

An Introduction to the Study of Old English Prose Hagiography: Sources and Resources

E. Gordon Whatley

Many of the essays in this volume are by scholars who have been active in the area of Old English prose homilies and saints' lives for some time. Their contributions illustrate not only a variety of seasoned critical approaches but also considerable methodological expertise. This introductory chapter (more a collection of notes than an essay) is addressed to those students and scholars, from whatever discipline, who are attracted to, but not yet very familiar with, the field of Anglo-Saxon hagiography or Western hagiography at large. The aim of the chapter is to survey some of the principal research tools necessary for original work in the corpus of Old English lives (those by Ælfric and the anonymous individual lives) and the Latin texts that lie behind them. I have purposefully avoided certain topics that might otherwise require treatment here but are dealt with in detail elsewhere in this volume; for example, the manuscripts containing the Old English texts themselves are discussed in the chapters by Joyce Hill and Donald Scragg, and what is probably the most important of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing Latin hagiographic texts, the "Cotton-Corpus" legendary, figures largely in the chapter by Michael Lapidge and Peter Jackson. Purely for practical reasons, I have also excluded from consideration major Old English prose works that are hagiographic in content but collective in form: the Old English Bede, Gregory's *Dialogues*, and the Old English *Martyrology*.

Hagiography is narrative, but it is framed by lists, including calendars of saints' feast days, martyrologies, litanies, lists of relics and miracles, and even lists of manors and fields "owned" by the saints for the ecclesiasts under their patronage. This chapter has five sections of which the first and last are lists (more lists are in the notes). The first section lists the saints whose acts are narrated in one form or another in Old English prose. The last section lists the surviving manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxons' own collections of Latin

hagiography and itemizes the Latin saints' lives in each one. In between, the sections focus by turns on the scholarly resources for studying the Old English texts, Latin hagiography of continental origin, and Anglo-Latin hagiography. The chapter's progression from published Old English texts to largely unpublished Latin manuscripts betrays its underlying theoretical bias: that the Old English saints' legends are best read in relation to their individual Latin source texts and in the larger context of Latin hagiography in England and Europe in the early medieval period. The more we can learn about the Latin tradition, the better we will understand the 100 or so vernacular texts that for many English men and women, clerical as well as lay, replaced the Latin tradition in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

List of Old English Prose Saints' Lives

Following is a list of all the texts of individual saints' lives in Old English prose, the majority by Ælfric, the rest anonymous, that I have located through printed sources. The texts are listed alphabetically by saint's name. Where there is more than one version of a saint's life, Ælfric's is listed first. Each text is identified by the conventional short title, as used by the *Dictionary of Old English*¹: *ÆCHom* = Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, Series I and II; *ÆLS* = Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*; *ÆHomM* = Ælfric's *Homilies* (ed. Pope); *LS* = the anonymous saints' lives, or *Sanctorale*. In the case of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, my numbering of the First Series is that of Thorpe's edition only; for the Second Series homilies I have given two numbers, the first from Thorpe, the second from Godden's recent EETS edition: thus *ÆCHom* II, 20/18 is number XX in Thorpe's, XVIII in Godden's edition of the second series.²

The short title is followed by the text's identification number from the authoritative "List of Texts" by Frank and Cameron in their plan.³ For example, the first text in my list, Abdon and Sennes, has the short title *ÆLS* 24, and the identification number B1.3.24. I have given page (and sometimes line) numbers only where the piece in question is part of a larger text.

For reasons of space and to avoid redundancy, I have not given manuscript information or, in most cases, citations of printed editions; both are supplied at the appropriate place in the *Plan* (which does not, however, include references to Godden's later edition of *ÆCHom* II). Editions printed since the publication of the *Plan* may be located in the bibliography of Luke Reinsma for Ælfrician texts and that of Karen Quinn and Kenneth Quinn for non-Ælfrician texts⁴ (see second section), but I have included references (in the Notes) to important editions not mentioned in the *Plan*, Reinsma, or Quinn and Quinn. Readers should note that not all the texts that follow are

“hagiographical” in the strict sense; most of Ælfric’s homilies on the various feasts of the Virgin, for example, take their narratives from scripture, not from the apocrypha.

- Abdon and Sennes, *ÆLS* 24, B1.3.24.⁵
 Æthelthryth, *ÆLS* 21, B1.3.21.
 Agatha, *ÆLS* 9, B1.3.9.
 Agnes, *ÆLS* 8 (part 1), B1.3.8 (with Gallicanus, John and Paul).
 Alban, *ÆLS* 20, B1.3.20.
 Alexander, Eventus, and Theodolus, *ÆCHom* II 20/18, B1.2.23, B1.4.24.
 Andrew i, *ÆCHom* I 38, B1.1.40.
 Andrew ii, *LS* 1, B3.3.1.⁶
 Apollinaris, *ÆLS* 23, B1.3.23.⁷
 Apollonius (Apollo) of Egypt (part 2 of Maccabees).
 Augustine of Canterbury, *LS* 2, B3.3.2 (fragment).
 Bartholomew, *ÆCHom* I 31, B1.1.33.
 Basil, *ÆLS* 4, B1.3.4.
 Benedict, *ÆCHom* II 11, B1.1.12 (see also Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues* 2).
 Cecilia, *ÆLS* 32, B1.3.32.
 Chad, *LS* 3, B3.3.3.
 Christopher, *LS* 4, B3.3.4.⁸
 Chrysanthus and Daria, *ÆLS* 33, B1.3.33.
 Clement, *ÆCHom* I 37, B1.1.39.⁹
 Cross (Exaltation), *ÆLS* 27, B1.3.27.
 Cross (History), *LS* 5, B3.3.5.
 Cross (Invention i), *ÆCHom* II 19/18, B1.2.22.
 Cross (Invention ii), *LS* 6, B3.3.6.¹⁰
 Cuthbert, *ÆCHom* II 10/10, B1.2.11.
 Denis and companions, *ÆLS* 29, B1.3.29; also in Clement, pp. 558–60.
 Edmund (king and martyr), *ÆLS* 31, B1.3.31.
 Eugenia, *ÆLS* 2, B1.3.3.¹¹
 Euphrosyne, *LS* 7, B3.3.7.¹²
 Eustace and Companions, *LS* 8, B3.3.8.
 Forty Soldiers, *ÆLS* 12, B1.3.12.
 Four Evangelists (Mark, part 2), *ÆLS* 16, B1.3.16, pp. 326–36.
 Fursey (*visio* only), *ÆCHom* II 22/20, B1.2.25.
 Gallicanus (see John and Paul).
 George, *ÆLS* 15, B1.3.15.¹³
 Giles, *LS* 9, B3.3.9.¹⁴
 Gregory, *ÆCHom* II 9, B1.2.10.
 Guthlac, *LS* 10, B3.3.10.¹⁵
 James the Greater (i), *ÆCHom* II 31/27, B1.2.34.

- James the Greater (ii), *LS* 11, B3.3.11.¹⁶
- James the Less (see Philip and James the Less).
- John and Paul with Gallicanus (Agnes, part 2), *ÆLS* 8, B1.3.8, pp. 186–94.
- John the Baptist (Decollation), *ÆCHom* I 32, B1.1.34.
- John the Baptist (Nativity i), *ÆCHom* I 25, B1.1.27.
- John the Baptist (Nativity ii), *LS* 12, B3.3.12.
- John the Evangelist (Assumption), *ÆCHom* I 4, B1.1.5.¹⁷ Extract also in Ælfric's "Letter to Sigeward," B1.8.4 (Crawford's ed., ll. 1017–1153).¹⁸
- Julian and Basilissa, *ÆLS* 5, B1.3.5.
- Laurence, *ÆCHom* I 29, B1.1.31.
- Lucy, *ÆLS* 10, B1.3.10.
- Macarius of Egypt (part two of Swithun).
- Maccabees, *ÆLS* 25, B1.3.25;¹⁹ appends Apollonius episode, pp. 122–24, ll. 833–62 (from Rufinus, *Historia monachorum*, *PL* 21.411–12).
- Machutus, *LS* 13, B3.3.13.
- Malchus (*Vitas Patrum*, part 2), *LS* 35, B3.3.35, pp. 199–207.²⁰
- Margaret (i), *LS* 14, B3.3.13.
- Margaret (ii), *LS* 15 (burnt), B3.3.15.
- Margaret (iii), *LS* 16, B3.3.16.
- Mark, *ÆLS* 16, B1.3.16.
- Martin (i), *ÆCHom* II 39/34, B1.2.42.
- Martin (ii), *ÆLS* 30, B1.3.30.
- Martin (iii), *LS* 17, B3.3.17.²¹
- Mary of Egypt, *LS* 23, B3.3.23.
- Mary Virgin (Annunciation), *ÆCHom* I 13, B1.1.14
- Mary Virgin (Assumption i), *ÆCHom* I 30, B1.1.32 (plus two Marian miracles: Theophilus, p. 448; slaying of Julian Apostate by Mercurius, pp. 448–54).
- Mary Virgin (Assumption ii), *ÆCHom* II 34/29, B1.2.36.
- Mary Virgin (Assumption iii), *LS* 20, B3.3.20.
- Mary Virgin (Assumption iv), *LS* 21, B3.3.21.²²
- Mary Virgin (Nativity i), *ÆCHom* II 36/31, B1.2.39; see also *ÆHomM* 8, B1.5.8.²³
- Mary Virgin (Nativity ii), *LS* 18, B3.3.18.²⁴
- Mary Virgin (Nativity iii), *HomU* 10 (*VercHom* 6, B3.4.10).²⁵
- Mary Virgin (Purification i), *ÆCHom* I 9, B1.1.10
- Mary Virgin (Purification ii), *LS* 19, B3.3.19.²⁶
- Mary Virgin (Sermon of Ralph D'Escures), *LS* 22, B3.3.22.
- Matthew (see also Andrew ii), *ÆCHom* II 37/32, B1.2.40.
- Maur, *ÆLS* 7, B1.3.7.
- Maurice and companions, *ÆLS* 28, B1.3.28.
- Mercurius (slaying of Julian Apostate: see Basil; see also Mary Virgin, Assumption i).

- Michael (i), *ÆCHom* I 34, B1.1.36.
 Michael (ii), *LS* 24, B3.3.24.²⁷
 Michael (iii), *LS* 25, B3.3.25.
 Mildred (i), *LS* 26, B3.3.26.
 Mildred (ii? see Sexburga), *LS* 27, B3.3.27.
 Neot, *LS* 28, B3.3.28.
 Nicholas, *LS* 29, B3.3.29.
 Oswald (king and martyr), *ÆLS* 26, B1.3.26.²⁸
 Pantaleon, *LS* 30, B3.3.30.
 Paul (apostle), *ÆCHom* I 27, B1.1.29.
 Paulinus, *LS* 32, B3.3.32.
 Peter, *ÆCHom* II 28/24, B1.2.31 (exegetical, not hagiographical).
 Peter (Chair of), *ÆLS* 11, B1.3.11 (includes Petronilla and Felicula, ll. 232–93).
 Peter and Paul (i), *ÆCHom* I 26, B1.1.28.²⁹
 Peter and Paul (ii), *LS* 32, B3.3.32.
 Petronilla and Felicula (see Peter, Chair of).
 Philip and James the Less, *ÆCHom* II 18/17, B1.2.21.
 Quintin, *LS* 33, B3.3.33.
 Sebastian, *ÆLS* 6, B1.3.6.³⁰
 Seven Sleepers (i), *ÆCHom* II 32/27, B1.2.34.
 Seven Sleepers (ii), *LS* 34, B3.3.34.
 Sexburga (see also Mildred ii?), B3.3.27 (one portion of the fragmentary text in MS London, Lambeth Palace 427, ff. 210–11, may be from a life of Sexburga).³¹
 Simon and Jude, *ÆCHom* II 38/33, B1.2.41.
 Stephen Protomartyr (i), *ÆCHom* I 3, B1.1.4.
 Stephen Protomartyr (ii), *ÆCHom* II 2, B1.2.3.
 Swithun, *ÆLS* 22, B1.3.22; part two is Macarius, pp. 470–72, ll. 471–93 (cf. Rufinus's *Historia Monachorum*, *PL* 21.451); same story in *ÆCHom* 29, B1.4.30 (Pope's ed., pp. 790–96).
 Theophilus (see Mary, Virgin, Assumption i).
 Thomas, *ÆLS* 34, B1.3.34.
 Veronica, *VSaI*, B8.5.4.
 Vincent, *ÆLS* 35, B1.3.35 (see also *ÆCHomM*, B1.5.9, "On a Martyr's Day").³²
 Vitas Patrum (see also Apollonius, Macarius, Malchus), *LS* 35, B3.3.35.³³

Resources for Studying Old English Prose Saints' Lives

The splendid *Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature* by Stanley Greenfield and Fred Robinson (Greenfield/Robinson) is the standard

bibliography for the field.³⁴ But with its formal orientation toward the history of scholarship, it does not attempt to serve as a guide to Old English prose hagiography as such. Nowhere in the text or index is there anything resembling a comprehensive list of the Old English prose saints' lives, nor can such a list be drawn up piecemeal using Greenfield/Robinson only. A necessary complement to Greenfield/Robinson is the redoubtable *Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, mentioned earlier. The third and longest section, by Angus Cameron, comprises an elaborately classified and numbered list of all the extant texts of Old English, verse and prose, with all known manuscript copies of each text (keyed to entries in Ker's *Catalogue*) and its most recent or standard printed edition. The numbering works according to a classification system likely to become very familiar to Anglo-Saxonists as the *Dictionary of Old English*, with its ancillary publications, becomes more widely known and used.³⁵ Thus section A in the *Plan* comprises all the poetic texts; section B consists of twenty-eight categories of prose texts; section C comprises glosses, and so on. Most relevant to hagiography are B1, the works of Ælfric (the two series of *Catholic Homilies*, B1.1–B1.2, and the *Lives of Saints*, B1.3); B3.3, the "Sanctorale" or anonymous prose saints' lives; and B19 (the Old English *Martyrology*).³⁶ The Ælfrician texts in the *Plan* B1.1–3 are listed more or less according to their order in the standard printed editions (which is the calendar order of the saints' feast days in the chief manuscripts), but those in B3.3, "Sanctorale," are listed alphabetically by saints' names.

Cameron's lists of prose lives, despite their mixture of calendar and alphabetical formats, are the most convenient and complete, and they are an essential starting point for the study of the corpus of Old English prose hagiography.³⁷ They can be improved slightly, as I have tried to do in the preceding list by adding separate entries for Apollonius, the Four Evangelists, John and Paul, Macarius, the Maccabees, Malchus, Sexburga, and Veronica, all of whom are the subjects of separate Old English texts, or distinct parts of texts, but are not identified in the *Plan*.

The *Plan* offers a listing of texts, manuscript copies, and standard editions up to 1972. It is not a bibliography as such. Two newer works cited earlier, by Reinsma and the Quinns,³⁸ provide more specialized bibliographical support and guidance to students of Old English prose hagiography. Reinsma's bibliography of editions and scholarship on Ælfric's works includes sections specifically on the homilies and saints' lives, arranged chronologically by date of publication, and provides a helpful abstract of each item listed. Manuscripts, subjects, and modern authors each have separate indices, allowing one to locate studies and editions of individual saints' lives. The Quinns' *Manual* deals with the non-Ælfrician corpus of Old English prose. Unlike Greenfield/Robinson's and Reinsma's bibliographies, which

plot the development of modern scholarship chronologically, the Quinns have provided a guide to the texts themselves, organized on the model of the Toronto *Plan*, including the *Plan* reference numbers. Thus the "Sanctorale" section of the *Manual* essentially duplicates that of *Plan*, but with more information about each separate text, including incipits, manuscripts, brief descriptions of each text, all known editions, and pertinent studies. The *Manual* also, however, repeats some of the *Plan*'s problems and omissions, for example, of Malchus, Sexburga, and Veronica, although Malchus at least is visible through the General Index.

Both Reinsma's and the Quinns' valuable works incorporate bibliographical items appearing as late as 1982 (and occasionally later). For more recent material, the best resource, in addition to the standard literature bibliographies, is the bibliography of Anglo-Saxon studies compiled annually by Carl Berkhout, published in the spring issue of the *Old English Newsletter*, especially section 3c, dealing with prose literature.³⁹ Reinsma and the Quinns include unpublished doctoral dissertations among their citations, as does Berkhout. A recent convenient bibliography of dissertations on Old English is that of Pulsiano;⁴⁰ for current information about dissertations, the standard source is, of course, *Dissertation Abstracts International*, especially the A volume, covering the humanities and social sciences in North America, and the C volume, covering Europe and elsewhere (all fields, but selectively).⁴¹ More specialized annual reports and summary catalogues are usually available in major research libraries for locating dissertations abroad and in specialized subjects.

Resources for Studying the Latin Sources of Old English Prose Saints' Lives: Non-native Saints

The great majority of the printed texts of Old English prose saints' lives are accessible only in older, collective editions, where one is faced with the Old English text, information about its manuscript sources and language, and little else. A few lives are available in individual editions, and a handful of these print and discuss the Latin source of the Old English text.⁴² In most cases, therefore, one must make use of the standard resources of hagiographic scholarship at large, and do for oneself the "Quellenforschung" usually provided in a good critical edition, to gain some understanding of the Latin tradition in which the Old English hagiographer worked and to which that text, in one way or another, responds.

To illustrate the use of these hagiographic sources and resources and some of their attendant problems, I selected more or less at random, as a representative text for source study, one of the pieces in Ælfric's *Lives of*

Saints: the story of SS. Julian and Basilissa, who represent, as “virgin spouses,” an interesting subcategory of Ælfric’s martyred saints (cf. also Cecilia and Valerianus, Chrysanthus and Daria). Ælfric’s source in this case was a Latin legend, the *Passio SS. Juliani et Basilissae*, of which more shortly.

At the outset in a study of this kind, it is advisable to consult an encyclopedia for general information about the saint’s origins, legend, cult, and iconography. The best of those devoted to hagiography is the Italian *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*.⁴³ I should mention at this point also that the only general guide to the Anglo-Saxons’ use of Latin texts, including saints’ lives, has been Ogilvy’s *Books Known to the English*. Although less than thorough in its coverage and prone to various kinds of errors, Ogilvy’s book is nonetheless valuable in the early stages of source study of Old English literature, and his list of texts and references forms the original basis of the forthcoming *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, designed to replace *Books Known*.⁴⁴

Two German dissertations, both published in 1892, laid the foundations for subsequent study of Ælfric’s Latin hagiographic sources: those of Förster, on the “legends” in *Catholic Homilies*, and Ott, on those in volume 1 of Skeat’s edition of *Lives of Saints*.⁴⁵ The lives in volume 2 were first sourced by Loomis and others, and source studies of specific hagiographic texts by Ælfric continue to appear.⁴⁶ The important work of Patrick Zettel on the Latin hagiographic sources of both the *Homilies* and *Lives* is discussed later in this chapter as well as in that of Lapidge and Jackson in this volume. Less work has been done on the sources of the anonymous lives.⁴⁷

According to Ott, Ælfric’s Latin source for our sample text, his life of SS. Julian and Basilissa (hereafter *ÆLS* 4), was a seventh-century Latin prose *passio* (hereafter *Pas.Jul.Bas.*) very similar to that printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, *Ianuaris*, volume 1,⁴⁸ but having more details in common with some of the manuscripts cited there for variant readings. *Acta Sanctorum*, the work of a dedicated group of Jesuit scholars, Société des Bollandistes, is perhaps the best known (and certainly the bulkiest) of the resources of modern hagiographic scholarship. Its hefty folio tomes contain *vitae* or *passiones* of nearly all the known saints of the Christian Middle Ages whose feast days occur from January through November.⁴⁹ The texts are printed in the order of the saints’ feast days. Thus the first three volumes of *Acta Sanctorum* are devoted to the saints with feast days in January, including Julian and Basilissa on January 9, although in the early Middle Ages the pair were associated in some calendars and martyrologies with January 6 or 8. This sort of variation in feast days is typical.⁵⁰

Having reached the *Acta Sanctorum* edition of *Pas.Jul.Bas.* we confront a major difficulty. Although *Acta Sanctorum* remains the greatest single collection of hagiographic texts, it is also, like J.-P. Migne’s more familiar library of patristic texts, *Patrologia Latina*, out of date and deficient by modern

scholarly standards. Moreover, it is incomplete: the lives of the saints of December have not been edited for *Acta Sanctorum*.⁵¹ The great majority of the volumes were published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and although they contain editions that are in some cases still valuable today,⁵² only the November volumes (1887–1925) reflect truly modern standards of textual scholarship. The *Acta Sanctorum* edition of *Pas.Jul.Bas.*, for example, is based on an unnamed, undated “very old manuscript” collated with several others that have taken a good deal of modern scholarship just to identify.⁵³ The early Bollandists frequently, though not always, made use of relatively late manuscripts, preferring usually more polished (but often much revised and interpolated) redactions, in legendaries of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, to the cruder but more “authoritative” recensions of the early medieval period. The *Acta Sanctorum* editions of late classical and early medieval texts such as *Pas.Jul.Bas.*, therefore, are not usually representative of the sort of texts that Anglo-Saxons such as Aldhelm or Ælfric used in their own hagiography, and detailed critical comparisons between an Old English text and a Latin text from *Acta Sanctorum* alone should be avoided if possible.⁵⁴

The modern Bollandists, on the other hand, have provided us with several tools for either tracking down more recent and rigorous printed editions, or, failing that, for finding more authoritative, earlier manuscripts. Their journal *Analecta Bollandiana*, founded in 1882, publishes articles in the whole field of hagiography, Eastern as well as Western, including editions of shorter hagiographic texts, critical studies, manuscript information, hagiographic catalogues of smaller manuscript collections, and review notices of new books and articles in the field. It is well indexed (every twenty volumes), viz., by saints, manuscripts, and modern authors, as is each fascicle of the journal. Needless to say, working through the copious indices for notices of one’s chosen saint, text, or manuscript, can be tedious, but it is a necessary and invariably rewarding task for anyone in the early stages of a hagiographic project.

The accompanying monograph series, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, includes editions of longer texts, special studies, and catalogues of hagiographic texts in medieval manuscripts in the larger and smaller libraries of Europe. Among the most important volumes in the *Subsidia* series are the great hagiographic catalogues of the libraries of Paris, Brussels, and Rome,⁵⁵ which include manuscripts of insular origin, some of the most significant of which, for hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England, have only recently begun to be recognized as insular.⁵⁶ More recently, the Bollandists have concentrated their cataloguing efforts on the provincial libraries of France.⁵⁷

Perhaps the most widely used volume in the *Subsidia* series, in addition to Delehaye’s classic popular introduction to hagiographic literature,⁵⁸ is the Bollandists’ handlist of medieval Latin hagiographic texts, *Bibliotheca*

Hagiographica Latina (*BHL*),⁵⁹ an alphabetical listing of all the Christian saints, Eastern as well as Western, whose lives are preserved in Latin.⁶⁰ The different *vitae* or *passiones* of each saint are arranged in ostensibly chronological order, with a separate identification number, incipit, and desinit (*BHL* does not use explicit), and where possible, citations of printed editions of (and printed excerpts from) each variant version of the life. Where there is no printed edition of a particular recension or redaction, *BHL* cites published notices of manuscript copies.

Thus in the first edition of *BHL*, the entry for SS. Julianus and Basilissa lists six different literary memorials, the earliest of which is the anonymous *passio* (our *Pas.Jul.Bas.*) as printed in *Acta Sanctorum*, here numbered *BHL* 4529, along with three variant versions, *BHL* 4530–32, encountered by the Bollandists in their manuscript researches. *BHL* 4532, for example, differs from 4529 in omitting the prologue and most of the last chapter. On the other hand, the next three items under Julianus and Basilissa, *BHL* 4533–35, comprising poems by various authors in praise of the two saints, are not simply variant versions of the *passio prima* (*BHL* 4529), but distinct works, although based ultimately on some version or other of the basic *passio*. The earliest of these, *BHL* 4533, a lengthy section of Aldhelm of Malmesbury's major work *De Virginitate*, is obviously relevant to the Anglo-Saxon context, because, as a work well known to the later Anglo-Saxon literati, it may turn out to have influenced Ælfric's treatment or selection of the legend of Julian and Basilissa.⁶¹

There are two supplements to *BHL*, published in 1911 and 1986,⁶² the second of which, the *Novum Supplementum*, supersedes the former. In the case of *Pas.Jul.Bas.*, it incorporates the references made in the 1911 *Supplément* to additional variant recensions (*BHL* 4532b–d), and cites two new printed editions of *BHL* 4529, both based on important early manuscripts, and a study, by Delehaye, of the cults of the martyrs of Egypt, including Julian and Basilissa.⁶³ The two supplements also reveal, however, that the numerical classification system of *BHL*, as set up in the first edition, does not always reflect the textual facts as revealed by more exhaustive research and more recent manuscript discoveries. The system has come to appear somewhat cumbersome (e.g., the proliferation of alphabetical modifiers, such as *BHL* 4532b–d, mentioned previously), and even misleading. A famous example concerns the *passio* of St. Alban, Britain's "protomartyr," where the original *BHL* numbering system conveys a topsy-turvy picture of the history of the text as it has been reconstructed since the turn of the century.⁶⁴

Despite these drawbacks, *BHL* remains the essential guide (Ker's *Catalogue*, for example, usually indicates hagiographic Latin sources solely by *BHL* number). It offers at a glance a sketch of the literature inspired by a saint's cult, with the main bibliographical information. Especially now with its updated supplement, it provides a vivid if schematic picture of the rich

instability of hagiographic texts in the Middle Ages. Each recension represents a different interpretation of the inherited legend, and to speak of *the* life or passion of a particular saint becomes meaningless in the light of the textual variety revealed in *BHL* and its supplements.⁶⁵

A substantial number of the Latin hagiographic texts current in Anglo-Saxon England, including *Pas.Jul.Bas.* and the ultimate sources of many of the prose lives and the poems *Elene* and *Andreas*, were originally composed in Greek. Many cults of originally Greek or otherwise "Oriental" saints had migrated to Italy, Gaul, and Spain by the sixth and seventh centuries and thence to England and Ireland. For our purposes, the best scholarly treatment of the hagiographic repercussions of this migration is that of Siegmund, whose book on Greek Christian literature in the West is particularly detailed in its attention to hagiography and hagiographic manuscripts and has not in this respect been replaced by Berschin's otherwise superior study.⁶⁶

Siegmund lists and discusses the earliest surviving manuscript copies of the principal Latin versions of Greek saints' legends popular in the West, invariably identifying them by their *BHL* numbers.⁶⁷ He dates *Pas.Jul.Bas.* among the texts translated into Latin in the seventh century or earlier, citing as evidence Aldhelm's knowledge of it, and early manuscript copies such as the late seventh century "Luxeuil Lectionary" and some early legendaries (anthologies of hagiographic texts for liturgical or devotional reading) such as Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek 3514 and 4554 (early and late eighth century, respectively).⁶⁸ Today, in certain instances, Siegmund's references to legendaries can be supplemented from Cross's work on the hagiographic sources of the ninth-century Old English *Martyrology*.⁶⁹ For example, Cross mentions unpublished early recensions of *Pas.Jul.Bas.* in legendaries of the ninth and tenth centuries in the Vatican and in Montpellier.⁷⁰ The legendaries in general are discussed by Philippart in a volume of the *Typologie* series, with a table of the oldest (seventh- and eighth-century) legendaries and much valuable information about hagiographic texts of various kinds.⁷¹

Manuscripts such as those cited by Siegmund and Cross, and the modern editions based on them, are, compared to the early printed editions, potentially more valuable witnesses to the recensions of *Pas.Jul.Bas.* current during the Anglo-Saxon period. But the earliest manuscripts are rarely of English provenance. It is possible that an early manuscript from outside England could be very similar to the recension used by Ælfric himself, because, as is well known, the tenth-century revival of monastic culture and Latinity in England was strongly influenced from abroad and manuscript books were brought from the continent in significant numbers.⁷² But it seems only logical that manuscripts of demonstrably English provenance, if they exist, are likely to take us closest to the sources of the Anglo-Saxon hagiographers. Unfortunately, the Bollandists did not prepare a Latin hagiographic catalogue to the

English libraries,⁷³ and the only major survey of hagiographic manuscripts in British libraries, that of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, covers texts about British saints and British history only (see later). The new reference work in progress, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, will go some of the way to compensating for the lack of a Bollandist-type catalogue.⁷⁴ Helmut Gneuss's published list of manuscripts extant from Anglo-Saxon England is one of the project's more important bases and a necessary reference point for any research involving Anglo-Saxon manuscript sources.⁷⁵

With regard to Ælfric's hagiographic sources, however, an unpublished Oxford dissertation by Patrick Zettel has drawn attention to a mid-eleventh century English legendary, the so-called Cotton-Corpus legendary, which seems very similar, if not identical, to the collection of hagiographic texts that Ælfric drew on for the non-English saints' legends included in *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*.⁷⁶ In the case of Julian and Basilissa, for example, Zettel's textual analysis of parallels between ÆLS 4 and several Latin recensions strongly suggests that the text of *Pas.Jul.Bas.* in BL Cotton Nero E. i is closely related to Ælfric's source.⁷⁷ The Cotton text, which according to Zettel is of the same type as BHL 4532, shares with the Old English several detailed divergences from the printed versions of BHL 4529, including occasional errors. Especially significant, however, is the fact that the Cotton text of *Pas.Jul.Bas.*, like ÆLS 4, is considerably abbreviated in comparison with BHL 4529. Whereas Anglo-Saxonists have normally credited Ælfric himself with reducing and simplifying the legend (ÆLS 4 is half as long as BHL 4529), some of the detailed work of editing and abbreviation (including the omission of some potentially sensitive material on the asexuality of monks and nuns) had already been done for him by the nameless scribes responsible for the transmission of Ælfric's source text. Even though the Cotton manuscript is a half-century or more later than Ælfric's time, it appears to derive from a collection of saints' lives, a legendary in effect, in use in late tenth-century England, which in turn derived from a late ninth-century continental collection.

Zettel's work implies that Ælfric's "interpretation" of a text such as *Pas.Jul.Bas.* is not as easily isolated as previous critics have assumed. To place his hagiographic achievement in perspective, it must be viewed as part of a larger process of textual transcription, redaction, and transmission. We need to find out as much as possible about the Anglo-Saxons' own Latin recensions of the legends before we can approach the vernacular versions with critical confidence. The manuscript sources for this are few enough, but until Zettel's work began to attract attention they had been all but ignored. In addition to the major collection known as the Cotton-Corpus legendary, with its later affiliates,⁷⁸ three manuscripts in particular are worthy of note and, to the best of my knowledge, have been little studied for their possible

relevance to the extant Old English prose saints' lives, except by Cross in his work on the Old English *Martyrology*⁷⁹: London, BL Harley 3020 (late tenth century, Christ Church, Canterbury⁸⁰), Paris BN Lat. 5574, ff. 1–39 (possibly Mercian, early tenth century⁸¹), BN Lat. 10861 (early ninth century, Christ Church, Canterbury⁸²). The hagiographic texts in these manuscripts are identified by saints' names in the final section of this chapter.

Resources for Studying the Sources of Old English Prose Saints' Lives: Native English Saints

Although foreign saints, from continental Europe and Eastern Christendom, make up the majority of those whose legends were rendered into Old English prose, several vernacular lives of native or insular saints have been preserved. As our initial list of texts indicates, Ælfric composed narrative accounts of six native saints: Alban, Æthelthryth, Cuthbert, Edmund, Oswald, and Swithun, along with Gregory the Great, a sort of honorary Englishman by virtue of his having directed the mission of St. Augustine of Canterbury.⁸³ Ælfric also recounted substantial portions of the visions experienced by the Irish *peregrinus* St. Fursey in East Anglia. Anonymous accounts, or fragments of them, are extant for Augustine, Chad, Guthlac, Mildred, Neot, Paulinus, and possibly Sexburga. Short accounts of some of these and of other native saints (mainly Northumbrian) are included in the Old English *Martyrology*.⁸⁴

This is all that has survived from what was probably a larger corpus of vernacular prose lives of English saints. We know, for example, that underlying a twelfth-century Latin account of Æthelthryth of Ely there was an Old English life, longer and more detailed than Ælfric's version in *Lives of Saints*, which was probably composed at Ely in the eleventh century. A life of St. Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester (1062–95), composed in Old English by Coleman of Worcester soon after Wulfstan's death, is lost, but a Latin translation by William of Malmesbury, *BHL* 8756, survives. The recent work of David Rollason on Mildred of Thanet and that of Susan Ridyard on several other Anglo-Saxon royal saints point to the existence of other lost vernacular and/or Latin lives of native saints, demonstrating the value of studying the post-Conquest manuscripts for literary evidence of the pre-Conquest saints' cults and the interesting connections and contrasts between the two periods.⁸⁵

The Anglo-Saxons of the tenth and eleventh centuries do not appear to have composed new Latin lives of non-English saints (such as the twelfth century Anglo-Latin poems on the desert saints Malchus and Paul or the martyrs Laurence and Catherine). Their efforts, and those of the foreign hagiographers who wrote in England, were concentrated rather on the native

saints of their own and earlier ages. Of these lives there is a substantial number. Unlike many of the saints whose cults reached England from the continent and the Mediterranean, and whose “*legenda*” are usually dismissed mainly as pious fictions, many of these *vitae* of native Anglo-Saxon saints are believed to be at least rooted in genuine history and local tradition, even if they are not reliable in every detail, and they have always received a good deal of attention from historians. As a result, historical scholarship on the Latin sources of native Anglo-Saxon hagiography, and on the larger corpus of Anglo-Latin lives in general, is more current and more accessible than the scholarship on many of the continental saints who chiefly occupied Ælfric and the other vernacular hagiographers. This is true both for the early Anglo-Saxon period, up to the early ninth century, and the later period, when the vernacular prose lives appear to have been composed.

For example, Bertram Colgrave’s critical editions of the Latin lives from the early period (Cuthbert, *BHL* 2019, 2021; Guthlac, *BHL* 2723; Wilfred, *BHL* 8889; and Gregory the Great, *BHL* 3637) were recently reprinted in paperback.⁸⁶ Wallace-Hadrill’s 1988 commentary on Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (*inter alia* a compendium of early Anglo-Saxon saints’ lives) complements the 1969 edition and translation by Colgrave and Mynors.⁸⁷ The two surviving hagiographic poems of the late eighth–early ninth century by Alcuin (whose *Versus de Patribus Regibus et Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae* includes a virtual life of King Oswald martyr) and Æthelwulf (*De Abbatibus*) are now accessible in modern critical editions.⁸⁸ The anonymous life of Ceolfrid, *BHL* 1726, and Bede’s metrical life of Cuthbert, *BHL* 2020, are the subjects of important new essays, the latter in a major commemorative collection on Cuthbert’s history, cult, and memorials.⁸⁹ Bede’s apparently lost recension of the *passio* of St. Anastasius, a Persian martyr venerated in Rome from the seventh century, has now been identified as one of the extant versions, *BHL* 408.⁹⁰

New editions and translations of the Latin lives of the later Anglo-Saxon saints have either appeared within the recent past or are forthcoming (as cited and noted by Keynes in his 1987 bibliography discussed later⁹¹): Æthelwold, *BHL* 2646–47 (by Ælfric and Wulfstan of Winchester); Dunstan, *BHL* 2342–43 (by *B* and Adelard); Edward martyr, *BHL* 2418 (anonymous *passio*); Edmund martyr, *BHL* 2392 (the *passio* by Abbo of Fleury); Oswald of York, *BHL* 6374 (the life now credited to Byrhtferth of Ramsey); Swithun, *BHL* 7944–45 (by Lantfred).⁹² Æthelwold and Dunstan are the subjects of recent major collections of essays.⁹³

Studies and editions of texts from this later period that are not listed by Keynes concern the memorials of more shadowy saints from earlier periods or learnedly poetic versions of existing prose texts: Æthelred and Æthelbert, *BHL* 2643 (late tenth century *passio* preserved in the “Simeon of Durham”

Historia Regum and attributed by Michael Lapidge to Byrhtferth of Ramsey); Ecgwine, *BHL* 2432 (*vita* by Byrhtferth); Grimbald (*BHL Nov. Suppl.*, p. 407: *vita* preserved in a thirteenth-century breviary); Indract, *BHL* 4271 (not William of Malmesbury's but more probably tenth–eleventh century); Kenelm, *BHL* 4641m (*passio*); Neot, *BHL* 6052 (*vita prima*); Rumwold, *BHL* 7285 (*vita*); Swithun, *BHL* 7947 (*miracula* in verse, by Wulfstan of Winchester); Wilfred, *BHL* 8891 (*vita* in verse, by Frithegod).⁹⁴

Although there is no standard study of or detailed guide to Anglo-Saxon hagiography as such, several books, complementary in approach, offer help. Wolpers's *Die Englische Heiligenlegende*, purely literary in approach (and now somewhat old fashioned in its *formgeschichtlich* focus), deals selectively with both Latin and vernacular texts and their relationships. The pertinent chapters of Gransden's *Historical Writing* provide a detailed survey of major and minor Latin texts and contexts, but from a purely historical perspective. Also valuable for its succinct but thorough coverage of the chief hagiographies is Lapidge's broad survey of Anglo-Latin literature as a whole in the new edition of Stanley Greenfield's history of Old English literature.⁹⁵

Thanks to the work of these scholars, and to the appearance of excellent special bibliographies on Anglo-Saxon historical materials, there is no need here for a detailed consideration of the native English saints and their sources. The bibliographies of Anglo-Saxon history by Rosenthal and Keynes are valuable updates of (and introductory alternatives to) the relevant portions of the more comprehensive older bibliographies of Graves on English history and Bonser on Celtic and Anglo-Saxon. Celtic-Latin sources are the subject of a recent bibliography by Lapidge and Richard Sharpe.⁹⁶ The Keynes bibliography, which costs a pittance, is explicitly intended as an introductory bibliography, and as such constitutes a detailed guide to the themes and periods of Anglo-Saxon history, culture, and their written sources. Particularly relevant to hagiographic study are the general sections "Royal Biography," "Hagiography," "Local Histories," and "Manuscripts," but there is little that one can afford to ignore in the sections devoted to the chronologically arranged topics in the rest of the book. In Rosenthal's bibliography the section "Ecclesiastical History," including "Ecclesiastical Biography," complements the hagiographic and ecclesiastical sections of Keynes but reaches further into the secondary scholarship.

A recent book by Rollason,⁹⁷ surveying the cults of Anglo-Saxon saints as a whole, provides the essential historical background to any future study of individual texts, Latin or vernacular. This is both a highly informative and judicious historical survey of the saints' cults, and a rich and thoughtful study of their liturgical, social, and political contexts, against the background of continental saints' cults and hagiography. Ridyard's detailed monograph,⁹⁸ on West Saxon and East Anglian royal saints, is a more focused, more textually

oriented study of a small group of saints and their literary memorials (including King Edmund, Æthelthryth, and Sexburga), which emphasizes, like Rollason, the role of the saints' cults as instruments of policy, deeply involved with the activities of elite groups in English society.⁹⁹

Despite this copious and growing body of historical and textual scholarship on native Anglo-Saxon hagiography, there is still no comprehensive listing of the texts and manuscripts to compare with the *Plan's* list of vernacular works (see the first section of this chapter) or the list of Celtic saints' lives in Lapidge and Sharpe. Something like such a list will emerge from the complete version of *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*. As mentioned earlier, the Bollandists did not catalogue the Latin hagiographic manuscripts of English libraries. The only major work of reference that remotely resembles a *Wegweiser* to English hagiography is Hardy's sprawling and outdated *Descriptive Catalogue* in the Rolls Series.¹⁰⁰ Its notices of unpublished manuscripts are cited frequently in *BHL* and it is still useful in the early stages of a project in English hagiography, particularly for lists of manuscripts of a specific work that are in major British libraries and for early editions, but its coverage of continental libraries is erratic, and Hardy, working in the mid-nineteenth century, naturally missed many manuscripts in British libraries that were not yet properly catalogued. Occasionally, he missed a work or saint altogether; for example, King Oswald of Northumberland, one of the heroes of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, subject of a separate prose life by Ælfric (see the first section) and of several Latin lives by hagiographers on the continent, where Oswald's cult flourished throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁰¹

List of Latin Manuscripts of English Provenance, up to 1100, Containing Hagiographic Texts

Omitted here are manuscripts containing only collective hagiographies such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* (prose or verse), Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* or Prudentius's *Peristephanon*. Marian texts are also excluded. Manuscripts marked with ? in parentheses are either rather late to be considered Anglo-Saxon (although of possible importance for Anglo-Saxon studies) or are not definitely of Anglo-Saxon provenance or quondam ownership. After each manuscript's catalogue number (italicized), the lives it contains are listed by saints' names in the square brackets, with any known authors in parentheses. For reasons of space and eyestrain, contents of some of the larger MSS (e.g. Cotton-Corpus legendary) are not detailed here, but the reader is referred to appropriate printed catalogues.

- Arras. Bibliothèque Municipale 1029 [Cuthbert (Anon.), Dunstan ("B"), Filibert, Guthlac (Felix)].
- Avranches. Bibliothèque Municipale 29 [Martin (Sulpicius, et al.)].
- Boulogne. Bibliothèque Municipale 106 [Aichard, Bavo, Filibert, Guthlac (Felix), Walaric].
- Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale 9850-52 [Vitae Patrum].
- Cambridge. Corpus Christi College 9 [second part of Cotton-Corpus legendary, with BL *Cotton Nero E. i*, from Worcester, mid-eleventh century; another copy in Salisbury Cathedral Library 221 + 222; contents of *CCCC 9* listed by M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 21-30], 183 [Cuthbert (Bede, pr. and metr.)], 307 [Guthlac (Felix)], 312 [Augustine Cant. (Goscelin)], 367 [Kenelm], 389 [Guthlac (Felix), Paul Hermit (Jerome)]; Pembroke College 24 [Denis (Haymo), Finding of the Cross, James the Greater, John Evang., Mark, Philip], 25 [Andrew, John Evang., Martin (Alcuin)], 91 [Bartholomew]; St. John's College 164 [Benedict (Adrevald, Odo)]; Trinity College *O.10.31* (?) [Finding of the Cross]; Trinity Hall 21 [Martin (Sulpicius et al.)].
- Copenhagen. Kongelige Bibliotek *G.K.S. 1588* [Edmund (Abbo)], 2034 [Cuthbert (Bede, metr.)].
- Dublin. Trinity College 174 (?) [Achatius (Anastasius), Afra, Amalberga, Andrew (Gregory of Tours et al.), Balthildis, Barnabas, Crispina, Cyprian, Didimus and Theodora, Euphemia and soc., Euphrasia, Giles (Fulbert), Guthlac (Felix), Julian of Le Mans, Julian and Basilissa, Leonard, Lucy of Rome, Luke (Paul the Deacon), Maccabees (Gaudentius), Nicholas (John of Bari), Paternus (Fortunatus), Rufinus and Valerus (Paschasius R.), Servatius (Radbod), Spes and sor., Stephen (Augustine, et al.), Thecla, Theodota and fil., Victor and Corona, Vincent (Augustine, anon.)].
- Durham. Cathedral Library *A.III 29* [Benedict (Odo)].
- Edinburgh. Advocates Library 18.7.8 [Lawrence].
- Exeter. Cathedral Library *FMS/3* [Basil].
- Hereford. Cathedral Library *O.6.xi* [Martin (Sulpicius), Maur], *P.2.v*. [John Almoner, Margaret, Mary Magd., Nicholas (John the Deacon), Vit. patr.].
- Leningrad. Public Library *O. v. XIV.1* [Wilfred (Frithegod, metr.)], *Q. v. XIV.1* [Felix of Nola (Paulinus)].
- London. British Library: *Additional 40074* [Martin (Sulpicius et al.)]; *Arundel 91* (?) [legendary, 63 items: see *Catalogue of MSS in the British Museum*, new ser., Vol 1, Part 1, *The Arundel Manuscripts* (London, 1834), pp. 24-26]; *Cotton Caligula A. xv* [Paul Hermit (Jerome)], *Claudius A. i* [Wilfred (Frithegod, metr.)], *Cleopatra B. xiii* [Dunstan ("B")], *Nero E. i* [part of Cotton-Corpus legendary (see also *CCCC 9*): contents listed in J. Planta,

- A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), pp. 239–41; see also Zettel, “Ælfric’s Hagiographical Sources,” pp. 15–34 and Lapidge and Jackson in this volume], *Otho A. viii* (?) [Mildred (Goscelin)], *A. xii* (?) [Ælfheah (Osbern)], *A. xiii* [visio Baronti], *Tiberius B. ii* [Edmund (Abbo, Hermann)], *Vespasian B. xx* (?) [lives of Augustine and other Canterbury SS. (Goscelin)], *D. vi* [Wilfred (Eddius Stephanus)], *A. xix* [Cuthbert (Bede, pr. and metr.)]; *Harley 526* [Cuthbert (Bede, metr.), Edward Conf.], *652* [lections for Canterbury SS.], *1117* [Cuthbert (Bede, pr. and metr.)], *3020* [Historia abbatum. . . Benedict Biscop et al. (Bede), Ceolfred (anon. “Historia abbatum”), Pope Caelestus, Pope Cornelius, Pope Felix II, Abdon and Sennes, Agapitus, Faustinus and Beatrix, Felicitas, Juliana, Theophilus], *3097* (?) [Botulf, Guthlac (Felix), Nicholas (Otloh), Thorney SS.]; *Royal 4. A. xiv* [Guthlac (Felix)], *5. B. xv* [Lethardus], *6. A. vii* [Gregory (John the Deacon)], *13. A. x* [Machutus (Bili)], *13. A. xv* [Guthlac (Felix)], *15. C. vii* [Swithun (Lantfred, Wulfstan metr.)]. *Lambeth Palace 173* [Abraham Hermit, Euphrasia, Fursey, Pelagia (Eustochius), Visions of Barontus, Drythelm, Fulrad, and Wettin], *362* [Edmund (Abbo)].
- Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek *22053* (?) [Finding of the Cross].
- New York. Pierpont Morgan Library, *926* (?) [Alban (lections, from Bede), Alexius, Dunstan (Adelard), John Almoner].
- Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale *342/290* [Alexis, Anastasius, Athanasius, Exaltation of the Cross, Judas Quiriacus, Nicholas (John the Deacon), Thecla].
- Oxford. Bodleian Library: *Auctarium F.2.14* [Swithun (Wulfstan, metr.)]; *Bodley 109* [Cuthbert (Bede, pr. and metr.)], *163* [De abbatibus (Æthelwulf, Oswald (lections)], *381* [Gregory (John the D.)], *535* [Denis, Machutus (Bili), Mary Magd., Neot], *596* (?) [Cuthbert (Bede, pr. and metr.), Julian of Le Mans]; *Digby 175* (?) [Cuthbert (Bede, pr. and metr.), Oswald, Aidan]; *e Museo 6* [Augustine of Hippo (Possidius)]; *Jesus College 37* [Gregory (John the D.)]; *Trinity College 4* [Maurice and soc.].
- Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, *Lat. 1771* (?) [Ambrose (Paulinus)], *2769* (?) [Finding of the Cross], *2825* [Cuthbert (Bede, metr.)], *5774* [Christopher, Finding of the Cross, Exaltation, Juliana, Margaret], *8431* (ff. 21–48) [Wilfred (Frithegod, metr.)], *10861* [Afra, Agatha, Agnes, Cecilia, Cyprian, Cosmas and Damian, Erasmus, Eulalia, Euphemia, Felix of Thibiuca, Gallicanus and John and Paul, Gervase and Protasius, James the Great, Juliana, Philip, Sebasteni (= Forty Martyrs), Sebastian, Sympronianus and companions (= Four Crowned Ones), Vincent].
- Rome. Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apost. Vaticana: *Pal. Lat. 235* [Felix of Nola (Paulinus)], *Reg. Lat. 204* [Cuthbert (Bede, metr.)], *489* [Brice, Martin (Sulpicius)], *566* [Swithun (Lantfred)].

Rouen. 1385 [Swithun (Lantfred)].

Salisbury. Cathedral Library 11 [Peter (Ps.Clement, *Recognitiones*), 221, 222, [= former Oxford Bodl., Fell 4 and 1, a late eleventh century Salisbury legendary, copied from same exemplar as BL *Cotton Nero E. i + CCCC 9*; contents listed in Zettel, "Ælfric's Hagiographical Sources," pp. 15–34 and Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c. 1075–c. 1125* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 154–57], 223 [= former Oxford Bodl. Fell 3, a late eleventh century legendary, St. Augustine's Canterbury; partial list of contents in Levison, "Conspectus Codicum," *MGH SRM* 7, no. 632, full list in Webber, pp. 169–70].

St. Gall. Stadtsbibliothek 337 [Dunstan ("B")].

Worcester. Cathedral Library *F. 48* [Hilarion (Jerome), Paul Hermit (Jerome), *Vitae Patrum* (Rufinus et al.)], *F. 94* [Benedict (Odo)].

Note that this is not a complete list; some catalogues remain to be checked.

Notes

1. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey, et al., *Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto, 1986–).

2. The principal editions of Ælfric's hagiographic works are Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric*, 2 vols. (London, 1843–46) [= *ÆCHom*]; Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series: Text*, EETS SS 5 (London, 1979) [= *ÆCHom* II]; W. W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, EETS OS 76, 82, 94, 114 (Oxford, 1881–1900; reprinted in 2 vols., 1966); J. C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, EETS SS 259–60 (Oxford, 1967–68) [= *ÆHom*]. For other editions of Ælfric's and the anonymous homilies, see Frank and Cameron, *Plan*, cited in the next note, the bibliographies of Reinsma and the Quinns (see note 4), and the notes that follow.

3. Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron, *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, Toronto Old English Series, 2 (Toronto and Buffalo, 1973), pp. 25–306. For an explanation of *Plan*'s numbering system, see the second section of text.

4. Luke M. Reinsma, *Ælfric: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1987); Karen J. Quinn and Kenneth P. Quinn, *A Manual of Old English Prose* (New York and London, 1990).

5. Rowland L. Collins and Peter Clemons, "The Common Origin of Ælfric Fragments at New Haven, Oxford, Cambridge, and Bloomington," in Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr., eds., *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope* (Toronto and Buffalo, N.Y., 1974), pp. 285–326, especially pp. 313, ll. 23–32, p. 314, ll. 1–31.

6. Frederick G. Cassidy and Richard N. Ringler, eds., *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*, 3d. ed. (New York, 1971), pp. 203–19.
7. Collins and Clemoes, "Common Origin," pp. 309–10, p. 313, ll. 1–22.
8. J. McGowan, "Notes on the Old English Version of the *Vita Sancti Christophori*," *Neophilologus* 75 (1991): 451–55.
9. Else Fausbøll, ed., *Fifty-Six Ælfric Fragments* [with facsimiles] (Copenhagen, 1986), pp. 71–89.
10. Mary-Catherine Bodden, ed., *The Old English Finding of the True Cross* (Cambridge, 1987).
11. S. D. Lee, "Two Fragments from Cotton Ms. Otho B.x," *British Library Journal* 17 (1991): 83–87, especially p. 85.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
13. Klaus Sperk, *Medieval English Saints' Legends*, English Texts 6 (Tübingen, 1970), pp. 102–6.
14. Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, "La Versione Anglo-sassone della Vita Sancti Aegidii Abbatis," *Romanobarbarica* 7 (1982–83): 273–352.
15. D. G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Book and Related Texts*, EETS OS 300 (Oxford, 1992), pp. 383–92.
16. Viktor Schmetterer, ed., "Drei altenglische religiöse Texte aus der Handschrift Cotton Vespasianus D XIV," dissertation, University of Vienna 150 (1981), pp. 54–93.
17. Cassidy and Ringler, *Bright's Grammar and Reader*, pp. 222–38.
18. Cf. Peter Clemoes, "The Chronology of Ælfric's works," in Clemoes, ed., *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of Their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins* (London, 1959), pp. 238, n. 3; reprinted *Old English Newsletter, Subsidia* 5 (1980): 28.
19. Collins and Clemoes, "Common Origin," p. 318, ll. 27–32.
20. See Peter Clemoes in Bruno Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa 3 (Kassel, Germany, 1889; reprinted Darmstadt, 1964), pp. xxxiv–xxxv. Ælfric provides a brief summary (only partially preserved) of the legend of Malchus at the close of his rendering of the book of Judith: Assmann, *ibid.*, pp. 115–16, ll. 445–end.
21. Scragg, *Vercelli Book*, pp. 290–308.
22. Raymond J. S. Grant, ed., *Three Homilies from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41* (Ottawa, 1982), pp. 18–41.
23. Cf. Julius Zupitza, "Die Legende vom Trinubium der heiligen Anna," in Wolfgang Keller, ed., *Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift Johannes Hoops zum 60. Geburtstag . . .*, Germanische Bibliothek, II. Abt., Untersuchungen