

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

Alex Nicholls
University of London

THE MANUSCRIPT DISTRIBUTION

With the corpus of Old English hagiographic prose texts now defined,⁹⁵ the manuscript distribution can be investigated. The manuscripts are ordered in terms of the number of saints' lives they contain and then by Ker number. Thus the primarily hagiographic collections in Old English are listed first, with miscellanies and fragments coming later. Witnesses of mainly Ælfrician lives are presented first and subdivided into those which are primary witnesses showing the distribution of the *Lives of Saints* set and those representing the *Catholic Homilies*.

So that the range of texts within a collection can be quickly assessed, the manuscript contents are shown in the order in which they appear in editions, rather than in each collection. Should the manuscript order of contents be in any way significant for this analysis, this is indicated. Ælfrician texts are placed first in each manuscript breakdown and then the anonymous lives on a new line, after a colon, again to make the balance of a collection immediately clear. Damaged or fragmentary manuscripts are listed by manuscript reference, cited in single quotation marks and descriptions of the original contents of such manuscripts are quoted. The titles of texts which are completely lost are recorded in angle brackets (< >). Only *St Margaret* 2 no longer exists in any manuscript witnesses. When only the *passio* of a life is preserved and its pericope exposition omitted (although it may be preserved elsewhere), such a text is marked with an asterix.⁹⁶

MAINLY AELFRICIAN COLLECTIONS

**The primary witnesses of the Lives of Saints
London, British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii**

(Ker 162)

s.xiiⁿ

St Eugenia (L S II), *St Basil* (III), *SS Julian and Basilissa* (IV), *St Sebastian* (V), *St Maur* (VI), *St Agnes* (VII), *St Agatha* (VIII), *St Lucy* (IX), *Chair of St Peter* (X), *Forty Soldiers* (XI), *St George* (XIV), *St Mark* (XV), *St Alban* (XIX), *St Æthelthryth* (XX), *St Swithun* (XXI, lines 1-463, 496-8), *St Macarius* (XXI, lines 464-95), *St Apollinaris* (XXII), *SS Abdon and Sennes* (XXIV), *Maccabees* (XXV), *St Oswald* (XXVI), *Exaltation of the Cross* (XXVII), *St Maurice* (XXVIII), *St Denis* (XXIX), *St Martin* (XXXI), *St Edmund* (XXXII), *St Cecilia* (XXXIV), *SS Chrysanthus and Daria* (XXXV), *St Thomas* (XXXVI): *Seven Sleepers* (XXIII), *St Mary of Egypt* (XXIII^B), *St Eustace* (XXX), *St Euphrosyne* (XXXIII).

This manuscript represents the primary witness of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. It is written predominantly in one continuous hand, although this develops by the end of the codex. The contents are ordered according to the calendar year starting at Christmas (as had been Ælfric's custom in the two series of *Catholic Homilies*). The English and Latin prefaces to the *Lives of Saints* (and a Capitula list) are only preserved here in the later style of the main hand on an additional two folios inserted before the first quire (5r). BL Cotton Julius E. vii contains what may well have been the original set as issued, but there are also four anonymous lives present: LS XXIII, XXIII^B, XXX and XXXIII. LS XXIII (*Seven Sleepers*) and XXIII^B (*St Mary of Egypt*) are interpolations in two hands differing from that of the rest of the manuscript. LS XXXIII (*St Euphrosyne*) disrupts the correct calendar order of the collection. In addition, the manuscript preserves eight non-Sanctorale pieces: *Nativitas Domini* (LS I), *In Caput Ieiunii* (Ash Wednesday, XII), *De Oratione Moysi* (Mid-Lent, XIII), *De Memoria Sanctorum* (XVI), *De Auguriis* (XVII), *De Libro Regum* (XVIII), *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* (MacLean) and *De Falsis Diis*⁹⁷ (Pope XXI). The collection originally concluded with *De XII Abusivis* (Morris 1, X), but all of this is now lost. All the non-Sanctorale texts are by Ælfric. This is the only Old English manuscript, apart from the witnesses of the *Old English Martyrology*, which preserves an extensive collection of Sanctorale texts ordered by the calendar year. It was probably written within fifty years of the issue of the *Lives of Saints*.⁹⁸

Three of the four anonymous lives in BL Cotton Julius E. vii (LS XXIII, XXIIIB and XXXIII) are also found in London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x and the fourth (LS XXX) is otherwise only found in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii. *St Mary of Egypt* (LS XXIIIB) has a third witness in Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35.

'London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, fols 4-92 (formerly fols '23-234')'

(Ker 222)

s.xi^{med}

St Basil (LS III), *St Sebastian* (V), <*St Agnes*> (VII), <*St Agatha*> (VIII), <*St Lucy*> (IX), <*Chair of St Peter*> (X), <*St George*> (XIV), *St Mark* (XV), <*St Alban*> (XIX), <*St Æthelthryth*> (XX), *St Apollinaris* (XXII), <*SS Abdon and Sennes*> (XXIV), *Maccabees* (XXV), *St Oswald* (XXVI), *Exaltation of the Cross* (XXVII), <*St Maurice*> (XXVIII), <*St Denis*> (XXIX), *St Edmund* (XXXII), *St Cecilia* (XXXIV), <*St Thomas*> (XXXVI), *St Stephen* (CH I, III), <*Assumption of St John the Evangelist*> (IV), *Innocents* (V), <*Annunciation of Mary the Virgin*> (XIII), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI*), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *St Michael* (XXXIV*), *St Clement* (XXXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII*), *St Stephen* (CH II, II), *St Gregory* (IX), *St Benedict* (XI), *SS Philip and James* (XVII, in two parts), *Invention of the Cross/Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus* (XVIII), *St James* (XXVII), *St Matthew* (XXXII), *SS Simon and Jude* (XXXIII), *St Martin* (XXXIV): *St Eustace* (LS XXX), *St Pantaleon* (Matthews).

This manuscript originally contained a further five non-Sanctorale pieces, but these also show an interest in saints: *In Natale Unius Confessoris* (Assmann IV), *In Natale Plurimorum Apostolorum* (CH II, XXXVI), *In Natale Unius Confessoris* (XXXVIII), *In Dedicatione Ecclesiae* (XL) and part of the tract on the *Resting Places of Saints* edited by Liebermann.⁹⁹ *St Eustace* is also found in BL Cotton Julius E. vii. The anonymous *St Pantaleon* has its only witness here.

SS Peter and Paul, *St Michael* and *St Andrew* occur here without their pericope expositions as *passiones* only. *St Matthew* has the distinction between pericope exposition and *passio* blurred by the omission of the heading *Passio* (there is, however, a break of half a line, followed by a red capital, to distinguish the two parts).

The collection once preserved in BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii

comes close to BL Cotton Julius E. vii in intent, it was a large codex consisting almost entirely of lives by Ælfric. Of the original fifty-five items of contents, fifty were Sanctorale texts, made up of a mixture of twenty-three pieces from the *Catholic Homilies*, twenty-five from the *Lives of Saints*¹⁰⁰ and two anonymous texts. The compilers¹⁰¹ of this codex clearly aimed at consistency of both authorship and genre, although there is little evidence of concern over any other internal organisation. The collection is not ordered according to the calendar year and thus cannot have had the same function as BL Cotton Julius E. vii, rather it appears to represent an attempt at an Ælfric Sanctorale reader. The omission of some of the pericope expositions for the *Catholic Homilies* lives emphasises the devotional use of the collection.

Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33

(Ker 18)

s.xii²

Chair of St Peter (LS X), *St George* (XIV), *St Mark* (XV), *St Alban* (XIX), *St Æthelthryth* (XX), *SS Abdon and Sennes* (XXIV), *Maccabees* (XXV), *St Oswald* (XXVI), *Exaltation of the Cross* (XXVII), *St Denis* (XXIX), *St Edmund* (XXXII), *St Thomas* (XXXVI), *St Vincent* (XXXVII), *St Stephen* (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (IV), *Innocents* (V), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI*), *St Paul* (XXVII*), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *Decollation of St John the Baptist* (XXXII, part), *St Clement* (XXXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII*), *St Gregory* (CH II, IX), *St Benedict* (XI), *SS Philip and James* (XVII, in two parts), *Vision of St Drihthelm* (XXI, lines 1-137), *St James* (XXVII), *St Matthew* (XXXII*), *SS Simon and Jude* (XXXIII).

Although it is primarily concerned with hagiographic materials, this manuscript contains a variety of other texts, including Ælfric's translation of parts of the *Book of Genesis*, a homily on the Nativity (CH I, II), selections from the *Canons of Edgar*, a translation of some of Alcuin's *De Scientia* and other pieces. Ælfric's *St Vincent* has its only witness here.

This collection is mostly a passion compiled in two sections, over a period of time, in two main hands. Fourteen of its forty-five articles (splitting article 8 into its two pieces) are non-hagiographic. It contains twelve texts from the *Lives of Saints* and is thus the third most important witness of the set after the Julius and Vitellius manuscripts, although here there is less concern with maintaining the

integrity of the *Lives of Saints* set. There are thirty Ælfrician lives included in total, but there is no strong evidence for an interest in preserving a sequence of texts according to the calendar. Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33 has some of the qualities of BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii as an Ælfric Sanctorale reader, but it does not have the same breadth of texts. Although it does contain a full set of lives of the Apostles, notable by their absence are any pieces for the Virgin or the virgin saint group,¹⁰² with the exception of *St Æthelthryth*. As was the case with BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, several *Catholic Homilies* lives are preserved here only as a *passio* without the usual pericope exposition. This would seem to mark out the collection as a private, devotional book without any clear function in public worship.

'London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x, fols 1-28, 31-50, 52-4, 56, 57, 59, 60, 65, 67 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Q.e.20 (15606)'

(Ker 177)

s.xi¹

St Eugenia (LS II), *St Basil* (III), *SS Julian and Basilissa* (IV), *St Sebastian* (V), <*St Maur*> (VI), *St Agnes* (VII), <*St George*> (XIV), *St Æthelthryth* (XX), *St Swithun* (XXI, lines 1-463, 496-8), *St Edmund* (XXXII), <*Nativity of St John the Baptist*> (CH I, XXV), <*Invention of the Cross/Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus*> (CH II, XVIII): *Seven Sleepers* (LS XXIII), *St Mary of Egypt* (XXIIIB), *St Euphrosyne* (XXXIII), *St Christopher* (Rypins), <*St Margaret*> 2 (Ker, 'Catalogue', p.228)

This is a more heterogeneous collection than the other main witnesses of the *Lives of Saints*, containing a greater proportion of non-Ælfrician material. It includes, among other texts, three Wulfstan homilies,¹⁰³ part of *The Book of Genesis* and the *Exameron Anglice*. The anonymous *St Christopher* has a second witness in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols 94r-209r. *St Margaret* 2 had its only witnesses here, but it is now completely lost. BL Cotton Otho B. x includes three of the four anonymous lives found in BL Cotton Julius E. vii (LS XXIII, XXIIIB, XXXIII), but variant readings indicate that they come from a quite different textual tradition.

The manuscript seems originally to have been composed of three distinct sections, although the last two are now lost so this cannot be established on palaeographical grounds. The first section was primarily a Sanctorale collection mixing Ælfrician lives from the *Catholic*

Homilies and the *Lives of Saints* with Temporale homilies both anonymous and by Ælfric; the second section contained devotional and penitential texts not by Ælfric; the third part contained the *Life of St Margaret* 2. Of the original contents of twenty-seven pieces, eight are non-hagiographic and of these six are anonymous. Of the nineteen lives once preserved, five are anonymous, eleven come from the *Lives of Saints* and three from the *Catholic Homilies*. The collection therefore appears to have been primarily a passional, but without any particular interest in preserving mainly Ælfrician materials. There is some sign of an attention to calendar order evident in articles 3-9.

At least three hands were responsible for writing the manuscript. If it is assumed that the (lost) articles 25-7 were written last, as their final position could indicate, then they may have been late additions to the bulk of the manuscript. Without the last three items BL Cotton Otho B. x works quite well as a primarily Ælfrician passional: fourteen of the remaining twenty-four pieces are Ælfrician lives and another four are anonymous lives.

From a detailed comparison of these four manuscripts it is clear that each represents a different textual tradition of dissemination of the *Lives of Saints*. The anonymous texts which these collections have in common also show significant textual differences. Furthermore the distribution and scribal arrangement of lives within each manuscript indicates that there is little common ground between these collections in terms of probable exemplars followed. The contents and organisation of BL Cotton Julius E. vii clearly mark it out as the closest descendant of the original set.¹⁰⁴

The other witnesses of the *Lives of Saints*

The remaining witnesses of hagiographic texts from the *Lives of Saints* have no real affinities with the four pseudo-passionals listed above, since they are primarily concerned with the *Catholic Homilies*. Pieces from the *Lives of Saints* seem generally to be included in these collections due to their common authorship.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198

(Ker 48)

s.xi¹, s.xi²

St Sebastian (LS V), *St Mark* (XV), *Maccabees* (XXV), *St Stephen* (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (IV), *Innocents* (V), *Purification of Mary the Virgin* (IX), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV), *SS Peter and*

Paul (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *St Michael* (XXXIV), *St Gregory* (CH II, IX), *St Cuthbert* (X), *St Benedict* (XI), *SS Philip and James* (XVII), *Invention of the Cross/Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus* (XVIII), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXIV), *St James* (XXVII), *St Martin* (XXXIV): *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (Morris 3, XIII), *St Andrew* (Bright, pp.205-19).

CCCC 198 is a very large, composite manuscript consisting of an orderly sequence of homilies produced over a considerable period of time by perhaps as many as fourteen scribes. It primarily contains a mixture of homilies from the *Catholic Homilies* with some non-Ælfrician pieces: of its sixty-eight articles, twenty-five are Sanctorale texts, two of which are anonymous. There are three items from the *Lives of Saints*.

The collection falls into three parts. Part one appears to follow the same exemplar as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 and 343, although it does not contain a full annual cycle of homilies breaking off in June with *St Paul* (CH I, XXVII). Part two contains the greater proportion of Sanctorale texts and includes all three *Lives of Saints* pieces. Part three has four badly written additions which show an interest in hagiographic materials. Ker described this manuscript as a 'thick volume of homilies, consisting of an orderly collection written in the early eleventh century (I) and of additions in nearly contemporary hands (II) and in hands of s.xi² (III).'¹⁰⁵ The collection is dominated by the *Catholic Homilies*.

The three texts from the *Lives of Saints* in CCCC 198 seem to have been popular, appearing in a selection of manuscripts outside BL Cotton Julius E. vii,¹⁰⁶ but there is no other obvious reason for their inclusion. They do not fit into any calendar sequence of texts nor are there any clear thematic links between them and the *Catholic Homilies*, although *St Mark* may well have been seen as an important text since it concerns an Apostle.¹⁰⁷

Both the anonymous *Annunciation* homily and *St Andrew* are also found in the Blickling Homilies.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (2406)

(Ker 310)

s.xii²

Chair of St Peter (LS X), *St Martin* (XXXI), *St Edmund* (XXXII), *Purification of Mary the Virgin* (CH I, IX), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV), *SS Peter and*

Paul (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *St Michael* (XXXIV), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII), *SS Peter and Paul* (CH II, XXIV, second part), *St James* (XXVII), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXIX), *St Matthew* (XXXII*): *Nativity of Mary the Virgin* (Assmann X), *Invention of the Cross 1* (Napier).

Godden described this manuscript as 'a large, miscellaneous collection of homilies and other pieces'.¹⁰⁸ Of the eighty-four articles listed by Ker as its contents, forty-seven are from the *Catholic Homilies* and about two-thirds by Ælfric.¹⁰⁹ Two scribes compiled this collection. There is no overall arrangement of texts according to the calendar year: however, articles 32-64 (fols. 65r-128v) form a continuous sequence of homilies running roughly from Advent and stopping at the Common of the Saints festivals. There are breaks in the text before and after this run, suggesting that this section may reflect a different, organised exemplar from the rest of the manuscript.

The three texts included here from the *Lives of Saints* are amongst the most widely disseminated pieces from the set: the *Chair of St Peter* had witnesses in a total of four manuscripts, *St Martin* in three and *St Edmund* in five. Clearly these were popular texts and this may explain their presence here. Furthermore, the first two pieces already had associations with the *Catholic Homilies*.¹¹⁰

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303

(Ker 57)

s.xiii¹

Maccabees (LS XXV), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (CH I, XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *Decollation of St John the Baptist* (XXXII), *St Michael* (XXXIV), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Clement* (XXXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII), *De Sancta Maria* (CH II, XXXI, p.271), *Nativity of Mary the Virgin* (Assmann III): *Invention of the Cross 2* (Morris 1, I), *St Margaret 1* (Assmann XV), *St Giles* (Picard), *St Nicholas* (Slocombe).

Of the seventy-three articles in this collection, sixty-one are by Ælfric and forty-five come from the *Catholic Homilies*. The widely disseminated *Maccabees* is the only text from the *Lives of Saints* present and it appears at the end of the collection with a group of other Ælfrician texts associated with the *Old Testament* (the *Prayer of Moses*, the *Item Alia* to *St Alban* and the fragmentary treatment of the *Book of Judith*). The reason for its inclusion seems to be its Biblical

source rather than its Sanctorale setting.

This manuscript includes the 'appendices' found in BL Cotton Julius E. vii at its conclusion and these are also found in Bodley Hatton 115, Hatton 116 and CCCC 178 and 162, pp.139-60.¹¹¹ The anonymous *St Margaret* 1, *St Giles* and *St Nicholas* have their only witnesses here.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116 (5136)

(Ker 333)

s.xiii¹

St Macarius (LS XXI, lines 464-95, as part of Pope XXIX), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (CH I, XXV), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *Decollation of St John the Baptist* (XXXII), *St Michael* (XXXIV), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Clement* (XXXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII), *Nativity of Mary the Virgin* (Assmann III): *St Chad* (Vleeskruyer).

This manuscript contains twenty-six articles, of which twenty-four are by Ælfric. Pope demonstrated that this collection specifically included the homilies for saints' days (in order) from the revised version of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* identified in CCCC 188.¹¹² *St Chad* has its only witness here. It opens the manuscript and is immediately followed by the run of lives from the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* (articles 2-15) beginning with the *Nativity of St John the Baptist*. It is possible that *St Chad* was intended to form part of this sequence.¹¹³ This manuscript is associated with Worcester in the thirteenth century and may have been written there.¹¹⁴ If so, this would help explain the inclusion of Chad as a saint of local interest - he appears to have been associated with Lichfield. This manuscript is of considerable importance as the only evidence for a tradition of separating the Sanctorale items found in the *Catholic Homilies* as a distinct sequence.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, pp.1-270 and 162, pp.139-60

(Ker 41A)

s.xi¹

St Macarius (LS XXI, lines 464-95, as part of Pope XXIX), *Purification of Mary the Virgin* (CH I, IX), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (XIII).

This manuscript also includes fourteen other texts from the *Catholic Homilies* and predominately feature pieces by Ælfric. The extant

manuscript is made up of two books (I: CCCC 178, pp.1-30 plus CCCC 162, pp.139-60 plus CCCC 178, pp.33-163; II: CCCC 178, pp.164-270). The first includes homilies for general occasions, the second covers more important festivals and contains a sequence of twelve *Catholic Homilies* texts, generally in calendar order, starting at Christmas. The codex today includes an originally distinct copy of the *Rule of St Benedict* in Latin and Old English (Ker 41 B).

Fragmentary Manuscripts

'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, part II, fols 3-6, 11-29'

(Ker 63)

s.xii

Exaltation of the Cross (LS XXVII), Assumption of Mary the Virgin (CH I, XXX), St Bartholomew (XXXI), St Michael (XXXIV), St Matthew (CH II, XXXII); Nativity of Mary the Virgin (Assmann X). These texts appear in fragments of six quires with two Temporale texts from the First Series of the *Catholic Homilies* - *Dominica Sancte Pasce* (CH I, XV), *De Dominica Oratione* (XIX, part) - and one from the Second Series - *Alius Sermo de Die Paschae* (CH II, XVI). Quires 3-6 (articles 4-10) seem to have included a sequence of saints' lives following the calendar year.

'Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35'

(Ker 117)

s.xi¹-s.xi²

St Swithun (LS XXI), *SS Peter and Paul* (CH I, XXVI), *SS Peter and Paul* (CH II, XXIV); *St Mary of Egypt* (LS XXIIIB).

These are seven and a half leaves of binding sheets, which also include part of the *Rule of St Benedict*. Earle described them and produced a copy by photozincography.¹¹⁵

'Cambridge, Queen's College, (Horne) 75 and Indiana University, Bloomington, Lilly Library, Poole 10'

(Ker 81)

s.xiⁱⁿ

St Apollinaris (LS XXII), *SS Abdon and Sennes* (XXIV), *Maccabees* (XXV).

These are fragmentary texts preserved in four pieces, originally from three leaves. From this very limited evidence, they could represent part of a separately issued *Lives of Saints* set. However, these pieces are possibly related to other fragments in the Marie-Louise and James Osborn Collection in the Beinecke Library, Yale University,

New Haven, Connecticut and to Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Eng. th. c. 74,²² which contain the homilies for Palm Sunday (CH I, XIV), second Sunday after Easter (XVII) and *De Fide Catholica* (XX). If this is the case, then these pieces from the *Lives of Saints* cannot once have been part of a complete set issued separately from the *Catholic Homilies*.¹¹⁷

'London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xiv, fols 93-130'

(Ker 138)

s.xi^{med}

St Martin (LS XXXI), *St Thomas* (XXXVI): *St Mildred* (first part; Cockayne III; 422-8).

These are thirty-eight leaves, which represent a fragment of a larger codex, possibly a miscellany of saints' lives. The incomplete homily on St Mildred's day found here may well represent the introduction to the fragment concerning the saint found in Lambeth Palace 427, fols 210-11. Both pieces are present, in a different textual form, in the *Resting Places of the Saints*, printed by Liebermann. The fragment found here includes a Sanctorale heading for St Mildred's day not found in the Lambeth Palace leaf.

'London, British Library, Royal 8 C. vii, fols 1, 2'

(Ker 260)

s.xiⁱⁿ

St Agnes (LS VII), *St Agatha* (VIII).

These are fragments of a single bifolium and may provide slim evidence of an integrated and separately issued *Lives of Saints* set, but no firm conclusions are possible.

These fourteen manuscripts represent all the extant witnesses of the *Lives of Saints*. It is clear that texts from this set were generally mixed with *Catholic Homilies* pieces, both Sanctorale and Tempore. ¹¹⁸ Furthermore, most witnesses of pieces from the *Lives of Saints* mix the set with non-Sanctorale pieces. The only substantial exception to this is BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, which seems to have a clearly defined Sanctorale rubric behind it. Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33 and BL Cotton Otho B. x also show an interest in mainly Ælfrician hagiographic texts and work as vernacular passionals to a certain extent, but they also include other, miscellaneous materials. There are also some fragmentary manuscripts which may have preserved the *Lives of Saints* set alone or exclusively with other Sanctorale material, but these cannot provide strong evidence for a Vitellius type collection due to their incompleteness, namely:

Queen's College, Cambridge, (Horne) 75 and Bloomington, Poole 10, BL Royal 8 C. vii and BL Cotton Caligula A. xiv.

Including these manuscripts already examined, there are twenty-six extant collections containing *Catholic Homilies* Sanctorale pieces. The other witnesses are shown below and indicate in their distribution of these texts how unusual BL Cotton Julius E. vii is in its organisation of materials as a set by subject matter and calendar order; the only other manuscripts with the same control of contents are the best witnesses of the *Catholic Homilies*: London, British Library, Royal 7 C. xii, Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 and CCCC 188.

The other witnesses of hagiographic texts from the *Catholic Homilies*¹¹⁹

Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28

(Ker 15)

s.x/xi

St Stephen (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (IV), *Innocents* (V), *Purification of Mary the Virgin* (IX), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *Decollation of St John the Baptist* (XXXII), *St Michael* (XXXIV), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Clement* (XXXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII), *St Stephen* (CH II, II), *St Gregory* (IX), *St Cuthbert* (X), *St Benedict* (XI), *SS Philip and James* (XVII, in two parts), *Invention of the Cross/SS Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus* (XVIII), *Vision of St Fursey* (XX), *Vision of St Drihtelm* (XXI, lines 1-137), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXIV), *St James/Seven Sleepers* (XXVII), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXIX), *De Sancta Maria* (CH II, XXXI, p.271), *St Matthew* (XXXII), *SS Simon and Jude* (XXXIII), *St Martin* (XXXIV).

This manuscript contains all of the *Catholic Homilies* in its original order, before revision. It is the only full witness of the Second Series and uniquely preserves the prefaces to the two series. There are other Ælfrician texts after the *Catholic Homilies*, written in a continuous hand and this indicates that the collection was put together some time after the completion of the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*.

Thorpe followed this manuscript in his edition of the *Catholic Homilies*.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 and 342 (2404-5)

(Ker 309)

s.xjin-med

St Stephen (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (IV), *Innocents* (V), *Purification of Mary the Virgin* (IX), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Clement* (XXXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII), *St Gregory* (CH II, IX), *St Cuthbert* (X), *St Benedict* (XI), *SS Philip and James* (XVII), *Invention of the Cross/SS Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus* (XVIII), *Vision of St Fursey* (XX), *Vision of St Drihtelm* (XXI, lines 1-137), *St James/Seven Sleepers* (XXVII), *De Sancta Maria* (CH II, XXXI, p.271): *St Paulinus* (Sisami, 'Studies', pp.151-52)

These manuscripts are important witnesses of the *Catholic Homilies*, before its revision and do not contain any of Ælfric's later work. *Catholic Homilies* texts are interspersed with other pieces, but generally reflect the order of the original series. Sisam has analysed these manuscripts in detail.¹²⁰ The fragment of a text concerning St Paulinus, bishop of Rochester, is only found here and was added to the manuscript in the hand of the main corrector of the collection (s.xi). Since Bodley 340 and 342 were at Rochester in s.xi,¹²¹ local interest probably explains the inclusion of St Paulinus.

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v

(Ker 220)

s.x/xi, xi¹

St Stephen (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (IV), *Innocents* (V), *Purification of Mary the Virgin* (IX), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *Decollation of St John the Baptist* (XXXII), *St Michael* (XXXIV), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Clement* (XXXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (Crawford, *Letter to Sigeward*, lines 1017-153), *Nativity of Mary the Virgin* (Assmann II, lines 13-224 and III, lines 505-97).

This is a good, ordered witness of almost all of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, which was later given an appendix and later still

systematically enlarged by interpolations, some from the Second Series. Almost its entire contents are attributable to Ælfric.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188

(Ker 43)

s.xi¹

St Stephen (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (IV), *Innocents* (V), *Purification of Mary the Virgin* (IX), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *Decollation of St John the Baptist* (XXXII), *St Michael* (XXXIV), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Clement* (XXXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII), *Nativity of Mary the Virgin* (Assmann III).

This manuscript represents an important witness of Ælfric's own reissue of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, including new material. It also features Ælfrician texts outside the *Catholic Homilies*, notably the *Exameron Anglice* (article 1).¹²²

London, British Library, Royal 7 C. xii, fols 4-218

(Ker 257)

s.x^{ex}

St Stephen (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (IV), *Innocents* (V), *Purification of Mary the Virgin* (IX), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *Decollation of St John the Baptist* (XXXII), *St Michael* (XXXIV), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Clement* (XXXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII).

This manuscript is the earliest witness of the *Catholic Homilies* and features the First Series alone, without prefaces. It includes many revisions, which bring it closer to the more advanced set preserved in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28; it is possible that some of these revisions are in Ælfric's own hand.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (5232), Hatton 113 and 114 (5210, 5134)

(Ker 338, 331)

s.xi³

St Stephen (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (IV), *Innocents* (V), *Purification of Mary the Virgin* (IX), *Annunciation of Mary the Virgin* (XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *Assumption of Mary the*

Virgin (XXX), *St Bartholomew* (XXXI), *St Michael* (XXXIV), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Gregory* (CH II, IX), *SS Philip and James* (XVII, in two parts), *Invention of the Cross/SS Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus* (XVIII), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXIX), *SS Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus: Pars Prima* (Pope XXIII): *Nativity of Mary the Virgin* (Assmann X).

These are three companion volumes, mostly featuring *Catholic Homilies* texts, but also including some Wulfstan materials. The *Catholic Homilies* pieces are irregularly ordered according to the calendar year.

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4-169

(Ker 209)

s.xii^{med}

Annunciation of Mary the Virgin (CH I, XIII, part), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XXV, gospel-text), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXVI, gospel text), *St Paul* (XXVII, second part), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXX), *Decollation of St John the Baptist* (XXXII), *All Saints* (XXXVI, second part), *St Clement* (XXXVII, abridged), *SS Peter and Paul* (CH II, XXIV, first part), *Vision of St Fursey* (XX), *Vision of St Drihthelm* (XXI, lines 1-137), *Seven Sleepers* (XXVII), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* (XXIX), *St Matthew* (XXXII, first part): *St James* (Warner XI), *St Neot* (XLII), *St Veronica* (Assmann XVI, lines 1-39, Warner XXXII).

This manuscript is a miscellany of theological pieces, many only given as excerpts. Of its fifty-four articles, twenty-seven come from the *Catholic Homilies* and seven others are later writings by Ælfric. The *Catholic Homilies* texts preserved here are disordered. Articles 16-18 (fols 48v-60r) are a composite homily on the Assumption of the Virgin combining CH I, XXX, p.436, line 6 - p.448, line 22 with CH II, XXIX, lines 1-126 and CH I, XXX, p.448, line 23 - p.454, line 9. The anonymous *St James* and *St Neot* are only found here. The excerpted *St Veronica* is preserved in full in Cambridge, University Library, li. 2. 11 and imperfectly in CCCC 196.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302

(Ker 56)

s.xi/xii

St Stephen (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Baptist* (IV).

This is primarily a Temporale manuscript derived from the *Catholic Homilies* and also includes Ælfric's *Exameron Anglice*. It seems that CH I, III and IV were included here due to their association with the

Temporale sequence of Christmas texts and were not treated as Sanctorale texts.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 (5135) and Kansas, University Library, Y 104

(Ker 332)

s.xi², xii^{med}

Vision of St Fursey (CH II, XX), *Vision of St Drihtelm* (XXI, lines 1-137).

This manuscript appears to be entirely by Ælfric, although it seems unlikely that it is an authorial collection. It is an important witness of his later work. Almost half the articles are texts from the *Catholic Homilies*. Six of the eight homilies for Rogationtide are found here and also the final pieces from the Second Series for the Common of the Saints.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, pp.1-138, 161-564

(Ker 38)

s.xiⁱⁿ

De Sancta Maria (CH II, XXXI, p. 271): *Deposition of St Augustine* (Tristram, p.428).

This collection features fifty-five articles, mostly consisting of homilies for Sundays and festivals other than saints' days generally in order (forty-six actual homilies); of these, thirty-four articles come from the *Catholic Homilies* (twenty-eight actual homilies). Clearly, this manuscript was designed primarily as a Temporale collection. The fragmentary *Deposition* homily is only found here.

London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, fols 1-58 and London, Lambeth Palace Library, 489

(Ker 144, 283)

s.xi^{3rd quarter}

All Saints (CH I, XXXVI).

These manuscripts seem to have originally been bound together as one codex. BL Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii contains various homilies by both Ælfric and Wulfstan, as well as some anonymous pieces and composite texts. Lambeth Palace 489 contains eight homilies, five from the *Catholic Homilies*: in addition to CH I, XXXVI, it preserves *De Natale Domini* (CH I, II), *Dominica Sancte Pasce* (XV), *De Dominica Oratione* (XIX, with omissions) and *In Dedicatione Ecclesiae* (CH II, XL).

London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. x

(Ker 154)

s.xi², xii¹

St Gregory (CH II, IX)

Parts of this life are written in the margins of fols 148r-9r, corresponding to CH II, IX, lines 26-8, 57, 71-80 and 171. The main texts preserved in this two-part manuscript are Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary* and the *Rule of St Benedict*.

Fragmentary Manuscripts

'Copenhagen Fragments'

(discovered after Ker)

s.xiⁱⁿ

SS Peter and Paul (CH I, XXVI), *All Saints* (XXXVI), *St Clement* (XXXVII).

These represent fifty-six binding leaf fragments of twelve original leaves from three separate quires. Also preserved are parts of the homily *Dominica XXI post Pentecosten* (CH I, XXXV) from the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*.¹²³

'The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133. D. 22 (21)'

(Ker 118)

s.xi¹

St Paul (CH I, XXVII), *St Laurence* (XXIX).

These are nine fragments of binding strips, containing parts of these two lives and of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* text for the eleventh Sunday after Pentecost (CH I, XXVIII).

'London, British Library, Harley 2110, fols 4, 5'

(Ker 235)

s.xi

St Stephen (CH I, III), *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* (IV).

These are fragments of two consecutive folios containing parts of these texts alone. Folio 5 should precede folio 4.

'London, British Library, Otho A.xviii, fol. 131'

(Ker 174)

s.xi¹

St Laurence (CH I, XXIX).

This is a single burnt leaf preserving some of this life alone.

In total there are twenty-six manuscripts which contain *Catholic Homilies* hagiographic material. Of these manuscripts, BL Royal 7 C. xii and CCC 188 (for the First Series) and Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 (for both series) are witnesses of the

Catholic Homilies as a whole; CCCC 198, CCCC 303, Bodley 343, Bodley 340 and 342, BL Cotton Vitellius C. v and BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv are good witnesses of large amounts of the *Catholic Homilies*; Junius 121 and Bodley Hatton 113 and 114, Bodley Hatton 115, CCCC 162, CCCC 178 and 162, p.139-60 and CCCC 302 mix *Catholic Homilies* with a wide variety of other mainly Ælfrician materials, reflecting a move towards a different type of homily collection incorporating the *Catholic Homilies*;¹²⁴ the 'Copenhagen Fragments', CCCC 367, Gloucester Cathedral 35, the Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133. D. 22 (21), BL Harley 2110 and BL Cotton Otho A. xviii are fragmentary and it is impossible to determine how much of the *Catholic Homilies* they originally included;¹²⁵ BL Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth Palace 489 is a relatively short manuscript preserving eight *Catholic Homilies* texts in no order; BL Cotton Faustina A. x includes parts of St Gregory as marginal additions.

This leaves Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33, BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, BL Cotton Otho B. x and Bodley Hatton 116 as the only manuscripts which can clearly reflect an interest in *Catholic Homilies* hagiographic materials alone.

It has already been shown that the first three of these are also primary witnesses of the *Lives of Saints* set. These manuscripts also include some Temporale *Catholic Homilies* texts: Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33 has a Nativity homily (CH I, II), a homily on Job (CH II, XXX) and the possibly late addition of a homily for the fifth Sunday in Lent (CH II, XIII); BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii contains Common of the Saints homilies from the Second Series (CH II, XXXVI, XXXVIII, XL); BL Cotton Otho B. x includes *De Initio Creaturae* (CH I, I).

However, Bodley Hatton 116 has a set of *Catholic Homilies* hagiographic texts isolated from the First Series, without any Temporale homilies. The manuscript preserves the bulk of the lives from the First Series in the calendar order of the Proper of the Saints without the intervening homilies.¹²⁶ It also includes the material found as 'appendices' to the Lives of Saints, as preserved in BL Cotton Julius E. vii, in a similar position after its group of lives.¹²⁷ The construction of Bodley Hatton 116 clearly has something in common with that of BL Cotton Julius E. vii, but the incompleteness of the former's *Catholic Homilies* Sanctorale set seems to indicate that it represents a one-off collection, rather than a witness of a

widely disseminated *Catholic Homilies* based set of lives.

A comparison with BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii underlines this. The Vitellius manuscript also preserves *Catholic Homilies* Sanctorale texts, separate from the two series as a whole, but here it is a different, fuller and less ordered compilation than that in Bodley Hatton 116 and this lack of agreement between these two manuscripts seems to indicate a pattern of isolated syntheses of exclusively *Catholic Homilies* Sanctorale collections.¹²⁸

There is no manuscript, apart from Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 (the complete *Catholic Homilies*), which includes all the Sanctorale texts available in the two series. BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii comes closest with twenty-one of the available thirty-two texts: it omits the two homilies for John the Baptist (*Nativity*, CH I, XXV and *Decollation*, XXXII) and two for the Virgin (*Purification*, CH I, IX and *Assumption*, CH II, XXIX), though it provides coverage for Mary the Virgin with the *Assumption* text (CH I, XXX). The other omissions show no organised rubric; the absence of *All Saints* (CH I, XXXVI), *St Cuthbert* (CH II, X), *SS Peter and Paul* (XXIV) and the *Seven Sleepers* (XXVII, part two) seems to reflect exemplar availability. It should also be noted that the selection of *Catholic Homilies* Sanctorale texts in BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii does not coincide exactly with that in Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33 or BL Cotton Otho B. x, both of which have fewer of these lives.

In conclusion, it seems quite unlikely that the Sanctorale texts from the *Catholic Homilies* were ever circulated as a separate set, since their preservation is overwhelmingly in tandem with *Catholic Homilies* Tempore texts, but there is evidence that the idea of such a set was behind the compilation of Bodley Hatton 116, BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii and possibly the fragments BL Harley 2110 and BL Cotton Otho A. xviii. It is also clear that BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, BL Cotton Otho B. x and Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33 represent a different tradition of manuscripts from these other collections, starting with the *Lives of Saints* or at least with a Sanctorale rubric, rather than with the *Catholic Homilies* and a more general, homiletic emphasis.

There is one other manuscript of relevance to Ælfric's hagiography: London, British Library, Harley 3271 (Ker 239; s.xi¹). This collection contains the *Assumption of St John the Evangelist* homily (Crawford, *Letter to Sigeward*, lines 1017-153) and also features

Ælfric's *Grammar* and various pieces both in Latin and Old English. This is the only extant witness which includes an Ælfrician hagiographic text without any Sanctorale pieces from the *Catholic Homilies* or *Lives of Saints* and this probably reflects the fact that the *Assumption* homily represents something of a special case.

The full list of manuscripts containing Ælfrician lives and hagiographic pieces shows that whilst there are a handful of witnesses preserving the *Lives of Saints* and *Catholic Homilies* in a form close to that as issued, many of these collections have diverse contents and fairly loose internal organisation. It is also evident how much more widely disseminated the *Catholic Homilies* were than the *Lives of Saints*, in terms of surviving witnesses.

2. The other witnesses of non-Ælfrician hagiographic texts

Princeton University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection, The Blickling Homilies

(Ker 382)

S.X^{ex}

Annunciation of Mary the Virgin (Morris 3, I), *Assumption of Mary the Virgin* 1 (XIII), *Nativity of St John the Baptist* (XIV), *SS Peter and Paul* (XV), *St Michael* 1 (XVII), *St Martin* (XVIII), *St Andrew* (XIX).

This manuscript preserves a set of eighteen homilies for Sundays and saints' days arranged mainly in the order of the church year. It begins and ends imperfectly. Morris (3) edited it in full. St Martin is also found in the Vercelli Book and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 and 86, whilst the *Assumption* homily and *St Andrew* have second witnesses in CCCC 198.

Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, The Vercelli Book

(Ker 394)

S.X^{(2) 3}

Purification of Mary the Virgin (Szarmach XVII), *St Martin* (XVIII), *St Guthlac* (Gonser, pp. 117-34 as part of Szarmach XXIII).

This manuscript contains twenty-three prose homilies and six pieces of Old English alliterative verse, including *The Dream of the Rood*. Sections of *St Guthlac* as found in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xii are preserved here as part of a larger homily. *St Martin* also appears in the Blickling Homilies and Bodley Junius 85 and 86. The *Purification* homily is only found here. The collection as a whole is an original miscellany of random order put together over a period of time.

The Vercelli Book and Blickling Homilies represent the main evidence for a tradition of vernacular homiletic collections before Ælfric.¹²⁹ Neither shows any particular interest in saints' lives.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41

(Ker 32)

s.xi¹

Assumption of Mary the Virgin 2 (Tristram I), *St Michael* 2 (Tristram II).

There are six homilies preserved in this manuscript included with the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a fragment of the *Martyrology* and some metrical charms. Both Sanctorale texts have their only witnesses here.

Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2. 11 and 'Exeter Book', fols 0, 1-7.

(Ker 20)

s.xi³-xii¹

St Veronica (Assmann XVI)

This manuscript also includes the West Saxon translation of the Gospels. *St Veronica* follows another apocryphal text in this manuscript, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191, 196 and 201, pp.179-272

(Ker 46, 47 and 50)

s.xi³

St Veronica (Assmann XVI, lines 39-261).

These three codices appear once to have been bound together. They share the same features of script, lines per page and overall layout. In addition to *St Veronica*, these manuscripts contain the *Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, part of the *Old English Martyrology* and the *Capitula* of Theodulf of Orleans. CCC 201 also includes a composite homily (article 2) associated with Vercelli homily IV.

London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i, vol. 2

(Ker 182)

s.xiⁱⁿ, xi^{med}

St Malchus (Assmann XVIII).

This text forms the third part of three translated extracts from the *Vitae Patrum*. BL Cotton Otho C. i, vol. 2 is primarily a witness of Wærferth's Old English version of *Gregory's Dialogues*, but also concludes with some homiletic material by Ælfric written in a different hand from the rest of the codex. It has suffered some fire damage.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fols 2-173

(Ker 186)

s.xi^{med}*St Margaret* 3 (Herbst).

This manuscript consists mainly of interlinear glosses to the Latin *Rule of St Benedict* and Ælfric's homily for Palm Sunday (CH I, XVII). *St Margaret* 3 is only found here.

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols 4-93

(Ker 215)

s.xi^{med}*St Quintin* (Förster 1).

This text is only a fragment of the opening of the full life uniquely preserved here. The manuscript also contains Alfred's translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies*.

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols 94r -209r

(Ker 216)

s.x/xi

St Christopher (Rypins).

This is the *Beowulf* manuscript and also preserves the *Marvels of the East* and *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*, amongst other pieces. Its contents perhaps indicate that it was compiled as a *Liber Monstrorum* and the extraordinary features of *St Christopher* may well have attracted the compiler(s) of the codex to include it here. This fragmentary life is also found in BL Cotton Otho B. x.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509 and London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, fols 18-40

(Ker 344)

s.xi²*St Guthlac* (Gonser).

This manuscript is primarily a witness of Ælfric's translation of parts of the *Heptateuch* (Crawford) followed by a version of Felix of Crowland's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, divided into a prologue and twenty-two paragraphs. Part of the life is also found in the Vercelli Book, adapted with short additions to function as a separate homily.

Fragmentary manuscripts**'London, Lambeth Palace Library, 427, fols 210-11'**

(Ker 281)

s.xi²*St Mildred* (Förster 2, pp.333-34), *St Seaxburg* (pp.334-35).

This manuscript consists of two non-adjacent fragmentary leaves. They represent expansions of the *Resting Places of the Saints*

(Liebermann, 'Heiligen', pp.5-7) and may be associated with an incomplete introduction to a homily on St Mildred found in BL Cotton Caligula A. xiv (Cockayne III; 422-28).

'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 and 86 (5196-7)'

(Ker 336)

s.xi^{med}

St Martin (Morris 3, XVIII), *Vision of St Paul* (Healey).

This manuscript consists of eighty-one folios and was divided in the post-medieval period. Junius 85 and 86 appears to reflect an anonymous collection sharing something of the organised approach found in the Vercelli and Blickling codices.¹³⁰ The contents are united by common textual features, 'In broad terms the themes can be stated as charity and judgement.'¹³¹ The collection features seven homilies in all, including Ælfric's *Dominica I in Quadragesima* (CH II, VII) and the Blickling homily *Dominica III in Quadragesima* (Morris 3, IV). *St Martin* is also found in the Blickling and Vercelli collections.

'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 557 and Lawrence, Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Pryce C2, item 1'

(Ker 73)

s.xi^{med}

Invention of the Cross 1 (Napier, p.22, lines 26-32, p.24, lines 22-28; Ker 1940; Colgrave and Hyde).

This manuscript consists of two fragments of a single leaf at Cambridge and one fragmentary leaf at Kansas. The full text is found in Bodley 343.

'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32 (2176)'

(Ker 297)

s.xi²

Invention of the Cross 2 (Bodden).

This text is preserved on nine leaves (a quire + a singleton) and is followed by some scribbles. *The Invention of the Cross* 2 is also preserved in CCCC 303 (Morris 2, I).

'London, British Library, Cotton Otho A. viii, fols 7-34 and Cotton Otho B. x, fol. 66'

(Ker 168)

s.xiⁱⁿ

St Machutus (Yerkes).

These are fragments of twenty-eight leaves preserving this life only.

A Latin version began originally on fol. 87r. This is the only copy of this life.

This survey of the dissemination of non-Ælfrician hagiographic texts demonstrates that most are preserved with other quite different pieces. Concern about the integrity of a manuscript's contents and its internal organisation seems to be generally absent. Only the Blickling Homilies, the Vercelli Book and, perhaps, Bodley Junius 85 and 86 are primarily non-Ælfrician collections which appear to aim to provide ordered sets, including Sanctorale texts, with some common elements of genre and theme.¹³²

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of all manuscripts containing prose Sanctorale and hagiographic material in Old English indicates that there existed both the large collections with many lives (most notably BL Cotton Julius E. vii, BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33, BL Cotton Otho B. x, Bodley Hatton 116 and the primary witnesses of the *Catholic Homilies*) and a wide spread of manuscripts which are either fragmentary or mix a few lives with other, usually Temporale, pieces. What is perhaps most clearly indicated is the general currency of Sanctorale and hagiographic materials and the dominance of Ælfrician texts in this area. Non-Ælfrician hagiographic texts represent only about a third of the surviving material of this genre and are generally preserved amongst dissimilar pieces. Indeed, this may have been one of the reasons behind Ælfric's compilation of the *Lives of Saints*, since a coherent body of Sanctorale material does not look to have been otherwise available.

BL Cotton Julius E. vii is the sole complete manuscript which contains an integrated Ælfrician Sanctorale sequence, without the inclusion of *Catholic Homilies* texts. There are indications that some compilers produced partial Sanctorale sets from the *Catholic Homilies*, perhaps similar in intent to the *Lives of Saints*, but there is insufficient evidence to discern a tradition of such a set. Ælfrician Sanctorale pieces were widely disseminated, but there was an apparent lack of scribal concern over the functional difference between texts from the *Catholic Homilies* and those from the *Lives of Saints*. Furthermore, there was little concern for consistency of authorship in most collections: Ælfrician and non-Ælfrician lives were regularly mixed. BL Cotton Julius E. vii has parallels in BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii and Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33, which share

some of its organising features, but these manuscripts are not the norm and the overwhelming balance of evidence sets BL Cotton Julius E. vii apart from the usual compendious compilations represented by most of the manuscripts listed above. In its integrated set of texts it most nearly reflects Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28, the only witness of both series of the Catholic Homilies.

Many of the anonymous lives are preserved in unique, often fragmentary witnesses. Scragg has commented on the homiletic tradition before Ælfric:

Either our knowledge is very partial or the tradition was an extraordinarily narrow one. Accident of transmission is the most likely explanation for our lack of texts of saints' lives, since most of those that we have are in unique copies, many of them in fragments only.¹³³

It seems likely that there was an established tradition of prose saints' lives outside (though not necessarily before) Ælfric, both in ordered collections such as the Blickling and Vercelli codices and in what were presumably one-off compositions.¹³⁴ Available evidence indicates that thirteen anonymous hagiographic texts were preserved in two or more witnesses, although some are now lost.

As a postscript, from a brief survey of the contents of the Latin manuscripts listed by Gneuss as being written or owned in England up to the year 1100¹³⁵ it can be seen that passionals and legends were fairly common. Whilst Latin saints' lives are often found with other liturgical or non-liturgical materials, there are also a number of Latin manuscripts preserving mainly or exclusively Sanctorale texts, most notably the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary*.¹³⁶ Within Gneuss' list there are at least thirteen Latin collections concentrating on saints' lives¹³⁷ and a good number of further witnesses of individual lives.¹³⁸ It is clear that there was a tradition of Sanctorale collections in Latin at the time, but this does not seem to have influenced the compilation of surviving vernacular manuscripts to any great extent.¹³⁹ The general lack of concern over integrity of generic content shown in the Old English manuscripts containing lives discussed above thus contrasts with many of the Latin passionals and legendary collections present in England at the time.

APPENDIX

Check-list of manuscripts

The following is a full listing of the manuscripts considered in this paper to contain at least one prose hagiographic text.¹⁴⁰ The manuscript sigla drawn up by Clemoes and Pope and used by Godden for Ælfrician texts are employed here and listed first,¹⁴¹ then the other relevant witnesses are shown in the order in which they appear in Ker.

- A London, British Library, Royal 7 C. xii, fols 4-218
- B Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (2406)
- C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303
- D Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 and 342 (2404-5)
- E Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198
- F Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, pp. 1-138, 161-564
- G London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4-169
- H London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v
- J London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, fols 1-58 and London, Lambeth Palace Library, 489
- K Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28
- L Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33
- O Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302
- P Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 (5135) and Kansas, University Library, Y 104
- Q Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188
- R Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, pp. 1-270 and 162, pp. 139-60
- S Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116 (5136)
- T Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (5232), Hatton 113 and 114 (5210, 5134)
- W London, British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii
- X^c London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. x
- X^d London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i, vol. 2
- X^e London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fols 2-173
- Z Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509 and London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, fols 18-40
- f^a Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, part II, fols 3-6, 11-29
- f^d Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35

- fⁱ London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x, fols 1-28, 31-50, 52-4, 56, 57, 59, 60, 65, 67 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Q.e.20 (15606)
- f^k London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, fols 4-92 (formerly fols '23-234')
- f^p Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 and 86 (5196-7)
Cambridge University Library, Ii. 2. 11 and 'Exeter Book', fols 0, 1-7
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191, 196 and 201, pp.179-272
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 557 and Lawrence, Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Pryce C.2, item 1
Cambridge, Queen's College, (Horne) 75 and Indiana University, Bloomington, Lilly Library, Poole 10
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133. D. 22 (21)
London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xiv, fols 93-130
London, British Library, Cotton Otho A. viii, fols 7-34 and Cotton Otho B. x, fol. 66
London, British Library, Cotton Otho A. xviii, fol. 131
London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols 4-93
London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols 94r-209r
London, British Library, Harley 2110, fols 4, 5
London, British Library, Harley 3271
London, British Library, Royal 8 C. vii, fols 1, 2
London, Lambeth Palace Library, 427, fols 210-11
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32 (2176)
Princeton University Library, W.H. Scheide Collection, The Blickling Homilies
Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, The Vercelli Book
'Copenhagen Fragments'

Check-list of texts

The corpus of Old English prose saints' lives and extended hagiographic pieces is listed below, organised into Ælfrician and anonymous groups. Texts by Ælfric are further divided into lives from the two series of *Catholic Homilies*, the *Lives of Saints* and further additions and fragments. The article number of each text is shown, following Ker. Lost witnesses are indicated thus <f^k>.

1. Sanctorale texts in the Catholic Homilies**The First Series****Text, CH I/Date, Manuscripts**

St Stephen, III (26 December), A (3), D (2), E (2), H (5), K (5), L (21), M (28, part), O (7), Q (3), T (34), f^k (11), B.L. Harley 2110 (fols 5rv, 4r)

Assumption of St John the Evangelist, IV (27 December), A (4), D (3), E(3), H (6), K (6), L (11), O (8), Q (4), T (35), <f^k (3)>, BL Harley 2110 (fol. 4rv)

Nativity of the Innocents, V (28 December), A (5), D (4), E (4), H (8), K (7), L (22), Q (5), T (36), f^k (12)

Purification of Mary the Virgin, IX (2 February), A (9), B (36), D (10), E (10), H (12), K (11), Q (9), R (24), T (39)

Annunciation of Mary the Virgin, XIII (25 March), A (13), B (23), C (28), D (14), E (14), G (52, part), H (18), K (15), Q (14), R (20), T (40), <f^k (36)>

Nativity of St John the Baptist, XXV (24 June), A (25), B (43), C (19), D (48), E (38), G (9, gospel text), H (37), K (27), Q (26), S (2), T (64), <fⁱ (24)>

SS Peter and Paul, XXVI (29 June), A (26), B (44, 45), C (20, 21), D (51, 52), E (41, 42), G (10, gospel text), H (38, 39), K (28), L (9, passio), Q (27, 28), S (3, 4), T (65, 66), f^d (4), f^k (1, passio), 'Copenhagen Fragments' (leaf 1)

St Paul, XXVII (30 June), A (27), B (46), C (22), D (53), E (43), G (41, part), H (40, 41), K (29), L (7, passio), Q (29), S (5), T (67) f^k (44), the Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133. D. 22 (21) (1)

St Laurence, XXIX (10 August), A (29), B (14), C (24), E (53), H (43), K (31), L (24), Q (31), S (6), f^k (23), the Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133. D. 22 (21) (3), BL Cotton Otho A. xviii, fol. 131 (1)

Assumption of Mary the Virgin, XXX (15 August), A (30), B (55), G (16, 18), H (47), K (32), Q (32), S (7), T (68), f^a (4), f^k (35)

St Bartholomew, XXXI (25 August), A (31), B (15), E (65), H (50), K (33), L (14), Q (33), S (8), T (69), f^a (5), f^k (6)

Decollation of John the Baptist, XXXII (29 August), A (32), C (25), G (19), H (51), K (34), L (44, in margins), Q (34), S (9)

St Michael, XXXIV (29 September), A (34), B (74), C (29), E (55), G (22, part), H (53, 54), K (36), Q (37), S (11), T (73), f^a (9), f^k (19, part)

All Saints, XXXVI (1 November), A (36), B (56, 57), C (30, 31), D

(70, 71), G (29, part), H (56, 57), J (Lambeth Palace 489, 3, part), K (38), Q (39, 40), S (12, 13), T (74, 75), 'Copenhagen Fragments' (leaves 6-7)

St Clement, XXXVII (23 November), A (37), C (32), D (72), G (36, part), H (58), K (39), L (33, part; part also in 8b), Q (41), S (14), f^k (24), 'Copenhagen Fragments' (leaves 8-12)

St Andrew, XXXVIII (30 November), A (38), B (30, part), C (33), D (78, 79), H (59, 60), K (40), L (10, passio), Q (42), S (15), f^k (22, passio)

The Second Series

Text, CH II/Date, Manuscripts

St Stephen, II (26 December), K (45), f^k (10)

St Gregory, IX (12 March), D (11), E (11), K (52), L (25), T (59), X^c (fols 148r-149r, in margins), f^k (18)

St Cuthbert, X (20 March), D (12), E (12), K (53)

St Benedict, XI (21 March), D (13), E (13), K (54), L (5), f^k (16)

SS Philip and James, XVII (1 May), D (30), E (30), K (61, 62), L (12, 13), T (60, 61), f^k (4, 5)

Invention of the Cross, XVIII (3 May), D (31), E (31), K (63), T (62), f^k (20), <fⁱ (14)>

SS Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus, XVIII (EODEM DIE), D (32), E (32), K (64), T (63), f^k (21), <fⁱ (15)>

SS Peter and Paul, XXIV (29 June), B (58, second part), D (49, 50), E (39, 40), G (13, second part), K (72), f^d (5, part)

St James, XXVII (25 July), B (59), D (57), E (58), K (75), L (15), f^k (2)

Seven Sleepers, XXVII (27 July), D (57), G (12), K (76)

Assumption of Mary the Virgin, XXIX (15 August), B (20), G (17), H (48), K (78), T (Junius 121, 35)

St Matthew, XXXII (21 September), B (17, passio), G (21, first part), K (82), L (16, passio), f^a (8), f^k (15)

SS Simon and Jude, XXXIII (28 October), K (83), L (17), f^k (7)

St Martin, XXXIV (11 November), E (56), K (84), f^k (17)

2. The Lives of Saints

Text, LS/Date, Manuscripts

St Eugenia, II (25 December), W (5), fⁱ (9)

St Basil, III (1 January), W (6), fⁱ (3), f^k (43)

SS Julian and Basilissa, IV (9 January), W (7), fⁱ (5)

- St Sebastian**, V (20 January), L (60), W (8), fⁱ (6), f^k (13)
St Maur, VI (15 January), W (9), <fⁱ (4)>
St Agnes, VII (21 January), W (10, 11), fⁱ (7, 8), <f^k (47, 48)> BL Royal 8 C. vii
St Agatha, VIII (5 February), W (12), <f^k (49)>, BL Royal 8 C. vii
St Lucy, IX (13 December), W (13), <f^k (50)>.
Chair of St Peter, X (22 February), B (22), L (6), W (14), <f^k (51)>
Forty Soldiers, XI (9 March), W (15)
St George, XIV (23 April), L (26), W (18), <fⁱ (22)>, <f^k (30)>
St Mark, XV (25 April), E (59), L (19), W (19, 20), f^k (8, 9)
St Alban, XIX (lines 1-154) (22 June), L (27), W (24) <f^k (52)>
St Æthelthryth, XX (23 June), L (4), W (26), fⁱ (23), <f^k (54)>
St Swithun, XXI (lines 1-463, 496-8) (2 July), W (27), f^d (1), fⁱ (20)
St Apollinaris, XXII (23 July), W (29), f^k (26), Cambridge, Queen's College, (Horne) 75 and Bloomington Poole 10 (1)
SS Abdon and Sennes, XXIV (30 July), L (37), W (32, 33), <f^k (27, 28)>, Cambridge, Queen's College, (Horne) 75 and Bloomington Poole 10 (2)
Maccabees, XXV (lines 1-811) (1 August), C (71), E (52), L (35, lines 319-811), W (34, 35), f^k (45, <46>), Cambridge, Queen's College, (Horne) 75 and Bloomington Poole 10 (3)
St Oswald, XXVI (5 August), L (31), W (37), f^k (31)
Exaltation of the Cross, XXVII (14 September), L (39), W (38), f^a (7), f^k (37)
St Maurice, XXVIII (22 September), W (39), <f^k (33)>
St Denis, XXIX (9 October), L (32), W (40), <f^k (34)>
St Martin, XXXI (11 November), B (18, part), W (42), BL Cotton Caligula A. xiv (1)
St Edmund, XXXII (20 November), B (31), L (29), W (43), fⁱ (21), f^k (42)
St Cecilia, XXXIV (22 November), W (45), f^k (25)
SS Chrysanthus and Daria, XXXV (29 November), W (46)
St Thomas, XXXVI (21 December), L (18), W (47), <f^k (32)>, BL Cotton Caligula A. xiv (2)

3. Additional Ælfrician hagiographic texts and fragments

Text, Edition/Date, Manuscripts

Item in Letania Maiore.

Feria Tertia, (Vision of St Fursey), CH II, XX (16 January), D (37), G (37), K, (66), P (8)

Alia Visio, (*Vision of St Drihthelm*), CH II, XXI, lines 1-37 (1 September), D (38), G (38), K (67), L (43), P (9)

De Sancta Maria, CH II, XXXI (p.271) (8 September), C (59), D (60), F (49), K (81)

St Vincent, LS XXXVII (22 January), L (23)

Nativity of Mary the Virgin, Assmann III (8 September), C (27), Q (35), S (10)

Macarius and the Magicians, (*Addition to St Swithun and De Auguriis*), LS XXI (lines 464-95), Pope XXIX (2 or 15 January), R (8), S (20), W (28)

Sanctorum Alexandri, Eventii et Theodoli: Pars Prima (to precede CH II, XVIII, (line 69), Pope XXIII (3 May), T (Hatton 114, 84)

Assumption of Mary the Virgin, Assmann II, lines 13-224 and III, lines 505-97 (15 August), H (49)

Assumption of St John the Evangelist, Crawford, *Letter to Sigeward*, lines 1017-153 (27 December, 6 May), H (7), BL Harley 3271 (22)

4. Non-Ælfrician hagiographic texts

Text, Edition/Date, Manuscripts

St Andrew, Morris 3, XIX (30 November), Blickling Homilies (18)

St Andrew, Bright, pp.205-19, (E 64)

Deposition of St Augustine, Tristram, p.428 (26 May), F (55)

St Chad, Vleeskruyer, pp.162-84 (2 March), S (1)

St Christopher, Rypins, pp.68-76 (25 July), fⁱ (11), BL Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols 94-209 (1)

Invention of the Cross 1, Napier 1, Ker 1940/Colgrave and Hyde (3 May), B (12), CCCC 557 and Kansas, Pryce C2 (1)

Invention of the Cross 2, Morris 2, I Bodden, pp.61-103, C (18), Bodley Auct. F. 4. 32 (a)

St Euphrosyne, LS XXXIII (11 February), W (44), fⁱ (10)

St Eustace, LS XXX (2 November), W (41), f^k (29)

St Giles (Egidius), Picard, pp.96-129 (1 September) C (26)

St Guthlac, Gonser, pp.117-34 (11 April), Z (5)

St Guthlac, Szarmach XXIII, Vercelli Book (29, extract)

St James the Greater, Warner XI (25 July), G (11)

Nativity of St John the Baptist, Morris 3, XIV (24 June), Blickling Homilies (14)

St Machutus, Yerkes, pp. 3-107 (15 November), BL Cotton Otho A.

- viii, fols 7-34 and Cotton Otho B. x, fol. 66 (1)
St Malchus (Vitae Patrum), Assmann XVIII (21 October), X^d (2)
St Margaret 1, Assmann XV (20 July), C (23)
St Margaret 2, Ker, 'Catalogue', p.228 <fⁱ (C)>
St Margaret 3, Herbst, pp.62-82, X^e (15)
St Martin, Morris 3, XVIII (11 November), f^p (8), Blickling Homilies (17).
St Martin, Szarmach XVIII, Vercelli Book (20)
Nativity of Mary the Virgin, Assmann X (8 September), B (16), T (72), f^a (6)
Purification of Mary the Virgin, Szarmach XVII (2 February), Vercelli Book (19)
Annunciation of Mary the Virgin, Morris 3, I (25 March), Blickling Homilies (1)
Assumption of Mary the Virgin 1, Morris 3, XIII (15 August), E (54), Blickling Homilies (13).
Assumption of Mary the Virgin 2, Tristram I, CCCC 41 (11)
St Mary of Egypt, LS XXIIIB (2 April), W (31), f^d (2), fⁱ (12)
St Michael 1, Morris 3, XVII (29 September), Blickling Homilies (16)
St Michael 2, Tristram II, CCCC 41 (17)
St Mildred¹⁴², Förster 2, pp.333-4 (13 July), Lambeth Palace 427 (fol. 210r-v)
St Neot, Warner XLII (31 July), G (43)
St Nicholas, Slocombe (6 December), C (34)
St Pantaleon, Matthews, pp.92-126 (27 July), f^k (14)
Vision of St Paul, Healey, pp.63-73, f^p (4)
St Paulinus, Sisam, 'Studies', pp.151-2 (10 October), D (75)
SS Peter and Paul, Morris 3, XV (29 June), Blickling Homilies (15).
St Quintin, Förster 1, pp.258-59 (31 October), BL Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols 4-93 (4)
St Seaxburg¹⁴³, Förster 2, pp.334-35 (6 July), Lambeth Palace 427 (fol. 211r-v)
Seven Sleepers, LS XXIII (27 July), W (30), fⁱ (13)
St Veronica, Assmann XVI (12 July), Cambridge University Library, li. 2. 11 (3), CCCC 196 (2), Warner XXXII, G (32, part).

5. The Old English Martyrology

The following Manuscripts preserve some or all of the *Martyrology*:

- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (Ker 32, article 3; s.xi¹)
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196 (Ker 47, article 1; s.xi^{3rd quarter})
 London, British Library, Add. 23211 (Ker 127, article 2; s.ix^{ex})
 London, British Library, Add. 40165A, fols 6, 7 (Ker 132; s.ix/x)
 London, British Library, Cotton Julius A. x, fols 44-175 (Ker 161; s.x/xi)
 London, British Library, Harley 3271 (Ker 239, article 11i; s.xi¹).¹⁴⁴

NOTES

*The first part of this article was published in *RMS* XIX, 1993

⁹⁵ The Common of the Saints texts are omitted, since they do not refer to specific saints and are not part of the Sanctorale. Those not included here are: *In Natale Unius Apostoli* (CH II, XXXV), *In Natale Plurimorum Apostolorum* (XXXVI), *In Natale Sanctorum Martirum* (XXXVII), *In Natale Unius Confessoris* (XXXVIII), *In Natale Sanctorum Virginum* (XXXIX), *In Dedicatione Ecclesiae* (XL and Brotanek I), *Unius Martiris* (Belfour VIII), *In Natale Unius Confessoris* (Assmann IV), and *Evangelium De Viginibus* (CCCC 303, pp.199-202). Furthermore, the *Item Alia* to *St Alban* (LS XIX, lines 155-258) and the *Maccabees* (XXV, lines 812-62) are excluded because they have neither a strong association with the text they succeed nor an independent interest in a saint.

⁹⁶ This is particularly the case with lives found in Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33. The following all lack their pericope expositions: *SS Peter and Paul* (CH I, XXVI), *St Paul* (XXVII), *St Andrew* (XXXVIII) and *St Matthew* (CH II, XXXII). Clemoes noted this and also argued for the unique copy of *St Vincent* found here to fit this pattern, with its pericope preserved as Belfour VIII; see 'Chronology', p.236, note 1 and S.E. Irvine, 'Bones of contention' pp.117-18.

⁹⁷ This fragment has been edited by C.R. Unger, 'Fragment af en allittereret angelsaxisk Homili', *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, Copenhagen 1846, pp. 67-81. Pope edited the only version which approaches completeness (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, pp.142-63) as his XXI.

⁹⁸ See Clemoes, p.244

⁹⁹ 'Heiligen', p.9. This text is now lost.

¹⁰⁰ This makes this manuscript, in its original form, both the largest collection of Ælfrician lives of which we have record and the most consistent

Sanctorale manuscript (in terms of contents) outside the *Old English Martyrology*.

¹⁰¹ There were at least three hands involved in the remaining fragments, possibly four: see Ker, 'Catalogue', p.298

¹⁰² This group includes SS Eugenia, Agnes, Agatha, Lucy, Æthelthryth and Euphrosyne.

¹⁰³ A.S. Napier, ed., *Wulfstan*, Berlin 1883; repr. with an appendix by K. Ostheeren, Dublin 1967, XIX-XXII, XXX, LVIII.

¹⁰⁴ For a detailed analysis of the relationship between these manuscripts see my unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 'Three Old English Saints' Lives From London, British Library Manuscript, Cotton Julius E. vii', King's College, London, 1990, pp.46-75.

¹⁰⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, p.76.

¹⁰⁶ The *Maccabees* is the most widely disseminated text from the *Lives of Saints*, preserved in six manuscripts. *St Sebastian* and *St Mark* both have four witnesses.

¹⁰⁷ *St Mark* (LS XV) and *St Thomas* (XXXVI) were the only lives of Apostles not included in the *Catholic Homilies*.

¹⁰⁸ CH II, p.xxxvii.

¹⁰⁹ See Pope I; 14-8.

¹¹⁰ The *Chair of St Peter* picks up a reference from the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* to St Peter's miracles: 'We sædon hwilon aér. hu his sceadu gehealde. ealle þa untruman þe heo ofer glad' (LS X, lines 19-20) echoes the *Homily for Pentecost*, 'þa worhte God fela tacna on ðam folce ðurh ðæra apostola handa, swa þæt hi gelogodon ða untruman be ðære stræt þær Petrus forðeode, and swa hraðe swa his sceadu hi hreopode, hi wurdon gehælede fram eallum untrumnyssum' (CH I, XXII, p.316, lines 13-6). The long *Life of St Martin* enlarges upon the life found in the Second Series (CH II, XXXIV) and concludes with the explanation 'Olim hæc trastuli. sicuti ualui. sed modo praecibus. constrictus plenius' (LS XXXI, lines 1496-7).

¹¹¹ These are *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* (MacLean), *De Falsis Diis* (Unger, 'Fragment': Pope XXI) and *De XII Abusivis* (Morris 1, X). The appearance of these 'appendices' together in these three manuscripts may indicate a shared textual tradition for these pieces.

¹¹² Pope I; 68.

¹¹³ St Chad's feast day is 2 March, St John the Baptist's falls on 24 June.

¹¹⁴ The manuscript includes glosses by the 'tremulous hand' of Worcester,

see Ker, *Catalogue*, p.406.

¹¹⁵ *Gloucester Fragments*, ed. J. Earle, London 1861.

¹¹⁶ See R.L. Collins and P.A.M. Clemoes, 'The common origin of Ælfric fragments at New Haven, Oxford, Cambridge, and Bloomington' in *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope*, ed. R.B. Burlin and E.B. Irving, Toronto and Buffalo, 1974, pp.285-326.

¹¹⁷ Collins and Clemoes concluded, 'it seems reasonable to conclude that these seven fragments ... were once parts of a large codex which contained *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints* by Ælfric' (p.300).

¹¹⁸ Indeed, six of these collections are primarily *Catholic Homilies*, rather than *Lives of Saints* manuscripts. CCCC 198, CCCC 303 and Bodley 343 represent important witnesses of the early dissemination of the First Series of the *Catholic Homilies*; Bodley Hatton 116 and CCCC 178 and 162, pp.139-60 feature a revised First Series of *Catholic Homilies* set; CCCC 367 is a fragmentary witness of mostly *Catholic Homilies* texts.

¹¹⁹ full details of all these manuscripts, see Pope, I; 6-91.

¹²⁰ Sisam, 'Studies', pp.148-98.

¹²¹ See Ker, *Catalogue*, p.367.

¹²² For further analysis of this important collection see Pope I; 59-62, Sisam, pp.175-8 and Clemoes, p.234.

¹²³ *Fifty-six Ælfric Fragments*, ed. E. Fausbøll, (Publications of the Department of English, University of Copenhagen 14), Copenhagen 1986. The texts are printed pp.43-89. All four texts are fragmentary, although *All Saints* and *St Clement* come from consecutive leaves preserved in an original, single quire.

¹²⁴ Clemoes identified the collection of Temporale homilies which Ælfric assembled after the *Catholic Homilies* as 'TH I' and 'TH II'. According to Clemoes, TH I is represented by Cambridge, University Library, li. 4. 6, CCCC 302 and London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. ix and TH II by BL Cotton Vitellius C. v, Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 15. 34 and some items in Bodley 343. See further pp.227-33.

¹²⁵ BL Harley 2110 and BL Cotton Otho A. xviii contain exclusively *Catholic Homilies* Sanctorale material and may have been witnesses of a set of lives based on the two series, but the extant evidence cannot prove this speculation.

¹²⁶ The manuscript runs as follows: *St Chad* (Vleeskruyer); CH I, XXV-XXVII, XXIX-XXXII; the later, Ælfrician homily on the Nativity of Mary the Virgin (Assmann III); CH I, XXXIV, XXXVI-XXXVIII. Of the sixteen

Sanctorale texts in the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, Bodley Hatton 116 includes eleven. The omission of CH I, III-V may be explained by their association with the Temporale sequence of Christmas, making them unsuitable for a Sanctorale collection. Also, the non-inclusion of two homilies for the Virgin (CH I, IX, XIII) is somewhat balanced by the addition of the later *Nativity of the Virgin* homily (Assmann III).

¹²⁷ These are *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, *De XII Abusivis* and *De Falsis Diis*.

¹²⁸ BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii features twelve of the sixteen lives in the First Series and ten of the sixteen in the Second.

¹²⁹ See Scragg, 'The corpus of vernacular homilies', pp.225-35 for an investigation of the contents and influence of these two collections. There are few obvious links between the two manuscripts either textual or as collections

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* p.235-36

¹³¹ Healey, *Vision of St Paul*, p.15.

¹³² The homilies of Wulfstan provide another example, as they seem to have a degree of internal organisation. However, they are not relevant here, since, as Bethurum commented, they do not 'contribute anything to a *sanctorale*; the lives of the saints seem not to have interested the archbishop at all'. See 'Wulfstan', *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E.G. Stanley, London 1966, pp.210-46, at p.216.

¹³³ Scragg, pp.265-66.

¹³⁴ This may well have been the case with English saints, where local tradition may have prompted composition: cf. *St Chad* and *St Paulinus*. This tradition may also be reflected in Ælfric's *Life of Saint Vincent*; see S.E. Irvine, 'Bones of contention', pp.123-32.

¹³⁵ H. Gneuss, 'A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100', *ASE* 9, 1981, 1-60, see particularly 6-60.

¹³⁶ The relevant pre-1100 manuscripts preserving some or all of the collection are: London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i, vols I and II, fols 1-180, 187, 188 (s.xi^{med}, xi²) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 (s.xi^{med}); Salisbury Cathedral Library, 221 and 222 (formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 4 [8689] and Fell 1 [8688]; s.xi^{ex}). See further Zettel, 'Sources' pp. 8-35 and 'Saints' Lives in Old English', pp.19-20.

¹³⁷ In addition to the Cotton-Corpus manuscripts the following are also primarily concerned with saints' lives: London, British Library, Arundel 91 (s.xi/xii); London, British Library, Cotton Otho A. xiii (s.xi¹, badly damaged); London, British Library, Harley 3020 (s.xiⁱⁿ); London, Lambeth Palace Library, 173, fols 157-221 (s.xi²); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby

39 ([1640] s.xi^{ex}); Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 223 (formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 3 [8687] s.xi/xii); Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1029 ([812] s.x^{ex}, xiⁱⁿ); Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale 106 (s.x/xi); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861 (s.ix¹).

¹³⁸ For instance, there were multiple copies of Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Sancti Martini*, Osbern's *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, Abbo of Fleury's *Vita Sancti Edmundi* and Bede's *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*.

¹³⁹ Many of the Latin legends present in England before 1100 may well have had their origins in Continental scriptoria; for instance it seems likely that the Cotton-Corpus collection originated in Northern France: see Zettel, 'Old English Saints' Lives', p.18. A concern over consistency of contents does not seem to have been of paramount importance in the compilation of insular, vernacular manuscripts.

¹⁴⁰ Mr Stuart Lee of King's College, London has pointed out to me that some quotations from Ælfrician lives are also found in a seventeenth-century manuscript of transcriptions compiled by William L'Isle, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 381 (Ker 410). This transcript also includes the only surviving copy of Ælfric's abridgement of the *Book of Esther* (fols 140v-8r; Assmann VIII). L'Isle copied passages from the following Sanctorale texts (so far identified): CH I, V, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXVII, XXXVIII; CH II, IX; L S XV; Assmann III.

¹⁴¹ See Pope I; xvii and CH II, pp.xiii-iv.

¹⁴² This fragment may be associated with an incomplete introduction to a homily for St Mildred's day found in BL Cotton Caligula A. xiv (article 3; Cockayne III; 422-8). Both pieces are present, in a different textual form, as consecutive items in the *Resting Places of the Saints*. The Caligula text includes a sanctorale heading for St Mildred, but does not really concern her. The Lambeth Palace fragment is a fuller account of the saint. Although it is impossible to determine the actual relationship between the two texts, the two pieces may be put together to form a composite homily for the saint's day.

¹⁴³ This leaf may represent part of *St Mildred* (it has textual associations with it in the *Resting Places of the Saints*). However, it may also once have formed part of an independent *St Seaxburg* homily, similar in form to *St Mildred*. The fragmentary preservation of the text makes it impossible to determine its original status.

¹⁴⁴ My thanks to Professor Malcolm Godden for his comments on this article.