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*An edition (with a commentary, full glossary, and an introduction to the language of the text) of the Middle English life of St. Etheldreda in MS B.M Faustina B 111*

O. S. H. Eastwood

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O.S.H. EASTWOOD

An Edition (with a commentary, full glossary,  
and an introduction to the language of the  
text) of the Middle English Life of St.  
Etheldreda in MS BM Faustina B.III.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

JULY 1975

M.A. THESIS

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## ABSTRACT

This edition of the Middle English verse legend of St. Etheldreda comprises the following items :

- 1) a list of abbreviations,
- 2) a Bibliography,
- 3) an Introduction, comprising:
  - a) a description of the B.M. MS Faustina E 111, in general terms, together with a more detailed consideration of that section containing the Life of St. Etheldreda, in which account is taken of binding, foliation, scribal practice, and any points of interest, or peculiarities,
  - b) a discussion of the possible sources for this version of the saint's life, in which it is concluded that the Middle English legend is not directly derived from Bede, or the Latin Vita, but should probably be referred to a lost, intermediate version.
  - c) a brief consideration of the metrical and literary points of interest in the legend,
  - d) A discussion of the language of the poem, falling into two main sections; - Spellings, where the material is set out, and Discussion, where the forms of the text are considered, in relation to the rhymes, and it is suggested that the legend may be of South-western provenance, with Midland features, introduced by a scribe,
- 4) the text of St. Etheldreda, preceded by a short explanation of editorial procedure,
- 5) a Commentary, which points out details of literary, historical and grammatical interest in the text, and remarks, where appropriate, on emendations,
- 6) an appendix, where differences between the text, as presented here, and that of Horstmann, are noted,
- 7) a Glossary, giving meanings and etymologies to most of the words in the text,
- 8) a list, with line-references, of proper names.

ABBREVIATIONS.

a	...	adjective.
abs	...	absolute.
acc	...	accusative.
ad	...	adopted.
adj	...	adjectival.
adv	...	adverb.
AF	...	Anglo-French.
aggl	...	agglutinated.
anal	...	analogical.
Angl	...	Anglian.
aph	...	aphetic.
<u>ASC</u>	...	the <u>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</u> .
AS.Engl	...	<u>Anglo-Saxon England</u> . (F.M.Stenton)
ASS	...	<u>Acta Sanctorum</u> . (J.Bollandus)
attr	...	attributive.
aux	...	auxiliary.
c	...	century.
<u>Chron Vilod</u>	...	<u>Chronicon Vilodunense</u>
cl	...	clause.
colloc	...	collocation.
Comm	...	Commentary.
comp	...	comparative.
compd	...	compound.
confd	...	confused.
constr	...	construction.
contr	...	contracted.
d	...	dative.
decl	...	declension.
def	...	definite.
dem	...	demonstrative.
Disc	...	Discussion.
ecc	...	ecclesiastical.
ed	...	edited.
EDG	...	<u>English Dialect Grammar</u> . (J.Wright)
el	...	element.
emph	...	emphatic.
EPNS	...	English Place-name Society.
ES	...	English Studies.
ex(s)	...	example(s).
f	...	feminine.
foll	...	following.
g	...	genitive.

Hist.AS	...	<u>History of the Anglo-Saxons.</u> (R.H.Hodgkin)
imp	...	imperative.
impl	...	impersonal.
indef	...	indefinite.
inf	...	infinitive.
infd	...	influenced by.
interj	...	interjection.
intr	...	intransitive.
inv	...	inverted.
Jord	...	R.Jordan: <u>Mittelenglische Grammatik.</u>
1(1)	...	Line(s) - when followed by a numeral.
1	...	late.
L	...	Latin.
LEv	...	<u>Linguistic Evolution.</u> (M.L.Samuels)
ME.Eng	...	<u>The Making of Early England.</u> (D.P.Kirby)
Must	...	Mustanoja: <u>A Middle English Syntax.</u>
n	...	noun.
N	...	North(ern).
neg	...	negative.
nom	...	nominative.
num	...	numeral.
OE	...	Old English.
OED	...	<u>Oxford English Dictionary.</u>
OF	...	Old French.
OK	...	Old Kentish.
ON	...	Old Norse.
ONeF	...	Old North-east French.
ONF	...	Old North French.
ONhb	...	Old Northumbrian.
ord	...	ordinal.
p	...	participle.
part	...	particle.
partl	...	participial.
pass	...	passive.
pej	...	pejorative.
pers	...	personal.
phrl	...	phrasal.
pl	...	plural.
PNG	...	<u>Place-names of Gloucester.</u> (A.H.Smith)
PNW	...	<u>Place-names of Wiltshire.</u> (J.Gover etc.)
posn	...	position.
poss	...	possessive.

pr	...	present.
prec	...	preceding.
pref	...	prefix.
prob	...	probably.
pron.	...	pronoun.
prop	...	proper.
pt.	...	preterite.
ref	...	reference.
refd	...	refashioned on.
refl	...	reflexive.
s	...	singular.
S	...	South(ern).
sb	...	substantive.
SE	...	South-East.
<u>SEth</u>	...	<u>St.Etheldreda.</u>
subj	...	subjunctive.
subst	...	substantive.
suff	...	suffix.
sup	...	superlative.
SW	...	South-West.
tr	...	transitive.
v	...	verb.
<u>Vita</u>	...	the <u>Vita</u> of St.Etheldreda - MS Cott Dom A <u>xv</u> - published in ASS.
vbl	...	verbal.
w	...	with.
WS	...	West Saxon.
1,2,3	...	1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.
...	...	head-word repeated.

†  
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The text of SEth appears in a single MS, in London, in the British Library, Cotton Faustina B III.

1. SEth is the final item in the bound MS. After a brief contents is a list of the kings of England and their dates, up to Edward IV, and of the abbots of Peterborough Abbey up to Richard Aylreston (f3r(1)).\* On ff.3v(1) - 116(113) appear records of the revenues paid to Peterborough Abbey; and a list of Roman emperors, with dates, follows this on f.158r (153). Next, is an account of the restoration of monastic life under Edgar and Dunstan (ff.159r(154) - 198r(193)). The Chronicon Vilodunense, or Life of St.Edith (ff.199r(194) - 263r(258)) is followed by a list of patrons of Ellendune priory in Kent (ff.263r(258) - 264v(259)), and the text of SEth concludes the volume, ff.265r(260) - 279(274). It appears that the material included before the Chron Vilod is unrelated to SEth and was bound together with it by Sir Robert Cotton.
2. Like the other items in this MS, SEth is written on membrane, which appears to have been of average quality, when first gathered. The difference between the yellowed 'hair' surface and the white 'flesh' side is noticeable; and the leaves do suffer from occasional very small original flaws and holes. A few faded stains appear (e.g. ff.273r(268) and 276v(271)). The flyleaf (f.280(275)) is very grimy on the outer side, indicating that it has done service as a protective cover for the text. The exceptionally murky appearance of f.271r is possibly evidence that the second gathering was, at one time, left separate, and unprotected by the first part of the text.
3. Since the type of membrane used for St.Edith and SEth is the same, it is difficult to be certain, even by examining the sewing, of whether the two stubs appearing between ff.264 and 265 (i.e. between the two legends) were originally gathered with the Chron Vilod or the SEth. It does appear, however, that the two stubs are cancelled leaves from a gathering of four bifolia, on which are written the first part of the SEth. Then the final six leaves of St.Edith (ff.259(254) - 264(259)), after the catchword on f.258v(253), represent a gathering of three bifolia, and ff.265(260) - 270(265) of SEth a gathering of eight leaves with the first two cut out. There is a catchword on f.270v(265) and the rest of the poem appears on the second gathering, of ten leaves.

One hundred and forty-six lines are missed out between 1.615 (the final line on f.272v(267) and second leaf in the second gathering) and 1.761, the first line on the next page, f.273r(268).

\* The later foliation is employed here, followed by the earlier system, in round brackets.

The narrative continues consecutively on two leaves, up to l.1058, the last line on f.276v. Then we are returned to l.616 on the following page (277r(272)), and the missing lines appear on the next two leaves, up to l.760 at the end of f.278v(273). The remaining 73 lines of the poem appear on the final leaf, 279r and v.

The explanation must start with the assumption that the scribe was writing, for more ease, on ungathered bifolia. He would begin on the hair side of the first folio, or half-bifolium, and continue on to the flesh side. This would be the first leaf in the second gathering - f.271(266), according to the present foliation. In the same way, the second half of the next bifolium would become f.272(267), concluding at l.615. We should imagine him continuing then, with ll.616-87 on the third bifolium, and ll.688-760 on the fourth. Both these leaves, intended to appear where ff.273 and 274 now are placed, appear instead as ff.277 and 278, the seventh and eighth leaves. This must be ascribed either to the scribe's misjudgement of space, or to his forgetting the necessity of a fifth bifolium. At any rate, he appears to have continued, after l.760, right across the fourth bifolium, with ll.761-836. This bifolium would have become the centre of a gathering of eight leaves if there had been sufficient space. The scribe must have written out ll.837-909 on the second half of the third bifolium (which was intended to be the sixth leaf) before he recognised his error. If no membrane was to be wasted, the only solution was to invert the fold of the third and fourth bifolia, and continue the narrative, ll.910-1058, on a fifth bifolium, placed at the centre - and now numbered 275(270) and 276(271). Such a procedure would at least preserve an outward regularity of HFFH patterning.

4. There are two sets of foliation in the MS. The earlier series begins on the fourth leaf of the codex, and proceeds to the end, each figure being placed in the top right-hand corner of the leaf, in ink. The Cotton Catalogue of 1802 follows this system, placing the number of folios at 274. A label pasted inside the first flyleaf, dated June 1877, numbers the folios at 280, however, and someone has foliated accordingly, starting from the second leaf, and writing in pencil, in the bottom right-hand corner of each page. A missing leaf, which was numbered 22 in the early foliation, and a damaged section from ff.95(92) - 126(113) account for further discrepancies between the early and later numbering-system.

The SEth is written on ff.265r(260) - 279v(274).

The blank, final leaf-is numbered 280, by the later hand, and a figure 275, completing the original foliation, appears, crossed out in ink in the top right corner. In addition, a figure 260 appears, in ink, in the top left corner of 266v(261), and a figure 270, in the same position on 276v(271).

A figure 260, is crossed out on f.266r(261) just above the number 261, in the top right corner. The following very small figures, occur in the bottom, right corner of the leaf, in a very faded brown - possibly plummet:

f.273r (268) - 5; f.274r (269) - 5 (or 6?)

f.276r (271) - 8; f.278r (273) 9; f.279r(274)

5. There is no ruled frame enclosing the writing area on the page; and while the length of this written area averages a fairly uniform 18.5 cm., the horizontal measurement varies from 6.5 to 13.5 cm. on any given page, owing to the irregular length of lines.
6. There is no pricking or ruling in this text: the number of lines per page averages 37, but varies between 34 and 42.
7. The text appears to have been written in the same hand throughout (excluding the added ll.1100-31: see 14). The characteristic 'w' appears throughout the text, which is written in a 'mixed' hand, combining Secretary and Anglicana Formata\* and typical of the first half of the 15th century. So, while the hand is current, curved strokes are replaced by angular, broken ones, characteristic of Secretary, in the formation of such letters as a, o, e, c., etc. Small hooked ascenders proper to the Secretary hand, interchange with large loops, typical of Anglicana. Likewise, the Anglicana 'capped' a and 8-shaped g appear more often than the Secretary single-compartment a and g.

The predominance of u spellings in unstressed syllables beside i and e forms, indicates Western provenance, as do the u/e spellings in words with OE eo (e.g. vrthe, hurre, here acc. & g. fs. 3pl. pers. pron.).

The o-spellings for OE ā are evidence of a Southern scribe; and the appearance of ȝ, not only in words with OE h, e.g. dyȝt, myȝt, etc., but in words where it has no etymological basis, (e.g. ouȝt, nouȝt), is a sign of the relative lateness of the Text (probably post-1400). See further, Language.

\* i.e. The principal 14th century English bookhand, see M.B.Parkes, English Cursive Bookhands 1250-1500. Oxford 1969.

8. The scribe has no ruled frame to regulate his writing, and he fluctuates between maintaining comparatively even blocks of material, and allowing the columns to become very wobbly, written at an angle to the page-edge. An omitted line has had to be added at the foot of one page on ff.265v(260) and 269v(264): three lines are added at the bottom, f.270r(265). The top line on each page (except for ff.275v, 276v, 279r & v) is decorated by ornamental extension of the ascenders in intertwining loops and flourishes - frequently connected by small lines of cross-stitch-like patterning. A flower is drawn in the final d of the initial And, f.267r, and flowers of the same type appear in the final r of the top line, f.269r, and in both loops of the capital Bs, ff.277r and 278r. An extended loop has been added to a g on the bottom line, f.278r, and to a y, 275r. No further decoration is attempted, and no colours are used. A space, three lines deep, appears at the beginning, evidently for an illuminated initial S, never executed. Each page begins with a capital letter, larger than is normal, except on f.279v, where it is no larger than any other capital letter, and on ff.269r, 270v, 271r, 274v, where there is no capital at all.
9. Punctuation is limited to the inclusion of capitals, more or less erratically, at the beginning of lines, and as the initial letter of proper nouns, where they interchange with ordinary letter-forms. Dots also appear, sporadically, apparently to mark off one phrase or clause from another; but these are not used consistently, and punctuation, on the whole, may be said to be absent.
10. One catchword survives, apparently in the same hand as the scribe's (marked by the characteristic w, especially) - buse wordus, in the bottom right-hand corner of f.270v(265). The first two words on f.271r(266) correspond, as we should expect.
11. The scribe has corrected his own omissions by adding the missed lines at the foot of the page (see 8). On f.269v(264), however, the line which appears at the bottom had already been written out in the Text, after l.380, and subsequently crossed out. The lack of a rhyme for clothyng, l.346, and the suitability of the context, make it obvious that the line should be placed as Number 348, but there is no mark to make this explicit; unless

the large black dot, significantly opposite 1.347 and the next line in the left margin, has been deliberately placed, as a marker. The scribe corrects his own minor omissions, writing them above the line, as he goes along.

12. In the top corner of the left margin, f.266r(261) appears a comment, possibly in the scribe's hand, - sixth regnum - next to 1.81, which tells us that Northumberland was the sixth English kingdom. Further down in the left margin, in the same ink and hand, is written 7th regnum. This comment is opposite 1.93, which names Estenglonde as the seventh English kingdom.
- At the bottom, still in the left margin, and opposite 11.115-18 (which name Anna King of East Anglia) is written, in darker ink, Hic incipit Vita Sanctae Etheldrede. Beside the same lines, in the right margin, in what seems to be the same ink and hand as the latter, appears cro ecclesiastic sancti Bede 1<sup>o</sup> h<sup>o</sup> ca<sup>o</sup> 17<sup>o</sup>.
- On f.267r(262), probably in the same hand as the last two corrections, someone has put, in the right margin, beside 11.161-3, Bede 1<sup>o</sup> & ca<sup>o</sup> predictis.
- The lines referred to tell how Tonberht died early: Bede iv 19. begins the account of St. Etheldreda by telling of her marriage to Ecgfrith, after Tonberht's early decease.
- At 1.826 (f.273v(268)) the final & knylle has been written by a different hand, in darker ink; and on 274v., in faded ink, like that of the main text, is written nomen ville in qua fuerat Sancta Etheldreda nata. This refers to the ~~statement~~ in 11.874-9 (which the comment stands beside) as to how the Saint's coffin was found in the town of Etheldreda's birth, Grantechester, or Cambridge (incorrect, in fact: see Comm.). On f.275v, in the left margin, beside 1.961, appears, in a large, faded, later hand y-graunte - possibly a translation of dy3t at the end of the line, or a doodle, suggested by y-grauntyde in 11.966 & 972. A different hand has added, in faint ink, lower down, miraculum, beside 1.974, where the word miracull appears. Beside 1.978 (which tells how the author found Cerdic's tale in Godstow Abbey) the large hand mentioned above has written yn hely - presumably an erroneous reference to Godstow. Two letter gs appear at the foot of the page, in the same hand. A modern hand has added, in pencil, in the bottom right corner of f.276v(271), one leaf wanting. This will refer to the fact that 1.1058 which concludes this page is followed by 1.616, beginning the next page (f.277r(272)). In fact, 11.1059-1131 are supplied on f.279r & v (274).
- The word miraculum appears again, in the left margin of f.278v(273), beside 1.740, in which is written meracle; cf. f.275v, above.
- Finally, on the last written page (f.279v(274)), a modern hand has written over the top, in pencil, cons.fol.274.fol.77 wanting, fol.104 X double.

13. On the verso side of the final flyleaf (280v), appears a series of words in an irregular column, so stained and faded as to be illegible. Only, at the top, can be discerned Robert and Richard Wyham.
14. The legend of St. Etheldreda proper finishes, after the reader has been enjoined to pray to God that he may be received into the same bliss as she now enjoys. The prayer is duly finished with an amen, at l.1109; and another hand continues straight on, to the bottom of the page, in verse, for 31 lines - and is abruptly broken off.
- Another miracle is to be recounted, which the author read in Ely. Presumably he consulted the Vita, written by a monk of Ely, since the story he is beginning is almost certainly that of Ecgfrith's miraculously thwarted pursuit of his wife, recounted in the L. life. See Sources. The hand is smaller and neater than that of the rest of SEth, but is a 'mixed' Anglicana and Secretary, like the latter. The same Western orthographical features appear, also: e.g. hure 'her', and nothur, angur beside maner. The W, heo 'she' replaces the form he (also W) found elsewhere in the text; and but appears instead of bot.
15. Paraffs begin on 275v in the left margin at four-line intervals, marking the beginning of each stanza. The first two, beside ll.946 and 950, are in black ink, but the remaining ones are faded, and appear to be written by the scribe. They continue over the page and finish at l.1058, the last line on f.276v(271). ll.616-760, on the next two folios, 277 and 278, are not marked by paraffs, but they begin again on f.279r(274), at l.1062 and continue to the end of the poem, as written by this scribe. This indicates that ll.950-1109 were written consecutively.
16. No title for the poem was included originally, and there are no divisions or breaks throughout. A later hand has added in pencil, over the top, f.265r(260); Vita Sc̅ Etheldreda Eliensis.  
The text proper concludes (l.1109) And þat hit be ryȝt so say we amen; and the later addition breaks off (l.1131)  
To fasche þat mayde aȝeyne fro hurre abbay.
17. The SEth appears in J.C.Horstmann's Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge, Heilbronn 1881, p.284. Horstmann notes that the poem is written in the same metre, dialect (that of Wiltshire), and verse as the legend of St. Edith, which precedes it, and assumes a common authorship for both poems. The author, he supposes to have been a cleric of Wilton Abbey, living during Henry V's reign.

18. Dicta probatoria : And ou3t f.266 (261).
19. The MS. is bound in brown leather, stamped in gold and green, with the Cotton crest on either cover. A note on a label pasted inside the front cover notes that the binding dates from 1951.

Bede's account of the life and miracles of St.Etheldreda in Hist.Eccl. lV.19. is the primary authority for all later versions of her life: the Vita written by Thomas of Ely (British Library MS. Cotton Dom. A XV, edited in ASS. June V pp.424 ff., Mabillon II 707) uses all Bede's facts, . . . often word for word, while adding much, both in his account of Etheldreda's life, and, notably in the extensive treatment of the miracles reputed to have taken place in connection with her relics, in the years after Bede.

There is no reference to sources in SEth, except conventional allusions to be story, at ll. 10, 532, 539, and to somme cronyculle, 1.578, in connection with St.Werburga. Only the episode of Cerdic's loss of sight is introduced, ll.974-9, by an explanation of how the author found the event recounted in the legend of Etheldreda in Godstow. It seems likely that, since this miracle is separately introduced, the preceding events are not to be attributed to the same source; and they should therefore be discussed separately.

SEth preserves almost all the basic facts and details recounted by Bede, and repeated in the Vita. It is probable, however, that it is directly derived from neither account. Firstly, while certain details correspond with the Vita (as distinct from Bede) each of these could well have been introduced by the author; and no definite picture can be formed by taking them together. See notes, to ll. 137-8, 149-56, 158, 291-7, 379-80, 417-20, 461-78, 546-8, 605-8, 802, 809-23, 828 ff., 944-5.

Far more weighty is the evidence against direct derivation from the Vita : for instance, the omission of Ecgfrith's pursuit of Etheldreda to Coldingham, and of her miracle-studded flight to Ely (see ll.299-302 note); the statement that Dunstan re-established Ely Abbey, not Ethelwold (ll.988-9 note); or that Etheldreda is said to have been born, not at Aereninge, but Grantechester (877 note). See also notes to ll.451, 539-42, 571-2. The references to Aedelburga (ll.129-30 note, ll.139-40) and Ercongota (ll.559-64 note) indicate, in addition, that the author had certainly not read the Hist.Eccl. in full, even if he consulted lV.19. for his purposes.

There are substantial passages owing no debt to a known source. Apart from the extended historical proem, there is the incident of the angel giving Etheldreda light (ll.349-72), the whole sequence of events involving the acquisition of the tomb, ll.613 ff., and the miracle of the drowned child.

Additions, variations and omissions from the narrative as presented in Bede or the Vita, abound; e.g, see notes to ll.119-20,

129; 142-3, 147, 167-8, 175-8, 381 ff., 381-4, 395-408, 423-36, 479-508; 877, 890-4.

All this evidence points to the existence of an intermediary version, or versions, which have preserved the essentials of Bede's account, although adding to it, and reslanting much of the material. Our author's source may well have included elements, or verbal echoes, from the Vita (e.g. ll.137-8 note, ll.944-5 note, and see above).

The account of Cerdic's sacriligious attack on the saint's tomb probably had as its source, in Godstow, a garbled rendering of the story of Didascalus of the Vita : see the Commentary, on ll.990 ff.

The ME poem owes no debt to the other versions of St.Etheldreda's legend, which are as follows : an OE verse life by Aelfric (EETS (76) 82, 1861, no.XX., pp. 432-441) which follows Bede : another anonymous ME verse life, 50 lines long, and presenting only the barest elements of Etheldreda's legend (in 3 MSS - Bodl.2567 (Bodley 779) f.279b; Bodl.3938 (Vernon) f.33a col.2; Egerton 1993 f..163a) : a short L.life from John of Tynemouth's 4th century Sanctilogium Angliae, published in 1516, as Nova Legenda Angliae, and edited 1901 by C.Horstmann. This is based on Thomas' Vita; as is also the late lytell treatyse of the life of St.Audrey, in Seynt Werburge, Henry Bradshaw, ed.C.Horstmann, EETS (88) 116, pp. 70-75.

LITERARY ASPECTS OF ST. ETHELDREDA.

The poem is composed in 4-line stanzas, rhyming abab, and running into each other, to constitute a continuous verse-narrative. Each line should bear five main stresses, but the metre is noticeably irregular: we more often find a line whose rhythm is distorted; e.g. 571, And by Hermendilda, his wyff, he hadde twey deuztren and a sonne, or (530) Ryzt as hurre owne wyll westo, than one which runs smoothly; e.g. 1086 an ángels voys forsothe per pey herde.

The irregular metre provides an inelegant medium for a poem of rather less than mediocre quality.

The pattern followed is a conventional one: first, the tale of the saint's life is recounted, with great attention given to her death, while the second half of the work tells of her posthumous miracles. Also conventional are such features as the saint's predicting her own death (ll. 381 ff. note), supernatural manifestations in connection with her death (ll. 517-24 note), the discovery of the uncorrupted body, and the occurrence of miracles, both beneficent - as with the healings associated with the relics - and offering a fearful example of the power of the saint's remains - as with blind Cerdic.

The medieval concern with death, sin, penance and Purgatory is well illustrated in the legend: see ll. 423-36 & note, ll. 479-508 & note. The author is interested in edifying his hearers, rather than in creating interest in character: so, in her first address, to Ecgfrith, Etheldreda serves as hardly more than a mouthpiece, for an adulation of virginity: see also ll. 479-508 note. Yet at least Etheldreda's speeches on virginity, and with reference to Purgatory, as her exchange with the angel on her deathbed, have a dramatic function, and are therefore presented in direct speech, rather than as dry asides by the author (see ll. 197-256 note). In the same way, while Etheldreda's prophecy as to her translation, the double vision indicating where the tomb is to be found, and the abundance of supernatural messengers, are probably intended to give the impression of a stable, all-seeing Providence, ordering events (see ll. 381-4 note, refs., & 395-403 note) the author is at least attempting to make his effects diverting, by introducing direct speech wherever possible, and combining marvel with awe. Certainly one is left wondering who the old man of Cynfrey's vision can represent.

This unsolved mystery is really a fault in the author's technique : similarly, it could be said that the surprise element inherent in the story of the discovery of the tomb has been too easily abandoned. It is impossible to know of the narrative structure, of course, what is peculiar to this work, and what is second-hand. Possibly the poem is least to be admired in its mode of expression.

Repetitiveness and confused expression are the key faults of the work. Unnecessary, almost nonsensical repetition of particular words occurs (e.g. of bot 309, 312, 313) and to a greater extent, of statements : e.g. ll.519-20, and ll.523-4, and ll.464, 471, 475. For confusion in expression, see ll.395-408 note, and ll.996-1007.

On the whole then, the verse is uninspiring; but perhaps it is as well to mention that it can become entertaining sometimes : e.g., the sudden appearance of the local, to explain his vision of St.Etheldreda, at l.730. His appearance is unexpected, his message is novel, appealingly practical - and, what is more, packed with detail that is to the point and incisively stated. Even Cynfrey's responses are satisfying, in the feelings which they convey, and the brevity of their expression.

For once, the author has resorted to dramatic devices, with a measure of success.

THE LANGUAGE.SPELLINGS.I.: THE OE STRESSED VOWELS.SHORT VOWELS:

1. (i) OE a: spelt: - a : e.g. haue inf. 193 etc. wasshe inf. 320.  
 - e in lest sup.a. 328 (beside last(e) 7X.)  
 see Rhymes A5.
- (ii) OE a w.foll. g. spelt: - aw in (y)-drawe inf. & ptp. 1007 etc.  
 1048 & y-slawe ptp. 103.  
 - ow in drowyn ptp. 1078 : this form is probably analogous on the pt., however.
- 
2. (i) OE ae spelt: - a : e.g. bake n 1059, gladde a 722 etc.  
 - e : in wes pts. 'be', 530 } See Rhymes A 5  
 - y : in wys pts. 'be', 1049 }
- (ii) OE ae + breaking & lengthening group: spelt: - o : e.g. holde n  
 1050, olde a 686.  
 - e : in berde n 636.
- (iii) OE ae + breaking & Angl. & LWS smoothing-group:  
 spelt: - ay in ay3ty a. & num. 17.  
 - ey in sey(e) pts. 'see' 623 etc.  
 - y in sye pts. 'see' 1025.  
 - aw in saw(e) pts. 'see', 764 etc
- For the possibility of analogy having operated on the various forms of 'see', see V̄ (X1).
- (iv) OE ae + n. spelt: - e in ben(nys) adv. 1021 etc., when adv. 100 etc.  
 - y in bynne adv. 893 etc.: see Comm.
- (v) OE ae + foll. g: spelt: - ay; e.g. day n 178 etc., fayre a  
 62 etc.  
 - ey: in fevre a 220 etc., ley(3)e pts.  
 'lie' 621, 993 etc.  
 - a in madenus npl. 572.
- madenus only appears 1X beside many exs. of ay - spellings, and is almost certainly to be regarded as a slip. The ey - spellings in this category, as the ay - spellings for OE e + g (see 3(v)), illustrate the LME falling together of the diphthongs ai and ei of whatever origin under [ ae(:)i ] (O.Jespersen. A Modern English Grammar, vol.I. Heidelberg 1922. p.96, §§ 3-110).

3. (i) OE e: spelt: - e : e.g. bellus npl.824 etc., enden421 etc.  
 - y : in wynne n 949.  
 -ey : in strev3th(en) pts.& pl. 61, 67. y-strev3t ptp.  
 85. - before lengthening group:- ey in seylden  
adv. 335.
- (ii) OE e + r:spelt: - e : in Merche prop.n. 570, mersshy a 609;  
Tonbert prop.n. 145 etc.  
 - a : in Marche prop.n. 57, Tonbart prop.n. 160.  
 The a-forms are to be accounted for by the l. 14th century and  
e. 15th century change of e > a before r (Dob. § 64) : the rhyme  
 of Tonbart on departe, ll. 160-2, supports this.
- (iii) OE e: in breaking and smoothing-group.  
 spelt: - e : in derkenesse n 367, werkus npl.271 etc.
- (iw) OE e: after initial palatal:  
 spelt: - e : e.g. for3eue inf. 1072, 3eue inf. 491 etc.  
 - ey: in Chevster prop.n. 62 : see Disc. 1.
- (v) OE e + g:spelt:ay: in way n 923, lay inf. 773.  
 - ey: e.g. wey n 674 etc., twey(ne) a & num. 2 etc.  
 See 2(v) note.

4. (i) OE i: spelt: - i/y: e.g. skynne n 469, wille n 249 etc.  
 - e: e.g. lemme n 881, swefte a 271.  
 -ey : in feysshe n 335, sey3th(on) adv. 55 etc.  
 See Disc. 1. for the ey-spellings. The following e-spellings  
 occur beside those cited above : dreuyn ptpl. 542; hedur(re) adv.  
485 etc., lede n 835; lemys npl. 594 etc., leue inf. 420 etc.  
merke a 678; reson ptpl. 652 etc., hedur adv. 352 etc., thred  
ord.num. 129 (1X beside thrydde 2X), thred(tene) a & num. 8;  
thretty a & num. 461; wekes npl. 416; weketnesse n 364; wemmen  
npl. 123; wete inf. 993 (1X beside witte 2 prs. 1X)  
 cf. also, the e-spellings of OF i & Note (II 8).  
 Dobson gives the lowering of i > e as a N and SW change (§ 80).  
 While many of these forms do seem to have undergone this  
 isolative lowering, there are alternative explanations available  
 in many cases. So, leue could represent an early levelling of  
 the pr. stem leof - into the inf; and the late, irregular  
 lengthening of i > ē in open disyllable could be a factor in the  
 development of dreuyn, reson (see II. 8. note), wekes, wete, and  
 possibly lede. In addition, the validity of this feature as a  
 dialectal marker is rather reduced, when we consider that the  
 younger Pastons made a practice of writing e for i : see

N. Davis - The Language of the Pastons - Proceedings of the British Academy 1954.

- (ii) OE i: w. foll. lengthening con.group, spelt: y/i; e.g. childe n 114 etc.  
 spelt: ye: in myelde a 274 etc., wylde a 488.  
 - ey: in bleynde a 316 : see Disc. 1.
- (iii) OE i + h(t): spelt: -y : e.g. almy3ty a 291 etc., dy3t inf.pt & ptp. 379 etc.  
 -ey : in dey3t inf. 789, sey3t n 711.
- (iv) OE i.+ g: spelt: -ye: e.g. lye inf. 397 etc., nve(n)ne a.& num. 413 etc.  
 - ey: in leyth(e) prs. 705 etc. leygyng prp. 689 etc.

5. (i) OE y: spelt: y/i : e.g. mirthe n.784 etc., synne n 487 etc.  
 - ey : in (n)eynche n 720.  
 - u : e.g. bury inf.& imp.pl. 438 etc. furst adv. 49 etc.  
 - e : crepuls npl. 819, euell a 889.

The e-forms may represent the lengthening of i (< OE y) in open disyllable - a late and irregular change - or it could exemplify the same N and SW lowering discussed in 4(i) above. Alternatively they could be regarded as SE forms.

- (ii) OE y + h(t): spelt: - ey : in afrey3t ptp. 354

6. (i) OE o: spelt: - o : e.g. stopudde pts. 1079, other corr. conj. 592.  
 - u : in durst pts.& pl. 156 etc., furthe adv. 533.

The u in furthe is probably due to the raising of o > u between a labial and r : Dobson quotes this word as an instance (Dob. § 92 (c)).

- (ii) OE o/a + foll. single nasal.

spelt: - o : in mon n 132 etc., monkynde n 238.  
mony a 590 etc., ony a 89 etc.

OF a before a single nasal is also spelt o, 2X, in monere 418, 931, beside maner(e) 2X in this text, and 1X at 1123, in the additional section, ll. 1110-31.

- (iii) OE o/a + foll.nasal + con.  
 spelt: - o : e.g. among prep. 290 etc., londe n 1 etc.  
 - v : in vnswered pts. 774 etc.  
vnswered, with a prefix ond - may have undergone any of those changes discussed in Rhymes A 10.
- (iv) OE o+gi spelt: - ow : in bytowe ptp. 240.
- (v) OE o+h: spelt: - ou : e.g. bou3t pts. 800. dou3ter n 137 etc.
- (vi) OE o+rh: spelt: - orw: in morwe n 682, sorwefull a 516.  
 - or : in mortyde n 687.
- 
7. (i) OE u: spelt: - u : e.g. full(e) a & adv. 8, 130 etc.  
lustynasse n 318.  
 - o : e.g. folle a & adv. 286, 954 etc.  
wondre adv. 831
- (ii) OE u + lengthening-groups: -mb, -nd, -ld:  
 spelt: - ou : e.g. grounde n 829, sounde a 596 etc.  
 - o : in dombe a 884, wonde n 848.  
 - u : in pulde ptp. 1003.
- (iii) OE u + g: spelt: - ou : in 3outhe n 127.
- (iv) OE u + rh: spelt: - orw: in -borwe n 97, borwe prep. 502 etc.  
 (w. glide developed in porow 128 etc.
- 

#### THE LONG VOWELS:

8. (i) OE ā: spelt: - o : e.g. abode pts. 284, hote a 318.  
 - ou : in wrou3t a 273.  
 - a : in bathe a & pron. 228 etc., sate a 521.  
 For wrou3t see Disc. 2.

The three a-spellings of 'both', at ll. 228, 884 and 927 and the single a-spelling of swote as sate (521) probably represent the scribe's careless representation of o : bothe is the normal form very frequently occurring, and sote appears at ll. 521, 845, 1083. The only other explanations are either that these are N forms, or, in the case of bathe, that a variant form with short o has been created by shortening under low stress, and has then been unrounded, according to an early SW (or late, vulgar E. Midland and SE) ME tendency for o > a (see Dobson § 87 & notes: see, too, Place-names of Wilts. EPNS XVI 1939, pp. XX-XXI, and the Place-names of Gloucs. part IV, EPNS XL1, pp. 69-70).

- (ii) OE ā + g: spelt: - ow in owne a 51 etc.
- (iii) OE ā + h: spelt: - au in rau3te pts. 65.
- (iv) OE ā + w: spelt: - ou in nou3t contr.pron. 208, soule(s) n(pl) 163 etc.  
- ow in nowther a & pron. 295.

9. (i) OE ae<sup>y</sup>/nws ē: spelt: - e: e.g. drede n 200 etc., slepe n 479 etc.  
- ey: in neytte pts. 334 (see Disc.1).
- (ii) OE ae<sup>y</sup>/nws ē + g.spelt:ey: in sey(e)ptpl. 'see' 667 etc.(see V(X))

10. OE ae<sup>-2</sup>, spelt: - e: e.g. clene a 160 etc., se n 82 etc.  
- ey: in fleysshe n 315 etc. (see Disc. I)  
- a, when shortened; e.g. clannasse n 212 etc  
ladde pts. 833, thraste pts. 79.

11. OE ē: spelt: - e: e.g. hede n 198 etc., kepe inf. 364.

12. (i) OE i: spelt: - y/i: e.g. abyde inf. 286 etc., side n 45 etc.  
- ey: in whey 1032.

(shortened before con-group - e in wemmen npl. 123.)

The shortened i < OE wif-man, -men appears to have undergone the N and SW lowering discussed in 4(i). At any rate, the distinction is maintained from the i form w. rounded vowel: in this word phonetic development has been modified by a functional need. See 12(ii) below.

- (ii) OE i: shortened & rounded between labials:  
spelt: - o in woman n 120.

The development of i > u (spelt o) in this word is a widespread ME phenomenon (Dob. § 85).

- (iii) OE ī + h: spelt: - y: e.g. hye inf. 759, ly3t inf. 360.  
- ey: e.g. hey3e l prs. 586, ley3t inf. 996:  
see Disc. I.

13. OE ȳ: spelt: - y/i in fyre n 502, pride n 290 etc.  
- ey in heyre n 762: see Disc. I.

14. (i) OE  $\bar{o}$ : spelt: - o: e.g. awoke pts. 506, modur n 70 etc.  
 (ii) OE  $\bar{o}$  + g/h: spelt- ow: e.g. drow pts. 1010 etc., slow pts. 134.  
 - ou: e.g. inou adv. 155 etc., sou3t pts. 687.  
 (iii) OE  $\bar{o}$  + w: spelt: ow: in y-growe ptp. 117.

15. OE  $\bar{u}$ : spelt: - ou: e.g. foule a 361 etc., prou3t a 154 etc.  
 - o: e.g. done adv. 866, fole a 470.  
 - ow: e.g. lowete inf. 813, sowth(e) a 83 etc

### THE OE DIPHTHONGS:

16. OE eo: spelt: - e: e.g. drery a 1022, heuene n 216 etc.  
 - u/v: in hur(r)e pers.pron. 3 pl.poss. 429 etc., vrthe n 238 etc.

17. (i) OE  $\bar{ea}$ : spelt: - e: e.g. est a 37 etc., leue n 229 etc.  
 - ey: in deyffe a 599, deythe n 417 etc.  
 -(when shortened)- e: in greste sup.a. 58 etc.  
 (ii) OE  $\bar{ea}$  w.red. l.el.: spelt: a: in chas pts. 179. See Rhymes 5.  
 (iii) OE  $\bar{ea}$  + h: spelt: - ey: in hev(3)e a 143 etc., ney(3)e adv. 642 etc.  
 - ȳ: in hy(3)e a 435 etc. (see Disc. I).  
ny(3)e adv. 144 etc.  
 (when shortened) - a: in paw adv. 285 etc.

18. (i) OE  $\bar{eo}$ : spelt: - e: e.g. seke a 593 etc, wepe pts 508  
 - u: e.g. hult(e) pts. 108 etc., lures npl. 842.  
 - ey: in feynde n 352 etc. (see Disc. I).  
 (ii) OE  $\bar{eo}$  + w: spelt:- ew: e.g. blew pts. 352 etc., knew pts. 201 etc.  
 (iii) OE  $\bar{eo}$  w.red. l.el.:  
 spelt:- a: in 3ade pts. 'go' 1076 (see Rhymes A5).  
 (iv) OE  $\bar{eo}$  w.red. l.el. + w:  
 spelt:- ou: in foure a & num. 14 etc., fourtythe ord.num. 404.  
 - ow: in 3ow pers.pron. 242 etc., know pts. 247  
owre pers.pron. 2 pl.poss. 196 etc.

19. (i) OE ē (WS īe) by palatal diphthongization :

spelt: - e : in 3e 2 pers.pron. 186 etc.,  
3et(te) adv. 44 etc.

- y : in 3ytte adv.(12) (see Rhymes A7).

(ii) OE ē (WS īe) by i-umlaut:

spelt: - e : in stele n 283, ten a & num.34 etc.  
by-leueduste 2 pts. 1089

## II.

THE OF & ON SPELLINGS:

1. OF a: spelt: - a : e.g. chast a 154, dame n 283 etc.  
 - o : in monere n 418 etc.

2. OF a + foll.n.+ dental:  
 spelt: - a : e.g. candelle n 351 etc., lanterne  
n 944.  
 - au: e.g. aunte n 227, graunt inf.244 etc.

3. OF a + foll.m.+ labial:  
 spelt: - a : in chambre n 449 etc., ensampull n  
 331.

The spellings in (2) and (3) show the sort of variance between diphthongized and unaltered a-forms that we should expect.

4. OF au: spelt: - au(u) in defau3t n 638, fau3t n 721.  
 See Disc.2 for the medial 3.

5. OF (AF) e: spelt: - e : e.g. fest n 321 etc., presence n  
 325 etc.  
 - u : in chure n 756 - in a rhyme with  
dure. See Rhymes A3.

6. OF ai/ei: spelt: - ay : e.g. apayde ptp. 257, pray inf.1036.  
 - ey : e.g. certeyne a.as n.392,  
reseyuede pts. 247.

(reduced) - y : in marrys n 610.

w.foll.liquid or dental - ey : e.g. gouverneville n 75 etc.,  
merueville inf. 869.  
 - e : in batelle n 92, conselle n 204 etc  
inf.187, plese inf. 296.

The monophthongization in this position is not consistent.

7. AF eu: spelt: - ew : in bewte n 491.

8. OF i: spelt: - i/y: e.g. princem144 etc., syre n 81 etc.  
 - e : e.g. chesell n 994 etc., preudy adv.  
 - ey : in mayteynys npl.338 etc. see Disc.I  
 350.

The e-forms above probably represent the N and SW lowering mentioned in I. 4. (i). note (which see), and the same is probably

true of lely(-) n 842, and miracle n at ll. 579, 740, 918, 940, beside i/y - forms appearing 3X up to 1109, and 1X in 1110, the first line of the added portion. The single occurrence of streuyn, the ptpl. of 'strive', 1.3, could exemplify such a lowering, but it is also possible that i has been lengthened in an open disyllable, or that the e here is analogical on e-forms in other OE strong class 1 verbs, See H.T.Pric: Inaugural Dissertation. Bonn. 1910-15, p.4 § 3. - and cf. dreuyn ptpl. 542, reson ptpl. 652 etc.

9. OF o: spelt: - o : e.g. colers npl. 492 etc., host n 540.
10. OF o:+ nasal:spelt- ou: e.g. founder n 233, renoune n 142.  
- o: e.g. conselle n 204 etc., tombe n 445.
11. AF oe: spelt: - e : in meuyd ptp. 998, pepulle n 379 etc.
12. AF oi/ui:spelt: - oy: in joy n 213 etc., noy n 824, voys n 1080 etc.  
- y : in ryal(le) a 492 etc.  
- ey: in gevnt(t)le n 718 etc. see Disc. I & Rhymes A2.
13. OF u: spelt: - u : e.g. duke n 15 etc., sure a 658.  
- ou: e.g. floure n 842, touch n 827.  
- o : in sodenly adv. 352 etc.  
- e : in (1) teneclus npl. 806.
- (1) Either < OF tunikle or L. tunicula. Whichever of these is the correct etymology, a SW change of u > i/e (Dob. § 96) can be argued to have occurred in this word. The only other e-form in the OED, it should be noted, is from Somerset Medieval Wills of 1495. cf. Rhymes A2 & 4.
14. The ON element is very small. It includes :
- ON a spelt a in calle inf. 805.
  - ON á + g, spelt ow in lowe a 228 etc.
  - ON e in hendys npl. 84, semely 628 etc.
  - ON ei in nay adv. 484 etc.
  - ON o in crokyd a 595.
-

### III. THE CONSONANTS.

- Line-refs. not given are supplied in the Gloss.
1. (i) In certain cases d and t, g and k appear interchangeably:-  
d for t : comforde inf. 359, consendyd pts. 251 (beside consente inf. 2X), delyde n 170, felde ptp. 591 (by ptpl. feltone lX).
  - (ii) t for d : dwelt(e) pts 7X (beside dwellede lX), dwelton(e) ptpl. 5X (by dwelleden lX), dwelt ptp. 548, encresset ptp. 934 (by pts encresede lX), feltone ptpl. 521, 1083 (by felde lX), (y)-closote ptp. 3X, legent n 979, prou3t a 5X, weketnesse n 364.
  - (iii) g for k : thenguth impl.v.pr. 464, 690, thengeth prpl. 'think' 112, þong - pr.& pt. stem 'thank', 13X (beside think pts. lX).
2. f from OE and OF is spelt f in initial position; e.g. freyle a 316, full(e) 8 etc. In positions where it was normally voiced it is accordingly spelt u; e.g. 3eue inf. 191 etc., seuene a.& num. 1 etc.
  3. 3 represents initial [j] ; e.g. 3aff pts. 169 etc., 3if 343 etc. Its value in medial position will be discussed below (Disc. 1 & 2).
  4. The appearance of unetymological initial h- not only in words obviously unfamiliar, and perhaps incorrectly rendered in an exemplar (e.g. Hebbe: see 1.283 & note) but in the common word 'end' (hende 3X), 'iron' - spelt with h in both occurrences - and 'errand' - spelt herunde - (see 1.453 note) - suggest the influence of a colloquial language on the text. Presumably initial h - was dropped in many words where it should have appeared, and its appearance in these forms is as a back-spelling.
  5. [k] is usually spelt k : e.g. kepe inf. 364, askede pts. 750, bake n 1059. Occasionally it is replaced by c : e.g. clene a 160 etc., ascone prpl. 964.
  6. [Ks] is spelt xs when followed by a consonant, and x, followed by a vowel: e.g. nexst sup.a. 313 etc., fexst ptp. 315, sixste ord.num. 87 etc., sixe a.& num. 4 etc.
  7. [Kw] is rendered qu : e.g. quene n 126 etc., conquered ptp. 5.
  8. s represents the voiced and unvoiced sound from OE and OF s : e.g. style adv. 398 etc., streuyn ptpl. 3, wise a 675, plase n 140 etc. This is also spelt c, medially, in OF words:

- e.g. place n 224 etc., solace n 822. The voiced sound is spelt ȝ lX in vyȝage n 697 - where ȝ is presumably meant to represent z : cf. Gawain & the Green Knight, where the scribe's z is written as ȝ, also.
9. [ʃ] is spelt -ssh- medially ; e.g. feysse n 335, wasse inf. 320. The sound is represented lX by -ss- in wanyssede pts. 651 (cf. vanysshede lX). Initially, the sound is spelt sh -; e.g. y-shape ptp. 691 etc., shalle l prs. 423. Occasional sch- spellings also occur; e.g. y-schrynyd ptp. 582, schryll a 827.
10. [θ] and [ð] are both spelt th or þ indifferently: e.g. thus, þus adv. 184, 316 etc., clothyng n 278, clobus npl. 892 etc. The following inverted spellings occur : wrouȝt a 273, lX (rhymes on othe : see Disc 2), streyȝth pts. 'stretch' 67, streyȝthen ptpl. 61 (by y-streyȝt ptp. 85, streȝt a 849) - and strenght n 107.
11. [u] and [v] are spelt v initially: e.g. veyne a (1082), vrthe n 238 etc. The exceptions are wanyssede pts. 651, by fanyssede pts. 650 (beside vanysshede lX) and fexst ptp. 315. Both sounds are spelt u medially; e.g. ful(le) a 8 etc., heuene n 216 etc.
12. [w] is usually spelt w, whether original ; e.g. wo n 462, knowe inf. 190, or from g after a back vowel: e.g. drow(e) pts 1010 etc., y-slawe ptp. 103 : w appears, also, as part of the AN graph ow (beside ou) for [u :]; e.g. sowth a 83. The older spelling u is used for [w] in Milguyde prop.n. 572 etc., seuen ptp. 'see' 847 (see Comm.), and suellyng n 846. In two words, w is represented as uu : e.g. Auudre prop.n. 365, and defauuȝt n 638. There is one example of 'one' - otherwise spelt on(n)e, with initial w - won 992.

#### IV THE UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES.

The unstressed syllables are spelt -u- predominantly, with a large number of y/i-spellings, and a small quantity of e- and o- forms: e.g. crepuls npl. 819, leyȝttur comp.a. 908, modur n 70 etc., lemys npl. 594 etc., herdyn ptpl. 1084, maydyn n 361, maydynes 503, mayster n 465 etc., herden ptpl. 826, choson ptp. 301, yenon npl. 511 etc. The u-spelling is a W-Mid. orthographic feature (Jord. §135 Anm. 1.). The y/i - spellings probably indicate a late date for the text, since it was in lME and eModE that the tendency for unstressed ME e(æ) > i began to be prevalent. See Rhymes A4 for the apparent phonetic

quality of the unstressed noun-pl. inflexion.

For the a-spellings of the OE suffix -ness, -niss, (clannasse 222, 320, lustynasse 318, heuynasse 343) beside e- and y-spellings, see Rhymes A5.

## V. THE MORPHOLOGY.

### (a) THE VERBS:

- (i) The Inf.: This only retains the -n marker in some examples of the most familiar verbs - where, in addition, it follows naturally after a monosyllable with final vowel - in be(n)(e) (4X : in rhyme 1X, 1.256) and do(n)(e) (2X : 1X in rhyme, 1.793). This situation is also indicated by the rhyme-evidence : see Rhymes B1. The single occurrence of y-se, L.795 is probably a mistake, although it could possibly reflect the scribe's feeling for the equivalence of ptp. and inf.
- (ii) 2 pr.s.: This has retained the -(s)t ending in the most common verbs: e.g. most, shalt. The equivalence of this aspect of the verb with the inf., generally, however, is shown in the example of done 2prs., .190 beside inf.do(n)(e), and also in the ending less 2 prs. forms go 500, witte 649.
- (iii) 3 pr.s.: This consistently appears with the S./Mid. -(e)th. ending: e.g. comethe (976), eylluthe 1027, hath (189 etc.), sendyth (499) etc.
- (iv) pr.pl.: There is one example - in rhyme - of the S. -eth ending, in thengeth (1.112) - see Rhymes B2. The other examples have the characteristic Mid. -e(n) ending : e.g. ascone (964), ben (12 etc.), thongone (958), knowe (226).
- (v) 2 pts. (weak): These forms end uniformly in -st : e.g. deydust 860, hast 702, weredust(e) (492 etc.).
- (vi) The 3 pts. has developed normally in weak and strong verbs, except in the case of thonk (1.246), which is presumably apprehended as a strong pts. (see Comm.), and 3euede pts. 347 beside the normal 3aiff (3X).
- (vii) The ptpl. retains -n 11X in the strong verbs, and has dropped it in 10 examples. The high proportion of endingless forms here, is largely to be accounted for by the 6 examples of come, 1 of came beside comen only 2X. In the other very common verb 'see', sey(e) only appears 2X, and there are no -n forms. If we were to omit these examples, the ratio would be 9:1 - a proportion more comparable to the weak pt.pl., 33:7. It is seen, then, that from 61 examples, 44 - or 75% of the

whole - retain the -n marker, while 17 (25% of the total) have lost it.

- (viii) ptp. The final -n in the ptp. of strong verbs is only occasionally retained, in, e.g., y-coruyn (879), y-writon (47) and in wonnon (19) beside y-wonne (42), and founden (721) by y-founde (671). Only in the verbs 'do' and 'go' do the -n forms predominate : in the former, there are 10 examples with -n (in ll. 1-1109) to 4 without, and in the latter, 9 with, by 1 without. The general picture from the rhyme-evidence is much the same : see Rhymes B3. The y-marker is apparently included or omitted at the scribe's whim, and his usage differs in writing ptp.s of the same verb : e.g. ordeynede (362), with y-ordenyde (1101), and dy3t (971) by y-dy3t (717 etc.).
- (ix) The pr.p. ending is regularly -yng(e) : (e.g. standyng (44), gouernyng(e) (56), with an inverted spelling in caryeng (791).
- (x) The forms of the verb 'see' are too varied to give a clear picture, and seem to comprise a mixture of WS and Anglian OE forms. The ptpl. sey(e) occurs 2X and is apparently from Anglian sēgon, although it is possible that it was levelled from a prs. of the same form, derived from sēah with LWS smoothing. The same ambiguity is present, with the pts. sey(e) 3X and sye 1X. In the case of the 5 examples of the pts. saw(e), it is possible that they are derived from a smoothed Anglian saeh, or that they are levelled from a WS-type ptpl., sāwon : the two examples of the ptpl. here are insufficient material to favour the latter theory too definitely. The ptp. has (y)-sey(3)e 9X, y-sye 1X < Anglian gesegen - and seuene (847), possibly from WS sewen : see Comm.
- (xi) The prs. of 'do' is dothe, with the vowel of the infinitive, not the mutated e, characteristic of WS. The form could well be the product of a later levelling. The pt. s. & pl. forms with u in dud(d)e(n) (presumably for OE y) are characteristically Western.
- (xii) The verb 'will' has wolle(n) in the pr., and wolde(n) in the pt. (a form originating in LME in the Midlands, see Mossé p.85, § 105.2.).

(b) THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS:

- (i) The 1 s.pers.pron. is generally spelt y, but retains the old ending from OE ic, in agglutinated forms before verbs : - a SW feature (see Jord. § 79. Anm.4. - also Wright EDG.

403 (a), where Dorset, Somerset and Devon are mentioned as having agglutinated forms ).

- (ii) The OE 2 pl.prons. ge (nom.) and ēow (object) are retained, and spelt 3e and 3ow respectively : their use is not only pl. but is extended to the s., where they stand in both nom. and object cases beside pou nom.s. and þe acc.& d.s.
- (iii) Both m. and f. 3 s.pronouns are written he in this text. Both the acc.,d. and g. form of the f.3 s.pronouns, and the 3 pl.g. are written hur(r)(e) predominantly, with herre, a few times. See Disc. 3.(iii)
- (iv) The neuter pron. 'it' is spelt hit.
- (v) The 3 pl.pron. 'they' is written þey, with 2 examples of þay (1074, 1092), and one þe (667). The acc. 3 pl. is hem.

(c) DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS:

The s. form þis appears regularly for 'this', with pl. written þuse - apparently a W. spelling of earlier WS þeos -, levelled into the nom.pl. from the d. and g. (see Cam. § 711): þat appears regularly, with pl. þo 2X (123, 132).

(d) THE NOUNS:

These appear, generally, with the pl. marker -s : e.g. clothus (311 etc.), wekes (412), preyours (349). The old weak -n plural does appear, in a few words, however; e.g. hosen (1067), deu3tren (121 etc.), venen (511), shone (1067), sustren (296 etc.). Certain words have no plural inflexion, probably because the plurality is felt to be sufficiently indicated by the context, or by a preceding numeral : see Comm. 1.9. on bisshoperiche pl. wynter appears 4X in the pl., without inflexion, similarly, and so, 3ere many times, beside 3eres 1X (158) and 3erys 1X (181). The mutated vowel - original in men, brethren, and fete, newly formed in wemmen (see 1.12.(i)) - provide sufficient pl. markers, still, in certain words. The g. marker, s. and pl., is -s : e.g. angels 1080, Goddus 53 etc. In the phrase heuene blys (403 etc.), the g. precedes blys and has assumed an almost adjectival quality : the same is true in the phrase 3erde ende (1002).

DISCUSSION.1. THE ey-spellings:

The development of the eME diphthong  $\bar{e}i < \bar{e}$  before g and h  $> \bar{i}$  (see Dob. p.667, § 140(b)) for the development of  $[Ic] > [Ij] > [i:]$  is regarded by M.Serjeantson as a dialectal feature, centred in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Shropshire, and spreading thence into neighbouring districts (certainly Gloucester) in lME : see M.Serjeantson, The Dialects of the West Midlands, pp.196-7, RES vol.3. 1927. The reliability of this feature in indicating, roughly, a W. provenance, is diminished, if we are to regard the loss of the spirant (a feature of the language of this text : see below) as characteristically Eastern ; so Dob. p. 667, § 140(b).

Whatever their significance, the spellings of the words 'eye', possibly 'lie' (y.), 'high' and 'nigh' indicate a development to  $[i:]$  . They occur in four categories : (a) with diphthong and following spirant ; ey3. (b) with diphthong ; ey. (c) with the new monophthong and following spirant ; i3, y3, (d) with i/y(e) alone. For the word 'eye' there are two examples both showing (d) the latest development : ynon lX, yenon. The infinitive of the verb 'lie' likewise, appears only 2X, spelt lye (presumably levelled from the present tense lege-).

From 17 examples of 'high', 9 are spelt hey3e, (a), 3 are spelt hey(-) (b), 4 are spelt hy3e, hi3e (c), and one appears as hye (d). Out of 8 occurrences of 'nigh', ney3e (a) appears 3X, ny3e (c) appears 4X and nye (d) occurs lX. As we might expect, the conservative spellings are overwhelmingly more common than the new, phonetic rendering, and we should note that a rough 70% of the forms above retain the spirant, while an approximate 60% are ey-forms.

Other material decisively indicates the monophthongization of  $\bar{e}i$  and loss of spirant in these words by showing that the (e) y(3) graph for  $[i:]$  in this type of word has been analogically extended to other forms (see Dob. § 140 for this type of variation) . In words with OE i/y before h the ey-spelling occurs lX in sey3t (n.1. 711) beside sy3t, lX in dey3t (inf. 789), beside dy3t, and lX in afrey3t (ptp. as a. 354). The ey-spelling is a generalised alternative in 'light' n (with ME i from OE  $\bar{e}(o)$ , shortened and influenced by palatal umlaut), where there are 5 examples of

ley3t, beside many y-forms. The verb (< OE, lihtan), similarly, is spelt ly3t 2X and ley3t 1X (ptp. 996). The verb 'hie' has 5 examples of ey-spellings beside only 3 with y : presumably the analogy of the adjective has operated particularly on this word.

The ey(3)-spelling used in sev3th(on) (adv.) 2x, beside seythe 1X (<OE siððan), and why3t a (647), beside 4 i/y-forms (< OE hwit) serves (a) to indicate the non-phonetic quality of the spirant ʒ and (b) to illustrate that ey(3) can represent both long and short i in this text. So, we have OF ui, reduced, and with the probable value [i(:)] (see RhymesA2) OE y in neynche (720) < ynce, and OE i in feysse n (335) and possibly a-neynne (see Comm. 444) and Cheyster 62 \*: These forms should indicate that ey in a word with OE i, as whey (adv. 1032), beside why (1034) and possibly in feynde (n. 3X) (< \*fīend), is to be related to words like 'high' rather than to the Great Vowel-Shift : cf. Dob. § 137, note 2(b).

There are some other ey-spellings, which represent ME ē - or e, possibly, in some examples, by shortening before a stop in a monosyllable - and should be considered separately from the forms discussed above. These are (n)eytte pts.(334) with OE æ<sup>1</sup>/ē, deyth(e) n. 417 etc., deyffe a 599 (beside deff 884), with OE ēa, fleysshe n (3X) with OE æ<sup>2</sup> and seylden adv.(335), with OE e, possibly lengthened before -ld. There is one occurrence of the inf. of 'see' spelt seyne 909, but this appears to be an eye-rhyme on a3eyne (907). feynde, mentioned above, possibly has a vowel [i:]. Apart from this word, then, the ey-spellings in this group represent a slack sound; and possibly they could be considered as evidence for monophthongization of ME ai (spelt ai, ei in this text : see I. 2. v., I. 3 (v), II 6.) to [ʒ:] . See Dob. § 225 and following.

2. -ou3-, -au3- and -3- :

We have seen evidence for the disappearance of -3- medially in discussing the -(e) y(3)-spellings. There are, in addition, numerous examples of medial -3-, included not only after -ou-, -au-, where h caused a back glide to be thrown off before it in ME (see I. 6 (v), I. 8 (iii), I. 14. (ii) for examples), but in non-etymological position, regularly in

\* Either ey represents a short e here, as possibly in deyffe : see above, or this is i by raising of e before a dental (Dob. § 77(b) (ii)).

(a) bou3t adv. & prep. with OE  $\bar{u}$ , and in dou3te n (279 etc.), prou3t a (154 etc.), rou3t inf. (156), stou3te a (984) - with OF u. OF au appears 2X, on either occasion, with  $\bar{z}$ , in fau3t (n) (721), and defauu3t (n) (638). This last is a simple back-spelling on ME au < OE  $\bar{a}$  + h(t) (cf. why3t analogical on dy3t etc. - the following -t-, here, as there, is probably a factor in bringing about the analogical change on words like brou3t, rau3te etc.). The -ou3- spellings for [ou] and [u:] are a little more complicated, since we would expect an analogical spelling to be based on an identical pronunciation.

The isolated spelling wrou3t a 273, suggests that our scribe was moved by a mechanical habit, imprinted by writing forms like dou3ter n, wrou3t pt. of 'work' (so, ll. 605, 974 etc.), to put u between o and -3t-, the late graph for [θ]/[ð] (see III.10).

Possibly in the forms with OE and OF  $\bar{u}$ , cited above, he has succumbed to the same tendency, and, equally without regard for phonetic representation as in wrou3t, has placed -3- between -ou- and -t-, although ou is an AF graph for [u:] in these examples.

In fact, it is possible that there was even some phonetic basis for the -ou3- spellings in scattered examples, at any rate. Dobson (§ 170) gives a good amount of evidence for the late monophthongization of -ou- by the velar spirant which created it in common words like 'thought', 'daughter' etc

3. THE SPELLINGS AS DIALECTAL EVIDENCE:

1. (i) A non-N. provenance is indicated by the o-spellings for OE ā (see I (8)(i)).
2. The language has the following W. features:
  - (i) OE y is spelt u as well as y/i. The latter spellings predominate, and the indications are that u is, by now, only an orthographic survival of an earlier pronunciation, as in murgure (comp.a.) beside mery. See l. 5.(i); and see Disc.1 and Rhymes 2 for neynche.
  - (ii) OE eo is spelt u occasionally. A predictable pattern is to be seen in these spellings : the u-forms cited in ¶.16. are the only examples representing the short diphthong, which would have been unrounded first (Mossé §30). In addition to the two examples cited in l. 18.(i), dure(lyche) a (adv.) occurs, and puse possibly represents OE eo : see Spellings V(c). A back-spelling for AF e in churen (756) beside chere elsewhere, indicates the value of the sound : see Rhymes A3.
  - (iii) The forms of the pronouns he, hur(r)e (herre).
  - (iv) The interchange of t and d and the g-spellings for k (see III.(i).) It is difficult to know whether the t-spellings are back-spellings reflecting the change of t to d, or whether the d-forms represent a change of d to t. Possibly a voicing-tendency is illustrated here, since in the case of g and k there are no instances of k-spellings replacing words with g. Some sort of confusion between t and d, as here, is, at any rate shown by the evidence of Wiltshire place-names (PNW. p. xxi), and the Gloucestershire place-names show unvoicing of t (PNG. 40 (a) p.74). In addition, a W.Midland tendency to unvoice d and g is shown by spellings in Gawain and the Green Knight (ed. I. Gollancz, EETS. 210. London 1940. See pp. 1 iii - 1 iv).
3. The evidence for a value [i(:)] in words with OE ȳ, and [e(:)] for OE eo, shown in (2), indicate a relatively late date for the text, if it is Western. Also to be noted as providing evidence for a late date, are the change of er > ar (l. 3(ii)) and the elimination of the spirant -3-. While this could be characteristic of an Eastern area it is certainly not early (see Disc.1. Dob. § 140(b)).
4. Some features are characteristically SW : these are:-
  - (i) The verb-forms with agglutinated 1 person pron. (see V (b)(i)).
  - (ii) The development of u > e in tenucles : see II. 13. note.

- (iii) Possibly the lowering of e > a in -nasse beside -nesse, -nyssse : see IV and Rhymes 5.
- (iv) Possibly some e-spellings for i ; but this could be a feature of late scribal practice : see I. 4.(i)
- (v) While we would expect evidence for voicing of initial f - as a SW feature, there are only very faint and dubious indications of such a tendency. Initial f - is spelt thus, except in the single occurrence of fanyssede (pts. 650) and of fexst (ptp. 315).
- (vi) The bathe and sate forms mentioned in l. 8.(i) should be mentioned here, as possibly representing a SW - or late EME - tendency to unrounding of o, but again, the evidence is very dubious, and it is probable that these represent palaeographical errors. The only other example possibly showing such an unrounding is wrochede a (460) - which could well have a palaeographical confusion of o with e. It should be noted that Wright (EDG. p.689) gives a pronunciation [raetʃ] for 'wretch' in parts of Shropshire and Kent, and in Dorset and East Devon. The spelling here is more probably an a-form rounded after wr- (see Dob. p.718, §194, note 3) than a back-spelling o showing a general unrounding to a.\*

5. Certain points preclude the language being purely SW. and indicate borrowings by the author, or the influence of a later scribe. These are:-
- (i) The o-spellings for all the examples of OE ae + breaking and lengthening-group with -ī : the forms (y)-tolde(n) for the pt. of 'tell' occur, in addition to those cited at l. 2.(ii).
  - (ii) The Midlands -e(n) pr.pl. ending and the Midland wolle forms, consistently, for 'will' (see VIXii).
  - (iii) The apparently Mercian or Kentish derived isolated e-spelling for 'was', in westo (530) - see l. 2.(i).
  - (iv) The e-spellings for WS īe/nWS ē, whether after a palatal or subject to i-mutation : see l.19.(i) & (ii). 3ytte lX is a possible exception, but is, anyway, an ambiguous case : see Rhymes 7.
  - (v) The u-spellings in the unstressed syllables : see IV.

\* The material in (vi.) does not constitute sufficient evidence for regarding the almost universal o-spellings of OE a/o with following nasal, as back-spellings indicating a dialectal unrounding of o, since these o-spellings occur only within a certain class. See Provenance.

- (vi) The appearance of certain forms which are either not native to the SW, or do not appear there at all, according to Samuels' isoglosses \* - notably þaw for 'though', ony for 'any', and the pt. forms of 'see' with a, confined to the more Northerly Midlands. See Provenance for a discussion of this language in relation to Samuels' maps.

\* M.L.Samuels : Some Applications of English Dialectology  
ES 44. pp. 81-94.  
Linguistic Evolution. Cambridge 1972.

4. THE RHYMES.A. PHONOLOGY.

1. OE ā rhymes regularly with OE ō and with OE o in open disyllable : e.g., bo: to (41-3), bore: þore (115-17). This indicates that the text is not N. \*1.
2. A value [i] is to be concluded for OE y. This rhymes 2X on OE i : knylle : tylle (826-8) and syлле : tylle (750-2) : that is, assuming syлле < 1 WS syllan (Cam. § 77(b)) rather than having a vowel i by raising of e > i before -l + con (Dob. § 77(b) 2). There is an assonance of geyntte on neynche (OE ynce) ll. 718-20, where again an [i] value is indicated for y if we assume that the falling ui - diphthong in geyntte (in the group of OF diphthongs < L. and Germanic ō and u, tonic and counter-tonic before j) underwent a fairly common ME development, whereby a shift of stress caused lengthening of the second element, with accompanying reduction of the first element to consonantal form, thus: [wi:] (see Dob. § 263). See Disc. 1. for ey-spelling representing [i(:)] . The rhyming of OE y + h with OE i + h in afrey3t : ley3t (354-61) and of OE y and i in lengthening consonant-group (mynde : fynde ll. 617-19) beside a single rhyme of OE ȳ with ī in pride : abyde (290-2) provides more evidence for an [i:] value for OE ȳ. This indicates that the text is moderately late if it was written in the West, where u < ȳ was unrounded late.

Note. The rhyme duste : luste (1035-7) apparently involves a contracted form < OE dydest, with OE y rhyming on OE u. \*2.

While Jordan suggests that the u-value for OE y was preserved longer under low-stress (Jord. § 42) it is more likely that the old orthographical habits were retained longer in the most familiar words : cf. the u spellings for the unstressed syllables, the pronouns and words with OE ēo (see Disc. 3. & Rhymes 3) in this text.

- \*1. It is not relevant to the provenance to argue as to whether the rhymes of slack and tense ME ō are exact, based, for instance, on raising or lowering in various positions (Dob. §§ 145-158). It is a fact that such rhymes are a common feature of ME verse, and it is by no means unacceptable that they should not be phonetically matched (see English & Germanic Studies, II. 1948-9. A Note on Havelok the Dane. G.V. Smithers. pp. 1-9.).
- \*2. If the form duste is a palaeographical error for \*dydust, \*dyvdust then the theories presented above would not apply, since the stressed lust, whatever its quality could rhyme on an unstressed [əst] sound.

It is possible that duste here is of the type of SW and N. forms cited by Dobson (§82. note 2.) probably descended from OE u < low-stressed y. Alternatively u in duste could have been affected by the N or SW tendency for u > i/e (Dob. §96: cf. tenukles Sp. II.13. note). It is more probable, however, that lust here represents a variant [i]-form, analogical on the verb: cf. the rhyme, at ll. 810-12, of lest (= lust) on OF prest, where it appears that either a SE form with e is involved (analogical on the SE development of the verb lystan) or that of the vowel in lest is [i], and rhymes on a raised vowel in prest (according to an eME raising of e > i between r and a dental: (see Dob. §77 (a)).

3. OE eo is shown to have become e by its rhyming on lere (inf.) ll. 274-6, on bere (adv.) ll. 855-7 - and on dure (754-6) - spelt chure, in what is evidently an eye-rhyme.
4. The quality [i] for the unstressed syllables is apparently indicated by the 6 rhymes of the pl. -es ending (spelt -ys in these examples) on ywys (24-6, 29-31, 34-6, 387-9, 978-80, 987-9). Such a value would be in accordance with what we should expect in a text written in or after the late 14th century (see Dob. §93). But we can only draw very tentative conclusions from these rhymes, in view of the rhyming of ywys with us (390-2), on was (539-41) and on the OE suffix -nesse (947-9), -nyssse (914-16). It appears that there must have existed an unstressed variant of these words, in [əs]: possible explanations other than this, however, should be mentioned here, and below. We could, for instance, explain the ywys : us rhyme as due to the SW and N change of u > e (see 3), or as based on a form of ywys with rounded vowel [u] after w (cf. woman, I. 12. (1)).
5. The rhyme of ywys on was, mentioned in (4) above, leads us on to discuss the significance of rhymes involving was in this language. It rhymes again on OE i at ll. 1047-9 : ys : wys. It is possible to postulate a raised variant for wa<sup>e</sup> (cf. wes(to) as a spelling) such as would characterise a West Midland or SE text - or imply a Northern or London ME dialectal raising of a > e (see Dob. §59. Note 2). In such a case, ywys and ys would presumably be lowered under weak stress to [e]. In fact, the evidence of the rhymes, although offering possible grounds for assuming such a raised variant of 'was' lead us, on the whole, to assume some inaccuracy in the author's rhyming practice, or a general value -[əs] in this word and other low-stress forms like -ness : was rhymes:

- 1). 2X on OF e spelt a in abbas (n) (281-3, 854-6).
- 2). 1X on OE ea in chas. pt.s. (177-9).
- 3). 1X on OE ae shortened in lasse comp. a. (329-31).
- 4). 1X on OE e/i in godenesse (233-5).
- 5). 14X on OF a (321-3, 248-50 etc.).

Although abbas appears to be an eye-rhyme, involving the phonetic value [e], it should be noted that it occurs 15X spelt a, and rhymes 2X on OF a in open disyllable; on place n (574-6), and space n (577-8): (see comment on 3ade, below, to refute the possibility of the Great Vowel-Shift having operated to turn ME ā > [ɛ:]). It is possible that the author was influenced, in his use of this word, by the L. form, which would appear in the hagiographical texts. Otherwise, if we still seek to explain the rhyme as accurate, it is possible that e has tended to be lowered to a in this language: according to Wright (EDG § 51) e developed normally to a in certain areas, notably Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Dorset, Somerset. Then the rhyme of was on godenesse (4) could also be explained: cf. too the rhyming of clannasse on place (222-4), where the suffix appears, again, to have a value [a]. The same phenomenon can be observed in the spellings, where heuvnasse appears, 1.343, and lustynasse: clannasse (318-20) where, since the rhyme is inter se, there should be no need for the a-spelling. If we do allow the possibility of such a tendency, then chas is more easily explained, as having a lowered vowel a < e shortened in early ME in a monosyllable with final consonant (Dob. § 30). Possibly we should allow for analogy operating here, on the pt.s. with ME a in OE strong verbs IV and V. The obscure form 3ade pt.s. 'go' (1076) rhyming onymade pt.p. (1074) could possibly be explained in the same way, as having e shortened under weak stress > e and lowered to a. Rhymes of ME ā with a short a; e.g., vnsadde: made (209-11) preclude our assuming that the rhyme y-made: 3ade indicates that ā in y-made > [ɛ:] by the Great Vowel-Shift. If we rule out the evidence for e becoming a sporadically in this language, then 3ade might be explained as due to shortening of ō (in \*3ode) under low stress, > o, with a subsequent unrounding to a - found in the SW, and in colloquial speech in the E. Midlands and SE. see Dob. § 87, and notes; and cf. I 8 (i) and Provenance.

Certainly the rhyme prest: lest (sup.a.) ll. 326-8, is difficult to explain except as inaccurate: last rhymes elsewhere on OF a

in past (413-15) and 4X on OE ae (410-12, 724-6, 1007-9, 1050-2) which makes any theory of a Mercian-derived form unacceptable. If we consider this example of the author's inaccuracy, and remember also, the rhymes of ywys with the -ness suffix (see 4), it is probably best to conclude a general chameleon value [ə] for low-stressed forms, which enabled them to rhyme in almost any position.

6. Dialectal distinctions cannot be drawn on the basis of rhymes of ME ē/ē WS ae/nWS ē with other sounds, in this text, even if we were to rule out the possibility of inexact rhymes of slack and tense ē - a very dubious move - and followed Dobson (Dob. § 106-26) in assuming any apparent rhyme of ē on ē could be explained, by postulating (a) an isolative raising of ē > ē (b) a decided tendency of ē > ē before dentals and before r in eME, beside a contrary tendency for LME ē > ē in that position - and at any period, if low-stressed - we should find equally inconclusive answers. While OE ae/e rhymes both on apparently slack and tense ē, the vowel is followed, in almost every case, by a dental or r, which could theoretically cause raising with or without subsequent lowering.

7. No conclusive evidence is to be drawn from the rhymes involving WS īe / y / nWS ē, either, whether this would have been caused by i-umlaut or by a preceding palatal.

For the i-mutated forms, stele (n) rhyming on welle (adv.), ll. 289-90 and 3ere : here (v) (262-4) apparently represent nWS mutated forms. The rhyme syxste : nexst (423-5) appears to involve a WS ie - form; but the important factor of raising of ME e and lowering of i has to be kept in mind, with these shortened forms : cf. the spelling sexe LX for 'six' (55). There is, too, always the possibility of cross-analogy between the positive and comparative adjective in nexst - this ambiguity is present in the other rhyme, nexst : fexst (313-15).

The same ambiguity is present in the case of the forms with initial palatal. The undiphthongized Mercian type is apparently represented in leue (n) : 3eue (231-3). In the 3 rhymes involving 'yet', the WS type seems to be represented 2X, in a rhyme on OE y in knytte 1178-80 (for the value of y, see Rhymes A2) and on OE i in hit (10-12), and the Anglian type LX in the rhyme fete : 3et (482-4). It is possible, however, that the first two examples represent a shortened ē in monosyllable with single final consonant, subsequently shortened between

initial [j] and following dental - a standard environment for eME raising of e to i (Dob. § 77(a) iv.).

Whatever the significance of these rhymes, it seems that nWS forms are at least included - an indication that the language of the author was not a pure SW type.

8. In connection with the rhymes potentially involving raised ME i or lowered ME e, three rhymes of OE i and e should be noted : style : telle (398-400). inne : wynne (n) (947-9), inne : amen (1107-9). While there is obvious uncertainty as to whether i has been lowered or e raised (if the rhymes are exact) it is, on the whole, probable that e has > i in telle, wynne and amen, according to the LME raising of e > i, before l + consonant, or before a single nasal (Dob. § 77(b)). For the rhyming of pyne and inne see Comm. 1.893.
9. OE o / a + single nasal, is found rhyming on ME ō in the word mon, 'man', at least. It rhymes on OE ā at ll. 294-6, 955-7, and 730-2, on OE ō in done (inf) (spelt mone) ll. 791-3, and on ON a assimilated to OE o in vpone (197-9). These rhymes, although giving no general picture, since they are confined to one word, suggest a value o for this OE sound, just as do the o-spellings (see Disc.5 (Provenance)). The rhyme done : vpone (866-8) where done is the adv. < OE dūn is probably inaccurate, although it can be compared with the rhymes in (10) below.
10. OE o / a followed by nasal and consonant, in original homorganic lengthening-group rhymes on OE u + lengthening group 2X, in honde:- on sounde (823-5) and grounde (827-9). There is also a rhyme of londe on unstressed u + nd in Edmunde (101-3). The only other rhyme involving this type of word is that of honde on fonde pt.s. (843-6). A quality [u] is indicated, at any rate, for the OE u-forms, y-funde and sounde, by two rhymes on OF u in tombe (671-3, 896-8).
- If these rhymes are accurate, then they could be explained as possible because of a shortening of lengthened OE u, before a consonant-group (which, although it would formerly have lengthened the preceding vowel, could operate in LME as a shortening-group) and a subsequent lowering to o (according to a change probably prevalent in the North and S.West : see Dob. § 97 and Note 1.). Alternatively, lengthened ō in honde and londe could have > ū, either by a little-attested ME change, parallel to e > ī (Dob. § 136) and probably occurring mainly in the W.Midlands. (Dob. § 158 and note 4) - or by the Great Vowel-Shift .

By 1500, tense [o :] had probably become [u :] (Dob. § 156) : after 1500, forlæn [u :] is replaced by ME o, not u (Dob. § 157).

Of course, we should expect a simultaneous diphthongization of u ; yet it may be, that while they were phonemically distinct, the new sounds were not very different, phonetically, and could rhyme more permissibly than OE o and u .

11. Either a W. Midland provenance (see Disc. 1) or a relatively late date is indicated for the language, by the rhymes which show [i:] for eME [e:ç]: in 'high' and 'nigh'. The former rhymes 1X on Purgatory (with AN -ie) ll. 504-6, and 1X on y (pers. pron.) ll. 433-5. It also rhymes 1X on prye (prs.) (435-7) which rhymes again on lye (inf.), ll. 438-40, and appears to have a vowel i from the OF pr. tense: ney3e rhymes 1X on Awdre (958-60) with a final consonant of doubtful value : although it rhymes 1X on hertlye (adv.) at ll. 963-5, it is otherwise involved in rhymes on slack e, apparently : see below (12).
12. The rhymes involving 'Audrey', must be taken as either having variants e and i in final position, or rhyming inaccurately. It rhymes 2X on ME e; on fre a (606-8) and be pers. pron. (1027-9). It rhymes also on day 2X (927-9, 937-9) and on away (923-5). It would be too far-fetched to suppose, on the grounds of the rhymes quoted in (11) that ME e in fre and be had been shortened to [i] under weak stress (Dob. §§ 4 & 120) and that OE e + g had developed to [i :] in this language (Dob. § 137. note 2 (c) and Wright EDG § 64). The rhyme syde : lyde (ptp. 'lay' apparently) ll. 103-5 is the only example of support for such a theory - the OF forms like cyte are the only other type of word rhyming on ai < OE eg , which otherwise rhymes on ai, < OE ae + g, and of OE and ON origin. It is probable that lyde, 1.1035, has been conveniently, if incorrectly, confused with the intransitive 'lie'. The rhyme fayle : Corunwayle (96-8) should be mentioned in this context, as possibly should a3eyne - seyne (inf.) ll. 907-9. Corunwayle should have a second element derived from -wealas, with ME e : the quality of e in seyne is debatable (Dob. § 106-26) but if a3eyne represents a diphthongized form, then the rhyme is significant. Certainly, in view of the rhymes of OE e + g with other ai-diphthongs, we must expect them to have had the same development (see Wright, EDG. § 64) - and the evidence inclines rather to this being [3(:)] (Dob. § 225 & foll.).
13. The evidence is, that although final OF -e should, according to Dobson (Dob. § 275) have been assimilated to i < ig in ME,

this has not occurred in the language of the text. The words involved are cyte (rhymes lX on see 62-4), prosperite (rhymes lX with he 18-20, and lX on he (f). 561-3), trinyte (rhymes lX on ME, 434-6, lX on he (m) 214-16, and lX on fre 1103-5) - and virgynite (which rhymes lX on fre 234-6 - and lX on day 232-4).

14. The rhymes delyde : Egryde (170-2), tyde : dispitte (286-8) should be mentioned as possibly illustrating the same voicing of t or unvoicing of d as is shown in the spellings : see III.1.(i). In fact both examples could well represent assonances.

THE RHYMES.B. MORPHOLOGY.

1. The infinitive only retains the -n ending in some examples of the familiar and monosyllabic verbs with final vowel, 'be', 'do', 'go', and 'see'. So, beside one example of 'be' with an -n suffix in the rhyme clene : bene (254-6) there are many examples of be, rhyming on words without final -n - e.g., ll. 86-8, 214-16, 278-80, etc. Similarly, the infinitive of 'see' has final -n lX in the rhyme a3eyne : seyne (907-9) by rhymes of se with me, ll. 690-2, and 1043-5, and with 3e (481-3): 'go' rhymes lX on the pt.p. of 'do': y-donne : gone 926-8, beside a rhyme on to (prep) ll. 1019-21. 'do' in the infinitive has final -n in the rhyme mone : done: 791-2.
2. The one rhyme involving the pr.pl. has the s. ending -eth in thengeth(rhymes with strengēb) (110-12).
3. The pt.p. has no final -n except in the verbs 'do' and 'go'. In the former y-donne appears regularly: e.g. ll. 409-11, 429-31, 597-9 etc.  
Forms without final -n do appear however : e.g. go : do 1030-2 : ydo : to (759-61), po : ydo (1062-4).  
The pt.p. of 'go' has -n in the rhyme y-gone : stone (613 : 15).

THE PROVENANCE.

The evidence, so far, indicates of the original language, only that it was, non-Northern (Rhymes A.1), Southern (Rhymes B.2) and probably late (Rhymes A.2, 3, ll : B.1.) - and insofar as we can judge, that it was mainly Western. A clearer picture can only be gained by a comparison of particular forms with Samuels isoglosses in ES 44, and L.Ev.

First, those forms indisputably in rhyme, and hence not susceptible to later alteration, are seye (pts. of 'see', rhyming on 'away' (710-12)), per-tylle (in rhyme 251-3, 342-4, 750-2) and self (rhymes lX on XII 181-3). These forms, together with the personal pronoun he for 'she',\*<sup>1</sup> the pt.p. of 'give' with vowel e (y-3eue\*<sup>2</sup> appears 2X in St.Eth) and the neuter pron. 'it' with initial h- (the only form in our text)\*<sup>3</sup> could all be included in area in Dorset and S.Wiltshire.

The fact that all these forms except self and y-3eue fit into a coastal area between Aldeburgh and Colchester, should be noted : the fact that this district has pauh for 'though' (so St.Eth. þaw 2X: & see Map 2 p.82 ES 44) and in-to meaning 'until', alone in the country (this occurs 2X in St.Eth. ll.36, 945) would provide grounds for supposing that this were the area of provenance, for our text, were it not that self is included in a rhyme. In addition, the native forms of 'much', 'such' and 'any' \*<sup>4</sup> - meche or moche, swich or swech, and eny, for the most part, do not occur at all in our text. Even if we were to suppose that a SW scribe had overlaid the original language, writing hit for hyt, muche for moche, etc., the -eth pr.pl. ending suggests a more Southerly provenance, and those verbs with agglutinated 1 pers.pron. (see Spellings V (b)(i)) do appear to be an integral part of the original text.

\*1. he rhymes on the inf. of 'be' (278-80, 338-40) and on fre (478-80). The rhymes are not unassailably conclusive, since he and sche have the same vowel; but the unvarying spelling he in St.Eth. suggests that this form was common to both author and possible copyist. See p.115 L.Ev.

\*2. This spelling is confined to an area covering Wiltshire and Dorset (Map 9 p.92 ES 44) - and is a non-standard form.

\*3. The type hit which appears in St.Eth. is native to the S.Wiltshire-Dorset area, while hyt is found in the East Coast area isolated above. See p.101, L.Ev.

\*4. See Maps 4 & 5, p.86, & Map 6, p.90, ES 44.

If we assume a S.Wiltshire - Dorset provenance for the poem, then the spellings seye, y-3eue, he, hit, -tylle can be accepted as original forms with the spellings native to that area. The form þaw still remains a problem, being confined to an area of the W.Midlands, embracing Herefordshire, Shropshire, and E.Worcestershire and Staffordshire. It is only in the Shropshire - Staffordshire area that a form with w, þawgh - comparable to our þaw - appears. Perhaps we should consider þaw as evidence with the unvarying suche - an extreme SW, and W.Midland form - muchē (lX beside myche 3X, meche lX - presumably 'Wycliffite standard' borrowings : see Samuels' article) and self (see Map 7. p.90, ES 44), which while it occurs in the Wiltshire - Dorset area, is only a by-form, with sylyf, and occurs as a main form only in the more Northerly area up from Herefordshire in the west, and Suffolk in the east.

None of the four forms just mentioned are 'standard' forms in the Midland, Wycliffite language, and are hence of the more value as dialectal criteria : it is possible to regard them as the work of a West Midland scribe.

Such a copyist, if he came from Staffordshire, might be responsible for the o in ony; Samuels notes it as a variant in Derbyshire and Staffordshire - although it is otherwise acceptably interpreted as a 'Wycliffite' borrowing (see Map 6, p.90, and p.85 ES 44).

The Eastern o in words like ony and con (for 'can'pt.pr.in Cely Papers) are probably to be explained by a specific development of a > o under low-stress : see A.Kihlbohm, A Contribution to the Study of 15th Century English. Uppsala 1926 : pp. 122-5.

Possibly the rhyming of mon on OE ǫ (Rhymes A.9) should be regarded as involving a low-stress variant of the word (A.Kihlbohm quotes the example (jentyll)mon) and should not be connected with the other o - spellings for OE a/o + nasal.\* These could be considered, perhaps, as an extension of an E. scribal habit, based on a dialectal tendency to retain o before n in the West Midlands. It should be noted that Wright gives only Derbyshire and Staffordshire as having o in all the following words: any, can (prs.), man, many, pan, stamp. (EDG § 30).

\* It can be recorded that Wright records a pronunciation mon for 'man' in the modern Wiltshire dialect (EDG p. 520).

If we accept Dorset and the extreme south of Wiltshire as the area of provenance of St.Eth., and explain the West Midland features as introduced by a scribe, this fits very well with the evidence of the spellings, with general W. characteristics, having notably South-West features (Disc. 3. 4.) and other, apparently Midland forms (Disc. 3. 5.).

Certain points which may indicate that the MS was copied from an exemplar, should be noted. These are the corruptions at ll.204, 589-90 (see Comm.), and the inclusion of an extra line at l.723.

There are several omissions of lines in the MS, which are written at the foot of the page (see Description of the MS), and there is the spelling ronne pt.p., to rhyme with benne, at ll.477-9, below a rhyme of renne (inf.) on pen, 474-6.

See Description of the MS for the language of the additional piece, ll.1110-31.

THE TEXT.

Italics (indicated here by underlining) mark an expansion of a MS abbreviation.

Emendations are included in square brackets, and the MS form is noted at the foot of the page.

When two elements are written as one word in the MS, but have been separated in the text, they are connected by the sign <sup>⌒</sup> written above the line. A hyphen is used to connect words written separately by the scribe, but apprehended here as a compound.

The scribe has observed the medieval spelling-conventions (a) of writing u and v alike as v initially, u medially, and (b) of writing initial i and j as capital I. In this text (a) has been preserved, but not (b), where modern usage has been adopted.

The modern conventions have also been observed in the case of capital letters generally. The scribe's use of these is not altogether consistent, and he occasionally employs a capital form where we should not look for it, while at other times omitting a capital in a proper name.

Modern punctuation has been adopted throughout.

VITA SANCTI ETHELDREDA ELIENSIS.

1. [S]euene kyndamus with-inne þis lond somme-tyme þer were, 265r(260)  
And seuene kyngys with-inne hem þere regnede also,  
þe wheche streuyn & werryde euer y-fere,  
Til þe sixe kyndamus to þe kyndam of Westsexe weren knyht to.
5. þe kyndam of Kent first conquered hit was  
By Hengestus and Orsus his brother dere,  
And so of Kent none other kyng bot Hengestys þer nas,  
þe mountenesse of two and thretty full 3ere.  
And with-inne þat kyndam twey bisshoperiche þere were,
10. Who-so wolle in story rede or se hit,  
þe archebisshoperyche of Canterbury & Rouchestre y-fere;  
And ry3t in þe same manere þey ben þer 3ytte.  
After þe Incarnacyon for s.o the hit was,  
Foure hondreth 3ere fyfty & fyue weren went
15. Or duke Hengestys hadde my3t or grace  
To ben made þe kyng of Kent:  
& thre hondreth & ay3ty & sixsty 3ere  
Hit stode euer styllle in his prosperite,  
Till kyng Egbert of Westsex hadde wonnon hit with were,
20. For bothe kyng of Kent & Westsex þe first was he.  
And fyftene kyngus regnede after þere,  
From Hengestis to kyng Egberde, as ychaue redde,  
þe wheche kepton hit euer alle holle y-fere,  
Tille kynge Aldrede was, by Egberde, put ou3t & dedde.
25. Sowthesex þe secund kyndam hit was,  
þe wheche dured bot a litylle while, y-wys,  
And Elle þe first kyng of Sowthesex was, by grace,  
& regnyd þere, he & his thre sonys.  
þe threttythe 3ere after þe comyng-in of Hengestys
30. þe kyndam of Sowthesex toke his bygynnyng, as ychaue redde,  
And fyue kyngys þere regnede after, y-wys,  
& þe sexsth kynge was putte ou3t & dedde.  
þe kyngdam of Estsex þe thrydde was þo,  
In [þ]e whyche regnede ten kyngus, y-wys,
35. From þe first kyng þat regnede þere, his name was Segeberto,  
In-to þe commyng-inne of þe Denmarkys .  
Vpon þe est-syde þis kyndam hadde þe see;

18. stode MS stade

34. [þ]e MS ye

- Vpon þe west syde þe contrey of London, y-wys,  
Vpon þe sowthe syde þe water of Temse hadde he;
40. Vpon þe northe syde Sowthefolke, þe story saythe þis,  
þe fourthe kyndam Westsexe was y-clepte þo;  
þe whyche nas neuer 3et y-wonne, y-wys,  
Till Willyham Conquerour þis lond come to,  
And 3et in gret asperite stondyng hit is.
45. Vpon þe est syde Sowthesex he hadde, y-wys,  
And vpon þe northe syde þe water of Temse hadde he.  
Bot vpon þe sowthe syde & þe west syde, as hit y-writon ys,  
Forsothe hit hadde þe grette Sowthe-see;  
In þe whyche kyndam furst regnede kyng.
50. þe gode duke Cerdyke, as ychaue redde,  
With his owne sone, syre Kynerynge.  
þuse tweyne kepton þat kyndam tulle þey were dedde.  
In þe fyuehondreth & þe ay3tethe 3ere after þat Goddus sone was  
bore,  
þis kyndam of Westsex toke furst his bygynnyng,  
55. & sey3th wonne þe toþer sexe kyndamus to hym, with strong werre & son  
By grace of þe kyngys þere so welle gouernynge.  
þe kyndam of þe Marche þe fyueþe was,  
þe whiche was þe greste kyndam of hem alle y-fere:  
þe greste kyndam of alle hit was in space.
60. Kyng Penda was þe first kyng þat regnede þere.  
þe lymytys of þis kyndam þey strey3then, y-wys,  
From þe water of Dee, on þe west-syde Cheyster, þat fayre cyte,  
Doune by þe water of Seuerne, þe whiche by Shrewysbury rennyng is,  
And euene to Brystowe in-to þe Sowthe-see.
65. And othe sowthe syde, euene by Temse, to Londone rau3te he;  
And on þe northe syde by þe water of Humber hit come, with-ou3t fayle  
& strey3th so forthe sowthewarde, to þe water of Mercie,  
Euene in-to þe west see, fast by Corun-Wayle.  
In þe sixehundryd 3ere & sixe & twenty forsothe hit was
70. After þat Jesu of his modur Marie was bore,  
þat kyng Penda wonne þat kyndam to hym, by case,  
Of þe Britones, þe wheche weron kyngus þer byfore.  
Abou3t two hundreth 3ere sixsty and thre,  
þat kyndam stode in grete prosperite, as ichaue redde,
75. Vndere þe gouerneille of ay3thetene kyngus fre,  
In-to þe tyme þat Kyng Colwolfe by þe Danys was put ou3t & dedde.  
Bot kyng Egbert wonne þat kyndam, at þe last,  
And to his kyndam of Westsex he hit knytte,

- And ou3t of pat kyndam þe Danys ou3t thraste; 266(261)
80. And so to þe kyndam of Westsex y-knytte hit is 3ette.  
 þe kyndam of Northumbrelonde þe sixste kyndam was,  
 þe whiche vpon þe est syde, & also vpon þe west syde had þe sowthese  
 & vpon þe sowth syde of Humbre hit last doune a gret space,  
 By þe hendys of Dērbyshyre & Nōtyngamshyre to þe water of Mercye;
85. & vpon þe north syde þe mere perof y-strey3t ys,  
 Euene in-to þe scottysshe grete se,  
 þe prouynce of Deyre & of Bernice with-inne pat kyndam þey ben y-wys  
 In þe whyche þe Pictis weron y-wonte to be.  
 þe Danys also dwelton þere long, with-ou3te ony dou3te,
90. Tylle kyng Athelstone, pat dou3ty kny3t,  
 Draffe all þe enmyus pat weron in pat contrey, ou3te,  
With strong batelle, & with gret my3t.  
 Bot þe seuethe kyndam, of Estenglonde was, y-wys,  
 þe whiche conteynede Northfolk & Sowthefolke, botwo,
95. þe whiche hathe on þe est syde & on þe north syde, as hit y-writon  
 is,  
 þe see o compas, euene Cambrygeshyre to;  
 & on þe west syde Edmundus-borwe forsothe hit is,  
 & on þe sowth syde Hertfordeshyre & Essex also.  
 þis was þe compas of pat litulle kyndam, y-wys,
100. Inne þe tyme when Englonde was dypartyd so,  
 Ten Englysshe kyngus regnedyne, ychone after other in pat londe.  
 Bot euery kyng werred with other, fulle fast,  
 Bot when þe Danys hadden y-slawe seynt Edmunde  
 þey dwelleden per hem-self þo a-last,
105. Tille Edward senior, pat worthy kny3t,  
 Draffe þe Denmarkys ou3t of pat londe,  
 & wonne hit to þe kyndam of Westsex with strenght & my3t,  
 And alle his lyue-dayes hult hit in his honde.  
 Bot of þuse seuene kyndamus now wolle y nomore 3ow telle,
110. By-cause pat þe processe is of gret lengeþ,  
 Bot of a kyng pat perinne somme-tyme dude dwelle;  
 Somme-what to 3ow of hym to speke we thengeþ.  
 In þe sixsthe hondryde & sixste 3ere pat Goddus sone was bore  
 A worthy childe was y-bore in Estenglonde þanne,
115. þewhiche was kyng afterwarde, euene þore;  
 And pat childus name was y-clepte þo, Anne.  
 Bot afterwarde, when he was y-growe to monnus age,  
 of Est-englonde he was y-cronyd þere kyng,  
 & a wiff he weddede, of hye lynage.

120. A gode woman he was, & off gode leuynge,  
 & bi hurre he hadde þre deu3tre & nomo,  
 þe whiche weren wemmen after of gret honour.  
 Etheldrede, men clepten þe ton of þo,  
 þe whiche was y-clepte afterwarde þe shynynge flour.
125. Sexburga þe tothere men clepte also,  
 þe whiche quene of Kent afterwarde wase.  
 Bot blessude virgyns þey weron in 3outhe boto,  
 & in hurre age fullyche forthe-fult, þorow Goddus grace.  
 Bot Adelburga þe thred was clepte þo, y-wys;
130. A full blessude virgyn he was also,  
 For ou3t of a blessude rote þis mayden y-sprongone ys,  
 For þis blessud mon kyng Anne was fadur of alle þe,  
 þe whiche kynge Pende, þat heretyke, slow, with falsnesse;  
 & so he slow his brother, Adelhere with wrong also,
135. & so bothe þey weron marters in þat case;  
 & þat holy mon, kyng Ine, sones þey weron bothe to,  
 Bot Etheldrede, his dou3ter, he maryede or he were dedde,  
 & his dou3ter Sexburwe he maryede hym-self, also,  
 Bot whether his dou3ter, Adelburwe, were mariede, yna not redde,
140. For y my3t not come hurre story in no plase to.  
 Bot anone after þat þis mayde Etheldrede was of age  
 Hurre fadur & hurre modur gouernedede hurre fulle wysly,  
 & 3euen herre anone after þat in-to a hey3e mariage,  
 To a worthy prynce, þe whiche dwelt in þe contrely ny3e h[e]m by.
145. Men clepten þat prince Tonbert þo:  
 At þe toune of Peturborwe was his dwellynge,  
 & of alle Gyrw-ys londe he was prince þo,  
 þat now is clepte þe valey of Petursborwe, with-ou3t lesynge.  
 þis prince Tonbert was a mone of gret honour,
150. & lord & syre of mony a gret toune,  
 & rychelyche endowyd with castelle & toure,  
 & a worshipfulle prince, & a lorde of gret renoune,  
 & a fullevertwys mon in leuyng, forsothe he was,  
 Meke, trewe and chast, & no-thing in hert prou3t,
155. & a monfulle inou in tyme of nede in euery place,  
 For non enmy abou3t hym þat tyme durst rou3t.  
 þis mayde þat prince weddede in-to his wyff,  
 & dwelt alyue with hurre, ny3e 3eres thre,  
 And louede hurre as durelyche as his ownelyff,

160. And kepte fulle clene hurre virgynyte. 267r(262)  
Bot somme-what byfore þre þere þis prince Tonbart,  
As þe story dothe vs bothe wryte & mene,  
Dyede, & his soule from his body dude departe,  
& lafte his wyff alyue here, as he was bore, a mayde clene.
165. þen was he wedow & also clene mayde, y-wys,  
& long hadde be wyff also, byfore þat.  
Hurre fadur, þe kyng fulle welle þo conseyuede þys,  
& þo a-nother gret mariage to hurre he gate;  
For he þaff hurre, sone after, to a fulle worthy kyng,  
170. þe whiche to monfullnesse hadde fulle gret delyde.  
He weddede þo þat mayde, þat semely thyng,  
& his name was clepte þo, syre Egfryde.  
He was bothe sone & heyre to þis worthy kyng Oswy,  
& kyng of Northumbrelonde he was also.
175. A fulle worthy kny3t he was, & a fulle dou3ty,  
& a ful semely mon of persone he was þerto,  
& a fulle holi mon in leuyng also, sothelyche, he was,  
& louede ry3t welle to serue his God, bothe day & ny3t.  
Bot with a fulle gode wylle þat mayde to his wyff he chas,  
180. & louede hurre ry3t welle with alle his my3t.  
& so he dwelt with his wyff þerys XII,  
Bot for alle þat he was euer a clene mayde,  
& þerof he was wittenesse hym-self,  
For to seynt Wilfride þus þo he sayde;
185. 'Syre Wylfride', quade þe kyng; 'on thyng now hertly prey y þe,  
For y knowe well þat 3e mow do þat of ony mon best.  
'Conselle my wyff, þat he wolde be here-after, to me,  
Bothe meke & myelde, & eke honeste.  
For he hath ben XII þere now with me,
190. A full clene mayden, as 3e fulle welle done knowe.  
Bot ry3t gret 3yftus, Wylfride, ychulle 3eue þe,  
To turne hurre hert otherweys; 3if þat 3e mowe,  
For an heyre y cholde fayne haue bytwenes vs two,  
To enheyrydde owre heye heritage;
195. A childe or tweyn, 3if God wolde þat hit shulde be so,  
Now, in owre bothe 3ong freysshe age'.

- Bot þen seynt Wylfrydē, þat worthy mon,  
Of þuse wordus he toke ryȝt gode hede,  
& full sone þo lokede þis holy mayde vpone;
200. Forto speke þuse wordus to hurre he hadde grette drede,  
For he knew þæt maydyns hert ryȝt welle,  
And alle hurre purpose he knew welle, also,  
þat he nolde not abeye to suche werkus, neuer-a-delle;  
For no conselle þat hecouthe or myȝt ȝeue herre to,
205. For he knew ryȝt welle þat þat holy blessedde mayde  
Was euer full stidfast, both in hert & þouȝt.  
But þen anone to hem bothe he vnswerede þus, & to hem sayde,  
'Syrus, se ȝe not ryȝt welle þat þis worlde nys nouȝt,  
Bot euer fals and fyculle & ryȝt vnsadde
210. To alle hem þe whiche trustone þerto?  
Wherfore let vs here serue clene þat God þat vs hath made,  
Styll in clannasse, as we herebyfore algatus han do,  
And purchese we to owre soule þat heyȝe heritage;  
þat we myȝten in heuene clene maydenus y-cronyd be..
215. For, forsothe, þat is to vs most a-vantetage,  
To haue owre heritage in heuene, with God in trinite  
Wherfore, ordeyne we þer in heuene owre dwellyng,  
& þat owre soule may be þere owre heyre,  
In þat blessud ioy, þe whiche hath non endyng,
220. And dwelle among þe angelis, þe whiche ben þere so bryȝte & feyre.  
And gode syre, lette vs kepus here maydenus clene,  
& serue here owre God euer in clannasse.  
For mayden-hode is a ryȝt gode mene  
To bryng vs vp to þat blessude place.
225. A full feyre abbay of maydenus, my lord so dere,  
Is here nyȝe byside vs, as ȝe welle knowe;  
And ȝour owne aunte, my lorde, is abbas þere,  
And seruyd God bathe nyȝt & day with hert fullg lowe.  
Bot wolde, ȝe, my lorde, now ȝeue me leue
230. To dwelle þere in þat abbay, & serue God þer, for aye,  
My maydenhode, syre, yshulde nowe ȝeue  
To hym þat made bothe nyȝt & eke day,  
For he is welle & founder of alle godenesse,  
& of mayden-hode, & of clene virginite.
235. And euer, with-ouȝt bygynnyng, with hym hit was,  
And with his blessud angels fayre and fre.

- For of a mayde Jesu for vs was y-bore,  
And toke monkynde in vrthe here alowe;  
And ellus owre soules hade ben forlore,
240. Wherefore, to 3eue hit to hym, hit were ry3t welle by-towe.  
And for-by-cause pat he louythe so well pate order, y-wys,  
Of clene mayden-hode, as ychaue 3ow now y-sayde,  
A feyrre lyf, forsothe, my lord, non pere nys.  
Wherefore, gode sire, graunt me to don as ychau 3ow sayde.'
245. pe kyng stode styлле po, & spake ry3t nou3t,  
Bot thonk God heylyche, of his gret grace,  
And conseyuede hit ry3t well po in his pou3t,  
And know hit ry3t welle also, pat no better lyf per nas,  
Ny no-thing more plesyngur to goddus wylle,
250. Non to kepe hem-self, for Goddus sake, maydenus clene.  
And in his hert anone po consendyd pere-tylle,  
To 3eue suche leue to Etheldrede, pe quene.  
And anon to seynt Wylfride pis worthy kyng sayde po;  
'Take pou my wyff, syre Wylfride, pis mayde clene,
255. And professe hur to religiose; for graunt ry3t welle perto,  
Sey3th hit wolle by no wey non other-weys bene.'  
And Wilfride was in his hert po ry3t well a-payde,  
And pongede God perof ofte & fele sythe;  
And professede he in-to pe abbay of Coludi, po, pat holy mayde.
260. Bot he perof po was full gladde & eke fulle blythe,  
And mynychyn he was made at Coludy po anon, y-wys,  
Bot he dwelt per litull more pen an 3ere.  
And he encressede euery day in so grete godenesse,  
In gode leuyng, as 3e shulle here-after well here.
265. A vertwys leuer he was euer, byfore pat tyme, y-wys,  
And gode werchus he wolde euer hurre-thongus werche,  
And as ferforthelyche as he couthe he nolde neuer do amys,  
Bot he louede euer ry3t welle God & Holy Chirche.  
Pore men he louede also euer ry3t welle,
270. And wolde fulle feyne hem bothe clothe & fede.  
And to alle gode workus he was fulle swefte & snelle;  
And also seyntus lyues in boke he wolde fayne rede.  
Fulle gladsom he was & neuer was he wrou3t:  
Among lordus in dalyans he was of fulle myelde chere.

275. Bot what mater pat he spake of, he nold swere non othe,  
And iche mon towarde godenesse he wolde fayne lere;  
Ny in hurre aray he nas neuer prou3t,  
Bot clanliche in hurre clothyng, as a quene ou3t to be;  
Ny of wordeliche dyseyse he nadde neuer dou3t,
280. Bot what pat euer God hurre sende, mekeliche God perof thonged he.  
Bot when he in pe abbay of Coludy mynchyn made was,  
By pe gouerneyll of seynt Wilfride, as y sayde ere,  
pere as hurre sustre, dame Hebbe, was po abbas,  
Bot pere he abode not lytull more pen on 3ere.
285. Bot alle-bette pat he had ben quene of pat lond a litille byfore,  
Folle mekeliche he wolde abyde in pe quere, at euey tyde.  
And alle-bette he were a kyngus dou3ter, of quene y-bore,  
3et hadde he neuer pe rathere no pore creature in dispitte.  
As trewe he was euermore, as ony stele,
290. And meke & myelde with-ou3ten ony pride.  
pe seruyse of almy3ty God he louede so welle  
pat he wolde perinne euer hurre-thongus abyde.  
He leuede pere as clene as angell bry3t,  
With ry3t gode louyng hert to euey mon.
295. He sessede neuer, nowther day ny ny3t,  
To serue well God & to plesse hurre sustren euerichone.  
Bot hurre godenesse encresede euey day:  
Hurre gode leuyng was spoken of in londe full wyde,  
& for hurre vertwys leuyng pat he vsede in pat abbay,
300. Seynt Wilfride nolde not let hurre per no lengur abyde;  
Bot anone he was choson & made abbas po,  
In-to pe abbay of Hely; for in pat contrey he was y-bore;  
And pat abbay was made for hurre loue also;  
& seuene 3ere after pat hit was bulte, he dwelte pore,
305. In muche worshippe and grete prosperite.  
Bot after pat tyme pat he had vpon hurre take  
pat worshippefull state of abbas dignite,  
All wordelyche lustes full clene he dude forsake.  
Bot after pat he was made abbas pere,
310. Wyth-inne pe yle of Hely, in pat fayre abbay,

- Lynyn clothus werede he þere neuer,  
Bot wollen clothus, both nyȝt & day.  
Bot an here he werede euere hurre body next,  
Vndur hurre worshipfull clothus, of herre honeste.
315. With gret knottus of here, hurre fleysse was fext;  
& thus he kepte hurre fleysse so freyle from jolyte.  
Ny hote bathis, forsothe, he nolde take none,  
In hote water of fleysshelyche lustynasse.  
Bot thre tymes in a ȝere hit was hurre wone
320. To wasshe hurre body þen for clannasse,  
Aȝeyne þe heyȝe worshipfull fest of Pasce,  
& aȝeyne þe fest of Pentecost, & of þe Epiphanye.  
Euery ȝere hurre wonne hit was,  
Thus to ben y-wasshe thrye,
325. In presence of hurre sustren alle -  
For euere to mekenesse he was prest.  
Bot when hurre sustren hadden y-wasshede hem alle,  
þen wolde he hurre-self be wasshe lest,  
So meke and myelde, forsothe, he euere was,
330. & euere so clene, in worde and dede,  
þat he ȝaff gode ensampull to more & lasse,  
In gode leuyng hem-self euere to lede.  
By full pore meytus he lyuede, y-wys,  
& no day, forsothe, he neytte bot ene;-
335. Bredde & ale, & fulle seylden feysse -  
And þus he kepte hurre body fulle lene.  
And euery nyȝt sothely, in hurre owne stalle,  
First at mayteynys he wolde þere be,  
And mekeliche clepe vp hurre sustren alle.
340. þus meke, & þus myelde, foraothe, was he.  
To bedde, forsothe, he nolde go after mayteynys, nomore,  
Bot in hurre preours he wolde abyde þere, fulle styllē,  
Bot ȝif gret heynasse of sekenesse sore  
Gretlyche constreynede hurre þer-tylle.
345. And so in gret abstinaunce, forsothe, he leuede.

346. Off meyte and drynke, and eke off clothynge,  
347. For all hurre lust to God he 3euede;  
348. He seruede hym euer,with all hurre my3t, to his plesynge.  
Bot as þis blessude virgyn satte thus in hurre preyours, vpone a ny3t,  
350. Alle hurre-self, in hurre stalle,full preuely -  
And in a sconsce he hadde hurre candelle with hurre ly3t -  
Bot þe cursede feynde come þedur þo & blew hit ou3t sodenly.  
And when hurre ly3t was þus sodenllyche from hurre agone,  
3et satte he stylle, ry3t þere, ful sore a-frey3t.  
355. Bot þen, to help hurre-self, he couthe non other wone,  
Bot preyede to God, of his grace, to send herre somme ley3t.  
And anon as he hadde to God hurre preyours þus sayde,  
To hurre þere þo apparede fulle sodenliche an angelle bry3t,  
To help and comforde þer þo þat blessud mayde.  
360. And anon a3eynne hurre candelle dude he þo ly3t,  
And sayde, 'maydyn, have 3e no drede of þis foule creature,  
For God hathe ordeynede me, mayden, keper of the to be,  
And to be þy help, þy keper, & þi gouernoure.  
Wherfore, from alle his weketnesse, ychulle, mayden, kepe þe.  
365. And when seynt Audre had herd þis angelle þus speke, þore,  
And also hadde y-seye with hurre ynon þat gret ly3t,  
And hadde in þou3t þe gret derkenesse þat he had y-seye byfore,  
He thongud God & þat angelle, with alle hurre my3t.  
þen knew he in herre hert þo ry3t welle,  
370. þat hit was a feynde þat blew so sodenlyche ou3t hurre ly3t,  
And also þat þere wase y-sende from God a bry3t angelle,  
þat sone tende hurre candell a3eyne, by Goddus my3t.  
He þongede God þo mekeliche of his benigne grace,  
And hertlyche he blessedede his powere, & eke his my3t,  
375. And euer after þe better wommon, forsothe, he wase,  
By-cause þat he hadde y-sey3e so þere þat merueylle sy3t.  
& he louede God in hurre hert euer full welle,  
& mekeliche seruede hym with gode werkus, day & ny3t,  
And 3aff to pore pepulle, for his loue, mony & meylle,  
380. & fulle warme clothyng also fulle oft for his loue hem dy3t.  
Forsothe, so well belouyd was he with God  
þat an angelle come to hurre vpone a ny3t, þer as he lay,  
& tolde hurre what tyme he shulde be dodde,  
And þas ou3t of þis worlde away.  
385. And afterwarde vpon a day, fulle stille he stodde,

353. Sodenllyche MS sodenlylyche.

Among hurre sustren euerychone,  
And wyth semely chere & myelde mode,  
þus to hem þo he made hurre mone.

'My dure sustren,' quade he þenne, 'my deuþtren alle,

390. To þowe þe sothe y telle now, y-wys,  
A pestelens, sustren, wolle hastely among vs falle,  
And take away he wolle a certeyn of vs.  
þen shall y dye & ouþt of þis worlde paþ,  
And mony a-nother also shall passe forthe of þow,

395. And þe shalle haue after me, to þour abbas,  
Sexburwe, my sustre, for þat ryþt welle y know.  
And sixstene wynter my body shulle lye  
In þe vrthe, þere as þe shall leyge hit full styll.  
Bot what men wolle do þen þere-by,

400. Y nyll þow no-thing now þerof telle.  
Bot Wylfryde shalle passe ouþt of þis worde, some after, y-wys,  
& Sexburwe shalle lyue þet lengurre here.  
Bot Wylfride soule shalle come vp to heuene blys  
With-inne þe fourtythe day after þe sixstenethe þere.

405. Bot when syxstene þere ben fullyche y-past, & no lasse,  
My body y-translatudde sone after þat shalle be,  
& Wylfride shalle sone after of þis worlde passe,  
& come vp to heuene þen, & dwelle with me.'  
And ryþt as he sayde, hit was afterwarde y-donne.

410. þat tyme hyede þo sone after þat, fulle fast,  
And a moreyn come in-to þat abbay after þat welle sonne,  
And sixe wekes, forsothe, hit þere last.  
And nyenne maydenus, þat tyme, forthe past,  
As þis blessude virgyn, seynt Awdre, hadde y-tolde hem byfore,

415. & of alle þe maydenus, he hurre-self was þe last.  
For after þat [ ] he was dedde, at þat tyme þey dyeden nomore.  
Bot byfore hurre deythe, þe fyuethe day,  
He toke hurre leue at hurre sustren on this monere,  
And sayde, 'My sustron, haue þe gode day,

420. For ychall not leue longe after þis here.'  
In þe last ende of þe fyuethe & bygynnyng of þe syxste,  
Among hurre sustren, full styll he stode,  
And sayde, 'Forsothe, y shalle be þe next  
þat shalle now passe forthe to God.

425. And at þis tyme shall dye nomo  
Bot y my-selfen now, at þis tyme, y-wys,  
For God hym-self hathe grauntede me so,

416. ... After [ ] pat MS After þat þat

- pat þey shall come euene wyth me, in-to his blysse;  
For by þat tyme hurre penance shalle alle ben y-donne,  
430. And clene ou3t of Purgatory þey shulle be brou3t, also,  
And mete with me, after my deyth, þey shulle, anon,  
And vp to þe blysse þey shulle with me þen alle go.  
þus[1] bysilyche to God for hem preyede have y,  
pat þey my3tyn euene come vp to blys with me,  
435. & dwell with other crowde maydenus in heuene an hy3e,  
In presence of þe blessude trinite.  
Bot on thyng my dure sustren y 3ow pryde;  
pat 3e wolde bury me, ry3t as my ordre ys,  
& amonge my sustren let me lye;  
440. For treweliche, so my hole wylle hit ys.  
And let make a litulle chest of tre,  
And put 3e my body þere with-inne.  
And, dure sustren, so bury 3e me  
Among my sustren here a-reynne.  
445. And settuth no cost abou3t me for a tombe  
Bot gode preyors, & almys-dede.  
Bot alle pat 3e wolden spende abou3t my tombe,  
Y prey 3ow pat 3e wolden pore men clothe & fede.  
And þen in-to hurre chambre with pat, he went  
450. With myelde chere, & hert fulle meke,  
& after seynt Wilfride fulle sone he sent.  
And after meyster Cynfrey he sende þo eke,  
And when þe messengerus comen, & hurre herunde sayde,  
þey heyden hem fulle faste, & comen hurre to.  
455. And in hurre chambre þey founde þat blessude mayde,  
þe whyche, with myelde chere, welcomede hem þo,  
& sayde:- 'Syres, 3e ben ry3t welcome to me.  
For now my lyff, dure syres, is brou3t nye to anende.  
For y shall leve no lengur þot dayes thre:  
460. And þen ou3t of þis wrochede worlde my soule shulle wende.  
Cynfrey, a gret swellyng abou3t my throte þer is,  
þe whiche dothe my body now at þis tyme grette wo.  
Were hit y-broke, & þe mater ou3t y-renne, y-wys,  
To my body, as me þengup; myche eysse hit wolde do.'

465. þuse wordus he spake, forsothe, to mayster Cinfrey, þe thridde day,  
Byfore þat hurre soule ou3t of þis worldde passte. 271(266)  
Bot þo hurre leche, þe whyche was clept meister Cinfrey,  
þen in his hert, full sone after þat, he hym cast  
To aperce þe skynne þo, with a launset,
470. And lette þat fole humour ou3t of hurre body passe,  
In hope þat he shulde þen fare þe bet,  
And haue penaunce myche þe lasse.  
And þen a wel grete yssu he made þer, y-wys,  
To let þe foule humour ou3t of hurre boyche renne;
475. In hope þat he shulde a farede þe better, he dude þis,  
And made þat yssu gret & hoge þere þen.  
And when þat humour was ou3t of hurre boiche renne,  
þo myche þe ley3t-somere, forsothe, was he .  
Bot sone after þat, in litulle slombryng of slepe he felle þenne,
480. And a graciose sweuene mette þo þat mayde fre.  
A semeliche mayde hurre semede þat he dude þere se,  
Stondyng ry3t at hurre beddus fete,  
þe whiche sayde, 'Etheldrede, how is hit with 3ou now: slepe 3e?'  
'Nay, sothely, ma dame,' quade he, 'y nam not a-slepe 3et.'
485. 'Hedur now Goddus sonne of heuene to 3ow sende me  
To tell þe þat þis swellyng, þe whiche is þy nek abou3t,  
For penaunce of synne was now y-sende to þe,  
For þe synne of þi 3onge age, when þou were wyldē & prou3t.  
For when þou were a childe of 3ong age,
490. Forsothe, in þyne hert þou were somdelle prou3t,  
Boþe of þy bewte, and of þy worthy lynage.  
And ryall colers of golde þou wereduste, þy nek abou3t.  
For gaynes & pryde forsothe hit was,  
þat þou weredust suche ryalle colers þo.
495. Bot Almy3ty God knowþ ry3t welle of þat cas,  
& forto quenche þe synne of þat, þis penaunce he sende þe to.  
For Goddus sonne, þe whiche was of Mary y-bore,  
Takup now ry3t gode hede þerto:  
& suche gret penance he sendyþ þe þerfore,
500. Hennus ou3t of þis worlde or þat þou go.  
For þou shuldust byfore þy deyth ry3t so clene here be,  
þat þow shuldust haue no nede to go þorwe þe fyre of Purgatory,

- Bot come to heuene anon, with puse maydenes fre,  
pe whiche shall come with pe, vp to heuene an hey<sup>3</sup>e.'
505. And when pat mayde pus hadde sayde, posodenly he vanysshede away,  
And pis blessud virgyn, Awdre, a-woke po, of hurre slepe,  
And anon he tolde pis sweuene to Wylfride & Cynfrey.  
Bot when Wylfride hadde hit herde, for very joy anon, he wepe.  
po pis blessude virgyn heyede to hurre deyth fulle faste;
510. And Wylfride seruede hurre of hurre sacramentys alle,  
And he anon pen hurre yenon vp caste,  
And by name he clepte forthe hurre sustren alle,  
And toke hurre leue at hurre sustren per, euerychone;  
And at seynt Wilfride & at Cynfrey he toke hurre leue, also.
515. Bot all pey full sore pen wepton & made gret mone;  
For mony a sorwefull hert was per among hem po.  
Bot when pis blessude virgyn, seynt Awdre, dude dye,  
& hurre soule past vp to pe blysse of heuene,  
Abou<sup>3</sup>t hurre pen, gret ley<sup>3</sup>t per pey sye,
520. And angels pey herde syng, with mylde steuene.  
A fulle solte flauour pey feltone pere po,  
Alle pat weren per po in pat place.  
And a full gret ley<sup>3</sup>t pey sey pere po, also,  
And gret melodye also of angels also per po was.
525. Bot when pis blessude virgyn was pus forthe paste,  
Hurre blessude soule vp to God in Trinite;  
And in a trene chest pen was y-cast  
Hurre semelyche body, so fayre & so fre.  
And pey buryedone hurre in pat sameplace,
530. Ry<sup>3</sup>t as hurre owne wyll westo.  
& sixstene wynter per-inne he was.  
pe story of hurre spekuth of nomo.  
Bot hurre soule from hurre body past furthe, y-wys,  
pe thre and twenty day of pe moneth of Juny,
535. And at Hely pe first abbas he forsothe was,  
In [p]e 3ere pat God was bore, sixe hundryd & sixsty.  
And after herre, pat abbay stode styлле, in gret prosperite,  
And a gret noumbre of holy maydens dwelton perinne,  
A hundryd 3ere & foure & fyfty, as 3e mow rede in store,

521. s[ol]te MS sate.

536. [p]e MS ye.

540. Tyll þe Danys come hedur wyth gret host þis lond to wynne, 272(267)  
Bot þe Danys distreydone þat abbay full clene, y-wys,  
& drevyn away þuse maydenus þenne euerychone,  
Tylle Edward seniour kyng of Englonde y-coronyd was.  
For he reparede þat abbay aþeynne in his tyme, euery stone.
545. And chanonys he stallede in-to þat abbay þo,  
þe whiche dwelton þere, tylle kyng Edgar was bore.  
Bot blake monkus he put in-to þat abbay þo,  
þe whiche han dwelt þere styll seythe euer-more.  
And when þis blessede virgyn was thus forthe y-past,
550. Hurre soule to heuene blys, as y sayde þow ere,  
þen was hurre sustre Sexburwe y-made abbas, in gret hast,  
And thre and twenty þere was per gouernere.  
þis Sexburwe was King Annys douþter, þat holy marter,  
And kyng Herconbertys wyf he was also,
555. þe whiche was kyng of Canterbury & dwelt þo þere.  
And abbas of Hely he was made when deythe had take Herconbertys  
hurre fro.  
Bot twey deuþtren he hadde by kyng Herconbertys, y-wys:  
Ercongote & Hemendylda þuse maydenus weren y-clepte þo.  
Bot Ercongote with hurre modur to Hely y-gon ys.
560. And after Sexburwe, hurre modur, nexst abbas he was also,  
And thredtene þere gouernede þat abbay, in gode prosperite.  
A holy blessud virgyn, forsothe, þis Ercongote was:  
And þere þet, fulle worshipfullyche, y-shrynyd þet ys he,  
Fast by hurre modur at Hely, in þat holy plase.
565. Bot Hemendilda, þe whiche Ercongotys sustre was,  
To Wulfery, þe whiche was kyng of þe Merche, was mariede anone.  
þe whiche was abbas nexst hurre sustre, in þat same plase,  
When Wlfry hurre hosebonde was vp to heuene agone.  
þis Wlfry was kyng Penda, þe heretykys, some,
570. And þe first criston kyng of þe Merche he was also.  
And by Hermendilda, his wyff, he hadde twey deuþtren & a sonne.  
[W]erburwe & Milguyde weren þe namys of þe madenus two;  
Bot [W]erburwe, nexst after hurre modur Hermendilddede  
In þe abbay of Hely was y-made abbas.
575. Bot Hermendilda, hurre modur, byfore herre þere dwellede  
Sixstene wynter, & abbas was þere, in þat same plase.

- Bot [W]erburwe nas not abbas per bot litull space;  
For at Chester somme cronyculle sayn pat he 3et ys.  
Bot hurre sustre, Mylguyde, twenty wynter was per abbas,  
580. And in pat plase hurre bones 3et ben, y-wys.  
Bot pus foure ladyes ben y-shryned 3et, forsothe, pere;  
Etheldrede, & hurre sustre, Sexburwe, & Ercongote, hurre sustre  
dou3ter also,  
And Heremendilde, hurre sustre, is y-schryned also pere.  
And of seynt Albon's relekes per is a shryne 3et mo.  
585. Now wolly stynt of Sexburwe here more to wryte or or rede,  
& hey3e me to my mater, y-touchyd here byfore,  
Of pis blessude virgyn, seynt Etheldrede,  
And of Se[x]burwe, as at pis tyme, nylle y speke nomore.  
Abou3t pe tombe of seynt Awdre oftymes, forsothe, per was  
590. Mony gret ley3tys ofte-tymes per y-seye,  
And meche swetnesse of swete sauour was oft felde in pat plase,  
To what mon pat to pat plase come, other by ny3t or by day.  
Mony seke men hadden pere hurre hele,  
& restoryng of hurre lemys pey hadden per, also,  
595. And blynde men & crokyd, mony & fele,  
pe whiche pedur come, holle & sounde pey went perfro.  
And mony a meracle byforen hurre tombe per weren y-donne;  
And seke men weron per y-helyd, monyonne.  
Mony pat came pedur bothe deyffe & doume,  
600. Holle & sounde pey wenton home ponne.  
What ry3twys bone, forsothe, pat ony mone badde.  
Of pat blessude virgyn, Etheldrede,  
His wille, forsothe, after anone he hadde;  
Or of what monere sekenesse pat he of hurre his hele bede,  
605. So mony meracles God per po wrou3t,  
By-cause of pis blessude virgyn, seynt Awdre,  
pat to seynt Wylfride, & to Sexburwe, hit come in pou3t  
To make a tombe of ston, to ley in hurre body fre.  
Bot pat contrey was lowe & mersshy, watery londe,  
610. And with watrys & marrys y-closot all abou3t;  
And gret scasenesse of stonys per was, yche vnderstonde.  
Wherfore, to seche a ston in ferne contrey pey senden men ou3t.  
Bot pen, when pus men hadden ry3t wyde y-gone,  
porow-ou3t alle pe contrey, in yche syde,  
615. 3et my3t pey not fynde non sufficiant stone,

577. [W]erburwe MS Merburwe.

588. Se[x]burwe MS Selburwe.

- Bot comen hom a<sup>3</sup>eyn & tolden so seynt Wilfride.  
Bot seynt Wylfride bare hit still in his mynde,  
And preyed to God, somme grace of hym to wynne;  
Suche a ston in þat contrey sum-where to fynde,  
620. þis blessud body to leyge with-inne.  
And anon after, as seynt Wylfride ley in his bed, vpone a ny<sup>3</sup>t -  
Bot he nas not fulliche <sup>3</sup>et a-slepe, -  
Hym þou<sup>3</sup>t þat he sey an angel fulle bry<sup>3</sup>t  
Stondyng at his beddus fete,  
625. And þat with hym come a ry<sup>3</sup>t gret ly<sup>3</sup>t.  
And holy Sexburwe, forsothe, also he hurre-self sayde  
þat þe same tyme, he sawe þylke same sy<sup>3</sup>t.  
Bot Sexburwe thou<sup>3</sup>t hit was a semely mayde,  
And also þat he come þedur with gret ley<sup>3</sup>t;  
630. Bot he spake on worde to hem bothe.  
Bot Sexburwe, when he hit seye, was sore agast;  
& hurre þou<sup>3</sup>t þat he sayde: 'y nyll, Sexburwe, do þe no lothe,  
Bot knowe <sup>3</sup>e welle þat sixstene <sup>3</sup>ere ben fully past,  
And God wolde my body were vp of þe vrthe y-take,  
635. And y-putte in-to gretter worshippe, y-wys.  
And also, Wylfride, þou shalt hastely þe worde forsake,  
& come vp to me in-to heuene blys.  
Bot <sup>3</sup>if <sup>3</sup>e spare, for þe defau<sup>3</sup>t of a stone,  
To take vp my body, þat hathe ley in þe vrthe sixstene <sup>3</sup>ere,  
640. y-chulle tell <sup>3</sup>ow redily where <sup>3</sup>e shulle fynde one.  
And also y-chull help <sup>3</sup>ow þat hit were here.  
For þer is a litulle toun in þis contrey, ney<sup>3</sup>e here byside,  
þe whiche, somme-tyme, a fulle fayre cite hit was,  
Of þe whiche þe walles ben broke, þe <sup>3</sup>atys ben wyde;  
645. Bot þe compas of þat toun is full gret space.  
And byside þat wall þere leyth a fulle fayre stone  
Of gode marbull, þe whiche is why<sup>3</sup>t and clene,  
Sufficiant y-now to reseue my body, euery bone.  
Ry<sup>3</sup>t þus hit is as y <sup>3</sup>ow say: <sup>3</sup>e witte welle what y mene.'  
650. And with þat, þis blessud lady fanysshede from seynt Sexburwe a-way  
And þe angel from seynt Wylfride wanyssede away, also.  
þey reson vp þo anon after, for hit was þen ny<sup>3</sup>e day.

- And Wylfride come to Sexburwe anon after pat po,  
And tolde hurre his vision po pere, euerydelle;  
655. How per come & spake with hym an angelle bry3t.  
'Forsothe,' quade Sexburwe, 'to me per come a mayde, & pe same  
wordus he dude me telle,  
& abou3t hurre, in my chambre, was gret ly3t.'  
'Forsothe,' quade Wilfride, 'now y-chotte welle, and am ry3t sure,  
pat hit was seynt Awdre, pe whiche come to pe;  
660. For he sayde, while he lyuede, pat anon, after sixstene 3ere,  
pat hurre Translacione some after pen shulde be.'  
Bot pen seynt Wylfride send forth after pat, ry3t anon,  
Meyster Cynfrey, pe whiche was seynt Awdre leche,  
And prey3ede hym pat he shulde hym-self forthe gone,  
665. pe litull toune pat pe mayde spake of forto seche.  
And pey tolden meyster Cynfrey po anone  
pe vision, pe whiche pe sey ri3t as hit was;  
And preyeden h[il]m pat he shulde fast gone,  
And seche pat toune, tyll he hit hadde, from place to plase;  
670. And 3erne walke abou3t pat litull space,  
Euermore, tyll he hadde pat ston y-founde,  
Of pe whiche, 3if God wolde 3eue hym suche grace,  
To make perof, to pat mayden, a tombe.  
Bot Cynfrey went forth po anone, vpon his way,  
675. And other thre wise m[en] with hym went mo,  
Till hit was vpon pe secunde day.  
pis litull toune pey come po, by goddus grace to,  
A litull byfore pe merke euenynge.  
Wherfore pey pou3t pey wolden dwell per alle ny3t,  
680. 3yff pey my3ten here pere ony tithynge  
Of pis ston, porwe Goddus grace & my3t.  
Bot on pe morwe, when hit was clere day,  
pey reson vp full smertlyche po euerychon,  
And pou3ten pat pey wolden passe forth vpon hurre way,  
685. Abou3t all pat contrey, to seche pat stone.  
Bot Cynfrey past forthe po, by an olde walle,  
And 3erne he sou3t abou3t pere, in pat mortyde.

668. h[il]m MS hem

675. m[en] MS mon

- Bot at þe last he saye where a ston lay, as whytte as  
whall,  
Leygyng þer, a litull hem all bysyde.
690. 'A brethren,' quade Cynfrey þo, 'me thengub y now 3onde se  
A fayre stone, y-shape ry3t welle þerfore.  
Comethe hedur, y 3ow prey all, now, with me,  
For þis ston was y-she-wyd to me here, byfore.  
For treweliche, by visione, to-ny3t, þer come to me
695. A semely man, þe whiche was of gret age.  
His berde was feyre & whyte, his body was fre,  
Forsothe he hadde a ry3t fayre vy3age:  
A kyng me pou3t hit hadde y-be,  
Or ellus a mon of fulle hey3e þarage.
700. And þuse wordus he sayde þo to me,  
Opynliche, in oure owne langage,  
'Cynfrey,' quade he, 'þou hast ferre & wyde y-gone,  
Alle þis contrey wyde all a-bou3t,  
Forto seche a fayre marbull stone;
705. Lowe, where a fulle fayre stone leythe, with-ou3t dou3t.  
Loke vp,' he sayde, '& se hit with þyn ynon ry3t welle,  
For lowe where hit leythe, byside þe 3ondere walle,  
Kyndliche y-wrou3t for hurre, euerydelle,  
Redy to resayue hurre clene body now alle!'
710. And with þat worde, anone, he past forthe away,  
Clene ou3t of my sey3t þethon, anone,  
& y loked hym þo after; & me pou3t þo þat y seye  
Leygyng ry3t here þis same stone.'  
And þey kneled one a-doune þo þere, euerichon
715. And thongude God þo, with alle hurre my3t,  
þat 3af hem grace to fynde suche a stone,  
For hure body so mete & so clene y-dy3t.  
For þat ston was well y-graue, euery geyntte,  
þat holy body to close alle holle with-inne,
720. With ry3t curiose crafte eueryche a neynche.  
þer my3t no fau3t be founden þer-inne.  
þey weron þo fulle gladde, & þongeden God fulle fast  
Of þat gret grace þat hadde hem y-sende.

- Bot of cariage þey were þo full sore agast,  
725. And prayede to God, with hert fulle hende,  
To 3eue to hem bothe grace and my3t,  
þat ston to carie to Hely, bothe sounde & saue,  
þat was so follych and so redy y-dy3t  
To resayue þat body þat ley þere in graue.
730. Bot anone, by grace, þer came a mone,  
þat dwelt ney3e þer byside in þat contrey,  
And sayde, 'Sires, what do 3e to þat fayre stone?  
For hit motte to þe abbay of Hely.  
For to me, to-ny3t, þer come a fayre, semely lady in gode aray,
735. & he hathe y-bflou3t þis marbull stone of me,  
And ychaue y-seuryd hurre, by my fay,  
To carie hit to þe fayre abbay of Hele.'  
Bot Cynfrey stode styll þo, & speke ry3t nou3t,  
And in his hert he was bothe gladde & blythe.
740. And for þis meracle þat was þer þus y-wrou3t,  
He þongede God oft & fele sithe,  
And sayde, 'Sire, what lady was þat,  
þe whiche hathe y-bou3t þis fayre stone of þe?'  
'Trewliche sire, y not,' he sayde,
745. 'Bot a fulle semely lady, forsothe, was he.  
A mantyll of sable þat lady werede vpone,  
And a religiose womon, forsothe, me þou3t, was he.  
And with full gret ly3t he cometo me þon,  
And þuse wordus, forsothe, he sayde to me:
750. And he askede me wherre þat iche wolde sylle  
þis marbull stone, so fayre & so fre;  
And sayde þat hurre sustre hadde gret nede þer-tylle,  
þe whiche was, as he sayde, þe abbas of Hely.  
And y sayde anon, '3e, my lady so dure;
755. For y durst not to hurre say nay,  
So semely he was, & so gladde of chure.  
And anon after, to me thus dudde he say:  
'And also þou most carie hit þedur now anone,  
& hye blyue þou most, þat hit were y-do.
760. And other thre men, þat han ferre y-gone

761. Wollen come pedur & help welle perto.  
And haue here, he sayde, 'by heyre perfore,  
A ryng of golde, bothe riche and gay.'  
And of hurre seythe, y saw nomore,
765. Bot thus he past forth from me a-way.'  
'Now treweliche, felowys,' quade mayster Cynfrey,  
'pis lady pat hath y-bou3t here pis stone,  
Hit was myn owne lady, seynt Awdrey;  
For treweliche, other womon was hit none.
770. Bot heye 3ow fast now, & haue y-donne,  
pat pis fayre ston were caryede from pis plase away.  
For iche wold be gladde, were hit fayre brou3t home ponne,  
pat blessude fayre body perinne to lay.'  
Bot pis mon vnswered pen anon, with pat,
775. And sayde, 'Syre, hit shalle ry3t sone be pere;  
For my wayne shalle be hedurre anone y-fatte,  
To be abbay of Hely hit forto bere.'  
Bot pat stone was fulle hoge & full hevy, y-wys.  
Bot pey tokon hit vp ry3t ly3tliche, by goddus grace, po.
780. And in-to be wayne full some y-done hit is;  
And fulle meriliche home per-with pen dude pey go.  
pen went pey hammarde, a welle gode passe,  
With hurre wayne, & with hurre stone,  
With gret gladnesse, mirthe, & grace.
785. And by alle be way, lettyng nad pey none.  
And when pey come home to be abbay with pat ston,  
And hadden y-told Wylfride & Sexburwe hurre gode spede,  
pen were pey gladde and blythe, euerichon,  
For of no masynry to dey3t pat ston, pey nadde no nede.
790. Bot when Cynfrey hadde y-tolde Wilfride & Sexburwe of be rynge,  
be whiche was y-3eue of pat lady to be caryeng mone,  
pen preyede pey be mone pat he wolde hit to hem bryng,  
be whiche pyng he grauntede hem anone to done.  
For Sexburwe heyde hurre fulle fast,
795. pat he my3t by-tyme y-se pat holy thyng,  
For in hurre hert, anone, forsothe, he cast  
pat hit was hurre professhennalle rynge.

- Bot when he hit saw, he knew hit full well,  
And þongede God heyliche, of his grace & of his myȝt,  
800. And anon hit he bouȝt of þat mon fulle snelle.  
And anon after, to seynt Awdre-is tombe þey hem dyȝt.  
Seynt Wilfride come þo anone, þat tombe to,  
With his ministris, & with his clerkus alle.  
And þis blessude abbas hyede hurre fulle fast also,  
805. And alle hurre couent, also, he dude forthe calle,  
With copus and teneclus of ryȝt gode aray,  
And torchus & sencerus, mony & fele.  
& other men vncloseden þe vrthe, as þer as he lay.  
Bot mony a seke mon hadde þo his hele,  
810. þe grace of almyȝty God was þer þo so þrest,  
& also, so sote sauerus weren þer alle abouȝt,  
þat euery creature hadde þer þo gretter lest  
To knele to þat vrthe, fulle lowe, & to þat body lowete;  
And þongedone God, with alle hurre hert & hurre myȝt,  
815. Of his gret godenesse, & of his heyȝe grace.  
þen nyene bleynde men hadden þer hurre syȝt,  
Ryȝt anon þo, in þat blessude place;  
And crokede maymot crepuls seuene  
Hadden herre lemys restoryd to hem anone, ryȝt þere.  
820. And cryeden, & sayden wyth heye steuene  
þat þey weren holle & sounde þer þo, all y-fere.  
þere was gret solace, murthe & gret joy,  
& mony a seke mon was made þer holle & sounde,  
And also bellus rongon & maden gret noy,  
825. With-ouȝt ony touchynge of monnus honde.  
And when þey knewen & herden þe bellus ryng & knylle  
So schryll, with-ouȝt ony touche of monnus honde,  
Seynt Wilfride went anon þe tombe tylle,  
And Sexburwe went anon þo, doune in-to þe grounde.  
830. Bot when seynt Wilfride hadde y-seye alle this,  
In his hert, forsothe, he was wondre gladde,  
And doune in-to þe tombe with Sexburwe y-gon he is;  
And tweyn other bysshoppus with hym he ladde,  
And touchede þe chest, þo, he dude, with his honde.  
835. And þerof he toke away þe lede, þo, after, anone,  
And hurre blessude body, as hole þer lygyng he fonde

- As euer hit was with-inne pat chest y-done  
As whyte, as rody and as freysshe  
Hurre fayre body was, per as hit po lay,  
840. And with-ou3t ony corrupcione of hurre fleysshe,  
Ry3t as paw hit hadde ben leyde with-in þe chest pat same day.  
Hurre lures weron white as ony lely-floure,  
Y-meynde with rod ry3t as hit was best,  
And hurre body was of þe same coloure,  
845. Ry3t semely and sote, and eke full honeste.  
And þe grete suellyng, þe whyche was her nekke abou3t,  
Was vanysshede a-way, and nothyng seuene,  
And þe wonde was clene holle, with-ou3t ony dou3t:  
And alle hurre body lay per bothe stre3t & euene,  
850. Hurre body lay per, as semely in euerichemonnus sy3t,  
Ry3t a-lyue as paw hit 3et were.  
þorwe þe grace of Goddus holy my3t  
Suche gret myraclus were done þere.  
Bot when Sexburwe, pat holy blessude abbas  
855. Saw how semelyche, & how holle pat body ley þere,  
In hurre hert, forsothe, fulle gladde he was,  
And þongede God mekeliche, with gode chere,  
And sayde, 'Jesu, y-blessude mot þy nome be  
Euer, lorde God, with-ou3ten ony hende,  
860. For þou deydust for owre soule vpone þetre,  
With fulle meke hert & fulle hende.'  
Bot þey tokon vp þis fayre body, anone, po,  
And with ry3t mery song & melode,  
And to þe hey3e auter þere-with þey duden go,  
865. With fayre processione, & ry3t gret solemnite.  
And vpone þe hey3e auter þey leydone hit doune  
Opynaliche þere in eueriche monnus sy3t,  
pat euery mon my3t clereliche & welle loke per-vpone,  
To merueylle vpone hurre colour so bry3t.  
870. And when eueryche mon hadde rediliche y-sey pat fayre body,  
Ry3t at hurre owne plesauns, & at hurre owne wylle,

- þey token hit vpon herre armys, fulle honestly,  
And beron hit forthe, þe marbulstone þo tylle,  
And leydone þat fayre body with-inne þe marbulle stone,  
875. þe whiche was so welle, & so heuene y-shape þefore,  
In þe toune of Grantechester, byfore long þa-gone,  
For þer was þat blessud mayde y-bore;  
And þat ston was y-shape, as mete for hurre body, y-wys,  
And bothe y-coruyn & y-grauyd so sotelly,  
880. þat no geynte of hurre body lay þerinne amys,  
Bot euery lemme of hurre body ley þerinne bothe fayre & honestly.  
And byfore þe heyþe auter þey satton þat tombe,  
And leydone hurre fayre body with-inne, ryȝt þere,  
And þedur come men þo, bathe deff & dombe,  
885. And hadden herre hele þer, byfore þe tombe, alle y-fere,  
Bothe leprus, and men in þe frensy, mony on,  
Hadden þere hurre hele, byfore þat tombe, y-wys.  
And men þat hadden þe hede-ache & eke þe stone,  
And mony men y-combryd with feyndis & euell spiritys,  
890. Ny þer nas nomone þat touchede þat chest,  
þat hurre body, byfore, sexstene þere hadde ley Inne,  
Or touchud ony of hurre clothus, most or lest  
þat nas alle holle of his sekenesse, or he went þynne.  
Forsothe, mony a pilgryme þedur dude come,  
895. For diuerse sekenesse, þat þey þo hadden,  
And a childe, of þe whiche watere his lyff hadde by-nome.  
And þat dede child in a bere þedur þey ladden,  
And setton hit a-doune byfore þat tombe,  
And preyþedone seynt Awdre of herre help & of hurre grace.  
900. And þe childe rose vp þo anone, bothe hole & sounde,  
And stode byfore hem alle þer, in þat place;  
And to alle þe pepull þat byfore hym stode, ryȝt þus he sayde;  
'Y prey þow þat þe wolde knele adoune here, euerychone,  
And for me þongeþ þis holy, blessude mayde,  
905. Of þe whyche þe body leyth y-closot here in þis stone.  
For þorwe here preyere, forsothe, hit was,  
þat God hathe y-þeue to me my lyff aþeyne.  
For forsothe, murgure ny leyȝttur neuer y nas  
Nen ycham here now, as þe mow welle seynne.

910. For forsothe, fulle of goddus grace he is,  
þis holy virgyne, y-blessude mot he be.  
For full mery is he now, in heuene blys,  
Among þe bryȝt angelus þer, so feyre and fre.  
And þis worshipfull abbay by hurre, y-wys,
915. Here-after shalle haue heyȝe encresse of honestrysse,  
And also hit shall have ryȝt gret prosperite,  
By þe heyȝe grace of God in trinite.'  
Bot when þis gret meracle was þus y-donne,  
And þis childe y-rerote þus, from deythe to lyfe,
920. þey closedone vp, þo, þat marbull stone,  
And set hit in þe same plase þere, as hit ȝet lythe.  
And when Wylfryde & Sexburwe hadden closote þat stone,  
þey paston forth, þo, vpon hurre way.  
Bot þe pilgrymys a-bydde stille þer, euerychone,
925. And þongedone God mekelyche, & seynt Awdrey.  
For mony a gret miracle þer was y-donne,  
Bathe by nyȝt, & also by day,  
And mony an holle mon home dude gone,  
þe whiche come pedur fulle seke, & in fulle feble aray,
930. For þer nas nomon þat þedur by-hette,  
For ony monere heuynasse þat he was Inne,  
þat he his bote þer ne fette,  
And gladde & blythe he went home þynne.  
Thus was þis abbay encresset, y-wys,
935. þorwe Goddus grace & þis blessude virgyn, seynt Awdre,  
And ȝet, continuallyche, forsothe, hit is  
Stylle in gret worshippe vnto þis day.  
Full gret grace & godenesse is ȝet in þat abbay,  
By-cause of þat blessude virgyn, & mayden clenene.
940. And meraclus y-done ȝet þere, euery day;  
For to euery nedefulle mon he is gode mene.  
By-cause of hurre, þat abbay ȝet hit is  
In hiȝe encresse, and ryȝt gode aray,  
And 'þe lanterne of Englonde' clepte hit is,
945. ȝet inne-to þis same day.

- And per is 3et þe trenyn cheste,  
In þe whiche seynt Awdre-ys body lay inne;  
And also, alle hurre clothus, bothe most & last,  
Fulle clene y-kepte þere, with-ou3t wyne.
950. And þe ryng of golde is þere 3et, y-wys,  
þe whiche was hurre professhynalle ryng;  
For vpon hurre shryne þat ryng 3et hit is,  
A full holy releke & a full preciose thyng.  
þuse relekus ben 3et ry3te folle of grace,
955. And 3euen hele & grace to mony a mone,  
And gret pilgremage is 3et to þat place,  
In gret help, and in grete hele, to mony one  
þe whiche worshepen & thongone þis blessude virgyn, seynt Awdre  
Of hurre grace, and of herre gret my3t.
960. For-to all þe contrey, ferre & ney3e,  
Gret help and gret grace to hem, þorow hurre, ys dy3t,  
I-grauntede of Goddus sone of heuene,  
For þat blessude virgyn seynt Awdre.  
To alle hem þe whyche ascone with myelde steuene,
965. Of hurre ony help or ony hele, hertlye,  
þay han hit y-grauntyde to hem, ry3t anone,  
þorow grace and preyere of þat blessude virgyn, seynt Awdrey,  
þe whiche leythe þere, with-in þat marbulle stone,  
In þat worshipfulle abbay of þe yle of Hely.
970. Hurre body is þere, bot hurre soule is in blys,  
And euer shall be, with-ou3t ony hende;  
For so to hurre of God y-grauntyde hit is,  
As to a blessude virgyn clene and hende.  
And mony a feyre miracull for hurre God hathe þer wrou3t,
975. In Hely, in þat worshipfull abbay,  
Off þe whiche nowe on comethe in-to my þou3t,  
þe whiche y-chull to 3ow now wryte and say,  
þe whiche y founde in þe abbay of Godstow, y-wys,  
In hurre legent, as y dude þere þat tyme rede,
980. Howe þe abbay of Hely was distryed with þe Danys,  
þe sixstythe 3ere after þat seynt Werburwe was dede.

- And þuse blessude virgynes weron clene put ou3t 276(271)  
And dweltone neuer sey3thon, forsothe, þere;  
For þus cursede Danys weron so stou3te & prou3t,  
985. þat þey durst not dwelle þer, for fere.  
Bot in þe tyme of kyng Edwarde senioure  
Seculere chanouns weron put þer, y-wys,  
Bot kyng Edgar & Seynt Dunstone, þat confessour,  
Put þe chanouns ou3t, & set þere blake monkys.  
990. Bot þat tyme þat þe chanons dweltone þere,  
As y sayde to 3ow now ry3t here byfore,  
Won of hem þou3t þat he nolde not spare, for no fere,  
To wete wherre þat maydenus body ley3e hole 3et þore.  
And to þat tombe he went þo, ry3t anone;  
995. And with a chesell, he made þere a gret hole,  
And a ley3t candelle brennyng he put in-to þat stone,  
And totede in hym-self at a-nother hole.  
And with an hokude 3erde, he wolde han meuyd þe clothe away,  
þat he my3t han sey3e ry3t at his owne wylle,  
1000. þat blessude body, veryliche, ry3t as hit lay,  
Wherre hit hadde y-ley3e þer 3et, alle hole styllle.  
And he hadde put a strong hoke of hyron in þe 3erde ende,  
To han pulde þe clothe well from hurre body away;  
And a gret candell he let þo tende,  
1005. þat he my3t han sey3e herre body nakede þer, as hit lay.  
And he put þe hoke of þe 3erde þe clothes with-inne,  
And bygon to drawe at hem þo, ry3t fast;  
Bot þe 3erde stekede styll þere, & nolde not passe þynne.  
And þen was þis wreche full sore þerof agast,  
1010. And drowe at þe 3erde þo, with alle his hole my3t;  
Bot þat blessude virgyn nolde not let þe 3erde go,  
Bot hulte hit styllle, ry3t þere as hit was py3t.  
And þe space of a noure hit stykkyd þer, ry3t so;  
And þe ley3t of þe candelle went ou3t also, anone,  
1015. þat he hym-self sawe no-thing, y-wys,  
þen stode he þere, as styllle as ony stone;  
And in his hert knewe fulle well þat he hadde y-done amys,  
Bot þenne full fayne he wolde han y-gone,  
3yf he hade hadde my3t or grace þerto;

1020. Bot he was þo as blynde as ony stone,  
And also he my3t not on fote þennys go,  
Bot stode styll. þer, with sorwefulle chere & drery mode,  
And my3t not on fote þennys passe;  
Bot cryede fast, as þaw he were wode,
1025. When he sye well & veriliche þat he clene blynde was.  
Bot þen comen his felowys rennyng, on euery syde,  
And sayden - 'Alas, syre Cerdyke, what eylluthe þe?'  
'I may not,' quade he, 'gom henne, bot here y mot abyde,  
For iche haue gretliche offendyde þis holy virgyn Awdre.
1030. Ichaue offendyd,' quade Cerdyke, 'þis holy virgyn so,  
þat y hope after no more hele of my body, y-wys.'  
'Whey, sire Cerdyke,' quade þe deyn, 'what han 3e do  
To þis virgyn, so gretlyche amys?  
Why may not hit be amendyde, by no way?
1035. Telle me alle y-fere, ry3t as þou duste,  
þat we mow þat blessude virgyn for þe pray.'  
'To han y-sye hurre body,' quade he, 'y-chad gret luste;  
For treweliche y tell 3ow þe sothe, alle-y-fere,  
I nadde not fulle gret trust þerto,
1040. þat hurre body was alle holle now here.  
And þou3t þat y shulde loke wherre hit were so.  
And y cometo þis tombe þo after, anone,  
And þis gret 3erde in my honde y brou3t with me,  
And made an hole with þis chesell in þe stone;
1045. And put in a candell brennyng, þe better 3yff y my3t se;  
And þis gret 3erde y put also inne þere-by,  
With a gret hyrone hoke, þat vpon þe hende ys,  
To han y-drawe away þe clothus from hurre body,  
þat y my3t well be trewthe han seye, how hurre body wys
1050. And with þe hoke, y cau3t in hurre clothus gode holde, at þe last  
And drow þe 3erde to me, with alle my maynne.  
Bot seynt Awdry hulte þe 3erde so fast,  
þat y my3t not drawe þe 3erde to me a3aynne.  
And 3et þe 3erde styketh ry3t þere,
1055. 3yff hit plese 3ow, 3e mow hit well se,  
Loke 3e, wherre 3e mow þat 3erde ou3t tere,  
And wherre he wolle fauere 3ow more þen me!  
For y drowe þe 3erd so fast, þat y doune felle,

- Euene vpone my bake here, vpry3t.
1060. And also ychaue y-lost my sy3t, euery-dellee,  
So vengauncelyche ycham now y-dy3te.  
Bote þe deyn went to þe tombe anone þo,  
In sy3t of mony oper grete men,  
And drowe at þe 3erde, as Cerdyke hadde byfore y-do;  
1065. Bot alle þey my3t not tere hit 3et þen;  
Bot þen þey wentone o processione, euerichone,  
And deden offe hurre hosen & hurre shone alle-y-fere  
And kneledone doune afterwarde, byfore þat:stone,  
And mekeliche maden herre preyours þere,  
1070. And mekeliche prey3eden seynt Awdry of hurre grace,  
As he was wedow and mayden clene,  
þat he wolde for3eue Cerdyke his gret trespace,  
And also þat he my3t haue his sy3t a3ene.  
1074. Bot when þay hadden þus hurre preyours y-made,  
þey reson hem vp þo, from þe gronde, euerichone;  
And to þat 3erde a3eyn, þo anone he 3ade,  
1077. And drowe hit þo leystliche y-nowe ou3t of þe stone.  
1078. Bot when he hadde drowyn ou3t þat 3erde,  
And stopudde feyre þat hole, alle holle a3eynne,  
An angel's voys, forsothe, þer þey herde,  
1081. þe whiche sayde þat Cerdyke wrou3t all þat werke in veynne.  
And gret ly3t þey seye þere þo also,  
And full sote sauere þey feltone þo, in euery syde.  
And also þey herdyn þe voys eft-sone speke þo,  
1085. þe whyche sayde þat hurre body was as hole as hit was  
þerinne lyde.  
'And Cerdyke,' he sayde, 'y warne þe now also,  
þat þou shalt neuer haue þy sy3t after þis,  
Bot alle þis þi lyff, blynde þou shalt ry3t so go,  
By-cause þat þou byleueduste of þis mayden amys.  
1090. Bot þo alle þey weron fulle sore agast,  
þe whiche herden þat voys speke on þis manere,  
And when þay hadde long y-knelyde, þo at þe last,  
þ[e]blynde Cerdyk & alle þey wenton forthe y-fere.  
And in gret worshepe, euer after, þey hadden þat mayden,y-wys  
1095. And nomone durst blasphemme herre,þer-after more,



78  
COMMENTARY

11.1-4. A relatively correct, if simplified summary of the history of early England, subsequently substantiated in an account of varying accuracy. A brief historical introduction to Thomas' history of Ely draws information on the Saxons, Angles and Jutes from Bede's Hist. Eccl., but leads straight on to treat of the East Angles, without mentioning more than half of the Heptarchy.

1.4. Til þe sixe kyndamus to þe kyndam of Westsexe weron knytt to: the rhyme with also means that final o in MS. Knytt to cannot be dismissed as a miswriting of e. We should compare with this I.79.. ou3t of þat kyndam þe Danys ou3t thraste. There, and here, to a greater extent, the verb and preposition at the end of the line seem to be treated almost as a compound form, so that the provision of another preposition if not felt to be necessary is at least acceptable as a reinforcement rather than a tautology. The phrasal pattern exhibited in 11.4 and 79, should ultimately be referred to the numerous compound verbs of OE. These are generally recorded in ME as separable compounds, where the preposition is detached from the verb within the sentence but is still apprehended as part of a phrasal compound. The phrase draffe..ou3t for instance, occurs as 11.91 & 106, and the existence of an OE n. ūtdræf indicates the possible existence of a compound \* ūtdrīfan. cf. also the OE verb tōcuman with the corresponding n. tōcyme, used of visiting foreign places and reproduced in the old sense in 1.43.

Knytt to should probably be regarded as a formation on this ME pattern of separable compounds. cf. the collocation of the same v. and prep. in 1.78 to his kyndam..he hit knytte. For the prep. in stressed position after the v. cf. come to at 11.43 and 140.

11.5-8. The ASC appears to take Bede as an authority in telling of the invasion by Hengest and Horsa, 449-456. It continues with a fuller, independent account however, which SEth seems to adhere to in these lines. The statement in 11.13-16, that Hengest was made King in 455 implies that the battle of Aegelsthrep, where Horsa fell, in 455, and after which, we hear, Hengest obtained the kingdom, is regarded as beginning the latter's reign. In fact Hengest was to gain four more victories, the last in 473; before his dominion was established. The length of his reign is stated to be thirty-two years, here, however, and so would be dated 455-487. This is roughly in accordance with the ASC where Aesc's succession is dated 488.

1.6. Hengestis & Orsus. cf. Hengestus 1.6., Hengestis 1.22,

Hengestys ll. 15, 29. The omission of the initial H - in Orsus illustrates a common tendency among medieval scribes (see further 1.283 & note). Although only the form Horsa appears in Bede, and Hengist, likewise, Hengestus and Orsus can be explained with reference to the inconsistencies in the matter of name-endings in the L. Bede MSS, where OE forms alternate with Latinized inflected forms.\*1. It is difficult to imagine that an educated writer could have produced Hengestis/ys, apparently a L.3rd decl.gs. as a nom. s., an acc. s. and a gs. successively. It appears that the scribe equates L. unstressed syllables with the native sounds - which he represents by either - us or is/ys for the English g. and pl. endings.

- 1.8. mountenese : appears otherwise only in the Chronicon Vilodunese, which immediately precedes SEth in the MS. In both cases the meaning is 'amount', whether, as here, of time, or as there, of space:

bis Twaylle y-bordryd abou3t was

With palle þe mountenese ofe han hondbrede (2277-8).

The ordinary ME form mountance (OF montance) is rendered by Chaucer, and elsewhere, as mountenance. This form has been referred to maintenance, as being an analogical formation, liable to occur when the latter word is used in the sense 'amount of material wealth required to maintain a person'. The present form then, would simply represent mountenance with substitution of the suffix -nesse.

For the general uncertainty with more unusual French words in this text, cf. asperite I.44, aperce I.469, wy3age I.697; and see prec.note.

- 1.9. bisshoprice : The s. form for the pl. here is an instance of a common phenomenon in ME, whereby the pl. inflection is not supplied when a preceding numeral (here twey) indicates plurality. see Must pp. 57-8.

- 11.9-12. Unless the word archebisshoperyche is s. and applies only to Canterbury, it implies the author's misapprehension either as to the word's meaning - and it does seem to echo bisshoperiche I.9 - or as to the status of the see of Rochester.

Bede tells (ll. 25-35 Hist.Eccl.) of Augustine's appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury, and of Aethelbert's and Gregory's help. A Roman church was rededicated to Christ, and became the centre of Christianity, in the South : plans to transfer the archbishopric

\*1. H.Strom: The OE Personal Names in Bede. Lund 1939.

to London were not fulfilled, And ry3t in be same manere bey ben bene 3ytte. Bede tells too (Hist.Eccl.2.3), how Augustine ordained Iustus bishop of Rochester, and of Aethelberht's building and endowing the Cathedral. The ASC dates Augustine's receiving a pall at 601, and Iustus' ordination in 604.

1.22. Egberde occurs here and at 1.25, beside Egbert, 1.19.

This would seem to be an instance of the general interchange of voiced and unvoiced consonants, registered in the orthography of this text, see Spellings III.1.

11.17-24. Fourteen kings appear in the royal Kentish genealogy,\*1. and we have fyftene kyngus if we add Aldrede, or Baldred as he is otherwise known. Members of the royal family were ruling separate parts of Kent up until 765, when it became a Mercian province. \*2. Records of Kent between then and 825 (ASC 823) - when the obscure Baldred was deposed by Egbert of Wessex - are very sparse. Two things, however, are clear - first, that the description of fifteen monarchs ruling Kent until Baldred's deposition is over-simplified: there is a gap of at least fifty years between the 14th and the 15th king - and second, that Kent was not independent<sup>up</sup> until Egbert's conquest. The significance of this victory is that it marks the beginning of WS ascendancy and the last decay of Mercian supremacy.

1.24. putte ou3t and dedde: occurs at 1.32, where the reference is obscure, and of K.Ceolwulf, at 1.76. If this is Ceolwulf I, or II, he was not killed by the Danes. Ceolwulf I was deposed, but not killed, according to the records, and Baldred, also, is said to have been only expelled, by Egbert. In short, the phrase seems to represent a stock piece of vocabulary, whose effect is rhetorical, rather than realistic. dedde rhymes conveniently, too, with the phrase as ychaue redde in all three examples cited.

1.25. See 1.22 note.

11.25-30. According to the ASC, Aelle came to Britain in 477, with his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing and Cissa. This would be the twenty-eighth year after Hengest's arrival: the figure threttythe is no doubt an approximation of this. The success of Aelle's conquest is marked by his progress from Selsey Bill, through the Sussex Weald; and Bede confirms his power, in regarding him as the first Bratwalda. Sussex was independent only a litylle while: it became a Mercian province under Offa before 771,\*3. and became perpetually annexed to Wessex after Egbert's conquest of Kent

\*1. Hist.AS II Genealogical Tables. \*2. pp.205-6 AS Eng.

\*3. p.207 AS Engl.

and the voluntary submission of the E.Saxons to the latter king.

11.31-2.

The history of Sussex is a blank from 491 (when Aelle besieged Anderida: see ASC) until Aethelwalh's baptism in 675 (Hist.Eccl.4.13)\*1. Possibly it is Aethelwalh who is the sexsth kyng, here, for he was killed by Caedwalla of Wessex in 685 (Hist.Eccl.4.15) and Sussex was then subjected to Wessex for at least ten years.

11.34-6.

According to W.G.Searle's first royal genealogy of Essex,\*2. there were ten kings following Aescwine, from Sledda to Sigeheri - who acceded c.665. Various accounts of subsequent rulers are offered in the second genealogy,\*3. and it is evident, at any rate, that there would have been more than ten kings in Essex before the Danish invasions. The implied role of the Danes as first ~~conquerors~~ is mistaken, too. Essex, like Sussex, came under the sway of Offa of Mercia and then submitted to Egbert of Wessex in 825.

King Saba, or Saebeorht, is the first king mentioned by the ASC and Bede (Hist.Eccl.5.24). He became a Christian in 604. Segeberto looks like a form of Sigeborht, however, which was the name of the third and fourth kings after Saebeorht.

The e should be explained as a visual slip, or possibly as having to do with the lowering tendency of i > e in this text. (see Spellings I. 4(i). The anomalous -o is evidently original, since it appears in rhyme with po, and is probably to be attributed to an error based on a misunderstanding of the L. 2nd decl.abl. and ds inflection -o as the nom.form (cf. Hengestus-ys, and 1.6 note).

11.37-40.

An apt description. Early Essex would have been bounded by a high wooded belt to the West, the Thames to the South, and Suffolk (in E.Anglia: see 1.94) to the North.

11.41-3.

While the WS royalty remained nominally in power during the eighth century, Wessex was no more than a large province of Mercia during this time, until Egbert's victories after 820, in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and even Mercia, with which began the WS rise to power.

1.44.

asperite must be a striking example of the substitution of one prefix for another. We should read prosperite: a meaning 'harshness', or even 'hardship', would be out of place here, and in any case the OF form would probably be asprete at this period, since it was only later remodelled on L. asperitas. see OED. asperity - and MED for earliest example of asperite (c.1425 Ardenne

\*1. p.58 AS Eng.

\*3. pp.278-9 Ibid.

\*2. pp.274-5 As Bishops, Kings & Nobles (Cambridge 1899).

Fistula).

The occurrence of the phrase 'to stand in prosperity' at ll. 18, 74 and 537 supports the reading 'prosperity' for asperite here, since it appears in consociation with stōndyng. For general uncertainty with French-derived words see 1.8 & note.

11.45-8. Wessex is described as it would have stood in the 7th century and 8th century, after the subjugation of Hampshire and Dorset, and after Mercia had reclaimed the land won by Ceawlin, as far as the Severn. (see Map p.314, vol.I. Hist.AS.).

11.49-51. The author follows the ASC which makes Cynerice the son of Cerdic, not his grandson, by Creoda, as registered in the WS genealogy. Its account seems to represent a very blurred tradition. Cerdic and Cynerice landed in 495 and had to fight for twenty-four years before becoming established. Cerdic, we hear, ruled until 534, and Cynerice until 560.

1.51. Kynerynge for Cynerice. While g for c, in an unfamiliar name, would be explicable with reference to the interchange of voiced and unvoiced consonants in this language (see Spellings III.1) the -n- must remain a problem.

11.53-4. The foundation of Wessex in 508 is not corroborated by the ASC (see ll. 49-51, note).

11.55-56. Kent and Sussex were permanently annexed to Wessex under Egbert, East Anglia, Essex, and finally Mercia, under Edward the Elder; Athelstan drove out the Danes of Northumbria, and Alfred was able to repulse the renewed Danish invasions. Much of the success of Wessex must be attributed to the qualities of these leaders' gouernynge.

1.57. be kyndam of be Marche, or Mercia, is named after its early inmates, the Mierce, or boundary-folk. While they took their name from an unknown frontier, possibly the line of high ground between the present Cannock Chase to the Forest of Arden\*, medieval writers would dub their kingdom as it stood, after later acquisition of territory 'the March', as though the boundary referred to was that between England and Wales.

1.58. The superlative form greste displays a loss of t before -st : see Mossé p.42 § 49.6.

11.58-9. The Mercians' territory would originally have been only a small area, centring around the Trent. This estimate of its size is based on the extended domain of later kings : see ll. 61-7 & note.

\* See p.40 AS Eng.

- 1.60. Other kings certainly ruled Mercia before Penda : there is brief mention of one, Cearl. It is in Penda's reign, however (c.632-c.660) that the recorded history of Mercia begins.\*1.
- 1.61-67. The sowthe see is, presumably, the Bristol Channel : the Western boundary of Mercia then, includes within that kingdom the lands of the Pecsaetan and the Wreconsaetan, tribes inhabiting Derbyshire, Shropshire and Cheshire (probably annexed during or after Penda's reign),\*2. and the territory of the Hwicce in present-day Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and West Warwickshire. Penda won this territory from Cynegils of Wessex in 628 according to the ASC.
- Mercia is bounded to the south by the Thames (cf.I. 46, where the Thames is the north frontier of Wessex). This means that the territory of the Middle Angles is regarded as Mercian : Penda subjugated it before 653 - for the ASC tells us that the Middle Angles became Christians, under Peada, Penda's son, at that date. For no obvious reason, the east boundary is omitted. Mercia is described as abutting on to the Humber, to the North, implying that Lindsey, the land of the Lindisfari, is regarded as part of its territory. This little kingdom, first subject to Mercia, was briefly annexed to Northumbria by Ecgfrith, but won back to Mercia by Aethelred in 678.\*2.
- 1.68. Corunwayle; the apparent reference to Cornwall is as startling as it is inconsistent with all that has gone before. 1.68 appears to conclude the description of the North frontier of Mercia, stretching right up to the west see, apparently the Irish Sea, from the Mersey. Cornwealas('the Welsh in Cornwall') appears in the ASC, and it appears that this author has confused the first element Corn-from a tribal name - with the word 'crown' (cf. his forms of the v. 'crown'), perhaps as an exceptionally ceremonious title for North Wales, 'Royal Wales'.
- 1.69-72. The ASC dates Penda's reign from 626, although Bede estimates its length as twenty-two years, stating that he died in 655, and hence implying that he began to reign in 633. Penda did not win Mercia from the Britons (cf. 1.60 & note): for his conquests see 1. 61-7,note. Penda killed Edwin of Northumbria in 632,so ending the latter's overlordship of England,and he slew Oswald of Bernicia in 641. By the end of his reign, in addition,he had made East Anglia a Mercian province. Oswin's victory,over this invincible leader at Winwaed was regarded as miraculous.

\*1. see pp.38-9 AS Eng.

\*2. see p.45 AS Eng.

- 11.73-6. Mercia's ascendancy should be dated from c.632 (when Penda became king) to c.823, when Ceolwulf was deposed, and Offa's great term of power finished: i.e., two hundred years, rather than two hundred and sixty-three. Although the number of kings from Penda, in the royal Mercian genealogy, numbers twelve, which becomes eighteen, if we add the six subsequent successors to the throne, Ceolwulf, the last in the succession, far from being deposed by the Danes, was their puppet-king, put on the throne in 873 after the defeat of King Burgred. He disappears from history after 875. The introductory Abou3t ... of 1.73 can be said to allow for the fact that the Danish invasion is dated sixteen years too late, in 889. Ceolwulf's role has been quite incorrectly viewed: it is possible that he has been confused with Ceolwulf I, last of the royal Mercian line, deposed in 823 by an English Beornwulf, a few years before Egbert's temporary conquest of Mercia (see foll.note).
- 11.77-80. Egbert, with his temporary annexation of Mercia to Wessex seems to be confused, here, with Edward the Elder. The Danes had not begun their invasions in the 820s, when Egbert was challenging Mercia; the two kingdoms retained an equal standing until the Danish threat obliterated old differences, and Edward the Elder, campaigning with Aethelflaed in Mercia, in the first fifteen years of the 9th century, be Danys ou3t thraste.
- 11.81-2. Northumbrelonde: Northern England, separated from the South by the great dividing line of the Humber, and constituting, originally the territories of the Dere and the Bernice in the East (see next four notes). The West boundary is described as being the West Coast of England: Mercia is taken to include, thus, the kingdom of Rheged in the North-West. Battles between Northumbria and Rheged are recorded c.600: Northumbrian overlordship is confirmed in c.638 with Oswin's marriage to Riemmeth of Rheged.\*1. The sowthe see designates, elsewhere, the waters of the South and West of Wessex (48) and around Bristol (64). Presumably the coastal waters of Northern England are indicated here - southerly by comparison with the scottysse grete se of 86.
- 11.83-4. The North boundary runs roughly diagonally South (not a gret space) from the Humber to the Mersey (the 'boundary-river') passing the Northern limits of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Again, this includes conquered territory, this time of Elmet, a kingdom in: the Leeds district), appropriated by Edwin of Northumbria in the 7th century (see p.80 AS Eng.).

\*1. M.E.Eng. p.58.

- 1.85-6. Battles with the Picts and Scots in the 7th century and 8th century meant that the Northern frontier of Northumbria fluctuated from the Tweed, as the most southerly point, to up to the Firth of Forth.
- 1.87-8. The tribal domains of the Dere, in the plain of York, between Humber and Tees, and of the Beornice, between the Tees and the Tweed, formed the nucleus of the kingdom of Northumbria - whence the names Deira and Bernicia. Both areas had begun to be settled by the English by about the mid-5th century, and were more or less established by the late 6th century. The former inhabitants would have been not Picts, but Britons. See AS Eng. pp. 74 ff. & M.E.Eng. p.23.
- 1.89. dwelton : see Spellings III. 1.
- 1.89-92. The Danes had subdued Northumbria and taken much territory by 867. Athelstan, son of Edward the Elder, expelled their leader in 926, and formally annexed the area to the English realm.
- 1.91. draffe: see 1.106 for the same form - which may be analogical on the pts. of strong Class IV and V verbs. Price\* remarks of the verb 'drive', that a pts. with vowel a persisted generally until after 1600, at least in literary texts, probably on account of the strong influence <sup>of give</sup> with pts. < OE geaf. cf. the similar form 3aff in SEth.
- 11.93-100. An apt description : East Anglia contained Norfolk and Suffolk, having Essex and Hertfordshire to the South, and the sea to the East, and also to the North, where the Ouse ran inland through marshland as far as Cambridgeshire.
- 11.95-6. The word euene gives rise to a certain ambiguity: does it qualify compas, and so form a phrase, with reference to the sea around East Anglia - 'constituting an unbroken circuit, as far as Cambridgeshire' - or is it to be construed with to, and rendered 'constituting a circuit, right into Cambridgeshire'? There is little to choose between the interpretations, since both stress the unusually extensive enclosure of the area by water. I have taken euene with to because of the supporting examples at 11.64, 68 and 86, where euene in(to) - a phrase probably influenced by L. usque ad- is used, with the sense 'right up to', 'just as far as'.
- 11.101-110. The implication of these lines is that Edmund was the tenth of a series of kings who fought amongst themselves. In fact, the East Anglian genealogy names ten kings, from Raedwald to Aelfwald (d.749). Nothing is known of the subsequent rulers apart from the

\* H.T.Price. A History of Ablaut in Class 1 of the strong verbs.  
Inaugural Dissertation of Bonn 1910-15. 1.Halle 1910.

existence of one Aethelberht, beheaded by Offa - and, of course, of St. Edmund, the king killed by the Danes in 869.

Insofar as is known, East Anglia appears to have been a well-knit kingdom. Whether 1.102 implies internal conflict, or aggression towards other kingdoms, there is no obvious basis for the statement.

11.105-108. The ASC tells, at length, of Edward the Elder of Wessex's campaigns against the Danes, and of the submission of East Anglia and Cambridgeshire in 916.

1.108. hult : see Spellings III. 1.

11.113-16. No date for Anna's death is given by Bede, the ASC or the Vita. Bede testifies to the king's virtue in Hist. Eccl. 1v.19., and III.18. - a passage quoted in the Vita.

11.117-18. The Vita follows Bede in telling of Anna succeeding Sigebert, although Bede is not the authority for the date 637, given there. Sigebert's accession is generally placed at 630-1, but the time of his death is not known.

11.119-20. Bede does not mention Anna's wife. The Vita tells us, as in this text, that she was of high birth and virtuous habits: 'she is here erroneously\* identified with Hereswitha, sister of Hild and granddaughter of Edwin of Northumbria (p.558 ASS.).

1.121. This account differs from the Vita which names Wihthurga as Anna's fourth daughter. After describing Hereswitha, it mentions two sons, in addition, Aldulfus and Uminus, (ASS.p.558). Wihthurbh is first referred to as Etheldreda's sister in the 11th century 'Hyde Register' (see Studies presented to Bruce Dickens, p.45), and in one MS of the ASC. Her uncorrupted body is said to have been found in 798, at East Dereham.

The form deu3tre could be taken as having the common palaeographical confusion between o and e. Since deu3tre(n) is the sole plural form of s. dou3ter, however, at 11. 121, 389 557 and 571, the best explanation seems to be that the back consonant and glide from the singular have been transferred to the plural, after the original e form OE dehter, d.s. and pl.

\* See The Anglo-Saxons: Studies presented to Bruce Dickens, ed. P. Clemons, London 1959. pp. 43-52, The East-Anglian Kings of the 7th Century by F.M. Stenton, for evidence that Hereswitha was not, as is generally assumed, the wife of Aethelhere, ally of Penda, but of an unknown third brother of Anna, Aethelric.

- 1.124. be shynynge flour. Neither Bede nor the Vita use this phrase, but the latter frequently refers to the flower of the saint's virginity; and the expression might have been suggested to a later author from Bede's hymn to Etheldreda, where imagery of flowers and light are employed. After praising Mary and the virgin-choir (of which Etheldreda would be a member) Bede says of the Virgin, Huius honor genuit casto de germine plures, Virgineos flores huius honor genuit. The glory of the Virgin-saint is then praised in terms of light Aedithrvda nitet nostra quoque egregia.
- 1.125-6. Sexburga, eldest daughter of Anna, wife of Eorcenberht of Kent, mother of Ermenilde, and abbess of Ely after Etheldreda, see 11.137-8 note, 395 ff. & note, 11.581-6 note.
- 11.129-30. Aedelburga is spoken of by Bede (Hist.Eccl.III.8), as preserving Deo dilectam perpetuae virginitatis gloriam in magna corporis continentia, as abbess in Brie. Thomas follows this account in so many words, (p.498 ASS), but does not mention how her body, exhumed after seven years, was found to be uncorrupted. The description of Aedelburga here, as a ful blessude virgyn would seem to be an assumption based on the desirability of her inheriting Anna's virtue (11.131-2) rather than on the authority of Bede or Thomas. See 11.139-40, <sup>note</sup> a statement implying that neither of those two writings provided a direct source for this legend.
- 11.131-2. Emphasis is laid on the holiness of Etheldreda's forebears and family, generally in order to lend her sanctity a solemn backing of tradition. cf. 11.120-22, 11.127-8, 11.136 & note, &c.
- 1.133. Bede states that Anna was killed by Penda (Hist.Eccl.III.18) and the ASC gives the date as 654, the year before Penda's defeat at Winwaed. The Vita gives the same date for Anna's death.
- The use of heretyke is somewhat misplaced : Penda was a pagan, whose victories were said to be magically contrived.
- 1.134. In fact, Aethelhere, Anna's brother and successor, died fighting against Oswiu, being one of thirty royal ealdormen, allied with Penda, in the battle of Winwaed. Bede's reference to Aethelhere as auctor ipse belli is obscure. Thomas quotes his account (Hist.Eccl.III.24) virtually word for word (p.502, ASS).

- 1.136. Anna's father was Eni, in fact (Hist.Eccl.iii, 18. p.498 ASS), his name has been confused by our author with that of Ine, the early WS king, famous for his laws. Bede (Hist.Eccl., IV.15) describes the latter's dominion as oppressive and his pilgrimage to Rome before death (Hist.Eccl.V.7) would hardly be enough to give him a reputation for holiness. It must, then, be the names, rather than the personalities, of the monarchs, that have been confused. The epithet holy typifies this author's eagerness to attribute sanctity to Etheldreda's forebears.
- 11.137-8. Bede does not tell us that Anna arranged Etheldreda's first marriage, although his authority for the match is not unlikely. Etheldreda's reluctance as well as her parents' constraint are emphasized, however, in the Vita (p.499 ASS). Sexburga's marriage to Erconberht is duly registered by Bede, and by Thomas : again, Anna's hand in the match is not mentioned.
- 11.139-40. See 11.129-30 note. The author's uncertainty here implies an ignorance of the events of the Hist.Eccl., as of the Vita.
- 11.142-3. cf. 11.137-8 & note. Etheldreda's marriage to Tonberht. is only briefly commented on by Bede (Hist.Eccl.IV.19) as an aside to her union with Ecgrith. In the Vita (ASS.p.499) he is the successful suitor from among many wooers.
- 11.144 ff. Bede (Hist.Eccl.IV.19) mentions Tonberht only once as being an ealdorman of the South Gyrwe (or S.Fen dwellers) who died shortly after his marriage. Tonberht must have been an underling of Penda, since East Anglia would have been under Mercian control, at this date. The Vita tells us that Tonberht gave Etheldreda Ely, as a wedding-gift. (p.499 ASS).
- 1.144. The MS reading contreny ny3e hym by seems to present a clear case of dittography, the ny- of ny3e replacing the proper -ey ending of 'country'. No supporting examples of the plural personal pronoun, spelt with y appear elsewhere in the text, and it has hence been emended to the normal form, hem.
- 1.145. Neither the Hist.Eccl. nor the Vita mention Peterborough as Tonberht's dwelling.
- 1.147. The Vita follows Bede, in making Tonberht prince of the Southern Gyrwe alone.
- 11.149-56. A eulogistic portrait, in which the outward qualities of

the ideal prince - honour, riches, courage, power - are more emphasized than his virtues. Only ll.153-4 have any basis in the Vita, where we are told that Tonberht and Etheldreda led a blameless life of prayer and almsgiving, aspiring always to righteousness and holiness. Tonberht is represented as an upright man, who received a crown of life for his continence within marriage.

- l.154. prou3t is referred, in the Gloss, to a lOE prut - but it is perhaps more likely that it shows the general interchange of d. and t.: see Spellings lll.1.
- l.158. ny3e 3enes thre : cf. l.161. Bede tells us that Tonberht died post modicum temporis. Probably by coincidence, the phrase ny3e 3enes thre directly renders the Latin in the Vita (p.499 ASS.) where Tonberht is said to have been married ferme triennio. cf. l.944 & note. for what is possibly more than a coincidental correspondence between the texts.
- l.159. The Vita states that the marriage was undisturbed by contention. Tonberht's consenting to continence is presumably an indication of his feeling for Etheldreda.
- l.160. In the Vita, supreme emphasis is placed on Etheldreda's virginity, in this episode, and throughout the story of her life; hence, her opposition to marriage, and the approval expressed for Tonberht, who received a crown of life for his restraint. Emphasis is perhaps attempted here, but not achieved, by repetition of the fact that she was both married and chaste, at ll.164, 165-6.
- ll.167-8. Again, Bede does not mention Anna's part in Etheldreda's second marriage. He implies, however, that the match with Ecgfrith followed almost immediately after Tonberht's death: .. illo Tonberht .. defuncto, data est regi praefato Ecgfrith. This account would add to, thus, rather than contradict Bede's facts. The Vita, however, tells how the widowed Etheldreda retired into a life of ascetic devotion in Ely. The time which elapsed between the two marriages is considerable, according to this rendering, given that Etheldreda married Tonberht two years before Anna's death and was reluctantly constrained to re-marry six years after that event. Anna's part in the second marriage would, of course, be inconsistent with this version.
- l.170. See Rhymes A.14. for the rhyme delyde: Ecgfrýde.

1.172.

Ecgfrith reigned in Northumberland, 670-685 according to to the ASC. It was probably after his victory over Pictish and Scottish aggressors, in 673-4, that the Northumbrian overlordship of Scots and Strathclyde Britons became an established fact. The Northumbrian defeat, by Mercia, in 678, confirmed that Ecgfrith's dominion to the North was not matched by power to the South.

1.173.

Oswin ascended the Bernician throne in 643, to face the animosity of Penda, who had slain Edwin and Oswald of Northumbria, before him. Oswin won a God-given victory at Winwaed, against Penda's heathen army, thirty times the size of his own, and subsequently became Bretwalda. He was a famous Christian king, presiding over the Synod of Whitby; it was he who persuaded Sigeberht, king of the East-Saxons, to be baptised.

11.175-8.

— see 11.169-70. Ecgfrith, like Tonberht (11.149-50), as husband of a saint, is properly eulogised as being endowed with all secular and spiritual excellencies. While the description of this king as dou3ty cannot be disputed, his extreme piety is not in accordance with the wanton ravaging of lands and churches in Meath, which Bede tells us he carried out in defiance of the holy advice of one, Father Egbert. His death, in the following year is viewed as just retribution for this act. (Hist, Eccl. IV. 26.)  
The Vita provides some basis for the praise of Ecgfrith's secular virtues, referring to him first as Rex praeclarus & nobilis, and afterwards describing him as .. sermone, incundus, moribus civilis, vir in armis strenuus. (p.502 ASS.). Unlike Tonberht, however, his sanctity is not spoken of - advisedly, since Ecgfrith provided a most formidable obstacle in Etheldreda's path to renunciation. In addition, the Vita follows Bede's authority in recognising Ecgfrith's responsibility for Wilfrid's expulsion from his See - an action which could not be reconciled with piety, in the context of the SEth.

11.176-8.

— see Rhymes 5. for the rhyme chas : was.

11.179-80.

Bede tells (Hist. Eccl. IV. 19) of the great difficulty Etheldreda had in persuading Ecgfrith to allow her to take the veil, but does not explicitly mention the king's love for his wife. The Vita represents Ecgfrith, however, as a most

importunate and infatuated suitor, whose desire to be with his wife cannot be restrained even after she has entered Coldingham. See ll. 299-302 note.

11.181-96. As proof of Etheldreda's living twelve years, as wife and virgin, Bede cites Wilfrid's confidence to him, as to the money and lands offered him, by Ecgfrith, if he could, on the strength of the especial love Etheldreda felt for him, persuade her to consummate the marriage. The Vita reproduces these details, also. Ecgfrith's request is presented here, in direct speech, as the opening of almost eighty lines of verse dialogue, presenting, in one scene, the events that led up to Etheldreda's becoming a nun.

1.184. Seynte Wilfride. Having studied Italian and Gaulish religious practice for some years, Wilfrid was the most prominent member of the Roman party, at the Synod of Whitby, in 663. Afterwards, he became bishop of Western Deira, and was bishop of all Northumbria from 669-77, until his expulsion, by Ecgfrith. He spent the rest of his life in exile, for the most part, fighting to regain his old See, while preaching to the heathen. He died in 709, after a four-year restoration to his old seat at Ripon, together with Hexham.\* Wilfrid would have been at the height of his power, at this time, acting as Etheldreda's spiritual adviser - and incurring his own downfall by encouraging her religious propensities.

11.193-6. The motivation for Ecgfrith's request in the Vita is patently that of sensual desire. The desire for an heir, stated with due deference to God's will, is decidedly less prejudicial to the king's character.

11.197-256. Bede's concern, in telling of Ecgfrith's bribing of Wilfrid, is to testify to Etheldreda's virginity, not to create a dramatic situation as here. Hence, he does not register Wilfrid's response to the king's offer, and pauses only to mention that Etheldreda begged Ecgfrith for a long time to let her enter a monastery, and obtained her desire with difficulty. The Vita (p.504 ASS.) has Wilfrid pretend to persuade Etheldreda towards worldly things, while he is really advising her in the opposite direction, until Etheldreda openly asks for leave to take the veil (p.505 ASS.), and persists until this is granted. Here, Ecgfrith's character and motives are presented as honourable, and a reaction of abashed hesitancy

\* See AS Engl. pp. 122-4, 135, 144.

from Wilfrid, followed by a discourse from the precipitately introduced Etheldreda serve to persuade him fully of the right course.

1.203.

abeve : a word in which the etymologically correct prefix o- is often replaced by a- in ME.

11.208-244.

Muddled and repetitive as Etheldreda's address appears, some attempted structure can be traced in it. So, the injunction to avoid the snares of the world and win eternal bliss (11.208-220) is only incidentally modified at 11.211-12, clene ... styll in clannasse; and the sort of purity implied is not stated until 1.214. We are to gain bliss so that we can be crowned in heaven as clene maydenus. The emphasis of the sentence is still not such as to lay direct stress on the preservation of virginity, and this is directly recommended only after thirteen lines, at 11.221-25, where the injunction echoes that of 11.211-12. After the mention of Aebbe's monastery, and the central request to Ecgfrith, the speech can be concluded by continuing the praise of virginity prepared for previously.

1.215.

a-vantetage : the origin of the extra syllable -te- is obscure, but provides a further instance of the general uncertainty over French forms in the text. a-vantetage could be taken as a scribally misdivided ME avantage, without preposition or article, but it is better to take a- as a reduction of of, and vantetage as the form of the common ME aphetic vantage, translating the phrase '...that will certainly be of most benefit to us.'

1.225.

This is the monastery of Coldingham, in Berwickshire, a double monastery of monks and nuns, like Ely. Bede tells (and the Vita reproduces his account (pp.507-8 ASS.)) of the loose living of its inmates and of its subsequent retributive destruction by fire (Hist.Eccl.1V.25). The ASC records the monastery's destruction in 679; the year of Etheldreda's death.

1.227.

Ecgfrith's aunt Aebbe was sister of Oswir, by the same mother. Bede mentions that she was warned by prophecy of the coming fire, and died before it occurred, also in accordance with the prophecy. The headland where the monastery was sited is called St.Abb's head, after her.

1.246.

thonk is almost definitely not an infinitive (see Must p.522). It is the only example out of fourteen occurrences

of the verb to have a normal k instead of g : presumably it is a strong pts. modelled on verbs like 'sink', 'drink'.

1249. more plesyngur: for this use of multiple comparison see Must p.281.

Non : cf. nen, 1.990, also meaning 'than'. According to the OED, the only other examples of these forms are found in the Chronicon Vilodunense (immediately preceding SEth in the MS) : here non (1.1724) and nen (1.1584) both appear, with the meaning 'than'. While the OED refers the reader to the M.Scots na and ne of obscure origin, used in the sense 'than', it is not desirable or likely that these forms be ascribed to Scots influence. The OED also gives examples of 'nor' in this sense in Scots and dialectal use. J.Wright follows this up in the EDD, where nor meaning 'than' is cited for almost every Scottish and English county. (For other confirmation of its usage in modern colloquial speech, see 98, p.246 G.L.Brook, The Language of Dickens, London 1970). The rare nature of these forms non and nen points to their being local dialectal forms, if not the result of corruption. The form non, apparently the plain negative 'non', 'none' could represent a local use in the sense 'than' on the model of 'nor'. It could, on the other hand, be a conflation of pen (which occurs three times in this text) and nor. The latter explanation must be hazarded also, for obscure nen.

11.257-8. — see 11.714-17 note.

1258. pongede : for this and other forms of 'thank' with g, see Spellings III. 1.

11.261-2. Bede (Hist.Eccl.IV.9.) followed, of course, by the Vita, tells us that Etheldreda was made a nun; in Coludi urbem, under Aebbe, and that she was appointed abbess in Ely, a year later.

11.263-4. — see 11.281-297 & note.

11.265-98. The intended contrast between the virtue of Etheldreda's former life, and the extraordinary sanctity of her new existence, has lost its edge, and consists merely of a list of the saint's qualities and habits. This has no foundation in Bede's account, and our author probably included it independently, although there is some parallel in the Vita: see below.

11.265-80. A list of the obvious virtues of the ideal queen, as being one who loves God and the Church, does her best to act

well, and avoid wrong, shows proper concern for the poor, and reads devotional literature - the choice of seyntus lyues (1.273) as a form is perhaps biased! She is pleasant and generally restrained in demeanour, clean in dress, a good influence to all, and prepared to suffer all that comes to her.

Although the Etheldreda of the Vita is likewise described as having a soft voice, and a sweet face, full of modesty, and loving righteousness, the picture painted of her habits is more austere. In Ely, before marrying Ecgfrith it was recorded (p.502 ASS.) that she grew thin with fasts and vigils; and after marriage, too, she would often not sleep at night, but pray, and fast all day.

1.282. Bede (and the Vita) states that Etheldreda took the veil by Wilfrid's authority.

1.283. Hebbe : as Orsus appears without initial H-, Aebbe has acquired an unetymological initial consonant. While it is difficult to know to what extent this AN scribal feature reflected speech habits, it is true of this language, at any rate, that the unetymological -H - appears not only in obscure personal names, as Herconbertys and Hermendildd, but also in common words which should have had an initial vowel : see 1.453 note.

Aebbe has already been described as Ecgfrith's aunt (1.227). Perhaps the fact that both women were nuns, and hence sisters, gives rise to this description, although it looks more like a slip by the author.

11.287-8. — see 11.379-80 note.

11.291-97. The description of Etheldreda's ever-increasing virtue can be compared with the account of her conduct at Coldingham, in the Vita (p.505 ASS.). Here, we are told how Etheldreda subdued all her will to God, and how her thirst for goodness increased, together with her devotion, so that she surpassed all her fellows, providing an example of perfect humility and holy living.

1.291. be seruyse .. of .. god. Is the phrase used simply in the sense of working for God, or the well-attested meaning 'the condition of leading the religious life'? The reference to remaining ber-inne, 1.292, seems to support the latter reading which, on these grounds, is supplied in the glossary under seruyse. It is possible, also, of course, that the word is used in the sense of 'an act of worship.'

1.298. The fame of Etheldreda's conversion resulted, according to the Vita (p.505 ASS.) in many people following her example, and entering a monastery, or at least dedicating themselves to good works.

11.299-302. A whole episode is introduced at this point, in the Vita, which it seems unlikely that this author would have ignored, had he known about it: viz. the additional twenty-one lines at the end, where a scribe has begun the story in ME verse.

In brief, Ecgfrith is responsible for Etheldreda's departure to Ely. Repenting of letting her go, he comes to remove her from Coldingham. Etheldreda, and two maidens, Sewenna and Sederida, begin their flight to Ely; but, stopping on a hill nearby, are delivered from Ecgfrith, by God, who causes the sea to surround the hill. Ecgfrith is forced to retire. Etheldreda prays for relief from thirst, and a spring bursts from the rock. On their descent, the rocks give to their footsteps, yielding imprints, like those made in hot wax. Etheldreda continues her flight to Ely, by covert ways. Once, after resting, she finds that her staff, planted in the earth by her head, has blossomed while she slept. It grows into a great ash, and the place is named Edelredestone, after the saint. Hence the emblems of St. Etheldreda which depict her carrying a blossoming staff.

The reason for Etheldreda's transfer here, is plausible enough, and follows naturally on from what precedes it.

1.302. Hely: the name consistently preserves initial H- in this text - see 1.283 note.

contrey must mean 'region', here: the author names Etheldreda's birthplace, as he believes, at 1.877 (which see, + note). Bede says, at the end of his account (Hist. Eccl. 1V.19) that Etheldreda wished to have her monastery here, because she was sprung from the East Angles. The Vita inserts this detail from Bede at the same point in the narrative, as has the ME writer, in the course of telling how Etheldreda first came to Ely (p.508 ASS.).

1.303. Bede simply speaks of Etheldreda becoming a virgin mother of other virgins, constructo monasterio, giving no further details, as to the building of this monastery. The Vita says that Etheldreda restored a monastery, built on the spot by Augustine, but destroyed by Penda.

- 1.304. Bede says Etheldreda died after being abbess for seven years : this would be the period 673-679 A.D. The Vita follows the Hist.Eccl. in this (p.512 ASS.) - see 11.403-4 note
- 11.309-344. This account of Etheldreda's habits at Ely corresponds to Bede's list (Hist.Eccl. 1v.19) in matter and sequence. The Vita (p.509 ASS.) quotes Bede word for word, in treating of this matter.
- 11.311-16. Our author elaborates on Bede's information, that Etheldreda would never wear linen, only woollen garments, by adding the hairshirt.
- 11.317-332. Bede tells us that Etheldreda would take a hot bath only before Easter, Pentecost, and the Epiphany, and would bathe the last of all, having helped her sisters to wash first.
- 11.333-5. While Bede does not refer to the meanness or type of food Etheldreda ate, he states that she rarely ate more than once a day, except at the time of great festivals.
- 11.337-44. There is no mention, in the Hist.Eccl. of Etheldreda's calling her fellows. We are told, however, that she would not return to bed, after matins, but remain praying until dawn, unless prevented by serious illness.
1347. 3euede appears 1X beside 3aff 4X, and represents how easily a strong form could be attracted to the weak inflexion. cf. y-grauyd beside y-graue.
- 11.349-376. This episode is not to be found either in the Hist.Eccl. or the Vita.
- 11355-6. Prayer is usually answered by the bestowal of the grace of God, in this poem: cf. 11.617ff., 725ff, 899ff 1066ff.
1353. sodenllyche, MS sodenlylyche. This appears to be a straightforward case of dittography, and is emended accordingly: cf. emendation & note at 1.144.
1365. Auudre: a reduction of Etheldreda. See OED tawdry-lace for the connection of the word with her life.
1366. ynon here - and in the other example, yenon, 1.511 - exemplifies the same sort of hypercharacterization as is to be seen in trenvn 'wooden' 1.946, beside trene 1.527 (see note). Here the unetymological suffix is a marker of the OE weak pl. We should expect yn(e) < OE eagan, but the n has evidently been apprehended as part of the stem, and the -on ending appended in addition. This may well represent an early development, since the -en pl. marker is not used except

in a few words, as hosen, shone, in this text (see Spellings V d.).

11.373-8. cf. 11.714-17 note.

11.379-80. Etheldreda's especial concern for the poor, here, and at 11.269-70, 287-8 and 445-8, may reflect either the poet's social conscience, or his consideration of his own pocket. Bede does not mention this sympathetic treatment of the poor, although it is not neglected in the Vita, where Hereswitha is particularly concerned to help the needy (p.498 ASS.) and (p.499 ASS.). Etheldreda shows generosity to the poor, as Tonberht's wife and as abbess in Ely (p.509 ASS.).

11.381 ff. The Vita continues, after this, with an account of Wulfhere's death, the coming of Ermenilda, and many others, to Etheldreda's monastery, and of the much celebrated arrival of Sexburga, before telling of Etheldreda's death. Bede continues, after telling of Etheldreda's habits, to state how sunt etiam qui dicant that the saint foretold her own death, by a coming plague, and the numbers of those in the monastery who were also to be destroyed by it. The Vita (p.510 ASS.) gives, as usual, an almost word for word version from Hist.Eccl.lV.19. Sudden death was much feared by the Christians of Bede's time, and of the Middle Ages, since it involved a precipitate entry into the next world, burdened with unatoned-for sin. Hence it is a standard feature of a saint's career that he should have a privileged foresight of his own death, and so be enabled to prepare for it, with penance and prayer. See 11.423-36 & note, and 11.479-508 & note, for the concern evinced by the author for such atonement, in the manner in which he has handled his material. As usual the narrative, here, is presented in the form of direct speech.

11.381-4. Bede, followed by the Vita, simply says that Etheldreda made predictions per prophetiae spiritum. The angel, here, typifies our author's predilection for introducing supernatural messengers, in order to lend supernal authority to events. See also 11.613 ff. note & cf. 11.690 ff., 734 ff., 1080-89, and notes. Reference should also be made, in this case, to the frequency with which saints in legends are warned of their death by a supernatural figure, in a vision: cf. Bede's account of Earcongota's vision (Hist.Eccl.iii.8.), and of King Sebbi (Hist.Eccl.lV - 11).

1.383.

dodde : the rhyme with god excludes the possibility of palaeographical confusion of o and e. It should probably be interpreted as a pt.p. of the ME v. dod, meaning 'to shave (the head)', 'to lop (the horns of a beast, or branches of a tree)'. The verb, of obscure origin, appears to be related to the modern Northern and Scots dialect word, of the same form, meaning 'a hump of land.' With reference to this, the primary meaning of the word would have been that of rendering smooth or round, by cutting. The meaning seems to have been extended, here, to refer to the curtailment of life : the angel told Etheldreda when she was to be 'cut off' from the living.

1.385-6.

This accords with Bede (and the Vita), which relate how the saint prophesied palam cunctis praesentibus.

11.392-4.

Etheldreda does not here give the number of nuns to die (see 11.381 ff. note) although the author places it at nine, 1.413.

11.395-408.

Nothing of this information is included in Etheldreda's prediction in the Hist.Eccl. or the Vita. Our author is adding additional glamour to the saint's foresight, but, more important, he is lending the assurance of divine authority and design to future events; cf. 11.381-4 & note, and see 11.632-7 & note. The speech is very confusedly expressed. 11.395-6 tell how Sexburwe is to be next abbess, and 11.397-400, that Etheldreda's body is to be buried for sixteen years : its future fate is not to be disclosed, as yet. Wilfrid will die soon after this (1.401) - and a hasty remark on how Sexburwe will remain for a longer time in Ely, is inserted, before we are given the exact date of Wilfrid's death (11.403-4). The revelation that Etheldreda's body is to be translated after the sixteen years implies that the resolution to conceal this information has already been forgotten. The conclusion (11.407-8) is weak, merely a repetition of 11.401 and 403-4.

11.395-6.

Bede (Hist.Eccl. 1V.19) confirms that Sexburwe became abbess of Ely after Eorcenberht's death, but gives no further information about her. An account of St.Sexburga entitled A breue rehearsal of the lyue of Saynt Sexburge appears at 11.1982-2128 of Henry Bradshaw's 15th century Lyfe of St.Werburge (ed.Pynson, 1521, re-edited by C.Horstmann, EETS 88, 1887). The saint was a moving force in establishing Christianity in Kent,

during her husband, Eorcenberht's reign (640-64 according to the ASC). On the king's death, Sexburga moved to a monastery of her own foundation - that of Minster in Sheppey. The Vita recounts the same facts as Bradshaw at p.510 ASS (in the digression referred to, ll.381 ff.note) as to how Sexburga was warned by an angel of how the English were to suffer for sin, and was moved to go and learn submission under Etheldreda, at Ely. See further ll.551-6 note.

ll.397-400. Bede (Hist.Eccl.lv.19) and the Vita, in turn (p.513 ASS.) state that Etheldreda was buried for sixteen years, before translation. cf. ll.405-6, 531-2, 632-3, 639, 660-1, for the emphasis laid, first on the prophecy, and then on the fact that is being fulfilled.

ll.403-4. Etheldreda's death is generally accepted as having taken place on 23rd June 679 (the ASC gives the year). According to the dates of this account, however, the date would have been 667; for although the length of time she was abbess is correctly designated as seven years (l.304), her appointment is wrongly dated 660, at ll.535-6. Hence, according to correct reckoning, Wilfrid's death must be put at 2nd August 695, going by l.404. If we observe the false reckoning of this legend, the date would be 683. In fact, Wilfrid did not die until 709.

ll.417-420. The second of three (or four - see ll.421-2 & note) prophecies, only the first of which has any foundation in the Hist.Eccl. While it is not unlikely that this author would independently exploit the device of public prophecies both to put over what he wished the saint to say, and build, dramatically, towards the central event of her death, it may nonetheless be significant that the Vita (p.512 ASS) gives an account of how Etheldreda, as here, summoned the whole monastery to her, to bid them farewell. On this day of her death, she foretold the time and hour of her passing, just as she had earlier named the day. It should be noted, that although the farewell in these lines takes place five days before the saint's death, she bids her sisters a final farewell (ll.512-14) after Extreme Unction has been administered. In the Vita, Etheldreda summons her fellows to her, and addresses them (on the importance of remembering heavenly things, not, as here, on the salvation of their dead sisters) before she takes her last sacraments.

ll.421-2. It is not clear whether the address introduced here is delivered directly after Etheldreda has said farewell, or takes

place on a different occasion. The saint bade all her sisters farewell on the fifth day before her death : now she speaks at the very end of the fifth day, at a point which could be deliberately made distinct from the first occasion, or, equally, represent a more exact specification of the same time. Confusion on the part of the author is manifested, at any rate, in the reference to the period as the beginning of the sixth ('day', implied). He must mean the fourth day before the saint's death.

11.423-36. There is nothing, in the Hist.Eccl. or the Vita, that corresponds to this address, which shows the author's awareness of the potential suffering of the after-life, and anxiety to preserve all his characters from such torment. From early times the existence of an intermediary stage, between Heaven and Hell, was believed in. Here, the bulk of humanity, neither committed sinners nor saints, could be cleansed of sin, in preparation for entering into bliss. While the state of Purgatory was not eternal, it was generally agreed, at least in the Western Church, that this was the only point in which it differed from Hell, and that the soul suffered to the same inconceivable extent in fires, and deserts of ice. It therefore became desirable to expiate one's sins while still on earth, and the question as to the efficacy of prayers for the dead, and the intercession of the saints, became a leading one. Gregory X, in the Council of Lyon of 1274, agreed on the usefulness of the prayers of the living, in helping those in Purgatory; and in the Council of Florence, of 1439, the condition of Purgatory was further affirmed.\* The efficacy of the saint's prayers has proved considerable in this case - despite her own state of sin : see 11.479-508 & note.

11.435-6. The Council of Florence, 1439, defined a saint as one who has been purged of sin, either in or out of the body, and, if the latter, are immediately received, on death, into heaven, where they behold God, as he is, in trinity.

The coronyd maydenus may refer to the one hundred and forty-four thousand virgins of the Apocalypse, who follow the Lamb (Revelations 14-5) and may have additional reference to the virgin host of Bede's hymn (Hist.Eccl. 1V.20), who rejoice at Christ's birth.

Gaudet amica cohors de Virgine matre Fonantis;  
Virginitate micans gaudet amica cohors.

\* see Purgatory, R.J.Bastian, New Catholic Encyclopaedia.

11.437-44. The Vita, as usual, quotes Bede word for word (p.512 ASS) as to how Etheldreda was buried in a wooden coffin among the other nuns, according to her own command. Unlike these, the SEth does not mention this after the saint's death, but makes it a direct request in Etheldreda's mouth.

1.438. ry3t as my ordre ys : Does ordre mean 'community of nuns', here, or 'status' ? In the first case, we should translate 'just as the rest of the nuns (are buried)', and in the second 'in exact accordance with my status (as nun)'. While both renderings are acceptable, the second perhaps suggests a pleasing implicit contrast of Etheldreda's rank as nun with that as queen, which communicates the saint's own dedication to her chosen calling. This interpretation has been preferred in the glossary.

1.444. a-reynne: cf. the ME phrases a-rank, a-rence, a-row, all meaning 'in a row', 'in a rank', and having a-, the reduction of OE on, preceding the noun in question. It is possible that this phrase represents a similar phrase 'a-ring'. ey is used as a graph for i, long and short, in this text (see Disc.I) - and this would not be the only example of an assonance: cf. 11.333-5, 718-20 etc.). The distinction between [n] and [ŋ] is, phonetically, very slight, and could well be spelt -nne in order to better match inne, on which it rhymes.

The MED does quote an instance of such a phrase in Al oper loue 12 : Is loue is hendles and a-ring, where the meaning is 'everywhere', 'all round'. The meaning here would doubtless approximate to this; we should translate 'around', 'round about', rather than 'in a circle'.

11.445-8. cf. 11.379-80 & note.

1.446. Alms-dede : the substantival form of the early phrase 'to do alms', dating from c.1000.

1.451. Wilfrid was expelled from Northumbria in 677, after holding the bishopric for eight years : from 678-9 he was in Rome, awaiting the Pope's decision on his case\*. Hence, neither by the dating in the legend (see 1.403-4 note) nor by authentic chronology, could Wilfrid's presence at Ely have been possible at this time. The Vita relates how Wilfrid heard of Etheldreda's death from a messenger (p.511 ASS).

\* See AS Eng. pp. 136-7.

- 1.452. Cynfrey : the final y presumably represents confusion, at some stage, of y for p, on account of their similarity : cf. emendations of - y to -p in MS ye for pe, ll.34 and 536. Cinifrid, or Cynefrith, is the name of Etheldreda's doctor in Hist.Eccl. - and the Vita.
- 1.453. herunde. This could equally be read 'hersedè' (see Horstmann in Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge) with metathesis of n (< OE āerende) - a form attested in ME. Forms like heraund, erinde and erunde appear also, however (see OED 'errand') and the u-spelling in an unstressed syllable, is characteristic of this text. The non-etymological initial h -, in a common word, indicates the encroachment of colloquial speech on the literary language - cf. hende ll.859, 971, 1047, hiron ll.1002, 1047, and see Spellings III. 4.
- 1.457-60. The final prophecy uttered by Etheldreda : see ll.417-20 note.
- 1.460. wrochede : see Disc. 3. 4.
- 461-78. Bede gives Cynefrith's eyewitness account of Etheldreda's exhumation as the best proof of her body being uncorrupted; and it is only at this point that he tells of the lancing of the pustule, three days before Etheldreda's death. The author of the Vita, like that of SEth has chosen to place this event in narrative sequence, as it happened. Unlike the ME text, however, the Vita does not neglect to repeat Bede's story of how many thought that Etheldreda would recover, so much improved was her condition after the tumour was lanced - but that three days later, she was attacked by the pains of death.
- 1.469. launset : the MED cites this word in the technical sense as appearing first in 1410.  
aperce : this form, with first element a - added to the usual perce < OF percer does not seem to occur elsewhere. No doubt it is the result of analogy with the numerous words in ME, of both OE and OF derivation, where there would exist both a type with first element a - (representing OE intensitive prefix a - or original L. ad -) and an aphetic form.
- 1.470. The o - spelling for fole here beside usual foule probably represents a sporadic southern form, rather than being a N. feature : see Jord. § 55 Anm 1.
- 1.474. boiche : this form occurs again, 1.477. The starting point for this hapax legomenon should probably be an ONF \*boche for

OF boce 'tumour, boil'. The i looks like a N. diacritic for length : Jordan remarks that this use of i to show a long vowel penetrated into the 15th century Midland Language of the Pastons (§ 19, p.36) but then a long vowel would not be in place in this word. Possibly the form is due to contamination by the English 'boil' with the same meaning.

1.475. shulde a farede : see Must pp. 517-19 for the ME use of the perfect infinitive to express the hypothetical.

11.479-508. In the Vita, Etheldreda's tumour, and her attitude towards it are taken, in so many words, from the Hist.Eccl., but they are introduced before Cynefrith lances the swelling. Bede concludes his account of the raising of Etheldreda's body before he relates how Etheldreda was said to delight in the pain of her neck and jaw. She would say that she was well aware of how she had merited the pain, by unnecessarily wearing necklaces, out of vanity; and she believed that God, in His goodness, had sent it her, to absolve her of this sin.

The delicate piety of St.Etheldreda was well brought out by this incident in the Hist.Eccl.: the ME version, where the saint's quick, spiritual intuition is replaced by the mechanical agency of a messenger, seems decidedly heavy-handed by comparison (but cf. 11.381-4 note). The manner in which the author has shaped his material and placed it, as the last event in the saint's life, provides a good illustration of how he is preoccupied with the theological issues of penance, and its bearing on the state of the soul after death to the exclusion of bringing out the psychological interest of the original - aesthetically preferable to the modern reader. The austere tones of the angel invite us to consider God's intransigence, with resentment, rather than be caught up in admiration for Etheldreda's humility; and that, in turn, indicates that the author has, unintentionally, revealed his own apprehensions of death - which recalls how points merely 'theological' in significance, for us, would have been of appalling consequence for the medieval.

482. beddus fete : cf. the same phrase 1.624. For the common ME use of the pl. 'feet' in this phrase see OED foot 5a.

485. goddus sonne of heuene : see Must pp. 78-9 for this 'group genitive' construction.

502. see 11.423-36 note.

11510-14.

sacramentys alle: this will refer to the Eucharist, or Viaticum, and to the sacramental anointing of the sick, both customarily administered to those mortally ill. Both sacraments bestowed grace on the soul, while in its last suffering, and in its departure. Extreme Unction, in addition, was thought of as a complement to Penance, in bringing forgiveness of sins\*. In the Vita, as here, Etheldreda dies after having asked for the Eucharist (p.512 ASS).

1.511.

yenon : see ynon, 1.366.

11.515-16.

Although Bede does not include this detail, little originality would be required on the author's part to envisage grief at the saint's death. The Vita records great sorrow and weeping at Ely (p.512 ASS).

11.517-24.

Visions of this sort are often related in connection with the death of saints. In the Hist.Eccl. alone, the souls of Chad, Ercongota and Aidan are seen being borne to heaven by angels - only heard here. Heavenly light is an equally commonplace feature: cf. Bede's account of the discovery of the two martyrs' bodies and of the drowned Abbot Peter, by the light which shone above them (Hist.Eccl. V.10, I.3.). The sweet smell, here combined with light and harmony, is usually associated with the exhumation of the saint - so, fragrance rose from Ercongota's uncorrupt body (Hist.Eccl. iii . 8.). cf. 11.559-64 note.

11.523-4.

The unnecessary repetition of MS also, as of the substance of 11.519-20 could represent corruption, or - more probably - the author's incompetence .

1.526.

The verb of action has to be understood.

1530.

westo : see Disc. 3 . 5.iii.

1532.

be story of hurre spekuth of nomo : presumably 'her legend (be story of hurre) does not give any longer period' (i.e. than the sixteen years St.Awdry lay in her grave).

1.534.

The date generally accepted for Etheldreda's death, on which she is commemorated .

Juny is the L. genitive form of lunius, a form occurring often in OE, and less commonly in ME.

1536.

The correct date is 673 (see 1.304 note).

\* See J.P.McClain's Anointing of the Sick I and II in the New Catholic Encyclopaedia, N.York, London, etc. 1967.

11 539-42.

This would imply that the Danes destroyed Ely in 821 (taking Etheldreda's death as occurring in 667, as does our author : see 11.403-4 note). Even if we add one hundred and fifty-four to the correct date, 679, the Danish invasion is still placed too early, in 833. According to the ASC, a great Danish host landed in East Anglia in 866, and, from this base, captured York, in the following year. After many victories they returned to East Anglia and slew Edmund. The Vita, similarly, dates the Danes' arrival at 866. See further 11.980-1 note.

1 541.

distrey : see Disc.1. for the significance of ey-spellings in this text.

11 543-5.

Edward the Elder reigned over Wessex after Alfred's death in 899, until 924. His reign is noted for the reclamation of Danish-dominated parts of England - not for monastic reform. The Vita (p.519 ASS) tells how eight clerks returned to Ely, after years, and repaired what they could of the abbey. They lived there until Edred's time (946-55), but were succeeded by clerics, corrupt in their habits (see note below). So, until the time of Edgar, we are told (p.524 ASS), the monastery was, to all effects, derelict, and given over to the royal purse. The clerks, driven out by Ethelwold, certainly do not appear to have been royally sanctioned, at any point.

1.545.

Chanonys : cf. 1.987, where they are further qualified as seculere chanouns. These were clerics, living in communities, but not bound by monastic vows. Each was separately financed by a prebend. Their work was that of organising the affairs of the diocese at all levels, and they were, undoubtedly, of the greatest administrative importance in the AS church. There existed a tendency to laxity among the canonical communities, however - some married, or owned houses - and it was to check this, that the rule of Chrodegang of Metz (755) was formally imposed on all English clergy in 986. The organizers of the great 10th century monastic reform seem to have viewed the canons with much disfavour.\*1. See next note.

11.546-8.

The monasteries of England, virtually extinct since the Danish invasion, were revived, during Edgar's reign (959-78), under the three monk-bishops, pioneers of religious reform, Dunstan, Ethelwold and Oswald. The Vita (pp.524-5 ASS) (and Aelfric in his Life of Ethelwold)\*2. tells us how Ethelwold

\*1. For this and the next note, see D.P. Kirby - The Communities of Canons in the OE Church, pp.102-14.

\*2. Three Lives of English Saints ed. M. Winterbottom. Toronto 1972

drove out the canons, and installed monks there, under Britnoth, his disciple. Ethelwold bought Ely from Edgar, and the king endowed it richly. Edgar's Charter of Ely, of 970, is included in the account in the Vita. cf. 11.988-9 & note.

1.547. blake monkys : Benedictine monks. All the momasteries re-established at this time, were organized under the Benedictine rule. This had just been reformulated, according to the reformed orders of the Continent, in the Regularis Concordia of c.970.

11.551-6. See 11.395-6 & note. Sexburga is said to have been elected as abbess by the nuns (p. 513 ASS). Her sojourn as abbess is not defined, as here, where she is represented as holding office until 702 (or 690 by the reckoning of the legend), but she is said to have lived into old age, and been buried in a fitting place, behind Etheldreda (p.517 ASS).

1 554. Herconbertys represents OE Eorcenberht : see 1.283 note, with reference to the initial H - ; and cf. the nom. form at 1.554 with Hengestys, ll. 15 and 29 - see 1.6 note.

11.559-64. Eorcengota's career appears to have been confused, here, with that of Ermenilda, her sister. Bede (Hist.Eccl.iii.8) tells how she was a nun in Brie, where her aunt Aedelburga was abbess (see 11.129-30 note). The day before her death, she visited the cells of the old and sick, and the very virtuous nuns, asking for their prayers, since her coming death had been revealed to her. A crowd of men in white had entered the monastery, saying they had been sent to fetch the golden coin from Kent. Eorcengota died that night, and the sound of singing, and of the presence of a great throng was heard. The brothers saw a light descend from heaven, and bear away Eorcengota's soul. Her body, exhumed for reburial after three days sent out a powerful fragrance, as of balsam.

1 565. Hermendilda : the form of Ermenilda with initial H - appears again at 11.573, 575 & 583. See 1.283 note.

11.565-8. St.Ermenilda, not mentioned by Bede, was the daughter of Sexburga, who married Wulfhere of Mercia (see 11.569-70 note) and became abbess of Ely after her mother. The Vita states (p. 517 ASS) that she entered the monastery of Sheppey under Sexburga and became abbess on her mother's departure. She, in turn, went to Ely where she died on February 2nd. Her body is buried next to those of Etheldreda and Sexburga.

The abridged version of her legend in Nova Legenda Anglie (vol.1. p.405) - followed by Bradshaw in his Lyfe of St.Werburge (p.80, ca. 20, ll.2128-2275) - represents the saint as coming straight to Ely after Wulfhere's death. An Englishman, unjustly fettered, is said to have been delivered from his chains, after praying at Ermenilda's tomb. A schoolmaster who punished his pupils, regardless of the fact that they had asked pardon from St.Ermenilda, was struck lame overnight. When he asked forgiveness of the children, however, and they had carried him to the saint's tomb and prayed for him, he was healed.

11.569-70. W(u)lf(e)ry, or Wulfhere, was placed on the Mercian Throne by three ealdomen in revolt against Oswin. From 657 until his death in 674, he reigned over a Christianised Mercia, where he was responsible for the building of many churches and monasteries. For the most part of his reign, Wulfhere was the most powerful king in Southern England; by 665 he dominated Essex, and it is probable that he was supreme in Southern England by 670. (see AS Engl.pp.84-5).

11.571-2. Ermenilda and Wulfhere traditionally had two sons, Wulfhade and Ruffin, and only one daughter, Werburga (see next note). St.Milguyde or Milgwida is said to be the daughter of Merewaldus, son of Penda, and Ermernburga, and the sister of Milburga, Mildred and Merewine (p.510 ASS). Her legend is recounted under 17th Jan. in ASS.

1572. MS Merburwe : cf. 11.573 & 577 : see 11.980-1 note.

11.573-4. The Vita tells how Werburga became a nun in Ely after Wulfhere's death (p.510 ASS). At p.513 she appears to be confused with Ermenilda, since she is represented as succeeding the latter as abbess of Sheppey. In fact, Ermenilda took over the office from Werburga. Werburga is then said to have been made abbess in Ely after Ermenilda, and to have chosen burial at Hanbury. In fact, Werburga left Ely to found the houses of Trentham, Hanbury and Weedon; she spent most of her life in Trentham and Weedon, performing many miracles: see 11. 577-80, note.

1.576. The Vita gives no estimate of the duration of Ermenilda's period in office.

11.577-80. Werburga's body - reputedly uncorrupt - was raised in c.875 to preserve it from the Danes. It is said to have fallen into ashes on the way to Chester, where it was reburied

in pomp. Werburga became the patroness of Chester.\*

- 1.581-3. The Vita mentions that Sexburga and Ermenilda were buried at Ely, beside Etheldreda (p.517 ASS). Eorcengota was buried at Brie (see 11.559-64 note).
- 1.584. See English Medieval Pilgrimage (D.J.Hall, London 1965) pp. 189-92 for an account of the claimants of St.Alban's relics : the abbey of Cologne, and in Odense, Denmark, are both reputed to house some of his bones. The main contestant with St.Albans in England, however, was Ely. The relics of St.Alban were apparently sent to Ely for safekeeping from the Danes : the monks of Ely then refused to return them, until St.Albans threatened to call in the Pope. A set of human remains were returned to St.Albans in the tomb, but these were apparently false relics : the body of St.Alban was buried beneath the altar of St.Nicholas in Ely. In 1155 three bishops, sent by the Pope to make enquiries about the case, officially established - probably on little real evidence - that the relics were in fact at St.Albans. Our author, in praising Ely, is evidently eager to maintain, or revive the old tradition.
- 1.589-90. The repetition of of(te)tymes, and of the verb 'to be', first in the s., then the pl., is probably evidence of corruption here - or of extreme incompetence. For better sense, we should retain was, as the rhyme-word, and omit þer weren. Presumably the latter was included as following on naturally from the pl. subject. It is possible that the original phrasing was s. : \* mony a gret ley3t, but a pl. verb would not have necessarily been considered imperative : cf. 1.597, where the reverse situation occurs.
- 1.593-604. The power of saints' relics to cure the sick was generally accepted from Bede's time to the Middle Ages; viz. the Book of Miracles of St.Etheldreda in ASS, where the blind, dumb, deformed, limbless and sick receiving healing by prayer at Etheldreda's tomb. Bede mentions (Hist.Eccl. 1V.19) that devils were cast out, and sickness cured by the touch of Etheldreda's linen wrappings, and that some were cured of eye-troubles by resting their heads on her tomb, in prayer.
- 1.605-8. Wilfrid would have been under the protection of Aethelred of Mercia at this time (695). He administered the Mercian
- \* See Bradshaw's Lyfe of St.Werburge (re-edited C.Horstmann) pp. X-XV - & vol.14. New Catholic Encyclopaedia, under Werburga.

dioceses for eleven years (691-702), before going to see the Pope, for the last time.\* He does not figure again in the Hist.Eccl. 1V.19: Bede tells us that it pleased Sexburga to raise her sister's bones in order to put them in a new coffin, in church. The Vita simply tells us that Wilfrid witnessed Etheldreda's exhumation - and that the latter was authorized by Sexburga.

11.609-12.

This account corresponds with that in the Vita (pp.513-14 ASS) and the Hist.Eccl., in which Sexburga tells certain brothers to go afield to seek a tombstone, since the marshy land near Ely is unsuitable. Both monks take a boat and make their way to Grantacaestir (or Cambridge : see 1.878 note) where they find a coffin, beautifully fashioned, with well-fitting lid.

11.613ff.

The events related from now on have no basis in Bede, the Vita, or any of the other versions of St.Etheldreda's legend. Any possible connections with the Vita will be noted, however.

By rendering the unaided search for a stone unsuccessful, until the double authority of God's angel, and Etheldreda - with a personal interest in the issue - has defined and approved the enterprise, the author seeks to stress the fact that God's will is being performed. The same purpose can be seen in the introduction of the mysterious aged man of Cynfrey's vision (11. 690-713). cf., too, 11.381-4 note, 734 ff. note.

11.617-20. cf. 11. 355-6 note.

11.621-9.

An extra line in these two stanzas cannot be definitely pinpointed : the rhyme scheme would be as sound, were we to omit 1.621, 1.625 or 1.631. 1.621, despite its irregular metre, should probably be retained, since it provides a time and place for the episode. Perhaps 1.625 should be expunged, since we know the angel is brv3t already, and we need some indication of the light around Sexburwe's semely mayde (see 11.656-7). This would apportion a neat stanza each, to the saints' respective visions.

11.632-7.

Some sort of coherence in the narrative seems to be attempted by the reappearance of Etheldreda, echoing her own prophecy of 11.389-408. The connection is made explicit by Wilfrid, 11.660-1; and the author - or the scribe - seems to

\* AS Engl. p. 143.

have forgotten who is speaking and being addressed, in his effort to establish it further, ll.636-7 (cf. ll.401, 403-4, 407-8).

- 11.650-1. For the forms fanysshede and wanyssede see Spellings III. (11).
- 1.663. The reintroduction of Cynefrith seems to indicate again, the author's desire to create a connected narrative, with economy of characters. The changed nature of the enterprise is stressed, too, by the fact that it is entrusted to new people, one associated with Etheldreda, and three wise men (1.675).
- 11.676-85. The monks appear to arrive at Cambridge on the day they start out; in the Hist. Eccl. & Vita there is none of the colour of the merke euenynge followed by the vigorous awakening of the morrow.
- 1.658. whytte as whall; a common ME alliterative formula used in praise of beauty; e.g., Pearl 212 and the Harley lyric A wayle whyt as whalles bon.
- 11.690 ff. The discovery of the coffin is duly heralded by a vision: see ll.381-4 note & ll.613 ff. note.
- 1.698. vy3age is obviously a form of 'visage'. While it is possible that the word has been confused with 'voyage', it is more likely that the '3' represents the voiced sound [z] here (the sole occasion that it does so in this text).
- 11.714-17. The revelation of God's benign purpose here, and at ll.722-3, is greeted with proper gratitude. The thankful recognition of divine workings is stressed throughout the poem: cf. ll.257-8, 373-8, 508, 738-41, 791, 814-15, 854-61, 903 ff. Bede recounts how the monks returned to Ely, realising that God had prospered their journey, and so, giving thanks: the Vita repeats this account (p.14 ASS).
- 1.718. For the rhyme of geynthe on neynche, see Rhymes 2.
- 1.723. Either hadde .. y-sende is active, and a pronoun he, referring to God, has been omitted or understood before the verb, or the construction is passive, with grace as the subject, and be(n) has been left out of hadde be(n) hem y-sende..
- 1.724. A curious use of agast, usually meaning 'afraid' in ME. The phrase can just be interpreted 'aghast' or 'afraid (at the thought) of carrying it', but the sense leans more towards that of 'at a loss'. The very practical consideration

of its conveyance lends a sturdy veracity to the ~~MS~~ poem, in comparison with the Hist.Eccl. and Vita.

11.734 ff. The practical problems of conveyance are to be solved by the revelation of a miraculous 'sub-plot' which effaces the notion advanced in the Vita, that the stone Dei..iussione..caelitus fuisse collocatum (p.514 ASS). There, those living near had never seen such a stone here, it is the property of a local; and divine ordinance, effected by Etheldreda, must deal with the mundane concern of paying him for the coffin, and for his labour: see 11.750-3, 762-3.

1.735. The sense is clearly 'bought', and the MS y-brou3t must represent an error.

11.738-41. cf. : 11.714-17 note.

1.750. For the rhyme syll : tyll see Rhymes 2 - and Provenance for tyll in rhyme.

11.762-3. see 1.797 & note.

11.781-4. Bede does not record the brothers' gladness, except to tell us that they offered thanks. The Vita says of the monks that they were supra modum gauisi.

11.784-7. Bede does not register Sexburwe's reaction, at all, but he tells of her joy at this divine gift, and her blessing God who sent it.

1.797. professhennalle ryng : cf. profession-ryng (Chron.Vilod. 3217) referring, as here (and 1951) to the ring which a nun assumes, on making her profession, or religious vows. The word 'professional' is not recorded otherwise, in English, by the OED, until 1747-8, used in the sense 'pertaining to a profession, or skill', and should be regarded as another individual quirk, of author, or scribe, in the SEth. The whole episode of the ring appears to be peculiar to this work.

1.801. Bede gives no intimation of the period of time which elapsed between the return of the new coffin, and the exhumation, but from the ceremony which attended the latter, it is unlikely they occurred on the same day. The Vita tells us (p.514 ASS) that the ceremony took place statuto die, with all due ceremony.

1.802. Wilfrid continues to play a leading role in events. Bede states that Etheldreda's body was found uncorrupt, and gives Wilfrid's testimony as to the truth of this fact : sicut..Wilfrid et multi alii qui novere testantur. He implies that Wilfrid was not present at the exhumation, however, in the

next sentence, where Cynefrith, who was a witness, is represented as offering more certain proof. The Vita misrepresents Bede's account, by stating that Wilfrid, after a life of close contact with Etheldreda, was present at her translation.

- 11.801-5. The separate leading-forth of monks and nuns reflects Bede's account (repeated in the Vita) of how the monks stood in one assembly, and the nuns in another, singing around the tomb.
1806. For tenuclus see Spellings II. 13. note. This is an early example of tunicle in the technical sense of 'vestment', like a dalmatic. The OED gives its first example from a text of 1425.
- 1.809-23. See 11.593-604 and note. This wave of healing corresponds to a similar one in the Vita (p. 514 ASS) when the new coffin was unloaded from the cart and a great crowd of people rushed to the spot, some having fever, others various sorts of affliction. All were cured, and rejoiced in their new health.
- 1.814-15. cf. 11. 714-17 and note.
- 11.816-19. There is no record of the numbers cured, in the Vita.
- 1.824. noy is another corrupt form, which is presumably the author's since it rhymes on joy (822). This form is apparently the result of confusion between noys(e) and noy : possibly noys was falsely imagined to be a pl. form : cf. cherry < ONF cherise.
- 11.828 ff. Bede(followed by the Vita) tells how a pavilion was erected over the tomb, outside which stood the community. Sexburga went inside, with a few others, to raise and wash the bones : those outside were first made aware of the miracle by the abbess' cry from within. This is how Cynefrith's testimony runs - (the Vita gives the events directly) - and the description of Etheldreda's body is given only after he has been called into the tent, to see her raised on to a couch.
- Cynefrith said Etheldreda lay as if asleep, and that the wound in her neck was quite healed : cf. 11.846-8. The Vita describes her body as being as uncorrupt as if she had died, or been buried, on that very day: cf. 11.839-40. It also declares her body to have been tota pulchra, tota formosa, tota integra, with the same sort of imaginative elaboration as in this description .
- 1.834. For the rhyme honde : fonde, see Rhymes 10.
- 1.854-61. cf. 11.714-17 note. Cynefrith told how Sexburga cried out

in a loud voice 'sit gloria nomini Domini' just before he was called into the tent: cf. l.858.

- 1.847. The rhyme of seuene with euene is ambiguous : it appears to involve a ptp. of 'see' descended from WS sewen rhyming on 'euen' with w for v (cf. wanyssede (651)) - but it could equally represent a rhyme of reduced 'e'en' with a ptp. < Angl.gesegen.
- 1.859. hende : cf. 1.1047 and see note 1.453.
- 1.866. For the rhyme done : vpone see Rhymes 9.
- 11.862 ff. The public viewing of the saint's body on the high altar has no basis in the Hist.Eccl. or the Vita. In both these accounts Etheldreda's body is washed and reclothed, and then placed in the new coffin, which is put in the church.
- 1.876. Grantechester is Cambridge, the town which Bede tells us is called Grantacaestir by the English. The normal development of the name would have been to Gran(t)chester, but an early substitution of the second element, -brycg for -caestir brought about the loss of r in Granta-, by distant dissimilation, in the group r - n - r, and enabled the name to become Cambridge.\*
- 1.877. Bede does not imply Etheldreda was born at Cambridge (see 876 note) : the Vita gives Aereninge as her place of birth (p.498 ASS). The whereabouts of this place is uncertain, but it was probably in Cambridgeshire. The 'Earningas' gave their name to the hundred of Armingford, and to Arrington - which is not within the latter hundred, the implication being that the original hundred covered a wider area than today. In the Inquisitio Eliensis, in the 11th century, Armingford appears as 'Aerningf', a form comparable to that in the Vita. See Place-names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely. English Place-name Society XLX. by P.H.Reaney, Cambridge 1943 - under Armingford and Arrington.
- 11.878-81. This detail from Bede is also recorded in the Vita (p. 515 ASS). The tomb fitted Etheldreda's body as if it had been made for this purpose.
- 11.884-9. These lines imply that a crowd of sick people were healed straight after the translation, which did not occur according to the Hist.Eccl. or the Vita. The Liber Miraculorum chronicles the miracles that occurred over the years, but does not record a mass-healing, apart from that mentioned, note, 11.809-23.

\* See PNC p.75.

11.890-4. See note 11.593-604. The Vita follows Bede, in mentioning the devils cast out, and diseases cured, by the touch of Etheldreda's linen wrappings, and her old coffin. It tells, also, of a clear, healing spring that welled up from the saint's old grave (ASS p.515).

1893. bynne appears 2X more, in each case rhyming, as here, on in(ne), at 11.933 and 1008. The word is assumed to be from OE baene in the Gloss, representing a form of penne with e raised before a single nasal (see DoB §77(b)). It could equally, however, represent the predominantly Northern thyn(n)e, apparently a reduction of 'thethon' - a form which appears 1X (1.712) in this text. See Rhymes 8 for other rhymes involving raised e.

1896 ff. There is no miracle to correspond to this, in the Vita. The power of a saint to raise the dead, however, is a feature of hagiographical literature, which recalls the raising of Lazarus, and probably reflects a desire to liken a particular saint to Christ.

1899. cf. 11.355-6 note.

1909. see 1.250 note.

1916. honestnysse is described as a rare form in the OED, where only two examples are cited, one from a mid-16th century text, and the other from the companion text of SEth, the Chron.Vilod, where it appears, as honestnas.

1930. by-hette is apparently the pts. of ME bihoten, OE behatan - behēt. The usual sense of the word is 'promise' or 'pledge', but here, it appears to mean 'voiced a petition' or 'pleaded (for healing)'. We must assume that the scantily-attested sense 'urge (to do something)' 'demand (something)', recorded in the MED, has been extended to an intransitive usage. cf. behight (OED behight II. 6, 7), a late form of the same verb, with a 17th century sense 'bespeak' or 'invoke'.

1939. By-causa does not appear elsewhere, and is presumably the result of L. influence, whether written consciously, or the result of a mental slip.

1944-5. A striking echo of the description of Ely in the Prologue to the Liber Miraculorum (p.540 ASS), where it is dubbed haec Anglorum lampas perspicua.

1946. trenyn : cf. trene (527) with the OE adjectival -en ending (see OED -en 4). This form appears to have a reduplicated -en marker.

- 1.971. hence: cf. 1.453 note.
- 11.978-9. Godstow was a Benedictine Abbey, like Ely, and Wilton, It was founded c.1133 for twenty-five nuns. In 1445, there were seventeen nuns, and in 1520, nine.\* The legend, which our author read in Godstow appears to have borne only a very garbled correspondence to the Vita, as will be seen, in comparing the facts of the one with the other.
- 11.980-1. For Werburga, see 11.573-4 note & 11.577-80 note. She is supposed to have died in 699. By this reckoning, the Danes would have arrived in 759 - almost exactly one hundred years too early, see 11.539-42 note. The author is possibly not aware of the contradiction between the statement here and 11.537-42. The miswriting of M for W in 'Werburga', at 11.572, 573 and 577, is probably original, and to be attributed to the author's copying from different texts, in one of which M was either mistaken for W, or resembled it. The author would not be aware of the identity of Merburwe and Werburwe, if so.
- 11.986-7. cf. 11.543-5, & note, & note, 1.545.
- 11.988-9. cf. 11.546-8 & note. See 1.547 note. St. Dunstan was the chief of the pioneers of monastic reform in the religious revival of Edgar's reign. Made abbot of Glastonbury by Edmund, in 940, he was exiled for his open condemnation of King Edwig. While abroad, he imbibed the spirit of the Continental religious reform, in the monasteries of France, and was able to collaborate with Ethelwold and Oswald, on his return to England (957), in reorganising the English religious houses. Dunstan became Archbishop of Canterbury in 960, and was responsible for the reform of Malmesbury, Bath and Gloucester. The implication in these lines is that Dunstan, rather than Ethelwold, was responsible for the reorganisation of Ely - another indication that the information from the Vita must have been very garbled when our author came to it.
- 11.990-1093. The miracle recounted in these lines appears to have, as its ultimate origin, the episode recounted in the Vita, pp.520-22, ASS, but the discrepancies indicate alteration and corruption arising from intermediary accounts.
- 11.990-3. The Vita recounts how the canons' archipresbyter, Didascalus, being a newcomer to Ely, and having never witnessed any miracles, calls the clerks to him, near St. Etheldreda's day, to tell them that he doubts if the saint's body is whole, in
- \* See D. Knowles & R. Haddock : Medieval Religious Houses.

the coffin, since he has seen no marvels performed, and that he plans to find out the truth. All attempt to dissuade him, and one monk recounts miracles he has witnessed, in connection with Etheldreda's relics. Like Cerdic, however, Didascalus is moved by no fere, and with three companions sets out to open the tomb.

1998. wolde han meuyd : for this example of the perfect infinitive expressing unfulfilled purpose, cf. ll.1003, 1005, 1037 : see Must pp. 517-19.
- 1.995. There is no need for Didascalus to chisel a hole, for a small chink in the tomb already exists - as it does here, indeed, judging from 1.997. The story of how the hole was made is very similar to the present one : an impious Norman, during a raid on the abbey, made the hole, hoping to gain treasure, but lost his eyes and expired as soon as he had pierced the tomb (p.521 ASS).
- 11.996-1007. The procedure of ll.995-1001 is clear. 1.1002 presumably constitutes a fuller description of the hokude 3erde, although it is clumsily placed, as if an afterthought. The same applies to ll.1004-5, apparently recapitulating 1.996. Didascalus' investigation was tripartite. First, he and his companions, seized forked sticks, and ascertained Etheldreda's body was there, by prodding it through the hole. Then (despite warning to the contrary) Didascalus put a lighted candle on a stick, and pushed it through, in order to see if the body was uncorrupt. But he could see no more, within, quam si foret caecatus utroque lumine (cf. ll.1014-5, 1020, 1025). The candle fell on Etheldreda's body, still burning, but left it miraculously unharmed. Didascalus then sharpened and split the end of a stick and, winding it in the saint's shroud, dragged the body to the opening in the tomb (cf. ll.998-1003, ll.1006-7). He took a sword, and cut a small piece from the cloth. At this, the body was suddenly pulled back into the tomb, as if two strong soldiers had dragged it away.
- 1.1002. hiron : cf. 1. 453 note.
- 11.1010-13. Etheldreda manifests her disapproval in the ME version not by retreat, but by keeping the malefactor prisoner. It is not clear why Cerdic cannot escape. We are told he cannot walk away (121); and he recounts to the dean how he pulled the stick so hard that he fell flat on his back (1058-9).
- 1.1035. See Rhymes 2 for duste, in the rhyme with luste.

- 1.1061. The only other example given of the adverb vengauncelyche, in the OED, is from Fletcher in 1622, where the meaning is 'intensely', 'very much'. The form here, then, is rare if not original to the poet; and the meaning is not as given in the OED, but more literal 'with retribution'.
- 11.1066-73. cf. 11.355-6 note.
- 11.1080-9. see 11.381-4 note.
- 11.1086-9. The angel's verdict is perhaps unexpectedly stern; but the purpose of this miracle is to provide a warning example for all impious men. In the Vita, Didascalus and his family are swiftly destroyed by plague, and he goes to Hell : two of his companions die subsequently, also.
- 11.1100-1. coronede maydenus : cf. 11.435-6 note.
- 11.1110-31. see MS Description 14.
- 11.1110. The rhyme of pyte on y-wrete presumably involved a short i in the ptp. y-wrete ( < OE writen ) and in pyte, descended from OE pytan : see put v. OED.

APPENDIXDifferences between the present text and Horstmann's edition.

The scribe's indiscriminate alternation between writing f and ff (this last is generally regarded as a graph for capital F) has been disregarded in this text, although Horstmann retains it, e.g. y-ffere, ll. 3, 23 etc : cf y-fere l. 11. Certain differences in readings are to be accounted for by the fact that u and n are indistinguishable in the MS. Differing readings from Horstmann's text are listed below.

	<u>Readings in this edition.</u>	<u>Horstmann's readings.</u>
6	Hengestus	Hengestis
18	st[olde] (MS stade)	stode
34	b[e] (MS ye)	be
49	furst	first
87	Bernice	Beruice
119	Coludy	Colndy
144	contrelly ny}e h[e]m	contreuy ny}e hym
228	bathe	bothe
244	ychau	ychan
259	Coludi	Colndi
281	Coludy	Colndy
353	soden[llyche	sodenlylyche
416	after pat [ ]	after pat pat
433	pus	buse
453	herunde	hernede
521	s[o]te (MS sate)	sote
536	b[e] (MS ye)	be
568	Wlfry	Welfry
572	Milguyde	Milgnude
572, 573, 577	[W]erburwe (MS Merburwe)	Merturwe
588	Se[x]burwe (MS Selburwe)	Selburwe

611	scasenesse	sca(r)senesse
675	m[e]n (MS mon)	men
735	y-b[ɫ]ouʒt (MS y-brouʒt)	y-bouʒt
927	ba:the	bothe
1093	b[e](MS bo)	po
1100	shal[ɫ] (MS shall)	shall

GLOSS

The head-word - and succeeding examples from the text - are printed in bold type (i.e. underlined with a wavy line ): the modern English is rendered in plain type, and the notes and grammatical headings etc. are in italics - represented by a straight line beneath the word.

The alphabetical classification of the glossary places j between g and h. The letters i and y, p and the graph th have been treated as the same, y being placed with i in the sequence, and p with th. While u and v have been considered, similarly, as a single letter, in medial position, they are treated separately in initial position, where u precedes v: a large number of words are included in the latter category, and it is felt that such a classification will be suitable for easy reference purposes.

GLOSS

abbay n abbey 225, 259, 281, 299, 302, 303, 537 &. [OF abbeie]

abbas n abbes 227, 283, 301, 309, 395, 535 &c. g w. prep ~ 307  
[OF abbese]

abeve v<sub>intr</sub> agree 203 [OF obeir]

abyde v<sub>intr</sub> remain 286, 292, 300, 1028 pts abode 284 pt pl abydde 924  
[OE abīdan]

about prep (i) around 156, 461, 486, 492, 519, 589 &c.

(ii) w. regard to 447 (iii) approximately 73 phr all ~, all around  
610, 703, 811 walke ~, explore 670 ~ me, on my account 445  
[OE onbūtan]

abstinence n in phr in gret ~ of mete, abstaining much from food  
345 [OF abstinence reſd I abſtinentia]

afreyt ptp as a afraid 354 [OE\* afyrhtan]

after adv & prep after 13, 21, 29, 31, 53, 70 &c. [OE aeftor]

after p<sub>at</sub>: see bat

agaſt ptp as a ; w. ſore: afraid 631, 1009 phr of carriage hey were  
~, they were at a loſs concerning its conveyance 7-4

[OE intens a-+ gaeſtan]

age n age (of an individual) 117 (see non) phr in hurre ~, when they  
were older 128 of ~, of ſufficient maturity 141 young ~, youth  
196 (see bathe), 488, 489 [OF eage]

aye adv in phr for ~, forever 230 [ON ei]

a3eyne (i) prep before 321, 322; (ii) adv again 372, 907 a3eyne 360,  
544, 615, 1079 a3eyn 1076 a3ayne 105, [OE ongaegn/ ongegn]

aytethe ord num eighth 53 [OE eahtopa]

aytethene a & num eighteen 75 [OE eahtatēne]

ale n beer 335 [OE alu]

alwys adv always 212 [OE (e)al + ON gata infd ps always]

alyve a alive 164, 851 phr dwelt ~, remained while he was alive 158  
[OE on + life]

alle a & pron all 23, 58, 91, 108, 132 &c. [OE (e)all]

alle-lette conj although 287 phr ~ þay, although 285 [red ME phr 'all be it]

alwyt a almighty 291, 495, 810 [OE aelmihtig]

alowe prep below 238 [a-, red OE on + ON lag-r]

- also adv. also 2,82,89,98,125,130 &c. [OE alswā]  
amendyde ptp. rectified 1034 [OF amender]  
amys adv. wrongly 267,880,1017 [prob ON a mis 'so as to miss']  
among(e) prep. among 220,274,386,391,422,439 &c. [OE phr ON gemang]  
angel(1)(e) n angel 293,623,651,655  
as angels 1080 pl angelis 220  
angelus 913 angels 236,520,524 [OF angele]  
anger n. rage 1121 [ON angr: 'grief']  
anon(e) adv. immediately 207, 251,253,261,301,360 &c. phr. after bat ~, 141,143, ~ as 3587, as soon as ~ after 621,652,660,757,801, after ~ 603, straight afterwards ry3t ~, straight away 662, 817,966,994 [OE on āne]  
a-nother a. & pron. another 168,394,997,1110 [OE ān + ōper]  
a-payde ptp. satisfied 257 [OF apayer]  
aperce vtr. pierce 469 [pref a + OF percer]  
apparede vintr.pts. appeared 358 [OF apareir]  
aray n. attire 277,734 phr of ry3t gode ~, constituting a splendid display 806 in ry3t gode ~, in a thriving condition 143 in fulle feble ~, in a very feeble state 921 [AF arai]  
a-reynne adv.? in a ring [? pref a + OE hringandz]  
armys npl. arms 872 [OE (e)arm]  
ascone vtr.pr.pl. ask 964 pts. askede 750 [OE āscian]  
asperite: see prosperite & note.  
aunte n. aunt 227 [OF aunte]  
auter n. alter; see key3e: 864,866,882 [OF auter]  
a-vantetage (noaphrl.compnd. in phr. bat is to vs most ~, that is of most benefit to us 215 [a red OE of + OF avantage]  
awoke vintr.pts. awoke 506 [OE (a)waeconan, awācian]  
badde vtr.pts. asked 601 subj.pts. bede 604 [OE biddan, bēodan]  
bake n. back 1059 [OE baec]  
batelle n. combat 92 (see strong) [OF bataille]  
bathis npl. baths 317 [OE baep]  
be v. be 88,187,214,218,278,328 &c. ~ n. 16,324,429, ~ ne 256  
lprs.am 658 (+ aggl.pron.) yham 909,1061 neg nam 484  
3prs.is/ys 44,47,63,80,85,95,&c. neg mys 208, 243,277 prpl. ~ n 12, 87,220,405,457,580 &c. 2 x 3 prs.subj. were 240,463,488,489,490, 634 &c. ~ 1109 1 & 3 pts.was 5,13,20,24,27,35, &c. wes 530  
mys 1049 neg nas 8,42,248,577,890,893 &c.  
2 pts.were 488,489,490 ptpl. 1,9 weron 4,72,91,127,135,598 &c.  
weren 14,122,136,522,558,572 &c. 3 pts.subj. were 137,139,287  
ptp. ~ 166 ~ n 239,285,841 [OE bēon, wesan]  
bede: see badde  
bedde n. bed 341 es beddus 481,624 [OE bedd]

- Bellus npl. bells 824, 826 [OE belle]  
belouyd pt.p. beloved 381 [OE bi- + lufian]  
benigne a. kindly 373 [OF benigne]  
berde n. beard 696 [OE beard]  
bere n. beer 897 [OE bāer, bēr]  
bere vt(i) carry 777 pts. bare 617 (see mynde) pt. pl. beron 873  
(ii) born ptp. bore 53, 70, 113, 164, 536, 546 y-bone 114, 237, 287, 302, 497 [OE beran]  
best, better: see gode  
bewte n. beauty 491 [OF beaute]  
by prep. (i) by agency of 6, 24, 76, 121, 282, 557, &c. (ii) by means of 333, 372, 694, (iii) on account of 914, (iv) beside 63, 65, 66, 84, 686  
phr. ~ grace, by good fortune 27, 730. ~ grace of, as a happy result of 56. ~ case, as it chanced 71, fast ~, close beside 68, 564, ny3e ~, nearby 144, ~ alle þe wey, all the way 785 [OE bi]  
by-cause conj. because: + of: 606, 942  
by-causa 939, phr. ~ þat because 110, 376, 1089, for ~, because 241. [OE bi + OF causa (L.causa) cf. phr. par cause de]  
bygynnyng n. beginning; see take: 30, 54: 235 (see with-ou3t), 421 [OE beginnan]  
byhette vintr. pts. made his plea 930 [OE behatan - hēt note]  
by-leueduste vintr. 2 pts. believed 1089 [OE be- + (ge)liefan]  
bynome vtr. ptp. taken 896 [OE beniman - numen]  
byside prep. beside 646, 689, 707, phr. ny3e ~, near here 226, ny3e here ~, nearby 642 [ME phr. biside < OE be sīdan]  
bysilyche adv. diligently [OE bisig]  
bisshoperiche n. pl. bishoprics 9 [OE biscoprīce]  
bysshopus n. pl. bishops 833 [OE biscop]  
by-towe vtr. pt.p. bestowed 240 [OE betēon - togen]  
bytwenes prep. between 193 [OE betwēon(um)]  
blake a. black; see monkus: 546, 989 [OE blaec]  
blaspheme vtr. speak irreverently of 1095 [OE blasfemer]  
blessede vtr. pts. blessed 374 ptp. (as a)  
blessud 132, 219, 236, 359, 562, 650  
blessude 127, 130, 131, 224, 249, 506 &c. 205, y-blessude 858, 911 [OE blētsian]  
blew vtr. pts. blew; see ou3t: 352, 370 [OE blāwan - blēow]  
blynde a. blind 595, 1020, 1025, 1088, 1093, blynde 816 [OE blind]  
blys n. bliss 434, 970; see heuene: 550, 637, 912, 1096, 1099. ~ se 428, 432, 518 [OE bliss]  
blythe a. happy; in phr. gladde & ~, 260, 739, 788, 933 [OE bliþe]  
blyue adv. with haste 759 [red OE bi liþe]  
body n. body 163, 313, 320, 397, 406, 442, &c. [OE bodig]  
boyche n. pustule 474, 477 [? ONF \*boche note]  
boke n. book 272 (see in), 1114 (see story) [OE bōc]

- bone n. request 601 [ON bón]  
bone n. bone 648 pl. ~ s 580 [OE bān]  
bot conj. (i) except 7,426,446. (ii) rather 246,278,280,342,503,881 &c.  
 (iii) but - or introduces cl., w. weakened adversative sense:  
 47,77,93,102,103 &c. ~ e 1062 but 1128,1130. (iv) only 26,321.  
 (v) than 459, phr. ~ litull space, except for a short time 577, ~  
3if, unless 343 [OE būton, būte]  
bote n. in phr. his ~ he ne fette; he did not find relief [OE bōte]  
both(e) (i) adv. both 20,162,188,206,270,491 &c.  
a. & pron. 135,136,207,630,726, phr. ~ sons & hevre 173,  
 ~ day & ny3t 178; ~ ny3t & day 228,312 always in oure ~ 3ong age,  
 while we are both young 196 [ON bádir apl. bádra]  
bou3t vtr.pts. bought 800 ptp. y- ~ 743,767,1108, y-b ou3t 735.  
 [OE bycgan - bohte]  
botwo a. & pron. both 94, boto 127 [OE bā+twā]  
bredde n. bread 335 [OE bread]  
brennyng v.intr.prp. burning 996,1045 [OE bernan, ON brennan]  
bry3t(e) a. bright 293,358,371,623,655,869 &c. [OE be(o)rht, breht]  
bryng vtr. bring 224,792 1 pts. bou3t 1043, ptp. 430,458,772  
 [OE bringan, brōht(e)]  
broke vtr.ptp. (i) broken 644. (ii) burst 463 [OE brecan - brocen]  
brother n. brother 6,154, pl. brethren 690 [OE brōðor ds brēder]  
bulte vtr.ptp. built 304 [OE \*byldan]  
bury vtr. bury 438, imp.pl. 443, ptpl. ~ edone 329 [OE byrgan]  
calle vtr. in phr. dude forthe ~, had summoned 805  
callyd .. hym to, summoned to him 1124 [ON kalla]  
candell(e) n. candle 351,360,372,996,1004,1014 &c. [OE Candel infd. OF  
Candelle]  
cariage n. conveyance 724 (see agast) [ONF cariage]  
carie vtr. convey in a cart 727,737,758, prp. caryenge 791 (see mon)  
 [ONF carier: carry in vehicle.]  
case n. 71 (see by) phr. in þat ~, in that event 135, knowyth of þat  
 ~, is aware of what happened at that time 495 [OF cas: chance]  
cast v. (i) tr.ptp. y- ~, placed 527, (ii) intr. 3 pts. conjectured 796,  
phr. vp ~ e, cast up 510 refl.use: he hyg ~, he shaped a purpose 468  
 [ON kasta]  
castelle n. castle 151 [ONF castel]  
cau3t vtr.pts. in phr. ~ holde, got a hold 1050 [ONF cachier, infd.  
in sense and form by OE laeccan - laeht(e)]  
certeyn a, as n. a definite number 392. [OF certain]  
chanonys n.pl. secular canons (note 1.545) chano(u)ns 989,990 (see  
seculere). [OF chanoine]  
chas: vtr.pts. chose 179 (see wyff) ptp. choson 301. [OE cēosan]  
chast a. sexually pure 154 [OF chaste]  
chambre n. bedroom 449, 435. [OF chambre]  
chere n. demeanour 274,387 (see senely). phr. with gode ~, full of gladness  
 857, with sorwefulle ~, full of sorrow 1022,

- with myelde ~, with gentle expression 450,456, so gladdē of chure, of such a cheerful expression 756. [OF chiere]
- chesell n. chisel 995,1044. [ONE chisel]
- chest n. coffin 441,527,834,837,841,946. [OE cist, \*ciest ad.L. cista]
- child(e) n. child 114,195,489,896,897,900 &c. gs ~ us 116 [OE cild]
- chirche n. the Church 268 (see holy) [OE cyrice]
- choson: see chas.
- chotte: see wete.
- chure: see chere.
- cyte n. city 62,643 [OF cite]
- clanliche a. clean 278 [OE clænlic]
- clannasse n. phr. in ~, with a pure heart 212, preserving unstained, chastity 222. [see prec]
- clene a. pure, spotless 160,165,182,190,214,221 &c. adv. ~ completely 308 [OE clæne]
- clepe v.tr. call pt.pl. clepte(n) (see mon: 123,125,145)  
 pt.p. y-clepte 41,116,124,558 clept(e) 129,148,172,467,944.  
phr. ~ yp, call from sleep 339. clepte forthe, summoned 512 [OE cleopian]
- clere a. bright 682 (see day). adv. ~ liche clearly 868 [OF cler; OE -lice]
- clerkus n.pl. members of one of the eight holy Orders 803. [OE, OF cleric]
- close v.tr. enclose 719. pt.p. closote 922, y-closot 610,905.  
phr. ~ done yp. closed up 920. [OF clos-]
- clothe vtr. 270,448 [OE \*clāpian]
- clope n. corpse - wrapping 998,1003 pl. ~ a 1006
- clobus 892,948,1048,1050 clothes 311,312,314 [OE clāp]
- clothyng n. dress 278 [see prec.]
- colers n.pl. necklaces 492,494 [OF colier]
- colour(e) n. colour 844,869 [OF color]
- come v.intr. come 403,408,428,503,504,637 &c. 3 pr.s. ~ the 976 (see thou3t) imp.pl. ~ the 692, pt.s. ~ 43,66,352, 382,411,607 &c. (see thou3t), pt.pl. ~ 540,596,677, 786,884,1026, ~ n 453,616, came 599, phr. ~ to 140, came to 43, find. [OE cuman]
- comforde v.tr. reassure 359 [OF conforter; support]
- comvng-in(ne) vbl.n. invasion 29,36 [OE incuman, incyme]
- compas n. extent 99,645, phr. o ~, constituting a circuit 96 (note) [OF compas]
- confessour n. confessor 988 [OF confessor]
- conquered v.tr. pt.p. conquered 5 [OF conquerer]

- conseyuede v.tr. pt. s. understood 247 [OF conceiv-, concevoir ]  
conselle n. (i) advice 204 (see 3eue), (ii) cuncel(le), state council 1124, 1128, 1130 [OF conseil ]  
conselle v.tr. advise 187 [OF conseiller ]  
consente v.intr. (i) consent 1128, 1130, (ii) pt.s. consendyd, assented 251 [OF consentir 'agree ]  
constreynede v.tr. pt.s. constrained 344 [OF constraindre ]  
conteynede v.tr. pt.s. contained 94 [OF contenir ]  
continuallyche adv. perpetually 936 [OF continuel ]  
contrey n. region 38, 91, 302, 609, 612, 614 &c. contr[el]y 144 [OF contree ]  
copus n.pl. monk's robes 806 [OE \*cāpe ad. L. capa ]  
coronede v.tr. pt.p. crowned 1100; y-coronyd 543; y-cronyd 118, 214 [OF coroner ]  
corrupcionē n. decay 840 [OF corrupcion ]  
cost n. in phr. settuth no ~, incur no expense 445 [OF coster ]  
couent n. convent 805 [OF convent ]  
couthē vtr.pt.s. knew 204, 267, 355 [OE cunnan - cūde ]  
craftē n. skill 720 [OE cræft ]  
creature n. (i) person 288, 812, (ii) creature (pej.) 361 [OF creature ]  
crepuls n.pl. cripples 819 [OE crypel ]  
cryede v.intr. pt.s. cried out 1024; pt.pl. ~ n 820 [OF crier ]  
criston a. Christian 570 [OE cristen ]  
crokyd a. deformed 595 erokede 818 [ON krókr ]  
cronyculle n.pl. chronicle 578 [OF cronique ]  
curiose a. skilful 720 [OF curius ]  
cursede vtr.pt.p. accursed 352, 984 [1OE cursian ]  
day n. day (see bothe): 178, 228, 312, 295 (see nowther), 297, 334, 385 (see vpone), 404 &c. pl. ~ es 459, phr. haue 3e gode ~, farewell 419, clere ~, bright daylight 682; vnto bis ~ 937, inne-to bis ~, 945, until the present time [OE daeg ]  
dalyans n. social converse 274 [OF dalier, \*daliance ]  
dane n. lady of rank attr. 283, phr. ma ~, my lady 484 [OF dame, ma dame ]  
dedde a. (i) dead 52, 416; dede 897, 981, (ii) slain 24, 32, 76, 137 [OE dēad ]  
dede n. action 330 (see in) [OE dæd ]  
defau3t n. in phr for be ~ of, for the want of 638 [OF defaute ]  
deyffe a. deaf 599, deff 884 [OE dēaf ]  
deyn n dean, head of body of canons 1032, 1062 [OF deien ]  
deyth(e) n. death 417, 431, 501, 509, 556, 919 [OE dēap ]  
delyde n. pleasure 170 (see haue) [OF delit ]  
delle n. 490 (see somme) phr neuer a ~, not at all 203, euery ~, completely 654, 1060, in every respect 708 [OE dæl ]  
departe v. (i) intr. go away 163, (ii) tr. divide pt.p. dypartyd 100 [OF departir ]

dere a. dear 6,225, pl. dure 389,437,458,754, adv. durelyche 159,  
dure 1108 [OE dēore]

derkenesse n. darkness 367 [OE deorc + ness]

deu3tren: see dow3ter

dye vintr. die 425,517, 1 prs ~ 394 2 pts deydust 860, 3 pts ~ de 163,  
ptpl ~ den 416 [OE \*d(I)egan/ON deyja]

dignite n. honourable estate 307 [OF dignite]

dy3t vtr. (i) appoint 1104 ptp. ~ 961, (ii) shape inf. dey3t 789  
ptp. y - ~ 716, (iii) treat ptp. y - ~ 1061 (see  
vengauncelyche), (iv) inv.tr.constr. fitted upon  
pts. ~ 801, (v) intr.refl.ptpl. ~ 379, (vi) prepared  
y - ~ 728 (see redy) [OE dihtan]

dyseyse n. disease 279 [OF desaise]

dysryvd vtr.pts. in phr ~ of, requested 1125 [OF desirer]

dispitte n. contempt 288 (see haue) [OF despit]

distryed vtr.ptp. ravaged 980. pt.pl. distreydone 541 [OF destruire]

diverse a. various 895 [OF divers(e)]

do vtr. do 186,267,399,632 ~ n 244, ~ ne 793, 2 prs.aux. ~ ne 190,  
 2 prpl. ~ 732, 3 prs.aux. ~ the 162 affords 462  
 3 pts.& aux. dude 111,163,308,360,475,481,805 (see calte) &c.  
dudde 757 pt.pl.aux duden 864 ptp. ~ 212,1032,  
y - ~ 759,1064 y - ~ (n) ne 409,429,597,770,835,919 &c.  
 placed 780 acted 1017,1120, phr.deden off, took off 1067  
 [OE dōn]

dombe: see doume

done: see doune

dou3t(e) n. fear 279; see with-ou3t: 89,705,848 [OF doute]

dou3ter n. daughter 137,138,287,553,582, pl.dou3tre(n) 121,387,  
 557,571 [OE dohtor, ds & pldehter]

dou3ty a. valiant 90,175 [OE dohtig]

doume a. dumb 599, dombe 884 [OE dumb]

doune adv. down 63,83,829,932,1058,1068, done 866, phr.a ~, down  
 714, 898, 903 [OE (a) dūne]

draffe vtr.pts. drove note see ou3t: 91,106, ptpl. dreuyn 542  
 [OE drīfan - drāf]

drawe vtr. pull 1007,1053, pts drow(e) 1010,1051,1058,1064, ptp y - ~ 1048,  
drowyn 1078 [OE dragan - drōg]

drede n. fear 200 (see haue), 361 [OE -draēdan]

drery a. doleful 1022 [OE drēerig]

dreuyn: see draffe.

drynke n. drink 346 [OE drine]

duke n. lord 15,50 [OF duc]

dure: see dere

dured v.intr.pts. lasted 26 [ OF durer ]

durst vtr.pts. dared 156,755,1095, ptpl. 985 [ OE durran - ðorste ]

dwel(e) v.intr. dwell 111,220,230,408,435,679,&c. 3 pts dwelt  
144,158 (see alyue),181,262,555,731, dwelte 304  
dwellede 575 ptpl. dwelton 89,538,546  
dweltone 983,990, dwelleden 104, ptp dwelt 548  
[ OE dwellian 'lead astray' infd. ON dvelja 'stay' ]

dwellyng(e) n. abode 146,217 phr ~- plase 1101 [ see prec ]

eylluthe vtr.prs. troubles 1027 [ OE eglan ]

eysse n. ease 464 [ OF eise ]

eke adv. also, too 188,232,260,346,374,452 &c. [ OE ē(a)c ]

ellus adv. (i) otherwise 239, (ii) else 699 [ OE elles ]

encresse n.increase; see hey3e: 916,943 [ on foll ]

encresset v. (i) tr.ptp. made to thrive 934, (ii) intr.pts  
encresede increased 297 [ OF encreis - creistre ]

ende n. end 421,458,1002 h 859,971,1047 [ OE ende ]

endynge n. end 219 [ OE endian ]

endowyd ptp. possessed of 151 [ OF en + douer ]

ene adv. once 334 [ OE āene ]

englysse a English 101 [ OE englise ]

emy n. enemy 156 ~ us 91 [ OF enemi ]

ensampull n. 331 (see 3eue) [ OF ensample ]

ere adv. before 282, 550 [ OE āer ]

est a. Eastern 37,82,95 [ OE ēast ]

euell a. evil 889 [ OE yfel ]

euene (i) a. equal 428, adv. ~ 434, (ii) adv. right 65,115,1059  
phr. ~ to 64,96(note) ~ in-to 68,86, fully as far as  
[ OE efen ]

euenynge n. evening 678 [ OE āefnung ]

euer adv. (i) always 3,18,23,182,206,209 &c., (ii) on any occasion 280  
phr. ~ after, ever afterwards 375,1094, as ~ hit was  
y-done, just as it had been placed 873 [ OE aefre ]

euery a. every 102,155 (see place), 263,286,323,337,718 &c;

see delle: 654,708,1060; see syde: 1026,1083

eueryche a 720 (see neynche) phr. ~ mon 294

eueryche mon 870 (g) eueryche monnus 867, 880 everyone('s).

[ OE \*āefre ylc ]

euerychon(e) pron. each one 296,386,513,542,683,714 &c. [ EVERY + OE ān ]

euermore adv. (i) always 289, (ii) without change 548,

(iii) unceasingly 671 [ see euer ]

fache vtr. in phr + a3eyne: fetch back 1127 fasche 1131

ptp y-fatte 776 [ OE fatian ]

fadur n. father 132,142,167, fader 1103 [ OE faeder ]

- fay n. a religious faith 736 [ 10F fei ]
- fayle n. failure 66 (see with-ou3t) [ OF faile ]
- fayre a. fair 62, 236, 310, 528, 643, 646, &c., feyre 220, 225, 696, 913,  
974 comp. feyrene 243 adv. ~ 772, feyre 1079 [ OE faeger ]
- falle v.intr. fall 391 pts. felle 479, 1058, [ OE f(e)allan - feoll ]
- fals a. deceptive 209 [ OF fals ]
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