, cum Martini uestem exemplo mulieris illius euangelicae contigisset, sub momento temporis fuisse sanatum.* 1261 SDT 9,4] *Serpens flumen secans in ripam, in qua constiteramus, adnabat: «In nomine, inquit, Domini iubeo te redire.» Mox se mala bestia ad uerbum sancti retorsit et in ulteriorem ripam, nobis inspectantibus, transmeauit. Quod cum omnes non sine miraculo cerneremus, altius ingemescens ait: «Serpentes me audiunt, et homines non audiunt!»* 1269 SDT 10,1-2] *Piscem Paschae diebus edere consuetus, paulo ante horam refectionis interrogat an haberetur in promptu. 2. Tum Cato diaconus, ad quem monasterii administratio pertinebat, doctus ipse piscari, negat per totum diem sibi ullam cessisse capturam; sed neque alios piscatores, qui uendere solebant, quicquam agere quiuisset. uade, inquit, mitte linum tuum, captura proueniet.*

- 1270 þa on sumum easterdæge axode he þone profost
 hwæðer he fisc hæfde to þam freoldsdæge .
and he to andsware cwæð . þæt hi ealle ne mihton
 ne fisceras . ne he sylf gefón ænne sprot .
 Ða cwæð se halga wer . [SDT 10,3] wurp ut nu þin net .
- 1275 *and* þe fixnoð becymð . *and* he cunnode þæs sona .
 [SDT 10,4] Wearp þa út his net . *and* þær wearð oninnan
 an ormæte leax . *and* he hine up ateah
 bær ham to mynstre . *and* þam halgan gearcode .
 [SDT 14,3] L . Licontius wæs gehaten sum geleafful þegen .
- 1280 þa gelamp his mannum . þæt hi lagon ealle
 on unasecgendlicum broce . *and* he sende gewrit
 to martine sona sumes helpes biddende .
 [SDT 14,4] Ða onget se halga wer þæt hi wæron gepreade
 mid godcundre mihte . *and* þæt he mihte earfoðlice
- 1285 þære bene him getiðian . ac he ne ablan na swapeah .
 mid seofonnihte fæstene him fore to þingiende .
 oð þæt he beget þæs þe he biddende wæs .
 [SDT 14,5] Licontius þa com *and* cydde þam halgan
 mid micelre þancunge . þæt his hiwraeden wæs
- 1290 fram þam mænigfealdum brocan | þurh martinum alysed . *K* 107r
and brohte þam halgan an hund punda | to lace . 198r
 Se halga wer þa nolde habban þone scæt .
 ne hine eac ne forseah . [SDT 14,6] ac sealde þæt feoh eall

1275 fixnoð] *K* fixnað 1279 L . [Licontius] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged.* 1285 bene] *K* bena 1292 scæt] *K* scat

1270 profost] Note here that Ælfric translates the Latin *diaconus* with *profost*, modern English *provost*, while in another instance he employs the loan word *diacone* (dat. sg.) (l. 139).

1279 Licontius] Licontius, or Lycontius,

a prefect, possibly the praetor of Gaul, see Fontaine: 345.

1291 an hund punda] The Latin specifies the money as silver money, but the specification seems to be irrelevant or self-evident to Ælfric.

- 1270 then on some Easter Day he asked the deacon
 whether he had fish for the feast-day,
 and he said in answer that they all could not –
 neither the fishermen, nor himself – catch one sprat.
 Then the holy man said: [SDT 10,3] “Cast out your net now,
 1275 and the fish will come.”, and he tried that immediately.
 [SDT 10,4] Then [he] cast out his net, and there was inside
 an enormous salmon, and he drew it up,
 carried it home to the monastery and prepared it for the saint.
 [SDT 14,3] Licontius was the name of one believing thane;
 1280 then it happened to his family that they all lay [sick]
 of an unspeakable disease, and he sent a letter
 to Martin right away, praying for some help.
 [SDT 14,4] Then the holy man perceived that they were afflicted
 by divine power, and that he could [only] with difficulty
 1285 grant them the request, but he ceased not, nevertheless,
 to intercede for them with a seven nights' fast,
 until he obtained that for which he was praying.
 [SDT 14,5] Then Licontius came and told the saint,
 with many thanks, that his household had been
 1290 delivered from the manifold disease through Martin,
 and brought the saint one hundred pounds [of silver] as an offering.
 Then the holy man would not have the treasure,
 yet he also did not forsake it, [SDT 14,6] but gave all that money

1274 SDT 10,3] «Vade, inquit, mitte linum tuum, captura proueniet.» Contiguum flumini, ut Sulpicius iste descripsit, habebamus habitaculum. Processimus cuncti, utpote feriatis diebus, uidere piscantem, omnium spebus intentis non incassa futura temptamina, quibus piscis, Martino auctore, Martini usibus quaeretur. 1276 SDT 10,4] Ad primum iactum, in rete permodico immanem isocem diaconus extraxit et ad monasterium laetus accurrens, nimirum, ut dixit poeta nescio quis (utimur enim uersu scholastico, quia inter scholasticos fabulamur), ‘captiuum que suem mirantibus intulit Argis’. 1279 SDT 14,3] Lycontius ex uicariis, uir fidelis, cum familiam illius lues extrema uexaret et inaudita calamitatis exemplo per totam domum corpora aegra procumbent, Martini per litteras inplorauit auxilium. 1283 SDT 14,4] Quo tempore uir beatus rem esse promisit difficilem inpetrari. Nam spiritu sentiebat domum illam diuino numine uerberari. Tamen non prius destitit, septem totes dies totidem que noctes orando et ieiunando continuans, quam id quod exorandum receperat inpetraret. 1288 SDT 14,5] Mox ad eum Lycontius, diuina expertus beneficia, peruolauit nuntians – simul et agens gratias – domum suam omni periculo liberatam. Centum etiam argenti libras obtulit, quas uir beatus nec respuit nec recepit; 1293 SDT 14,6] sed priusquam pondus illud monasterii limen adtingeret, redimendis id captiuis continuo deputauit. Et cum ei suggereretur a fratribus, ut aliquid ex eo in sumptum monasterii reseruaret – omnibus in angusto esse uictum, multis deesse uestitum: «Nos, inquit, ecclesia et pascat et uestiat, dum nihil nostris usibus quaesisse uideamur.»

- for gehergodum mannum . *and* þa ðe on hæftnedum wæron .
1295 *and* hi ut alyside of þære yrmðe swa .
þa bædon þa gebroþra þone bisceop georne .
þæt he þæs feos sumne dæl dyde into mynstre .
cwædon þæt him gneade wære heora wist . *and* scrud .
þa cwæð se halga wer him to *and*sware .
1300 fede us ure cyrce . *and* scryde us ure cyrce .
and we of þysum sceatte naht us sylfum ne heoldon .
[SDT 14,7] Hwæt wille we lencg writan be martines wundrum
þonne sulphicius sæde . þæt hi synd ungerime .
and nan spræc ne mæg his mihta areccan .
1305 [SDS 4,1] forþan þe he maran mihte hæfde on his munuchade .
þonne on bisceophade . be ðam þe he sylf sæde .
[n.s.] ac we willað nu secgan be his forðsiðe .
[SET 6] LI . Martinus se eadiga wiste his geendunga
lange ær he forðferde of þysum life to criste .
1310 *and* he cydde his forðsið sumum his gebroþrum .
þa wæron on þam timan |æt condatensem mynstre *K 107v*
þa preostas ungehwære . *and* he þider siðode
wolde hi gesibbian ær his forþsiðe .
and on sibbe forlætan . godes gelaþunge .
1315 [SET 7] He ferde ða þiderwerd mid sumum gebroðrum .
þa geseah he scealfran swimman on anum flode .
and gelome doppetan adune to grunde

1308 LI . Martinus] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and the legs are rounded.* 1311 æt] *K at* 1317 doppetan] *K doppettan*

- to afflicted men, and to those who were in captivity,
 1295 and thus redeemed them out of misery.
 Then the brothers earnestly besought the bishop
 that he would keep some part of the money in the monastery,
 saying that it would be scanty for them, their food and clothing.
 Then the holy man said to them in answer:
 1300 "Let our church feed us, and let our church clothe us,
 and we will keep nothing of this treasure for ourselves."
 [SDT 14,7] What shall we write any longer about Martin's miracles,
 since Sulpicius said that they were numberless,
 and no discourse could reckon his miracles,
 1305 [SDS 4,1] because he had greater power in his monkhood
 than in bishophood, according to what he himself said,
 [n.s.] but we will now speak about his departure.
 [SET 6] LI. The blessed Martin knew of his ending
 long before he departed from this life to Christ,
 1310 and he announced his departure to some of his brothers.
 There were at that time at the monastery at Candes
 some priests in discord, and he travelled there,
 [and] wanted to reconcile them before his departure,
 and to leave God's congregation in peace.
 1315 [SET 7] Then he travelled there with some brothers;
 when he saw some divers swimming in a river,
 and repeatedly dipping down to the bottom,

1302 SDT 14,7] Succurrunt hoc loco illius uiri magna miracula, quae facilius admirari possumus quam referre. Agnoscitis profecto quod dico: multa sunt illius quae non queant explicari. Velut istud est quod nescio an ita ut gestum est a nobis possit exponi. 1305 SDS 4,1] Illud autem animaduerti saepe, Sulpici, Martinum tibi dicere solitum nequaquam sibi in episcopatu eam uirtutum gratiam suppetisse quam prius se habuisse meminisset. Quod si uerum est, immo quia uerum est, conicere possumus quanta fuerint illa quae monachus operatus est et quae teste nullo solus exercuit, cum tanta illum in episcopatu signa fecisse sub oculis omnium uiderimus. 1308 SET 6] Martinus igitur obitum suum longe ante praesciuit dixitque fratribus dissolutionem sui corporis imminere. Interea causa extitit qua Condacensem dioecesim uisitaret. Nam, clericis inter se ecclesiae illius discordantibus, pacem cupiens reformare, licet finem dierum suorum non ignorasset, proficisci tamen ob istius modi causam non recusauit, bonam hanc uirtutum suarum consummationem existimans, si pacem ecclesiae redditam reliquisset. 1315 SET 7] Ita profectus cum suo illo, ut semper, frequentissimo discipulorum sanctissimoque comitatu, mergos in flumine conspicatur piscium praedam sequi et rapacem ingluuiem adsiduis arguere capturis. «Forma, inquit, haec daemonum est: insidiantur incautis, capiunt nescientes, captos deorant exsaturarique non queunt deoratis.»

- ehtende þære fixa mid fræcra grædignyse .
 Ða cwæð se halga wer to his geferum þus .
 1320 Ðas fugelas habbað feonda gelicnyse
 þe syrwiað æfre embe ða unwaran .
and grædiglice foð . *and* gefangene fordoð .
and of þam gefangenum gefyllede ne beoð .
 [SET 8] Ða bebead *martinus* þam mæðleasum scealfrum .
 1325 þæt hi geswicon þæs fixnodes . *and* siþedon to westene .
and þa fugelas gewiton aweg sona to holte .
 ealle | endemes . swa swa sé árwurða hét . 198v
 Mid þære ylcan hæse he affigde þa scealfran .
 mid þære þe he deoffla adræfde of mannum .
 1330 [SET 9] LII . *Martinus* þa siððan to þam mynstre becom .
and wunode þær sume hwile *and* gesibbode þa preostas .
 Eft ða he ham wolde þa wearð he geuntrumod .
 | *and* sæde his gebroðrum þæt he sceolde forðfaren . K 108r
 [SET 10] Ða wurdon hi ealle geunrotsode swiþe .
 1335 *and* mid micelre heofunge hine befrinan .
 Eala þu fæder hwi forlætst þu us .
 oððe hwam betæhst þu us forlätene .
 witodlice becumað to þinre eowde
 reafigende wulfas . *and* hwa bewerað hí .
 1340 Witodlice we witon þæt þu gewilnast to criste .
 ac þe synd gehealdene þine meda gewisse .
 gemiltsa la ure swiðor þe þu forlætst .
 [SET 11] Ða wearð se halga wer mid þysum wordum astyrod .

1319 geferum] *K ferum* 1330 LII . *Martinus*] *The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink and its legs are rounded.* 1334 geunrotsode] *K unrotsode*
 1336 forlætst] *K forlæts*

pursuing the fish with bold greediness.

Then the holy man said thus to his companions:

1320 “These birds have a likeness to the fiends
who ever plot against the unwary,
and greedily catch, and destroy those caught,
and are not satisfied by the catch.”

[SET 8] Then Martin commanded the immoderate divers
1325 to desist from fishing and go to the desert;
and the birds immediately went away to the wood,
all together, even as the venerable [man] had commanded.
He put the divers to flight by the same command
with which he drove devils out of men.

1330 [SET 9] LII. Afterwards, Martin came to the monastery,
and abode there some while, and reconciled the priests.
When he wished to go home again, then he became sick,
and told his brethren that he should die.

[SET 10] Then they all became very troubled,
1335 and with great lamentation asked him:
“Oh, you father, why do you forsake us,
or to whom do you commit us forsaken?
There will certainly come to your flock
ravening wolves, and who will defend it?

1340 We know truly that you desire to [go to] Christ,
and certainly your rewards are preserved for you,
oh, rather have pity on us, whom you forsake.”

[SET 11] Then the holy man was moved by these words,

1324 SET 8] Imperat deinde potenti uerbo ut eum cui innatabant gurgitem relinquentes aridas peterent desertasque regiones, eo nimirum circa aues illas usus imperio quo daemones fugare consueuerat. Ita, grege facto, omnes in unum illae uolucres congregatae, relicto flumine, montes siluasque petierunt, non sine admiratione multorum, qui tantam in Martino virtutem uiderent ut etiam auiibus imperaret. 1330 SET 9] Aliquandiu ergo in uico illo uel in ecclesia ad quam ierat commoratus, pace inter clericos restituta cum iam regredi ad monasterium cogitaret, uiribus corporis coepit repente destitui conuocatisque fratribus indicat se iam resoluui. 1334 SET 10] Tum uero maeror et luctus omnium et uox una plangentium: «cur nos, pater, deseris? aut cui nos desolatos relinquis? Inuadent gregem tuum lupi rapaces: quis nos a morsibus eorum, percusso pastore, prohibebit? Scimus quidem desiderare te Christum, sed salua tibi sunt tua praemia nec dilata minuentur; nostri potius miserere, quos deseris.» 1343 SET 11] Tune ille motus his fletibus, ut totus semper in Domino misericordiae uisceribus adfluebat, lacrimasse perhibetur; conuersusque ad Dominum hac tantum flentibus uoce respondit: «Domine, si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem: fiat uoluntas tua.»

- and* clypode mid wope . *and* cwæð to his drihtne .
 1345 Drihten min hælend . gif ic nydbehefe eom
 git þinum folce . ne forsace ic na
 gyt to swincene gewurðe þin willa .
 [SET 13] Ne ic ne beladige mine ateorigendlican ylde .
 ic þine þenunga estful gefylde . under þinum tacnum
 1350 ic campige swa lange swa þu sylf hæstst .
 [SET 14] He lag þa swa forþ ane feawa daga
 mid fefore gewæht . þurhwunigende on gebedum .
 on stiþre hæran licgende . mid axum bestreowod .
 [SET 15] Ða bædon þa gebroðra þæt hi his bæd moston
 1355 mid waccre strewunge | huru underlecgan . *K 108v*
 Ða cwæð se halga wer to þam wependum gebroðrum .
 Ne gedafnað cristenum menn . buton þæt he on duste swelte .
 gif ic eow oþre bysne selle . þonne syngie ic .
 He ne lét na of gebedum his unoferswiððan gast .
 1360 ac he æfre openum eagum . *and* upahafenum handum .
 his gebeda ne geswác . Ða woldon þa preostas
 þæt he lage on oþre sidan . *and* gelihte hine swa .
 | Ða cwæð se halga eft . Gefafiað ic bidde *199r*
 þæt ic heofonan sceawige swiðor þonne eorðan .
 1365 *and* min gast sy asend on his siðfæte to drihtne .
 [SET 16] He geseah þa standan swiþe gehende þone deofol .

- and cried with weeping and said to his Lord:
- 1345 “Lord, my Saviour, if I am necessary
yet to Thy people, I shall not forsake
still to labour; Thy will be done;
[SET 13] I shall not make excuses on account of my failing age.
I have fulfilled Thy service devoutly; under Thy sign
- 1350 I shall fight so long as Thou Thyself shalt command.”
[SET 14] Then he lay thus for a few days,
weakened with fever, continuing in prayers,
lying on harsh hair-cloth, bestrewed with ashes.
[SET 15] Then the brethren entreated that they might his bed
- 1355 underlay at least with softer bedding.
Then the holy man said to the weeping brethren:
“It is not becoming for a Christian man, save that he die in dust;
if I provide you with any other example, then I would sin.”
He did not cease from prayers with his unconquered spirit
- 1360 but always with open eyes and uplifted hands he
did not stop his prayers. Then the priests wished
that he should lie on the other side, and thus relieve himself.
Then the saint spoke again, “Allow me, I pray,
that I may look towards heaven rather than towards the earth,
- 1365 and that my spirit be sent on its journey to the Lord.”
[SET 16] Then he saw the devil standing close by,

1348 SET 13] sic orauit dicens: «Grauis quidem est, Domine, corporeae pugna militiae et iam satis est quod hucusque certauit; sed si adhuc in eodem labore pro castris tuis stare me praecipis, non recuso nec fatiscentem causabor aetatem. Munia tua devotus inplebo, sub signis tuis, quoad usque ipse tu iusseris, militabo, et, quamuis optata sit seni remissio post laborem, est tamen animus uictor annorum et cedere nescius senectuti. Quodsi et iam parcis aetati, bonum mihi est, Domine, uoluntas tua; hos uero, quibus timeo, ipse custodias.» 1351 SET 14] O uirum inefabilem, nec labore uictum nec morte uincendum, qui in nullam se partem pronior inclinauerit, nec mori timuerit nec uiuere recusarit! Itaque cum iam per aliquot dies uis februm teneretur, non tamen ab opere Dei cessabat: pernoctans in orationibus et uigiliis fatiscentes artus spiritui seruire cogebat, nobili illo strato suo in cinere et cilicio recubans. 1354 SET 15] Et cum a discipulis rogaretur ut saltem uilia sibi sineret stramenta subponi: Non decet, inquit, christianum nisi in cinere mori; ego si aliud uobis exemplum relinquo, peccaui.» Oculis tamen ac manibus in caelum semper intentis, inuictum ab oratione spiritum non relaxabat; et cum a presbyteris, qui tunc ad eum convenerant, rogaretur ut corpusculum lateris mutatione releuaret: «Sinite, inquit, sinite me, fratres, caelum potius respicere quam terram, ut suo iam itinere iturus a Domino spiritus dirigatur.» 1366 SET 16] Haec locutus diabolus uidit propter adsistere. «Quid hic, inquit, adstas, cruenta bestia? nihil in me, funeste, reperies: Abrahae me sinus recipit.»

- and* he hine orsorghlice axian ongan .
 Hwæt stendst þu her wælhreowa deor .
 ne gemetst þu on me þu manfulla ænig þincg .
 1370 Ic beo underfangen on abrahames wununge .
 [SET 17] *and* æfter þysum wordum gewát seo sawl .
 of þam geswenctan lichaman gesælig to heofonum .
 [GHF 1,48] On sunnan mergen he gewát þa þa he wæs on ylde .
 an *and* hundeatig wintre . *and* æfter cristes þrowunge .
 1375 feower hund wintre . *and* twelf on getele .
and fela | manna þa gehyrdon on his forðside *K 109r*
 singendra engla swiðe hlude stemna
 upon heanysse geond þa heofonas swegende .
 swa hit on bocum sægð . þe he him synd awritene .
 1380 [SET 17] His lic wearð gesewen sona on wuldre
 beorhtre þonne glæs . hwittre þonne meolc .
and his andwlita scean swiþor þonne leoht .
 þa iu gewuldrod to þam towerdan æriste .
 [SET 18] Eala hwilc heofung holdra geleaffulra
 1385 hlude þa swegende . *and* swiðost þære muneca
and mynecena wóp on martines deaðe .

and fearlessly he began to ask him:

“What so you stand here for, cruel beast?

You will not find anything in me, you evil one.

1370 I shall be received in Abraham's dwelling.”

[SET 17] And after these words the soul departed
from the afflicted body, happily to heaven.

[GHF 1,48] On Sunday morning he departed when of age he was
eighty-one winters, and after Christ's passion

1375 four hundred and twelve winters by number;

and then many men heard at his departure

very loud voices of angels singing

sounding upon high through the heavens,

as it is said in books which are written about him.

1380 [SET 17] His body soon appeared in glory,

brighter than glass, whiter than milk,

and his face shone more than light,

then already glorified for the future resurrection.

[SET 18] Alas, what lament of the devoted [and] faithful

1385 was loudly sounding then, and most of all the monks'

and nuns' weeping at Martin's death.

1371 SET 17] Cum hac ergo uoce spiritum caelo reddidit. Testatique nobis sunt qui ibidem fuerunt uidisse se uultum eius tamquam uultum angeli; membra autem eius candida tamquam nix uidebantur, ita ut dicerent: «Quis istum umquam cilicio tectum, quis in cineribus crederet inuolutum?» Iam enim sic uidebatur, quasi in futurae resurrectionis gloria et natura demutatae carnis ostensus esset. 1373 GHF 1,48] Arcadi uero et Honori secundo imperii anno sanctus Martinus Turonorum episcopus, plenus uirtutibus et sanctitate, praebens infirmis multa beneficia, octuaginsimo et primo aetatis suae anno, episcopatum autem vicissimo sexto, apud Condatinsem diocesis suae vicum excedens a saeculo, filiciter migravit ad Christum. Transiit autem media nocte, quae dominica habebatur, Attico Caesarioque consolibus. Multi enim in eius transitum psallentium audierunt in caelum, quod in libro uirtutum eius primo plenius exposuemus. [...] A passione ergo Domini usque transitum sancti Martini anni 412 conpotantur. 1380 SET 17] Cum hac ergo uoce spiritum caelo reddidit. Testatique nobis sunt qui ibidem fuerunt uidisse se uultum eius tamquam uultum angeli; membra autem eius candida tamquam nix uidebantur, ita ut dicerent: «Quis istum umquam cilicio tectum, quis in cineribus crederet inuolutum?» Iam enim sic uidebatur, quasi in futurae resurrectionis gloria et natura demutatae carnis ostensus esset. 1384 SET 18] In obsequium uero funeris credi non potest quanta hominum multitudo conuenerit. Tota obuiam corpori ciuitas ruit, cuncti ex agris atque uicis multique de uicinis etiam urbibus adfuerunt. O quantus luctus omnium, quanta praecipue maerentium lamenta monachorum! Qui eo die fere ad duo milia conuenisse dicuntur, specialis Martini gloria: eius exemplo in Domini seruitutem stirpes tantae fruticauerant.

- [GVM 1,4] LIII . Sum bisceop seuerinus on þære byrig colonia
 haliges lifes man gehyrde on ærne mergen
 swiðe hludne sang on heofonum . and þa gelangode he him to
 1390 his ercediacon . and axode hine hwæþer
 he þa stemne gehyrde . þæs heofonlican dreames .
 He andwyrde and cwæð . þæt he his nan þincg ne gehyrde .
 Ða het se bisceop þæt he heorcnode geornlicor .
 he stod þa and hlyste . on his stæfe hliniende .
 1395 and ne mihte nan þing þære myrhþe gehyran .
 Ða astrehton hi hi begen biddende þone ælmihtigan
 þæt he | moste | gehyran þone heofonlican dream . K 109v / 199v
 he hlyste þa siððan . and sæde þæt he gehyrde
 singendra stemne . swegen on heofonum .
 1400 and nyste swa þeah hwæt ða stemna wæron .
 Seuerinus ða cwæð . ic þe secge be þam .
 martinus se eadiga of þysum middanearde gewát .
 and nu englas singende his sawla feriað
 mid him to heofonum . and se hetela deofol
 1405 mid his unrihtwisum gastum . hine wolde gelettan .
 ac he gewat gescynd awæg fram þam halgan .
 and nan þing his agenes on him ne gemette .
 Hwæt bið be us synfullum . nu se swicola deofol
 swa mærne sacerd derian wolde .

1387 LIII . Sum] *The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.* 1392 þincg] K þing 1406 awæg] K aweg

1387 seuerinus] I.e. St Severin, bishop of Cologne in the fourth century.

1387 colonia] I.e. Cologne (Köln), Germany.

[GVM 1,4] LIII. One bishop Severinus in the city of Cologne,
 a man of holy life, heard in the early morning
 a very loud singing in the heavens, and then he summoned to him
 1390 his archdeacon, and asked him whether
 he had heard the voice of the heavenly rejoicing.
 He answered and said that he did not hear anything of it.
 Then the bishop bade him to listen more carefully;
 then he stood and listened, leaning on his staff,
 1395 and could not hear anything of that mirth.
 Then they both prostrated themselves, praying the Almighty
 that he might hear the heavenly rejoicing;
 then he listened again, and said that he heard
 voices of singers, sounding in heaven,
 1400 and did not know, however, what the voices were.
 Then Severinus said: "I tell you about this;
 the blessed Martin departed from this world,
 and now singing angels carry his soul
 with them to heaven, and the malicious devil
 1405 with his unrighteous spirits wanted to hinder him,
 but he departed ashamedly, away from the saint,
 and did not find anything of his own in him.
 What will become of us sinful [ones], now that the guileful devil
 thought to tempt so great a priest?"

1387 GVM 1,4] *Beatus autem Severinus Colonensis civitatis episcopus, vir honestae vitae et per cuncta laudabilis, dum die dominico loca sancta ex consuetudine cum suis clericis circuiret, illa hora qua vir beatus obiit audivit chorum canentium in sublimi. Vocatoque archidiacono, interrogat, si aures eius percuterent voces, quas ille adtentus audiret. 1392] Respondit: 'Nequaquam'. Tunc ille: 'Diligenter', inquit, 'ausculta'. Archidiaconus autem coepit sursum collum extendere, aures erigere et super summis articulis, baculo sustentante, stare. Sed credo, eum non fuisse aequalis meriti, a quo haec non merebantur audiri. Tunc prostrati terrae ipse pariter et beatus episcopus, Dominum deprecantur, ut hoc ei divina pietas audire permitteret. Erectis autem, rursum interrogat senes: 'Quid audis?' Qui ait: 'Voces psallentium tamquam in caelo audio, sed quid sit prorsus ignoro'. 1401] Cui ille: 'Ego tibi quid sit narrabo. Dominus meus Martinus episcopus migravit ex hoc mundo, et nunc angeli canendo eum deferunt in excelsum. Et ut parumper mora esset, ut haec audirentur, diabolus eum cum iniquis angelis retinere temptavit, nihilque suum in eundem repperiens, confusus abscessit. Quid ergo de nobis peccatoribus erit, si tantum sacerdotem voluit pars iniqua nocere?' Haec sacerdote loquente, notatum tempus, archidiaconus Turonus misit velociter qui haec diligenter inquireret. Qui veniens, eum diem horamque manifestissime cognovit transisse beatum virum, quo sanctus Severinus audivit psallentium chorum. Sed si ad Severi recurramus historiam, ipsa hora eum sibi scripsit cum libro vitae suae fuisse revelatum.*

- 1410 Ða sende se ercediacon sona to turonia .
to martines bisceopstole . *and* het axian be him .
þa wearð him soðlice gesæd þæt he his sawle ageaf
on þære ylcan tide þe hi þone sang gehyrdon .
[GVM 1,5] LIIII . ON þam ylcan dæge ambrosius se bisceop
- 1415 on mediolana byrig . þa þa he æt mæssan stod
þa wearð he on slæpe swa swa god wolde .
and hine nan man ne dorste naht eaðe awreccan .
Swaþeah | æfter twam tidum hi hine awrehton
and cwædon þæt se tima forþagán wære .
- 1420 *and* þæt folc wære gewergod þearle .
Se halga bisceop þa cwæð . ne beo ge gedrefede
micclum me fremað þæt ic swa mihte slapon .
forðan þe me min drihten micel wundor æteowde .
Wite ge þæt min broþor martinus se halga
- 1425 of lichaman is afaren . *and* ic his lic behwearf
mid gewunelicre þenunge . *and* þa þa ge me wrehton .
þa næs his heafodclað eallunga ful dón .
Hi wurdon ofwundrode his worda . *and* dæda .
and geaxodon on fyrste þæt se arwurða martinus
- 1430 on þam dæge gewát . þe ambrosius sæde .
þæt he æt þæs halgan weres lic þenungum wære

K 110r

1414 LIIII . ON] *The numeral and punctus are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and in red ink.*

1414 ambrosius] I.e. St Ambrose, bishop of Milan (339-397); see NEB s.v. *Saint Ambrose*.

- 1410 Then the archdeacon immediately sent for Tours,
to Martin's episcopal see, and commanded to inquire about him;
then it was truly told him that he had rendered his soul
at the same hour in which they had heard the singing.
[GVM 1,5] LIV. On the same day Ambrose the bishop,
1415 in the city of Milan, when he was standing at mass,
then he fell asleep, even as God wished,
and no man readily dared to awaken him.
After two hours, however, they awakened him,
and said that the time had been passing away,
1420 and that the people were exceedingly wearied.
Then the holy bishop said; "Do not be vexed,
it benefitted me greatly that I could sleep thus,
because my Lord has revealed to me a great wonder.
Know that my brother, the holy Martin,
1425 has departed from [his] body, and I prepared his body
in the customary service, and when you awakened me,
then his headcloth was not entirely arranged."
They were astonished at his words and deeds,
and learned after a while that the venerable Martin
1430 had departed on that day on which Ambrose said [he did],
[and] that he had been at the holy man's [funeral] service.

1410] Haec sacerdote loquente, notatum tempus, archidiaconus Turonus misit velociter qui haec diligenter inquireret. Qui veniens, eum diem horamque manifestissime cognovit transisse beatum virum, quo sanctus Severinus audivit psallentium chorum. Sed si ad Severi recurramus historiam, ipsa hora eum sibi scripsit cum libro vitae suae fuisse revelatum. 1414 GVM 1,5] Eo namque tempore beatus Ambrosius, cuius hodie flores eloquii per totam ecclesiam redolent, Mediolanensi civitati praeerat episcopus. Cui celebranti festa dominici diei ista erat consuetudo, veniens lector cum libro non antea legere praesumeret, quam sanctus nutu iussisset. Factum est autem, ut illa die dominica, prophetica lectione iam lecta, ante altare stante qui lectionem beati Pauli proferret, beatissimus antistes Ambrosius super sanctum altare obdormiret. Quod videntes multi, cum nullus eum penitus excitare praesumeret, transactis fere duarum aut trium horarum spatiis, excitaverunt, dicentes: 'Iam hora praeterit. Iubeat domnus lectori lectionem legere; spectat enim populus valde iam lassus'. 1421] Respondens autem beatus Ambrosius: 'Nolite', inquit, 'turbare. Multum enim mihi valet obdormisse, cui tale miraculum Dominus ostendisse dignatus sit. Nam noveritis, fratrem meum Martinum sacerdotem egressum fuisse de corpore, me autem eius funere obsequium praebuisse, peractoque ex more servitio, capitellum tantum, vobis excitantibus, non explevi'. 1428] Tunc illi stupefacti pariter et admirantes, diem et tempus notant, sollicite requirentes. Qui ipsa die tempusque repperiunt, quod beatus confessor dixerat, se eius exsequiis deservisse. O beatum virum, in cuius transitu sanctorum canit numerus, angelorum exultat chorus, omniumque caelestium virtutum occurrit exercitus; diabolus praesumptione confunditur,

- | Eala eadig is se wer þe on his forðsiðe 200r
halgena getel . healice sang .
and engla werod blissode . *and* ealle heofonware
1435 him togeanes ferdon . *and* se fula deofol
on his dyrstignysse þurh drihten wearð gescynd .
Seo halige gelaðung on mihte is gestrangod .
and godes sacerdas synd gewuldrode
mid þære onwrigennysse martines forðsiðes .
1440 þonne se halga | michahel mid englum underfeng . K 110v
and maria seo eadiga mid mædenlicum werodum .
and neorxnewang gehylt bliðne mid halgum .
[GHF 1,48] LV . Ða þa þæs halgan weres lic læg inne þa git .
þa com þær micel meniu of manegum burgum .
1445 *and* þæt pictauisce folc swa swa þæt turonisce .
and þær wearð geflit betwux þam twam folcum .
Ða pictauiscan cwædon þe ðyder gecumene wæron .
He wæs ure munuc . *and* eac ure abbod .
we willað hine habban forþan þe we hine alændon ær .
1450 gé brucon his spræce . *and* his lare notedon .
ge wæron on his gereordum . *and* mid his gebletsungum gestrangode .
and mid mænigfealdum wundrum wæron gegladode .
sy eow eall þis genoh . lætað nu huru us
his sawlleasan lichaman ferian mid us .
1455 Ða *and*swaredon þa . þa turoniscan þus .

1440 þonne] *So in MS; also in K* 1441 seo] *K sio* 1442 neorxnewang] *K neorxnewange*
1443 LV . Ða] *The numeral, punctus, and initial are in brown ink; the initial is enlarged and*
slightly ornamented. 1444 com þær] *K comð æfter* 1446 geflit] *K geflitt* 1452 wundrum]
K wordum

Oh, blessed is the man for whom at his departing
 the communion of saints sang on high,
 and the host of angels rejoiced, and all heaven-dwellers
 1435 came towards him, and the foul devil
 in his presumption was put to shame by the Lord.
 The holy church is strengthened in power,
 and God's priests are glorified
 by the revelation of Martin's departure,
 1440 whom the holy Michael received with angels
 and the blessed Mary with the communion of virgins,
 and [whom] paradise holds happy among saints.
 [GHF 1,48] LV. When the holy man's body was still lying within,
 then there came a great crowd, from many cities,
 1445 and the Poitevin people as well as the people of Tours,
 and there was a dispute between the two peoples.
 Then the Poitevins, who had come there, said:
 "He was our monk and also our abbot;
 we desire to have him because we had lent him before;
 1450 you have enjoyed his conversation and benefitted from his teaching,
 you have had discourse with him and been strengthened by his blessings,
 and have been delighted by various miracles;
 all this be enough for you; let us now at least
 convey his soulless body with us."
 1455 Then the Turonians answered thus:

1437] *eclesia virtute roboratur, sacerdotes revelatione glorificantur; quem Michahel adsumpsit cum angelis, Maria suscepit cum virginum choris, paradus retinet laetum cum sanctis! Sed quid nos in laude eius temptamus, quod non sufficimus adimplere? Ipse est enim laus illius, cuius laus ab eius ore numquam recessit. Nam nos utinam vel simplicem possimus historiam explicare! 1443 GHF 1,48] Nam cum primitus sanctus Dei apud Condatinsem, ut diximus, vicum aegrotare coepisset, Pectavi populi ad eius transitum sicut Toronici convenerunt. Quo migrante, grandis altercatio in utrumque surrexit populum. 1447] Dicebant enim Pectavi: 'Noster est monachus, nobis abba extetit, nos requiremus commendatum. Sufficiat vobis, quod, dum esset in mundo episcopus, usi fuistis eius conloquium, participastis convivio, firmati fuistis benedictionibus, insuper et virtutibus iocundati. Sufficiant ergo vobis ista omnia, nobis liciat auferre vel cadaver exanimum'. 1455] Ad haec Toronici respondebant: 'Si virtutum nobis facta sufficere dicitis, scitote, quia vobiscum positus amplius est quam hic operatus. Nam, ut praetermittamus plurimum, vobis suscitavit duos mortuos, nobis unum; et, ut ipse saepe dicebat, maior ei virtus ante episcopatum fuit, quam post episcopatum. Ergo necesse est, ut, quod nobiscum non inplevit vivens, expleat vel defunctus. Vobis est enim ablatus, nobis a Deo donatus. Virum si mus antiquitus institutus servatur, in urbe qua ordenatus est habebit Deo iubente sepulchrum.*

- Gif ge secgað þæt us synd genoh his wundra .
 þonne wite gé þæt he worhte ma wundra mid eow
 þonne he mid us dyde . and þeah we fela forhebbon .
 eow he arærde witodlice twegen deade men .
 1460 and us buton ænne . and swa swa he oft sæde .
 þæt he maran mihte on munuc|hade hæfde . K 111r
 þonne on biseophade . and we habbað nu neode
 þæt he dead gefylle þæt he ne dyde on life .
 Eow he wæs ætbroden . and us fram gode forgifan .
 1465 and æfter þa ealdan gesetnysse he sceal habban | byrgene 200v
 on þære ylcan byrig þær he biseop wæs .
 Gif ge for minstres þingon . and þæt he mid eow wæs
 hine habban willað . þonne wite ge þis
 þæt he on mediolana ærest mynster hæfde .
 1470 Betwux þisum gewinne wearð se dæg geendod .
 and butu ða burhwaru besæton þone halgan .
 and woldon ða pictauiscan mid gewinne on mergen
 niman þone halgan neadunga æt þam oþrum .
 Ða on middre nihte swa swa martinus wolde .
 1475 wurdon þa pictauiscan swa wundorlice on slæpe
 þæt of ealre þære meniu an man ne wacode .
 Ða gesawon þa turoniscan hu þa oþre slepon .
 and genamon þæt lic þe þær læg on flora .
 and to scipe bæron mid swiðlicre blisse .
 1480 and efston mid reowte on þære ea uigenna .
 and swa forð on liger swyðe hlude singende .
 oð þæt hi becomon to þære byrig turonia .

“If you say that his miracles are enough for us,
 then be aware that he performed more miracles with you
 than he did with us, and though we pass over many,
 for you he truly raised two dead men,
 1460 and for us only one, and just as he often said,
 that he had more power in monkhood
 than in bishophood, and we have need now
 that he should accomplish dead that which he did not in life.
 From you he was taken away and given to us by God,
 1465 and after the old custom he shall have a sepulchre
 in the same city where he was bishop.
 If you – for the sake of the monastery and because he was with you –
 wish to have him, then be aware of this,
 that he first had a monastery in Milan.”
 1470 During this dispute the day came to an end,
 and the citizens of both towns guarded the saint,
 and the Poitevins intended in the morning by force
 [and] out of necessity to take the saint from the others.
 Then at midnight, just as Martin wished,
 1475 the Poitevins were so wondrously asleep
 that amongst all in the crowd not one man watched.
 Then the Turonians saw how the others slept,
 and took the body which lay there on the floor,
 and carried it to the ship with great joy,
 1480 and made haste by rowing on the river Vienne,
 and thus onwards into the Loire, singing very loudly,
 until they came to the city of Tours.

1467] Certe si pro monasthio privilegio cupitis vindicare, scetote, quia primum ei monasthrium cum Mediolaninsibus fuit'. 1470] His ergo litigantibus, sol ruente nox clauditur, corpusque in medio positum, firmatis serra uesteis, ab utroque populo costoditur, futurum ut mane facto a Pectavensibus per violentiam aufereretur. Sed Deus omnipotens noluit urbem Toronicam a proprio frustrari patrono. 1474] Denique nocte media omnes Pectava somno falanga conpraemitur, nec ullus superfuit, qui ex hac multitudine vigilaret. 1477] Igitur ubi Toronici eos conspiciunt obdormisse, adpraehensam sanctissimi corporis glebam, alii per fenestram eiciunt, alii a foris suscipiunt, positumque in navi, cum omni populo per Vingennam fluvium descendunt, ingressique Legeris alveum, ad urbem Toronicam cum magnis laudibus psallentioque dirigunt copioso.

- Ða wurdon þa oþre awrehte mid þam sange
and naht heora | goldhordas þe hi healdan sceoldon *K 111v*
 1485 hæbbende næron . ac hi ham gewendon
 mid mycelre sceame . þæt him swa gelumpen wæs .
 [AVM 662A-B] Se halga lichama þa wearð geled on byrgene
 on þære ylcan byrig þær he bisceop wæs .
 mid micelre wurðmynte . *and* þær wurdon siððan
 1490 fela wundra gefremode for his geearnungum .
 [GHF 1,48] Syx *and* twentig wintra he wæs þær bisceop .
and seo burhwaru wæs butan bisceope lange
 ær martinus wære gehalgod to bisceope .
 for þam hæþenscipe þe þæt folc þa beeode .
 1495 [n.s.] Sy wuldor *and* lof þam welwillendan scyppende
 þe his halgan sacerd swa geglengde mid wundrum .
 se þe on ecnysse rixap ælmihtig wealdend
 AMEN .
 [n.s.] | Olim haec trastuli . sicuti ualui . *201r ; MS K omits the Latin*
 1500 sed modo praecibus . constrictus plenius .
 O martine sanctae . meritis praeclare .
 iuua me miserum . meritis modicum .
 Caream quo neuis . mihimet nocuus .
 castiusque uiuam . Nactus iam ueniam .

1492 bisceope] *K* biscope; in *J* there is a 20mm erasure before the word 1493 bisceope] *K* biscope 1499 Olim] *The initial O is enlarged and in brown ink.*

1484 *K 111v*] The study by Wilcox (2006) is concerned with a particular drawing (a head/face) between the *Life* and the *Life of St Thomas* on this folio in MS *K*; Wilcox suggests (p. 258) it might have served to generate the reader's contemplation after reading the *Life*. Page 228 in Doane and Wolf (2006) shows this

folio from MS *K*.

1491 Syx *and* twentig] See von Mengden (2010: 27) on "complex numerals"; the inversion of the two "mono-morphemic" numerals to form a "complex numeral" is typical for OE, compare Modern English *twenty-six*.

- Then the others were awakened by the singing,
 and nothing of their treasure – which they should have guarded –
 1485 they did have, but they returned home
 in great shame, that it had thus happened to them.
 [AVM 662A-B] Then the holy body was laid in a sepulchre
 in the same city where he had been bishop,
 with great solemnity, and afterwards there were
 1490 performed many miracles because of his merits.
 [GHF 1,48] Twenty-six winters he was bishop there,
 and the city had been without a bishop for a long time
 before Martin was consecrated as bishop,
 because of the heathenism which the people practised then.
 1495 [n.s.] Glory and praise be to the benevolent Creator
 Who so embellished His holy priest with miracles,
 Who rules in eternity, almighty Lord,
 amen.
 [n.s.] *Once I translated this, as best as I could,*
 1500 *but now, constricted by many biddings, more fully.*
Oh, St Martin, celebrated for your merits,
help me wretched, poor in merits.
I shall dispense what you disclaim, I who am harming myself,
I shall live chaster, already if I am forgiven.

1483] De quorum vocibus Pectavi expergefati, nihil de thesauro quem costodiebant habentes, cum magna confusione ad propria sunt reversi. 1487 AVM 662A-B] XI. *Turonis sepelitur.* - Cujus sanctum corpus a clericis civitatum, et populorum turbis, cum laudibus et hymnis ad Turonicam portatur civitatem, ibique in polyandro publico sepultus est, ubi postmodum beatus antistes Perpetuus laudabili opere, et venerabili cultu construxit ecclesiam tanti Patris condignam meritis: in qua etiam usque hodie multa miraculorum signa, plurimæ sanitatum virtutes, consolationes mœrentium, pietates lætantium, præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, fieri solent, qui vivit et regnat cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto in unitate majestatis divinæ, per omnia sæcula. 1491 GHF 1,48] episcopatum autem vicissimo sexto, [...] Quod si quis requiret, cur post transitum Catiani episcopi unus tantum, id est Litorius, usque ad sanctum Martinum fuisset episcopus, noverit, quia, obsistentibus paganis, diu civitas Toronica sine benedictione sacerdotale fuit.

General Commentary

The entries in this mainly literary and cultural commentary are in the order of the Latin source material. This commentary addresses issues which apply to two or more Old English Martiniana; literary comments restricted to one of the Old English texts appear below the edited text (lowest apparatus). References to the edited texts are through the siglum of the base texts (B, E, F, J) and line number; for MSS C and D turn to the parallel text edition in the appendix (I).

SVM 2,1

E l. 5; F l. 4; J l. 12: Pannonia (C *pannana*, D/E *pannania*, F *pannonia*, J *pannoniscre scire*) was a Roman province, in the west of today's Hungary; cf. the section on Martin's upbringing above, p. 7.

E l. 6; F l. 5; J l. 12: Pannonia's capital was Sabaria (F *Sabaria*, J *sabaria*), which appears in C/D/E as *arrea*; today the city is called Szombathely, Hungary. The origin of *arrea* is unknown. Szarmach (1981: 63,6-7) simply notes that *arrea* stands "for Latin *Sabaria*, is modern Stein-am-Anger" (which is the modern German name for Szombathely). Fontaine (431f.) does not discuss it.

E l. 7; F l. 3; J l. 14: SVM has *parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non infimis*, a litotes that translates 'His parents were, according to the judgment of the world, of no mean rank' (transl. Roberts). Ælfric's *æpelborenum* seems to be imprecise as a translation, but as Vermillion (1980: 92-3, cf. 77-8) point out, "this follows the tradition in hagiography of ascribing noble birth to a saint"; it is a feature that is very common among "medieval hagiographers" (Masi 183-4). Masi has found more saints as examples for this in *LS*, and has not found a single counter-example.

E l. 6; F l. 6; J l. 13: E *ticinam*, the city Pavia, at the river Ticino, where Martin spent his youth, cf. above p. 9. SVM has *ticinum*, a city at the river Ticino, which Charlemagne renamed *Papia*, hence modern Pavia (Hamilton: 51,6); the Anonymous *Homily* names the town, whereas Ælfric tends to omit details such as place-names in the *Homily*; cf. discussion above, p. 149.

SVM 2,2

E l. 8; Fl. 11; J l. 16: Notice here that Ælfric's prefers the word *cempan* to *þegn*, which is the common word in the anonymous homilies. For the implications see above pp. 132f.; Masi (185) notes that Ælfric already stylizes Martin as a soldier. The idea of the *miles christi* is of course Severus', but it seems from this mentioning so early in the text that Ælfric seeks to amplify the stylization.

E l. 9; Fl. 8; J l. 16: *aldorman* (lit. 'older man') translates SVM's *tribunus*, a 'batallion commander' (Hamilton: 52,9)), cf. above p. 8 on the rank and on Martin's father, and cp. D and E; note that only MS C includes the Latin term. E l. 11; J l. 19: *constantines* (C) refers to the Roman emperor Constantius II., who reigned 337-61 AD, from 350 as sole emperor.

E l. 11; J l. 20: *iulianus* (C) / *iulius* (D) / *iuliam* (E) / *iuliane* (J) refers to the pagan Roman emperor Julius, later often called 'the Apostate' for his violent backlash to paganism, reigned from 360, after his uncle Constantine II. made him "junior emperor"; after Constantine's death in 361 he reigned as sole emperor until his own death in 363 (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 77 n. 26).

SVM 2,3

E l. 16; Fl. 15; J l. 24: Martin demands (*bæd / postulauit*) to be accepted as a catechumen, i.e. a candidate/pupil for baptism. Masi (186) points to the fact that Martin's eight years long catechumenate was unusually long. Usually, it comprised a three years period of "fasting, prayer, and spiritual preparation for baptism" (ibid.). Martin was later baptized at the age of eighteen, after his vision of Christ. Furthermore, Masi notes that it was obviously no problem for Martin as a ten-year-old to be accepted as catechumen.

SVM 2,4

E l. 18; Fl. 17; J l. 31: *on eallum his life on godes þeowdome gecyrred* (C): Huber-Rebenich (2010: 77 n. 30) notes that in SVM the passage involves a clear allusion to the *puer-senex*-topos, implying that Martin possessed wisdom even as a youth.

SVM 2,5

E l. 20; Fl. 18; J l. 32: See the discussion above, p. 149, on the omission of details in the OE versions. Huber Rebenich (2010 78 n. 31) notes that emperor's commandment in order to secure the strength of his armed forces fails to indicate the incident's date, since this measure does not represent a singular event.

SVM 2,8

E l. 36; J l. 58: Lit. ‘Do not think of tomorrow’, after BS Mt 6.34; according to Hamilton (55,37) *cogitabat* (‘he thought’) was changed into *cogitare* (imperative) by the OE homilist, “in order to accommodate the sense of the imperative which is demanded by the OE context.”; note that D and E feature Latin quotes interspersed in the OE text, where C has none.

SVM 3,1

E l. 43; J l. 60: I.e. Amiens, France, then in the Roman province *Belgica secunda*, cf. above p. 10. As Masi (187) notes, “The site was marked by an oratory”. Gregory of Tours writes about it (GVM 17): *In portam Ambianensi, in qua quondam vir beatus pauperem algentem clamide decisa contextit, oratorium a fidelibus est aedificatum, in quo nunc puellae religiosae deserviunt, sancti antestitis ob honorem parumper facultatis habentis, nisi quod eas devotorum alit saepe devotio.*

SVM 3,5

E l. 75; F l. 61; 92: E has *twam læs twéntig*, as in D (*twæm læs þe twentig*), whereas C and F and J have *eahtatyne*. The Latin has *duodeuiginti*, so D/E represent a loan-translation, whereas C and Ælfric present the common OE numeral. There are groups of Latin MSS which give 20 years (*uiginti*) as the age of Martin’s baptism, so Mullins (2011: 171) suggests that the Old English texts derive from the Frankish rather than from the Italian branch of the Latin Martiniana; cf. the discussion in Masi (189), and Delehaye (1920: 19-33).

SVM 3,6

E l. 76; J l. 95: C/D/E have ‘three years’ (C/D *þreo gear*, E *.iii. gær*), Ælfric has ‘two years’ (J *twa gear*), which corresponds to the Latin *biennium*.

SVM 4,1

F l. 63; J l. 97: Julian’s campaign, which can be dated to the year 356 AD, was to confront Germanic tribes who had penetrated Roman territory by crossing the river Rhine (Suso Frank 1997: 28-9).

SVM 5,1

E l. 79; F l. 82; J l. 135: I.e. St Hilary (ca. 315-67), Bishop of Poitiers and St Martin’s teacher and mentor; Hilary was historically significant for his major

role in opposition against Arrianism, see Huber-Rebenich (2010: 79 n. 46); cf. Masi (191).

SVM 5,4

Fl. 89; J.L. 153: Martin crossed the Alps; in both instances Ælfric describes the setting simply as “in the mountains”. Masi (191) notes on the episode that in SVM the robber “merely poised the ax”, while Ælfric states Martin received a blow (*slóh*). In the *Life* someone else holds the robber back who is about to strike Martin.

SVM 6,4

Fl. 117; J.L. 186: Arianism was a popular Christian school of thought deriving from the Alexandrian presbyter Arius (ca. 260-336); the First Council of Nicaea (325 AD) condemned it as heretic, nevertheless it was still popular in central Europe for centuries (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 80 n. 50; cf. Masi: 192).

SVM 7,1

Fl. 130; J.L. 209: Masi (193) notes that the incident is about a catechumen in SVM, not simply a ‘heathen man’. In the *Life* it is a *gecrístnod man*. Notice also the difference between Ælfric’s report of the episode in the two accounts, as well as in the Anonymous Homily. Cf. Dalbey (1984: 425f.) who discusses this episode.

SVM 7,3

El. 105; Fl. 135; J.L. 218: This particular act of healing was inspired by an Old Testament passage in BS 2nd *Book of Kings* 4.33-7, and BS Mt 9.23-25, and *Apostles* 9,40; see Huber-Rebenich (2010: 81 n. 61), and Masi (194), and (Fontaine, p. 619). Masi also found similar deeds by other saints in the *CHI*: 55.74 (Apostle John) and in the *LSI*: 166 (St Benedict).

SVM 8,1

El. 116; J.L. 242: In E (and D) the phrasing is rather misleading, since the relative pronoun *þe* could refer both to *lupicinus* and to *túne*. Lupicinus’ identity could not be discerned exactly, since the name was frequent in the region (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 81 n. 62).

SVM 9,1

El. 131; Fl. 151: *turnum* is claimed in the *Martyrology* to be the English name (*we nemnað turnum*); the *Anonymous Homily* calls the town *turna* (MS E, see edition, l. 131) and *turnan* (MS D); Ælfric's *Homily* has *Turonisce* (for 'the people of Tours', l. 439), in Ælfric's *Life* it appears six times as *turonia* (e.g. l. 265). Bede mentions Tours once, as *Turnan* (Miller 1959: 316); there are no other appearances of the forms in OE literature (DOEWC); apparently, the martyrologist and the anonymous homilist are closer to Bede, whereas Ælfric apparently worked from a Latin text, and disregarded the English form of the name, and was therefore possibly ignorant of the other OE texts.

Fl. 151; Jl. 257: Martin was – as was usual at the time – elected by the people; the election had to be ratified afterwards by the neighboring bishops (Masi: 194). Notice that Ælfric avoids to mention Martin's shabby appearance in both accounts.

SVM 10,3

Fl. 168; Jl. 314: I.e. the monastery at Marmoutier, founded ca. 375 AD (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 82 n. 72).

Fl. 167; Jl. 315: One Roman mile comprised about 1.5 kilometers (see Huber-Rebenich 2010: 82 n. 71).

SVM 10,6

Fl. 173; Jl. 329: As opposed to Egyptian monks who had earned money by basketry or other handicraft, Martin's monks concentrate on the production of manuscripts, which provided another important role model for later western monasticism (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 83 ns. 76+77).

SVM 10,8-9

Fl. 179; Jl. 337: See Huber-Rebenich (2010: 83 n. 80 and p. 110) on the popularity of asceticism among the Gallic nobility.

SVM 13,5

Fl. 260; Jl. 406: Masi (195) notes that in SVM the event is said to take place in the land of the "Aedui", the chief city being Augustudunum (Autun, France). Ælfric does not mention it, which is consistent with regard to his apparent

policy of omitting historical details so as to avoid confusion among his audience. In the *Life*, Ælfric shortens and simplifies the section (see Masi: 195 and cf. SVM).

SVM 13,9

El. 145; Fl. 243; Jl. 428: Huber-Rebenich (2010: 84 ns. 90+91) notes that the substitution (rather than the suppression) of a pagan cult with a Christian became a common practice by the fifth century.

SVM 14,2

El. 157; Fl. 251; Jl. 440: Huber-Rebenich (2010: 84 n. 92) points to the noticeable preponderance of military terms in the description of Martin's fight against the fire.

SVM 16,2

Fl. 273; Jl. 489: Martin was in Trier in the years 385/386 AD (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 84 n. 97). Masi (195) notes that there is a similar episode in the New Testament at BS Lc 8.49-56, with minor difference such as the employment of oil. Masi (196) also notes that in SVM, this episode appears later (SVM 20), and the happened at Trèves, France. Masi further notes that the episode is quite similar in Ælfric's two accounts.

SVM 17,4

Fl. 276; Jl. 522: (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 84 n. 89) notes that the laying on of hands as a ritual act had already been popular in the third century, and is connected to BS *Apostles* 6.6.

SVM 17,5

Fl. 282; Jl. 529: See Masi (196) for more information on Martin's role as exorcist; Masi points to similar episodes in the *LS* I: 98 (St Julian) and to the connection to BS Mt 10.1-3, and Mt 8.28-32, and Mk 5.1-20, and Mk 1.23-8.

SVM 18,3-4

El. 198; Fl. 291; Jl. 567: This was probably inspired by the episodes in BS Mt 8.3, and Mk 1.41f., where Christ heals lepers through physical contact, but not by a kiss (Huber-Rebenich 2010: 85 n. 110). Masi (197) also notes that Christ did not kiss a maiden to heal her; Masi speculates that the healing kiss derives

from folk tales. In the *Life*, Ælfric reports that the incident happened in Paris (J l. 565). Gregory of Tours (GHF 8,33) reports that an oratory was erected at the spot where this miracle happened.

SVM 26,4-6

Fl. 316; J l. 754: Huber-Rebenich (2010: 90 n. 147) notes that the devil's dress and outward appearance is reminiscent of the vestments typical of the late Roman emperors, cf. Vielberg (2006: 189).

Part III

Appendices

The following two editions of texts are appended to this work and represent a reproduction of their manuscript texts rather than an edition. Therefore, they are not equipped with a linguistic or literary commentary. The comments below the text are reduced to information on the manuscript material, scribal corrections, ornamentation, emendation, etc. The abbreviations employed correspond to those of the edition.

Appendix I: Parallel Text Edition of the *Anonymous Homily for Martinmas* from Manuscripts C, D and E

The following table juxtaposes the texts from manuscripts C, D, and E. The first, or left, of the four columns contains the reference to the Latin source. I have presented a brief study of the homily's language in MS E before the edition. I refrain from presenting much on text's language in MSS C and D here because it has already been studied in detail. The homily's text has previously been edited from MS C in Scragg (1992), Peterson (1951), and Szarmach (1981). References to these editions give page and line numbers. The manuscript's language has been studied extensively by Donald G. Scragg in his dissertation (1970, "The Language of the Vercelli Homilies", Diss. Univ. of Manchester, UK); see pp. 412f. for the study of the language of the homily for Martinmas. This homily shares with the four preceding homilies an accumulation of non-WS forms, esp. Anglian/Mercian. Scragg (1992) concisely addresses the MS's language again in the introduction to his edition of MS C (see pp. xliii-lxxi). Szarmach (1981: xxii) presents some of Scragg's results. Schabram's (1965) study addresses the Mercian vocabulary. See Sauer (2013) on the subject of word-formation in the Vercelli Homilies. The reader will note a frequent occurrence of a capital <i> in <in>, a phenomenon which occurs also in D. The text has been translated into modern English by Laird Edman (see Nicholson 1991: 117-26).

Previous editions of our text from MS D are Morris (1874-80, repr. 1967), Hamilton (1979), and Kelly (2003). Morris (1967: 211f.) and Kelly (2003: 147f.) present a modern English translation on facing pages; Hamilton (1979: 71f.) presents another modern English translation behind the edition of the OE text. He also presents a translation from MS E of the homily's ending, which is missing in D. The *Blickling Homilies* have attracted much scholarly attention; among the most important studies on their language are Zupitza (1882), Hardy (1899), Napier (1904), and Swaen (1940). See Menner (1949) for a close study of date and dialect. The language is late West-Saxon (IWS), but the number of Mercian forms points at an Mercian original. The text in D features a great

number of Latin loanwords. Morris (vii-viii) names as examples: *templ*, *bisceop*, *munec*, *diacon*, *apostol*, *engle*, *martire*, *casere*, *ælmessan*, *mæssepreost*, *gecristnod*, *mynster*, *fefor*, etc.

source	MS C	MS D	MS E
n.s.	DE SANCTO MARTINO CONFESSORE .	TO SANCTE MARTINIS MÆSSAN	[<i>untitled</i>]
n.s.	<i>Men þa leofestan</i> ¹ [.] Magon we nu hwylcum hwego wordum asecgan be þære arwyrðnesse þysse halgan tide . <i>and</i> be þære arwyrðan gebyrde ² . <i>and</i> be þæs halgan bisceopes þysses eadigan weres þe we nu In andweardnesse his tid weorðiað <i>and</i> mærsiað þe martinus wæs haten [.] wæs he gode swiðe gecoren on his þeawum	Men ða leofestan [.] we magan hwylcum hwega wordum secggean be ðære árwyrdan gebyrdo <i>and</i> be ðon halgan lífe <i>and</i> forðfore þæs eadigan weres <i>sancte</i> martines . ðe we nu on anweardnesse his tíð weorðiað [.] wæs ðæt gode swiðe gecoren man on his dáðum .	HER we magon hwylcum hwega wórdum secgan . be ðære árwyrdan gebýrda . <i>and</i> be þam halgan lífe <i>and</i> forðfore ðæs éadigan weres . <i>sanctus</i> martinus . ðe we nú on andweardnesse his tíð wyrðiað . <i>and</i> mársiað . wæs ðæt gode swiðe gecóren man on his dáðum .
SVM 2,1	wæs he in pannana þære mægðe In ³ woruld cumen . In arrea ðam tune . wæs he hwæðre In italia afeded In þære byrig [.] wæs he for worulde swiðe godre gebyrde [.] wæron his fæder <i>and</i> his modor buta hæðen .	he wæs on pannania þære mægðe ærest on woruld cumen In arrea þam tune ⁴ . Wæs he hweðre In ⁵ italia afeded in tican þære byrig [127v] wæs he for worlde swiþe æþelra gebyrda <i>and</i> góðra . wæron his yldran hweðre fæder <i>and</i> modor buta hæðne .	he wæs on pannania ðære mægðe árest on wyrolde gecumen . in arrea ðam túne . wæs he hwáðere in italia aféded . in ticanam ðære byrig wæs he for wyrolde swiðe góðra gebyrda <i>and</i> æðelra . wæron his yldran hwæðere . [62v] fæder <i>and</i> moder butu hæðene .

¹The MS has *M̃*.

²Sisam (1976) suggests that the visible erasure was to erase *tide* and replace it with *gebyrde*.

³So in MS.

⁴MS has *tane*, probably a scribal error.

⁵So in MS.

SVM 2,2	<p>wæs his fæder ærest cyninges þegn <i>and</i> þa æt nehstan gebah þæt he wæs tribunus þæt is ealdorman cyninges þegna . þa sceolde he <i>sanctus</i> martinus nyde beon sona on his giogodhade on geferræddenne cyninges þegna . <i>and</i> he wæs on constantines⁶ dæge <i>and</i> þa eft on iulianus dæge þæs caseres nalles þæt he his willan on þam⁷ woruldfolgode wære . Ac he wæs on godes þeowdome . mycle swiðor <i>and</i> lufode . þonne þa dreamas <i>and</i> þa welan þysse worulde .</p>	<p>Wæs his fæder ærest cyninges þegn . <i>and</i> ða æt nehstan geðeah þæt he wæs cininges þegna aldorman . Þa sceolde <i>sanctus</i> martinus nede beon on his geogodhade on ðære geferræddenne cyninges ðegna ærest on constantines⁸ dagum <i>and</i> ða eft on iulius þæs caseres [.] næs na þæt he his willan on ðæm woruldfolgade wære ah he sona on his geogode godes ðeowdóm miccle swiðor lufode þonne þa ídlan þreas⁹ þisse worlde .</p>	<p>wæs his fador ærest cyninges ðegen . <i>and</i> ða at nihstan geðáh þæt he wæs cyninges ðægna éaldorman . ða sceolde he <i>sanctus</i> martínus nýde béon on his géogodháde on ðære geferrædene ærest on constantínes dágum . <i>and</i> þa eft on iuliam ðæs káseres . nalás þæt he his willum on ðam wyroldfolgode wære . Ac he sóne on his geogode godes ðeowdóm micle swiðor lúfode ðanne ða idlan dréamas ðisse wýrolde .</p>
SVM 2,3	<p><i>and</i> þa he wæs .x.¹⁰ wintre þa tihton hine his ylðran to woruldfolgode . <i>and</i> þa fleah he to godes cirican¹¹ . <i>and</i> bæd þæt hine man þær gecristnode . þæt bið sio onginnes <i>and</i> se æresta dæl þære halgan fulwihte .</p>	<p>Þa he wæs tyn wintre <i>and</i> hine hys ylðran to woruldfolgade tyhton ond lærdan . ða fleah he to godes ciricean <i>and</i> bæd þæt hine¹² mon gecristnode þæt¹³ se æresta dæl his onginnes <i>and</i> lifes wære to geleafan <i>and</i> to fulwihte gecyrred .</p>	<p>þa he wæs .x. wíntre . <i>and</i> hine his ýlðran to woruldfolgode [63r] tyhton . <i>and</i> lárðon . ða fleah he to godes cyricean . <i>and</i> bæd þæt hine man gecristnode . þæt se áresta dæl his on onginnes . <i>and</i> lifes wáron to geleafan gecyrred . <i>and</i> to fulwihte .</p>

⁶The MS has *costantines* (sic).

⁷The MS has an erased but legible *on þa* before *willan*.

⁸The MS has *constatines* (sic!).

⁹Swaen (272) suggests for D's *þreas* that 'affliction, vexation' would be a better translation than Morris' 'vanities'; only in connection to *ídlan* it can be read as 'vanities', cf. Hamilton (52,13).

¹⁰Scragg (1970: 258) observed that cardinal numbers appear frequently as Roman numerals in MS C.

¹¹For the WS spelling cf. GrSB §22 Anm. 2, and GrSB §206.2; 207. For the phonology cf. GrC §433.

¹²The MS has *hi*; I emended in accordance with C and E as well as Morris and Hamilton.

¹³Hamilton (53,16) notes that the homilist emphasizes the piety of Martin even before his baptism, and that the phrasing in C is even more explicit about this.

SVM 2,4	<i>and</i> þa wæs wundorlice nú ¹⁴ on eallum his life on godes þeowdome gecyrrred .	<i>ond</i> he þa sona ¹⁵ wæs wuldorlice ¹⁶ mid ¹⁷ eallum his life ymb godes þeowdóm abisgod .	<i>and</i> he ða sóna mid ealle his lífe ymbe godes ðeowdom abisgod wæs .
SVM 2,5	[95v] þa he wæs xv. wintra þa genyddon hie hine his ylðran to þan þæt he sceolde wæpnum onfón <i>and</i> on cyninges þegna geferræddenne beon .	Ða he wæs fiftene wintre ¹⁸ þa nyddon hine hys ylðran to ðæm þæt ¹⁹ he sceolde woroldlicum wæpnum onfón <i>ond</i> on cininges ðegna geferræddenne beón .	ða hé wæs fifténe wíntre ða nyddan hine his ylðran to ðan þæt he scéolde woroldlicum wæpnum onfón . <i>and</i> on cyninges ðegna geféredena béon .
SVM 2,6	Ða wæron . þreo gear ær his fulwihte þæt he woruldlicum ²⁰ wæpen wæg <i>and</i> he hine hwæðre wið eallum þam healicum synnum geheold þa ðe woruldmen fremmiað in missenlicum þingum .	Þa wæs feower gear ær his fulwihte þæt he woroldwæpno wæg . <i>ond</i> he hine [128r] hwæðre wið eallum þam healicum wæpnum geheold . þa ðe woruldmen fremmað on menniscum ðingum .	ða wáron .iii. gær ár his fulwihte . þæt he wyrold wæpna . wæg . <i>and</i> he hine hwáðere wiþ eallum ðam healicum wæpnum [63v] geheold ða ðe woruldmen fremmað on mænnesscum ðingum .
SVM 2,7	hæfde he mycle lufan <i>and</i> ealle swetnesse to ælcum men . <i>and</i> he wæs geþyldig . <i>and</i> eadmod . <i>and</i> gemetfæst on eallum þingum on eallum ²¹ his life .	hæfde he miccle lufan <i>ond</i> ealle wærnesse ²² to ælcum men <i>ond</i> he wæs swiðe geþyldig <i>ond</i> eaðmod <i>ond</i> gemætfast on eallum his life	he háfde micle lúfan . <i>and</i> ealle wærnesse to ælcum mæn . <i>and</i> he wæs geðyldig . <i>and</i> éadmód . <i>and</i> gemetfæst . on eallum his life .

¹⁴Cf. Scragg (1970: 187-99) for accents in MS C.

¹⁵Swaen (272) criticizes that *sona* is “left untranslated” by Morris.

¹⁶C and E have *wundorlice*, SVM has *mox mirum in modum*, Hamilton (53,17) emends to *wunderlice*.

¹⁷Hamilton (53,18) is right in pointing out that Swaen’s translation (272: “by his whole manner of life”) should be preferred over Morris’ (“during his whole life”); SVM has “totius in Dei conuersus”.

¹⁸Hamilton (53,19) emends to *wintra* as in C, which I find unnecessary, on the basis that D corresponds to E and that I regard it as a case of IOE levelling of final *e*.

¹⁹The MS has only *þ*.

²⁰The MS has *woruldlicu* (sic!).

²¹The MS has *eallu* (sic!); Scragg emends likewise.

²²Hamilton (54,24) notes that MS C’s *swetnesse* is closer to SVM’s *caritas*.

SVM 2,8	<p><i>and</i> þeah þe he þa gyt on læwedumhade beon sceolde . <i>and</i> hwæðre he to þæs mycle forhæfdnesse hæfde on eallum þingum þæt he munuclif <i>and</i>git swiðor²³ lifde þonne sume gehadode men .</p> <p>wæs he for his árfæstum dædum eallum his gefe- rum leof <i>and</i> wyrð . <i>and</i> ondrysne <i>and</i> hie hie ealle mid synderlice lufan lufedon . <i>and</i> weorðedon .</p> <p><i>and</i> þeah ðe he þa gyt ne wære fullice²⁵ . æfter cieran endebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær foresægde . hwæðre he þæt geryne þæs halgan fulwihtes mid godum dædum heold <i>and</i> lufade . he wolde þam winnendum fultumian <i>and</i> earme refran . <i>and</i> hingriendum mete syllan . <i>and</i> nacode scrydan . <i>and</i> eall ðæt he on his folgoðe be- geat eall þæt he for gode sealde butan þære dæghwæmlican andlyfne anre þe he nede [96r] on lyfian sceolde [.]</p>	<p><i>ond</i> ðeah þe he þa gýt on læwedumháde beon sceolde . hwæðre he to ðon wærnesse hæfde on eallum ðingum þæt he efne munuclife gyta swiþor lifde þonne ðonne²⁴ læweddes mannes . Wæs he for his árfæstum dædum eallum his gefe- rum leof <i>ond</i> weorð <i>ond</i> ondrysne <i>ond</i> hie hie ealle synderlice mid lufan weorðodan [.]</p> <p><i>ond</i> ðeah he þa gýt nære fullice æfter oþerre endebyrdnesse gefulwad ah he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær sægde . hwæðre he þæt geryne þære halgan fulwihte mid godum dædum heold <i>ond</i> fullade . he wolde þam winnendum fultmian . <i>ond</i> earme refran <i>ond</i> hingrigendum mete syllan <i>ond</i> nacode scrydan . <i>ond</i> eal þæt he on his folgaðe be- geat eal he þæt for godes lufan sealde . buton ðone dæghwæmlican andleofan anne þe he nede biglifgean sceolde .</p>	<p><i>and</i> ðeah ðe he ða gét on læwedumháde beon scolde hwæðere he to ðæs forwyrnednesse hæfde . on eallum ðingum . þæt he éfne munuclife gýt swiðor lifde þanne læweddes mannes .</p> <p>wæs he for his árfestum dædum eallum his geféran léof . <i>and</i> wyrð . <i>and</i> andresne . <i>and</i> hie hie ealle synderlice mid lufan wýrðedan .</p> <p><i>and</i> ðeah ðe [64r] he ða gýt nære²⁶ fullice æfter oþerre ændebyrdnesse gefullad . Ac he wæs gecristnod swa ic ær sæde . hwæðere he þæt geréne ðare halgan fulwihte mid godum dædum geheold . <i>and</i> fullode . he wolde ðam winnendum gefultumien . <i>and</i> éarmre fréfrían . <i>and</i> hingrendum mete sellan . <i>and</i> nacode scrydan . <i>and</i> eall þæt he on his folgoðe be- geat eal he þæt for gódes lufan gedáelde . nemne ðáne dæghwæmlican ondlyfan anne . ðe he néde biglyfian sceolde .</p>
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²³The MS has *swiðo* (sic!).

²⁴The MS has *þonn þonne*, Morris emends likewise.

²⁵The scribe scratched out *ge-* from the MS (*gefullice*).

²⁶MS has *wære* (sic!). Emended as in D.

	Gemunde he þæt godes bebod þæt he sylfa on his godspelle beþeod . he swa cwæð . þæt se godes man . ne sceolde be ðam mergendæge þencan ðy læs þæt wære þæt he ðurh þæt ænig þara goda forgulde ²⁷ þe he ðonne ðy dæge ²⁸ gedon mehte in weninge hwæðer he eft þæs morgendæges gebidan moste .	Gemunde he þæt drihten be[128v]beod on þæm godspelle . De crastino non cogitare . þæt se godes man ne sceolde be þan morgendæge þencan þylæs þæt wære þæt he þurh þæt ænig þara góða forylde ²⁹ þe he þonne þy dæge gedón mihte . <i>and</i> ða wéninge hwæðer he eft þæs mergendæges gebidan moste .	gemunde he þæt drihten . bebéad on his godspelle [64v] De crastino non cogitäre . ðæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæge dæncean . ðylæs þæt wære þæt he ðurh ænig ðára góða forylde þæt he þanne ði dæge gedón méahte . <i>and</i> ðanne wéninga hwæðer he eft ðæs meregendæges gebídan moste .
n.s.	<i>Men þa leofestan</i> ³⁰ magon we nu þara arfæstra dæda sume aseccan ³¹ . ðe ðes eadiga wer <i>sanctus</i> martinus dyde . he sona In cnihtade gedyde þeah þa godra dæda ma wære þonne hit ænig man aseccan mæge ³² .	Magon we nu þara arfæstra dæda sume gehyran sæccan þe he þes eadiga wer . <i>Sanctus</i> martinus sona on his cnihtade gedyde . þeah þe þara godra dæda man ³³ wære þonne ænig man aseccan mæge	magon we ðara árfæstra dæda sume gehéran secgan . ðe he ðés eadiga wer . <i>sanctus</i> martinus . sóna on his cnihtáde gedyde . ðeah ðe he his ðara góðra dáda má wære . ðanne ánig man aseccan mæge .
SVM 3,1	<i>and</i> þæt gelamp sume siðe þæt he ferde mid oðrum cyninges þegnum in þa burh þe ambinensis hatte [.] wæs þæt in middan ³⁴ wintra [.] wæs se winter þy geara to þæs grim þæt efne manige men wæron þæt heora feorh for cyle gesealdan .	Ðæt gelamp sume siðe þæt he ferde mid oþrum cininges ðegnum on ða burg þe ambinensus hatte . þæt wæs eac on middum wintra . wæs se winter eac þy geara to þæs grim þæt manig man his feorh for cyle gesealde .	þæt gelamp sume siðe . þæt he gefyrde mid oðrum cyninges ðegenum on ða [65r] burh ðe ambinensus hatte . wæs on middum wíntre . <i>and</i> wæs se wíntre ðy géara to ðæs grim þæt efne manig man his fyrh for cyle geseálde .

²⁷Szarmach (63,32) emends to *forylde*, based on D and E.

²⁸The MS has *dege*, which is a scribal correction.

²⁹Hamilton (55,39) emends to C's *forgulde*, without further notice.

³⁰The MS has *M*.

³¹The scribe corrected *aseccan*.

³²Hamilton (1979: 55,41) notes that C, D and E are notably different in this passage, C and E being confused.

³³The MS has *ma* (sic!).

³⁴The MS has *midda*; Peterson (83,57) suggests to read *middum*; Szarmach (63,39) suggests *midda*<*n*>, which I followed.

SVM 3,2	<p>þa sæt þær sum þearfa æt ðam burggeate wel neah ðon³⁵ <i>and</i> se nacoda bæd him þa for gode hrægles on ælmessan³⁶. þa ferdon hie ealle forð be him <i>and</i> heora nænig to him gecyrran nolde ne him ænige are gedon woldon. þa ongeat he se godes man þæt drihten him þone þearfendan man geheold þæt he him miltsian sceolde þe þara oðera manna. nan him arian ne wolde.</p> <p>nyste þa hwæðre hwæt he him don sceolde for þan þe he nowiht elles hæfde butan his anfealdne [96v] gerelan ac eall þæt he má hæfde eall he þæt ær beforan In gelic weorc ateah <i>and</i> for gode sealde.</p>	<p>Ða sæt þær sum þearfa æt ðæm burggeate sæt eac nacod bæd him þa for gode hrægles <i>ond</i> ælmessan³⁷. þa ferdan hie ealle forð be him <i>ond</i> heora nænig him to cerran nolde ne him nænigre³⁸ are gedon. Ða ongeat se godes wer <i>sanctus</i> martinus þæt drihten him ðone þearfan geheold. þæt he him [129r] miltsian sceolde ða þara oðerra manna him³⁹ nán arian ne wolde.</p> <p>Nyste þeah hwæðre hwæt he him dón sceolde. forðon þe he naht elles buton his ánfealdne gegyrelan ah <i>healf</i>⁴⁰ þæt he mare <i>hæfde</i>⁴¹ eal he þæt ær beforan on onlic weorc ateah <i>ond</i> for gode geséalde.</p>	<p>ðá sæt ðær sum ðearfa æt ðam burhgæte sæt éac nacod bæd him ða for gode his hrægles on ælmessan. ða fýrðon hie ealle forð be him. <i>and</i> hyra nán him to gecyrran wólde. ne him ænige áre gedón. ða ongeat se godes wer. <i>sanctus</i> martinus þæt drihten him ðone ðearfan geheold. þæt he him miltsian sceolde ða ðara oðera manna him [65v] nán árian wolde.</p> <p>nyste ðeah hwæðere hwæt he him dón sceolde. forðan ðe he naht elles næfde bútan his anfealdne gýrelan. Ac eall þæt he ma hæfde. eall he þæt ær beforan on gelic wyrç ateah. <i>and</i> for gode geséalde.</p>
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³⁵Peterson (83,60) suggests to read *ðam*. Szarmach (63,41) reads “quite near to it [the gate]”; the pronoun can refer both to the gate or to the passing soldiers, unless it is the adv. ‘then’, cf. BT þan I.

³⁶Peterson (83,61) suggests to read *hrægles and ælmessan*; one could also read ‘garments as alms’, see BT s.v. on III.6.

³⁷Meaning ‘garments and alms’. Hamilton (56,48) notes that C and E have *hrægles on ælmessan* (‘garments as alms’), and concludes, like Napier (305), that the scribe was mistaken; cf. note in C.

³⁸Napier (305) suggests emendation to *ænige*; Hamilton (56,50) does not emend and states that the “scribe clearly intended the double negative but erred in the word form”.

³⁹The MS has *hi*; Morris also emends to *him*.

⁴⁰The letters *h* and *f* are a later correction, cf. Napier (305), Morris’ note, and Hamilton (56,54). Szarmach (editing MS C, 1981, p. 63, l. 46) notes that D’s corrector probably thought of the preceding *healf*, thinking Martin had given half of his things away already.

⁴¹Added from C.

Geteah þa his seax *and* genam his sciccels þone his lodan⁴² þe he him on hæfde [.] snað þa þone in tú *and* þa healfne þam þearfan sealde *and* mid healfne hine eft besweop [.] þa wæron manige men þe þæt gesawon þæt hie hine on þam tældon *and* besmyredon þæt he swa his anfealdne gyrelan tosnidan sceolde . Sume þonne eft ða ðe beteran modes wæron *and* ænige lufan to gode hæfdon hie sylfe be þon oncudon þæt hie swa ne dydon *and* wiston þæt hie má hæfdon þæt hie ægðer ge ðam þearfan hrægl syllan meahton ge hwæðre him sylfum genog habban .

Geteah þeah⁴³ his seax *and* genam his sciccels þe he him on hæfde tosnað þa hine ontwa *and* healfne sealde þam þearfan *and* mid healfum hine sylfne besweop . Ða wæron þær manige men þe þæt gesawon þæt hie hine on þæm tældon *and* bismrodan þæt he his swa anfealdne gegyrelan tosnidan sceolde . Sume þonne eft þa ðe betran modes wæron *and* ænige lufe to gode hæfdan hie sylfe be þon oncudon þæt hie swa ne dydon *and* wiston þæt hie mare hæfdon þæt hie æghweþer ge þæm þearfan hrægl syllan mihtan ge hweþre⁴⁴ him sylfum genog hæfdon⁴⁵ .

geteah ða his sex . *and* genam his sciccels ðe he him onhæfde . *and* tosnaðða hine . on twá . *and* ða healf geséalde ðam ðearfan . *and* mid héalfne hine besweop . Ða wæron manige men . ðe þæt gesáwon . *and* hie hine on ðan tældon . *and* bismrodan . þæt he his swa an[66r]féaldne gýrelan tosnidan scéolde . sume ðanne eft ða ðe beteran módes wæron . *and* ænige lufan to gode háfdan . hie sélfe be þan ongáeton þæt hie swa ne dydan . *and* wistan þæt hie mete háfdon . þæt hie æghwæðer ge ðam ðéarfán hrægel syllan mihtan . ge éac heom selfum genóh háfdon .

⁴²Peterson (83,71) suggests to read *loðan* (BT s.v. *loða*: ‘cloak, upper garment’), SVM has *chlamydem*. Szarmach (1981: 63,47) regards *þone his lodan* as an “intrusion”. Peterson’s suggestion makes sense so far as the scribal <d> and <ð> are identical except for a stroke in the neck. Still, as Scragg (309) notes, the whole passage does not make much sense.

⁴³Meaning ‘yet, still, however, nevertheless’ (BT s.v. *þeah*); Hamilton (56,55) emends to *C’s þa* (‘then’).

⁴⁴In accordance with Swaen (272), who comments that Morris’ *gehweþre* “gives no sense here”.

⁴⁵Hamilton (57,63) emends to *habban*.

SVM 3,3	<p><i>and þa wæs In þære æfterfylgendum</i>⁴⁶ niht ða þes eadiga wer slepte <i>and þa geseah he crist sylfne mid þy ilcan hrægle gegyredne . þe he ær þam þearfan sealde . and þa wæs him beboden geornlice</i>⁴⁷ þæt hine dryhten ongeate <i>and þæt hrægl þæt he ær þam þearfan sealde</i></p> <p><i>and þa geseah he mycle engla weorod ymbe þane dryhten standende and þa gehyrde hine dryhten eac mid switolre</i>⁵¹ stefne to englum cwedæn martinus nu iu⁵² [...] cwæð þus gecristnod ær his fulwihte he mid þysse hrægle me gegyrede .</p>	<p>Ða wæs sona on þære æfterfylgendan niht⁴⁸ þa he se eadiga wer slep⁴⁹ þa geseah he crist sylfne mid þy ilcan hrægle gegyredne þe he ær þon þearfan sealde . Ða wæs him beboden⁵⁰ [129v] geornlicor þæt he hine urne drihten ongeate <i>ond þæt hrægl þe he ær þæm þearfan sealde . Mox angelorum circumstantium multitudinem .</i></p> <p>Ða geseah he myccl mengeo engla emb hine drihten sylfne mid swa cuðre stefne to ðæm englum cwedendne martinus nu ðu⁵³ eart gecristnod ær þinum fulwihte mid þys hrægle þu me gegyredest .</p>	<p>ða wæs sóna on ðære æfterfylgendan nihte . ða he se eadiga wer slép . ða geseah he críst sélfne . mid ði ilcan hrægle . gegyrwydne . ðe he áer ðan þéarfan geséalde . [66v] ða wæs him beboden gýrnlicor þæt he hine úrne drihten ongáete . <i>and þæt hrægel ðe he áer ðam déarfan geséalde . Mox angelórum circumstántium multitudinem .</i></p> <p>Ða geseah he mycele márnige ængla ymbe hine drihten stándan . <i>and ða gehýrde he drihten sélfne mid swa cuðre stéfn . and to þan ænglum cwæð . martinus nu ðu éart gecristnod áer his fulwihte . mid ðisum hrægle . ðu me gegýredest .</i></p>
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⁴⁶So in MS; Scragg has *æfterfylgendan*.

⁴⁷So in MS; Scragg has *geornlicor*.

⁴⁸Morris emends to *niht*.

⁴⁹I.e. a strong preterite form, where WS would typically have a weak form (*slepte*, as in C), which suggests a non-WS origin, see Hamilton: 4(1).

⁵⁰Derivation from the strong verb *bebeoden*, though the derivation is not from the infinitive, but the past form *beboden* (Sauer 2013: 273).

⁵¹Peterson (83,86) suggests to read *sweotolre*.

⁵²Scragg (309) assumes that the scribe translated *adhuc* (SVM); Szarmach (64,58) emends to *gen*.

⁵³It seems a contradiction that Christ addresses Martin though speaking to the angels. Hamilton (57,67) notices it and inserts text from C and E to enhance clarity, though he also notices confusion in all three version, from which he concludes that there must have been mistakes in the homilist's original.

SVM 3,4	<p>wæs in þære dæde sweetol ðæt ure dryhten is swiðe gemyndig þæs cwides þe he sylfa ær cwæð . Swa [97r] hwæt swa ge hwylcum earmum men to gode ge doþ [.] for minum naman efne ge þæt me sylfum doð . he ða wolde þone cwide gefyllan In þære godan dæde <i>and</i> hine sylfne geeaðmedde to þæn⁵⁴ þæt he wolde . In þæs þearfan gierelan ætywan ðam eadigan were <i>sancte martine</i> .</p>	<p>wæs on þære dæde swiþe cuð þæt ure drihten is swiþe gemyndig þæs his cwides þe he sylfa ær gecwæð . Quamdiu fecisti . Swa hwæt swa ge cwædon⁵⁵ þæt ge hwelcum earmum men to góde ge doð for minum naman efne ond⁵⁶ ge me sylfum doð <i>ond</i> he þa wolde þone cwide getrymman on þære godcundan dæde <i>ond</i> he hine sylfne to ðon geeaðmedde þæt he hine on ðæs þearfan gegyrelan æteowde þæm eadigan were <i>Sancte martine</i> .</p>	<p>wæs on ðære dæde swiðe cuð . þæt ure drihten is swiðe gemýndig ðæs his cwi[67r]des ðe he selfa ær cwæð . Quamdiu fecisti . Swa hwæt swa ge hwilcum earmúm⁵⁷ to góde ge doð . for minum naman efne ge ðæt me selfum ge⁵⁸ doð . <i>and</i> he ða wolde ðane cwide getryman on ðære godcundan dæda <i>and</i> hine selfne to ðan geeaðmedde þæt he hine on ðæs ðearfan gyrelan ætéowde ðam éadigan were . <i>sancte martine</i> .</p>
SVM 3,5	<p><i>and</i> ða se eadiga wer <i>sanctus martinus</i> ða gesyhðe geseah þa ne wæs he hwæðre oht ofor⁵⁹ þan In oferhygd ahafen ne In mennisce wuldore ac he godes gód . in þære ðære⁶⁰ dæde he ongeat . ða he ða hæfde eahtatyne wintra⁶¹ . ða gefullade hine man æfter cirican endebyrdnesse .</p>	<p>Quo uisu uir non in gloriam elatus est . ða he þa se eadiga wer <i>sanctus martinus</i> þa gesihþe geseah þa ne wæs he hweþre noht feor on oferhygd ahafen on mennisc wuldor ah he godes good⁶² on þære his dæde ongeat . ða he þa hæfde [130r] twæm læs þe twentig wintra þa gefullode hine mon on þære ciricean endebyrdnesse</p>	<p>Quo uisv uír non in gloriam elátus est . Pa he se eadyga martinus . ða gesihþe geseah ða næs he naht swiðe on óferhýdig ahafen . on <i>mennisc</i> . wúndor . ac he godes gód on ðære [67v] his dæda ongæt . ða he ða hæfde twam læs twéntig wíntra . ða gefullode hine man . on ðære cyrican éndebyrdnesse .</p>

⁵⁴There is an illegible erasure after *þæn*, which was also noticed by Sisam (1976) and Szarmach (64,62).

⁵⁵As Hamilton (58,73) also notes, “these words do not appear in [E] and [C]”.

⁵⁶Morris emends by replacing *ond* with *þæt*; C and E omit it.

⁵⁷So in MS.

⁵⁸The *ge* represents a scribal correction.

⁵⁹There is an erasure under the last two letters *or*; Szarmach (64,64) suggested it might have been *er* originally.

⁶⁰So in MS; Peterson (84,98) suggests to delete *ðære*.

⁶¹The MS has *wini*; I expanded in accordance with D.

⁶²So in MS; Hamilton (59,79) suggests that the scribe employed the odd spelling to mark the difference to the preceding *godes* (‘God’s’).

SVM 3,6	wæs he ær beforan þa þreo gear gecristnod swa ic ær sægde .	wæs he beforan ær þa þreo gear gecristnod swa ic ær sægde	<i>and</i> wæs he beforan ær ðam . iii . gær . gecristnod swa ic ær sæde .
SVM 5,1	ða forlet he ealne þone woruldfolgodð án to <i>sancte</i> ⁶³ ilario þam bisceope . þe In pictauensis þære byrig wæs bisceop . wæs þæt swiðe foremære man se bisceop . <i>and</i> his god ⁶⁴ wæs swiðe gecyðed .	þa forlet he þone woruldfolgað <i>and</i> ða gewát to <i>Sancte</i> hilarie þam bisceope þe on pictauiie þære byrig wæs bisceop þæt wæs swiðe foremære man for gode <i>and</i> his god wæs swiðe gecyðed .	ða forlet he ealne ðane wyroldfolgodð ænne . <i>and</i> ða gewát he to <i>sancte</i> hilarie ðam bysceope . ðe in pictaue ðære býrig wæs bysceop . <i>and</i> wæs þæt swiðe foremære . man for gode . se bysceop . <i>and</i> his gód wæs swiðe gecýðed .
SVM 5,2 - 6,7	<i>and</i> he þa þysne eadigan wer <i>sancte</i> martine fulfremedlice In godes á <i>and</i> in godes þeowdome getyde <i>and</i> gelærde . <i>and</i> eac ⁶⁵ þan þe ðæt eaddæde wæs . þa hine god sylfa . swa Innan manode . wæs he swiðe geþungen on his þeawum <i>and</i> gestæddig on his wordum <i>and</i> hluttur <i>and</i> ærfæst <i>and</i> clæne on his life <i>and</i> gemetfæst . <i>and</i> mildheort ⁶⁶ on his dædum <i>and</i> geornful <i>and</i> biwyrde ⁶⁷ in dryhtnes lare <i>and</i> on eallum þingum for gode fulfremed .	<i>and</i> he þa þysne eadigan wer <i>Sanctus</i> martinus fulfremedlice on godes á <i>and</i> on godes þeowdóm getýde <i>and</i> gelærde toeacan þon þe hine ⁶⁸ god sylf innan manode wæs he swiðe geþungen on his ðeawum <i>and</i> staðolfæst on his wordum <i>and</i> hluttur <i>and</i> clæne on his lufe ⁶⁹ <i>and</i> he wæs arfæst <i>and</i> gemetfæst <i>and</i> mildheort on his dædum <i>and</i> geornful <i>and</i> be gewyrhtum ymb drihtnes lare ⁷⁰ <i>and</i> on eallum gódum for gode swiþe fulfremed .	<i>and</i> he ða ðisne ýdigan wer fulfrémedlice on godes á . <i>and</i> on godes ðéowdom [68r] getýde . <i>and</i> gelærde . eac ðan ⁷¹ ða hine god sélfne innan gemanode . wæs he swiðe geðungen on his ðéawum . <i>and</i> staðolfæst . on his wordum . <i>and</i> hluttur . <i>and</i> clæne on his hífe . <i>and</i> he wæs árfæst . <i>and</i> gemétfæst . <i>and</i> mildhyrt on his dædum . <i>and</i> geornful . <i>and</i> be gewyrhtum . ymbe drihtnes lare . <i>and</i> on eallum gódum . for gode fulfrémede .

⁶³Peterson (84,103) and Szarmach (64,68) suggest to read *and gewat to sancte* as in D.

⁶⁴I.e. an erasure; Sisam (1976) reads *wæs þæt*.

⁶⁵Szarmach emends to <to>*eac*<*an*>.

⁶⁶The MS has *milheort* (sic!); Scragg emends likewise.

⁶⁷Morris (216) translates ‘diligent in his works concerning the Lord’s lore’, thereby ignoring the tironian nota, which Napier (1904) criticizes. Peterson (84,111) understands the passage as ‘his name became a by-word for his divine love’, though *lare* should be translated ‘lore’, from OE *lar*.

⁶⁸A second *þe hine* has been scratched out.

⁶⁹Morris and Hamilton emend to *life* (as in C).

⁷⁰Hamilton (59,91) discusses Morris’ translation and Napier’s (305) comment on it, arguing for the following translation: “... merciful in his deeds and compassionate and, in his works concerning the Lord’s teaching and in all things in the sight of God, very diligent”.

⁷¹So in MS.

SVM 7,1	<p><i>and þa gelamp æfter þan þæt⁷² þes eadiga wer [97v] sanctus martinus sum mynster him getimbrade . and he on ðam manigra godes þeowa gastlice fæder gewearð . and þa gelamp sume siðe þæt þær cwom⁷³ sum gecristnod man to him . þæt he wolde mid his lare . and mid his bysenum beon ontimbred and þa he ða þær wæs wel manige dagas þa wearð he untrum se man In þære feferadle .</i></p>	<p>Þa gelamp æfter þon þæt þes eadiga wer <i>Sanctus</i> martinus sum mynster getimbrede <i>ond</i> he on ðæm manigra godes þeowa gastlic fæder gewearð . Þa gelamp sume siðe þæt þær cóm sum gecristnod man to <i>him</i> þæt he wolde mid his lare <i>ond</i> mid his lífes bysene beon ontim[130v]bred þa wæs he þær⁷⁴ dagas wel manige þa wearð he untrum on weforádle .</p>	<p>ða gelamp æfter ðan þæt se eadiga wer <i>sanctus</i> martinus . súm mynster getimbrede . <i>and</i> he on ðam mánigra godes ðeowa gástlic fæder gewéarð ða gelamp sume siþe þæt ðær [68v] com sum ungecrístnod . man to him þæt he wolde mid his láre . <i>and</i> mid his lífes bísene beon ingetimbred . ða ða he ðær wæs wel monige dagas . ða wearð he úntrum on féferadle .</p>
SVM 7,2	<p><i>and þa gelamp In ða tid . þæt he sanctus martinus wæs In sumre fore ealle dogor⁷⁵ þa he ða eft ham cwom þa mette he þone man forðferedne þe þær untrum wæs and hine efne swa færlice deað fornam þæt he ungefulwad forðgewát ; ða he ða sanctus martinus þæt geseah þæt þa oðre broðor ealle swa unróte leton ymbe þæt lic . and hie utan stodon þa weop he and eode to him ; wæs him þæt swiðe mycle weorce⁷⁶ . þæt he swa ungefullad forðferan sceolde .</i></p>	<p>Ða gelamp on þa tid þæt <i>Sanctus</i> martinus wæs on sumre fore ealle þry dagas ða he eft ham cóm þa mette he ðane man forðferedne þe þær ær úntrum wæs <i>ond</i> hine efne swa færlice deað fornam ðæt he ungefullad forðferde . Þa he þa <i>sanctus</i> martinus þæt geseah þæt þa oðre broðor ealle swa únrote ymb þæt líc utan stondan⁷⁷ þe⁷⁸ weop he <i>ond</i> eode In⁷⁹ to him <i>ond</i> him wæs þæt swiþe mycclle weorce þæt he swa ungefulwad forðferan sceolde</p>	<p>ða gelámp on ða tíð . þæt <i>sanctus</i> martinus wæs on sumre fóre . ealle .iii. gær . ða he ða eft hám cóm . ða gemette he ðane man . forðférendne . ðe ðær ær úntrum wæs . <i>and</i> hine éfne swa færlice deað fornam . þæt he ungefullod forðfére . ða he ða <i>sanctus</i> martinus . þæt geseah þæt ða oðre gebroðre ealle swa unróte wáran . ymbe þæt líc . ða weop he . <i>and</i> éode in to [69r] him <i>and</i> wæs him swiðe micle wyrce þæt he swa ungefullod forðgeféran scéolde .</p>

⁷²This is one of the text's very few instances of the abbreviation with a crossed thorn.

⁷³The <o> is above the line, i.e. a scribal correction. Cf. Scragg (1970 table 15, p. 279) for the distribution of *com* and *cwom* in the MS.

⁷⁴Hamilton (60,97) emends to *þa he þa wæs þær* (the phrasing of C), arguing D's reading would be "clearly a mistake, since the clause is temporal". However, if regarded simply as two main sentences (without punctus, as occurs frequently in C), it is not necessarily a mistake.

⁷⁵An odd spelling for *dagas* ('days'), cf. GrSB §289 (1); cf. D's *ealle þry dagas*, and E's *ealle .iii. gær*; only D follows the Latin.

⁷⁶In the sense "to be painful to a person" (Szarmach 64,83-4).

⁷⁷Napier (305) suggests *stodon*, Zupitza (219) *stodan*; cf. Hamilton (60,102).

⁷⁸Hamilton (60,102) emends to *þa*.

⁷⁹So in MS.

SVM 7,3	<p>Getreowde hine ða hwæðre on þone ælmihtigan gode mid ealle mode <i>and</i> on his mildheortnesse . eode he ða hwæðre In þæt hus þær se lichama Inne læg . <i>and</i> het þá oðre men ealle ut gangan . <i>and</i> he ða ða duru beleac æfter him <i>and</i> he hine þa on gebed astreahte ofer þæs aswoltenes mannes leoma . ða he ða lange hwile . swa in þam gebede wæs ða ongeat he þæt þær wæs godcund mægn <i>and</i> weard . <i>and</i> he þara⁸⁰ dryhtnes mildheortnesse unforhtlice onbad . þa wæs ymbe hwile . þá gefylde he [<i>next folio missing</i>]</p>	<p>getrywde þa hewðre mid ealle mode on ælmihtiges godes miht <i>ond</i> on his mildheortnesse <i>ond</i> eode þa on þa cétan þær se lichoma Inne⁸¹ wæs <i>ond</i> heht ða oðre men út gangan <i>ond</i> þa ða duru inbeleac⁸² æfter him <i>ond</i> hine ða gebæd <i>ond</i> hine astreahte ofer leomu⁸³ þæs deadan mannes þa he þa lange hwile on þam gebede wæs . þa ongeat he þæt þær wæs godcundlic mægen ondweard <i>ond</i> he þære mildheortnesse unsoh⁸⁴ abád þa wæs ymb hwile ða gefelde he þæt se deada man his leomu ealle astyrede <i>ond</i> his eagan upahof <i>ond</i> forðlocade .</p>	<p>getrywde ðæhwæðere mid ealle móde . on ælmihtiges godes miht . <i>and</i> his mildhéortnesse . <i>and</i> éode on ða cýtan ðær se lichama inne wæs . <i>and</i> hét ða oðre men út gángen . <i>and</i> ða ða duru beléac æfter him . <i>and</i> he him ða gebæd . <i>and</i> astréahte ofer ða léoma ðæs aswóltonan mannes ða he ða lánge hwile on ðan gebede wæs . ða ongæt he þæt ðær wæs godcundlic mægen ándweard . <i>and</i> he ðære mildheortnesse únforht [69v] onbád . ða wæs ýmbe hwile ða gefélde he⁸⁵ þæt se deada man his léoma . ealle astyrodan . <i>and</i> his éagan up ahóf . <i>and</i> fórdlócode .</p>
SVM 7,4	[<i>missing folio</i>]	<p>þa he þa <i>sanctus</i> martinus þæt geseah þa wæs he [131r] swiþe gefeonde <i>ond</i> þa cleopode hlude mid mycelre stefne <i>ond</i> ælmihtigum gode þære gife þanc sægde . ða þæt þa þa oðre broþro⁸⁶ gehyrdon þe þær úte wæron ða eodan hie In⁸⁷ to him . ða gesawon hie wundorlice wyrd ðone man lifgendne þone þæt hie ár deadne forleton</p>	<p>ða he ða <i>sanctus</i> martinus . ðæt geseah ða wæs he swiðe geféonde . <i>and</i> ða clýpode he hlúdre stefne . <i>and</i> ealmihtigum gode ðære gife ðanc sæde . Þa ðæt ða oðre broðran . gehýrdan ðe ðær úte wæron ða éodon hie ín to him . ða gesáwon hie wúndorlice gewyrd ðane man lýfiende ðane hie ár déadne forléton .</p>

⁸⁰Szarmach (64,88) emends to *þære*.

⁸¹So in MS.

⁸²Hamilton (60,107) emends to *beleac*, as in C and E.

⁸³Hamilton (60,107) emends to *ond he hine on gebed astreahte ofer leomu* in accordance with SVM and C.

⁸⁴Hamilton (61,110) emends to *unforht* (from E); C has *unforhtlice*, SVM has *intrepidus*.

⁸⁵Szarmach also edits the following lines from E, p. 59, to make up for the folio missing in C.

⁸⁶As Hamilton (61,114) notices, Morris misread *broþra*.

⁸⁷So in MS.

SVM 7,5	[<i>missing folio</i>]	<i>ond</i> hine man þa sona gefulwade <i>ond</i> he feala geara æfter ðon lifde .	<i>and</i> hine man ða sóna gefullode . <i>and</i> he fela géara [70r] æfter ðan lífde .
SVM 7,7	[<i>missing folio</i>]	Wæs þis ðare ⁸⁸ wundra ærest þe þes eadiga wer openlice beforan oþrum mannum geworhte <i>ond</i> þa æfter þisse dæde his noma wæs áseoþþan weorð <i>ond</i> mære geworden <i>ond</i> hine eal þæt folc haligne <i>ond</i> mihtigne ongeat <i>ond</i> apostolicne ⁸⁹ on his dædum .	wæs ðis ðare ⁹⁰ wundra árst ðe ðes eadiga wer ópenlice befóran oðrum mannum geworhte . <i>and</i> ða æfter ðisse dæde his nama wæs syððan á wyrð . <i>and</i> mære gewórden . <i>and</i> hine eall þæt folc haligne . <i>and</i> mihtigne ongætán on his dædum .
SVM 8,1	[<i>missing folio</i>]	Swylce eac eft gelamp oþer wundor þissum onlic he ferde sume siðe þes eadiga wer to sumes mannes túne þe lupicinus wæs haten . þa gehyrde he þær on túne mycelne héaf <i>ond</i> wó <i>ond</i> manige cleopodan mid mycelre stefne	swylce éac eft gelamp oðer wúndor . ðisse anlicnesse . he fyrde sume siþe ðes eadiga wer to ánes mannes túne . ðe lupicinus wæs gehátén . ða gehyrde he ðær on ðan túne mycelne héaf . <i>and</i> wóp . <i>and</i> mánige cléopodan mid miclere stéfné .

⁸⁸Morris and Hamilton (61,117) emends to *ðara*.

⁸⁹Note the loan word here; DOE s.v. *apostollic*, *apostolic* shows that it appears almost exclusively in Bede and Ælfric.

⁹⁰Szarmach (65,C6) emends to *ðæra*.

SVM 8,2	[missing folio]	<p>þa gestód he <i>ond</i> ahsode hwæt seo cleopung wære þa sægde him mon þæt þær wære sum man earmlice deaþe aswolten swa þæt he hine sylfne awyrde⁹¹. ða he þa <i>sanctus</i> martinus þæs mannes deað swa earmlicne gehyrde ða wæs him þæt sona swiþe sar <i>ond</i> myccle weorce <i>ond</i> þa [131v] eode he in þa cetan þær se lichoma. Inne⁹² læg þæs deadan mannes. <i>ond</i> heht þa oþre men ealle út gangan <i>ond</i> þa duru betýnan <i>ond</i> hine þa þær on gebed astreahte⁹³ ða he þa hwile on þæm gebede wæs þa færinga</p>	<p>[70v] þa gestód he. <i>and</i> ácsode hwæt syo clypung wære. ða sæde him man þæt ðær wære sum man éarmlice deað⁹⁴ geswolten. þæt he hine selfne awyrgde. ða he ða <i>sanctus</i> martinus. ðæs mannes deað swa éarmlice⁹⁵ gehýrde. ða wæs him þæt sóna swiðe sár. <i>and</i> on mycle wýrce. <i>and</i> ða eode on ða cýten. ðær se lichama inne læg. ðæs aswóltenan mannes. <i>and</i> het ða oðre mæn ealle út gangan. <i>and</i> ða duru betýnan <i>and</i> hine ðær ða on gebede astréahte. ða he ða hwile on ðon gebede wæs. ða færinge</p>
SVM 8,3	[missing folio]	<p>wearð se deada man cwic eft <i>ond</i> forðlocade <i>ond</i> teolode to arisenne. ða genam <i>sanctus</i> martinus hine be his handa. <i>ond</i> upheah arærde <i>ond</i> hine lædde forð to þon cafortune þæs huses <i>ond</i> hine eft þæm mannum hálne <i>ond</i> gesundne ageaf þæm þe hine ær deadne leton.</p>	<p>wearð se déada man cwyc <i>and</i> eft forðlocode. <i>and</i> tylode to arísanne. [71r] ða genam <i>sanctus</i> martinus hine be his hándan. <i>and</i> up heah arærde. <i>and</i> hine gelædde forð to ðan cauertúne ðæs húses. <i>and</i> hine eft ðam mannum halne. <i>and</i> gesúndne ageáf. ðe hic ær déadne forléton.</p>
n.s.	[missing folio]	<p>ðas wundor <i>ond</i> manig oþer ælmihtig God þurh þysne eadigan wer worhte ær þon þe he æfre bisceop wære.</p>	<p>ðas wundor. <i>and</i> manig oðer ælmihtig god ðurh ðysne éadigan wer gewrohhte. ær ðanne⁹⁶ he áfre wære bysceop.</p>

⁹¹Swaen (272) criticizes that Morris translated ‘destroyed’ and did not gloss it. Swaen notes that is the preterite of *awyrgran*, ‘to strangle’, and counts it among the MS’s many “frequent omissions of <g> in various positions”.

⁹²So in MS.

⁹³Hamilton (62,129-30) notes that *gebed* must be understood as ‘prayer’, not as ‘bed’.

⁹⁴Szarmach emends to *deaðe*.

⁹⁵Szarmach corrects to *earmlíc* <n>e.

⁹⁶Expansion in accordance with the word as in D; expanded likewise by Szarmach (ll. 20-1).

SVM 9,1 - 7	[<i>missing folio</i>]	Ah seopþan he þon bisceophade onfeng In ⁹⁷ turnan ðære byrig .	ac syððan he ðan býscepháde onféng . in turna ðære byrig
n.s.	[<i>missing folio</i>]	nis nænig man þæt þa wundor ealle aseggan mæge þa ðe god seopþan þurh hine worhte	Nis ánig man þæt ða wundor eall aséce . ða ðe god syððan ðurh hine gewrohte .
SVM 10,1 - 2	[<i>missing folio</i>]	ond ðeah he þa maran hád háfde ond eac for worlde ricra beon sceolde þonne he ær wære þeh hweþre he háfde þa ilcan eaðmodnesse on ⁹⁸ his heortan ond þa ilcan forwyrnednesse on his lichoman æghwæder ge on mete ge on hrægle ge on æghwylcum þinge efne swa he ær háfde . ond he his bisceophád swa gedefelice for gode geheold swa he hweþre næfde ⁹⁹ þæt mægen [132r] ond þa foresetenesse his munuchades ¹⁰⁰ ánforlet .	and ðeah ðe he ða máran hád háfde . and éac for wyrolde ricra béon scéolde . ðanne he ár wæs [71v] hwæðere ¹⁰¹ he háfde ða ilcan eadmodnesse . an his hýrtan and ða ilcan fórwýrnednesse on his lichaman . æghwæder ge on mete ¹⁰² ge on hrægle . ge on æghwilcum ðing éfne swa he ár háfde . and he his byscephád swa gedefelice geheold . for gode . swa he hwæder næfre þæt mægen . and ða foresetenesse his munuchádes ánneforlét .
s.u.	[<i>missing folio</i>]	Omnēs namque unanimiter cupiebant ¹⁰³ . Ond ealle men forneah ¹⁰⁴ ða þe ðyses eadygan weres lif cuþon oþþe forehyrdon ealle hie þæt ánmodlice wlnodan þæt hie his wórd gehyran moston ond	Omnēs namque unanimiter ¹⁰⁵ cupiebant . and ealle men ða ðe feor ge néah ðyses éadigan weres lif ¹⁰⁶ cudān oððe gehýrdan . ealle hie þæt ánmódllice wlnodan þæt hi ¹⁰⁷ [72r] his word geheran mostan . and

⁹⁷So in MS.

⁹⁸The MS has a gap in between the two words, for no discernible reason.

⁹⁹Zupitza (219) regards it an error by the copyist, and suggests to read *næfre* (so emended in Hamilton (62,142)).

¹⁰⁰I.e. ‘monk-hood’, cf. BT s.v. *munuc-had*.

¹⁰¹MS has *ni wæðere*; the *ni* is in a different ink, apparently a later addition. According to Scragg, the *hw* was overwritten.

¹⁰²The MS has *mee*; Szarmach emends to *mete*.

¹⁰³Lit. ‘And so all unanimously desired’; the quote’s origin is unknown.

¹⁰⁴Hamilton (62,145) emends to *feor ge neah* (as in E).

¹⁰⁵There is a “presumed” *ter* “written into spine” (Szarmach l. C27).

¹⁰⁶The MS has only the letter *l*, the full word was added by a later corrector.

¹⁰⁷Szarmach emends to *hie*.

	[98v] his lare lufian for þan he swa cude <i>and</i> godes gife ¹⁰⁸ on him wæs	his larum fylgean for ðon þe hie sweotollice on him ongeaton godes ¹⁰⁹ gife <i>ond</i> his blisse	his larum gelyfan . for ðan hie swutollice on him ongáton godes lufe <i>and</i> his blisse .
SVM 13,9	<i>and</i> his hlisa wæs forð swiðe mære geond ealne middangeard . <i>and</i> he manig tempel <i>and</i> deofulgild gebræc <i>and</i> gefylde . <i>and</i> he þonne þær asette godes cirican . oððe fullice þær mynster getimbrade .	Wæs he forðon swiþe mære geond middangeard <i>ond</i> he manig templ <i>ond</i> deofolgyld gebræc <i>ond</i> gefylde þær hæþene ¹¹⁰ men ær deoflum onguldun <i>ond</i> þonne þær he þæt deofolgild ¹¹¹ gefylde þonne asette he þær godes ciricean oþþe fullice mynster getimbrede .	wæs he forðan swiðe máere geond middangéard . <i>and</i> he manig templ . <i>and</i> deofolgeld tobræc <i>and</i> gefelde ðæt hæðne men ær deoflum onguldun . <i>and</i> ðanne ðær he þæt deofolgyld gefelde . ðanne asette he ðær godes cyricean . oððe fullice mynster getimbrede .
SVM 14,1	<i>and</i> þæt gelamp sume side eac þæt he ongan onbærnan sum deofolgild þæt mid þam hæðenum mannum swiðe weorð <i>and</i> mære wæs . þa stod þær sum nyttwyrðe hus bi ðam hæðengilde þe he þær bærnan ongan þa slog se wind þone líg on þæt nyttwyrðe hus . <i>and</i> him þuhte þæt hit eall forbærnan sceolde	Ðæt gelamp sume side þæt he ongan bárnan sum deofolgild þe mid þæm hæðnum mannum swiðe weorð <i>ond</i> mære wæs þa stod ðær sum nyttwyrðe hus bi þæm gilde þe he þær bárnan ongan . ða slog se wind þone leg on þæt oþer hús <i>ond</i> ðuhte ¹¹² þæt hit eal forbyrnan sceolde	þæt gelamp sume side þæt he ongán bárnan sum déofolgyld þæt mid hæðenum mannum swiðe wyrð . <i>and</i> máere [72v] wæs . Þa stóð ðær sum nyttwyrð hús be ðan gelde ðe he ðær bárnan ongan . ða sloh se wind ðane légt on þæt oðer hús . <i>and</i> him ðuhte þæt hit eall forbyrnan sceolde .

¹⁰⁸Peterson (84,136) suggests to read for þan þe hie swa cude on geaton þæt zodes zife.

¹⁰⁹The MS has an erasure in between the two words; the erased word is not discernible, and as Hamilton (63,148) notes “[i]t has not yielded to ultra-violet light”.

¹¹⁰The MS has *heþene*, i.e. a scribal correction).

¹¹¹Morris misprinted *deofolgeld*.

¹¹²Hamilton (63,155) inserts *him*, (as in C); also noticed by Zupitza (219) and suggested by Swaen (272).

SVM 14,2	<p>þa he ða <i>sanctus martinus</i> þæt geseah þa arn he sona up on þæt hus <i>and</i> gestod he [missing line¹¹³] ongen þam winde <i>and</i> efne swa swa se wind swiðor sloh on þone lig swa bræc se lig swiðor on ðam winde . efne In þam¹¹⁴ gelicnesse swa ða gesceafta twa him betweenan feohtan sceoldon . <i>and</i> swa wæs þa se lig geþreatod þurh <i>sancte martines</i> gebedu þæt <i>he</i>¹¹⁵ nænigum oðrum þingum ne derede¹¹⁶ butan þam diofolgilde anum þe ðær bærnan ongan .</p>	<p>þa he þa <i>Sanctus martinus</i> þæt geseah þa arn he sona up on þæt hús <i>ond</i> ða gestod ongean þæm lege . Þa gelamp wundorlic wýrd þæt se leg ongan sléan <i>ond</i> brecan ongéan þone wind <i>ond</i> efne swa se wind swiþor slóg on þone lég swa bræc he [132v] swiþor ongean þæm winde efne þæm gelicost swylce ða gesceafta twá him betweenan gefeohtan sceoldan . <i>ond</i> swa se leg wearð geþreatod þurh <i>sancte martines</i> gebedum¹¹⁷ þæt he nænigum oðrum árne sceþþan ne mihte . buton þæm deofolgelede anum þe he þær bærnan ongan .</p>	<p>ða he ða <i>sanctus martinus</i> þæt geseah ða arn he sóna up on þæt hús . <i>and</i> ða gestód ongæn ðam légte . ða gelamp wúndorlic gewýrd þæt se légt ongán slean . <i>and</i> brecan ongæn ðane wind . <i>and</i> éfne swa se wind swiðor slóh on ðane légt . swa bræc he swiðor ongæn ðam wínde . <i>and</i> éfne on ða gelícnesse swa ða gescæfta twá be heom twýonum gefyhton [73r] sceoldan . <i>and</i> swa se légt wæs gedréatod ðurh <i>sancte martines</i> gebyde . þæt he nænigum oðrum ár scaðian ne méahte . éfne ðam déofolgyldre ánum ðe he ðær bárnan ongan .</p> <p>Swylce gelamp oðer wundor þyssonum onlic . he cwom to sumum <i>tune</i>¹¹⁸ þe libras wæs haten . þa wæs þær sum diofolgild þe ða hæðenan men godgild heton <i>and</i> hie hine swiðe weorðedon . ða¹¹⁹ wolde <i>sanctus martinus</i> ælce þinge¹²⁰ þæt gild tobrecan <i>and</i> gefyllan . þa wiðstodon him þa hæðenan men . <i>and</i> hie [98v] hine mid teonum aweg adrifon .</p>
SVM 14,3	<p>Swylce gelamp oðer wundor þyssonum onlic . he cwom to sumum <i>tune</i>¹¹⁸ þe libras wæs haten . þa wæs þær sum diofolgild þe ða hæðenan men godgild heton <i>and</i> hie hine swiðe weorðedon . ða¹¹⁹ wolde <i>sanctus martinus</i> ælce þinge¹²⁰ þæt gild tobrecan <i>and</i> gefyllan . þa wiðstodon him þa hæðenan men . <i>and</i> hie [98v] hine mid teonum aweg adrifon .</p>	<p>Swilce gelamp eft oþer wunder ðyssonum onlic he cóm to sumum <i>tune</i> ðe librasa wæs haten þa wæs þær gild þe þa hæþenan men swiðe weorðodan . ða wolde he <i>sanctus martinus</i> ælce þinga ðæt gyld abrecan <i>ond</i> gefyllan ða wiðstodan him ða hæþenan men <i>ond</i> me mid teonan aweg adrifon</p>	<p>Swylce gelamp eft oðer wundor ðyssonum gelíc . he com to sumen <i>túne</i> ðe librasa wæs geháten . ða wæs ðær sum geld ðe ða hæðenæn swiðe wyrðedan . ða wolde he <i>sanctus martinus</i> ælce ðinga þæt geld abrecan . <i>and</i> gefyllan . ða wiðstóðan him ða hæðenan mæn . <i>and</i> hine mid téonan on weg adrifon .</p>

¹¹³One line is missing in C which D and E have; the omission is believed to be due to an accidental eyeskip by the scribe, possibly resulting from the double occurrence of *ongean/ongen* (see Szarmach, ll. 97-8).

¹¹⁴Szarmach (l. 99) emends to *þære*.

¹¹⁵I added the *he*, like Scragg.

¹¹⁶Peterson (85,152) suggests to read *nederede*.

¹¹⁷The MS has *gebedu* (sic!).

¹¹⁸I added *tune*, as in D.

¹¹⁹The MS has *da* (sic!).

¹²⁰Szarmach (l. 105) emends to *þinga*.

SVM 14,4	<p>ða eode he ðærrihthe bii¹²¹ In sume stowe <i>and</i> he hine gegyrede mid hærene hrægle swiðe hearde <i>and</i> swiðe unwynsome <i>and</i> fæste þry dagas . <i>and</i> bæd gode ælmihtigne þæt he þurh his godcunde miht þæt deofolgild tobræce <i>and</i> gefylde þa he hit for manna teonum gebrecan ne moste .</p>	<p>þa eode he ðærrihthe big¹²² on sume stowe <i>and</i> hine þa gegyrede mid hærenum hwægle¹²³ swiþe heardan¹²⁴ <i>and</i> únwinsumum <i>and</i> fæste þry dagas <i>and</i> ælmihtigne god bæd ðæt he ðurh his godcundan miht ðæt deofolgild gebræc¹²⁵ <i>and</i> gefylde þa he hit for manna teonan gebrecan ne moste</p>	<p>ða éode he ðærrihthe big on sume stówe [73v] <i>and</i> hine ða gegyrede mid hárem hrægele swiðe hearde . <i>and</i> unwynsume . <i>and</i> gefáste¹²⁶ .iii. dagas . <i>and</i> ælmihtigne . god gebæd . þæt he ðurh his godcundan gemiht . þæt deófolgyld gebráce . <i>and</i> gefelde . ða he hit for manna téonan gebrecan ne moste .</p>
SVM 14,5	<p><i>and</i> þa cwomon þær semninga twegen englas to him gescildode <i>and</i> gesweordode¹²⁷ <i>and</i> mid heregeatwum gegyrede efne swa hie to campe feran sceoldon <i>and</i> cwædon þæt hie god sylfa to him sende þæt hie sceoldan þæt hæðene werod geflyman <i>and</i> him martine gefultmian þæt hie þæt diofolgild gebræce <i>and</i> gefylde¹²⁸ .</p>	<p>ða com¹²⁹ þær semninga twegen englas him¹³⁰ gesceldode <i>and</i> geswerdode¹³¹ <i>and</i> mid heora geatwum¹³² gegyrede efne swa hie to campe feran woldon <i>and</i> cwædon þæt hie god sylf sende þæt hie sceoldan þæt hæþene weorod geflyman <i>and</i> martine [133r] gefultmian þæt hie þæt deofolgeld mihte gefyllan .</p>	<p>ða cóman ðær sámninga .ii. ænglas to him gescyldode . <i>and</i> gespyrode . <i>and</i> mid heregeatwum gegyrede éfn swylce hie to cámpe féran woldan . <i>and</i> cwæðan þæt hie god self gesánde þæt hie sceoldan þæt hæðene werod geflýman . <i>and</i> martine on fultume béon . [74r] þæt he þæt deófolgyld gebrecan meahte . <i>and</i> gefyllan .</p>

¹²¹So in MS.

¹²²Hamilton (64,168) notes (as does Swaen: 272) that Morris' translation ignores *big*, lit. 'by', here meaning 'nearby'.

¹²³Probably a scribal error due to the similarity of the letters *r* and *w* in Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Hamilton (64,169) and Morris emend to *hrægle*.

¹²⁴Hamilton (64,169) and Morris emend to *heardum*.

¹²⁵Hamilton (64,171) and Morris emend to *gebræce*.

¹²⁶The *e* is a scribal correction.

¹²⁷D has *gesperode*, E has *gespyrode*. Szarmach l. 110 suggests that C's scribe had the same before him but misread the letter *p* for *w* (the letters *wynn* and *p* being very similar in Anglo-Saxon minuscule).

¹²⁸Scragg (1970: 413) suggests that this Kentish form is due to a scribal confusion.

¹²⁹Morris and Hamilton (64,172) emend to *comon*.

¹³⁰Morris and Hamilton (64,172) insert a *to* (as in C).

¹³¹Morris emends to *gesperode*, probably because C has it; also, SVM has *hastati* ('armed with a spear' (Hamilton: 64,173)).

¹³²Napier (306) suggests *heregeatwum*, so emended by Hamilton (64,173); both refer to C and E. Swaen (272) criticises Morris' translation and gloss 'provisions', and himself glosses 'equipment, arms, trappings'.

SVM 14,6	þa eodon hie eft to þam tune <i>and</i> þæt deofulgild tobræcon <i>and</i> gefylðon áá ¹³³ oð grund .	ða eodan hie eft to ðæm tune <i>ond</i> þæt gild gebræcan . <i>ond</i> gefylðan eal oþ grund	ða eodan hie eft to ðan túne . <i>and</i> þæt geld gebræcon á oð ðone grúnd .
SVM 14,7	<i>and</i> þa hæðenan men ¹³⁴ . tolocodon ¹³⁵ . <i>and</i> hie hwæðre wæron mid þy godcundan mægene to þæs swiðe gefyrhte þæt heora nænig him wiðstandan meahhte ne ne dorste ac hie ealle to dryhtnes geleafan gecyrdon . <i>and</i> hie swa cwædon . þæt wære soð god se ðe martine hyrde . <i>and</i> þæt ða heora hæðenangild wæron eall idel <i>and</i> unnytt . <i>and</i> þæt hie nowðer ¹³⁶ ne him sylfum gehelpan meahton ne æniges þæra gehelpan . þe to him ænig are wilnode .	<i>and</i> þa hæþenan men tolocodan ah hie hweþre wæron mid godcundum mægene to ðæs swiþe gefyrhte þæt heora nænig him wiþstandan ne dorste ah hie ealle to drihtnes geleafan gecirdon <i>ond</i> hie cwædan to him ðæt se án wære soð god se þe martinus hyrde <i>ond</i> þæt heora hæþenan gild wæron ealle idelu <i>ond</i> únnyt <i>ond</i> þæt hie nawðer ne him sylfum helpan ne mihton ne nanum ðara ðe to him áre wilnodan .	<i>and</i> ða hæðenan men . tolócodan . ac hie hwæðere wáeron mid godcunde ¹³⁷ mægene gefyrhte . <i>and</i> hyra nán him wiðstandan ne dorste . ac hie ealle to drihtenes geleafan gecyrdon . <i>and</i> hie cwædan to him . þæt se wære ána sóð god se ðe martinus gehýrde . <i>and</i> þæt hyra hæðengyld wáeran ealle ídele . <i>and</i> unnytte <i>and</i> þæt hie na hwæðere ne heom selfum gedæncan ne meahtan . [74v] ne ænies þara gehelpan ðe to him ænigre are wilnodon .
SVM 15,1	Swylce eac gelamp . sume siðe þær he sum hæðengild gebræc <i>and</i> þa þær gearn mycel [99r] mænio ¹³⁸ to him þæra hæðenra manna <i>and</i> ealle swiðe yrre wæron . ða wæs heora sum reðra <i>and</i> hatheortra þonne þa oðre wæron . <i>and</i> se ða gebrægd his sweorde <i>and</i> mynte hine slean . þa he <i>sanctus</i> martinus þæt geseah þa he <i>sanctus</i> martinus þæt geseah þa dyde he sona þæt hrægel of his sweoran <i>and</i> leat forð to þam men þe hine slean mynte .	Swylce eac gelamp sume siðe ðær he sum gild bræc þæt þær gearn mycel menigeo to him ðara hæþenra manna <i>ond</i> ealle swiðe erre wæron ða wæs heora sum reðra <i>ond</i> hátheortra ðonne þa oþre . gebrægd ða his sweorde mynte hine slean . þa he þa <i>Sanctus</i> martinus þæt geseah þa dyde he sona þæt hrægl of his sweoran <i>ond</i> éat forð to ðæm men ðe hine slean mynte	swylce gelamp sume siðe þæt he sum gyld tobræc . þæt ðær gearn mycele mánego to him ðara hæðenra manna . <i>and</i> ealle wáeron swiðe yrre . ða wæs hyra sum hwedra <i>and</i> hátheortra ðanne ða oðre [.] gebræd ða his swyrde . <i>and</i> gemynte hine to sléanne . ða he ða <i>sanctus</i> martinus þæt geseah . ða dyde he sóna þæt hrægel ef his swyran <i>and</i> léat forð to ða m men ¹³⁹ . ðe hine sléan mynte

¹³³So in MS.¹³⁴The MS has *m̃*.¹³⁵I.e. *to-locedon* ('watch').¹³⁶Peterson (85,177) notes that D has *nawðer*.¹³⁷The MS has *codcunde* (sic!).¹³⁸The MS has *mēnio*, i.e. a scribal correction.¹³⁹The MS has *m̃*.

SVM 15,2	<p>ða he ða se hæðena man upprihte mid his handa <i>and</i> hine sclean¹⁴⁰ sceolde . þa feoll he færinga on bæcling <i>and</i> nahte he his lichoman geweald ac he wæs mid godcunde egesan swiðe geþread <i>and</i> he þa him þone eadigan wer <i>sancte</i> martine forgifnesse bæd .</p>	<p>ða he þa se hæþena man upræhte mid þære swiþran handa <i>and</i> hine sleán mynte ða feol he færinga on bæcling <i>and</i> nahte [133v] his lichoman geweald ac he wæs mid godcundum mægene¹⁴¹ geþread <i>and</i> he him þa þone eadigan wer forgifnesse bæd .</p>	<p>ða he ða se hæðena man uparæhte mid ðære swiðran hánd . <i>and</i> hine sléan mýnte . ða feol he færinga on bæcling . <i>and</i> ne ahte his [75r] lichaman nán gewéald ac he wæs mid godcunde mægne gedréad . <i>and</i> he him ða ðane éadigan wer forgyfnesse gebæd .</p>
SVM 15,3	<p>Swylce wæs eft eac oðer wundor þyssum onlic . <i>and</i> þæt gelamp sume siðe þær he sum deofulgild bræc <i>and</i> fylde þa brægd þara hæðenra manna sum his seax þa se hæðena man hine stingan wolde þa nyste he færinga hwær þæt seax cwom þæt he ær on handa hæfde .</p>	<p>Swylce wæs eft oþer wundor ðæm onlic þæt gelamp sume siþe þær he sum deofologild bræc <i>and</i> fylde þæt þær gebrægd þara hæþenra manna sum his seaxe þa he hine þa stingan mynte þa nyste he færinga hwær þæt seax cóm þe he ær on handa hæfde .</p>	<p>Swylce wæs eft oðer wundor ðæs ánlicnesse . þæt gelamp sume siðe ðær he sum deofolgeld tobræc . <i>and</i> gefylde . ða gebræd ðara hæðenra manna sum his séaxe ða he hine ða stíngan mynte . þa nyste he færinga hwær þæt seax becóm . þæt he ðær on hánda hæfde .</p>
SVM 15,4	<p>gelomlice þæt þonne wæs þær he ða idlan gild bræc <i>and</i> him þa hæðenan men wiþerwearde wæron þæt he þurh his lare <i>and</i> þurh dryhtnes gife heora heortan to godes geleafan gecyrde þæt hie eac sylfe mid heora handum þa idlan gild bræcon <i>and</i> fyldon</p>	<p>Gelómlic¹⁴² þæt þonne wæs þær he þa idlan gild bræc <i>and</i> him þa hæðenan men wiþerwearde wæron þæt he þurh his lara <i>and</i> þurh drihtnes gife heora heortan to godes geleafan gecyrde þæt hie ætnehstan sylfe éac mid heora handum þa idlan gyld fyldon¹⁴³ .</p>	<p>gelomlice þæt ðanne wæs þæt he ða hæðenan gyld gebræc . <i>and</i> him ða hæðenan men wiðerwearde wæron þæt hie ðurh his lare . <i>and</i> ðurh his drihtnes [75v] gife hyra hyortan to godes geleafan¹⁴⁴ gecyrde . þæt hie ætnyhstan selfe éac mid hyra hándum ða idlan gyld gebrécan <i>and</i> gefyldan .</p>

¹⁴⁰The odd spelling is perhaps due to a *Gleitlaut* (glide) inserted in the cluster *sl*, see Peterson (85,188), who refers to GrSB §210 (1). Sisam (1976: 28) regards the inserted *his* and *sclean* as being from a later hand, cf. Scragg (1992: 309). Sisam (1953) conjectured it was in use in England in the 11th century. Cf. Szarmach (l. 124).

¹⁴¹Hamilton (65,191) remarks that C and E have *egesán*, which he regards a more “accurate” translation of SVM’s *divino metu*.

¹⁴²Morris and Hamilton (66,196) emend to *Gelomlice*, as in C.

¹⁴³Hamilton (66,199) notes that both C and E have *gyld bræcon on fyldon*.

¹⁴⁴Emended in accordance with Szarmach; the MS has *gefan*.

SVM 16,1	<i>and</i> he to þæs mihtig wæs þæt he ælce untrumnesse to hælanne <i>and</i> to þæs mycclre gife he ðæs æt gode onfeng . þætte [99v] ne wæs ænig man to þæs untrum þe hine gesohte þæt he sona hælo ne onfenge .	To þæs mihtig he þonne wæs ælce úntrumnesse to háellenne <i>ond</i> to ðæs mycclre gife he þæs æt gode onfeng þæt nænig næs to ðæs úntrum ðe hine gesohte þæt he sona hælo ne onfenge .	<i>and</i> to ðæs mihtig he ðanne wæs ælce untrumnesse to hælanne . <i>and</i> to ðæs mycclre gife he ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt næs ænig to ðæs untrum ðe hine gesohte þæt he sona hælo ne begæte .
SVM 18,4	Ge þæt oft gelamp . þonne hwylc man his hrægles dæl to untrummen menn brohte þæt he þonne þurh þæt wearð hal geworden .	ge þæt oft gelamp þonne man hwylcne dæl his hrægles to untrummen menn brohte þæt he ðonne þurh þæt sona wearð hal geworden .	ge þæt oft á gelamp ðanne men hwilcne dæl his hrægles to untrummen men brohte þæt he ðanne ðurh ðæt sóna wæs hál gewórden .
SVM 20,1	In þyssum he þonne wæs . ealles swiðost to herigenne þæt he næfre nænigum woruldricum men ne cyninge sylfum þurh lease olihtunge swiðor onbugan wolde þonne hit riht wære . ac hie á In eallum sóð <i>and</i> riht dón wolde .	<i>ond</i> þæs he wæs ðonne ealles swiþost to herigenne þæt he næfre nænigum woruldricum men ne cininge sylfum þurh lease olecunga swiþor onbugan nolde þonne hit riht wære [134r] ah he á to æghwylcum soð <i>ond</i> riht sprecende wæs <i>ond</i> dónde .	<i>and</i> ðæs he wæs þanne éalra swiðast [76r] herianne þæt he næfre ne ænigum worldlicum mæn ne cyninge selfum ðurh léase olécunge swiðor onbúgan wolde . þanne hit riht wære . <i>and</i> éac he á æghwylcum men soð <i>and</i> riht sprecan wolde <i>and</i> dón .
SVM 26,5	þis is soðlice eadig wer ne wæs næfre facen ne inwit in his heortan . ne ænigne unrihtlice demde ne ne witnode . ne he ænigum yfel mid yfele geald .	Uere beatus uir in quo dolus . Dis wæs soðlice eadig wer ne wæs æfre facen ne inwid on his heortan ne he nænigne man unrihtlice fordemde ne nænigum yfel wiþ yfele geald .	Vere beatus uir . In quo dolus . Dis wæs soðlice eadig wer ne wæs æfre facen ne inwid on his heortan ne he ænigne man unrihtlice ne gedemde . ne he wite ne nam ne ænig yfel mid yfele ne geald .

SVM 27,1 - 2	ne hine ænig man yrre ¹⁴⁵ ne gramheortne ne geseah ac he wæs In anum mode <i>and</i> efne heofonlice blisse <i>and</i> gefēan. <i>man</i> ¹⁴⁶ . meahte á in his mode geseon <i>and</i> on his andwilitan ongitan . <i>and</i> ne gehyrde ænig man aht elles of his muðe butan cristes lof <i>and</i> nytte spráce ne aht elles on his heortan butan árfæstnesse <i>and</i> mildheortnesse . <i>and</i> sybbe . <i>and</i> eadmod- nesse .	ne hine nænig man yrne ne grammódne ne funde . Ac he wæs á on anum móde <i>ond</i> efne heofonlice blisse <i>ond</i> gefēan mon mihte á on his móde <i>ond</i> on his andwleotan ongytan ne gehyrde nænig man on ¹⁴⁷ his muþe oht elles nefne cristes lof <i>ond</i> nytte spráce ne on his heortan buton árfæstnesse <i>ond</i> mildheortnesse <i>ond</i> sibbe ;	ne hine ænig man yrne . ne grammodne gesáhte . ac he wæs á in ánum mode <i>and</i> efne [76v] heofonlicne blis . <i>and</i> gefēan mann mohte á on his andwilitan angytan . ne gehýrde ænig man aht elles of his muðe nemne cristes lof . <i>and</i> nytte spráce . ne aht elles on his hyortan . nemne árfæstnesse . <i>and</i> mildhyortnesse . <i>and</i> sibbe .
SET 6	Swylce eac þes eadiga wer <i>sanctus</i> . martinus mycle ær beforan þe he þone dæg wisse ¹⁴⁸ his forðside <i>and</i> him dryhten gecyðed . hæfde <i>and</i> he þa his broðrum sægde . þæt hit þá ætrihthe wære þæt he of þisse worulde sceolde ða wiste [100r] he sumne hired on his bisceopscire . þa þe ungeþwære <i>and</i> ungesybsume him betweonum wæron . þa ferde he þyder mid his þegnum . þeah ðe he wiste þæt hit þa æt his deaddæge wære . þæt he huru wolde þæt hie ealle In sybbe wæron . ær he of worulde ferde	Swa eac wes eadiga wer miccle ær beforan þone dæg wiste his forðfore <i>ond</i> him drihten þæt gecyþed hæfde <i>ond</i> he þæt þam broðrum sægde þæt hit ða rihte wære þæt he of ðisse worlde sceolde ¹⁴⁹ . ða wiste ¹⁵⁰ he sumne hired on his bisceopscire ¹⁵¹ þe þa ungeþwære <i>ond</i> ungesibbe him betweonum wæron . þa ferde he ðyder mid his discipulum þeah þe he wiste þæt hit ða æt his daga ende wære þæt he huru wolde þæt hie ealle on sibbe wæron ær he of worulde ferde .	swylce éac ðes eadiga wer mycle ær beforan ðone dæg wiste his forþfærnesse . <i>and</i> him drihten gecýðed háfde . <i>and</i> he ðanne his gebroþrum sáde þæt hit ða ryhte wære . þæt he of ðisse werolde sceolde . ða wiste he sumne hýrd on his bysceopscýre ða ðe undwære <i>and</i> ungesibbe heom betwéonum [77r] wéran . ða fyrde he ðider mid his discipulum ðeah ðe he wiste þæt hie ða æt his daga ænde wære . þæt he huru wolde þæt hie ealle on sibbe wéran ær he of werolde gefýrde .

¹⁴⁵Szarmach (l. 141) claims to emend from *yrne* to *yrre* (as in D and E), though the MS actually has *yrre*.

¹⁴⁶The MS shows a runic *M* here; the runic *M* can also be found on fols. 128v and 131v (in “Elene”), cf. Szarmach (l. 142), and Scragg (1970: 186).

¹⁴⁷C and E have *of*, therefore, Hamilton emends to *of his muþe*; Napier (306) would emend to *ne aht elles of his muþe*.

¹⁴⁸Peterson (85,220) suggests to read *mycle ær beforan þone dæg wiste*.

¹⁴⁹In the sense ‘to die’; cf. *his daga ende wære* below in this paragraph.

¹⁵⁰Hamilton (67,218) notes that Morris falsely translates *ða wiste he* as a temporal sentence.

¹⁵¹As Hamilton (67,219) notes, Zupitza (219) regards it a rare but acceptable form.

SET 7	<p>þa cwomon hie to sumre ea . þa gesawon hie þara wel feala þara fugela þe we scealfras¹⁵² nemnaþ <i>and</i> hie ða fixas uptugon of þære ea <i>and</i> þeah þe heora hwylc þone fisc forswulge þonne wæs he eft swa gifre swa he ær wæs . þæt he oðerne gename . þa cwæð <i>sanctus</i> martinus hwæt þas wiht habbað deofla onlicnesse swa þe deofol á sætaþ hwær he mæge unware men beswican . <i>and</i> he næfre to þæs feala berædeð . þæt he æfre ful sie .</p>	[omitted]	[omitted]
SET 8	<p>ða bebead <i>sanctus</i> martinus þam fugelum þæt hie þanon fram þam wætere gewiten <i>and</i> on westen <i>and</i> ðrige¹⁵³ land sohton <i>and</i> efne on þa gelicnesse swa he þone deoful of stowa gehwylcre geflymde þær he þonne wæs . Swa ða fugelas sona ealle ætsomne¹⁵⁴ on weg gewiton þæt heora nan ætstod furðun¹⁵⁵ behindan <i>and</i> hie þæt wundredon þe þæt gesawon <i>and</i> his fera wæron þæt ða fugelas sylfe eac <i>sancte</i> martine gehyrdon</p>	[omitted]	[omitted]

¹⁵²In SVM *mergatores*; Szarmach (l. 152) writes: “the birds in question appear to be mergansers (*mergus merganser*) rather than loons (*colymbus torquatus*) or grebes (*podiceps cristatus*). Wright 1884 gives *mergus/mergulus/mergula/turdella* as glosses for *scelfor*. On the bottom of fol. 77r in [E] there is a drawing of a bird that appears to have a crested head. Whether it is meant to represent a *scelfor* is doubtful, since [E] lacks the incident; the anecdote of the *scelfras* would, however, have begun on fol. 77r if it had been included in the [E] version.”

¹⁵³Peterson (85,237) suggests to read *drige*, (“dry”); Szarmach (l. 158) emends accordingly.

¹⁵⁴The MS has *etsomne*, i.e. a scribal correction.

¹⁵⁵Szarmach (l. 160) emends to *furþum*.

SET 9	<p>ða he hæfde¹⁵⁶ þone hyred gesybbodne þe he [100v] þær to ferde <i>and</i> þær well¹⁵⁷ manige dagas <i>wæs</i>¹⁵⁸ <i>and</i> þa he ða eft mynte mid his þegnum to his mynstre feran þa wearð he færinga swiðe mettrum þa het he ealle his þegnas him to <i>and</i> he him sægde þæt he forðferan sceolde</p>	<p>ða he þa hæfde þone hired gesibbodne þe he þær to ferde <i>and</i> þær dagas wel many¹⁵⁹ wæs þa he þa eft [134v] mynte mid his <i>discipulum</i> to his mynstre feran ða wearð he færinga swiþe úntrum¹⁶⁰ ða heht he him ealle his <i>discipulos</i> to <i>and</i> him sægde þæt he þa forðferan sceolde .</p>	<p>Ða he ða hæfde ðane hýred gesibbod ðe he ðær to gefýrde . <i>and</i> ðær wel mænige dagas wæs ða he ða eft gemynte mid his <i>discipulum</i> to his mynstre féran . ða wearð he færinga swiðe untrum ða gehet he him ealle his <i>discipulas</i> to . <i>and</i> heom sáede þæt he ða forðferan sceolde .</p>
SET 10	<p>þa weopon hie ealle sona <i>and</i> sárlice gebærdon for heora hlaforde <i>and</i> hie þus cwædon to him . for hwan forlættest ðu la fæder us nu git . Oððe hwa bebeodest ðu us eac gif ðu gewitest . <i>Cum</i>þ rixiende¹⁶¹ wulfas <i>and</i> todrifaþ þine heorde . hwa forstandeð þonne hie gif ðu hie ne scyldest ; we þæt þonne witan þæt þæt is þines modes willa þæt ðu mote þas woruld forlætan <i>and</i> crist geseon . Ac miltsa ðu þonne hwæðre us <i>and</i> gemyne ure þearfe .</p>	<p>þa wæron hie ealle sona unróte <i>and</i> sárllice gebærdon <i>and</i> þis cwædon to him . <i>Cúr</i> nos pater deseris aut cui nos desolatos relinquis ; Forhwon forlættest þu fæder ús nu gít oþþe gif ðu gewitest hwæm bebeodest þu us . <i>Cum</i>þ arisende wulfas [.]¹⁶² todrifað ðine heorde [.] hwa forstandeþ hie gif ðu hie ne scyldest we þæt witon þæt þæt is þines módes willa þæt þu móte þas world forlætan <i>and</i> crist geseon . Ah mihtsa¹⁶³ þu hweþre ús <i>and</i> gemyne þu ure þearfa .</p>	<p>ða weopan hie sóna ealle <i>and</i> sárlice gebérdan . <i>and</i> ðis cwædan to him . [77v] forhwan forlætst fader us nu gyt¹⁶⁴ . oððe gif ðu gewítest hwa bebeódest ðu ús . <i>Cur</i> nos páter deseris cui nos desolátus . <i>Cum</i>þ risende wulfas . <i>and</i> todrífað ðine hýorde . hwa forstándeð hie gif ðu hie ne scyldest . we þæt witon þæt þæt is ðines módes willa . þæt ðu móte ðas wyrold forlætan . <i>and</i> crist geseón . ac gemiltsa ðu hwæðere ús . <i>and</i> gemune úra déarfa .</p>

¹⁵⁶The MS has *ða he he hæfde* (sic!).

¹⁵⁷Since the double consonant is odd, Peterson (86,244) suggests to read *wel*.

¹⁵⁸Not in the MS; added as in Szarmach (l. 136) and Scragg (305,244), from D and E.

¹⁵⁹So in MS.

¹⁶⁰Hamilton (67,225) suggests to read it as a relative clause rather than as a temporal clause.

¹⁶¹Napier (1904) regards *risende* (in E) the correct reading, cp. D.

¹⁶²Hamilton (68,230) adds an *and* here.

¹⁶³Morris and Hamilton (68,233) emend to *miltsa*.

¹⁶⁴Note that the translation precedes the Latin quote; D shows the usual order.

SET 11	<p>ða he ða heora spræce þyllice gehyrde . <i>and</i> he hie ealle wepende geseah þa weop he sylfa eac <i>and</i> his mod wæs swiðe onstýred mid heora wordum <i>and</i> mid heora wope for þan he wæs manna mildheortost <i>and</i> he efne mid <i>wependre</i>¹⁶⁵ stefne þus to dryhtne cwæð . Min dryhten god ælmihtig gif ic nu gyt sie þinum folce <i>nidþearflice</i>¹⁶⁶ her in worulde to habbanne þonne ne wiðsæce¹⁶⁷ ic þam gewinne þæt ic nu gyt mid him sie</p>	<p>ða he þa þás word spræc <i>ond</i> he hine¹⁶⁸ ealle wepende geseah þa weop he eac sylf <i>ond</i> his mód wæs onstýred mid þæm heora wordum . swa he wæs manna mildheortost <i>ond</i> he mid wependre stefne ðus to drihtne cwæð . Si ad huc populo tuo sum necessarius . drihten cwæð . gif ic nu git sie þinum folce <i>nedþearflic</i> her on worlde to hæbbenne þonne ne wiðsæce ic þæm gewinne ah sie þæs þín willa</p>	<p>ða he ða ðás word gespræc . <i>and</i> ðis gehyrde . <i>and</i> he ealle wépende geseah . ða wéop he éac selfa . <i>and</i> his mód wæs onstýred mid ðam hera wórdum . swa he wæs manna mildhéortast . [78r] <i>and</i> he efne mid wépendre stéfnæ ðus to drihtne cwæð . <i>Domine</i> si ad húc populo tuo sum necessarius . <i>Drihtne</i> cwæð he gif ic nu gét sie ðinum folce <i>ðéarflic</i> hér on wórlde to habbanne . <i>ðanne</i> ne wiðsæce ic ðam gewinne . ac sie ðæs ðin willa .</p>
SET 12	<p>wæs he to þæs arfæst þæt him wæs ægðer on weorce ge þæt he ða broðor forlete ge huru þone¹⁶⁹ þæt he leng fram cristes onsyne wære þæt he ða ne gesawe¹⁷⁰ [<i>next folio missing</i>]</p>	<p>wæs he to þæs arfæst þæt him wæs æghweþer on weorce ge þæt he leng from cristes onsyne wære [135r] ðæt he þone gesawe¹⁷¹ he þa forðon drihtnes willan sohte</p>	<p>wæs he to ðæs árfæst þæt him wæs æghwæðer on wýrce ge þæt he ða gebroðran forlete . ge ðanne huru éac þæt he læng fram cristes onsyne wære þæt he ðane gesáwe . he ða forðan drihtnes willa¹⁷² sohte .</p>

¹⁶⁵MS has *pendre* (sic!).

¹⁶⁶MS has *midþearflice*. Peterson (86,260) suggests to read *nidþearflic*; Scragg emends accordingly.

¹⁶⁷In Scragg (1970: 413) an example for a non-WS (Anglian) form.

¹⁶⁸Morris and Hamilton emend to *hie*.

¹⁶⁹Peterson (86,264) and likewise Szarmach (l. 175) suggest to read *þonne* (as in E).

¹⁷⁰Napier (1904) reads 'should not see it', but Szarmach (l. 176) doubts this reading, since *ðane* is a common form in E.

¹⁷¹Hamilton (69,241) emends to *ða ne gesawe* (as in C and E), which Napier (307) regards as a mistake by D's copyist; Swaen (272) emends to *ðæt he þone ne gesawe*.

¹⁷²So in MS; Szarmach emends to *willan*, as in D.

SET 13	[<i>missing folio</i>]	<p><i>ond þus cwæð . Min drihten longe ic wæs nu on ðæm heardan campe her on worlde ac þonne hwēpre ne wiðsace ic þon þæt ic on þæm campe leng sie gif hit þin willa swiþor bið ac ic mid þinum wæpnum getrymed on þinum feþan fæste stande ond for þinre campunga¹⁷³ þa hwile þe þin willa bið</i></p>	<p><i>and ðus cwæð [.] min drihten lánge ic nu wæs on ðan héardan cámpe her on wyrolde . ac ðanne hwæðere ne wiðsace ic ðan þæt ic on ðan campe¹⁷⁴ [78v] læng sie gif hit ðin willa swiðor bið¹⁷⁵ ac ic mid ðinum wæpnum getrymed on ðinum feðan fæste stánde . and for ðe cámpege ða hwile ðe ðin willa bið .</i></p>
SET 14	[<i>missing folio</i>]	<p><i>Wæs him ægwæðer þæm eadigan were geseo godes lufu to ðæs hát ond to ðæs beorht on his heortan ðeah¹⁷⁶ he for ðæm deaþe ne forhtode ah hine ðæs heardost langode hwanne he of ðisse worlde moste</i></p>	<p><i>wæs him æghwæðer ðam éadigan were gesyo godes lufu to ðæs hát . ge to ðæs byrht . on his hýortan . ði he for ðan deaðe . ne fórhtode . ac him ðæs héardost lán gode hwanne he of ðisse wyrolde moste .</i></p>

¹⁷³Napier (307) and Hamilton (69,245) emend to *for þe campige*, which corresponds to SVM *militabo*.

¹⁷⁴As Szarmach (l. C101) also notes, “this last MS line on fol. 78r is begun well away from the margin and is double-underlined”.

¹⁷⁵Illegible, added from D, as in Szarmach (l. C102).

¹⁷⁶Hamilton (69,247) emends to *ði* to make sense of the passage.

[missing folio]

ond him þonne wæs eac manna lufu to ðæs mycel þæt him nænig gewin her on worlde to lang ne to heard ne þuhte þæs þe he heora saulum to hæle *ond* to ráde gewinnan mihte . þa wæs he dagas wel manige mid þære feforádle swiþe gestanden ah he þeah náfre godes weorces ne ablon ah he hwilum ealle niht þurhwacode on halgum gebedum *ond* þeah þe se lichoma wære mid þære úntrumnesse swa swiðe geswenced hweþre his mód wæs ahead¹⁷⁷ *ond* gefeonde on drihten *ond* þonne he [135v] reste hine þonne wæs his seo æþeleste ræst on his earan oþþe elles on nacodre eorðan .

and him ðanne wæs éac manna lufu to ðæs mycel . þæt him nænig gewin hér on wyrolde to lang . ne to héard ne ðuhte . ðæs ðe hýra saulum to hælo . *and* to ráde gewinnan meahte ða wæs he wel manige dagas mid¹⁷⁸ þam [79r] *feferadle*¹⁷⁹ swiðe gestánden . ac he hwæðere náfre gódes wýrces ne blon . ac he hwilum ealle niht ðurhwacode on halgum gebedum . *and* ðeah ðe se lichama wære mid ðære untrumnesse swiðe geswánced hwæðere his mód wæs ahéard . *and* gefeonde on drihten . *and* ðanne he reste . ðanne wæs his seo æðeleste rest on his *hearan*¹⁸⁰ . oððe elcora nihte on nacodre eorðran¹⁸¹ .

¹⁷⁷Hamilton (69/70,255) separates to *a heard*.

¹⁷⁸As Szarmach (l. C109) also notes and accurately describes, “below this last line on fol. 78v is a bird-like head with a rather longish neck”.

¹⁷⁹A later hand/corrector corrected the MS's *feðeradle*.

¹⁸⁰The MS has *earan*; Förster (1893) suggested this emendation, Napier agreed, Szarmach (l. C113) emends accordingly.

¹⁸¹So in MS.

SET 15	[missing folio]	<p>þa bædon hine his discipulos þæt hie mostan huru sume uncýme streownesse him under gedón for his untrumnesse . þa cwæð he bearn ne bidde ge þæs ne gedafenað cristenan men þæt he elles dó butan swa he efne on axan <i>ond</i> on dúste licge gif ic eow oþres ðinges bysene onstelle þonne agylte ic . <i>ond</i> á þar he læg he hæfde his handa upweardes <i>ond</i> mid his eagum up to heofenum locade þyder his módgeþanc á geseted wæs . ða bædan hine þa godes þeowas þa ðe ðær to him coman þæt hie hine moston on oþre sídán oncyrran <i>ond</i> ða cwæð he to him . Sinite <i>fratres</i> sinite cælum potius respice¹⁸² . Forletað broðor he cwæð þa spræce . forletað me heofon swiþor geseón þonne eorðan þæt minum gaste sie to drihtne weg þyder he feran sceal .</p>	<p>ða bædan hine ða his discipulos þæt hie mostan hwilce hwega uncyme strætnessa him under gedón for his úntrumnesse . ða cwæð he bearn ne biddað ge ðæs ne gedáfenað cristan men [79v] þæt he elcora <i>do butan</i> swa he efne on acsan <i>and</i> on duste <i>licge</i>¹⁸³ . gif ic éow oðres ðinges bisene onstelle . þanne agylte ic . <i>and</i> á ðær <i>he</i>¹⁸⁴ læg . á he hæfde his hánda upweardes . <i>and</i> mid his éagnum up to héofonum lócode . ðider his módgeðanc á seted wæs . ða bædan hine ða godes ðéowas ða ðe ðider to him coman . þæt hie hine móstan on oðre sídán oncyrran . <i>and</i> ða cwæð he to heom . Sinite <i>fratres</i> sinite celum potius respicere . Fórlátað gebroðra he cwæð ða spræce . forletað me héofon . swiðor geseon ðanne eorðan þæt¹⁸⁵ þinum gáste sio to drihtne wég [80r] <i>ðider he</i>¹⁸⁶ feran scyl .</p>
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¹⁸²Hamilton (70,265) emends to *respicere*.

¹⁸³I followed Szarmach, who added *do butan* and *licge* from D.

¹⁸⁴Added by Szarmach (l. C117).

¹⁸⁵Reconstructed, MS damaged.

¹⁸⁶Added likewise by Szarmach (l. C121).

SET 16	[missing folio]	<p>þa he þa þus spræc¹⁸⁷ ða geseah he þone awergdan gast deofol þær únfeor standan [.] ða cwæð he to him . Quid adstas cruenda bestia nihil in me repperes¹⁸⁸ . Hwæt standest þu wælgrim [<i>text ends imperfectly with the folio</i>]</p>	<p>ða he ða ðus spræc¹⁸⁹ . ða geseah he ðane awergedan gást déofol ðær únfeor standan [.] ða cwæð he to him . Quid adstas cruénda ura¹⁹⁰ nihil in me funeste¹⁹¹ repperes . hwæt stándeð ðu wælgrim . wildeor náfast ðu méde aht æt me . ac me scyl abrahámes béarm þæt is seo éce rést onfón . ða he ða ðis cwæð ða wearð his <i>andwlita</i> swa bliðelic <i>and</i> his mod swa geféonde . þæt hie éfne mehtan on ðan gære ongytan þæt he gástlicne geféan geseah . <i>and</i> þæt hine héafonlic werod gefétode . <i>and</i> he ða swa ge[80v]feonde ðas sarlican <i>bofo</i>¹⁹² gelet . <i>and</i> hine ða úre drihten¹⁹³ to his ðam héofonlican ríce nam .</p>
SET 17	<p>[missing folio]</p> <p>[101r] heofonlican rice genam</p>	[missing folio]	

¹⁸⁷Ogawa (1996: 461) studied the use of ‘þa’ in his article, and notes that its “repetitive use” in this passage contrasts the sparing use in Ælfric’s texts.

¹⁸⁸Morris corrects to ‘repper[*i*]es’.

¹⁸⁹*spræc* was supplied by a later hand/corrector.

¹⁹⁰Szarmach (l. C123) suggests the scribe meant *uestra*, and emends to D’s *bestia*.

¹⁹¹Szarmach emends to D’s *finiste*.

¹⁹²As Scragg (1992: 308/9,298) notes, *ofogelet* and other defective words on these last folios were retouched by a later hand, though “some wrongly”; he suggests *ofagelet*.

¹⁹³Only *dri* is legible; I expanded in accordance with earlier forms and Napier (307), Szarmach (l. C128) and Hamilton (92).

n.s. | hwæt we nu gehyraþ
 Men þa leofestan¹⁹⁴. hu
 haliglice þes eadiga wer
 sanctus martinus his lif for
 gode lifde . þa hwile þe he
 her on worulde wæs . and
 hu fægerum edleanum
 he þæs æt urum dryhtne
 onfeng . and nu á ða hwile
 þe þeos world standeð .
 his góð¹⁹⁵ man mærsað
 geond ealne middangeard
 In godes cirican and he
 nu mid eallum halgum á
 to widan feore In heofona
 rice for dryhtnes onsyne
 gefýhð and blissað . ac
 utan we la tilian . Men
 þa leofestan¹⁹⁶ þæt we
 þæs halgan weres sanctus
 martinus lif and his dæda
 onherien¹⁹⁷ þæs þe ure
 gemet sie and wuton
 hine biddan þæt he us
 sie in heofonum þingere
 wið urne dryhten . nu
 we her on eorðan hine
 geond middangeard .
 wyrðiaþ dryhten us to
 þam gefultumige se ðe
 leofað and rixaþ áá in
 eallra worulda world a
 butan ende [.] ameN ;

[missing folio]

hwæt wé nu gehérað¹⁹⁸ hu
 eaðmodlice ðes eadiga wer
 his líf for gode gelyfode .
 ða hwile ðe he her on
 wurolde¹⁹⁹ wæs . and hu
 fæger edlean he æt urum
 drihtne onfeng . and nu á
 ða hwile ðe ðeos wúrold
 stándeð his god mæn²⁰⁰
 mærsað geond éalne ðisne
 middangéard . on godes
 cyricean . and hé nu mid
 eallum halgum to wídan
 féore on heofena ríce for
 drihtnes | onsyne gefehð .
 and blissað . ac utan
 we tyligan þæt we ðyses
 éadigan weres líf . and his
 dæda onhyrigan²⁰¹ ðæs ðe
 úre gemet sige²⁰² . and
 wutan²⁰³ hine biddan ðæt
 he us sige on heofonum
 ðingere wið urne drihten .
 nu we her on eorðan his
 gemynd wyrðiað . to
 ðan ús gefúltumige ure
 drihten . se leofað²⁰⁴ . and
 ricsað . a butan áende²⁰⁵ .
 A M E N –

¹⁹⁴The MS has *M̄*.

¹⁹⁵Szarmach (l. 180) emends to *god*.

¹⁹⁶The MS has *M̄*.

¹⁹⁷Scragg (1970: 413) suggests that this Kentish form is due to a scribal confusion.

¹⁹⁸Hamilton (92,6) emends to *gebyrað*.

¹⁹⁹Hamilton (92,8) emends to *world*.

²⁰⁰Hamilton (92,8) emends to *man*.

²⁰¹Hamilton (92,12) emends to *onherien*.

²⁰²Napier (307) and Hamilton (92,12) emend to *sie*.

²⁰³MS has *utan*. Hamilton (92,12) also emends to *wutan*, as in C (*wuton*), cf. Napier (307).

²⁰⁴Hamilton (92,12) emends to *se ðe leofað*.

²⁰⁵Hamilton (93,14) emends to *ende*.

Appendix II: Ælfric's *Life of St Martin* in MS L

This is the first edition of Ælfric's *Life of St Martin* in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343. MS J's line numbers are given in the margins wherever L deviates. The line numbers of J and L are identical up to l. 131.

A universal process in the transition from Old to Middle English is the leveling (and eventually the loss) of final syllables, a transition which marks the language's change from a synthetic into an analytic language. The common OE prefix *ge-* for the past participle becomes *i-* in a transition period, and is eventually lost in the ME period. The edited text in MS L presents exactly this transition period, and the frequent use of accents, performed as long, thin strokes particularly highlights the *i*-prefix. Another typical process is the increasing inconsistency in the employment of specific graphemes to represent specific phonemes, which results in a widening "of the gap between spelling and pronunciation" (Irvine 1993: lv). Irvine confines her study of the manuscript's language to the homilies of her edition; nevertheless, her statements are valid for our text as well, and she provides an introduction/study of the manuscript's orthography (pp. lvi f.), phonology (pp. lxii f.), and morphology (pp. lxx f.). In a later article, she argues that the predominance of forms points clearly to a West Midlands origin, "near Worcester"; see Irvine (2000: 237).

INCIPIT UITA SANCTI MARTINI EPISCOPI . III . IDUS . NOVEMBRIS ;

Sulpicius hatte sum snoter writere . 35r
 he wolde writan þa wundræ *ant* þa mihtæ
 þe martinus ðe mára mihtiglice fremode
 on þissere worulde . *ant* he wrat þa bi him
 5 þa ðing þe he ofaxode . oððe æt him sylfue ;
 oððe æt oþrum monnum . forþan ðe monig weron
 his wundre cúþe þe god wrohte þurh hine .
ant wæ þæt englics nimæð of þære ylcan ísetnysse
 ac we ne writæð ná mare ; buton his agene wundra :
 10 [SVM 2,1] MARTINUS ðE MERE BISCOP WÆS IBOREN
 ON ðAM FÆSTENE sabaria íháten pannoniscra scíre .
ant an ón tícinis he wæs ífedd . italiám londes .
 he com of hæþenum magum æþelborenum swáðeah
 of wurðfule mægðe . æfter weoruldþinge
 15 [SVM 2,2] his fæder wæs ærest cempæ *ant* æft cempæne ealdor .
ant martinus wæs íwenod to wepnum from childhade .
ant campdome fyligde betwux larlice folcum .
 ærest under constantíne þam æþelen casere .
ant æft under iuliane þam arleasan wiðersacan
 20 ná swáðeah sylfwilles . forþam ðe he from cildhade wæs swiðor
 onbrúð þurh god to godcundlice þeowdome .
 þone to woruldlice campdome . swa swa hé cydde syððan .
 [SVM 2,3] þa þa hé wæs tén wyntræ ða wearð he ícristnod .
 his maga undancæs . *ant* on wunderlice ímete
 25 sonæ to godes þeowdome he wæs all íhwyrfed .
ant þa ða he wæs twelf winta . he wilnode to westene .
ant he hit eác gefremode ; gif he þa ylde hæfde .
 [SVM 2,4] hís mod wæs swáðeah efre embe mynstre smeagunge .
 oððe embe cyrcean . *ant* godes ísetnysse
 30 he smeade þa on childháde . þæt he syððan fremedo .

1 Sulpicius] *The initial is enlarged and in black ink, and it has in its two centres sun-like decorations in red ink.* 26 winta] *The a is a scribal correction.*

1 snoter] Note that J does not have *snoter* in this line. Considering the usual number of two stresses per half-line, it is well imaginable that the copyist of L inserted the word as an improvement on the metrical long-line.

- [SVM 2,5] þa wæs þær casere bebod þæt þære cēmpenæ sunu
 þe weron forealdode wurdon ínamode
 to þam ylcan campdome ðe heoræ fæderas ón weron .
ant martinus þa wearð ameldod . from his fæder .
 35 þá hé on his weórcum áwácode . *ant* he wearð íracenteged .
 þa þa he fiftene wíntre wæs betæht to þam winne
 mid | ánum his þeowan þe his gesiða wæs 35v
 þam ðe he sylf þenode swiðor þonne he hím .
ant samod heo reordoden swa swa ílice .
 40 [SVM 2,6] þreo gér hé ferde mid þam folclice cempum
 buton wærnunge ærþam ðe he wære ífullod
 unwemmed swaðeah from weoruldlicre bismitennysse .
 on ðare þe mennisc cynn mycele on syngæð .
 [SVM 2,7] Embe his euencempæn he hæfde wælwillendnysse .
 45 *ant* mycel lufe . *ant* metfest iðult .
ant soðfeste eadmodnesse . ofer mennisc ímēt .
 Swa mucele forhæfednesse hé hæfde on his bigleofene
 swylc he muñuc wære swiðor þone cempæ .
ant for hís æðele þeawum his euencempan þa alle
 50 híne arwurðoden . mid wunderlice lufe .
 [SVM 2,8] he næs ða gyt ifullod . ác he fulde swaðeah
 þæs fulluhtes dæda mid fulfremede weorce .
 swa þæt he swincende fylste . *ant* þerfende fædde .
ant nacode scrydde . *ant* nán þing him sylfum
 55 on his campdomesscipe on his seode ne heold .
 buton þæt he dæghwamlice bigleofan hæfde
 swá swá þæt godspell sæð . Ne þeng þu bi mæregene .
 [SVM 3,1] On sumere tide he ferde forð þurh áne burh
 ambianus íhaten . on hátelice wintræ .
 60 on swa mycel chyle ; þæt súme men swylton þurh þone .
 þa ímette hé þær ænne nacoden þearfum
 biddende þa ridende þæt heo him sum reaf sealdon .
 ac héo rídan héom forð *ant* ne rohten his clypunge .
 Martinus þa ongeat þæt he moste him hælpen^o
 65 þa þa oðre noldon . [SVM 3,2] ac he nyste swaðeah
 hwæt he sealde þam nacoden . forþan þe sylf næfde

64 him hælpen] Cf. the line and the note in J

- noht buton his wæden . *ant* his wæpnunge .
forþan þe he on swylce weorce ispende áer his þing .
he ðeah íflahte his seax . *ant* forcearf his basing .
70 *ant* sealde hælfæ dæl þám íselíge þearfum .
ant þone healfan dæl he dyde on his rucge ;
þa logon his íferan ðæs forcorfenes basinges .
Sume eác bisorgedon þæt heo swylces noht ne dydon .
þonne héo buton næcednyse him bet mihte tíþan .
75 [SVM 3,3] On þare ylce nihte he íseah
þene hælend íscrydne mid þam healfæ basinge ;
þe hé sealde þam þearfum . *ant* hét ðæt hé bihéolde
to his drihtine weard *ant* oncneowæ þæt reaf
þe he sealde þam þearfum .
80 þærrihte íhyrde þe halga martinus
þone hælend clypiæn to his halgum englum
mid brihte stefne *ant* to héom ymbstandende cwæð .
Martinus þe gít nís ífullod me mid þisse reafe scrydde .
[SVM 3,4] he ímynde þá his cwydes þe he cwæð on his godspelle .
85 þæt ðæt ge doþ anum on míne nome of þissum læste ;
ðæt ge doð me sylfum . *ant* forþí hé swutelode
hine sylfne martine on swæfne mid þam reafæ
þe ðe þearfe underfeng for his nome on áer .
[SVM 3,5] Ðé halga wér swaðeah næs áhofen þurh ða sihðe .
90 ac godes godnyse he oncneow on his wéorce .
[SVM 3,6] *ant* þa ða he wæs æhtetynæ wínræ . he wearð ífullod on gode .
ant nolde þeah gít forlæten for his leofan aldormen
þone folclíce campdóm ác for his benum swa wunode
twa géar fullíce syððan he ífullod wæs .
95 [SVM 4,1] hwæt þá férlíce wearð þæs fyrlenen leodscipæs
onrás into gallias ; *ant* iulianus þe casere
gaderode his hére . ant bigán tó gifenne
ælcum his cempum cynelíce gifu
swá swa hit íwúnelic wæs . [SVM 4,2] ða | wænde martinus 36r
100 þæt he ða wel mihte wilniæn æt þam casere
þæt he of ðam campdome þa cumen moste .
for him ne ðuhte ná fremfullic þæt he fenge to þare gife

101 campdome] *MS* camdome (*sic*); *I* emended in accordance with the word in ll. 17 and 22

- ant* syððan ne campode mid þam casere forð .
 [SVM 4,3] he cwæð þá to þam earleasan . oðþis ic campode þé .
 105 íþafe nú þæt ic gode campie heonónford .
ant underfó ðine gife ðe ðe fæht mid þe .
 ic eám godes cempæ ne mot ic ná feohten .
 [SVM 4,4] þa gebealh hine ðe casere *ant* cwæð þæt he for yrhðe
 þæs towardæn feohtes *ant* ná for eawfestnysse
 110 hine sylfne ætbrugde swa ; þam campdóme .
 [SVM 4,5] Ac martinus unforht to þam manfullæn cwæð.
 Gif ðu to erhðe þis telst . *ant* ná to íleafan ;
 nú to maregen íc stonde on mines drihtnes nóme
 ætforæn ðam trymen . *ant* ic fare orsorh
 115 íscild mid ródtacnæ . ná mid reade scylde
 oððe mid helme þurh ðes heres wérod .
 [SVM 4,6] þá het þe arléasæ healden þone halgæ
 þæt he wurde wépnleas íworpen þan hæðenum .
 [SVM 4,7] On þam æfteran dæge dydon þa hæðenon
 120 þæt héo budon sibbe *ant* heom sylfe þam casere
ant alle heora þing to his anwealde .
 hwam tweonæð lá forðy . þæt ðæs íleafullan weres
 wére þe sige . þa ða hím wæs tyðod
 þæt he wápenleas nære áwurpon þam háere
 125 þeah þe þe arfestæ drihten eaðe
 mihte healden andsundne his cempæn .
 [SVM 4,8] hé ætbrægd þæt feoht þæt forþan næron íwemmede
 martines ísyhðæ ; on oðre monne deaðe ;
 [SVM 4,9] hwylcne oðerne sige sceolde ure drihten
 130 syllan for his cempæn sylræ þonne ðone .
 þæt nan mon ne swulte ; ac þæt heo to sibbe fengon .
 [SVM 7,1] Ðá cóm án ícristnod mon . *ant* cyðlæhte to martíne . J 209
ant wunede mid him . wolde his lare underfón
 ác æfter feawum dage he wearð færlice séoc
 135 swa þæt he forðferde . unfullod sonæ .
 [SVM 7,2] *ant* ðe halga martinus næs æt ham þa hwile .
 þa íbroþræ þa sarilice sæton ofer ðet lic .
 [SVM 7,3] *ant* martinus cóm þá mycelum drórig .

- ant* hét héom gán út . *ant* behæpsode þa duræ .
 140 *ant* astræhte hine sylfne sone ofer ðone deadan
 biddende his drihten . þæt he ðone deade arærde .
 Þá æfter summe firste . he ífredde on his mode
 þæt godes miht wæs toward . *ant* he stóð þá úp
 anbidigende unforht his benæ tyða .
 145 þa æfter twám tidum styrede þe deade
 allum limum . *ant* wæs locigende .
 [SVM 7,4] þa clypode martinus mucel þangende gode .
ant þa ðe þær úte stóden ínstopen sonæ
 swiðe ablicgede þæt héo ísægen þa libban
 150 þone ðe heo ár forlétenn deadne .
 [SVM 7,5] he wearð þa sone ífullod . *ant* he syððan leofede
 monige gear . [SVM 7,6] *ant* monum sæde
 þæt hé to þæs hæhstan demen heahsetle wæs íbroht .
ant þær him wæs ídemed to dymre stówe .
 155 þær he unrot wunede mid woruldmomnum .
 on witnunge þa hwíle . *ant* ða wearð ícyd
 þurh twegen engles þam ælmihtig demæn
 þæt he ðe mon wére þe martinus fore béd .
ant þa wearð eft iboden þurh ða ylcan engles
 160 þæt he wére ílædd to life ongéan .
ant martine ígyfen . *ant* hit wearð swa ða .
 [SVM 7,7] Ða spróne martines lisæ geond þæt lond wíde .
 þæt he ðe halig wæs on weorcum . were apostolic wér ílifed .
 [SVM 8,1] Eft æfter summe fyrste férde þe halga wér
 165 ofer summes þegnes lond . lupícinus íhaten .
 þá íhyrde hé feorran férlic reám .
 | wepende meníu . [SVM 8,2] *ant* he wearð þa ístydegod 36v
 befregnende georne hwæt þæt ferlices wére .
 him wæs þa ísæd þæt sum unsælig mon
 170 hine selfne ahenge . of ðare hiwrædene
ant swá hongierende hine sylfne adydde .
 Martinus þa íneode þer ðe mon læg dæd
ant adrefde þá út alle þa meníu .
ant hine sylfne astræhte ofer þone sawulléase lichaman

- 175 some hwile on gebedum . [SVM 8,3] *ant* he sonæ cwicode .
ant mid geornfule ælnunge úp arisende wás .
ant nóm martines swiðeran *hond* mid him stóð
ant forðstóp mid hím on þæs folces ísihðe .
[SVM 12,1] Eft on sume time férde martinus *J* 368
180 on his biscopríce . þa béron men þær an líc
ánes hæðenes monnes . þæt heo hine burigden .
þa biheold martinus þa hæðene feorre .
[SVM 12,2] *ant* wende þæt heo beron swa swa heoræ wúne wás
heoræ deofelgyld dwollice ofer þæt lond .
185 [SVM 12,3] *ant* wrohte þá rodetacen wið þæs folces weard
ant bead heom on godes nome þæt héo hit ne bæron na furðor .
ac alægdon sonæ þá burðene . [SVM 12,4] *ant* þa bérmen sonæ
stedfeste stóden . swylce héo astifede weron .
þær mihte wundrien þe ðær bí wére .
190 hú ða éarme bérmen íbunden to ðare eorðan
wendon heom abúton . walden forð gan .
ac þá þá héo ne mihten of ðare molden styrgan
þa setten heo þæt líc . *ant* beseah ælc to oðre .
swiðe wundriende hwi héom swa ílumpe .
195 [SVM 12,5] Ac þa ðe martinus oncneow ðæt heo líc beren
ant ná deofelgyld ; þa dude hé úp hís hánd .
ant sealde heom leafe forð to farene .
ant þæt lic to berene to burigenne swá swá heo ímynten .
þus ðe halga biscop bond heom mid his weorde .
200 *ant* eft þa ða he wolde lét heom awæg gán .
[SVM 14,1] hwilon eac þe halga wér towearp án hæðengyld . *J* 429
þa sette he sone fyr on þæt feondlice tempel .
þæt hit on brade læge brastlinde wás .
þa wende þæt fyr forð mid þe winde
205 to án huse þe þær next wás .
[SVM 14,2] ac martinus mid hofste úppon þæt hus astah .
ant sette hine sylfne ongean þone swegende líc .
þer me mihte wúnder iseon . þe þer bi were .
hú ðe wind *ant* þe lig . fuhten heom bitweonen .

177 *hond*] hand added from J/K, but changed to *hond*, the usual form in L 188 swylce] J swilce; K swylce 193 beseah] J beseah; K beah 200 awæg] J awæg; K aweg

- 210 þe wind bleow ðone lig ac hé wónd agéan .
 forbeah þone halgæ wér þe on þan huse wæs .
ant þæt an forbernde þæt him íboden wás .
 [SVM 14,3] Eft on sume stede ðe wás librosu*m* íháten .
 wolde ðe halga martinus towearpan án tempel
 215 þæt wás ðearle wælig hús íwurðod ðam deoffle
 þe forwernde þa hæþenan þam halgan wár þæs .
ant hine adræfden adræfden þanon .
 [SVM 14,4] þa ferde martinus na swiðe feor þanon .
ant scrydde hine mid héran . *ant* mid axæn bestréowwede
 220 festende ðreo dagæs . *ant* his drihten béd .
 þæt he mid heofenlice mihte þæt templ tobrytte .
 þa ða he mid his cræfte tocwæssæn hit ne mihte .
 [SVM 14,5] Æfter ðan festene hím cóm tó férlíce
 twegen scinende englæs . mid speren . *ant* sceldæs
 225 swylce on gelícnesse heofenlices werodes .
 secgende þam halgan þæt ðe hælend heom sende .
 þæt heo þæt cyrlisce folc aflígen scéoldon .
ant Martíne fultumíæn . þæt heo ne mihten him wiðstonden .
 [SVM 14,6] | martinus þa férde to þam foresáde deofelgyldre 37r
 230 *ant* mid þare engle fultume monne onlocende
 þæt tempel al towéarp . *ant* þa weofodæ to dúste íbrohte
ant alle þa anlicnyse þæræ arwurðræ godæ .
 [SVM 14,7] þa ne mihten þa hæðene martine wiðcwæðan .
ant þurh þa godcund mihte mycle wurdon afyrhte .
 235 *ant* lefdon on god mid bileafan clypigende .
 þæt ðe god wære to wurðene þe ðe halga wár bodede .
ant heora godæs to forlætene þe héom fremíæn ne mihten .
 [SVM 16,2] On treueris wæs sum mæden swiþlice íuntromed . J 489
 licgende on paralísim . oððet hire limæ
 240 alle adæadode . *ant* heo læg unwáne .
 [SVM 16,3-4] þa wearð ícyd þam fæder þæt martinus come .
 into þare burig . *ant* he árn *ant* sohte
 þæs halgan fet mid swyðlice wópe
 biddende þone biscop þæt he hire bletsode .
 245 *ant* cwæð ic íliefre þæt heo libbe þurh ðe .

- [SVM 16,5-6] Martinus ða cwæð þæt hit his mihta náre
to swylce dæde . ac þe feder ne swác
to bidden hine mid wópe . oð ðet þa oþre biscopæs
þe wéron mid martine macodon þæt he eod
250 to þam licgende mædene . *ant* ormete meniu
þerute abidon hwæt ðe biscop dón walde .
[SVM 16,7] þá stræhte martinus to moldan his limæ
ant halegede syððan sumne del eles .
ant dude on þæs mædenes muð . *ant* héo mihte þá spécæn .
255 [SVM 16,8] *ant* alle híre limen endemes cwicedon .
ant héo þa hál aras ; þæt folc onlogende
[SVM 17,1] Ða wæs sum heahþegen tetradius íhaten
ant his ðeowæ món án wæs þearle awéd .
þa bed hé þone halgan þæt he his hond on him sætte .
260 Martinus het þa þone món him to læden .
ác nan mon ne durste to ðam deofelseocan gán .
forþanðe hé wunderlice awedde mid þam muðe .
ant ælcne wolde teran þe him in toeode .
[SVM 17,2-3] *Tetradius* þa sylf cóm . *ant* ísohte þone halgan
265 biddende eadmodlice þæt hé to þam earmum éode .
Ða cwæð þe halga wér þæt he to his huse gan nolde
hæþenes monnes . *ant* manfullæn lifes .
Ðe hæðene mon þá bihét þam halgan wære
þæt hé wolde cristen beon gif þe cnapæ wurde hál .
270 [SVM 17,4] *ant* martinus sone siðode to þam woden .
ant his hond him onsétte . *ant* ascynde þon deofel
from þám wítlease mén . *ant* he wearð sone hál .
Tetradius þa sone swa he þæt íséah .
ílifde on ure drihten . *ant* let híne cristnian .
275 *ant* æfter lytle gefirste he wearð ífullod .
ant martinum wurðode mid wunderlice lufe .
forþam ðe he wæs ealdor witodlice his hále .
[SVM 18,3] Martinus hwilon ferde mid mycel folc
to parisian burig . *ant* þa þa hé binnon þæt geat cóm
280 þa wæs ðær sum hreoflæ wunderlice tororen
allum monum anþráelic . ac martinus hine cyste .

J 564

- ant* his bletsunge him sealde . *ant* he sonæ wearð hál .
 [SVM 18,4] *ant* com ðæs on mæregen tó martine bliðe
 mid hale húde his hæle þancende .
 285 Oft werón eác íhælede felæ untrume mén
 þurh his reafes fnæde þe fela men of atugon .
 ant bundon on þa seocæ *ant* héom wæs sonæ bæt .
 [SDS 8,9] eác swilce of his bedstrawe mon bond on ænne wodne .
 þa gewát þe deofel him of *ant* he his wít underfeng .
 290 [SVM 21,1] Oft martinus iseah him englæs to cyman . J 684
 swa ðæt heo cuðlice to þam halgan spæcon .
 [SDS 13,8] *ant* on sumne sáel sum engel | hím cwæð to . 37v
 hwæt þa oðre biscopæs on heoræ sinode spæcen .
 ant þe halga þa wiste hwæt héo þær reddon .
 295 þurh þæs englæs ségene . þeah þe he seolf þér ne cóme .
 [SDS 13,6] Ða halgan apostolas petrum *ant* paulum he íseah ílome .
 swa swá he seolf sæde sulpicio . þam writere
 þe hine axiæn durste . alces þinges þe he wolde .
 [SDS 13,1-3] Ðe ylçæ sulpitius *ant* sum oþer broðer
 300 sæten sume dæg swiðe afurhte
 ætforen martines ínne *ant* he héom ðerute nyste .
 þa íhyrden héo motigan . wið martine longe .
 ant hé wæs ánæ ár innon þam huse belócen .
 eft þa ðe hé úteode þa axode sulpiscius
 305 *ant* híne eadmodlice bead þæt he him openiæn sceolde
 hwá hím wiðspæce . [SDS 13,4-5] þá wondode he longe
 þæt to sæcgenne . ac hé sæde swaðeah .
 ic halsige eów nú þæt ge hit nanum ne secgan .
 Maríe cristes moder cóm hider to me
 310 mid twæ oðre mædene . teclæ *ant* agnes .
 ant ná on ðissum ane dæge . *ant* ac oft rædlice ær
 héo comen to mé . *ant* he sæde heo eác
 hwylc heoræ wlite wæs . *ant* hú héo wæron íscrudde .
 [SVM 21,2] On sumne sáel cóm ðe deofel mid swiþlice grymetunge J 777
 315 into þam halgæ wére . *ant* hæfde ænne oxan horn on hónde .
 ant cwæð to martine . hwær is þin miht nu þe .

282 him] *J and K have hine* 285 untrume] *J untrume; K untruma* 301 ínne] *The accent spans over the two n.* 304 sulpiscius] *So in MS*

- ænne món ic ofslóh of þine hiwrædene .
ant wæs his swiðre hand swilce íblodeged .
 [SVM 21,3-4] þa clypode martinus his munecæs to hím .
 320 *ant* sæde hwæt þe deofel him swytelode .
ant hét georne sæcan hwá þær ofslagen wære .
 Wæs þá án heoræ món to wuda ífaren
 þe læg íwundod be þam wege . samcwic .
ant he þa sæde . þa þa hé his oxan ræpte
 325 þa sceóc an his heafod . *ant* hine mid þam horne þudde .
 on ðæt geweald swiðe . *ant* he þa sone gewát .
 [SVM 21,5] Felæ þinge wiste þe halga wær on ær .
 ær heo ílumpen . *ant* þam leaffulle munecum
 sæde þa ðing þe him íswutelode weron .
 330 *ant* syððan swá aéode swa he heom sáde .
 [SDS 9,1] Eft on sume sæl þær martinus ferde J 1040
 mid his feren þá com þær ferlice yrnan
 an wód cú . *ant* þa ðe hire fuligden
 clypoden to þam halgan wére . þæt he hine warniæn sceolde .
 335 forþan ðe héo nát yfele ælcne ðe héo ímette .
 [SDS 9,2] héo com þá yrnænde mid egeslie eagum .
ant se halga wér hæt híre ætstonden .
ant heo þerrihte íhysumede his háse . *ant* ætstod .
 [SDS 9,3] þa íseah ðe halga wér . þæt ðær sæt án deofel
 340 on þare cú rugge . *ant* cwæð to þam scúccan .
 Gewít þu wáhlhreowæ awæg of þam nytene .
ant þis unscea ðige reoþer swic to dræccénne .
 ðe manfullæ gast þa martine íhysumede .
ant ferde þá of ðare cú . [SDS 9,4] *ant* oncneow sona þa cú
 345 ðæt héo alysed wæs . *ant* læg aþenod
 ætforen his fotum . onfangere stuntnyse .
 þa hét þe halgæ wér þæt heo wende to þære heorde .
ant heo swá bilehwite swa scép ; beah to þære draefe .
 [SDT 14,1] Sume scípmen reówan on ðare tyreniscæn sá . J 1137
 350 swá mon fareð to róme . *ant* þa ferlice cóm
 swa mycel unwæder heom to . þæt heo ne wændon héores lifes .

320 hwæt] Jhwæt; K hwat 320 deofel] MS deofe 320 swytelode] J swutolode; K swutelode
 325 þudde] J þyde; K þyðde 336 héo] J Heo; K He

- ant* brohte þam halgan an húnd pundæ to láce .
 Ðe halga wér þa nolde habban þæne sceat .
 ne hine eác ne forseah . ac sealde þæt feoh all
 390 for hergedum monnum . *ant* þam ðe on hæftneðe wáron .
ant heom út alyside swá of þære yrmðe .
 þá bædon þá íbroþræ þone biscop georne
 þæt he ðæs feos dyde sumne dæl into munstre .
 cwædon þæt heom neaðe weron heora wíst *ant* scrud .
 395 þa cwæð ðe halgæ wér héom to *antswære* .
 fede ús ure cyrce . *ant* scrude us ure cyrce .
ant we of þisse sceatte noht us sylfum ne healden .
 [SDT 14,7] hwæt wille we leng writæn bi martines wundrum
 þonne sulspitius sæde þæt heo beoð ungeryme .
 400 *ant* nan spæce ne mæg his mihte reccen .
 [SDS 4,1] forþan ðe he máre mihtæ háfde on his munuchade
 þone on biscophade . be þam ðe he sylf sæde .
 [n.s.] ac we wýllæð nú sæcgan bi his forðsiðe .
 [SET 6] Martinus ðe eadiga wiste his endunge
 405 longe ær hé forðferde of þisse life to criste .
ant he cydde his forðsið summe his bræþræn .
 þa weron on þam tíme on condatensem munstre
 þa preostas undwære . *ant* he ðider siðode .
ant walde heom sibbiæn ær his forðsiðe .
 410 *ant* on sibbe forlæten godes laðunge .
 [SET 7] he ferde þa ðiderweard mid summe his broðrum .
 þa íseah he scealfræn swimmæn on áne flóde .
ant ílóme doppedon adún to þe grunde .
 ehtende þare fisxa mid fræcræ gredignysse .
 415 þa cwæð ðe halgæ wér to hís íféren þus .
 þas fugelæs habbæð feonde licnysse .
 þe sirwiæð efre embe þa unwarræn .
ant grædiglice foð . *ant* fordoð .
ant of þam fáenge ífullede ne beoð .
 420 [SET 8] Ðá bead martinus þam mæðleasen scealfræn .
 þæt héo swicon ðæs fíxnodes . *ant* férden to wæstene .

388 sceat] *J* scæt; *K* scat 399 sulspitius] *So in MS* 413 doppedon] *J* doppetan; *K* doppettan
 418 *ant* fordoð] *J* and *K* have: and gefangene fordoð

- ant* þa fugelæs wíten áwæg sonæ to holte .
 ælle endemes . swá swá ðe árwurðæ hét .
 mid þare ilcæn hæse hé áfligde ða scealfran
 425 þe he deofla adræfde of monnum .
 [SET 9] Martinus þa syððan to þam munstre becóm
ant wunede þær summe hwile . *ant* sibbede þa preostæs .
 Eft þa ða hé hám wolde . þa wearð he ún|tromed . 38v
ant sæde his íbroðrum þæt he sceolde forðfaren .
 430 [SET 10] þá wáron heo alle unrotsode swiþe
ant mid mycele heofunge híne bifrúnnon .
 eala þu fæder hwí forlest þú ús
 oððe hwám betætst þú us forlætene .
 witodlice we bicymæð to þine eowde
 435 reafiende wulfæs . ánt hwá biweræð heom .
 witelice we witon þæt ðu wilnæst to criste .
ant þe beoð íhalden þíne mæde .
 miltsa la ús swiðor þe ðu forlest .
 [SET 11] þa wearð þe halga wár mid þisse wordum ástyrod .
 440 *ant* clypode mid wópe . *ant* cwæð to his drihtne .
 Drihten min hælend . gif ic neodbehefe eam
 git þine folce ne forsace ic na
 git to swincenne gewurðæ þin willæ .
 [SET 13] Ne ic ne biladige mín ateorindlice elde .
 445 ic þine ðenungæ estful ífylde . under þine tacnæ
 ic campige swa longe swa ðu seolf hæst .
 [SET 14] he læg þá swa forþ áne feawa dagum
 mid fæfere íwæht þurhwuniende on bedum .
 on stiþe héran . licgende mid axum bistreowod .
 450 [SET 15] þa bæden his broðræ þæt heo his bed mosten
 mid waccre streowunge húru underlecgan .
 Ðá cwæð þe halgæ wár to þam wepende broðrum .
 Ne ídafenæð cristene mén þæt he buton on duste swelte .
 gif ic eow oðerne bisne sylle ðone syngie ic .
 455 he ne let ná of gebedum his unoferswiðende gast
 ac he efre opene eagum . *ant* upahæfene hondum
 his beda ne swác . Ða wolden ða preostæs

- þæt he læge on oðre sidæn . *ant* gelyhte hine swá .
 Ðá cwæð þe halgæ eft Geðafiaþ ic bidde
 460 þæt ic heofenan sceawige swiðor þone eorðan .
ant min gast beo ísend on his siðfáte to drihtene
 [SET 16] He íseah þa stonden swiðe neah ðone deofel .
ant he hine orsorghlice axiæn ongón .
 hwæt stonst ðu wælreowæ déor .
 465 ne ímest þu on me þú manfullæ nan þínc manfullices .
 ic beo underfongen on abrahames wununge .
 [SET 17] *ant* æfter þisse worde ferde þeo sawlæ
 of þam íswænite lichame ísælig to heofonum .
 [GHF 1,48] On sunnæn mæregen he gewát . þa ða he wæs on ylde
 470 án *ant* hundeah tetig wintræ . *ant* æfter cristes ðrowunge
 feower hund wintræ . *ant* xii . on getæle .
ant monige men þa íhyrden on his forðside
 singendæ engla swiðe lude. stæfne
 úpon heahnesse geond heofonæs swægende
 475 swá hit on bocum sæð . þe be him beoð íwritene .
 [SET 17] his líc wearð ísegen sóne on wuldre
 brihtre ðone glæs . hwittere ðone meolc .
ant his andwlitæ scéan swiðor þone liht
 þa íú gewuldrod swiðor to þam towardan ariste .
 480 [SET 18] eala hwylc heofung holdræ léaffulræ
 wæs þa lúde swægende *ant* swiðest þare munecæ .
ant munecenæ wóp on martines deaðe .
 [GVM 1,4] Sum biscop seuerinus íhaten on ðare burig colónia .
 haliges lifes mon . íhyrde on erne maregen
 485 swiðe ludne song on heofonum . *ant* þa langode he him
 to his archediacon . *ant* axode hine hwæðer
 hé þa stæfne íhyrde . þæs heofonlices dreames .
 hé andswærde *ant* cwæð þæt he his nán þing ne hyrde .
 þa hét se biscop þæt he héorcne geornlucor .
 490 he stod þá *ant* luste on hís stáfe léoniende .
ant ne mihte nán þínc ðare murhþe íhéren .
 þa astræhten héo heom begen biddende þone almihtigan

468 íswænite] *So in MS, probably the scribe intended iswæncte, according in J and K's geswæncte.*

470 cristes] *MS crites* 488 þing] *J þincg; K þing*

þæt he moste | ihyren ðone heofonlice dréam . 39r
 he luste ða syððan *ant* sæde þæt he íherde
 495 singende stæfne swægende on heofenum .
ant nyste swa ðeawh hwæt þá stæfne weræn .
 Seuerínus þa cwæð ic þæ sæcge bi þám .
 Martinus þe eadigæ ferde of þisse middanearde
ant nu englæs singende his sawle feriað
 500 mid héom to heofenum . *ant* þe hátele deofel
 mid his unrihtwise gastum hine wolde lætten .
 ác hé ferde íscend aweg; from þam halgum .
ant nan þinc his agenes on him ne metten .
 hwæt bið bi us synfule gif þe swicole deofel
 505 swá mærne sacerd dærigen wolde .
 þa sende þe archediacon sone to turonia .
to martines bisceopstole *ant* hét axiæn bi him .
 þa wearð heom cyð þæt he his sawle ágefe
 on ðære ylcan tíde ; þe hi ðone song íhyrden .
 510 [GVM 1,5] On þam ylce dæge ambrosius þe biscop
 on mediolana burig . þa þa hé æt mæssan stód .
 þa wearð hé on slápe swá swá god wolde .
 ant hine nán mon ne dorste naht eaðe aweccan .
 swáðeah æfter twám tide héo hine awáhton
 515 *ant* cwædon þæt ðe timæ forðagán wære .
ant þæt folc wære íwæreged þearle .
 ðe halgæ biscop ða cwæð . ne beo ge ídræfede
 mycel me fræmmeð þæt ic swa mihte slæpen .
 forðan ðe me min drihten mycel wundor æteowde .
 520 Wite ge þæt martinus min broðor þe eadiga
 is of lichame is ífáren . *ant* ic his líc behwearf
 mid wunelice ðenunge . *ant* þa ða ge me áwáehton
 þá næs his heafodclað allungæ ful dón .
 heo weron ða ofwundrode his wordæ . *ant* dæda .
 525 ant axoden on fyrste þæt ðe eadiga martinus .
 on þam dæge gewát þe ambrosius sæde
 þæt hé æt þæs halgan wæres lic þenunge wére .
 eala eadig is þe wér þe on his forðsiðe

496 ðeawh] *So in MS; probably ðeah was intended* 502 aweg] *Jawæg; Kaweg* 507 *to martines bisceopstole*] *Added from J/K*

- halgie engel itáel healice sang .
 530 *ant* engle wérod blissode . *ant* all heofenwáre ;
 hím tógeanes ferde . *ant* þe fúlæ deofel
 on his dyrstynisse þurh drihten wearð íscynd .
 Ðeo halige laðung on mihte is ístrongod .
ant godæs sacerdæs beoð íwuldrode .
 535 mid þare onwrigennysse . martines forðsiðes
 þone ðe halga michael mid englum underfeng .
ant maria ðeo eadige mid mædenlice werode .
 on neorcawange healt bliðne mid halgum .
 [GHF 1,48] þa ða þæs weres lic læg inne þa git .
 540 cóm þær mycel menú of monege burgum
ant þæt pictauisce folc *ant* þæt turonisce
ant ðear wearð flit betwux þam twám folcum .
 þa pictauiscen cwædon þæt héo ðider ícumene weron .
 he wæs uré munuc *ant* ure abbod .
 545 we willæð hine habbæn . forþan ðe we híne lænden ár
 Ge brucon his lare . *ant* his spæce noteden .
 gé weron on his reórde . *ant* mid his bletsunge stronged .
ant mid monigfealde wundre weron ígladode .
 beo eow all þís nóh . lætæð ús nú húre
 550 his sawulease lichame ferien mid us .
 þa andswaredan heom þa turoniscen þús .
 Gif ge fergæð þæt us beoð ínoh his wundra .
 þonne wite ge þæt he wrohte má wundra mid eow ;
 ðone he mid us dyde . *ant* ðeah wé fela habbæn .
 555 eów hé arerde witolice twegen deade mén .
ant us buton ænne . *ant* swa swá he oft sæde
 þæt he hæfde mare mihte on munucháde
 þone on biscopháde . *ant* wé habbæð nú néode
 þæt he dead ífyllen ; þæt he ne dyde on life .
 560 eów hé wæs ætbrogden ; *ant* us from gode ígifen .
ant æfter ðare ealde gesetnysse sceal habben byrgene
 on ðare | ylçæ burig þær he biscop wæs .

39v

532 íscynd] *MS* has ísoynd; *obviously a scribal mistake* 537 ðeo] *J* seo; *K* sio 538 on neorcawange] *J ant* neorcnewang; *K ant* neorcnewange 540 cóm þær] *J* com þær; *K* comð æfter 542 flit] *J* geflit; *K* geflitt 544 uré] *So in MS* 548 wundre] *J* wundrum; *K* wordum 560 ígifen] *J* forgifan; *K* forgifen

Gif ge for munstres þingon *ant* forþan ðe he mid eow wæs
 hine habban wyllað . þone wite ge þis
 565 þæt hé on mediolana ærest munster hæfde .
 Betwux ðissum gewinne wæs ðe dæg iendod .
ant batwá þa burhwára besæton ðone halgæ
ant woldon ða pictauscean mid winne on maregen
 nimen ðone halga neadung æt þam oþrum .
 570 þa on midre nihte swa swá martinus wolde
 wurdon ða pictauscean . swa wunderlice on slæpe
 þæt of alre ðare meníu án món ne wacode .
 Þa ísægon þa turoniscean hú ða oðre slæpen .
ant þa nomen þæt líc þe ðær læg on flóre .
 575 *ant* to scipe beron mid swiðlicre blisse .
ant æfston mid reowette on ðære ea uigennæ éá .
ant swa forð on liger swiðe lude singende .
 oððet heo bicomen to þare burig turonia .
 Ðá wurdon þa oðre awæhte mid þam songe
 580 *ant* naht heoræ gold hordes ðe heo healden sceoldon
 habbende neron . ac heo hám wenden
 mid mycele scéame . þæt heom swa ílumpen wæs .
 [AVM 662A-B] þe halga lichame þá wearð ílágð on burgene
 on ðare ylcan burig þær he biscop wæs .
 585 mid mycele wyrðmente . *ant* þær weron syððan
 fela wundrað ífremode þurh his earnunge .
 [GHF 1,48] Six *ant* twentig wintra he wæs ðer biscop .
ant þeo burhware wæs longe butan biscope
 ær martinus wære íhalgod to biscope
 590 for þan hæðenscipe þe ðæt folc þá biéode .
 Beo wuldor *ant* lof þam welwillende scyppende
 þe his halgan swá geglængde mid wundre .
 þe þe on ecnysse rixæð almihtig wealdend
 a-m-e-n ;

567 batwá] *So in MS* 571 wunderlice] *MS wunderlice (sic)* 577 lude] *J hlude; K lude*
 579 Ðá] *The capital is adorned with a small red-ink stroke* 587 Six] *The capital is adorned*
with two red-ink dots 588 biscope] *J biscope; K biscope* 589 biscope] *J biscope; K biscope*

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ANDRE MERTENS was born in Hildesheim, Germany, in 1982. He attended the Gymnasium Himmelsthür and finished with Abitur in 2002. After his studies of History and English Studies at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany, and an exchange semester at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, UK, he finished with the degree of *Magister Artium* in 2009. The present monograph is a thoroughly revised version of his PhD Dissertation, which was accepted by the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen in 2016. He lives in Hanover.

St Martin of Tours is one of Christianity's major saints and his significance reaches far beyond the powerful radiance of his iconic act of charity. While the saint and his cult have been researched comprehensively in Germany and France, his cult in the British Isles proves to be fairly unexplored. Andre Mertens closes this gap for Anglo-Saxon England by editing all the age's surviving texts on the saint, including a commentary and translations. Moreover, Mertens looks beyond the horizon of the surviving body of literary relics and dedicates an introductory study to an analysis of the saint's cult in Anglo-Saxon England and his significance for Anglo-Saxon culture.



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