

**Bangor University**

## **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

### **Ælfric's Old English Admonition to a spiritual son : an edition**

Lockerbie-Cameron, M.A.

*Award date:*  
1998

*Awarding institution:*  
Bangor University

[Link to publication](#)

#### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

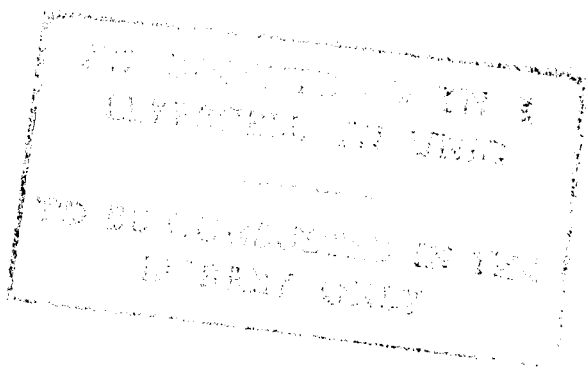
- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

#### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

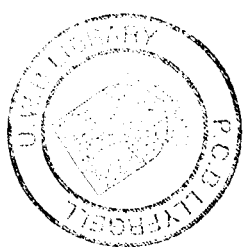
Ælfric's Old English Admonition to a Spiritual Son

An Edition



M. A. Locherbie-Cameron

1998  
WALES BANGOR





## **IMAGING SERVICES NORTH**

Boston Spa, Wetherby  
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ  
[www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)

# **TEXT BOUND CLOSE TO THE SPINE IN THE ORIGINAL THESIS**

This summary sheet should be completed by the candidate after having read the notes overleaf. The completed sheet should be submitted by the candidate to his/her Head of Department/School together with two copies of the thesis, two copies of the Notice of Candidature form and a certificate regarding financial obligations/matriculation.

ate's Surname ..... LOCHERBIE-CAMERON ..... Institution/College at which study pursued:  
 ate's Forenames ..... MARGARET ANN ..... UNIVERSITY OF WALES, BANGOR .....  
 ate for the Degree of ..... PHD ..... (MPhil or PhD etc)  
 e of thesis ..... Ælfric's Old English Admonition to a Spiritual Son. An Edition .....

ary:

The anonymous Old English translation of the Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem ascribed to St. Basil has hitherto been accessible only in the 1848/9 editions of H.W. Norman and the 1974 unpublished PhD dissertation of L.E. Mueller. This edition takes into consideration the work of both editors, but pursues the relevant issues somewhat further, beginning with the ascription of the work to Ælfric.

I use the single authoritative Hatton Ms 76A as the basis for my text; the critical introduction includes sections on the history of this manuscript and its two transcriptions, its possible relation to known Latin manuscripts of the text, and its orthography, punctuation and accent marks, and a full list of the annotations in the tremulous hand of the Worcester scribe. In considering the transmission of the text to Ælfric, I include sections on St. Basil's status as a monastic legislator to explain the text's currency, the penitential tradition and the place of the Admonitio within the Ælfric canon. I conclude with analysis of the Old English text, its linguistic focus, style and structure, arguing that the Old English text may not be as incomplete as has previously been thought. To accompany my text I provide textual notes, a full commentary, which includes identification of the sources of some concepts not found in the Latin, and a Glossary. As Appendices I include a transcription of a part of Bodley Ms 800, the closest available version of Ælfric's source, a provisional handlist of manuscripts in British libraries and elsewhere containing part or all of the Latin Admonitio, and a list of the accent marks on Hatton Ms 76A, ff. 55-67v, together with a chart to show their line-distribution.

## CONTENTS

Preface and Acknowledgements	3
List of Short Titles, Abbreviations and Manuscript Sigla	4
Introduction	9
Chapter I: The Manuscripts	15
Chapter II: Orthography, Glosses and Punctuation	38
Chapter III: St Basil	61
Chapter IV: Ælfric and his Source	66
Chapter V: The Date of the <u>Admonitio</u>	76
Chapter VI: The Argument	109
Editorial Note	120
Text: The Old English <u>Admonitio</u>	122
Commentary	142
Appendix A: The Latin <u>Admonitio</u>	167
Appendix B: A Provisional List of Manuscripts Containing the <u>Admonitio</u>	189
Appendix C: Accent Marks	204
Cb: Distribution of Accents	209
Glossary	213
Works Consulted	283

## Preface

In the Old English preface to the first series of Catholic Homilies Ælfric writes: "Nu bidde ic and halsige on godes naman gif hwa ðas boc awritan wylle . þæt he hi geornlice gerihte . be ðære bysne þe læs ðe we ðurh gymeleasum wriiterum geleahtrode beon". I am very conscious that I could not have attempted to carry out his wishes without the help of a great many people and institutions, whom it is my pleasure to acknowledge. I am grateful to the University of Edinburgh and to the British Academy for financial support, to the University of Wales, Bangor, for generous study leave, to my colleagues in the English Department for their support, to the Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, the Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Library, the Abbot of Fort Augustus, the Deans and Chapters of Hereford, Lincoln, Winchester and Worcester Cathedrals, and the Mappa Mundi Trust for permission to consult and reproduce manuscripts, and to the library staff of the University of Cambridge, the Bodleian Library and the University of Wales, Bangor, for their patient and efficient help. I have greatly benefitted from the advice of the late Professor G. N. Garmonsway, the late Professor J. E. Cross, the late Dr J. Sheard, and the late Dr Joan Haldane; I am deeply grateful for similar help from Professor George Kane, the Reverend W. A. Jones, Father Paul Quinn, Dr Sylvia Ellis and Dr David Lindsay. Chris Jones, Gail Kincaid, Michelle Harrison and Linda Jones have been endlessly patient in solving word-processing problems, but above all I am grateful for support, advice and encouragement to my supervisor Peter Field.

List of Short Titles and Abbreviations (other than  
Manuscript Sigla)

- ASE            Anglo-Saxon England.
- Assmann        Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben.  
Ed. B. Assmann. BdASP III. Kassel, 1889.  
Reprinted with Supplementary Introduction by  
P. A. M. Clemoes. Darmstadt, 1964.
- BdASP          Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa.
- BL              British Library.
- BM              British Museum.
- Bod.            Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- BN              Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- BT              Bosworth, J., An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Repr.  
with Suppl. by Toller, T. N., with revised and  
enlarged Addenda by A. Campbell. Oxford:  
Clarendon, 1972.
- Catalogue    Ker, N. R., Catalogue of Manuscripts  
Containing Anglo-Saxon. Oxford: Clarendon,  
1957.
- CCCC          Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
- CH (I)        The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The  
First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici  
or Homilies of Ælfric. Ed. B. Thorpe. 2 vols.  
London, 1844-6.

- CH (G)      Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series.  
Ed. M. R. Godden. EETS supp. ser. 5. London:  
OUP, 1978.
- "Chronology" Clemons, P. A. M. "The Chronology of  
Ælfric's Works". The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in  
Some Aspects of their History and Culture  
Presented to Bruce Dickins. Ed. P. A. M.  
Clemons. London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959. 212-  
47.
- Comp. Lit.    Comparative Literature.
- Councils and Synods    Councils and Synods, with other  
Documents Relating to the English Church, I  
A.D. 871-1204. Ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and  
C. N. L. Brooke. Oxford: Clarendon, 1981.
- CUP            Cambridge University Press
- DNB            Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. L.  
Stephen. 63 vols. London: Smith, Elder and  
Co., 1885-1900.
- Eccl.            Ecclesiastes.
- EETS            Early English Text Society.
- EHR            English Historical Review.
- ELN            English Language Notes.
- Eph.            St Paul, "Epistle to the Ephesians".
- ES             English Studies.
- Fehr            Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics. Ed. B. Fehr.  
Hamburg, 1914. Reprinted with a Supplement to



the Introduction by P. A. M. Clemons.  
Darmstadt, 1966. Fehr's citation of the  
English letters as I, II, and III, and of the  
Latin as 2, 2a, and 3 is retained in Councils  
and Synods (above).

- JEGP Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
- LS Elfric; Lives of Saints. Ed. W.W. Skeat, EETS  
os. 76, 82 (1881-5) repr. as one vol. London:  
OUP, 1966; os. 94, 114 (1886-1900) repr. as  
one vol. London: OUP, 1966.
- lWS late West Saxon.
- Maldon The Battle of Maldon. Ed. D. G. Scragg.  
Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981.
- Med. Ev. Medium Evum.
- MLN Modern Language Notes.
- MLR Modern Language Review.
- MP Modern Philology.
- NO Notes and Queries.
- ns New Series.
- OE Old English.
- os Old Series.
- OUP Oxford University Press
- PBA Proceedings of the British Academy.

- PL Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina.  
Ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris, 1844-64.
- Pope The Homilies of Ælfric: a Supplementary  
Collection, ed. J.C. Pope, 2 vols. EETS os  
259-60. London: OUP, 1967-8.
- RB RB 1980; The Rule of St Benedict. Ed. T. Fry.  
Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press,  
1981.
- RES Review of English Studies.
- supp. ser. supplementary series.
- SP Studies in Philology.
- Sum. Cat. A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in  
the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Ed. F. Madan,  
H.H.E. Craster and N. Denholm Young. 7 vols.  
Oxford, 1937.
- TCBS Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical  
Society.
- Thess. St Paul, "Epistle to the Thessalonians".
- I Tim. St Paul, "First Epistle to Timothy".
- TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
- UP University Press

## Manuscript Sigla

### (1) Old English

Hatton: Oxford, Bod. Ms. Hatton 76 A  
Ballard: Oxford, Bod. Ms. Ballard 58  
Junius: Oxford, Bod. Ms. Junius 68

### (2) Latin (in British Libraries)

A1: London, BL Ms. Arundel 181  
A2: London, BL Ms. Additional 62129  
B: Oxford, Bod. Ms. Bodley 800  
L: Lincoln Cathedral Chapter 77 A  
Hr: Hereford Cathedral Library P. 1  
R1: London, BL Ms. Royal 8 D. VIII  
R2: London, BL Ms. Royal 5 E. IV

### (3) Latin (in Continental Libraries: described by Lehmann)

\*A: Karlsruhe Staatsbibliothek Aug. CLII  
\*B: Basle, Universitat Bibliothek F. III  
\*G: St Galle, Stiftsbibliothek 677  
\*L: Rome, Vatican Pal. lat. 556  
\*P: Paris, Bibliothèq<sup>e</sup> Nationale Lat. 133  
\*V: St Galle, Stadtbibliothek 317

## Introduction

There have been two previous editions of the Old English Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem: that contained in H.W. Norman's edition of The Anglo-Saxon Version of the "Hexameron" of St Basil, first published in 1848 and revised in the following year,<sup>1</sup> and L.E. Mueller's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Ælfric's Translation of St Basil's Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem".<sup>2</sup> Norman's first edition was based not on the eleventh-century manuscript Oxford Bodleian Library Hatton 76, but on the seventeenth-century copy by Francis Junius, Bodleian Junius 68, which his second edition collated with the Hatton manuscript. He provided a brief introduction, identifying Ælfric as the author of the Hexameron, but conflating him with other Ælfrics of the period, and offered an occasionally free translation of the Old English.

Mueller's far more reliable edition is based on Hatton 76, and is accompanied by a version of the Latin source with translation, brief notes, glossary and an

---

1. H.W. Norman, The Anglo-Saxon Version of the "Hexameron"... and the Anglo-Saxon Remains of St Basil's "Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem" (London, 1848, rev. 1849).

2. L.E. Mueller, "Ælfric's Translation of St Basil's Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem: An Edition," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1974.

introduction which provides some account of the orthography, punctuation and dialect of the Old English text and a useful section on Ælfric's rhythmic prose. Though not all the lines necessarily meet the required criteria, Mueller considers that the Old English Admonitio "typifies the characteristics of rhythmic prose rather well" (p. 23) and accordingly prints it as verse. Perhaps this explains its omission from Ælfric's minor texts listed in K.J. and K.P. Quinn's Manual of Old English Prose (New York, 1990), but the omission shows that the text is still relatively little known. Though the present edition must inevitably take account of its predecessors, there is still more to be said.

Both the previous editors of the text assume without comment that Ælfric was its author and I believe their assumptions to be correct. As I shall show, the content of the text, the spiritual warfare of monks, nuns and priests, is a topic Ælfric found congenial; its linguistic idiom and dialectal features are compatible with those shown in his writings elsewhere, and the translation contains many echoes of his other works. Finally, the translation's subtle use of rhythmic and alliterative prose seems beyond question to be that of Ælfric. An ascription of authorship has nevertheless been relatively recent in the text's history, possibly because the identity of the text itself remained elusive until 1705.

There is no explicit internal evidence of the

author's identity within the Old English text other than that its author had previously written on St Basil, knew of St Basil's significance in monastic history, and that the author himself was a Benedictine (**Text**, lines 1, 6-23 and 10). Manuscript ascription of authorship is also lacking; two of the three manuscripts in which the text appears identify it incorrectly and the third gives no information, except, perhaps, by implication. The inside cover of Hatton 76 contains a list of contents, not in a mediæval hand, identifying the Admonitio as "Fragmentum Hexæmeron S. Basilii", presumably on the basis of the reference to St Basil's Hexameron which appears in both the Old English text (14-15) and in the Latin gloss to these lines. Junius 68 identifies the text on the inside cover and on p. xi as "Basilii magni regulæ monachica': opus imperfectum" and Ballard 58 gives no information about the text or its author except, perhaps coincidentally, by including it with other Ælfrician pieces.<sup>1</sup>

Because neither the Hatton nor the Junius manuscript identify the text correctly, or ascribe it to an Old English author, the earliest catalogues offer no further information. Bernard and Wanley's 1697

---

1. "Passio S. Edmundi", "Natale S. Oswaldi", "De Infantibus" and "In dedicatione ecclesiae". Sum. Cat. III: 167, no. 10844.

catalogue<sup>1</sup> includes Hatton 76 (then Hatton 100) as number 4125, listing its items:

"Liber Dialogorum Gregorii Magni, Saxonice Fol.,  
Regulae S. Basilii Saxonice, Herbarum Saxonicum,  
Epistolae 2 quas Evax Rex misit Tiberio  
Imperatori de Nominibus et Virtutibus Lapidum  
etc"

(as Young, below, p. 21).

The catalogue (p. 262) lists Junius 68, "Basilii M. regulae Monachiae Saxonice. Opus Imperfectum", as number 5179.

In 1705,<sup>2</sup> however, Wanley provided more information about the Hatton Admonitio; though identifying it initially as "Fragmentum Hexaemeri S. Basilii Caesariensis Episcopi" (p. 72), he quoted the whole of the text's Chapter I (lines 25-41) and then added:

"Ex quibus ut ex eiis quae sequuntur in Cod. Ms patet, hanc non esse Translationem Homiliarum S. Basilii de Hexaemero, sed suppositii istius tractatus S. Basilio adjudicati, cui titulus hic est Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem."

His description of the Junius version of the text reaffirms the identification; though initially citing it

---

1. Edward Bernard and Humfrey Wanley, Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti (Oxford, 1697) 185.

2. H. Wanley, Antiquae Litteraturae Septentrionalis liber alter seu Humphredi Wanleii (Oxford, 1705). (Vol. II of G. Hickes Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1703-5).

as "*Basilii Magni Regulae Monachicae*", he adds "(Sive Admonitio ejus ad filium Spiritualem. Opus imperfectum descriptum manu Junii ex perantiquis Hattonianae bibliothecae membranis)" (p. 95).

Though Wanley seems to have been the first person to have identified the text correctly, its authorship remained without any attribution until H.W. Norman's edition in 1848.<sup>1</sup> Norman's selection of texts may well have been influenced by Wanley's changed opinion; it is, at least, a striking coincidence that he chose to edit the Admonitio together with "The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Hexameron of St Basil". In the preface to his first edition (p.1) Norman says, of the Hexameron, "The author of it, I conclude, from internal evidence, was Ælfric", but he does not enlarge upon this judgement either here or in the extended preface to the second, revised, edition of the two texts, where he takes Ælfric's authorship as read:

"This translation of Ælfric is not always literal, as he sometimes follows St Basil 'word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning', but often the ideas are enlarged and sometimes new matter added"(p. 31).

Crawford's later edition of the Old English Hexameron, however, does confirm Ælfric's authorship of this text, though Ælfric's source here was Bede, rather than St

---

1. The Rev. Henry Wilkins Norman (1822-49) was a fellow of New College, Oxford from 1840-9; J. Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis 1715-1886, 4 vols (London, 1888) III: 1027.



Basil.<sup>1</sup> Norman's edition of the two texts thus associates the Old English Admonitio with both Basil and Ælfric, but the association was not argued until C.L. White's 1898 account of Ælfric and his writings.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the internal evidence contained within the Preface to the Admonitio, she points in particular to:

"the two-fold mention of chastity as belonging to the service of God, and the expression: 'We will say it in English for those who care for it' [which] are characteristic of Ælfric. All these things, together with the language and the metrical form used by him in other writings assure his authority."

Ælfric's authorship of the Old English Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem has subsequently been unquestioned, though the Summary Catalogue retains a note of caution in its description of Hatton 76.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. S.J. Crawford, ed. Exameron Anglice BdASP X (Hamburg, 1921) 5-85, esp. pp. 18, 26-9, 75-85.

2. C.L. White, Ælfric: A New Study of his Life and Writings Yale Studies in English 2 (New York, 1892). Repr. with supplementary bibliography by Malcolm Godden (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1974). For her discussion of the Admonitio see pp. 117-8.

3. "An Old English version of the Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem of St Basil the Great attributed to Ælfric." Sum. Cat. II ii: 854-5, no. 4125.

The Old English Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem exists in three manuscripts, all in the Bodleian Library. Hatton 76A was written in the first half of the eleventh century; Junius 68 in the seventeenth century, and Ballard 58 about 1730.<sup>1</sup>

Hatton 76 is deficient in three respects: there is no incipit, it lacks a leaf between ff. 63 and 64, and the text is incomplete. The text ends approximately half way through the Latin original, but there is no indication that the final page of Old English, f. 67<sup>v</sup>, represents the end of the work. The Old English text of the Admonitio is contained within two quires; Ker's analysis of their foliation shows that, whereas quire 11, which contains ff. 55-62, follows the conventional pattern of four bifolia, quire 12, ff. 63-67, is irregular.<sup>2</sup> The quire consists of two bifolia: 63, 67 and 64, 65, with two single leaves, 65a and 66, between 65 and 67, one of which was probably conjoined with the leaf missing between 63 and 64. The presence of the extra single leaf means that the gathering will always have been lopsided. I discuss more fully

---

1. Catalogue 388, no. 328; Sum. Cat. II ii: 854-5, no. 4125; 979, no. 5179; and III: 167, no. 10844.

2. Ker, Catalogue 389.

below (pp. 29, 30, 53, 109-11) the reasons for believing that the incomplete text requires the existence of at least one further single leaf, 68, but we may notice here that such a leaf would be less out of place in what is clearly an irregularly sewn quire than in one which is more conventional.<sup>1</sup> Conclusive proof of the existence of this outside single leaf may not be available until the binding of the manuscript is resewn, but the loss of a leaf in this position is readily understandable.

The two later manuscripts are copies of Hatton 76; the missing Chapter VI in both corresponds with the missing Hatton leaf, and all three end at the same point in the incomplete text. They differ, however, in the way each accommodates the missing Hatton leaf. Comparison with the Latin text (printed below as Appendix A) shows that the leaf should have contained the end of Chapter V, a short Chapter VI and the beginning of Chapter VII. A later annotator of Hatton has failed either to notice the gap or to understand its significance, and has labelled the end of what should be Chapter VII as VI, in an attempt to bring the material following the gap into sequence with what precedes it. The added figure VI has been inserted

---

1. P.R. Robinson's discussion of "booklets" in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts notes that "booklets" may well contain an extra leaf to accommodate a text, and that such "booklets" are frequently marked by stained pages at the beginning or end of their texts. Both observations may be relevant to the portion of Hatton 76A which contains the Admonitio. P. R. Robinson, "Self-Contained Units in composite manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period," ASE 7 (1978): 231-8, at p. 232.

above the line, is undecorated and without the diagonal penstroke which marks the decorated normal mid-line numbers signifying chapter divisions. Junius recognises the absence of Chapter VI and labels the material immediately following the gap as VII, whereas Ballard copies the inserted figure VI from Hatton. This suggests that the figure VI was inserted into Hatton at a later date than the Junius copy, and thus confirms that Junius and Ballard derive independently from Hatton. As independent witnesses to the Old English text, they would thus be of more use in reconstructing the Hatton text in the event of its loss than if the relationship between them were a linear one, but while the Hatton manuscript survives their importance remains very small. They do, however, complement one another; whereas the Ballard text, allowing for some errors, is a relatively faithful copy of Hatton, the Junius text shows some variations which seem deliberate; in other words, whereas Ballard is faithful to the scribe, Junius makes some attempt to find the author's original wording. This distinction, however, may tell us more about the attitudes of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century antiquarian studies than about the Old English Admonitio, though both copies are useful in identifying stages in the history of the Hatton text.

The importance of Hatton 76 is manifest; in addition to being the only authoritative text of the Old English Admonitio, it also cannot be much later than Ælfric's own version. Ælfric made his translation between 1002 and

1005 (below, pp. 76–85), and Ker, on paleographic grounds, places the portion of Hatton 76 containing the Admonitio in the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript was at Worcester for a considerable time, and there is some evidence to suggest that it was written there. Ker notes the characteristic Worcester split ascenders, and adds that most of the Old English manuscripts written at Worcester remained there.<sup>2</sup> Dumville includes Hatton 76 in his analysis of the Worcester manuscripts of the period 1002–1050, and Yerkes also suggests that the manuscript was written at Worcester.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Hatton 76**

The manuscript is now in two parts: A, containing a part of the revision of Wærferth's Old English translation of Gregory's Dialogues (ff. 1–54<sup>v</sup>) and, in the same hand, an Old English translation of a portion of the Admonitio (ff. 55–67<sup>v</sup>), and B (ff. 68–130<sup>r</sup>), in two different and later hands, containing a translation of the Herbarius of

---

1. Ker, Catalogue 388.

2. Ker, Catalogue xxxii and xlii.

3. D.N. Dumville, English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism AD 950–1030 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993) 68; D. Yerkes, The Two Versions of Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's "Dialogues" Toronto Old English Series 4 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1979) xvi, and Yerkes, Syntax and Style in Old English Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 5 (Binghampton: State University of New York at Binghampton, 1982) 11–12.

Pseudo-Apuleius and a translation from the Medicina Animalium ascribed to Sextus Placitus.<sup>1</sup>

The compiler's association of the portion of Gregory's Dialogues with the Old English Admonitio probably reflects their shared reference to St Benedict.<sup>2</sup> Though incomplete, the Hatton version of the Dialogues includes a portion of the "Life of St Benedict" from Book II, and Ælfric refers to Benedict's dependence upon St Basil as an authority for his own Rule.<sup>3</sup>

Hatton's association of the Dialogues with the Admonitio is of significant assistance in charting the history of the manuscript; Worcester librarians seem to have shown an interest in acquiring manuscripts of the work of Gregory, and a revision of the translation by Wærferth, who had been Bishop of Worcester, would have been of particular interest.<sup>4</sup> Two booklists from Worcester show that the Hatton text of the Dialogues was certainly there by the mid-eleventh century: CCC Ms 367 f. 48<sup>V</sup> contains a list of eleven books, all but two of

---

1. Ker, Catalogue 388.

2. F.C. Robinson draws attention to the importance of the codicological environment of any Old English text: The Editing of Old English (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994) 3.

3. Yerkes, The Two Versions xvi; **Text**, lines 10-13.

4. M. Lapidge, "Book Lists from Anglo-Saxon England," Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge: CUP, 1985) 33-89, at p. 69; Yerkes, Two Versions xvi; Asser, The Life of King Alfred, ed. W.H. Stevenson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1904; 1959) 62.

which are stated to be in English, including two copies of the Dialogues, one of which Lapidge identifies as Hatton 76; Bodleian Ms Tanner 3, ff. 189<sup>v</sup>-190<sup>r</sup>, also notes two copies of the Dialogues.<sup>1</sup> The handwriting of both book lists is mid- to late- eleventh century, that of CCCC 367 being the earlier.

Ker's observation of rust marks and stains on Hatton's f. 67<sup>v</sup> <sup>2</sup> suggests that this may have once been the outside leaf of a separately bound Part A. Similar stains occur on the single leaf 66. It is possible that at some time this leaf was misbound as the outside leaf; but it is equally possible that the economy which led the scribe to use wormholed leaves also required him to use leaves which were stained. Such economy might well explain a foliation sufficiently unconventional to include one and possibly more single leaves. Parts A and B, which both contain glosses in the hand of the scribe known as "the tremulous hand of Worcester" (below, pp. 42-5), must have been in the same library at least by the

---

1. CCCC 367, see Ker, Catalogue 110, printed in A.J. Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters (Cambridge: CUP, 1939) Appendix II, 251, no. 5; Bod. Ms Tanner 3, see Sum. Cat. III: 82, no. 9823, printed in H.M. Bannister, "Bishop Roger of Worcester and the Church of Keysham with a List of Vestments and Books, possibly Belonging to Worcester," EHR 32 (1917): 388-9. See also D. Yerkes, "The Mediaeval Provenance of CCCC Ms 322," TCBS: 7 (1978) 245-7; Lapidge, "Book Lists " 33-89, at pp. 63, 69.

2. Ker, Catalogue 390.

thirteenth century;<sup>1</sup> if they were bound together by this date, we can place the loss of the hypothesised leaf 68 as occurring before the annotations of the tremulous hand.

In 1622, Patrick Young listed a third part, now missing, containing two apocryphal letters from King Evax of Arabia to the Emperor Tiberius, and a twelfth-century Latin treatise, Damigeron's De Lapidibus.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence to show whether the Worcester scribe glossed this section also; thus its association with A and B may be later than the thirteenth century, though Young's Catalogus shows that the association was at Worcester and pre-1622. During the Commonwealth period many of the Worcester ledgers and other books were sent to Oxford for safety, and by 1644 at least some of them were in the possession of the first Lord Christopher Hatton; in this year Sir William Dugdale compiled the Old English glossary from manuscripts owned by Christopher Hatton, including a "Liber Sax' Dialogorum Gregorii, cum herbale quodam Sax'

---

1. Ker, Catalogue 388; C. Franzen, The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991) 65-69; W.E.J. Collier, "The Tremulous Worcester Scribe and His Milieu: A Study of his Annotations," Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 1993. The Worcester scribe has annotated the Old English Admonitio in both Latin and early Middle English. His annotations are noted under Commentary; see also below, pp. 42-5.

2. Patrick Young, Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis, ed. I. Atkins and N.R. Ker (Cambridge: CUP, 1944) 7, no. 322, and Sum. Cat. II ii: 854, no. 4125.



annexa", which is almost certainly Hatton 76.<sup>1</sup>

In 1666, Barnabas Oley, the Royalist prebendary of Worcester Cathedral, who was concerned about the Cathedral's loss of important manuscripts, approached William Dugdale about their recovery.<sup>2</sup> Oley seems to have questioned Dugdale particularly about the fate of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, whose disappearance he knew was connected with Hatton, if not Dugdale himself. Dugdale's reply, dated 25 March 1667, was disingenuous:

"I do very well remember those old manuscripts wh. do belong to your Church of Worcester, that were borrowed by the Lord you meane; and are (sic) confident that they are safe, w<sup>ch</sup> I doubt they would hardly have been, in case they had continued at Worcester. There were many other old manuscripts there, w<sup>ch</sup> I then saw, I wish y<sup>t</sup> they be not destroyed in these late confusions or stolen."

Oley annotated the letter:

"The Lord Hatton is the Ld above intimated, the manuscripts are of some Saxon Homeles".<sup>3</sup>

Possibly Oley's interest in reclaiming Worcester property led Hatton's heir to dispose of the manuscripts;

---

1. Ker, Catalogue 390; Franzen 118; Yerkes, "Dugdale's Dictionary and Somner's Dictionarium," ELN 14 (1976-7): 110-12.

2. Young, Catalogus 16.

3. Young, Catalogus 18.

Hatton 76 apparently came to the Bodleian with the other Hatton manuscripts shortly after the first Lord Christopher's death in 1670, although there are different accounts of when it arrived there, and it is not clear whether it was presented to or bought by the Library. According to Macray, the second Lord Christopher Hatton presented the collection to the Library in 1675, yet Anthony Wood's entry for September 1671 shows that Robert Scot, a London bookseller, had acquired some Hatton manuscripts in 1670 and sold them to the Library in the following year.<sup>1</sup> Ker apparently accepted this story, since he says that Hatton 76 came to the Library in 1671. It was originally catalogued as Hatton 100, the number by which Norman knew it.

### **Junius 68**

The manuscript, identified by Madan as being in the hand of Francis Junius himself,<sup>2</sup> was copied from Hatton some time between 1676 and November 1677. Macray recounts the tradition that, upon the arrival of some Hatton manuscripts at the Library, they were lent to Dr Marshall who in turn lent them to Junius; that, Marshall

---

1. W.D. Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1868) 99-100; "To Mr Scot for severall books and Ms £56": A. Clark, The Life and Times of Anthony Wood 2 vols (Oxford, 1892) II: 231, cited by Macray, p. 137.

2. Sum. Cat. II ii: 979, no. 5179.

dying soon after, Junius kept them until his own death, when they were returned to the Library, and Madan adds the detail of the Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1677: "To mr Obadiah Walker, for his expenses to South Leigh to bring mr Junius's books and manuscripts, £5, 5s, 10p." <sup>1</sup> Wood notes that Thomas Marshall persuaded Junius to come to Oxford in 1676 and that, before his death in November 1677, Junius "had given his Mss of Saxon and Northern languages to the University".<sup>2</sup> Whether these manuscripts included the Hatton texts lent to him by Dr Marshall is not clear; moreover Macray distinguished between these loaned manuscripts and the "precious Anglo-Saxon volumes" which form the special feature of the Hatton collection, including "the translation, by Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, of Gregory's Dialogues".<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, his own transcript of the Old English Admonitio and the presence of his handwriting in the margins of its section A, ff. 1-54<sup>v</sup> show that Junius at least had access to Hatton 76, if not temporary ownership.<sup>4</sup>

---

1. Macray 100.

2. Clark, II: 358, 393.

3. Macray 100.

4. Ker, Catalogue, 388; Yerkes, Two Versions, xxii.

## Ballard 58

George Ballard<sup>1</sup> must also have had access to Hatton 76; he, like Junius, made his transcription from it. Mueller identifies the Latin annotation at the bottom of f. 63<sup>v</sup> of the Hatton Ms, "Excidit folium unum", as Ballard's hand,<sup>2</sup> and there is certainly a strong resemblance between the hand of this annotation, that of its counterpart at the bottom of page 83 of Ballard 58, and that of the Latin annotation "Desunt folia circitur 12" at the bottom of Hatton f. 67<sup>v</sup>. It is perhaps surprising, however, that if Ballard wrote all three he should have copied only the first annotation into his own text, and there are more reliable orthographic grounds for assuming that Ballard copied from Hatton rather than from Junius. In the first place, where Junius emends, Ballard follows the Hatton reading, as in stream stedefæst (line 156), which Junius emends to streamsteðe fæst, geweman (179), which Junius emends to getweman, and Achar (410),

---

1. George Ballard (1706-55), a staymaker from Chipping Campden, was a friend and correspondent of the Anglo-Saxonist Elizabeth Elstob. Their letters, largely unpublished, give a clear picture of their mutual enthusiasm for Anglo-Saxon, and Ms Ballard 58 includes, as well as Ballard's transcript from Hatton 76 of the OE Admonitio, copies of Elstob's transcripts of portions of Ælfric's "Passio S. Edmundi" and the "Natale S. Oswaldi". These two transcripts, together with other "Tracts etc. transcribed by Mrs Elizab. Elstob, Author of the Saxon Grammar and Several Other Treatises" exist in Ms Ballard 67 (DNB III: 84; Nichols, Literary Anecdotes II: 466-70, IV: 123; Sum. Cat. III: 160, 166-7, 168-9).

2. Mueller 4.

which Junius rightly emends to Achan. Second, Ballard follows Hatton's variety of spellings for neacstan, and retains Hatton's unusual forms syðban (86) and besmitennnysse, both of which have been caused by mid-line word-breaks. His retention of these Hatton irregularities establish that this was his source, though his transcript is not a perfect one (below, p. 41). It was made about 1730; Ballard left his collection of manuscripts to the Bodleian, where they arrived in 1756.<sup>1</sup>

There are many more extant versions of the Latin Admonitio than of its Old English translation, and its manuscript tradition is far harder to establish. Because this study is primarily concerned with Ælfric's text, however, I consider only those editions and manuscripts which may prove informative about his source, though the extensive provisional list of British and Continental manuscripts of the Latin Admonitio, printed below as Appendix B, suggests the potential complexity of the manuscript tradition of the Latin text.

Ælfric's usual freedom in translation precludes the probability of an exactly parallel Latin text; accordingly the reconstruction of his source must depend on agreements in matters of substance and large-scale organization. Ker identifies one such agreement in his observation that the chapter divisions of the Old English text agree with those

---

1. Sum. Cat. III: 161.

of Bodley 800,<sup>1</sup> and comparable chapter division is a useful preliminary basis for establishing or excluding relationships between the Old English and the Latin versions of the text. A second is the absence in some versions of a section from the chapter on patience.

Migne's edition of the text,<sup>2</sup> which Mueller has used, corresponds in neither respect with the Old English text. Lehmann's more helpful edition, based on seven Continental manuscripts known to predate Ælfric's translation, includes the variant readings and chapter divisions of the manuscripts he has used but, again, none of them corresponds precisely with the arrangement of material in the Old English.<sup>3</sup> The closest agreement would seem to be to Lehmann's Ms G (St Galle, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 677), whose chapter division and numbering (with the exception of Hatton 76, Chapter VI; above, p. 15) agree almost exactly with that of the Old English until Chapter VIII. Ms G has this as VIIII, though the extra stroke is clearly an error because VIIII appears again at the equivalent of line 358 in the text printed below as Appendix A. Ms G however does not show the later divisions of the Old English Chapters IX and X.

---

1. Ker, Catalogue 388.

2. PL 103: 683-700.

3. P.L. Lehmann, ed. "Die Admonitio S. Basilii ad Filium Spiritualem," Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 12 (Munich, 1955): 3-63. Lehmann describes the manuscripts in his Introduction, pp. 21-26.

Ælfric's characteristic tendency to adapt and reorder his material might well account for the variations between the Old English and any one of Lehmann's sources were it not for the existence of a small group of twelfth-century British manuscripts, including Bodley 800, which agree in a number of these matters with the Old English. It would thus seem that Ælfric's translation belongs with this group, and that he has followed a Latin source, which may no longer exist.

The British manuscripts of the Latin Admonitio would be a fruitful source for investigation, though I have attempted to pursue their interrelationships no further than their possible connections with the Old English text. The two Worcester manuscripts of the Latin Admonitio (Appendix B, below, p. 198) now in the possession of the Cathedral Library do not share the chapter division of the Old English text. Nevertheless, amongst the earlier of these British manuscripts, there are some which do; the chapter divisions of the Admonitio in Bodley 800 (B), British Library Arundel 181 (A1), British Library Royal 8. D. VIII (R1), and British Library Royal 5. E. IV (R2) agree exactly with those of the Old English, as do the unnumbered breaks of Hereford Cathedral Library P. I. 1 (Hr); and those of British Library Additional 62129 (A2) correspond as far as Chapter VIII. At the equivalent of B, line 372, however ("ab omni auaricia declina cor tuum") there is in A2 an additional break, though the text returns to the Old English pattern at B, line 387 ("Caueto

fili auariciam"), thus giving in this version eleven sections instead of the Old English ten. In addition, B, A1, and Hr omit the extra passage on patience. These lines are also missing in the later Lincoln Cathedral Chapter 77. A. 3 (L), which has no chapter breaks, but are present in R1, R2 and A2. Unfortunately, the section from which these lines are missing in B, A1 and Hr corresponds with the missing leaf from Hatton 76, but Hatton's widely-spaced script suggests that there would have been little room for their equivalent in the Old English. Ælfric might, of course, have chosen to omit them, and so we cannot prove their absence from his source, but their absence from the Old English text links his source with that of B, A1 and Hr.

The pattern of connection can be further simplified by a major substantive agreement between the Old English and two of the Latin texts. As I have shown (above, pp. 15-16), the Old English text is clearly incomplete; it includes only ten of the twenty chapters found in B, and stops abruptly without any of the rhetorical heightening that Ælfric normally gives to the conclusions of his works. A1 has one page more beyond the end of the Old English text, but, because the bottom right-hand corner of its f. 33b gives no indication that the scribe intended to stop here, the similarity to length of the Old English version may be coincidental. The coincidence becomes more significant, however, when taken in conjunction with the text as it appears in Hr. This is clearly a scribe's



completed work, but has only two chapters more than the Old English. I argue below on the grounds of content (pp. 109–11) that not much is missing from the Old English; the form of Hr may thus suggest that Ælfric worked from an incomplete source from which Hr also derives, A1 may derive, and B does not. The two Royal manuscripts, R1 and R2 are connected with this stemma, but less closely than B, A1 and Hr; accordingly, though I note their existence, I have not investigated the possibility that one may derive from the other.

Though Hr has fewer chapters than B, and possibly than A1, the relationships between the three, beyond the substantive agreements already discussed, are close. Variations, omissions and errors are reasonably evenly distributed between all three; in general B is more accurate, though A1 and Hr frequently agree in their variations from it. There are in all three sufficient omissions which can be matched or rectified by the Old English to suggest that all four derive from a common original, though B is a stage removed from Hr, Hatton, and possibly A1. Thus, for B (40) despiciam, A1 and Hr uidebo, the Old English has forseo; B (952) and Hr Ille pro labore terrenum accepit, A1 Ille pro labore terreno terrenum accepit, Old English gife eorðlices gestreones for his eorðlices geswinces; B (70) in derisum, A1 and Hr in risum, Old English gæblissian þe to bysmore; B (80) and Hr expelle, A1 exclude (though this is copied in error from the previous line), Old English adræfe; B (82) and Hr

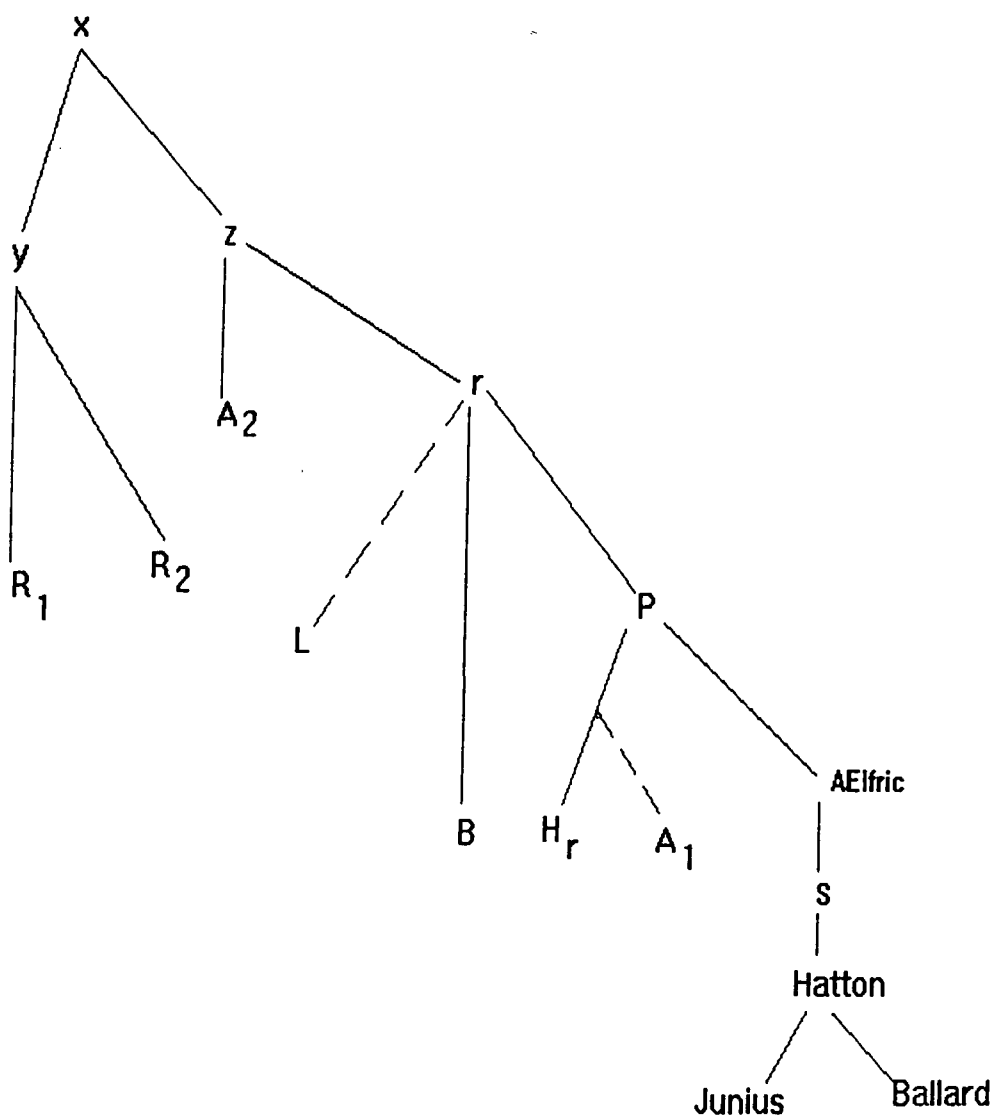
que uirtus anime, A1 que sit uirtus anime, Old English  
hwæt bære sawle miht is; B (87) and Hr reprimere, A1  
contempnere, Old English onscunige; B (143) and A1 Et cum  
sede sublimi sederet, Hr Et cum innatus in sede sublimi,  
 Old English nyðer astah of his heofenlican settle; B (147)  
 and Hr pannis in presepio inuolutus, A1 pannis inuolutus,  
 Old English læg on cildclaðum; B (161 ff) and Hr cesus est  
et obprobria pertulit. Et cuius nutu omnes mortui  
resuscitati sunt uoluntate sua mortem crucis sustinuit et  
ideo hec omnia . . ., A1 cesus est et ideo hec omnia, Old  
 English And se be þa deaðan þurh his drihtenlican mihte  
arærde to life, se let hine ahon on rode gealgan be his  
agenum willan; B (223) and Hr Inuidi autem opus, A1 Inuidi  
autem, Old English Ðæs niðfullan mannes weorc; B (278)  
simules, A1 similes emended to simules, Hr simules (Old  
 English not relevant); B (287) and Hr immutant, A1  
inmitant (though this is clearly minim error), Old English  
awendað; B (303) fenestras tuas ad perficienda, A1 and Hr  
fenestras tuas. Non aperias aures tuas ad perficienda, Old  
 English too compressed here to be helpful); B (307)  
comburetur, A1 comburetur emended to comburat, Hr  
combuntur, Old English wyle ontendan; B (394) and Hr  
Acharmi cum suis, which is a conflated version of A1 acar  
filius charmi, Old English Achar se þegen.

There are some points at which B and A1 agree against  
 Hr, but these are largely Hereford errors, such as B (8–9)  
 and A1 studium intellegendi, Hr tuum legendi, Old English  
 too compressed to be helpful; B (11) and A1 instruam te,

Hr instruante, Old English nelle læran be; B (104-5) and A1 omnis spiritus fructus, Hr omnis fructus, Old English byrð æfre wæstmas; B (141) and A1 ingrati, Hr ingenti, Old English unbancwurðe; B (145) and A1 ad terras, Hr ad meras, Old English nyðer; B (353) and A1 in aliorum, Hr malorum, Old English passage omitted. In these six instances the Old English is only once closer to Hr than to the B/A1 versions; elsewhere the Old English either paraphrases or omits the Latin.

In isolation, this admittedly short list of examples might suggest that Ælfric was closer to the source of B/A1 than to the source of Hr; but the full comparison of B, A1, Hr and Hatton leads to a somewhat different conclusion. Where either B or A1 omit words, Hr and the other Latin text include them; A1 and Hr occasionally use the same word, but one which is different from B; where the Old English is to some degree helpful in determining the original, it is closer to B plus Hr than to A1 plus Hr. Thus we may reasonably infer three assumptions: first, that Ælfric's source was related to these three Latin texts; second, that the B and Hr texts are more faithful versions of that source, and third, on the basis of the points at which the Old English is closer to either A1 or Hr than to B, that Ælfric's translation and the origins of A1 and Hr derive from a common incomplete archetype. The two Royal manuscripts, R1 and R2, which also belong to this family of manuscripts, are at a further remove from B and from Ælfric's source, manuscript *p*.

## Stemma



I deduce the existence of manuscript *s* from the orthographic variations in the Old English of *H* (below, p. 89), and the existence of *x p r y z* from the nature of the parallels between *B*, *A1*, *Hr* and *H*.

For the purpose of the following section, I take it as a working assumption that the readings of manuscript *p*, Ælfric's assumed source, were the same as those of B and so have used its chapter and line numberings to imply also reference to *p*. Though we cannot logically assume direct descent from the early Continental tradition of texts examined by Lehmann, comparison of this text with his sources does give some definition to the place of *p* within the sequence, and may help us at least partially to reconstruct it.

I have already noted that B, and thus presumably *p*, partially follow the chapter sequence of Lehmann's Ms G.<sup>1</sup> To distinguish Lehmann's sigla from my own, I prefix them by \*. Like B, \*A \*B \*G \*L omit the twelfth virtue from the list in chapter III; at B (74), however, \*L has Decem uirtutes anime, and omits the sixth virtue. The missing section in chapter VI is absent in \*A \*B \*L, though present in \*G. At B (246), \*B contains several additional lines which do not appear in \*A \*G \*L or the Old English, and are therefore unlikely to have been in manuscript *p*. Thus, because B contains variations derived from all four both independently and in combination, neither \*A, \*B, \*G or \*L can be direct sources for *p*, though each shares some of its readings.

---

1. Full reference to Lehmann's sigla appears in Appendix B; the manuscripts are distinguished there by his lettering plus (L).

Words and phrases lacking from B, and thus by implication from manuscript *p*, which are also lacking in the Continental manuscripts, include at B (9) sapiens esto, also lacking in \*B, \*G and \*L; at B (119) nonne magis nobis celestis pater amandus est, also lacking in \*A, \*B, \*G; at B (122) sua prouidentia, also lacking in \*A, \*B, \*G and \*L, though these four have at B (136) Et quanto plus quis laudare uoluerit sermonibus ludando non deficit, sed tunc incipit laudare Deum, which B, A1 and therefore *p* do not; at B (159) pro nostra redemptione, also lacking in \*A, \*G, \*L; at B (159) mellifluo, also lacking in \*A, \*B, \*G, \*L; at B (162) innocens, also lacking in \*A, \*B, \*G, \*L; at B (180) audiens, also lacking in \*B, \*G; at B (182) tranquillo animo et, also lacking in \*B, \*G, \*L; at B (271) et pro nichilo ducere, also lacking in \*A, \*G; and at B (316) iuuentutis floride, also lacking in \*A.

Different vocabulary, phrasing or spelling include B (26) preliando, as in \*A, \*B; B (29) colluctatio as in \*B; B (46) dimicando as in \*A, \*B, \*L; B (48) se portare as in \*B, \*G, \*L; B (54) recipies donum as in \*B; B (59-60) a semetipso repellit ac proicit as in \*A; B (91) prohibere, as in \*A, \*B, \*L; B (96-7) assumere paupertatem as in \*G; B (112) ex corde as in \*A, \*B, \*L; B (120) quod fuit eorum obsequium as in \*A, \*B, \*G, \*L; B (126) propinquos as in \*A, \*G, \*L; B (141-2) cum ingrati beneficiorum eius fugeremus ab eo as in \*B; B (158-9) confixe sunt clauis as in \*A, \*B; B (161) dederunt as in \*A, \*B, \*G, \*L; B (219-20) in perturbatione as in \*G; B (242) abstine te as in

\*A, \*G, \*L; B (261) queras as in \*A, \*B; B (262) accepere as in \*B, \*L; B (271) nefando as in \*A, \*B, \*L; B (280) otiosissimus as in \*A, \*B, \*G; B (293) in propria uoluntate as in \*A, \*G; B (296) iam ne facias moram reddere as in \*L; B (303) perficienda as in \*A; B (303) concupiscas as in \*B; B (317-8) in odio as in \*A, \*B, \*G; B (318-9) nam cum interuenerit mors as in \*A, \*B, \*G, \*L; B (320) uanitas as in \*A, \*B, \*G; B (332-3) Velut fluxus aque transiens nusquam comparuerunt as in \*A, \*B, \*L; B (341) amantibus as in \*A, \*B; B (344) Deuitemus as in \*A, \*B; B (350) Caueto as in \*A, \*G, \*L; B (358-9) Sapiens uir non corporis decorem desiderat sed anime as in \*G; B (371-2) Et ne te pecuniarum cupiditati subicias as in \*G, \*L; B (402) uolebat as in \*A, \*B, \*G, \*L; B (411) sic et si as in \*G.

There are a few instances where the vocabulary or phrasing in B, and thus probably in manuscript *p*, are independent of the Continental traditions, such as (36) aduersarium, (37-8) eloquia debes iaculare, (64-5) et quanto superius est, (66) gradus excellentie, (155) esuriuit [pro nobis], (156-7) ab angelis [in celo] ... dignatus est [in terra], (214) preparat, (217) semper cordis eius, (222-3) pacificus ita est ut uinea honesta habens fructum copiosum, (293) in propria uoluntate [iam non est in tua uoluntate], (296) iam ne facias moram, (351) queso ne bibas potum. These are sufficient to confirm the relationships already established: that *p* is not the direct descendant of \*A or of \*B or of \*G or of

\*L. Its combination of elements of all four with its own independent structuring of material points to independent derivation from a common original.



## II ORTHOGRAPHY, GLOSSES AND PUNCTUATION

### 1. Hatton 76

Ker dates the handwriting of Hatton 76 A to the first part of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> The script of the Old English Admonitio is widely spaced; there are nineteen lines per page on ff. 55<sup>r</sup>-67<sup>v</sup> instead of twenty-seven, as on ff. 1-54. The opening line of the Admonitio is written in half-uncial, and this line contains the only example in the text of ð used initially. The formality of the script may thus replace the usual incipit. Elsewhere the script is characterized by unusually long ascenders and descenders and occasional ligatures. The ends of the ascenders either curve to the left or are completed with a serif. Capitals are decorated in red, though the arbitrary use of decoration does not always signal a capital. There are two forms of capital A, with varying degrees of elaboration, and three of capital G: the large ȝ, a G and, presumably for speed, a form resembling an open and scrolled Q. Other individual graphemes include the flat-headed and open-bowed ȝ, the consistently dotted ȝ and the occasional instance of a form of n which

---

1. Ker, Catalogue, 389; J.D.A. Ogilvie, Books known to the English 597-1066 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) 98.

resembles the rustic capital rather than the usual rounded form. The scribe uses three forms of g: the rounded or long initially, the long medially and the low form finally. Apart from the opening line of the text, he is generally consistent in his initial and medial use of b and his final use of ð, though he prefers capital Ð to D, and there are two instances of th, both in the name Naboth. There is an occasional, though inconsistent, use of initial and medial k.

The numerous glosses to the Admonitio found in Hatton are not found in either Junius or Ballard.

## 2. Junius 68

The Junius text, though clearly a copy of Hatton, has, as I have said (above, p. 17), some independence in chapter organization and numbering. It agrees with Hatton as far as the missing leaf; the section immediately following the gap is numbered VII, though it corresponds to Hatton Chapter VIII. There is therefore no chapter numbered VI; in addition, the break at Junius Chapter IX occurs at Hatton line 331, but there is no break at Hatton Chapter X.

Given the small number of substantive variants, the probability that a scholar like Junius may be right, and that the textual tradition may be enforced in the twentieth century, the differing readings are worth at least recording; the Junius text is useful as indicating

some Hatton irregularities. It corrects some of the Hatton mis-spellings, such as regollice for regodllice and Achan for Achar. It retains the Hatton variations of neacstan and neahstan, but fixes those of niextan and nextan at nextan, and corrects some Hatton idiosyncracies in the use of double letters, such as Cesarean for Cessarean and lustfulnysse for lustfullnysse, though including clænysse for Hatton clænnysse. Junius shows a few personal orthographic conventions, such as the almost consistent use of ð for p and the more frequent use of the contraction þ, and these lead to variations in verbal endings, such as the replacement of -ð by -t, as in kept for kepð, befealt for befealð and næft for næfð, the replacement of -st by -ð, as in leofað for leofast, and that of -est by -st, as in bencst for bencest. Junius also replaces the occasional y forms by i, as in swiðe for swyðe, wile for wyle, bið for byð, is for ys and dimnysse for dymnysse.

On two occasions the reading is significantly different from Hatton; for Hatton (156) wið ðone stream stedefæst on wætan ("against the stream steadfast in water") he reads wið ðone streamsteðe fæst on wætan which, as Mueller rightly notes (Text, 130), with the emendation of streamsteðe to streamstede would give the acceptable "against the streambed, firmly in the water". The Hatton reading is nevertheless preferable because it is closer to the Latin quotation secus decursus aquarum, (Psalm 1, v. 3). Again, for Hatton line 179 Gif ure magas willað us

geweman fram Criste ("if our parents wish to persuade us from Christ") Junius reads Gif ure magas willað us getweman fram Criste "if our parents wish to separate us from Christ". Neither is an exact translation of the Latin si accedere nos ad servitium Christi non prohibent (Appendix A, 130-1), and again, because it allows for a use of alliteration characteristic of Ælfric's known style, I retain the reading found in Hatton.

### 3. Ballard 58

Because it copies, rather than edits, the Ballard transcript is far more faithful than Junius to Hatton. Ballard has, however, personal orthographic choices, such as a preference for capital Ð rather than ƿ, the substitution of i for y spellings and, more rarely, of y for i. More importantly, there are three major examples of mistranscription, the first of which remains uncorrected (pp. 69, 81, 89). In each case, the presence of a word repeating one in the previous line either above or slightly to the left of the repeated word has caused eyeskip to the second instance, with the consequent omission of several words. In addition, there are some minor grammatical errors, as pine for pin, God for Gode, sceolan for sceolon, miht for mihte and ure for ures. Ballard retains most of Hatton's punctuation marks, but frequently expands the contracted u endings; he prefers the low form of s and to use ð rather than ƿ, and, like

Junius, replaces many of the Hatton y spellings by i: siððan for syððan, tinð for tynð, is for ys, bið for byð, hi for hy, but also getymbrunge for getimbrunge and Cryste for Criste.

#### 4. The Worcester scribe

Crawford has already noted that the Worcester scribe has glossed a portion of Hatton 76 (though Crawford does not consider the glosses to the section of the manuscript which contains the Admonitio),<sup>1</sup> and that there are variations in the scribe's hand. Christine Franzen's useful analysis establishes that the variant hands are recognizably the work of the same scribe, and categorizes the layers of glossing.<sup>2</sup> Those which are relevant to the Admonitio are the familiar tremulous and backward-leaning hand, whose glosses are in Latin (M), a smaller and more controlled hand, though one in which a tremor is visible, whose glosses are almost consistently in Latin (B), and the dry point notations, which may be in either M or B (P). In general (B) is the earlier of the two main hands, and only a few instances occur in the Admonitio.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. S.J. Crawford, "The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the Old English Manuscripts in the Bodleian, together with the Worcester Version of the Nicene Creed," Anglia 52 (1928): 1-25.

2. Franzen 5-19.

3. Franzen discusses the Admonitio pp. 65-9.

The distinction between the two hands shows a clear degeneration, but one which is not necessarily controlled by age. The gloss Basilus fecit Exameron (to line 14) is the product of two attempts; it shows a degeneration from "Basilus" (B) to "fecit Exameron" (M), and the ink of "Basilus" is much darker than that of the following words. Nevertheless it is improbable that a significant time had elapsed before the gloss was completed; the change may well have been caused by tiredness (it is perhaps significant that the gloss appears at the bottom of the page), or by a cramping position of the scribe's hand.

The scribe's concern for accuracy in the process of glossing is illustrated by his occasional use of a dry point gloss, which he later completed in ink. Though in each of the five cases I have found the scribe retains the same word, the use of the double gloss suggests that he used the dry point as a note to himself, and that only after deliberation did he use ink. A flag sign in the margin indicates a similar process, and the scribe's occasional use of two separate glosses to one word confirms his striving for accuracy. The majority of the Admonitio glosses are in (M) and in Latin, though there is one uncharacteristic early Middle English gloss in (B) (unriht to 139) and one instance of a form not previously noted in either Old or Middle English in (M) (leafte me to 319).

In addition to the glosses there are some superscript

marks which demonstrate the scribe's characteristic concern to clarify some features of Old English orthography which might puzzle a Middle English reader.<sup>1</sup> The verbal ge- prefix could be confused with the personal pronoun ge; accordingly the scribe marks some ge- prefixes with a superscript i, to give i-worhte, i-haten and i-hyrsumiað (15, 16, 47). He marks some instances of dative plural him with a superscript a to distinguish it from the similarly spelt singular pronoun, thus ham (177, 431), and he marks the y in the genitive plural hyra with a superscript o to distinguish it from the feminine singular genitive and dative, thus hora (319, 428).

Most of the Latin glosses are precise translations of the Old English lemmata. They do, however, show the scribe's predilection for certain favourite renderings. Of the sixty-eight glosses apparent in this text, Franzen has noted sixteen as occurring elsewhere in others in identical or near equivalent form.<sup>2</sup> Seven repeat the Latin words of Bodley 800, and though this number cannot prove that the scribe has used Ælfric's source, it does confirm his accuracy. His care to preserve the precise meaning is illustrated by his glossing of Besceawa (106) and beceapa (442), neither of which is a difficult word, but both of which could easily be confused by an eye unfamiliar with Old English script. In two instances he

---

1. Crawford 3-5; Franzen 22-5.

2. Franzen 70, 153, 146, 155-66, 195.

narrows the abstract sense of the Old English to a more specific reading; he glosses wistfullnys (365) and swæsnessa (366) by epule and dapes respectively, thus defining "joy" and "pleasure" by "a feast" or "a banquet". On only one occasion does he seem uncertain; he uses dolum and fraudem ("device" and "fraud") as glosses for frecednysse (105). Neither is accurate; frecednysse is a precise translation for Bodley 800 (63) periculum, and the scribe uses the same pair of words and their equivalents correctly to gloss fakenfullra (80) (fraudentior, dolosior) and facne (171) (dolo, fraude). It is significant that Franzen includes frecednysse amongst words which have caused the scribe difficulty elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

The glosses and superscript marks to the Admonitio are included in the Commentary, below. I have retained Franzen's classifications<sup>2</sup> to distinguish the hands, and marked with an asterisk readings which she has noted as appearing frequently elsewhere. I have also provided brief notes for entries when this seemed helpful.

## 5. Punctuation

Though the Hatton scribe does not use the general repertory of punctuation symbols current in the Middle

---

1. Franzen 166.

2. Franzen, summarized pp. 27-8.



Ages,<sup>1</sup> he does use, with a fair degree of consistency, a system of double and single points to define and separate the Old English clauses or sententiae. He does not always maintain a clear distinction between the two systems, but in general the double point indicates a minor medial break, and the single point a major pause, which, when final, is confirmed by capitalization of the next letter. Not all minor breaks, however, are marked by double points, nor are all sententiae separated by pointing, though where it does occur it is almost uniformly consistent with this pattern. There are, however, some instances in which the scribe's sequence of end stop, single point, capital letter seems questionable. In line 126 pingum is followed by a single point and the n of ne is capitalized, though the break in the sense seems unnecessarily decisive. Similarly there are a number of single points followed by and abbreviations decorated as if to indicate capitals, which make no grammatical sense (225, 228, 354, 356, 362, 363, 368, 369, 371, 384), though the further example of 240 might be explained as emphasis. The cluster of inappropriately decorated and-abbreviations between lines 353 and 371 may be scribal error, though,

---

1. C.G. Harlow, "Punctuation in some Mss of Ælfric," RES 10 (1959): 1-19; B. Bischoff, Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages (Cambridge UP, 1990) 169-73; M.B. Parkes, "The Impact of Punctuation," Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric, ed. J.J. Murphy (University of California Press, 1978) esp. pp. 139-40, and Parkes, Pause and Effect (CUP, 1992) esp. pp. 301-7.

particularly between lines 368-71, there is a patterned sequence of alternating decorated and undecorated symbols.

Apart from these anomalies, the scribe's punctuation underlines the text's rhythmic and syntactic units to an impressive degree. Though I will discuss Ælfric's prose style later (below, pp. 91-108), it is relevant here to stress the sympathy with which the scribe has pointed it. Ælfric's normal pattern of rhythmic prose is for pairs of sententiae to be loosely linked by stress and alliterative patterns.<sup>1</sup> Most of his lines are end-stopped, the syntactic break at the end of the clause coinciding with the end of the line. A large proportion of the lines in the Admonitio are end-stopped (349x from 454), and the end of nearly all the sententiae coincides with the end of a line. The achieved effect is one of formality and precision; the balance of pairs of clauses within a line emphasises the balance of Ælfric's argument and admirably reflects the theme of the Admonitio, which depends on comparison between a spiritual and a temporal life.

Not all the sentences, however, are constructed of pairs of sententiae; Ælfric, like the Psalmist,<sup>2</sup> occasionally uses a triple pattern, though within an

---

1. Pope 114-5; J. Hurt, Ælfric (New York, 1972) 125.

2. C.A. Briggs, "The Poetry of the Psalms," A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1906) I: xxxiv-xlvi.

individual sentence this will still be contained within a parallel structure: there will either be three pairs of double sententiae or two triple sententiae, and the distinction is nearly always clearly marked by the punctuation.

If we analyse the sentence structure solely according to the punctuation, the result, as Mueller found (p. 12), seems to be irregular; if however we analyse the sentence structure by the pairs of sententiae characteristic of rhythmic prose, the scribe's punctuation system appears conspicuously more consistent. Lines 42-49 admirably demonstrate the regular pointing of double sententiae:

Gif þu wylle campian: on Godes campdome.  
ne campa þu ænigum: buton Gode anum.  
þæt þu him þeowie: on his þeowdome.  
simle orsorh fram woruldcaram: and fram ælcum gehlyde.  
þa men þe campiað: þam eorðlican cininge.  
hi gehyrsumiað æfre: eallum his hæsum.  
Swa eac þa þe campiað: þam heofenlican cininge.  
sceolon gehyrsumian: þam heofonlicum bebodum.

In the next lines the scribe marks the units equally clearly but his use of double and single points is less regular, indicating a less regular arrangement of minor and major pauses:

Se eorðlica kempa: bið æfre gearo and caf:

swa hwyder he faran sceal: to gefeohte mid þam  
kininge.

and he for his wife: ne for his wenclum  
ne dearr hine sylfne beladian þæt he ne scule faran.

(50-53)

The next sentence shows only the final point, but the previous lines have established so clearly the balanced pattern of sententiae that the scribe may have felt pointing to be unnecessary:

Mycele swyþor sceal se soða Godes cempa  
buton ælcere hremminge hraþe gehyrsumian  
Cristes sylfes bebodum þæs soðfæstan kyninges.

(54-56)

The scribe frequently uses pointing to indicate end-stopping only, as:

Se munuc sceal geanbidian his edleanes æt Gode.  
and beon him sylf ælfremed fram eorðlicum dædum.  
and hine ne abysgian mid woruldlicum bysgum.  
gif he campian sceal Criste on eornost. (93-96);

and:

Ne bysga þu þin mod on mislicum þingum.  
Ne þu mid olæceunge ænigum gecweme.  
ac aceorf fram þe þa flæslican lufe.

þæt seo flæslice lufu þe ne afyrsie Gode.  
 Adræfe ælcne leahtor. and ælcne unþeaw fram þe.  
 þæt þu þære sawla mihta sylf mæge begitan.  
 Gehyr nu on eornost hwæt þære sawle miht is.  
 and hwilc miht hyre begite þæt mæste gestreon.  
 Ðære sawle miht is þæt heo hire Scyppend lufie.  
 and þa þing onscunie þe God sylf onscunað. (125-134)

and:

Ne ætbyrst he naht eaðe buton his sawle lyre.  
 þeah þe he lichamlice mid hyre ne licge.  
 swa þeah byð his inngehid wiðinnan gewemed. (348-50)

The double pattern is not invariable; the scribe's pointing occasionally indicates a triple sententiae pattern within the parallel structure, as in these examples:

I Se woruld kempa werað woruldlice wæpna  
 ongean his gelican. ac þu habban scealt  
 þa gastlican wæpna ongean þam gastlican feond.  
 (65-7)

II He underfehð gife eorðlices gestreones  
 for his eorðlices geswinces. ac þu scealt underfon  
 þa heofonlican gife for þam gastlican gewinne.  
 (90-92)

III And se þe þa deadan þurh his drihtenlican mihte  
arærde to life. se let hine ahon  
on rode gealgan be his aenum willan. (214-16)

IV Warnu nu min bearn þæt þu ne wurðe beswicen  
þurh þæs lichaman wlite. and þu swa forleose  
þinre sawle wlite þurh þone sceortan lust. (342-4)

These examples indicate the scribe's awareness of individual patterns, but the majority of the text, while retaining in virtually all sentences an even number of sententiae, shows these patterns in combination. I note three such combinations. First, lines 150-54 combine end-stopping only with a triplet and an additional phrase to complete the antithetical structure:

Ðas mihta þu miht min bearn þe begitan.  
gif þu woruldcara awyrpst fram þinre heortan.  
and þa gewitendlican þing forlætst and  
gewilnast þa heofenlican.  
and gif þine willa bið gelome abysgod  
on Godes herungum. and þu his domas asmeast.

Lines 342-7, however, show two triplets followed by three end-stopped lines:

Warnu nu min bearn þæt þu ne wurðe beswicen  
þurh þæs lichaman wlite. and þu swa forleose

þinre sawle wlite þurh þone sceortan lust.  
Warna þæt þu ne hreppe wifmanna lichaman.  
Swa swa fyr wyle ontendan þæt ceaf þæt him wiðligeð.  
swa bið se þe handlað wifhades mannes lic.

The still more elaborate patterning of lines 383-919 combines triplet with additional phrase, end-stopping, additional phrase, triplet, and two triplets plus additional phrases:

Bide þe sylfum æt Gode þæt he sylf þe forgife  
snotere heortan. and þurhwacol andgite.  
þæt þu cunne tocnawan þæs deofles costnunge.  
and his swicolan facna. þæt þin fot ne bestæppe  
on his arleasum grinum þæt þu gelæht ne wurðe.  
Se snotere wer ne gewilnað þara woruldglenga  
ne þæs lichaman wlates. ac gewilnað þære sawle.  
forþam þe Crist gegladað on þære sawle godnyssse  
and on his wlite. gewilna þu þæs.

As in the Psalms, the variety inherent in such flexibility prevents the rhythms of Ælfric's prose from becoming either rigid or monotonous, and it is significant that the body of the text shows such variety. The beginning and ending are more regular; the Preface, which is Ælfric's own, shows a marked preference for the two phrase and end-stopped line, which the Hatton scribe punctiliously notes with a high proportion of double and single points. The

first triplet:

and he awrat þa lare þe we nu willað  
on Englisceum gereorde secgean.

does not occur until lines 17–18, and is the only example in the Preface. The last chapter of the extant text, where Ælfric departs furthest from his source, shows a similar preference for marked double sententiae or end-stopped lines only; there is only one triplet (428–9). It is arguable that when Ælfric wrote independently of his source he preferred the emphatic two-sententiae line, and that when he translated he found it occasionally helpful to use the triplet structure or a combination of both; it is equally arguable that he considered the more regular line to be more formal and thus more appropriate to the opening and conclusion of his text. I suggest later that not much has been lost from the conclusion of the Old English text (below, pp. 109–11), and although the scribe's punctuation does not itself prove this argument, it provides some supporting evidence.

In general the scribe responds well to the combined regularity and flexibility of Ælfric's prose by his own careful pointing. There are nevertheless a few instances where the pointing and rhythm do not seem to harmonize; either the scribe has made an error or Ælfric's prose momentarily loses its customary unobtrusive elegance. The purely scribal errors are easy to identify in:



æt þæm halgan. fæderum: þe wæron ure foregengan.

(37)

On swilcum dædum se soða Gode byð gegremed (.) soðlice.

þæt hluttre mod þe God gelicað

forsihð þa hiwunge (268-70)

and:

Þa cwæð se Hælend him to. Ne canst þu Godes. æ.

Ne ofsleh mannan. Ne rihthæm þu. (437-8)

The points before fæderum, æ and soðlice are clearly mistakes. Less obviously attributable to error is the slightly discordant rhythm achieved by the pointing of 38-41:

Gif þeos halige lar: gelicað þinre heortan.

and gif þu hi underfehst: þonne færst þu on sibbe.

and nan yfel ne mæg. ne ne mot. þe genealæcean.

ac ælc wiðerweardnyss: gewiteð fram þinre sawle.

Here the alliteration demands that the clauses be read in this manner, but the extra clause in the third line seems an unnecessarily emphatic rendition of the Latin adpropinquabit (14). The same pattern of three pointed sententiae to a line occurs in 331-2:

On ægðrum hade bið **se** halga mægðhad

on cnihtum. and on mædenum. on munecum and on

mynecenum

but here the balanced opposition of the four categories suggests that the point after cnihtum is unnecessary and therefore an error.

Other apparent irregularities seem likely to be intentional. Mueller takes the four lines 107-10 to be two lines of exceptional length, and supports this reading (p. 19) by the attractive hypothesis that their length is deliberately contrived to emphasise and symbolise their content: the infinite superiority of God's glory and His rewards to those of any earthly king. The pointing certainly indicates pauses after cininge (108) and kempan (110) but, as I have noted above, end-stopping is not a uniform practice, and to read the passage as four rather than two lines emphasises a syllabic diminution appropriate to the respective values of heavenly and wordly honours. There are nevertheless some examples of extra-metrical lines, notably lines 279-80, which are very close to the Latin (212-15). Their length calls attention to the association between Christ and the peaceful man. That the hypermetricity is deliberate is suggested by Ælfric's word play on wununge and wunian, and his insertion of the emphatic adverb untwylice, not present in the Latin, to extend the syllabic sound pattern. Less obviously elegant, however, are lines 306 and 411, but these are exceptional, as are the three examples of mid-line sentence breaks in lines 316, 369 and 399. In each case the uncharacteristic pattern focuses attention on what is being said: the break in line 316

lends additional force to the already emphatic Hit is gewisslice soð; that in line 369 reinforces the question and answer structure, and that in line 399 emphasises the dogmatic Ne sec þu na mare.

With very few exceptions, the pointing of the text, though not always consistent in usage, is too sensitive to the prose style to be coincidental.<sup>1</sup>

The second feature of the text to be considered under the heading of punctuation is less easy to interpret. There are a large number of diagonal superscript strokes resembling accent marks, which almost invariably occur over vowels. Mueller has included a few of them in his transcription, but the presence of similar marks in the preceding text in the manuscript<sup>2</sup> suggests that they are unlikely to have been transcribed from Ælfric's own text of the Admonitio. Accordingly, whatever their precise function, the marks, like the glosses in the tremulous hand of the Worcester scribe, constitute an early critical response to the text. I have therefore not included them in my own transcript, but list them separately as Appendix C, showing their line distribution in Appendix Cb. Approximately two-thirds of the lines in the Admonitio show one or more of these accent marks.

The angle of the marks is similar to that of the

---

1. So Mueller, 12.

2. Both texts show an idiosyncratic use of a double accent over éac.

tail to y or the bar on ǣ, and the relative darkness of the ink shows that, like the bar to ǣ, the pen has moved upwards from left to right. Many, though not all, of the marks show a slight movement of the pen to the right at their top, like the seriph with which the scribe finishes his diagonal strokes. Nevertheless, the ink of the marks is consistently less dark than that of the body of the text; if the marks are by the Hatton scribe, he would seem not to have inserted them in either this text or in the Dialogues as he wrote, but on some later occasion. With a few exceptions, indicated in Appendix C by an asterisk, the lower end of the marks points to the vowels or diphthongs, though the mark itself may extend over two or three characters. Where the mark has been written too far to the left or right and points to a consonant, this is almost invariably to avoid a tail stroke from a letter in the line above.

Because the use of the marks does not seem uniform, as can easily be demonstrated from their distribution, their precise function is difficult to determine. Mueller (p.12) suggests that they do not have any stress value but that most of them may be stray pen strokes resulting during the formation of vowels. He is certainly right that the majority of the strokes point to vowels or diphthongs, but their random quality would seem to argue against their being accidental. If they are entirely random then more of them would appear over consonants, and if they are part of the scribe's hand

movement in the formation of vowels then they would surely appear over more of them.

Ker notes three apparent scribal traditions in the use of accent marks in Old English manuscripts:<sup>1</sup> to mark long monosyllables, to mark "small and common words", though such instances are generally found either in manuscripts earlier than Hatton 76 or in copies from earlier exemplars, and, in manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to show stress value. Scragg's analysis of the accent marks in the Vercelli Book,<sup>2</sup> however, demonstrates the variety of functions the marks may have, and certainly the uneven distribution of marks in the Admonitio confirms the complexity of this scribal practice.

One function of the marks in the Admonitio, though not always so used, is indeed to denote long monosyllables, as in : wé (1), nú (26), blód (62), mód (125), mín (150), líc (181), án (203), gást (230), bín (263), sé (284), bú (311), ná (337), nán (364), fót (386), sé (401), æ (437). Within this category, though again not consistently used, seems to be an attempt to distinguish the personal from the relative pronoun, as in:

seo flæsclice lufu þé ne afyrsie God (128).

There is no accent mark over the personal pronoun in the

---

1. Ker, Catalogue xxxv.

2. D. G. Scragg, "Accent Marks in the Old English Vercelli Book," NM 72 (1971): 699-710.

following line, but here the preposition fram makes confusion unlikely. Other examples are:

þe læs þe hire lufu þé beluce (308),  
þines lifes ryne / þe þé is ungewiss (380-1),

and:

welan / þe þé ascyriað (392-3).

Similarly, god (adjective) is sometimes distinguished from God (uncapitalized), as in góðne (157), góðes (249) as distinct from Godes (158), and góðe (246, 290) as distinct from Gode (19, 20, 29 etc.).

Occasionally the marks seem to denote stress value, as in their inconsistent appearance on the initial syllable of parts of the verb cámpian, or emphasis, as in únrihtwisum (196), únmihtigum (262), únwynsumnysse (362) and úngewiss (381); in each case the mark stresses the negative prefix. A further use of the marks, however, seems to emerge from their clustered rather than individual uses, where they may indicate a form of rhetorical heightening. Lines 70, 153-61, 221-238 and 250-3 are heavily accented, and all contain biblical quotation; lines 40, 137 and 248 mark significant stages in the argument, and the highly accented line 215 contains the central fact of the crucifixion. Nevertheless, the same inconsistent practice which inhibits our understanding of individual examples prevents an unequivocal explanation of their use in concert. What these marks do suggest, however, is an attempt to reinforce or to clarify meaning for those not totally

familiar with Old English. Parkes draws attention to the importance in a scriptorium of a corrector "especially up to the second half of the twelfth century" in ensuring the continued understanding of texts, and Gneuss reminds us that "accent marks, as well as punctuation marks, have often been added or altered by a later scribe, and (that) it is not always easy to detect this, even in the manuscript itself".<sup>1</sup> Hatton 76 was annotated by the Worcester scribe in the thirteenth century (above, pp. 42-5) and it seems likely that the diagonal penstrokes are similarly designed for further clarification. Like the other annotations to the text, they become part of a scholarly response to it; more importantly, they follow Ælfric's purpose in making the contents of the Admonitio accessible.

---

1. Parkes, "The Impact of Punctuation" 130; H. Gneuss, "Texts for the Dictionary of Old English," The Editing of Old English, ed. D.G. Scragg and P.E. Szarmach (Cambridge, 1994) 7-26, at p. 18.

### III ST BASIL

St Basil,<sup>1</sup> identified in the Old English text as the author of the Admonitio (16-17), was one of the most significant figures in the development of monasticism, and the authority of Basil's reputation may account for the dissemination of this short text.

The attribution, however, is dubious.<sup>2</sup> When considering the provenance of the Latin text, Lehmann concluded that it was written in Greek by Basil and translated into Latin by Rufinus; Geerard, however, who does not include the Admonitio in his list of all the works attributed to St Basil, indicates that there is no known Greek source. Fedwick suggests that its style and composition are foreign to the authentic works, and both

---

1. Information about Basil is drawn from St Basil, Letters and Select Works, trans. B. Jackson, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd Series (Oxford, 1895) VIII; St Basil, The Letters, trans. R.J. Deferrari, Loeb Classical Library (Harvard, 1926); W.K.L. Clarke, St Basil the Great: A Study in Monasticism (Cambridge, 1913); H. von Campenhausen, The Fathers of the Greek Church (London, 1963), and Basil of Caesarea: a 16th Hundred Anniversary Symposium, ed. P.J. Fedwick, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (Toronto, 1981).

2. Lehmann 3-29; M. Geerard, Clavis Patrum Graecorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974) II: 140-47, nos. 2835-3005.



he and Dekkers list it as spurious.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, tradition has associated the Admonitio with St Basil, and Ælfric has followed the tradition. Furthermore, as Ælfric knew, (**Text**, 12-13) St Benedict drew upon Basil's teaching for his own Rule, and the association between the two great monastic legislators would not only explain how the text reached England and Ælfric, but may suggest why Ælfric, the pupil of Æthelwold, one of the great Anglo-Saxon Benedictine reformers, considered a text supposedly by Basil important enough to translate for the benefit of English monks and nuns.

Basil was born about 329 at Pontus in Cappadocia, of a family that was both Christian and well-educated. He began his studies in Caesarea, continued them in Constantinople, and completed his comprehensive education in Athens, where he met Gregory of Nazianzus, who became his enthusiastic follower. Perhaps as a reaction against the pressures of the public world, or perhaps because of the interest of his older sister, Basil's initial religious inclination was towards the ascetic life. This impulse was strengthened by his travels in 358 through Egypt and Palestine, where he would have seen the various practices of monachism.

---

1. Eligius Dekkers, Clavis Patrum Latinorum (2nd edn. Steenbrugge, 1961) 257, no. 1155a (Ps Basilius Magnus saec. vii antiquior); Fedwick, 460; see also H. M. Rochais, "Les Prologues du Liber Scintillarum," Révue Bénédictine 59 (1949): 137-156, esp. pp. 137, 145-54, 153.

Such practices derived from two basic traditions: Antonine and Pachomian.<sup>1</sup> St Anthony, the first recorded Christian solitary, was the originator of eremitic monachism, which later became the intermediary form of anchoritic life. In some cases, men who had originally retired to the desert to avoid persecution either collected disciples or joined other hermits to live a life which was individualistic though not solitary. Anchoritic monachism predominated in northern Egypt, and from it emerged the conflicting traditions of the austerities of the Syrian ascetics, such as St Simon Stylites, and the cenobitic life of southern Egypt. The evolution of this communal life is largely due to Pachomius who, though originally intending to live as a solitary, acquired so many disciples that he was compelled to organise a form of monastery and a communal rule for it. The popularity of a communal life spread so rapidly that, when Pachomius died in 346, there were ten monasteries under his rule. Though there is no indication that Pachomius considered a uniform community life to be the highest form of monachism, or that he disputed the right of the individual to live in solitude if he could, or indeed that he prevented his monks from practising

---

1. Information about monastic history is drawn from Jean Décarreaux, Monks and Civilization, trans. C. Haldane (London, 1964); The Life of St Pachomius and his Disciples, trans. Armand Veilleux (Kalamazoo, 1980); H. Chadwick, The Early Church, Penguin History of the Church, I (Harmondsworth, 1967; repr. 1990).

individual degrees of austerity, his Rule is a landmark in the development of monasticism. It is the first example of controlled asceticism, and contributed largely to the order and stability of his communities.

St Basil followed Pachomius' example by establishing a community in 360 on his own estates at Pontus, and by providing a rule for it. His Rules were moderate but differed from the earlier Pachomian model in forbidding any degree of competitive asceticism, and in insisting on the moral superiority of a regulated communal life. Though Basil accepted the eremitic ideal of asceticism, that purification of the soul by self-denial was the means of achieving a mystical union with God, he also developed cenobitism as an ideal rather than simply as a convenient way of organization. To Basil, cenobitism combined the essential spiritual elements of both traditions of monachic life; it combined the renunciation of the world and the hermit's dedication to prayer with the humility, obedience and charity required of a communal life. Because it stressed active charity rather than the Pachomian withdrawn individualism, Basil's scheme was spiritual in principle and practicable in application. Amongst the prescribed duties of a monk Basil included physical labour: his monks were employed in agricultural work to support their own and other communities, and they were required to assist in medical and educational care of the outside world.

Basil's significance as a monastic innovator matches

his importance in contemporary theological controversies. By 359 he was already eminent, having been chosen to accompany to Constantius the delegates who were protesting against the heretical creed forcibly imposed on the western bishops at the Council of Rimini. In 364 he was ordained presbyter by Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea and given a prominent place in diocesan administration, but, to avoid a schism over Eusebius' Arian sympathies, he withdrew to his monastic community in Pontus. When the Arian Emperor Valens threatened a visit to Cappadocia in 365, the minor clergy of Caesarea begged Basil to return to public life and to exercise his restraining influence upon Eusebius, because they feared that the Emperor might terrorize the Bishop into a complete acceptance of Arianism. Basil, reluctantly reconciled to Eusebius, succeeded him in 370, and died in 379. His letters give an account of the wide range of his pastoral activities during the last years of his life, showing how he worked to remove unfit candidates from the ministry, to remove the temptations of simony from the bishops and, while defending the rights and immunities of the clergy, to train them to an ideal way of life. Yet, while believing in its superiority, he never turned the monastic way of life against the secular clergy. Neither was he preoccupied with local matters only; he took an active part in major theological disputes over heresy and schism, and his international fame introduced to the west his monastic ideals, and the texts concerned with them.

#### IV ÆLFRIC AND HIS SOURCE

Despite his significance as a preacher, prose writer and grammarian, much of Ælfric's life remains obscure, and we still depend largely on the internal evidence of his own work for information about this essentially private individual.<sup>1</sup>

He was probably born about 955; in the preface to the first series of Catholic Homilies, written almost immediately after his appointment in 987 to Cerne Abbas as novice master, Ælfric refers to himself as a priest, and must therefore have been at least thirty years old.<sup>2</sup> Of his early childhood and background we know nothing except that in his youth he was taught by a priest who knew little Latin,<sup>3</sup> and that later he entered the community at the Old Minster in Winchester under Bishop Æthelwold. This was perhaps in late 971 or 972; Ælfric makes little

---

1. Information about Ælfric is taken from C.L. White, Ælfric, A New Study of his Life and Writings (New York, 1898, repr. 1974); M. M. Dubois, Ælfric: Sermonnaire, Docteur et Grammarien (Paris, 1943); J. Hurt, Ælfric; L. M. Reinsma, Ælfric: An Annotated Bibliography (New York, 1987), and J. Wilcox, Ælfric's Prefaces, Durham Medieval Texts 9 (Durham, 1994).

2. "Ic Ælfric, munuc and mæssepreost": CH (I), Old English Preface: 2, lines 1-2.

3. "Hwilon ic wiste þæt sum mæssepreost, se þe min magister wæs on þam timan, hæfde þa boc Genesis and he cuðe be dæle Lyden understandan": The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, ed. S.J. Crawford, EETS os 160 (Oxford, 1922; repr. 1969) 76, lines 12-14.

reference to the rededication of the Old Minster in 971, except to say that it followed Æthelwold's appointment as Bishop, and seems to have no first-hand memories of the notable occasion.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, his Life of St Swithun does indicate some recollection of the translation in 972 of the saint's bones into the Minster.<sup>2</sup>

While at Winchester, possibly in anticipation of a move to a monastery with a less well-stocked library,<sup>3</sup> Ælfric made the collection of excerpts (Ms Boulogne-sur-Mer 63) which he used as the basis for many of his later writings.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps this early scholarship attracted the attention of his influential patrons: Æthelmær and his father Æthelweard, Ealdorman of Dorset. Certainly Ælfric's appointment to Cerne Abbas was made at the specific request of Æthelmær, whose "gebyrd and godnys sind gehwær cupe",<sup>5</sup> and, though this may be no more than a graceful tribute to a patron, Ælfric's dedication to the

---

1. "autquanta in structura monasterii elaboreret, reparando ecclesiam aliasque domos edificando", "Vita S. Æthelwoldi" in Three Lives of English Saints, ed. M. Winterbottom, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts (Toronto, 1972) 28.

2. "Vita S. Swithini," in Ælfric, Lives of Three English Saints, ed. G.I. Needham, Methuen's Old English Texts (London, 1966) 61, lines 18-20.

3. M. McC. Gatch, "Ms Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies," JEGP 65 (1966): 485-90, at p. 469.

4. E. Raynes, "Ms Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric," Med. Ev. 26 (1957): 65-73.

5. CH (I): 2, lines 5-6.

Ealdorman and his son of the Catholic Homilies, the Lives of the Saints and the translation of the Heptateuch suggests a genuine friendship. So too does Æthelmær's appointment of Ælfric as Abbot of his new foundation of Eynsham in about 1004. The foundation charter for this new abbey is dated 1005,<sup>1</sup> though its terms, particularly those referring to the appointment of a new abbot, indicate that the community was already in existence when the charter was drawn up. It prescribes that the present supervisor was to remain in office for life, and so Ælfric probably spent the rest of his life at Eynsham. He seems to have written nothing after about 1012 and, while it is not impossible that he ceased to write some considerable time before his death, it is more likely that he died soon afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

Ælfric follows a long tradition in attributing the Admonitio to St Basil. As we have seen, this attribution is dubious. Nevertheless, St Basil's reputation, together with that of subsequent prominent monastic figures, was an important factor in the dissemination of the text.

Basil's status as a monastic legislator led to the rapid increase of his reputation beyond the Greek-speaking world. By 397 Rufinus had adapted, abridged and

---

1. H.E. Salter, ed., Eynsham Cartulary, Oxford Historical Society 49 (1907) 19-28.

2. D. Whitelock, "Two Notes on Ælfric and Wulfstan," MLR 38 (1943): 122-6; Clemons, "Chronology" 245.

translated into Latin Basil's Rules, as well as eight of his homilies.<sup>1</sup> Benedict of Monte Cassino used and acknowledged Rufinus' translation of Basil's Rules as one of the main sources for his own Rule, and recommended Basil's work as being suitable for further private study.<sup>2</sup> If the Admonitio had by this time been attributed to St Basil, Benedict's own authority would have added weight to the importance of Basil's reputation, as would that of Benedict of Aniane, who included the Latin Admonitio in the appendix to the Codex Regularum, ascribing its authorship to Basil.<sup>3</sup> The Codex itself included Rufinus' translation of Basil's Rules, and was widely used as a basis for subsequent reform; the appendix consisted of a number of exhortations to monks and nuns, mainly by European authors of the fifth and sixth centuries, though there are two by the third-century Athanasius, and one by the fourth-century Evagrius.<sup>4</sup> If, as seems probable,

---

1. Clarke 147-8, 162-7. Rufinus' abridged version of the Rules is printed in Migne PL 103: 486-554.

2. RB, 73.4-9; Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinrregel, ed. von A. Schröer, BdASP II (Kassel, 1885) 133, lines 8-9.

3. PL 103: 683-700.

4. Athanasius, "De Observationibus Monachorum," PL 103: 665-72; "Exhortatio ad Sponsam Christi," PL 103: 672-83; Basil, "Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem," PL 103: 683-700; Evagrius, "Monachi Sententiae," PL 20: 1181; Festus, "Sermones ad Monachos," PL 58: 869; Eucharisius, "Exhortatio ad Monachos," PL 50: 865, 1207 and 1209; Cesarius of Arles, "Ad Caesariam Abbatissam eiusque," PL 67: 1125; Novati Catholici, "Sententia de Humilitate," PL 18: 67; Paul of Aquileia, "Monachos de Penitentia," PL 103: 699-702; Eutropius, "Epistola ad Petrum Papam de



Benedict was using texts with the authority of age, we can assume an early date for Pseudo-Basil. Madrisi claimed that the Latin Admonitio was a plagiarised adaptation from chapters 20-45 of the eighth-century Paul of Aquileia's Liber Exhortationis<sup>1</sup>, but the early date of the other texts in the appendix suggests that Benedict was following an already well-established tradition of authorship for the Admonitio, and that Paul's version derives from Pseudo-Basil. Paul's book then provides a useful illustration of the early currency of the Admonitio.

Monastic legislation provides a direct link between Benedict's Codex and Ælfric. Part of the Codex is known to have existed in a tenth-century manuscript at Fleury, which Cuissard describes as including part of Basil's Rule,<sup>2</sup> but since the Rule was only one of many included in the Codex, particular reference seems surprising. The presence of the Admonitio in the appendix to the Codex suggests that Cuissard may have confused the Rule and the minor text, a confusion frequently echoed in manuscripts of both the Old English and the Latin Admonitio.

If the Admonitio is the work by St Basil included in

-----  
...Continued...

Distractione Monachorum," PL 80: 15; Incerti auctoris, "Sermo de Decem Virginibus," PL 88: 1071.

1. J. F. Madrisi, ed. Operum Sancti Paulini Aquileiensis, printed in LL 99: 211. Liber Exhortationis, PL 99: 197-383. See also Dubois 22.

2. C. Cuissard, Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans, fonds de Fleury (Paris, 1885) 127, no. 203.

the Fleury manuscript, its subsequent route to Ælfric could, as Mueller maintains (p. 5), well be related to the presence of Fleury monks at the Council of Winchester in 972.<sup>1</sup> The Council was held to compile a universal and obligatory Rule for English monks, and monks from reformed Continental houses were invited to attend and to bring details of their own reformed Rules. Because the revised Fleury Rule had been based on Benedict of Aniane's Codex, the inclusion of prescriptions from Fleury in the English Regularis Concordia, issued soon after the Council by Ælfric's superior, Æthelwold,<sup>2</sup> suggests that the Fleury monks may well have brought with them their own manuscript of the Codex, and with it the appendix containing the Admonitio. Ælfric's presence in Winchester at this time provides a persuasive conclusion to this assumed route.

It is not, however, the only means by which Ælfric may have learnt of the Admonitio. Though the spiritual instruction contained in the text is largely directed towards a monastic audience, its warning against fornication is directed also to non-monastic clerics (oððe se gelæreda preost, **Text**, 317-8). An alternative and appropriate context for the Admonitio, therefore, was the penitential tradition and the texts which belong to it.

---

1. Councils and Synods 133-41; T. Symons, "Sources of the Regularis Concordia," Downside Review ns 40 (1941): 14-36, 143-170, 264-284 and esp. 165-70; M. Deansley, The Pre-Conquest Church in England (London, 1961) 285-94.

2. T. Symons, ed. Regularis Concordia (London, 1953).

Basil's status was as important here as it was to the context of monastic legislation, and Ælfric could have learnt of him through either or both.

Confession of sin followed by penance figures largely in the history of religious discipline, and systematized penances, together with exhortation to avoid sin, exist from the early period of the Christian church.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, reference to Basil's authority in the penitentials known in Anglo-Saxon England is not unexpected, nor, because of this authority, is the occasional use of the Admonitio as a source for such material. For example, Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury from 668-90, quotes Basil's canonical letters to Amphilochius in the Penitentiale ascribed to him, as does also the author of the tenth-century Confessionale Pseudo-Ecgberti.<sup>2</sup> I have already noted the abbreviated, unacknowledged and free form of the Admonitio's argument in Paul of Aquileia's Liber Exhortationis;<sup>3</sup> in addition, the eighth-century collection of patristic sayings in

---

1. J.T. McNeil and H.M. Gamer, trans. and ed., Mediaeval Handbooks of Penance (New York, 1965) 3-50; A.J. Frantzen, The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England (New Jersey, 1983) and "The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England," ASE 11 (1983): 23-56.

2. McNeil and Gamer 184-215, esp. 185, 192, 196, 205, 209; Confessionale Pseudo-Ecgberti, McNeil and Gamer, 243-8, esp. 248; the Old English text exists in the tenth-century Ms. CCCC 190; Frantzen, The Literature of Penance 133.

3. Liber Exhortationis printed in PL 99: 197-283.

Defensor's Liber Scintillarum, to which the Admonitio forms the prologue, quotes Basil by name twenty times, and eight of these twenty sententiae resemble the material of the Admonitio.<sup>1</sup> The Confessionale Pseudo-Ecgberti and the Liber Scintillarum were well enough known in Anglo-Saxon England to exist in both Latin and in Old English translation; indeed, Dérolez claims that the Liber Scintillarum "must have been one of the most widely read texts in monastic circles," and Godden specifies the Pseudo Egbert Penitential amongst the texts that Ælfric must have known, or known about.<sup>2</sup>

The strength of the penitential tradition in Anglo-Saxon England meant that the material associated with it was readily available to Anglo-Saxon homilists.<sup>3</sup> Ælfric

---

1. H.M. Rochais, Liber Scintillarum, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 17 (Tournhout: Brepols, 1977- ) 1-308, and PL 88: 595-718. Rochais, "Les Prologues," 137-56, publishes from the eleventh- or twelfth-century Paris BN. Ms 133 a different and abbreviated recension of the Admonitio, which Defensor used as a prologue for his work. The Old English version of the Liber Scintillarum is edited by E.W. Rhodes, EETS os 93 (Oxford, 1889).

2. R. Dérolez, "Some Notes on the Liber Scintillarum and its Old English Gloss (BM Royal 7. c.iv)," Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature, in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt, ed. J.L. Rosier (The Hague, 1970) 142; M.R. Godden, "Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition," The Old English Homily and its Background, ed. P.E. Szarmach and B.F. Huppé (New York, 1978) 99-117, esp. 104-5.

3. M. McC. Gatch, Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England (Toronto, 1977); M. R. Godden, "Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition", 99-117; S.B. Greenfield and D.C. Calder, ed., A New Critical History of Old English Literature (New York, 1986) 68-106.

is not alone in knowing and using the Latin Admonitio; Gatch has shown the dependence of the "Ubi Sunt" passage in Blickling Homily V on the section "De saeculi amore fugiendo" from the Admonitio (Appendix A, ix) <sup>1</sup> and, though absolute dating both for this homily and for the Old English Admonitio remains to be established, it is possible that the Blickling homilist used the Latin Admonitio as much as twenty-five years before Ælfric's translation.<sup>2</sup> The author of the late tenth-century Vercelli Homily XXI also knew of the Latin Admonitio, or at least of that portion of it which appears in the eleventh-century Cambridge Pembroke Ms 25 (Item 90, 82-96); Vercelli XXI (lines 57-82) makes almost verbatim use of the Pembroke listed virtues.<sup>3</sup>

Ælfric was certainly aware of Basil and his works before his translation of the Admonitio. A life of the saint was included in his Lives of the Saints, and he cites

---

1. M. McC. Gatch, "The Unknown Audience of the Blickling Homilist," ASE 18 (1989): 99-115, at p. 105.

2. R. Morris, ed. The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century, EETS os 73 (1880): 58, V. Homily IX, "On þa halgan þunres dei", notes that the Christian world has already passed nine hundred and seventy-one years (p. 119). This date may apply only to the homily in which it occurs, or to the manuscript version of this homily, but certainly precedes Ælfric's translation of the Admonitio (See "Chronology" 244 and below, pp. 76-85) and may well precede the 972 Council of Winchester (above, p. 71).

3. J.E. Cross, Cambridge Pembroke College MS 25, King's College London Mediaeval Studies I (London, 1987) 160; D.G. Scragg, ed., The Vercelli Homilies EETS os 300 (Oxford, 1992) 353-4, XXI.

Basil as an advocate of clerical celibacy in his "Letter to Wulfsgie".<sup>1</sup> Later in the "Letter", when, in imagery reminiscent of the Admonitio, he describes holy books as the weapons for priests, Ælfric included penitentials in the list of books a priest should have. In his other pastoral letters, penitentials figure as essential weapons in the armoury of a secular priest, and Gatch adds that the Pseudo-Ecgberti documents are amongst the standard works which Ælfric and Wulfstan kept to hand for reference.<sup>2</sup> The Old English Admonitio does not seem to have been intended for a specific individual, as do Ælfric's other pastoral letters; nevertheless its emphasis on monastic and clerical celibacy is a subject Ælfric found important, and its powerful military imagery would make it a forceful encouragement to penitence and penance.

---

1. "Depositio S. Basilii Episcopi," in LS 51-91, III; Ælfric, "Pastoral Letter to Wulfsgie III" (Fehr I) Councils and Synods 191-236, no. 40; "Ac þa halgan fæderas þe beforan us wæron, swa swa wæs sanctus Ieronimus preost, and sanctus Anastasius preost, þe sanctus Basilius se bisceop gerypte geond ealra eorþan ymbhwyrfte middaneardes, hæfdon forhøfednyse fram wifes neawiste", p. 199. See also S.M.J. Roman, "St Basil the Great and Ælfric in the light of the Hexameron," Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni 10 (1979): 39-49.

2. Gatch, Preaching and Theology 41-4; Councils and Synods 195. See also Ælfric, "Pastoral Letter to Wulfstan" (Fehr 2a), Councils and Synods 250 and n. 5, and 251, n. 4 for evidence of Ælfric's use of the Excerptiones Pseudo-Ecgberti; for further reference to a priest's need for a penitential, see Ælfric, "Old English Pastoral Letter for Wulfstan" (Fehr II), Councils and Synods 255-302, esp. 291-2.

## V THE DATE OF THE OLD ENGLISH ADMONITIO

The conventional criteria for dating Ælfric's texts are useful but not definitive as evidence for dating his translation of the Admonitio. Because there is only one Old English manuscript we cannot establish any pattern of dissemination; internal evidence serves only to establish relationships with other texts; linguistic analysis is confined to the characteristics of the Hatton scribe; and stylistic evidence is too general to be helpful. Nevertheless, separate consideration of the three relevant criteria produces a satisfactorily uniform conclusion.

### 1. Internal Evidence

Norman's editions give no date for the translation, and Mueller places it without comment in 1002, in accordance with the earlier limit of 1002-5 given in Professor Clemoes' definitive chronology.<sup>1</sup> The text itself offers little evidence of date; its reference to an earlier work on Basil (line 1) is probably to the "Depositio S. Basilii Episcopi" (LS III), or perhaps to the Catholic Homily for the 15th August, on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>2</sup> In the Homily, Ælfric

---

1. Mueller 2; "Chronology" 212-47. Dates given in the following section are those assigned by Professor Clemoes.

2. LS 50-90, III; CH (I) 48-52, XXX; "Chronology" 242.

mentions the enmity between Basil and Julian (above, p. 65). Ælfric appears also to allude in the Admonitio (432-4) to a Gregorian homily he had used in his own Homily for the Second Sunday after Pentecost (see Commentary, below, pp. 163-5). Reference to these Homilies would place the Admonitio as post-992; but, because their order of composition is unclear, reference to the Saint's "Life" would only establish the Admonitio as late in the Cerne period. Ælfric also refers in the Admonitio Preface (14-16) to Basil's Hexameron but makes no reference to his own Hexameron which Clemoes places before the Admonitio between 992 and 1002. Nevertheless, in view of other omissions within the Preface, this silence does not prove that Ælfric had not yet begun his own work; it is more likely that he did not feel it necessary to mention it.

Though the Preface does offer some evidence for a date for the translation, it contains little of the information Ælfric normally gives about himself or the recipient of a work.<sup>1</sup> Because he does not here identify himself as the author, we cannot place the work as before or after his appointment as abbot of Eynsham, and the reference to the text's proposed audience: Heo gebyrað to munecum and eac to mynecenum (19) is too general to allow precise identification. Nevertheless, the three pieces of evidence in combination, that the work is in English,

---

1. Wilcox 65-70.



that Ælfric does not identify himself, and that the work was intended for women as well as for men, may provide a basis for further deduction.

The unorthodoxy of a text in English designed for a monastic audience may explain a further uncharacteristic omission in its Preface; Ælfric here makes no reference to his translation theories, and indeed is careful to use "secgan" (28) instead of the more usual "awendan".<sup>1</sup> His Latin prefaces normally imply a learned audience, but a wider audience would not require Ælfric's theories of translation, nor his self-identification as a guarantee of the reliability of his work. The text would seem to demand a monastic but uneducated audience to whom Ælfric's scholarly reputation was unimportant; one such audience would be the communities of nuns, who, though probably not fluent in Latin, nevertheless required devotional texts.

---

1. A.E. Nichols, "'Awendan': a note on Ælfric's Vocabulary," JEGP 63 (1964): 7-13.

Ælfric would not have been alone in his concern for female communities; the English Benedictine reform movement had already taken account of their needs. The Old English account of Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries, and the Proem to the Regularis Concordia, both almost certainly written by Ælfric's superior, Æthelwold, describe Edgar's establishment of houses for nuns as well as for monks, and refer to the appointment of Queen Ælfthryth as the patron of female communities.<sup>1</sup> Some time between 964 and 984 (the dates of Edgar's marriage and Æthelwold's death) the king and queen required Æthelwold to translate the Benedictine Rule into English.<sup>2</sup> The queen's interest in female communities seems to explain why there was a version of the translation designed for nuns. Gretsch's analysis of the text as it appears in BL Cotton Faustinus A X (102<sup>r</sup> - 148<sup>v</sup>) establishes the use of a "feminine" exemplar;<sup>3</sup> the

---

1. "Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries", Councils and Synods 142-54; Regularis Concordia 2-4; D. Whitelock, "The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries", Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Merritt, ed. J.L. Rosier (The Hague, 1970) 125-36.

2. M. Lapidge, "Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher," Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1988) 99-101; D. Whitelock, "The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries," 128; E.O. Blake, ed., Liber Eliensis (London, 1962) 111, II, 37.

3. M. Gretsch, "Æthelwold's Translation of the Regula Sancti Benedicti and its Latin Exemplar," ASE 3 (1974): 125-51, and Gretsch "The Benedictine Rule In Old English," Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to H. Gneuss on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday, ed. M. Korhammer, K. Reichel and H. Sauer (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992) 131-58.

text contains a number of feminine forms of personal pronouns which have been partly erased and changed into masculine forms, and Chapters 1 and 62 in this text differ from those in the other manuscripts in having been adapted specifically for use by female communities. It is therefore clear that, in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, there was a version of the Old English Benedictine Rule for use in female communities for which Æthelwold was responsible.

Æthelwold's pairing of the Regularis Concordia written in Latin for men, and his Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule for women, seems then to have been followed by Ælfric, whose Latin "Letter to the Monks at Eynsham"<sup>1</sup> is a version of the Regularis Concordia, and who, in the Preface to the English Admonitio, designed for women as well as for men, draws attention to Benedict's Rule (10-11). Though the military imagery of the Admonitio might initially seem inappropriate to a female audience, Ælfric's version of the Judith story, intended for nuns, takes Judith's conflict with Holfernes as a type of the struggle between the church, or a nun, with the

---

1. M. Bateson, ed., "De Consuetudine Monachorum," Obedientary Rolls of St Swithun's, ed. G. W. Kitchen, Hants. Record Soc. (1892) 171-98.

devil.<sup>1</sup> It is true that in the Admonitio Ælfric consistently translates the Latin "fili" by "beorn", but the reference to women in the Preface is reinforced by that in the section on chastity (331-37), and, as I show below and in the Commentary, Ælfric found the notion of male and female chastity important. That he may have found it necessary, some twenty years after the work of Æthelwold, also to provide instruction in English for nuns, is implied by the 1008 precepts of Æthelred, Code v:<sup>2</sup>

and huruþinga Godes þeowas--biscopas and  
abbudas, munecas and mynecena, preostas and  
nunnan--to rihte gebugan and regollice libban.

The Regularis Concordia shows that it was possible for a monk to act as spiritual advisor to a female community, though it prohibits monks from frequenting places set apart for nuns.<sup>3</sup> A similar prohibition exists in the Admonitio (316-25), though it is clear from the context that these women are not nuns. Nevertheless, Ælfric might have been attracted by the familiarity of the

---

1. B. Assmann, ed. Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, BdASP III, reprinted with Suppl. Introduction by P.A.M. Clemons (Darmstadt, 1964) 102-16, IX, esp. pp. 114-5; M.R. Godden, "Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England," From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies presented to E.G. Stanley, ed. Malcolm Godden, Douglas Grey and Terry Hoad (Oxford, 1994) 130-62, esp. 140.

2. F. Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen I: (Halle, 1903) 238.

3. Regularis Concordia 4, I.

prohibition, and it certainly provides a link between the text and the Regularis Concordia.

Ælfric clearly saw the Admonitio as a text which was relevant to nuns; if he intended it, like the pastoral letters, to be used by others for their instruction, there would be little need for him to identify himself. If he is indeed following the pattern laid down by Æthelwold, then the translation of the Admonitio would seem closely linked to the "Letter for the Monks at Eynsham", and might be close to it in date as well as purpose.

Ælfric's tendency to rework his material makes the evidence of cross-reference with other texts difficult to interpret, but the majority of such references seem to link the Admonitio with other texts close to or within Cleomes' time limit. In the Old English "Letter to Archbishop Wulfstan", written before Ælfric became an abbot, Ælfric uses the familiar notion that spiritual warfare requires spiritual weapons (**Text**, 65-76),<sup>1</sup> and his private letter to Wulfstan draws on Ephesians 6, vv. 12, 16, 17, as does the Admonitio (65 ff).<sup>2</sup> A minor but possibly significant parallel may be the Hatton scribe's idiosyncratic spelling of Achan as Achar (410), because this spelling is also found in Ælfric's translation of Joshua in the Old English Heptateuch, written in or about

---

1. Fehr II, Councils and Synods 260, 293.

2. Fehr 2a, Councils and Synods 247-55.

1002;<sup>1</sup> however the similar spelling in the Bodley and Arundel manuscripts may show the idiosyncrasy to belong neither to Ælfric or the Hatton scribe, but to the scribe of *p*.

A more significant parallel occurs in the "Letter to Wulfsige" (992-1002),<sup>2</sup> where Ælfric quotes Basil as an authority for clerical celibacy, as he does also in the Treatise for Sigefyrð "Be þan halgan clænnysse" (1005-6).<sup>3</sup> The treatise, and its reworked version "De Virginitate" (1005-6) develop a complex of ideas on chastity reflected in the Admonitio and also in the "Letter to Wulfgeat" (1005-6).<sup>4</sup> In lines 331-36 of the Admonitio, for which there is no equivalent in the Latin text, Ælfric refers to the blessedness of those who have been celibate from childhood, assuring them of the hundredfold reward promised in Matthew 19, v. 29. A similar passage occurs in "De Virginitate":

Se mægðhad is gemæne ægðrum cnihtum  
and mædenum, þe clænlice lybbað æfre  
fram cildhade oð ende heora life, for Cristes

---

1. Crawford, Heptateuch 389, v. 21; "Chronology" 246.

2. Fehr I, Councils and Synods 199.

3. "Be þan halgan clænnysse", is printed in Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben. Ed. B. Assmann, repr. with Supplementatry Introduction by P.A.M. Clemons (Darmstadt, 1964) 13-22, II. For Basil as an example of chastity, see p. 22, lines 200-4.

4. "De Virginitate," Assmann 24-48, III; "Letter to Wulfgeat," Assmann 1-12, I.

lufan, swa swa þa clānan munecas doð and ða  
clānan munecena. (Assmann 33, 224-7)

Later in the same treatise, Ælfric refers to the three orders of chastity; marriage, widowhood and celibacy, promising to "þa halgan mædenum" and "þa munecas þe fram cildhade simle gode þeowiað under abbodes wissunge æfter þam regol" the "hundfealdne wæstm"(39, 380-2). The concept of the three orders and their reward is one which Ælfric found congenial (Commentary, below, pp. 157-8), but he used it so frequently that its appearance is evidence more of his wide reading than of the date of a specific text. Nevertheless, though these cross-references do not establish the order of composition, they suggest an affinity of thought, and thus perhaps of date, and possibly one which is post-1004, because in the preface to the "Letter to Wulfgeat" Ælfric describes himself as an abbot.

A final cross-reference with the "Letter to Wulfgeat" associates the Admonitio with the period 1005-6. In lines 111-15 of the Admonitio the monk is required to consider the virtues necessary for the construction of the "wundorlicne stypel" (111), slightly expanding the Latin "praepara ergo sumptus tibi ad structuram ut coeptum aedificium ad perfectum deducas" (68-9); the "Letter" uses and extends the same metaphor from Luke 14, vv. 28-30 in almost the same words as the Admonitio:

Gif ðu þencst to wyrçenne stānenweorc mid  
craefte þonne scealt þu ærest embe þone

grundweal smeagan.<sup>1</sup>

Though there are many other verbal echoes between the text of the Admonitio and Ælfric's other writings (see Commentary, below), they are illustrative more of his tendency to repeat and to rework congenial material than evidence of the order in which he produced them. The relationships I have noted, however, agree with Clemoes' placing of the Admonitio between 1002 and 1005, with a slight weighting towards the later limit. If Ælfric has here followed his usual practice of adapting material from the "Letters" for homiletic purposes,<sup>2</sup> then the Admonitio may be later than the "Letters"; in addition, though it could be used by priests, the text is more clearly directed towards a monastic audience, male or female, and this would seem to associate it less with the late Cerne era than with the early Eynsham period, when Ælfric's new position would have naturally centered his interests on monastic conduct.

## 2. Language

In addition to its echoes of other texts, there are linguistic features in the Admonitio which help to place

- 
1. Assmann 10, I, lines 261-3.
  2. Clemoes, Supplementary Introduction; Assmann xviii.



it in the latter half of Ælfric's career.<sup>1</sup> Its vocabulary not only shows the influence of the Winchester school in which he was educated, but contains some of Ælfric's own preferred word choices, preferences moreover which he developed relatively late in his career. Its dialectal features, which are characteristically late West Saxon, are of less significance, first because by the late Old English period West Saxon was the literary norm, and second because they may be attributed to the scribe, rather than to the exemplar. Nevertheless, the three criteria of context, individual word choice and dialect do coincide to a satisfactory extent.

Helmut Gneuss notes Hans Hecht's conclusion that the author of the revised version of Gregory's Dialogues found in Hatton 76 ff. 1-57 belonged to the Winchester school,<sup>2</sup> and, while this identification may not be immediately relevant to the Admonitio, it may explain why the two texts occur in the same manuscript. In the Admonitio Ælfric employs a number of the words noted by Gneuss and Hofstetter as typical of the Winchester school, though he does not always follow all of its conventions. For example, he shares the Winchester preference for gylt

---

1. Material for this section is drawn from Pope 99-102; H. Gneuss, "The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester," ASE 1 (1972): 62-83; M. Godden, "Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary", ES 61 (1980): 206-23, and W. Hofstetter, "Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary," ASE 17 (1985): 139-61.

2. Gneuss, "The Origin of Standard Old English," 81.

(309) rather than scyld, modi(q)nysse (140) rather than ofermodigness, ælfremed (94, 396, 453) rather than fremde, and (ge)blissian (118, 257, 292) rather than fægnian. He uses the typically Winchester hafenleas (194) and gearcian (279) but prefers miht (virtue) (120, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 150, 160, 184, 214) to the less modern mægen (114), though not exclusively. He is untraditional, however, in three respects: he prefers bearn (25, 87, 123, 150, 159, 238, 248, 305, 311, 342, 351) to sunu (236) and cnihht (332) to cnapa; he makes equal use of leahtor (129, 453) and unbeaw (129, 325), though the use of unbeaw is rare in the Winchester school; and he uses adræfan (129, 259, 278, 428) rather than utanydan, and andan (144) rather than oga or broga.

As well as using vocabulary characteristic of the Winchester school, Ælfric's works reveal evolving personal preferences in his choice of words; and the text of the Admonito contains many such preferences. Here, as in the Catholic Homilies, he prefers ælfremed to fremde (noted above), gefredan (201) to felan, hrepnan (345) to onhrinan, forhogian (144) to forhycgan and hogian (112) to hycgan. The text also contains instances of his exclusive use of the present participle lifi(q)ende (159, 167) as an honorific adjective applied to God, instead of the expected lybbende. The existence of the first form, albeit in its specialized context, derives from the characteristically late Old English partial assimilation of the infinitive libban, originally Class III with

preterite lifde, to Class II with infinitive lifian.

Godden shows that Ælfric's lexical preferences evolved gradually by a process of narrowing. Words dropped out. For instance, though in his early texts Ælfric used forwel or oft (very), foroft becomes more common after the Lives of the Saints, and appears in the Admonitio (361) though the earlier variants do not. The Admonitio also shows Ælfric's later preference for hraðe (55, 278, 420) to hrædlice, swa beah (12, 176, 349) to hwæðre, beah and beahwæðere, and to retain only gelome (153, 427) from the pair of synonyms gelome or gelomelice. Though Godden finds that Ælfric's use of gecigan virtually disappears after the Lives of the Saints there is an example in the Admonitio (236) and here also Ælfric uses æ (437) for God's law, rather than laqu, which creeps in towards the end of his career. Macian (to build or construct), which becomes common in the Lives of the Saints is present, however, (267, 322), as is Ælfric's later preference for andwyrðan (439, 441) rather than andswarian. Though his choice of words is not, of course, governed entirely by convention and usage, the examples I have cited seem to place the Admonitio as later than the Lives of the Saints, and perhaps at the beginning of the Eynsham period.

The dialectal features of the text are generally characteristic of late West Saxon, though the variations show some conservatism in practice. For example, the use of y to replace i in forms of wesan/beon shows a slight

preference for the more traditional form. Though y does appear in synd, syndon (34, 114; 83, 341) and in byð, byst, and ys, i is more common. The distribution can be conveniently demonstrated thus:

synd, syndon (y x 4: i x 0)

byð/bið, byst/bist (y x 14: i x 17)

y/is (y x 2: i x 23).

Within this distribution, however, there is a marked grouping of y forms which seems to suggest a pattern in the exemplar. The scribe consistently uses i in is, bið and bist until line 253, where ys and byð take over until line 330, where bið reappears (and in line 368) beside byst (382) and byð (405). The two instances of ys (253, 280) also appear within this cluster of y spellings. The pattern is sufficiently striking to suggest that the Hatton exemplar was written by two scribes, each with his individual i/y preference, and that the changeover occurs between lines 246 and 253. It may be a convenient coincidence that Chapter V begins at line 248. The variations in i/y following line 330 may either reflect a return in the exemplar to Scribe A, or show that the Hatton scribe was attempting to regularise the discrepancies.

The distribution of i, y and e forms in willan, gewilnian, nyllan and the nouns willa and wyll is consistent and logical. Willan has wyl(l)e in present singular apart from one instance (442) but willað in present plural; all parts of gewilnian (including

gewilnung) retain i and the three uses of nyllan show characteristic lWS e in nelle (35) and nele (165 and 340). (Campbell 265).<sup>1</sup> The noun willa (wish, desire) is distinguished from wyll (a well), but welwylleendnysse (249) appears beside welwillenda (242) and welwillendnysse (426).

Some variation between y and e is also evident in the suffixes -nes and -nys. Both would give -nys; that these forms in the text derive from West Saxon -nes (Campbell 384) is apparent from the three examples of -nes (unstilnesse 240, smyltnesse 246 and 282) against the thirty-three examples of -nys.

Late West Saxon characteristically retains i < eWS ie before palatal consonants (Campbell 316), thus the Admonitio shows miht (x 10), drihten and drihtenlic (x 5), mihtig and unmihtig (x 2), niht (23), gesihst (256) and forsihð (270). Elsewhere i < ie has become y, as in hyra, gebyrað, gehyr and gehyrde, gehyrsumian, awyrgedan, byrð, awyrpð and awyrpe, fyht, gecyrð, wylldre, alysde and alysednys, yrsunge, yrsie, yrre, yllde, yrnrnde and ascyriað. Late West Saxon i becomes y in the neighbourhood of labials and before r (Campbell 318), hence the Admonitio's regular use of swyðor and occasional

---

1. References within the text in this section, by page or paragraph number, are to A. Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1958); K. Sisam, Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford, 1953); and H.C. Wyld, A Short History of English (3rd edn. London, 1927).

use of swyðe, though swiðe is slightly more common (swiðe x 4: swyðe x 3). The reverse, however, is true of mycel/micel and their respective related forms (mycel etc. x4: micel etc. x 3); swilce, hwilc and their related forms are constant, but one instance of symle (142) appears beside the otherwise constant simle. Late West Saxon y for e appears regularly in sylf and sylð (Campbell 325), but the text also shows LWS y unrounded to i in its consistent use of drihten and general use of cining, kining, though cyning (107) and kyninges (56) do appear.

The late West Saxon tendency for groups of w + short vowel + r to fall together as wur (Campbell 320 ff.) is present, though the distribution of such forms is uneven. Groups of wear are, as usual, unaffected in the five instances of wearð; LWS wor only rarely gives wur, thus word, woruld and its compounds, and geworhte are standard; weo appears as u in cucu (60) and kuce (198), both of which derive from cweocu (Wyld 121), but groups of weo + r + back consonant rarely show this tendency: hence weorc and its compounds. Groups of weo + r without back consonant give wur in wurðe (78, 116, 342, 387) and wurde (421), wurð (noun, 443), wurðmynt (109), wurðlice (115), unþancwurðe (186), wurðfullnysse (320), wurdon (333) and wurðað (356), but wyr remains in wyrhta (253), wyrð (296, 450), gewyrðeð (353, 361), wyrðeð (357, 365), wyrtum (355) and wyrttruma (403). As with i/y distribution in wesan/beon the variations are clustered, but to a lesser degree; forms of weorðan prefer y in lines 353–65, apart

from an isolated wurðað (356).

Characteristic West Saxon diphthongization appears between front consonants and back vowels in both initial and medial positions, though Campbell (302) notes the late disappearance of e after such medial consonants. In this respect the language of the Admonitio is again traditional; ongean is constant, not ongan, and bisceop appears in line 2. Similar examples are secgean (18) and asecgean (183), though secgan (28), genealæcean (40), sceolon (49) by analogy with singular sceal(t), not sculon, though scule remains for the subjunctive, foresceawung (123, 133), olæceunge (126), pæcea (169), licgean (276), spræcea (319), Samaritaniscean (200), Romaniscean (433), Iudeisceum (428) and Iudeiscean (433). Together with Iudas (423), the last two examples illustrate the common spelling of palatal g before u as I, with no diphthongization.

The distribution of -ig, -i and -y endings is even (Campbell 267). In general -ig is preferred for nouns and adjectives, though dysi (145), drofi (241), weli (400) are found. Normal lws variants of the personal pronoun hie exist (Sisam, p. 91); hi is usual, though hiġ (334), and hy in both nominative and accusative cases exists (180, 318, 320, 324); the adverb forpy is constant, apart from one instance of forbiġ (373).

The late loss of medial g through syncopation of unstressed -ig is apparent in mænifealdum (120), modinysse (140), hefityme (315) and luftymum (155), where the y for

i may be less dialectal than a scribal effort to avoid minim confusion. Medial g before d or n has also disappeared in beniað and benode (204), mædena (312, 319, 332), alede (369) and sæde (427), though it remains in sægð (200), and before other letters (mægðhad 326, and onsigendre 358). The singular subjunctive endings of weak verbs also show characteristic loss of -i(q)e, as in campie (29), beowie (44), afyrsie (128), lufie (133, 139, 143) and folgie (142), though onscunige (144) exists as well as onscunie (134, 140), wunige (224) as well as wunie (379) and forhogige (149). The -ie ending of adjectives gesælie (333) and grædie (430) beside grædiq (432) may have emerged by analogy.

Partial assimilation has also caused some variation in medial vowels of unstressed syllables (Campbell 385). Thus muneca, munecas and munecum (5, 8, 19, 332) appear beside munuchades (5) and munucregol (7), heofenlican and heofenum (48, 107, 152, 188, 225) and heofenas (192) beside heofonlic and heofonum (49, 88, 92, 397), stypel and stypeles (111, 113) beside stypol (119). In facnes (272) and facna (386) the medial e (as in fakenfulla, 266, fakenfullan, 271) has disappeared.

There are isolated cases of characteristic late confusion of inflectional endings. Campbell (378) notes the late appearance of -on, -an for the -um dative plural of nouns and adjectives and dative singular masculine and neuter adjectives, but the Admonitio retains -um for adjectival endings. In pingon (406) we see the change of



m > n and corresponding change of unaccented u > o, which is apparent also in the adverb hwilon (172, 275). In syððon (449), instead of the more conventional syððan, unaccented a has become o. Gebliissian (118) and licion (160), both present plural subjunctives, illustrate the process of change; licion for licien is characteristic LWS (Campbell 735); gebliissian shows the further late OE confusion of a for o.

Beside these noted LWS characteristics there are isolated instances of non-West Saxon forms. Wyld (123) notes the non-West Saxon raising of æ > e, as in Ledenre (11); equally hwene (256) instead of LWS hwæne (Campbell 380) may show Mercian or Anglian influence, as does the non-syncopated form behatest (337) beside LWS behætst in the next line. The examples are too few, however, to establish significant non-West Saxon influence; traces of Anglian are not uncommon in LWS, or the examples may be scribal error.

The scribe seems to have an occasional predilection for double letters, as in Cessarean (2), ahyllde (193), lustfullnysse (364), wistfullnys (365) and andwyrdde (439), but otherwise is generally consistent and careful in his choice of individual graphemes (above, pp. 38-9). He generally uses þ at the beginning of words and ð in the middle and end, though, to avoid confusion with capital wyn, he prefers Ð to þ. Apart from sopfaestan (56), medial þ can occur after prefixes and in conflated forms such as forþam, forþy, or where the line break occurs in

the middle of the word, as in syðþan (86). There is some variation between initial and intervocalic k and c; both appear in the same word or its cognates but, like other noted variations, the distribution appears to form intricate cluster patterns. Thus campiende (23), campie (29), campian and campdome (both in 43) are followed by the pairing in the same line of campiað and cininge (46 and 48), but by kempa and kyninge (50, 51) and kempa and kampiað (57). Cempa (54) is followed by kyninges (56); campian (58) and campienne (60) is followed by kempan (61). Woruldkempa (65) is matched by woruldcempa (86); campian (96) is balanced by kininge (106) but the convention returns to c in campast (106), cyning (107) and cininge (108), followed by a solitary k in kempan (110). No c form appears for cepan and cyssan (kepð 161, kepe 265, kep (272 and kysse 265); licion (160) is followed by gelikie (161), gelikian (164) and likiað (319). The c/k variation is weighted towards c in beswicen (342), beswiken (414), beswicen (418), but the balance is reversed in facn and its cognates (facnes 272, facna 386, but fakenfulla 266, fakenfullan 271 and fakenlice 411). The c/k variation suggests that, whereas there are indeed more instances of c (Mueller 11), there is a gradual movement from c to k, with greater use of k towards the end of the text.

The one clear instance of scribal uncertainty occurs in the various spellings of neacstan, contained within a few lines, as neacstan (234), neahstan (235), neaxtan

(242), which the scribe finally resolves as niextan (245, 250, 272). Here the closing of hst through cst to x has raised the ea to ie, but elsewhere the palatal x has not affected preceding vowels, thus Exameron (16), breax (325), weaxað (355) and axie (366).

This survey of the text shows the vocabulary of the Admonitio to be characteristic of Ælfric's later works; its dialectal and scribal features confirm the text's late West Saxon origins, and these agree with the date proposed on the basis of internal evidence.

### 3. Style

The characteristic of Ælfric's prose style which he employs to such effect in the Admonitio is the rhythmically balanced use of pairs of clauses linked by alliteration, assonance or rhyme. The form resembles that of Old English poetry though the syntactic units are longer and the alliterative patterns looser. Mueller clearly outlines the arguments for classical rhetoric versus Old English poetic metre as the origin of Ælfric's style, (16-23) and it is not necessary to repeat them, particularly since Clemons argues that Ælfric's mastery of discourse was so complete that he was able where necessary to discard the devices of his sources, and Campbell shows that many of the figures in Old English poetry do

themselves derive from classical rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to enter the scholarly minefield of the debate about the origins of this style but what is pertinent here is Pope's persuasive conclusion that Ælfric increasingly used rhythmic prose until it became habitual. The frequency of its occurrence can thus provide an index to date of composition; the pointing of the text in the Admonitio (above, pp. 46-56) proves the almost uniform use of this style; consequently its style coincides with the other arguments for the relatively late date of the translation.

Though the careful pointing of the text proves its use of balanced clauses, the pairs can with almost equal ease be identified by Ælfric's use of alliteration. The device is not simply decorative, though its use contributes to the gravitas of Ælfric's argument; as with his other rhetorical devices, its function is to assist meaning by the subtle reinforcement of thought pattern.<sup>2</sup> As in Old English poetry, alliterative and rhythmic stress patterns are associated, but not uniformly identical.

---

1. P.A.M. Clemoes, "Ælfric," Continuations and Beginnings, ed. E.G. Stanley (London, 1966) 176-206, esp. 176-7, 195, 197, 202-4, where Professor Clemoes makes specific reference to Ælfric's style in the Admonitio; J.J. Campbell, "Rhetoric in Old English Literature," Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric, ed. J.J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1978) 173-198. See also Pope 116 and G.H. Gerould, "Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose," MP XXII (1925): 353-66.

2. "Be ðison we magon tocnawan þæt us is twyfeald neod on boclicum gewritum. Anfeald neod us is þæt we ða boclican lare mid carfullum mode smeagan; oðer þæt we hi to weorcum awende": CH (G) 284, line 23.



parallel second staves (e) and (g) throwing into relief the compressed second stave (f) and the longer second stave (h). The alliterative and rhythmic patterns within individual lines provide cohesion; when examined in the wider context of the three sentences they provide an intricate sound pattern which links, strengthens, and becomes part of the argument.

The arrangement of the sentences alone is balanced and orderly; the first sentence states the proposition in four pairs of clauses, and the following two sentences provide the beginning of the antithesis between the spiritual and earthly warriors in a structure which reinforces the contrast between them. Alliteration and repetition not only link pairs of clauses but provide a running connective between the sentences to reinforce their meaning. There are here four intertwined patterns of alliteration: on c, h, þ and the vowel. The passage begins with emphatic repetition of the stem camp in campian, campdome, campa and again in the two uses of campiað, but associated with their repetition is the alliteration of carum and the two uses of cininge. The sound pattern thus modulates from campian to carum and from campiað to cininge. Alliteration on the vowels links this pattern with the h pattern: ænigum is reinforced by anum and ælcum but linked to the c pattern by eorðlicum and to the h pattern by æfre. The h pattern of gehyrsumiað, hæsum, heofonlican, gehyrsumian and heofonlican then takes over from the dominant c pattern

with which the passage opened, transforming the concept of warfare through the double pivot of service (stressed by the repetition of beowie and beowdome) and obedience, (gehyrsumiað and hæsum) to that of obedience to the heavenly king. The sound patterns underline the circular and framing movement of the passage, which progresses from the hesitant hypothesis Gif to the confident assertion swa ...sceolon. Within this structure the parallel word order of campiað þam eorðlican cininge and campiað þam heofonlican cininge underlines the antithesis between earthly and heavenly, and within this parallel structure the syllabic variation of eallum his hæsum and þam heofonlican bebodum lends weight to the greater importance of the latter.

Repetition is a necessary feature of a consideration of alliteration; its use to a different effect can be demonstrated through Ælfric's use of word-play. Here lines 192-208 are useful:

- (a) And se þe þa heofenas gehealdeð    næfde hamas on  
worul
- (b) ne hwyder he ahyllde    his heafod on life
- (c) and se wæs hafenleas for us    se þe hæfde ealle þing
- (d) þæt he us gewelgode    on his eceum welum.
- (e) And him wæs gedemed    fram unrihtwisum demum
- (f) þam þe on wolcnum cymeð    on þysre worulde ende
- (g) eallum to demenne    þe æfre kuce wæron.
- (h) And se þe is lifes wylle    he gewilnode wæteres

- (i) æt þam Samaritaniscean wife swa swa us sægð þæt  
godspell
- (j) And se þe ealle þing afedeð se gefredde hungor
- (k) þa þa he on þam westene wæs gecostnod fram deofle
- (l) æfter þam þe he fæste feowertig daga on an.
- (m) And þam þe englas þeniað he sylf þenode mannum
- (n) and þwöh his gingrena fet mid his fægerum handum.
- (o) And se þe fela wundra geworhte mid his handum
- (p) se gepafode for us þæt man gefæstnode his handa
- (q) mid nægelum on rode and eac his fotwylmas.

Comparison with the Latin shows this passage to be paraphrase rather than literal translation, through Ælfric retains from his source the repetitive And se þe, with its variant And þam þe to break the prose into clearly defined units, whose parallelism stresses the paradox of Christ's spiritual and earthly nature.

In almost every unit the order of the paradoxes is the same: Christ's spiritual power being set against His human experience. Within this pattern, which is itself partially achieved by repetition, we find the new feature of word play, the repetition of similar sounds with subtly differing meaning. Thus, in the first three lines (a) to (c) the alliteration on h draws attention to heofenas, gehealdeð, hamas, ahyllde, heafod, hafenleas and hæfde, identifying the power of Christ in the association between heofenas, gehealdeð, and hæfde, and contrasting it with the temporal implications of hamas, hwyder ahyllde (where



the assonance underlines the association) and hafenleas. The contrast is pointed by the emphatic rhyming pairing of næfde and hæfde; to achieve this emphasis Ælfric has placed the verbs at similar places in their structures, even though this requires him to invert the normal pattern in the remaining units of Christ's spirituality preceding His human experience. The inversion, however, allows the parallel placing of heofenas and hafenleas, whose alliteration, assonance and rhythm confirm their ironic antithesis, and the sentence is brought to a confident close by the resolution of gewelgode and welum in (d). Lines (e) to (g), with their stress on the root syllable dem, draw attention to the paradox of Christ being judged; and a different paradox is suggested by the word play of wylle and gewilnode, and the envelope pattern of wylle, gewilnode and wæteres in (h).

The syntactic structure of (h) and (i) is paralleled in (j) and (k), though with a minute reduction in syllables: both staves of (h) have eight syllables; stave a of (i) has nine syllables and stave b seven, totalling sixteen in each line; stave a of (j) has again nine syllables and stave b has six; stave a of (k) has eight syllables and stave b seven, totalling fifteen in each line. The minute reduction of syllables precludes monotonous repetition, though not at the expense of the parallelism of thought, which in each sentence shows paradox emphasised by word play: wylle gewilnode being matched by afedeð and gefredde, echoed by the alliteration

in (l) of fæste and feowertig. The apparent repetition in (m) of beniað and benode points to the essential contrast of tense; in (a), (c), (h), (j) and (m) the divine and the human sides of Christ's nature are established by the use of the eternal present tense for the divine, and the timed and thus finite preterite for the human. The balance appears equal, but the shift of tense again suggests the infinite superiority of the eternal. The only variation to the pattern of alternating tenses comes in (o) to (p), where Ælfric most shifts the emphasis of his source, stressing by the use of the preterite for all three actions that Christ's miracles, like His suffering and crucifixion, were events located in our time, not the timelessness of eternity. Though the technique is different, the effect is the same: to stress the radical antithesis between the two sides of Christ's nature, which is again provided by the forceful alliteration of wundra and geworhte, and their placing on either side of the caesura. The contrast is resolved by a final use of repetition, the three variations of handum which end lines (n), (o) and (p). Their positioning forces them upon our attention, but their repetition reminds us that the Christ who worked miracles was the Christ who washed His disciples' feet, and who was crucified: that the spiritual and temporal are not opposed but reconciled in Him.

The depth of subtlety achieved by Ælfric's prose style means that he does not have to rely upon imagery to

illuminate his meaning; nevertheless, though he uses imagery sparingly, he is not afraid to adapt images from his source, and to make them his own. In lines 283–290 Ælfric retains three images from his source:

- (a) Se niðfulla wer bið gelic þam scipe
- (b) þe þa yða drifað ut on sæ
- (c) swa hu swa se wind blæwð buton ælcum steoran
- (d) and se gesibsuma wer hæfð him orsornhysse.
- (e) Eft se niðfulla wer bið þam wulfe gelic
- (f) þe wodlice abiteð þa bilewitan sceap
- (g) and se gesibsuma wer byð þam winearde gelic
- (h) þe byrð gode wæstmas wynsumlice growende.

Comparison with the Latin shows that he has expanded all three images; to the first he adds line (c); to the second he adds the second stave in line (f), thus giving a more vivid illustration of the wolf's savagery than the Latin inanit inaniter, and he slightly adapts the third by identifying the fruit as gode and wynsumlice growende, instead of the more diffuse Latin uineas honesta habens fructum copiosum. His confident adaptations bring each image into the familiar two clause pattern, but prose rhythm is not his only criterion; in each image his adaptation has sharpened the sense of the original. The demands of his prose have therefore improved on the original, but a contributory factor is his use of syntactic variation and sound pattern. He dexterously

avoids the potential for monotony in three similes by subtle adjustment of the word order; the hostile man bið gelic þam scipe, but bið þam wulfe gelic, whereas the peaceloving man bið þam winearde gelic, and the echo of the last two structures is stressed by the pairing alliteration of wulfe with winearde, which draws attention to their widely differing connotations, the one constructive, the other destructive. The length of the first image, together with the discordant rhythms of (b) and (c) effectively convey the sense of the words, contrasting with the confident brevity of (d), and these four lines themselves are contrasted with the steadier repetitive rhythms of the next four lines. Though these rhythms are similar, they are not identical, but the alliteration and assonance provide extra cohesive links between the four pairs of clauses. The essential contrast between wulfe and winearde achieved by their placing in parallel syntactic units has already been noted, but to this pattern we can add the link through alliteration of wulfe with wodlice, which modulates through abiteð to bilewitan, and the link between winearde, wæstmas and wynsumlice, whose sense is confirmed by that between gode and growende. In these three images Ælfric has not only adapted his source into the rhythms of his own prose, but has amplified their meaning both by his additions and by his sound patterning.

A final aspect of repetition is that provided by rhyme, and passages 361–65, and 372–382 provide useful

examples:

- (a) For oft se mann gewyrðeð on ende toswollen
- (b) and to stence awended mid unwynsumnyss
- (c) þæt him sylfum bið egle and andsæte se stenc
- (d) and his lustfullnyss him ne beliefð nan þing
- (e) and his wistfullnyss him wyrðeð to biternysse

and:

- (a) Ðis is seo geendung ealles þæs wlates
- (b) and þæs lichaman fægernysse; forþig ic þe bidde
- (c) þæt þu awend þin mod fram þillicum wlitum
- (d) and awend þine lufe to þære wlitigan fægernysse
- (e) ures Hælendes Cristes þæt þin heorte beo onliht
- (f) mid his scinendum leoman fram þære sweartan  
dimnyss.
- (g) Ðes wlite is to lufianne þe gewendeð to blisse
- (h) þæt þu mid Criste wunie a to woruld on blisse
- (i) gif þu hine lufast on þines lifes ryne
- (j) þe þe is ungewiss ac þu becymst to gewissan
- (k) þær þu endleaslice orsorh bist on gefean.

The two passages occur fairly close to one another in the text, and their relative positioning, together with the repetitive -iss / -yss rhyme illustrate the deliberation with which Ælfric employs this device to heighten meaning. The first passage shows a use of rhyme in both staves, and a correspondingly ordered balance and connection between

unwynsumnysse and biternysse, and lustfullnysse and wistfullnysse. The rhyme reinforces the insistent syntactic parallel of lustfullnysse and wistfullnysse, and provides the transition from unwynsumnysse to biternysse; the resemblance between all four abstract nouns, not only in form, sound and placing but meaning, stresses the inevitability of physical decay.

A similar merging of style and content is achieved by the continued use of the same rhyme in the second passage, (a) to (f), though the pattern is not identical. Here, instead of four rhymes distributed evenly over both staves, there are three: one first stave (b) rhyming with two second staves (d) and (f). To counterbalance the loss of one rhyme Ælfric here uses a forceful repetition of fægernysse, whose parallel placing at the end of each stave in which it occurs draws attention to the essential temporal/spiritual contrast of the types of beauty. The movement from physical to spiritual fægernysse releases the heart from dimnysse to blisse, which, Ælfric suggests through the alliterative pattern wlite, gewendeð, wunie and woruld, is achievable through Christ in this world. As demonstrated in the earlier analysis of word play, Ælfric again moves from the opposition between temporal and spiritual to their reconciliation through Christ and, as in the earlier example, the spiritual kernel of his text has been reinforced subliminally by his rhetoric. Finally, the -iss/-yss rhyme of these two passages devolves into the word play of ungewiss and gewissan,

whose order again suggests a confident resolution. Rhyme in these passages clearly has more than a decorative purpose; as with the other devices discussed it has the multiple and flexible functions of emphasis, cohesion, clarification and exegesis, yet it is never obtrusive.

Ælfric's masterly use of rhetoric is plainly apparent in the Admonitio, where elegance is always subordinated to lucidity though being essential to it. The Admonitio may not have the obvious sensational appeal of some of the Lives of the Saints and, because it is a close translation of one text, it cannot have the scholarly range of the Catholic Homilies. Its appeal lies in the ease with which Ælfric has rendered Basil's thought into his own harmonies, and in the intellectual depths such harmonies provide.

## VI ARGUMENT

As I have noted (above, pp. 15-16, 29), the Old English Admonitio is incomplete; in addition to the missing f. 64 of Hatton 76, the translation ends approximately three-quarters of the way through the Latin Admonitio's Chapter X, leaving a further ten chapters untranslated. The rust marks and stains of Hatton's f. 67<sup>V</sup> show that this was at one time the last page of this portion of the manuscript, and the text occupies the whole of this page concluding, with no apparent compression of the script, at the right-hand corner of the bottom line.

It is clear, however, that the translation should not end here. The last words "and hafa þe gemet" are an appropriate conclusion to the sentence in which they appear, but are somewhat anticlimactic as a conclusion to the whole work. Moreover Ælfric normally ended his works with a prayer. Some material has been lost, but the time of the loss cannot be established: Ælfric may have worked from an incomplete text, whose existence may at least be suggested by the incomplete versions of the Admonitio in BL Ms Arundel 181 and Hereford Cathedral Library Ms P. 1 (above, p. 29); he may not himself have completed or intended to complete the translation, the Hatton scribe may not have finished the copy, or some of his manuscript may have been lost. Yet, though something other than f.



64 is missing, the extent of the loss may not be very great.

The argument of the Old English Admonitio is coherent, though the structural organization of its presumed Latin source seems to have been uneven. The Latin Admonitio lists in its Chapter II the virtues of the soul, and then analyses them in the order listed. The first ten chapters thus have an internal logic of their own, which is not affected by the loss of the following sections (chapters on humility, prayer, vigilance, fasting, abstinence, the avoidance of pride, blasphemy, useless pleasures and evil company, the penance for anger and a meditation upon death). In addition, it is clear that Ælfric has re-ordered the material of the section on avarice. Though elsewhere he keeps close to or abbreviates the source, he here expands the exempla of the avaricious men and transfers Judas from the following chapter of the Latin text to this list as the most horrific example of all. The effect of these alterations is to present the self-destructive nature of avarice with considerable emphasis. In the following chapter he again diverges from the source; whereas the Latin text places the parable of the rich young man before the example of Judas, and refers to it only briefly, Ælfric thus places it after Judas and quotes it in full. The Old English text therefore follows the model of the Latin as far as the section on avarice, which is expanded, and ends with Christ's own teaching on the need to forgo earthly wealth

in order to obtain spiritual treasure. The direct discourse of the parable recalls Ælfric's use elsewhere of this as a climactic device.<sup>1</sup> The position and nature of the expansions and alterations suggest that Ælfric saw the first ten chapters of the Latin original as a self-contained unit, to which he provided an emphatic conclusion of his own. His use of "secgan" in the Preface instead of the expected "awendan" may thus have a significance additional to that suggested earlier (above, p. 78). If Ælfric intended not to use much of his source and to reshape what he did use, then "awendan" would be inappropriate to describe his intention. Though the Old English text is incomplete, it is possible that not more than a page or two is missing.

What has survived presents a discussion of spiritual warfare, the "gastlican gewinn" (29) in which the soul is involved. Because this warfare is universal, the doctrine of the text is equally relevant to men and women, monks and priests, and Ælfric clearly intends the text for all of them (above, pp. 71-5, 77-82 and **Text**, lines 19, 316-21 and 331-6). The discussion describes the spiritual enemies the soul will encounter, the means by which these enemies may be overcome, and ends with the extended consideration of avarice. Images of spiritual conflict are common in patristic writings, as are analyses

---

1. R. Waterhouse, "Ælfric's Use of Discourse in Some Saints' Lives," ASE 5 (1976): 83-103.

of sins,<sup>1</sup> but the Latin Admonitio differs from Cassian and Gregory in presenting avarice rather than pride as the root of all evil (402-3). For this there is Biblical authority (I Tim. 6, v. 10), and avarice, or desire for worldly possessions, is of particular relevance to those who embrace the monastic life. Both St Basil and the Benedictine Rule, to which Ælfric refers in his Preface (10-12), interpret avarice as something more than excessive love of money, echoing Paul's instruction to the Colossians to avoid: avaritiam quae est simulacrorum servitus (Col. 3, v. 5). The Latin Admonitio defines avarice as cupiditas, the love of anything other than God:

Et ne pecuniarum cupiditate subjicias sed ab  
omnem avariciam declina cor tuum, ut non  
condemneris sicut adulator et idolarum cultur

(471-4)

and these wider implications reflect those in St Basil's letter "The Perfection of a Monastic Life."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, by its insistence on absolute poverty (monks being allowed no personal property), the Benedictine Rule shares the

---

1. M.W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (East Lansing, Mich., 1952) esp. pp. 59, 62, 73.

2. "an abundance which goes beyond necessity gives an appearance of avarice, and avarice has the condemnation of idolatry," "On the Perfection of a Monastic Life", St Basil: the Letters, trans. and ed. R.J. Deferrari (London, 1926-34; repr. 1961) 129-41, xxii.

broader interpretation of avarice;<sup>1</sup> even excessive quantities of food and drink could betray a monk into cupiditas. In this sense, avarice is properly the root of all evil, because it leads men away from love of God, and the extended section on avarice in the Old English text forms a fitting conclusion to an account of spiritual warfare intended for those for whom, as the Preface shows (19-21), avarice was the chief enemy.

The Latin text presents the first part of the argument as a basic conflict for the souls of their servants between God and Mammon. The sustained metaphor of holy warfare is obviously one which Ælfric enjoyed and used elsewhere; it allowed him to combine the characteristic Anglo-Saxon enjoyment of heroic deeds with conventional Biblical imagery. Accordingly, Ælfric keeps close to the argument of the original as far as the section on excessive love of wealth. In Chapter II the parallel between the soldier and the monk is carefully worked out; the soldier fights a visible enemy, the monk fights unseen evil in the form of temptations by the world, the flesh and the devil. The soldier wears physical armour against a physical enemy; the monk is armed by faith and love against the spiritual enemy. Each receives the appropriate reward for his service. If, however, the monk chooses to follow the wrong lord,

---

1. "swa forð heora gemæne lif heolden, þæt hy forþon þæt word ne cwædon, þæt hi agen ænig þing hæfdon": Schröer, BdASP III: 134, lines 8-9; RB 230, 33.6.

the service of Mammon will destroy his spiritual weapons, and deny him the hope of a spiritual reward. Ironically, the appeal against avarice is presented in terms which are appropriate to it, that is, the concept of rewarded service, but the distinction between the value of the rewards makes its own comment on those who fail to perceive it. The final image of the spiritual soldier as a tower (111-13) again combines a contrast between and a comment upon spiritual and worldly values. The tower is a fortress but, to the worldly man, the fortress of life is material wealth, whose dangers have already been indicated: he forlæteð Godes geoc gif he lufað eorðwelan (100), whereas to the monk the fortress is the virtue of the soul.

Chapter III summarizes these virtues, concluding with the concept of contentment as the antithesis to avarice. Only by forsaking material and transitory things can the monk acquire the listed virtues of the soul, and also become the friend instead of the servant of God; consequently these virtues, which are individually considered in more detail in the following chapters, are the spiritual weapons with which the monk can fight against Mammon. This opposition provides the theme and structural framework of the Old English text.

The first virtue mentioned in Chapter III is love of God; accordingly this is the first virtue to be analysed. Chapter IV, a discussion of what man's love for God should be and of what God's love for man is, develops the

argument of the two preceding chapters: that avarice separates man from God whereas avoidance of avarice unites him with God. God's love for man is defined by a series of paradoxes, which embody the central paradox of the Redemption, and present Christ as the quintessential example of the non-avaricious man. Christ denied His own spiritual wealth and suffered poverty to enrich mankind; Christ, the source of spiritual life, who is lifes wylle (199) and who ealle þing afedeð (201), suffered physical thirst and hunger for man's benefit; Christ, the son of God, humbled Himself to serve man, and, finally, Christ sacrificed His temporal life to give man eternal life. His is thus a life completely free from any form of cupiditas; in order to give man eternal life he suffered poverty, thirst, hunger, humiliation and finally death. Property in any form, including life, is shown as worthless in comparison with the spiritual wealth available in love for God, and, because such love necessarily implies forsaking all temporal considerations, it is the chief weapon against avarice.

Love for God involves following the second great commandment, to love one's neighbour,<sup>1</sup> and this is the second of the listed virtues. This argument is close to that which established for Basil, on whose Rules the Benedictine Rule depended, the superiority of a communal life to that of a solitary, and Ælfric, the pupil of one

---

1. Matt. 29, v. 39; Mark 12, v. 31; Luke 10, v. 27.

of the great Anglo-Saxon monastic reformers (above, p. 66) would not disagree. The ideal relationship amongst men is defined by a series of contrasts between the peaceful and the malicious man. The peaceful man, in whom Christ dwells (279-80), loves his neighbour, avoids anger against inferiors, avoids deceitful love, and seeks peace. The malicious man is envious, angry and hypocritical, and the difference between them is underlined by the imagery Ælfric retains from his source. That defining human emotions is vivid and particular: the evil man is like a ship without a steersman, or like a ravaging wolf (287-8), whereas the peaceful man is God's dwelling, or like a vineyard (289-90). The last image opposes purposeful generosity and fruitfulness to the aimless drifting of the ship and the destructive nature of the wolf and, by so doing, provides thematic and structural links with what has been and what is about to be discussed. It suggests that sin is contrary to the natural harmony of a life lived according to God's teaching; it recalls the comparison in Chapter III of the virtuous man to:

þam luftymum treowe

þe grewð wið þone stream stedefæst in wætan,

and byrð æfre wæstmas on godne timan simle

(155-7),

and it anticipates the exemplum of Naboth's vineyard (418-22), which shows that Achab's avaricious desire for this vineyard destroyed him. Again, the traditional association of "tree" with the Cross links the images to

the Crucifixion, presenting by reference the thesis of the dangers of avarice and by implication the antithesis of the supreme example of the non-avaricious man.

The missing leaf should have contained the ending of the chapter on love of one's neighbour, a short chapter on patience, and the beginning of the chapter on chastity. Comparison with the Latin text shows that the ending of Chapter V would have discussed the virtue of peace, which is a logical conclusion to love of one's neighbour. Peace, according to the Latin text, can best be demonstrated through patience, and both charity and patience are essential to chastity, the topic of Chapter VI. Chastity avoids the corruption of impure actions or thoughts (which have similar consequences) which destroy the soul swa swa forroted breax (325).

The greatest threat to chastity is physical beauty, discussed in Chapter VIII; it is as much of a danger to the soul of a cleric as worldly wealth or lust, and is itself worthless because it is transient. By extending the concept of transience to include all temporal life, the argument reminds us of Christ's death, already discussed in Chapter IV. As a contrast to the notion of physical corruption and death, the argument examines the beauty of the virtuous soul, and shows that the ability to distinguish between such beauty and the merely transient is true wisdom, the "reason" which was the penultimate virtue in the list of the soul's weapons (147). The chapter ends with a warning against the restless and



destructive desire for physical things and an exhortation to be content with what God has provided.

The final virtue listed in Chapter II was scorn for avarice, and avarice is the subject of Chapter IX, the point at which Ælfric departs furthest from his source. He has extended the exempla to stress that in each case the cause of the disaster was avarice and added Judas to the list from the Latin Chapter X. In the following chapter he gives a version much fuller than his source of the parable of the rich young man; this rearrangement and expansion of his source means that in these two chapters Ælfric offers a logical and vivid contrast between the incorrect and correct use of earthly riches, as well as that between the Old and New Testament teaching of the Old and New Law. He epitomises Paul's further instruction to the Colossians:

"expoliantes vos veterem hominem cum actibus  
eius, et induentes novum eum qui renovatur"

(Col. 3, vv. 9, 10)

This antithesis provides an appropriate conclusion to the metaphor of the earthly and spiritual warrior with which the text began. It is fortuitous that the last surviving words of the text, hafa be gemet (463-4), recommend the soul to be satisfied with what is fitting or reasonable, echoing reason's recommendation from Chapter III of contentment, the means whereby to avoid avarice (148-9).

The Old English text considers each of the eleven points raised in Chapter II and relates the whole

discussion to the central theme of avarice which, in both its general and its particular sense, will turn men from God. The text thus has a theme, an exposition and a list of exempla, and what has survived is an orderly argument moving towards a logical conclusion. To make it a fully satisfying whole, it needs little more than the concluding prayer with which Ælfric normally ended his writings.

## EDITORIAL NOTE

Because Hatton 76A was the copy-text for the Junius and the Ballard transcripts of the Admonitio, it is alone in recording what Ælfric actually wrote. This isolation gives the text considerable authority; moreover its linguistic coherence and the congruence of idiom between this and other Ælfrician texts lead us to assume the scribe's accuracy in reproducing substantives, though Ælfric's own spelling and other details of presentation may be irrecoverably lost.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, though the Hatton scribe may well have normalised his exemplar, his scribal and linguistic practices have value of their own, and are worth preserving. Accordingly, I have emended his relatively few mechanical errors, such as dittography or contamination, but otherwise provide a diplomatic transcription to preserve his linguistic habits, including variations.

Both in the Admonitio and in the previous text in the manuscript, the scribe has occasionally corrected his own errors, inserting apparently omitted letters above the line, or partially erasing some misplaced characters. Where his corrections are grammatically correct, I have incorporated them in my transcript, but note the original

---

1. See W.W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," Studies in Bibliography 3 (1950-51): 19-36.

manuscript readings for my own emendations and the scribe's corrections in the textual apparatus. Here, too, I note the occasional Junius variants, but the glosses and superscript marks of the Worcester scribe are recorded in the Commentary, together with my discussions of apparent linguistic anomalies.

Despite the advice of Gneuss and Thomas Tanselle,<sup>1</sup> I retain the scribes's pointing (enclosing what seem to be errors in brackets) for two reasons: the pointing is so sensitive to the rhythms of Ælfric's prose that it may well derive from his autograph; if it does not, it offers clear evidence of the scribe's own sensitivity to the text. So, too, do the accent marks, which I list in Appendix C, showing their distribution in Appendix Cb.

Conventional contractions within the text are silently expanded. I normalise the three s forms as s, and, except where noted, retain Hatton's capitalization. Proper names, however, are capitalized without comment.

The text begins at the top left-hand corner of Hatton <sup>76</sup>~~27~~A, f. 55, without title or incipit.

---

1. H. Gneuss, "Texts for the Dictionary of Old English," The Editing of Old English, eds. D. G. Scragg and P. E. Szarmach (Cambridge, 1994) 7-26, at p. 19; G. Thomas Tanselle, "Classical, Biblical and Medieval Textual Criticism and Modern Editing," Studies in Bibliography 36 (1983): 21-68, at p. 41.

1        Basilius se eadiga: be ðam we ær awriton.                      f. 55  
wæs swiðe halig bisceop. on Cesarean<sup>1</sup> byrig:  
on Grecisce peode: God lufigende swiðe:  
on clænnesse wunigende. on Cristes þeowdome.  
5        manegra muneca fæder. munuchades(:) him sylf.  
He wæs swyðe gelæred: and swyðe mihtig lareow.  
and he munucregol gesette: mid swiðlicre drohtnunge.  
swa swa þa easternan. and þa Greciscean munecas.  
libbað hyra lif: Gode to lofe wide.  
10       He wæs ær Benedictus. þe us boc awrat  
on Ledenre spræce: leohtre be dæle:  
þonne Basilius. ac he tymde swa þeah:  
to Basilies tæcinge: for his trumnyse.  
Basilius awrat ane wundorlice boc:  
15       be eallum Godes weorcum. þe he geworhte on six dagum.  
Exameron gehaten: swiðe deopum andgite.  
and he awrat /þa lare þe we nu willað                      /f. 55<sup>v</sup>  
on Englisceum gereorde secgean. þam þe his recceað.  
Heo<sup>2</sup> gebyrað to munecum. and eac to mynecenum  
20       þe regollice<sup>3</sup> libbað for hyra Drihtnes lufe  
under gastlicum ealdrum Gode þeowiende.  
gehealdenre clænnysse. swa swa Cristes þegenas.

---

1. Hatton: Cessarean

2. Hatton: heo

3. Hatton: regodlllice with d inserted above the line; the line division re/gollice may have led the scribe momentarily to assume the correct reading should be godlice.

campiende wið deoflu dāges and nihtes.

I. Basilius cwæð þa on his boclican lare.

25 Gehyr þu min bearn: þines fāder mynegunge.  
and þin eare ahyld: to minum wordum nu.  
and mid geleaffullre heortan: hlyst hwæt ic secge.

Ic wylle þe secgan. and soðlice lāran:

þæt gastlice gewinn: hu þu Gode campie.

30 and mid hwilcum gemete: þu miht him þeowian.

Gehyr þu geornlice: and þu ne beo gehefegod.

mid þam swāran slāpe: ac awrece þe sylfne.

mid mycelre geornfulnysse: nu to minre sprāce.

Ne synd þas word na of me. ac of Godes lare.

35 ne ic mid niwre lare: nelle / lāran þe nu. /f. 56

ac mid þære lare: þe ic leornode gefyrn

æt þam halgum(.) fāderum: þe wāron ure forengan.

Gif þeos halige lar: gelicað þinre heortan.

and gif þu hi underfehst: þonne fārst þu on sibbe.

40 and nan yfel ne mæg. ne ne mot: þe genealācean.

ac ælc wiðerweardnys: gewiteð fram þinre sawle.

II. Gif þu wylle campian: on Godes campdome.

ne campa þu ænigum: buton Gode anum.

þæt þu him þeowie: on his þeowdome.

45 simle orsorh fram woruldcārum: and fram ælcum gehlyde.

þa men þe campiað: þam eorðlican cininge.

hi gehyrsumiað æfre: eallum his hāsum.

Swa eac þa þe campiað: þam heofenlican cininge.

sceolon gehyrsumian: þam heofonlicum bebodum.

50 Se eorðlica kempa: bið æfre gearo and caf:

swa hwyder swa he faran sceal: to gefeohte mid þam kininge.  
 and he for his wife: ne for his /wenclum /f. 56<sup>v</sup>  
 ne dearr hine sylfne beladian þæt he ne scule faran.  
 Mycele swyðor sceal se soða Godes cempa  
 55 buton ælcere hremminge hraðe gehyrsumian  
 Cristes sylfes bebodum þæs soþfæstan kyninges.  
 Se eorðlica kempa kempað mid his wæpnum.  
 ongean gesewenlicne<sup>1</sup> feond. and þu scealt campian  
 wið þa ungesewenlican fynd þe ne geswicað næfre  
 60 wið þe to campienne þa hwile þe þu cucu bist.  
 Ðam woruldlican kempian is gewinn gesewenlice  
 ongean flæsc and blod. and þin gewinn  
 is æfre ongean þa awyrgedan gastas  
 þe geond þas lyft fleoð to fordonne þa unwaran.  
 65 Se woruldkempa werað woruldlice wæpna  
 ongean his gelican. ac þu habban scealt  
 þa gastlican wæpna ongean þone gastlican feond.  
 He byrð isenne helm and isene byrnan  
 þæt he ne beo gewundod fram his wiðer/winnan. /f. 57  
 70 ac beo Crist sylf þin helm se þe is þin heafod.  
 and beo Cristes geleafa for byrnan þe sylfum.  
 He sceotað his flan and his scearpe spere  
 ongean his wiðerwinnan ac þu witodlice scealt  
 mid halgum Godes wordum þinne feond sceotian.  
 75 and cweðan on þinum mode. God is min gefylsta  
 and ic forþy forseo soðlice mine fynd.

---

1. Hatton: gesewenlice, with n inserted above the line;  
 Junius: gesewenlice.

He ne awyrpð nateshwon his wæpna him fram  
 ær þam þe þæt gewinn wurðe geendod.  
 and þu ne miht beon orsorh on þinum gewinne.  
 80 forþam þe þin feond is fakenfullra þonne his.  
 His feond fyht sume hwile. ac þin ne geswicð næfre  
 swa lange swa þu leofast on life mid mannum.<sup>1</sup>  
 His wæpna syndon swære him sylfum to berenne.  
 ac Cristes geoc is wynsum. and his byrðen swiðe leoht  
 85 þam þe lufe habbað to þam leofan /Hælende. /f. 57<sup>v</sup>  
 Se woruldcempa gecyrð syðþan he sige gewinð  
 ham to his wife and to his bearnum.  
 ac þu færst to heofonum to eallum Godes halgum.  
 syððan þu oferswyðst þone ungesewenlican feond.  
 90 He underfehð gife eorðlices gestreones  
 for his eorðlices geswinces. ac þu scealt underfon<sup>2</sup>  
 þa heofonlican gife for þam gastlican gewinne.  
 Se munuc sceal geanbidian his edleanes æt Gode.  
 and beon him sylf ælfremed fram eorðlicum dædum.  
 95 and hine ne abysgian mid woruldlicum bysgum.  
 gif he campian sceal Criste on eornost.  
 Hit is swiðe earfoðe ænigum to þeowienne  
 twam hlafordum ætgædere Gode and woruldwelum.  
 ne he þa gastlican wæpnu mid þam welum  
 100 ne mæg aht eaðe aberan and winnan wið his fynd.  
 ac he forlæteð Godes geoc. /gif he lufað eorðwelan. /f. 58

---

1. Junius: monnum

2. Hatton: urderfon



and his sawul bið gehefegod mid swærre byrðene.  
 Þus gerad man bið: mid his agenum wæpnum.  
 yfele gewundod: þeah<sup>1</sup> he swa ne wene.  
 105 and forþam þe he lufað frecednysse: he befealð on deað.  
 Besceawa þu wærlice hwilcum kininge þu campast.  
 and swa micele swa se heofenlica cyning is mærra  
 and furðor toforan þam eorðlican cininge.  
 swa micele mara bið þin wurðmynt  
 110 toforan þam woruldlican kempan.  
 Þu þencst to gewyrcenne wundorlicne stypel.  
 and swiðe healicne. hoga þu nu forþy  
 ymbe þa gastlican gestreon to þæs stypeles getimbrunge.  
 þæt synd þa halgan mægenu þe þu habban scealt.  
 115 þæt þu þæt weorc mæge wurðlice geendian.  
 þe læs þe þu wegferendum wurðe eft to glige.  
 gif þin anginn ne becymð to godre geendunge.  
 and þine fynd /geblissian þe to bysmore syððan. /f. 58<sup>v</sup>  
 Ne bið þes stypol getimbrod mid ænigum weorcstane.  
 120 ac mid mænifealdum mihtum þæs innran mannes.  
 ne mid golde ne mid seolfre. ac mid gastlicum drohtnungum.  
 and getrywum inngehigde truwiende on Gode.  
 III. Ic secge þe minum bearne. beo þe an foresceawung.  
 gif þu Gode anum þeowian gewilnast.  
 125 Ne abysga þu þin mod on mislicum þingum.  
 ne<sup>2</sup> þu mid olæceunge ænigum gecweme.

---

1. Hatton: þeah h he; the h is an error.

2. Hatton: Ne

ac aceorf fram þe þa flæsclican lufe.  
 þæt seo flæsclice lufu þe ne afyrsie Gode.  
 Adrafe ælcne leahtor. and ælcne unþeaw fram þe.  
 130 þæt þu þære sawle<sup>1</sup> mihta sylf mæge begitan.  
 Gehyr nu on eornost hwæt þære sawle miht is.  
 and hwilc miht hyre begite þæt mæste gestreon.  
 Ðære sawle miht is þæt heo hire Scyppend lufie.  
 and þa þing on/scunie þe God sylf onscunað<sup>2</sup>. /f. 59  
 135 Ðære sawle miht<sup>3</sup> is. þæt heo sylf beo gebyldi.  
 and ælce weamodnysse fram hire awyrpe.  
 and þæt heo healde clænnysse ægðer ge modes ge lichaman.  
 and þæt heo idel wuldor eallunga forseo.  
 and þa gewitendlican þing mid wo ne lufie.  
 140 Ðære sawle miht is. þæt heo modinysse mycelum onscunie.  
 and ealle leasunga. and lufie eaðmodnysse.  
 and soðfæstnysse simle folgie.  
 Ðære sawle miht is. þæt heo sibbe lufie.  
 and andan and yrre æfre onscunige.  
 145 and dysi forbuge and wisdom asece.  
 Ðære sawle miht is. þæt heo sylf  
 þæs lichaman lustas underþeode þæs modes gesceade.  
 þæt þæt gescead beo wylldre þonne seo yfele gewilnung.  
 and þæt heo gitsunge forhogige. and beo hire eaðhylde.  
 150 Ðas mihta þu miht min bearn þe begitan.

1. Hatton: sawla

2. Hatton: onscun(i)að; the i has been partially deleted.

3. Hatton: mihte

gif þu woruldcara awyrpst fram þinre heortan.  
and þa gewitendlican /þing forlætst and gewilnast /f. 59<sup>v</sup>  
þa heofenlican.

and gif þin willa bið gelome abysgod  
on Godes herungum. and þu his domas asmeast.

155 Ðonne bist þu gelic þam luftymum treowe  
þe grewð wið þone stream stedefæst on wætan<sup>1</sup>.  
and byrð æfre wæstmas on godne timan symle.  
and þu bist Godes freond. þu þe wære þeow æror.

IV. Lufa þu min bearn þone lifiendan God

160 mid eallre þinre mihte. þæt þine weorc him licion.  
Gif se woruldmann kepð hu he his wife gelikie.  
micele swyðor sceal se munuc on eallum gemetum  
Criste gelikian. and him gecweman a.  
and hine lufian and his bebodu healdan.

165 God nele þæt þu hine lufie mid nacodum wordum.  
ac mid hluttre heortan and mid rihtwisum dædum.  
Se þe sægð þæt he lufie þone lifiendan God.  
and his beboda ne healdeð. he bið þonne him sylf leas.  
and /bið his agen pæcea.<sup>2</sup> forþam þe se ælmihtiga God /f. 60  
170 sceawað his heortan. swyðor þonne his word.  
and God lufað þa bilwitan þe buton facne him þeowiað.

---

1. Junius: streamstede fæst

2. Hatton: the e of pæcea is inserted above the line;  
Junius: pæca.

Ure fæder and modor swuncon for us hwilon.  
 and þæt wæs Godes foresceawung hyra geswinc ofer us.  
 þæt hi us afeddon be his fadunge þa.  
 175 Nu sceolon we hi lufian be Godes sylfes lare.  
 ac swa þeah swyðor we sceolon lufian God  
 þe ure magas gesceop. and us to manna of him.  
 and he dæghwamlice us deð ure neode.  
 Gif ure magas willað us geweman<sup>1</sup> fram Criste.  
 180 ne sceolon we forþan þonne hy forðfarene<sup>2</sup> beoð.  
 hyra lic bebyrian for hyra geleafleaste.  
 Crist we sceolon lufian. þe us alysde fram synnum.  
 and we ne magon asecgean his weldæda on us.  
 þe us purh his drihtenlican mihte fram gedwyldum alysde  
 185 /and fram ecean deaðe us to life gelædde. /f. 60<sup>v</sup>  
 We wæron unþancwurðe. and wendon us fram Criste.  
 ac he us gesohte. swa þæt he sylf nyðer astah  
 of his heofenlican settle on swa mycelre eaðmodnysse.  
 þæt he man wearð for us on middanearde akenned.  
 190 and læg on cildclaðum. se þe belycð on his handa  
 ealle þas eorðan swa swa ælmihtig God.  
 And se þe heofenas gehealdeð. næfde hamas on worulde.  
 ne hwyder he ahylde<sup>3</sup> his heafod on life.  
 and se wæs hafenleas for us. se þe hæfð ealle þing.  
 195 þæt he us gewelgode on his eceum welum.

---

1. Junius: getweman

2. Junius: forðfarane

3. Hatton: second l inserted above the line.

And him wæs gedemed fram unrihtwisum demum.  
 þam þe on wolcnum cymð on þysre worulde ende  
 eallum to demenne þe æfre kuce wæron.  
 And se þe is lifes wylle.<sup>1</sup> he gewilnode wæteres  
 200 æt þam Samaritaniscean /wife. swa swa us sægð /f. 61  
 þæt godspell.  
 And se þe ealle þing afedeð. se gefredde hungor.  
 þa þa he on þam westene wæs gecostnod fram deofle.  
 æfter þam þe he fæste feowertig daga on an.  
 And þam þe englas þeniað. he sylf þenode mannum.  
 205 and þwöh his gingrena fet mid his fægerum handum.  
 And se þe fela wundra geworhte mid his handum.  
 se gefafode for us. þæt man gefæstnode his handa  
 mid nægelum on rode. and eac his fotwylmas.  
 And þa þa he drincan bæd. þa dydon þa earman Iudeiscean  
 210 geallan to his muðe. of þam mannum becom  
 seo godspellice lar mid his liflican bodunge.  
 And se þe nanum ne derede. him man dyde talu.  
 and he wæs beswungen unscyldig eac for us.  
 And se þe þa deadan þurh his drihtenlican mihte  
 215 arærde to life. se let hine ahon  
 / on rode gealgan be his agenum<sup>2</sup> willan. /f. 61<sup>v</sup>  
 and swa deað geprowode. and he syððan wæs bebyrged.  
 ac he aras of deaðe on þam þriddan dæge.  
 and he astah to heofenum to his halgan fæder.

---

1. Hatton: y inserted above the line; i erased.

2. Hatton: e inserted above the line.

- 220 Eall þis he geþrowode for ure alysednysse.  
þæt he forgeafe þæt ece lif us mannum.  
and he ne biddeð us to edleane nanes oðres þinges  
buton us sylfe him. and ure sawla clæne.  
þæt he on us wunige. and ure willa mid him.
- 225 and<sup>1</sup> þæt he us sylfe hæbbe to þam heofenlican life.  
Gif we nu habbað on horde gold oððe seolfor.  
þæt he het us dælan for his lufan þearfum.  
and us he wyle habban. and<sup>2</sup> ure he gewilnað.  
and he wyle on us his wununge habban.
- 230 þurh þone halgan gast þe gegladað ure mod.  
Uton genealæcean to urum leofan Drihtne.  
and uton us geþeodan mid godum þeawum to him.  
and uton hine/ lufian. and lufian us sylfe. /f. 62  
and eac ure neacstan buton ælcum<sup>3</sup> facne.
- 235 Se þe his neahstan lufað. se gelicað Gode.  
and he bið Godes sunu geciged untwylice.  
Se<sup>4</sup> þe his neaxtan hatað. se bið gehaten þonne  
þæs awyrgedan deofles bearn þe wyle æfre þwyrres.  
Se þe his broðor lufað. he leofað on sibbe.
- 240 and<sup>5</sup> se þe his broðor hatað. he hæfð unstillnesse.  
and swyðe drofi mod þurh þæs deofles tihtinge.

---

1. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.

2. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.

3. Hatton: alcnum

4. Hatton: se

5. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.

Se welwillenda man wyle eaðe forberan  
 gif hine man ahwær tynð. oððe him tale gecwyð.  
 and se unrihtwisa wer wyle niman on teonan  
 245 his niextan dæde þeah þe him teonan ne gedo.  
 Se þe mid lufe bið afylled. se færð on smyltnesse.  
 and se þe hatunge hæfð. se færð mid yrsunge.  
 V. Lufa þu min bearn on þinum life  
 simle welwyllyendnysse. þæt þu gewilnie godes/ f. 62<sup>v</sup>  
 250 and hafa þinne niextan swa swa þin agen lim.  
 Læt<sup>1</sup> þe ælcne mannan þe geleafan hæfð to Gode.  
 swa leofne swa broðor. and beo þe sylf gemyndig  
 þæt an ys se soða wyrhta þe us ealle gesceop.  
 Ne astyra þu æswicunga ænigum men on life.  
 255 and þæt þe sylfum mislicað. ne do þu oðrum mannum þæt.  
 Gif þu hwene gesihst geþeon on gode.  
 blissa on his dædum þæt his bliss beo þin.  
 and gif him hwæt mistimað. besarga his unrotnysse.  
 Adræf fram þinre sawle ælce yfelnyse.  
 260 and seo hatung ne ontende þine heortan nateshwon.  
 Ne astyra þu yrsunga þinum underþeoddum.  
 ne unmihtigum men. þeah þe þu mæge bet.  
 ac hafa hine swa swilce þin agen lim.  
 Ne lufa þu þinne broðor mid gehiwodre heortan.  
 265 þæt þu hine kysse and kepe him hearmes.

---

1. Hatton: læt

forþam þe se fakenfulla fægere word<sup>1</sup> sprecð oft.  
and on his /modes digolnysse. macað syrunga. /f. 63  
On swilcum dædum. se soða God byð gegremed (.) soðlice.  
þæt hluttre mod<sup>2</sup> þe Gode gelicað  
270 forsihð þa hiwunga. and healt-soðfæstnysse.  
Do þu feorr fram þe þa fakenfullan hiwunge.  
and ne kep þu nateshwon þinum niextan facnes.  
ne þu hine ne tæl. ne ne ter mid wordum.  
Tala þe þinne broðor.<sup>3</sup> swilce he beo þin lim.  
275 Gif<sup>4</sup> þu hwilon yrsie. swa swa oðre men doð.  
ne læt þu þæt yrre licgean on þinre heortan  
ofer sunnan setlunge. ac foh to sibbe æror.  
and adræf þa hatheortnysse fram þinre sawle hraðe.  
Se mann þe<sup>5</sup> sibbe lufað. he sylf gearcað Criste  
wununge on his mode.  
280 forþam þe Crist sylf ys sibb. and he on sibbe  
wyle wunian untwylice.  
Crist onscunað æfre þone andigendan wer.  
and se gesibsuma wer byð on smyltnesse a.  
Se niðfulla / wer bið gelic þam scipe /f. 63<sup>v</sup>  
þe þa yða drifað ut on sæ

- 
1. Hatton: the descender of r is extended into an interlace ornament, though apparently not by the Hatton or the Worcester scribes (Franzen, p. 29).
  2. Junius: God byð gegremed soðlice. þæt hluttre mod ..
  3. Hatton: traces of an ascender to the first r, partly erased.
  4. Hatton: gif
  5. Junius: Se man se þe



285 swa hu swa se wind blæwð buton ælcum steoran.  
 and se gesibsuma wer hæfð him orsorhnysse.  
 Eft se niðfulla wer byð þam wulfe gelic  
 þe wodlice abiteð þa bilewitan sceap.  
 and se gesibsuma wer byð þam winearde gelic  
 290 þe byrð gode wæstmas wynsumlice growende.  
 Ðæs niðfullan mannes weorc byð on wædlunge æfre.  
 and swa se gesibsuma wer swyðor blissað on gode.  
 swa aswindeð se niðfulla swyðor to nahtlicum þingum.  
 Se gesibsuma man soðlice byð oncnawen  
 295 þurh his modes blisse. and on glædum andwlitan.  
 and se niðfulla wer wyrð eac geswutelod  
 þurh his hatheortnysse on hetolum andwlitan.  
 Se gesibsuma mann hæfð him sylf gemanan  
 mid þam halgum englum. and se niðfulla byð deofla gefera.  
 300 fordon þurh

*Excidit folium unum*

/ Awend þine eagan fram yfelre gesihðe. /f. 64  
 and ne gelustfulla þu þæt þu mid fulre lufe  
 sceawie wlitigra wifmanna andwlitan.  
 þæt þu þurh yfele gewilnunge becume to wite.  
 305 Gemun þu min bearn hwam þu gehalgodest þine agene lima.  
 and ne læt þu nateshwon hi beon gemengede mid fulum myltestru  
 Awend þine lufe fram wifmanna lufe.  
 þe læs þe hire lufu þe beluce fram Criste.  
 Ne forseoh þu nateshwon þa lytlan gyltas on þe.

310 þe læs þe þa læssan þe gelædan to maran.  
 (VI)<sup>1</sup>. Ne hiwa þu min bearn swilce þu mid bilewitnysse  
 mæge þe gan orsorh to mædena husum.  
 and wið hi motian. þæt þin mod ne beo  
 yfele besmiten þurh þa ydelan spellunga.  
 315 Ne þince þe to hefityme to gehyrenne mine spræce.  
 ac gelyf/ minum wordum. Hit is gewisslice soð. /f. 64<sup>v</sup>  
 gif se munuc wyle gan oððe se gelæreda preost  
 to wifmanna husum. and wið hy motian.  
 and gif þam<sup>2</sup> mædenum likiað hyra luftyman spræcea.  
 320 sona hy awendað hyra wurðfullnysse.  
 and hi sylfwilles forleosað þæt þæt hi Gode beheton.  
 Ne magon na swilce men makian wununge  
 þam clængeornan Gode on clænre<sup>3</sup> heortan.  
 ac hy beoð tolysede ungeleaffullice.  
 325 swa swa forrotod þreax on hyra unþeawum.  
 Se mægðhad<sup>4</sup> sceal beon<sup>5</sup> mid þæs modes godnysse  
 Criste sylfum geoffrod be agenum willan  
 buton ælcere hiwunge mid halgum þeawum simle.  
 Ne man ne mot befyran mid fulre besmitennysse<sup>6</sup>

---

1. Hatton: undecorated figure inserted above the line, with no diagonal pen-stroke (see Introduction, p. 17).

2. Junius: þæm

3. Hatton: clænne, with second n inserted above the line, which Junius correctly emends to r.

4. Hatton: had inserted above the line.

5. Hatton: sceal s beon; the s is an error.

6. Hatton: besmitennnysse

330 þæt þæt man Gode behateð. and him gehalgod bið.  
 On ægðrum hade byð se halga mægðhad / /f. 65  
 on cnihtnum. and on mædenum. on munecum and on mynecenum.  
 þam þe fram cildhade swa gesælie wurdon.  
 þæt hig æfre on clænnysse Criste sylfum þeowodon.  
 335 þæt hi habban on ende þa hundfealdan mede.  
 þe Crist sylf behet on his halgan godspelle.  
 Ðu mann ne syngast na gif þu sylf ne behatest.  
 ac gif þu æne behætst þam ælmihtigan Gode  
 he wyle þonne habban þæt þu him behete.  
 340 ne he nele mid nanre besmitennysse  
 gemengan þine halgan limu þe him gehalgode syndon.  
 Warnu nu min bearn þæt þu ne wurðe beswicen  
 þurh þæs lichaman wlite. and þu swa forleose  
 þinre sawle wlite þurh þone sceortan lust.  
 345 Warnu þæt þu ne hreppe wifmanna lichaman.  
 Swa swa fyr wyle ontendan þæt ceaf þæt him wiðligeð.  
 swa byð / se þe handlað wifhades mannes lic. /f. 65<sup>v</sup>  
 Ne ætbyrst he naht eaðe buton his sawle lyre.  
 þeah þe he lichamlice mid hyre ne licge.  
 350 swa þeah byð his inngheigd wiðinnan gewemmed.  
 VIII. Sege me nu min bearn hwilc gepincð mæge beon  
 þinre agenre sawle þæt þu sceole lufian  
 þæs lichaman wlite þe gewyrðeð to duste.  
 and<sup>1</sup> eallswa forsearað. swa scinende blostman  
 355 þe on wyrtum weaxað wynsumlice on sumera.

-----  
 1. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.

and<sup>1</sup> wurðað fornumene mid þæs wintres cyle.  
 Swa byð þæs mannes wlite þe wyrðeð  
 eall fornumen mid onsigendre ylde.  
 and se deað geendað þone ærran wlite.  
 360 þonne ongitt þin sawl þæt þu sylf lufodest idel.  
 Foroft se mann gewyrðeð on ende toswollen.  
 and<sup>2</sup> to / stence awended mid unwynsumnysse. /f. 65a  
 þæt him sylfum byð egle. and<sup>3</sup> andsæte se stenc  
 and his lustfullnysse<sup>4</sup> him ne belifð nan þing.  
 365 and his wistfullnys him wyrðeð to biternysse.  
 Hwær beoð þonne ic axie þa estfullan swæsnessa.  
 and<sup>5</sup> þa liðan liffetunga þe hine forlæddon æror:  
 Hwær bið his gaf spræc. and þa idelan gamenunga.  
 and<sup>6</sup> his ungemetegode hleahter. Hi<sup>7</sup> beoð þonne alede.  
 370 and hi urnon him fram swa swa yrnende flod.  
 and<sup>8</sup> hi ne ætywdon him nahwær syððan.  
 Dis is seo geendung ealles þæs wlates  
 and þæs lichaman fægernysse. forþig ic þe bidde  
 þæt þu awende þin mod fram þillicum wlitum.

- 
1. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.
  2. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.
  3. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.
  4. Junius: lustfulnysse.
  5. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.
  6. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.
  7. Hatton: hi.
  8. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.

375 and awend þine lufe to þære wlitigan fægernysse  
ures Hælendes Cristes. þæt þin heorte beo onliht  
mid his scinendum leomum. fram þære sweart/an dimnysse.

/f.65

Ðes wlite is to lufianne þe gewendeð to blisse.  
þæt þu mid Criste wunie a to worulde on blisse.  
380 gif þu hine lufast on þines lifes ryne  
þe þe is ungewiss. ac þu becymst to gewissan  
þær þu endeleaslice orsorgh byst on gefean.  
Bide þe sylfum æt Gode þæt he sylf þe forgife  
snotere heortan. and<sup>1</sup> þurhwacol andgit.  
385 þæt þu cunne tocnawan þæs deofles costnunga.<sup>2</sup>

and his swicolan facna. þæt þin fot ne bestæppe  
on his arleasum grinum. þæt þu gelæht ne wurðe.  
Se snotera wer ne gewilnað þara woruldglenga  
ne þæs lichaman wlates. ac gewilnað þære sawle.  
390 forþam þe Crist gegladað on þære sawle godnysse  
and on hire wlite. gewilna þu þæs.

Ne lufa þu gitsunge ne unrihtlice welan  
þe þe ascyriað / and asyndriað fram Gode. /f. 66  
Manega gewilniað oðres mannes wolice.

395 and hi beoð benæmede neadlunga hyra agenes.  
Beo þe swiðe ælfremed ælc unrihtlic gestreon.  
forþam þe ure æht byð mid englum on heofonum.  
Beo þe wel gehealden þæt þu hæbbe bigleofan

---

1. Hatton: and abbreviation decorated as if a capital.

2. Hatton: costuunga.

and hlywðe wið cyle. Ne sec þu na mare.  
 400 Se<sup>1</sup> þe wyle beon weli on life.  
 se befealð on costnunge. and on þæs costneres grinu.  
 IX. Warnæ þe wið gitsunge. forþam þe heo witodlice  
 is eallra yfela wyrtruma. swa swa se apostol awrat.  
 Se gitsere sylð his sawle wið feo.  
 405 and he wyle ofslean gif him swa byð gerymed  
 þone unscyldigan for his sceatta þingon.  
 and manlice swerian his sawle to forwyrde.  
 Ðurh gitsunge forlyst oft se arleasa his / lif. /f. 66<sup>v</sup>  
 þonne he gewilnað<sup>2</sup> þara æhta. and ne warnað hine sylfne.  
 410 Ðurh gitsunge losode Achan<sup>3</sup> se þegen þe mid Iosue feaht.  
 and fakenlice behyðde of þam herereafe þe him wæs forboden  
 on ær.  
 and he wearð þa oftorfod teonlice mid stanum  
 mid eallum his hiwum fram Israhela folke.  
 Ðurh gitsunge wearð beswiken eac Sawl se cining.  
 415 þa þa him leofran wæron þa forbodenan herelafa  
 þonne<sup>4</sup> Godes willa. and he wearð forþy  
 his rices bedæled. and Daurid wearð gecoren.  
 Achab eac se kining yfele wearð beswicen  
 for Nabothes winearde þe he wolice genam.  
 420 and he forþam hraðe feoll on gefeohte ofslagen.

---

1. Hatton: se

2. Junius: gewilniað

3. Hatton: Achar

4. Hatton: second n inserted above the line.

þæt swa wurde on him gewreken Naboth  
 þe ær wæs ofslagen for his agenum winearde.  
 Iu/das se arleasa: þe urne Hælend belæwde /f. 67  
 for þam lyðran sceatte þe he lufode unrihtlice.  
 425 aheng hine sylfne. and he þæs sceattes ne breac.  
 X. Ure Hælend wolde þurh his welwillendnysse  
 mid his halgan lare þe he gelome sæde  
 þam Iudeisceum heafodmannum. of hyra heortan adræfan  
 þa yfelan gitsunge þe him is andsæte.  
 430 ac forþam þe hi wæron wundorlice grædie.  
 hi hæfdon him to glige his halwendan mynegunge.  
 Nis nan leodscipe. swa grædig goldes and seolfres.  
 swa þa Iudeiscean and þa Romaniscean:  
 be þam þe lareowas on bocum awriton.  
 435 Sum rice man wolde. gewitan æt þam Hælende.  
 hu he mihte habban: heofenan rices myrhðe.  
 þa cwæð<sup>1</sup> se Hælend him to. Ne canst þu Godes(.) æ.  
 Ne ofsleh þu mannan. / Ne unrihthæm þu. /f. 67<sup>v</sup>  
 Ne beo þu leas gewita. and he him andwyrde.<sup>2</sup>  
 440 Drihten leof Hælend. þas ealle ic geheold:  
 æfre fram minre geogoðe. and him andwyrde se Hælend.  
 An þing þe is wana. ac gif þu wille beon fullfremed:  
 beceapa ealle þine æhta. and dæl þæt wurð þearfum.  
 and þu hæfst þinne goldhord on heofena rice swa.

---

1. Hatton: the only instance in the text of the abbreviation cw.

2. Hatton: second d above the line.

445 and cum þonne to me. and fylig me syððan.  
Ða wearð se rica sarig swyðe for his wordum.  
forþam þe he hæfde fela æhta on life  
þe him wæron laðe to forlætenne swa.  
and eode him sona aweg. syððon he þiss gehyrde.  
450 Se gitsienda wer þe ne wyrð næfre full.  
is helle gelic þe næfð nan gemet.  
ac swa heo ma forswelgeð. swa heo ma gewilnað.  
Do þe ælfremedne fram þysum leahtra a.  
and hafa þe gemet

*Desunt folia circiter 12"*



## COMMENTARY

1. St Basil of Caesarea, 329–379 (see Introduction, above, pp. 61–5, and "Depositio Sancti Basilii Episcopi," LS I: 51–91, III). Lines 1–9 of the Admonitio strongly resemble lines 145–52 of the "Life", in which Ælfric also refers to St Basil's Rule, and to Benedict's use of it: "Benedictus tymde to ðam regole ðe Basilius gesette".
  
7. See Introduction, above, p. 64. Rufinus' abridged version of the Rules is printed in PL 103: 486–554.
  
10. Worcester scribe, M, above ær, prius. As evidence of the earliest scholarly response to the Old English Admonitio, the annotations of the tremulous hand of the Worcester scribe are appropriately included in this commentary. Classifications of the various hands follows Franzen 27–8; asterisked readings are those which she has noted as appearing frequently elsewhere.

St Benedict of Monte Cassino, the founder of the Benedictine Order, c. 486–543. Ælfric's

own homily on St Benedict (CH [G], 92-110, X) is based on Gregory's Dialogues, Book II. A portion of the revised translation of Gregory's text precedes the Admonitio in Hatton 76.

11. Cf. Life (note to 1, above) where Ælfric refers to Basil's Rule as "hefigra" (line 147) than Benedict's. BT translates this phrase from the Admonitio as "clearer in some respects" but the analogy of the passage from the Life suggests that the translation should be "more moderate in part"; cf. also Ælfric's "Letter to Wulfgeat" (Assman 11, I, 275-6): "Hwæt is wynsumere on life þonne Godes geoc to wegennne, oððe hwæt is eft leohtre (my italics) þonne his leohte byrðen?"
12. Cf. Life, lines 150-52. Benedict acknowledged Basil as one of the authorities for his own work (RB, 296, 73. 4-9) and recommended Basil's work for future study: J. McCann, St Benedict (London, 1937) 130, 187-8.
- 15-16. Worcester scribe, superscript i over ge of geworhte and gehaten.
16. Worcester scribe, B and M, in right margin, Basilius fecit Exameron. See Introduction,

above, p. 11.

"deopum andgite" suggests familiarity; Ælfric's omission of any reference to his own version of the Hexameron may thus be deliberate.

18. Worcester scribe, B, above his, illiis.
21. Though the dative feminine inflected past participle "gehealdenre" imitating a Latin ablative absolute construction is not impossible, an easier reading would be the present participle "gehealdende".
- 25-6. The direct address of the Latin: "Audi fili admonitionem patris tui et inclina aurem tuam ad uerba mea"(1-2) recalls that of the opening of the Benedictine Rule: "Obsculata, o fili, praecepta magistri", and both "no doubt intentionally echo that to be found in the wisdom tradition of the Old Testament (cf. Proverbs 1, v. 8; 4, vv. 1, 10, 20; 6, v. 20)" (RB fn. pp. 156-7). Æthelwold's translation of the Benedictine Rule is here very close to the Old English Admonitio: "Gehyr þu min bearn geboda þines lareowes and anhyld þinre heortan eare, and mynegunge þines arfæstan fæder lustlice underfoh and cafllice gefyl, þæt ðu mid þinre hyrsumnesse geswince to Gode gecyrre, þe

þu ær fram buge mid asolcennysse ðinre unhyrsumnesse" (Schröder 1, 1-6). It is of interest that both Ælfric and Æthelwold choose to translate fili by bearn, though sunu is more characteristic of the Winchester vocabulary (H. Gneuss, "The Origen of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester," ASE 1 (1972): 63-83, esp. 76, 79).

- 42-82. Close to the Latin, but a topic obviously congenial to Ælfric; cf. I Maccabees 9, 1-22 (LS II: 112, 688-704, and CH (G), 265, XXX, 158-62).
43. Worcester scribe, M, above buton, nulli, sine.
45. Worcester scribe, B, above gehlyde, tumultu.
47. Worcester scribe, superscript i over ge.
55. Worcester scribe, M, in left margin, impedimento. Latin text has here impedimento (24).
- 63-4. Cf. CH (G) 54, VI: "Deoflu sind fugelas cicigde, forðan ðe hi fleoð geond þas lyft ungesewenlice" (70-2). For his treatment of the parable of the sower (Matt. 13, vv. 4-9),

Ælfric has used two sources: Bede's commentary on Matthew's parable (PL 92: XIII, 65) and Gregory's Homily XV, on the same parable in Luke 8, vv. 4-15 (PL 76: 1131). Access to either source would have been possible; CH (G), XXXI, for which the text is Matt. 6, v. 24, acknowledges Bede's authority (line 24) and the Gregorian Homily occurs in the homiliary of Paul the Deacon (PL 95: LXI, 1208), which contains many more of Ælfric's patristic sources (C.L. Smetana, "Ælfric and the Mediaeval Homiliary," Traditio 15 (1959): 163-204, and Locherbie-Cameron, "Ælfric's Devils," Notes and Queries ns 40, No. 3 (1993): 286-7.

- 65-7. Cf. Old English translation of Ælfric, "Letter to Wulfstan" (Fehr IV, Councils and Synods 140): "Be þam magon Godes þeowas gecnawan þæt he nagon mid wigge ne mid woruldcampe ahwar to farene, ac mid gastlican wæpnan campian wið deofol".
- 67-71. Cf. Ælfric's private letter to Wulfstan (Fehr 2a, Councils and Synods 222-7): "Et omnis qui ad istam militiam ordinatur etsi antea secularia arma habuit, debet ea deponere tempore ordinationis et assumere spiritualia arma, lorica[m] justitiæ (Eph. 6, v. 14) et scutum fide

(Eph. 6, v. 16) et galeam salutis (Eph. 6, v. 17) et gladium spiritus (ibid.), quod est verbum Dei, et bellare viriliter contra spiritualia nequitia" (combination of John 18, v. 11 and Matt. 26, v. 52).

71. Eph. 6, v. 12, and 1 Thess. 5, v. 8

75-6. The Latin here uses a compound quotation of phrases from the Psalms (117, v. 7; 53, v. 9; 91, v. 12; 111, v. 8); accordingly Ælfric is careful to omit even the imprecise attribution of "uerbis propheticis" (Latin text 38-9).

80. Worcester scribe, B, in right margin, fraudentior and (very blurred) dolosior.\*

83-85. No equivalent in the Latin text; Matt. 11, v. 30.

97-8. Matt. 6, v. 24.

97-106. Matt. 6, v. 24; Luke 16, v. 13. The three homiliaries which Ælfric uses all contain homilies on these passages, but the sequence of ideas here seems closer to Bede's Homily XIV (PL 94: 298) than to any of the others (Paul the Deacon, Homs. CLXXVI, PL 95: 1403, and CLXXVII,

- ibid.: 1407; Haymo, Hom. CXXVII, PL 118: 680; Smaragdus, PL 102: 459).
103. Worcester scribe, in right margin, taliter.
105. Worcester scribe, M, in right margin, dolo, fraudem. Neither word seems suitable, and the scribe has had difficulty elsewhere with the Old English lemma (Franzen 166). Latin text has here periculum (63). See Introduction, p. 45.
106. Worcester scribe, M, above Besceawa, vide.
- 111-13. Cf. "Letter to Wulfgeat" (Assman 16, I, 261-2):  
 "Gif ðu þencst to wyrçenne stænen weorc mid cræfte þonne scealt þu ærest embe þone grundweal smeagan".
- 112-4. Though Ælfric is close to the sense of the Latin (71-4), he uses a metaphor found in Æthelwold's translation of the Benedictine Rule; no-one may interrupt the lector at mealtimes "buton hit þæt sy, þæt se ealdor hwæt scortlice of þære rædinge to hyra gastlican getimbrunge gereccan wille" (Schröer 62, line 21), which is itself a free translation of the Latin "nisi forte prior pro ædificatione voluerit aliquid breviter dicere" (RB 236, 38, 1-11). Æthelwold retains the

same image in the reference to Basil's authority at the end of the Benedictine Rule (RB, 296, 73, 4-9): "Eac swylce þara haligra fædera and þa gesettan lif hira drohtnunge and se regol ures halgan fæder Basillii, hwæt is hit elles butan getimbrunge (my italics) and tol haligra manna and þara muneca, þe wel and rihte libbað and gehyrsume synd"? (Schröder 133, 7-11).

118. Cf. Luke 14, vv. 28-30.

122. Worcester scribe, M, above inngehiġde,  
intentione.\*

130. Hatton reading sawla is incorrect; syntax requires the genitive singular sawle, as demonstrated elsewhere in the repetitions of this phrase, not the plural. The -a ending probably derives from contamination from that of the following word mihta.

135. Contamination of mihte (dative, instead of the correct miht, nominative) from the preceding word sawle. This is an inversion of that noted in line 130 above. The phrase ðære sawle miht occurs four times in lines 131-136; these two errors from the normally accurate scribe suggest a lack of concentration. Perhaps he was tired.



139. Two Worcester scribe glosses in right margin: M, very faint, in dry point, unrihte, and to the right in ink, B, unriht. Nearly all B glosses are in Latin: Franzen, 27). Wo is glossed as unriht by the scribe in the "Laws of Edgar," Bodley Ms. Harley 55, ff. 1-4: Franzen 70).
148. Cf. "beo a seo mildheortnys wyldre (my italics) ðonne se rihta dom" (Schröer 118, line 27).
155. Worcester scribe, M, in left margin, delectabilem.
- 155-6. Close translation of the Latin conflation of Psalm 1, v. 3 and John 15, v. 15.
- 159, 167. lifiende, present participle as if from lifian (II), instead of the expected lybbende from lybban (III) is Ælfric's characteristic use of an epithet to describe the living God: Pope, 883.
160. licion, instead of the expected subjunctive plural licien, shows late confusion of inflectional endings.
- 165-6. Loosely based on the Latin, but also familiar;

cf. "God wile þa weorc habban æt us, þæt we mid godum weorcum hine weorðian a, na mid nacodum wordum butan þære fremminge, forðan þe seo lufu sceall beon geswutelod mid dædum" ("Dominica Pentecosta," Pope 397, I, 32-4), based on John 14, and close to the opening of Haymo's "In Die Sancte Pentecostes" (PL 118: 556).

- 167-69. I John 2, v. 4.
169. Worcester scribe, M, above pæcea, deceptor.
171. Worcester scribe, M, in right margin, dolo,\* fraude.\*
173. Worcester scribe, M, in right margin, providentia.
177. Worcester scribe, superscript a above him.
181. For Hatton geweman ("to incline, seduce, persuade") Junius reads getweman ("to cut off, separate, divide"). Neither is an exact translation of the Latin "non prohibent" (130-1), but the Hatton reading is preferable; it alliterates with willað which occurs in the same stave, and it is a verb which Ælfric

has used elsewhere in a similar context: cf. the addition to "De Virginitate" (Pope 804, 4-7): "Nu sceal ælc bearn beon his fæder underþeod . . . gif he hine wemð fram Criste" and "Dominica I in Mense Septembri" (CH [G], 260-7, XXX, lines 53-4): "Þus mærne man wolde se manfulla deofol þurh ðam micclum costnungum ðe he him to dyde fram gode geweman".

180. forþan instead of the usual forþam shows the lws levelling of inflectional endings; cf hwilon for hwilum (172, 275).
183. Worcester scribe, B, in right margin, narrare.
186. Worcester scribe, M, above unþancwurðe and also in left margin, ingrati.\* The word-pair ingratantur: unþancwurðlice appears on the scribe's worksheet in Ms. Hatton 114, f. 10: Franzen 195.
- 192-3. Matt. 8, v. 20.
194. Worcester scribe, M, above hafen, pauper; P, above leas, very faint, parvus? Latin text has here pauper, but parvus ("humble", R. E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word List [Oxford, 1965]) seems to be a preliminary attempt at definition.

- 194-5. 2 Corinthians 8, v. 9.
- 197-8. Matt. 24, v. 30; Luke 26, v. 64; Apocalypse 1, v. 7.
- 199-200. John 4, v. 7-14.
- 201-3. Matt. 4, vv. 1, 2.
205. John 13, v. 5.
- 209-10. Matt. 27, v. 34.
212. dere; Pope (847) notes derian as Class II, originally Class I, but this preterite form indicates a preference for the traditional form.
- 222-25. Cf. "Feria Secunda. Letania Maiore" (CH [G], 181, XIX, lines 38-9: "and we sceolan us clænsian fram unclænum dædum þæt se mihtiga God on urum mode wunige", and "Dominica X Post Pentecosten" (Pope 549, XVI, lines 54-6): "ne wyrcean his willan þe wyle us habban; and him nane æhta ne synd swa in mede swa him synd to agenne ure sawla clæne".
- 226-7. A more specific command to almsgiving than in

the Latin text, emphasising a familiar theme;  
cf. "De Virginitate" (Pope 805, XXX, 29-54, and  
note on p. 809).

227. Pope (885) notes the occasional weak dative singular form lufan, as here, as if from lufe, (weak) instead of the more usual lufe from lufu (strong).
- 228-9. John 14, v. 23.
234. Worcester scribe, B, in right margin, dolo,\* fraude.\* Cf. line 105.
238. Worcester scribe, B, in right margin, discordiam.
254. Worcester scribe, M, in left margin, scandalum: Franzen 143. Latin text here has scandalum (188).
256. Hatton hwene is retained in preference to the standard WS form hwone. Though it is possibly a scribal misreading, Campbell (380) notes the lWS development in the pronominal accusatives bone, hwone from o > a > æ; the further low stress æ > e change is characteristic of Anglian.

264. Worcester scribe, B, above gehiwodre, simulato; in left margin ficto. Latin text here has simulato (199).
274. Worcester scribe, B, in right margin, iudica.
- 276-7. Close to the Latin, but also a prescription from the Benedictine Rule (RB, 184, 4.73; Schroer, 22, 9-11).
285. Worcester scribe, B, above steoran, gubernatore.
291. Worcester scribe, B, above wædlunge, egeno. Latin text here has egentia (224).
293. Worcester scribe, B, above aswindedǫ, tabescet.
305. Hatton lima as an accusative plural, instead of the expected limu (as in 347) is assumed to be late confusion over inflectional endings, rather than scribal error, and is therefore retained.
310. The syntax requires the subjunctive form gelæden instead of the infinitive gelædan, though because a late confusion of inflectional endings is commonplace, I retain the Hatton reading.
319. Worcester scribe, superscript o above hyra; in

left margin, M, very faint, delectablilis; above luftyman, M, leafteṃe. Leafteṃe is not found elsewhere, but cf. luftempre as a gloss for dulcius (The Rule of St. Benet, Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version, ed. H. Logeman, EETS 90 [1880] 3, 8), and Luftyṃe as a gloss for affabilis in Ælfric Bata's version of Ælfric's Colloquy (A.S. Napier, Old English Glosses [Oxford, 1900] 226: no. 56, line 217).

325. forrotod breax ("putrified rottonness") is considerably more forceful than the Latin ut lignum arridum (290; Eccl. 6, v. 3).
- 331-36. No equivalent in the Latin text. The OE passage reflects a complex of thoughts Ælfric has frequently used elsewhere: cf. "Mægðhad is witodlice se þe wuniað on clænnysse æfre fram cildhade gesælig for Criste, ge wæpmenn, ge wimmen, þe þa wurðiad Crist mid swa miclere lufe, þæt him leofre byð þæt hi mid earðfoðnysse hi sylfe gewyldon to þære clænnysse, þe hi Crist beheton" ("Be clænnysse," Assmann 162, II, 20-21), and "Se mægðhad is gemæne ægðrum cnihtum and mædenum, þe clænlice lybbað æfre fram cildhade oð ende heora lifes for Cristes lufan, swa swa þa clænan munecas doð and ða clænan mynecena"

("De Virginitate," Assmann 33, III, 224-7).

Later in this treatise Ælfric refers to the three orders of chastity: marriage, widowhood and celibacy "swa swa witan secgað" (39, 374), promising to "þa halgan mædenu" the "hundfealdne wæstm" (ibid., 379), drawing on Matt. 19, v. 29 for both this and the Admonitio passage. The same association between chastity and the hundredfold reward appears in "Be Clænnysse" (Assmann 15, II, 51-6), in which Ælfric lists, amongst others, Basil as an authority for the need for celibacy (22, 200-4).

Ælfric again uses the concept of the three orders of chastity in "De Purificatione S. Mariæ" (CH [I] 148, IX, 7-13): "þas ðry hades syndon Gode gecweme, gif hi rihtlice lybbað. Mægðhad is ægðer ge on wæpmannum ge on wifmannum. Ða habbað rihtne mægðhad þa þe fram cildhade wuniæd on clænnysse, and eall galnysse on him sylfum forseoð, ægðer ge modes ge lichaman, þurh Godes fultum. Ðonne habbað hi æt Gode hundfealde mede on ðam ecan life", and again in CH (G) 39, IV, 303-5: "Se hehsta stæpe is on mæðhades mannum, þa þe fram cildhade clænlice god þeowigende, ealle middanearde gælsan forhogiað".

The passage is part of his exposition of



the wedding in Cana (John 2, v. 1-10), for which he uses Bede's Commentary (line 25, and PL 92: 661-2), available to him as the homily for the Second Sunday after Epiphany (LIII), in the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon (PL 95: 1189), though Ælfric has replaced Bede's interpretation of the three floors of the house by the three orders of chastity, available to him in the homily for the same Sunday in the Homiliary of Smaragdus (PL 102, 127: J. Hill, "Ælfric and Smaragdus," ASE 21 (1992): 203-38, esp. 223).

335. Mueller (84) notes lWS habban for subjunctive plural hæbben.
- 335-6. Matt. 19, v. 29
- 337-9. Close translation of the Latin, but an interesting variation on what Ælfric has said elsewhere about the relative values of obedience to earthly parents and obedience to God; cf. "De Doctrina Apostolica" (Pope 624-5, XIX, 53-60), and "De Virginitate" (Pope 804, XXX, 1-7, and fn. on p. 808).
- 337-8. The variation between Anglian behatest and lWS syncopated behætst illustrates Campbell's

findings that traces of Anglian are not uncommon in lWS texts: Campbell 732-3.

- 345-7. 1 Cor. 7, v. 1, and "De Doctrina Apostolica" (Pope 627, XIX, 90-4): "Se ylca ðeoda lareow, Paulus, cwæð: God byð þam men þæt he wif ne hreppe; swapeah, þe læs þe hi on forliger befeallon".
348. Worcester scribe, M, above ætbyrst, evadit. Latin text here has evadit (308).
350. Worcester scribe, M, above inngehigd, intentione.\*
- 354-5. An image Ælfric has found congenial elsewhere; CH (I), 86, V, 115-8, derived from Psuedo-Augustine's Homily CCXX (PL 39: 2152).
- 361-71. Comparison of this passage with the corresponding Latin (321-333) and Blickling Homily V ("Dominica V. in Quadragesima), lines 78-87, shows that the Latin is the source for both Old English texts, though Ælfric has not translated all of his source passage (The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century, ed. R. Morris, EETS os 73 (Oxford, 1880) 58, and M. Mc.C. Gatch, "The Unknown Audience of the

Blicking Homilist," ASE 18 (1989): 99-115, at p. 105).

Blickling V has: "Se lichoma þonne on þone heardestan stenc and on þone fulestan bið gecyrred, and his eagan þonne beoþ betynde and his muð and his næsþyrle beoþ belocene, and he þonne se deada byð uneaþe ælcon men on neaweste to hæbbenne" (for which there is no corresponding passage in the OE Admonitio but which is close to the Latin), and continues, like the OE Admonitio: "Hwær bið þonne þa symbelnessa, and þa idelnessa, and þa ungemetlican hleahtras, and se leasa gylp, and ealle þa idlan word þe he ær unrihtlice ut forlet? Ealle þa gewitaþ swa swa wolcn, and swa swa wæteres stream, and ofer þæt nahwær eft ne æteowaþ. Þyllic bið se ende þæs lichoman fægernysse."

363. Two Worcester scribe glosses in right margin: M, very faint in dry point, orribilis, and, to the right in ink, B, orribilis. See Franzen, pl. 2, line 12 (Bod. Ms. Hatton 113, f. 68) for egeslice glossed as horribiliter in M hand.
365. Two Worcester scribe glosses in right margin: M, very faint in dry point, epule, and to its right in ink, B, epule. Franzen (146) notes

- wistfulla, "feast", as a gloss for epulare.
366. Worcester scribe, M, above swæsnessa, dapes; two more glosses in right margin: M, very faint in dry point, adul ...?, and below it in ink, B, adulatem.
368. Worcester scribe, M, in right margin, loquicitas.
- 380-81. Not in the Latin text, but cf. "Sermo ad Populum" (Pope 429, XI, 273-5): "Nis nanum men nu cuð, ne cucum ne deadum, ne nanum gesceafte swa swa se Hælend sæde, Hwenne se miccla dom ealum mannum becume" (Mark 13, v. 32 and Matt. 24, v. 36), and (Boulogne Excerpts f. 4<sup>v</sup>-5) "Iudicii enim tempus vel diem nullus hominem neque angelorum novit". (E. Raynes, "Ms. Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric," Med. Æv. 26 (1957): 65-73, and Pope 407, 429).
381. Worcester scribe, M, above ungewiss and very indistinct, incertius. Certus is a frequent gloss for gewiss. Worcester scribe, B, above gewissan, certe.\*
384. Two Worcester scribe glosses, both in M, in left margin: in very faint dry point capt...?, and

below it in ink, captus.

- 398-9. The Latin (382) does not mention protection against the cold, but the Regularis Concordia (II, 29) makes specific provision for it (Symons 25, 26), which the Benedictine Rule does not, apart from "cucullum in hieme villosam" (RB, 260, 55, 1-5). Cf. also "Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten" (CH [G], 269, XXXI, 44-5) on Matt. 6, v. 24: "se ylca mæg eow eaðelice foresceawian bigleofan and hleowðe gif ge his willan gefremmað", and Bede's Commentary (which Ælfric acknowledges, lines 24-5): "ut meminerimus ... quam quovis alimentum et tegumentum" (PL 92: 35, I, vi).
403. 1 Tim. 6, v. 10; for a further link between the Admonitio and the "Letter for Wulfgeat" cf. also "ðæt halige godes word þe forbyt ælc facn, and se yfelan gitsunge ðe ælc unriht of cymð" (Assmann 7, I, 161-2).
- 410-13. Joshua 7, vv. 1, 18-20, 24.
410. Hatton has Achar, whereas Junius and Migne both have Achan, but Ælfric (or his scribe) has used this spelling elsewhere; cf. OE Heptateuch, Joshua VII, 386, v. 1, and 389, v. 24. The

twelfth-century Latin gloss at the foot of f. 150<sup>r</sup> suggests that this spelling comes from the name of the valley of Achar, adding "Ille dictus sit Achan, et non Achor vel Achar" (Heptateuch 386, fn. 1).

- 418-22. 3 Kings, 21
- 423-5. Matt. 27, v. 5.
425. Worcester scribe, B, above ne breac, ne habuit.
428. Worcester scribe, superscript o above hyra.
429. Worcester scribe, B, in right margin, abominabilum; cf. gloss to line 370 to show the scribe's distinction between the literal and metaphoric meanings of lemma.
431. Worcester scribe, superscript a above him; Worcester scribe, B, above glige and, more clearly, in right margin, ludo. The right margin contains a flag sign.
- 432-4. The absence of any specific patristic authority for this comment suggests Ælfric's usual meticulous care to distinguish between those authors he has read, and those whose works

were available to him through the intermediary of homiliaries: Hill, "Ælfric and Smaragdus," 224. Though the combination of the greed of the Jews and their mockery of Christ's ministry occurs in the Latin (403-4), it may well have reminded Ælfric of Gregory's exposition of Luke 16 ("Dominica Post Pentecostes II," PL 76: XL, 1302) in which he interprets Dives as the Jewish people: "Quem dives iste qui induebatur pupura et byssa et epulabatur quotidie splendide nisi Judaicum populum significat, qui cultum vitae exterius habuit, qui acceptatae legis deliciis ad nitorem usu est non ad utilitatem?"

This exposition was available to Ælfric through the homiliaries of both Paul the Deacon (PL 95: CLIX, 1362) and Smaragdus (PL 102: 348-53), and Ælfric was certainly aware of it; he drew on it in his own homily for the same Sunday (CH [I], 328, XXIII, 6-9), commenting: "Se halga papa Gregorius us onwreah ða digelnysse ðysre rædinge. He cwæð 'Ne sæde þæt halige godspel þæt se rica reafere wære, ac he wæs un cystig and modegode on his welum'".

Gregory interprets Dives' plea to have his tongue moistened as a respite from the punishment for careless speech: "Sed qui

abundere in conviviis loquicitaſ solet eſt qui male hic convivatus dicitur, apud infernum gravius in lingua ardere perhibetur", and Smaragdus retains this concept, though he does not, as Paul the Deacon does, identify Dives with the Jews. In his own homily, Ælfric explains that Dives particularly aſked for his tongue to be moiſtened: "forðan ðe hit is gewinelic þæt ða welgan on heora gebeorſcipe begað derigendlice grafetunge" (330, 28-30). Ælfric links the notions of Jewish avarice and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by the Romans in his Homily on John 11, vv. 47-54 (Assmann 65-72, V, lines 6-8, 47-9, 66-89 and 148-52).

434. Worcester ſcribe, M, above be þam, pro ut.
- 435-49. Luke 18, vv. 18-23; Matt. 19, vv. 16-22; Mark 10, vv. 17-22.
438. Worcester ſcribe, B, above Ne unrihthæm, non mecaberiſ; cf. Ælfric's "Second Old Engliſh Letter for Wulſtan": "þæt ſixte bebod iſ : Non mechaberis, þæt iſ : Ne rihthæm þu" (Fehr III, Councils and Synods. 200), from Ms. Junius 121 (120b). See Franzen 54-8, for the ſcribe's gloſſes on Junius 121.



439. Worcester scribe, M, above leas wita, testit.
443. Worcester scribe, M, above beceapa, vende.
- 450-52. Close to the Latin, but a concept Ælfric has used elsewhere; in "Memory of the Saints" (LS 356, XVI, 280-5) he lists avarice as the third sin, which is "helle gelic. forðon þe hi habbað butu unafylledlice grædignysse þæt hi fulle ne beoð næfre". Both texts seem to echo "Avarus pecuniis non impletur" (Eccl. 5, v. 9).

APPENDIX A

B, ff. 91<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>r</sup>, collated with variations from A1, ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>r</sup> and Hr, ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-14.

INCIPIUNT MONITA SANCTI BASILII EPISCOPI AD MONACHOS

1 I.<sup>1</sup> Audi fili admonitionem<sup>2</sup> patris tui, et inclina  
aurem tuam ad uerba mea et accomoda michi<sup>3</sup> libenter  
auditum tuum, et corde credulo cuncta que dicuntur  
ausculta. Cupio enim<sup>4</sup> te instruere que  
5 sit spiritalis militia, et quibus modis regi tuo  
debeas militare. Intentissime ergo audiat sensus  
tuus, et animam tuam nullus pregrauet somnus<sup>5</sup>; sed  
ad<sup>6</sup> uigilandum excita eam, et ad studium  
intelligendi<sup>7</sup> sermonem meum. Verba enim  
10 ista non sunt ex me, sed prolata ex  
diuinis fontibus. Neque enim noua doctrina

---

1. A1, henceforth A, and Hr do not have chapter divisions, but the breaks in their texts correspond with the numbered divisions of Bodley.

2. A, ammonitionem.

3. A: michi.

4. Missing in Hr.

5. Hr: sompnus.

6. A: ad.

7. Hr: tuum legendi

instruam te<sup>1</sup>, sed ea quam didici a patribus meis.  
Hanc enim si immiseris<sup>2</sup> in cor tuum, in pace  
dirigentur itinera tua, nec adpropinquabit ad te  
ullum malum, sed procul abscedit a te omnis  
15 aduersitas anime.

II. Si ergo cupis, fili, militare Domino  
preter, illum solum ne milites alii. Sicut enim  
qui militant regi terreno omnibus iussis eius  
obediunt, sic et qui militant regi celesti, debent  
20 custodire precepta celestia. Miles terrenus  
quocumque loco mittitur paratus ac promptus est,  
neque se uxoris uel liberorum gratia excusare  
audebit. Multo magis miles Christi sine aliquo  
impedimento regis sui debet imperio obedire<sup>3</sup>.  
25 Miles terrenus contra hostem uisibilem pergat ad  
bellum; te hostis<sup>4</sup> inuisibilis cotidie preliando  
non desinit. Illi contra carnem et sanguinem est  
dimicatio, tibi uero aduersus spiritalia nequitię  
in celestibus est colluctatio. Ille contra  
30 carnalem hostem<sup>5</sup> carnalibus armis utitur; tu uero  
contra spiritalem hostem arma spiritalia indiges.

---

1. Hr: instruante

2. A: inmiseris.

3. A: obedire imperio.

4. A: tecum hostis; Hr: tecum uero hostis

5. Missing in Hr.

Ille in prelio galeam ferream gestat in capite; sed  
tua galea Christus sit qui est caput tuum. Ille  
lorica ne uulneretur indutus est, sed tu pro  
35 lorica<sup>1</sup> fide<sup>2</sup> sis Christi circumdatus<sup>3</sup>.  
Ille contra aduersarium suum mittit lanceam et  
sagittas; tu uero contra<sup>4</sup> aduersarium tuum diuina  
eloquia debes iaculare<sup>5</sup> et percutiens eum uerbis  
propheticis dicito: "Dominus mihi adiutor est et  
40 ego despiciam<sup>6</sup> inimicos meos". Ille donec pugna  
geritur arma a semetipso non proicit, ne ab  
aduersario uulneretur; ita et tu nunquam debes esse  
securus quia hostis tuus hoste<sup>7</sup> illius est  
astutior<sup>8</sup>. Illius quidem hostis ad tempus  
45 dimicat, tuus uero hostis quamdiu in stadio uite  
huius consistis / tecum dimicando non desinit.  
Illius arma laboriosa et grauia sunt ad portandum;  
tua uero arma uolentibus se portare suauia ac leuia  
sunt. Ille cum superauerit aduersarium ad domum

- 
1. A: tu lorica.
  2. A: fidei.
  3. A: circumdatus.
  4. A: tu contra.
  5. A: eloquia iaculare.
  6. A: uidebo; Hr: uidebo.
  7. A: quia tuus hostis hoste.
  8. Hr: astutia.

50 coniugis ac liberorum reuertetur<sup>1</sup>; tu uero hoste  
prostrato in illud celeste regnum cum omnibus  
sanctis intrabis. Ille pro labore terrenum<sup>2</sup>  
accipit donum, tu uero pro spiritali labore celeste  
recipies donum. Expectat Deum monachus qui  
55 terrenos actus a semetipso proicit, ne implicet se  
negociis secularibus<sup>3</sup> militans Deo. Difficile  
nanque<sup>4</sup> est seruire duobus dominis; nec potest  
quisquam seruiens Mamone<sup>5</sup> spiritalia arma portare,  
sed iugum Christi suaue ac leue a semetipso  
60 repellit ac proicit; et quicquid graue et honerosum  
est anime ei uidetur suaue ac leue. Istiusmodi  
uir a propriis armis uulneratur<sup>6</sup>, et cum diligit  
periculum incidit in mortem. Tu autem considera  
cui te regi ad militandum probasti, et quanto  
65 superius est regi terreno imperium celeste, tanto  
excellenterior est gradus excellentie tue terreno  
milite. Turrim excelsam construere cogitas;  
prepara ergo sumptus tibi ad structuram ut ceptum  
edificium ad perfectum deducas, ne quando

---

1. A: reuertit.

2. A: Ille pro labore terreno terrenum accepit donum.

3. A: secularibus negociis.

4. A: namque.

5. A: mamone.

6. A: uulneretur.

70

pretereuntibus uenias in derisum<sup>1</sup>, et gratulentur de te inimici tui. Hec turris non ex lapidibus construetur sed ex uirtutibus anime; nec auri nec argenti indiget sumptu<sup>2</sup> sed conuersatione fideli, nam terrene opes plurimum ad edificandum impediunt.

75

III. Vnus prospectus sit tibi, fili, si uni domino seruire desideras, nec alicui in uita<sup>3</sup> tua placere coneris, nisi illi soli, nec in diuersis rebus occupes animum tuum sed omnino<sup>4</sup> abscide a te carnalem amorem, ne carnalis amor a te Dei amorem excludat. Omne uitium expelle<sup>5</sup> ab anima tua ut uirtutes anime conquirere possis. Audi igitur que uirtus anime<sup>6</sup> et quam ei maximum conferat lucrum. Virtus anime est diligere Deum et odisse ea<sup>7</sup> que non diligit Deus. Uirtus anime est patientiam sectari et ab impatientia declinare. Virtus anime est castitatem<sup>8</sup> tam corporis quam anime custodire.

80

85

- 
1. A: in risum; Hr: in risum.
  2. A: sumptus.
  3. Hr: uitam.
  4. A: omni modo.
  5. A: exclude.
  6. A: que sit uirtus anime.
  7. A: illa; Hr: illa.
  8. A: caritate, emended to castitatem.

Uirtus anime est uanam gloriam contempnere<sup>1</sup> et omnia  
caduca calcare. Uirtus anime est humilitati<sup>2</sup>  
studere et tumorem superbie abominari<sup>3</sup>. Virtus  
90 anime est ueritatem amplecti et omne mendacium  
fugere. Virtus anime est iram prohibere et  
furorem reprimere<sup>4</sup>. Virtus anime est pacem  
diligere et inuidiam execrari. Virtus anime est  
ab omni stulticia declinare et sapientiam diuinam  
95 amplecti. Virtus anime / est omnem uoluntatem  
carnis subicere mentibus. Virtus anime est  
auariciam spernere et uoluntariam assumere  
paupertatem. Has igitur uirtutes facile poteris  
optinere, si secularium curas neglexeris, et  
100 caducis ac terrenis rebus celestia proposueris, et  
si uoluntas tua in laudibus Dei occupata fuerit, et  
iudicia eius die et nocte<sup>5</sup> impensius<sup>6</sup> meditatus  
eris; eris<sup>7</sup> autem tanquam lignum quod plantatum  
est secus decursus aquarum et omnis spiritus<sup>8</sup> fructus  
105 oriuntur ex te, et ex seruo amicus uocaberis Dei.

- 
1. A: contempnere.
  2. A: humilitatem.
  3. A: abhominari.
  4. A: contempnere.
  5. A: die noctuque; Hr: die noctuque.
  6. A: impensius.
  7. A: fies.
  8. Missing in Hr.

IIII. Ex tota ergo uirtute tua dilige Deum,  
ut in<sup>1</sup> omnibus actibus tuis placeas illi. Si enim  
qui coniugium contraxerit festinat placere uxori  
sue, multo magis monachus omnibus modis debet  
110 placere Christo. Qui diligit Deum precepta eius<sup>2</sup>  
custodit. Deus enim non se uult uerbis tantum  
diligi<sup>3</sup>, sed ex corde puro et operibus iustis.  
Qui enim dicit "diligo Deum" et mandata eius non  
custodit mendax est. Huiusmodi enim uir fallit  
115 semetipsum et a semetipso seducitur. Deus enim  
non uerborum sed cordis inspector est, et diligit  
eos qui in simplicitate cordis seruiunt ei. Si  
terrenos parentes cum tali affectu diligimus qui  
paruo tempore pro nobis sustinuerunt laborem, nam  
120 et circa nos quod fuit eorum obsequium, Christi  
beneficium est qui omnium dispensator est optimus<sup>4</sup>.  
Nam antequam nasceremur in hoc seculum parentes  
nobis antea preparavit quorum obsequio nutriemur.  
Sed et matris ubera tunc lacte nutu Dei replentur  
125 quando infans fuerit natus. Ergo maius omnibus  
diligamus Deum qui et nos et propinquos nostros  
propriis manibus finxit, et cuncta bona que erga

---

1. A: et in.

2. A: eius precepta.

3. A: tantummodo diligi.

4. A: optimus est.



130 nos geruntur cotidie eius beneficiis adscribamus<sup>1</sup>.  
Nam parentes<sup>2</sup> nostros quasi propria uiscera  
diligamus si accedere nos ad seruitium Christi non  
prohibent; si autem prohibent nec sepultura illis a  
nobis debetur<sup>3</sup>. Christus diligendus est super  
parentes quia non tribuunt nobis parentes ea que  
Christus tribuit. Et quis beneficia eius  
135 congruentur enarret<sup>4</sup>, uel quantum nobis tribuit et  
cotidie prebendo non desinit? Videns enim Deus  
innumeris peccatis nos obnoxios non despexit, sed  
liberauit nec cum alienati ab eo in diuersis  
erroribus uagaremur auertit a nobis faciem suam<sup>5</sup>.  
140 Et cum iam urgeremur in precipitium mortis,  
ad uitam perpetuam nos reuocauit<sup>6</sup>, et cum ingrati<sup>7</sup>  
beneficiorum eius fugeremus ab eo ut pater  
clementissimus exquisiuit nos. Et cum<sup>8</sup> / sede  
sullimi<sup>9</sup> sederet nostri gratia descendit ad

- 
1. A: ascribamus; Hr: ascribamus.
  2. A: Nam et parentes; Hr: Nam et parentes.
  3. A: a nobis illis debetur
  4. Missing in Hr.
  5. A: faciem suam a nobis.
  6. A: reuocauit nos.
  7. Hr: ingeniti.
  8. Hr: Et cum innatus in sede ...
  9. A: sublimi.

145 terras<sup>1</sup>, et in tanta humilitate uenit ut seruilem  
formam assumeret. Et qui in pugillo suo continet  
orbem terrarum pannis in presepio inuolutus est<sup>2</sup>.  
Et qui celum palmo metitur non habuit ubi caput<sup>3</sup>  
reclinaret. Cum esset diues pauper factus est ut  
150 nos ditaremur in illo. Et qui in nubibus uenturus  
est ad iudicandos uiuos ac mortuos iudicium hominum  
pertulit. Et cum sitientibus sit fons eternalis  
cum sitisset postulauit aquam a Samaritana muliere.  
Et qui carne propria nostram esuriem saturauit  
155 esuriuit cum temptabatur<sup>4</sup> in heremo. Et cui  
ministratur cum Patre ab angelis ministrare  
hominibus<sup>5</sup> dignatus est, et manus eius per quas  
uirtutes plurimas operatus est, pro nobis confixe  
sunt clauis. Et ori eius per quod salutarem  
160 doctrinam adnunciauit hominibus pro cibo fel  
dederunt. Et qui nullum lesit uel nocuit cesus  
est, et obprobria pertulit. Et cuius nutu omnes  
mortui resuscitati sunt uoluntate sua mortem crucis  
sustinuit, et ideo hec omnia passus est ut nobis  
165 uitam eternam<sup>6</sup> donaret. Et cum nobis immensa

---

1. Hr: meras.

2. A: pannis inuolutur.

3. Hr: capud.

4. A: temptaretus; Hr: temptaretur.

5. A: hominibus ministrare.

6. A: sempiternam; Hr: sempiternam.

beneficia prestat<sup>1</sup> nichil exigit a nobis nisi ut  
templa nostra impolluta ei seruemus, ut semper in  
nobis habitet et nos permaneamus in illo. Non  
postulat a nobis Christus aurum aut argentum, uel  
170 quicquam huius mundi. Nam et si fuerint nobis  
ista dispertiri<sup>2</sup> egentibus precipit nos ipsos  
querit, nos desiderat<sup>3</sup> in nobis requiescere cupit.  
Accedamus ergo ad eum, et copulemur in affectu  
eius, et ut nos<sup>4</sup> ipsos amemus et proximos. Qui  
175 diligit proximum, Dei filius uocatur; qui autem e  
contrario odit, filius diaboli nuncupatur. Qui  
diligit fratrem suum, in tranquillitate est cor  
eius; fratrem uero odiens tempestate maxima  
circumdatus est. Vir benignus etiam si patitur  
180 iniuriam, pro nichilo ducit; iniquus  
etiam proximi actus contumeliam arbitratur. Qui  
caritate plenus est serenissimo uultu procedit;  
uir autem odio plenus ambulat iracundus.

V. Tu autem<sup>5</sup>, fili, benignitatem stude in  
185 uita tua, et proximum habeto tanquam unum ex  
membris tuis. Omnem hominem iudica fratrem tuum;

---

1. Hr: prestaret.

2. A: partiri.

3. Hr: desiderat ipsos.

4. A: et nos.

5. A: Et tu autem.

memento quod unus artifex ac uerus est qui condidit  
nos. Non moueas cuiquam scandalum in uita tua, et  
non quod tibi utile est sed illi facito. Quod  
190 tibi accidere non uis, nec ei cupias<sup>1</sup> euenire. Si  
eum uideris in bonis actibus<sup>2</sup>, congratulare ei et  
illius gaudium / tuum dicito; et si aliquid  
patiatur aduersum compatere ei, et illius  
tristiciam tuam deputa. Omnem maliciam expelle ab  
195 anima tua, et odiorum flamme non comburent<sup>3</sup> cor  
tuum. Contra inpotentem aut subiectum tibi noli  
iracundia commoueri sed tanquam tuum membrum  
proprium eum habeto<sup>4</sup> in omnibus. Ne diligas  
fratrem tuum simulato corde, nec eum labiis osculans  
200 ex alia parte insidias constituas ei. Dolosus  
enim uir pacifica uerba profert ex ore, et in  
abdito mentis supplantare proximum suum meditatur.  
In his ergo operibus ad iracundiam prouocatur Deus.  
Puritas enim que placet in conspectu Dei respuit<sup>5</sup>  
205 omne quicquid simulato corde efficitur. Tu autem  
omnem simulationem longe fac a te, et ne cupias  
supplantare proximum tuum, neque mordere aut

---

1. A: nec cupias ei.

2. A: in bonis actibus conuersantem; Hr: in bonis actibus conuersantem.

3. Hr: comburant.

4. A: habeto eum.

5. Hr: respuet.

laniare membrum tuum. Membrum autem dicito  
fratrem tuum<sup>1</sup>. Quod et si quandoque ut homo  
210 iratus fueris, ultra solis terminum non producas  
iracundiam tuam, sed reconcilare ad pacem et  
deprime furorem omnem ab anima tua. Qui enim  
amplectitur pacem, in mentis sue hospitio mansionem  
preparat Christo, quia Christus pax est, et in pace  
215 requiescere cupit. Vir autem invidus omnibus  
modis execratur; uir pacificus in tranquillitate  
est semper cordis eius. Invidus autem similis est  
nauis cum iactatur a fluctibus maris; homo  
pacificus securam possidet mentem. Invidus in<sup>2</sup>  
220 perturbatione est semper, qui sectatur<sup>3</sup> pacem tutus  
est<sup>4</sup> undique ac munitus. Nam invidus ut lupus  
rapax insanit inaniter; pacificus ita est ut uinea  
honestam habens<sup>5</sup> fructum copiosum. Inuidi autem  
opus<sup>6</sup> in egentia<sup>7</sup> ac miseria detinetur et quantum  
225 pacificus gaudens in Domino delectatur, tantum  
invidus tabescens ad nichilum redigitur. Ex  
abundantia leticie pacificus homo dinoscitur et ex

---

1. A: Membrum autem tuum dicito fratrem tuum.

2. A: Invidus autem in.

3. Hr: qui autem sectatur.

4. A: pacem tutus est semper.

5. Hr: habundans.

6. A: Inuidi autem.

7. Hr: indigentia.

uultu marcido et furore pleno inuidus demonstratur.  
Pacificus homo consortium angelorum merebitur;  
230 inuidus aut<sup>1</sup> particeps demoniorum efficitur.

*Gap in Anglo-Saxon text begins*

(Et sicut pax secreta mentis illuminat, ita inuidia  
occulta cordis obcecat. Pax enim effugatur et  
perturbat omnem discordiam. Inuidia autem  
iracundiam cumulat. A<sup>2</sup> splendore autem pacis  
235 effugatur omnis caligo et ubi obsederit inuidia  
obscuritas est ibi et exteriores tenebre. Sectare  
ergo fili desiderabile nomen pacis ut fructus pacis  
possis acquirere, et execrari inuidiam ne malorum  
fructibus replearis. Rationabile nanque animal  
240 creauit te Deus, ut possis discernere intra bonum /  
et malum, ut que sunt optima eligas et inutilia  
respuas. Omnia examines, et quae sunt bona  
teneas, ab omni specie mala abstine te.

VI. Fili patientiam arripe, quia maxima  
245 uirtus est anime, ut velociter ad sullimitatem  
perfectionis possis ascendere. [Igitur si cupis  
patientiam habere, moneo primum te, ut ad mandata  
divina excites mentem tuam. Ne fabulosa arbitreris

---

1. Hr: autem.

2. Hr: Ab.

250 Dei precepta, sed in his semper sollicitum sit cor  
tuum. Ne frangat animam tuam ulla aduersitas mundi  
a preceptis ac mandatis Dei et a caritate, que est  
in Christo Iesu domino nostro, neque erigaris in  
successibus prosperis, sed in utroque temperatus  
255 sis. Omne quod tibi iniunctum fuerit religionis  
gratia, libenter suscipe et obtempera, etiamsi  
supra uires tuas fuerit, ne spernas neque euites  
illud. Sed casuam impossibilitatis tue ei qui tibi  
iniungit, fideliter enarra, ut, quod tibi onerosum  
fuerit, eius moderatione subleuetur, ut  
260 contradictionis uitio careas.]<sup>1</sup> Retributionem  
patientie tue ne queras ab homine ut in futuro  
possis accipere ab eterno Deo eterna retributionem.  
Patientia grandis medela est anime; impatientia  
autem est pernicies cordis. Per patientiam enim  
265 expectatur futurorum bonorum spes, et quod non  
videtur quasi quod videtur amplectitur.

VII. Castum te in omnibus serua fili, ut  
uideas Deum in gloria consistentem. Ab omni  
pollutione mundum sit cor tuum et ne des inimico  
270 aditum introeundi ad te.)

*End of gap in Anglo-Saxon text*

---

1. [ .. ] missing in B, A and Hr.

Ab aspectu nefando auerte oculos tuos, et ne  
delecteris pulcrarum uultibus feminarum, ne per  
talem oblectationem ultima exsoluas supplicia.  
Memento cui dedicasti membra tua, et ne commisceas  
275 illa meretricibus. Reflecte amorem tuum ab amore  
mulieris, ne te ab amore Dei eius amor excludat.  
Noli minima contemnere, ne paulatim defluas<sup>1</sup> in  
malo. Non te similes<sup>2</sup> simpliciter accedere ad  
uirginum domos<sup>3</sup>, nec uelis cum eis uti longis et  
280 otiosissimis fabulis, ne per plurimas  
sermocinationes utrorumque mens polluatur. Noli  
fili grauiter ferre sermones meos, nec stultum  
arbitreris eloquium meum, sed crede mihi et  
gratantum accipe uerba mea. Si ad feminarum domos  
285 inoportune accesserit clericus uel monachus, et  
uirgo patiatur huiusmodi introire ad se statim  
immutant<sup>4</sup> pristinam dignitatem, et quod Deo  
polliciti sunt sua uoluntate amittunt. Nec enim  
poterunt huiusmodi mansionem in se Domino  
290 preparare, sed desolabuntur ut lignum aridum.  
Numquid uirginitatem Dominus ab aliquo extorquet in  
uito<sup>5</sup>. Hoc enim munus uoluntarie Christo offertur

---

1. Hr: diffluas.

2. A: similes, emended to simules; H: simules

3. A: domum.

4. A: inmitant.

5. Hr: uite.



in propria uoluntate, nec enim licitum est  
profanari<sup>1</sup> aliquid quod<sup>2</sup> Deo promissum est. Non  
295 peccabis homo si non uoueris uotum, si uero<sup>3</sup>  
uouisti, iam ne facias moram reddere illud, quia  
Dominus quasi suum requirit illud a te. Nec uult  
pollutioni misceri membra que<sup>4</sup> sibi iam dedicata  
sunt. Vide ergo ne te seducat corporis  
300 pulcritudo, et decorem anime tue amittas. Ne  
improbo oculo tuo intuearis speciem<sup>5</sup> mulieris, ne  
intret mors in animam tuam per fenestras tuas ad  
perficienda<sup>6</sup> uerba earum, nec concu/piscas  
nequitiam in anima tua. Mulieris carnem non uelis  
305 tangere ne per tactum eius inflammetur cor tuum, et  
spiritu tuo labaris in perditionem. Sicut enim  
fenum proximans igni comburetur<sup>7</sup>, ita qui tanget<sup>8</sup>  
mulieris carnem non euadit sine damno anime sue, et  
licet corpore castus euaserit, mente tamen et corde  
310 corruptus abscedit.

---

1. A: licitum profanari.

2. Hr: qui.

3. Hr: enim.

4. A: membra suam que; Hr: membra tua.

5. Hr: specie.

6. A and Hr: fenestras tuas. Non aperias aures tuas ad  
perficienda

7. A: comburetur, emended to conburat; Hr: combuntur.

8. H: tangit

VIII.        Dic mihi queso fili quid sunt profectus  
anime, amare carnis pulchritudinem<sup>1</sup>; nonne sicut  
fenum cum a feruore estatis percussum fuerit  
arescit et paulatim pristinum decorem amittit?  
315        Similis est etiam species humane nature succedente  
sibi senectute omnis decor pristinus deperit, et  
quos in amorem sui antea concitabat, postmodum in  
odio eorum efficietur.    Nam cum interuenerit<sup>2</sup>  
mors, tunc penitus omnis pulchritudo delebitur, et  
320        tunc recognosces quia uanitas est quod ante<sup>3</sup>  
inaniter diligebas.    Cum uideris totum corpus in  
tumorem et fetorem<sup>4</sup> esse conuersum, nonne intuens  
maximo horrore concuteris, nonne claudis naris<sup>5</sup>  
tuas non sustinens<sup>6</sup> fetorem durissimum?    Vbi  
325        postmodum omnis illa oblectatio?    Require si est  
aliquod pristini decoris uestigium.    Vbi est  
suauitas luxurie et conuiuiorum opulentia?    Vbi  
sunt blandimentorum uerba que corda simplicia  
molliebant?    Ubi sunt sermones dulces, qui

- 
1. Hr omits amare carnis pulchritudinem.
  2. A: interuenit.
  3. H: antea
  4. Hr: tumore et fetore.
  5. Hr: nares.
  6. A: susurrens, emended to sufferens.

330 amaritudinem amantibus infundebant<sup>1</sup>? Vbi est  
immoderatus risus ac jocus?<sup>2</sup> Vbi est ineffrenata  
et inutilis omnis illa leticia? Velut fluxus aque  
transiens nusquam comparuerunt. Hic est finis  
pulchritudinis carnis quam amabas. Hic est  
335 oblectationis terminus corporis. Reflecte igitur  
animum tuum ab his obscenis amoribus, et omnem  
amorem conuerte ad splendidissimam pulchritudinem  
Christi, ut radii fulgoris eius illustrent cor  
tuum, et omnis obscuritas caliginis expelletur<sup>3</sup> a  
340 te. Hec pulchritudo diligenda est, fili, que  
leticiam spiritalem amantibus consuevit infundere.  
Hic decor omnibus modis amplectendus est, unde  
nobis serenitas tranquillitatis acquiritur.  
Deuitemus perniciosas pulchritudines ne omnium  
345 malorum genera in nos irrogentur. Multi enim  
admirantes mulierum species, a ueritatis uia  
naufragauerunt. Plerique ornamentis earum  
oblectati perniciem animarum suarum perpassi sunt,  
et a perfectionis fastigio in profundum inferni  
350 demersi sunt. Caueto ergo fili species per quas  
plurimos<sup>4</sup> cernis periisse; queso ne bibas potum<sup>5</sup>

---

1. A: amantibus se infundebant.

2. Hr: risus otiosus.

3. Hr: expellatur.

4. Hr: plurimas.

5. Hr: poculum.

unde multos perspicias interisse nec percipias cibum  
quem edi in aliorum<sup>1</sup> perniciem uideris. / Ne  
incedas iter quo<sup>2</sup> naufragium perpassi sunt plurimi.  
355 Deuita laqueos per quos captos ceteros sentis.  
Postula tibi a Domino cor prudens et peruigilem  
sensem, ut non ignores fraudes et astucias inimici  
et in retia eius non incidat pes tuus. Sapiens  
uir non corporis decorem desiderat sed animae;  
360 insipiens autem in carnalibus ornamentis  
amplectitur. Sapiens uir comptam mulierem  
respuit, stultus ergo concupiscens eam  
miserabiliter supplantabitur. Vir prudens ab  
inprudente<sup>3</sup> femina auertit oculos suos; luxuriosus<sup>4</sup>  
365 autem uir intuens eam soluitur ut cera a facie  
ignis. Tu autem caue omnibus modis species  
perniciosas ac falsas pulchritudines quia  
deturpatur anima si decorem attendas. Christus  
non in corporis sed in<sup>5</sup> anime pulchritudine  
370 delectatur; illa ergo dilige fili in quibus  
Christus delectatur<sup>6</sup>. Et ne te pecuniarum

- 
1. Hr: edi malorum
  2. A: iter que
  3. A: inpudente
  4. A: luxuri[a emended to o]sus.
  5. Missing in Hr.
  6. A: quibus delectatur Christo

cupiditati subicias, sed<sup>1</sup> ab<sup>2</sup> omni auaricia declina  
cor tuum ut non condemneris sicut adulter et  
idolorum cultor. Noli amare Mammonam, ne offendas  
375 ei<sup>3</sup> cui membra tua et mentem pariter dedicasti<sup>4</sup>.  
Ne petas ea que te auocant<sup>5</sup> et separant a Deo.<sup>6</sup>  
Noli diligere opes terrenas, ne amittas celestes.  
Multi cupientes aliena et a suis priuati sunt.  
Alienate sint<sup>7</sup> a nobis huius seculi facultates,  
380 nostra autem possessio regnum celorum est. Noli  
appetere aliena, ne a tuis fias extraneus.  
Cotidianum uictum sufficere tibi contentus esto.  
Quicquid superfluum est, proice abs te tanquam  
propositi tui impedimentum. Ne cupias fieri  
385 locuples, ne in temptationes incidas<sup>8</sup> et in laqueos  
diaboli.

IX. Caueto fili auariciam, quia radix omnium  
malorum ab apostolo est nominata. Pecuniarum  
cupidus iam animam suam uenalem habet, si enim

- 
1. Missing in A and Hr.
  2. A: subicias. ab.
  3. Hr: eium.
  4. A: mentem dedicasti.
  5. A: a[d erased]mittat.
  6. H.: Domino.
  7. Hr: sunt.
  8. A: inc[e emended to i]das.

390 inuenerit tempus pro nichilo perpetrabit  
homicidium. Et sicut qui infundit aquam super  
terram ita est ei effundere<sup>1</sup> sanguinem proximi sui.  
Plerique per auaricie ardorem in mortis periculum  
inciderunt. Propter auariciam Acharmi<sup>2</sup> cum suis  
395 omnibus lapidatus est. Propter auariciam Saul  
alienus a Domino effectus est, et ad extremum de  
culmini<sup>3</sup> regali expulsus<sup>4</sup> ab inimicis suis  
peremptus est. Et Achab propter auariciam<sup>5</sup>  
inuasit uineam Naboth<sup>6</sup>, et huius rei gratia in  
400 prelio uulneratus defunctus est.

X. Dominus noster et salvator a corde  
Phariseorum<sup>7</sup> uolebat pecuniarum amorem excludere,  
sed quia illi erant cupidissimi, salutaria eius  
monita deridebant. Nam et illum diuitem quem  
405 Deus<sup>8</sup> / uocans ad regna celorum facultates suas  
uendere percepisset<sup>9</sup>, et auiditas intrare non

---

1. A: ita est effundere.

2. A: acar filius charmi; Hr: acharmicum.

3. Hr: culmine.

4. Hr: expulsus est.

5. A: achab per auariciam

6. A: naboht.

7. A: fariseorum.

8. Hr: Dominus.

9. A: percepit; Hr: percepit.

sinit. Et Jude pectus auariciae ardore exarsit,  
ut Deum largitorem sibi cunctorum bonorum in manus  
traderet impiorum. Auarus enim<sup>1</sup> uir inferno  
similis est. Infernus enim<sup>2</sup> quantoscumque  
deuorauerit non dicit satis est, sic et si omnis  
thesauri terrae confluxerint in auarum non  
satiabitur. Alienum te facito fili ab hoc uitio,  
et uoluntariam paupertatem libenter assume.

*End of Anglo-Saxon text*

---

1. Missing in Hr.

2. Hr: autem.

## APPENDIX B

A provisional list of Manuscripts containing portions or all of the Admonitio.

Section I: Manuscripts located in British Libraries.

### **Cambridge**

#### Cambridge University Library

CUL Hh.1.4. 1618.7, ff. 89b-97b, 14C. Listed A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. 5 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1858)  
III: 239.

CUL Hh.1V. 13. 1669.9 ff. 102b-111, with list of chapters following, 15C. Listed CUL Cat. III: 297.

#### Corpus Christi College

G.17 (i), late 13C. Listed in James, M. R. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. 2 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1912)  
II: 403, no. 469.

#### Gonville and Caius College

C M A 1137. 18b, late 12C/early 13C. Listed in James, M.



R. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. 2 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1906) I: 245, no. 210.

Pembroke College

Pembroke 25. Item 90, 82-97. Edited by Cross, J. E. Cambridge Pembroke College Ms. 25. King's College London Medieval Series I (London, 1987) 160.

Peterhouse College

203.8, 129b-136, early 15C. Listed in James, M. R. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (Cambridge: CUP, 1899) 239.

207.18. (Liber militiae Christaniae, alias monita B. Basilius Caesariensis Cappadociae episcopi, beg. Audi fili ammonitionem), 14C. Listed in Schenkl, H. Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britanniae. 10 vols. (Vienna, 1891) III: 74, no. 2689.

246. I.28, 150b-152b, ends imperfectly, 14C. Listed in James, as above, 300.

Trinity College

O.2.29. 8, 92-104a, 13C. Listed in James, M. R. The

Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, 4 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1902) III: 122, no. 1133.

St John's College

153.2, (Inc. prol. regule b. Basilii ep. Capadocie: "Audi fili ammon(n)cionem patris tui" f. 61: Inc. Regula "Si ergo cupis fili militare deo" f. 61b), late 15C. Listed in James, M. R. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: CUP, 1913) 186.

**Dublin**

Trinity College 312.20, f. 73-79, late 14C. Listed in Colker, M. L. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts in Trinity College Library, Dublin. 2 vols. (Trinity College Library Dublin: Scholar Press, 1991) I: 624.

**Durham**

Durham Cathedral Library B. 3.8. (4. Basilii Regulae; 5. Monita Basilii), 14C. Listed in Schenkl XIX: 95, no. 4427.

### **Edinburgh**

Edinburgh New College Med. 3, art. 3, 13C. Noted in Kristeller, P. O. Iter Italium. 5 vols. (London, 1989) IV: 19b; Laing, J. A Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the New College, Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1868): 935-37; Ker, N. R. Mediaeval Manuscripts in British Libraries. 4 vols. (Oxford, 1977) II: 532-34. Ker (532) notes that ff. 59-60<sup>V</sup> are blank.

### **Fort Augustus**

Rat. 1 Patristica 1080, ff. 1-11, 11C. Dicta Sancti Basilii ad exhortandos monachos, inc. "Audi Fili", with 25 numbered chapters. Listed by Ker, Medieval Manuscripts II: 849, described by Forbes, A. P. "An account of a Ms. of the 11th C by Marianus of Ratisbon." Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, VI (1841-6): 33-40. Ker (846): "a book written for the most part by Marianus, founder of the Irish community at Regensburg in 1075".

### **Glasgow**

Hunterian Museum Ms 114.1, f. 1-22, 14C, beg. "udi fili ammonicionum patris tui". Listed in Young, J. and P. Henderson Aitken. A Catalogue of the Mss in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1908) 115.

## **Hereford**

Hereford Cathedral Library P.1.1.5, f. 11<sup>v</sup>-14, mid-12C, ends ch. xii "quia in conspectu Domine". Listed in Mynors, R. A. B. and R. M. Thomson. Catalogue of the Mss of Hereford Cathedral Library. (Cambridge: Brewer, 1993) 64.

**Lambeth**, see London

## **Lincoln**

Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Ms 77 A (3.4) art. 2, ff. 47-50<sup>v</sup>, 12C, "[A]udi fili mi admonitionem. Cupio enim te instruere ...". Listed in Thomson, R. M. Catalogue of Mss in the Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1989) 55. ..."adjacent (near the head of f. 1) are Omelie Basilii prec'x.s' in an early 14C anglicana hand". The Ms was in Lincoln by the early 14C, owned by J. Warsop, (Canon of Lincoln 1361-86, who also owned BL Royal 13 E.i).

## **London**

### Lambeth

Codex Lambethani 378 I. art. 2, "inc. doctrina Christianorum S. Basilii Capadocie ep. "Audi Fili admonitionem fratris tui", 13C. Listed in James, M. R. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Mss in the Library of Lambeth Palace (Cambridge: CUP, 1932) 521. Originally came from

Lanthony (near Gloucester), p. xviii.

British Library

British Library Add. Ms 62129, late 12C-13C. Listed in Kristeller IV: 83b. From Fountains Abbey. (Formerly owned by Sir Henry Ingleby, Baronet, and held at Ripley Castle, Yorkshire, as Ms 4. 1 (beg; Basilii monita, ut facile carissime frater). Also listed in Schenkl LXXII: 50, no. 4800, and The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, New Series 1981-85. Part II, Index (The British Library: London, 1994) 377.

BL. Add. Ms 2275, misc. Basilius, monita f. 205-7, 14C. Listed in Kristeller IV: 55a.

BL. Arundel Ms 181, 12C. Listed in The Arundel Mss. A Catalogue of Mss in the British Museum, New Series Part I, (London, 1846) 49.

BL. Harley 3395, St Basil, Regula, 14C. Listed in Kristeller IV: 178a, also Watson, A. G. Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c 700-1600, in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library. 2 vols. (London: British Museum Publications, 1979) I: 141, no. 801.

Royal 5.F.X, art. 5, monita Sancti Basilii, f. 80b-93b. 12C. Listed in Warner, G. F. and J. P. Gilson. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's

Collections. 4 vols. (London, 1921) I: 123.

Royal 8.D.VIII, art. 29, Regula S. Basilii, f. 124b-131.  
"The Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem", divided into 19  
lectiones, 12C. Listed in Warner and Gilson I: 247.  
Belonged to Lanthony New Priory.

Royal 5.E.IV, Basil, admonitio, f. 87b, inc. "Audi Fili",  
late 12C. Listed in Warner and Gilson I: 113, also  
Kristeller IV: 194b.

Royal 8.F.V, art. 4, f. 63, Ammonitio Sancti Basilii; inc.  
"Audi fili, ammonitionem", 13C. Listed in Warner and  
Gilson I: 263-4, also Kristeller IV: 195a. Belonged to  
Augustine Abbey of Bristol.

Royal 7.D.XVII, art. 14, "Exhortatio patris ad filium de  
suscipiendo spirituali militia [a 15C hand adds the title  
'Ammoniciones b. Basilii ad monachos'], ff. 242b-247b,  
13C. Listed in Warner and Gilson I: 190. Belonged to  
Carthusian monastery of Sheen, Surrey.

Royal 8.F.XIV, art 17, f. 157, Regula beati Basilii ad  
monachos; the Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem, inc. "Audi,  
fili, admonicionem (Prov. 1. v. 8), ff. 157-61, late 13/  
early 14C. Listed in Warner and Gilson I: 271. Belonged  
to Bury St Edmunds.

Royal 7.C.I, art. 27, inc. "Audi fili ammonicionem etc",  
f. 430, without title or author's name, 14C. Listed in  
Warner and Gilson II: 176. Belonged to Ramsey Abbey.

Royal 7.D. XXI, art. 5, "Incipiunt ammoniciones beati  
Basilii", ff. 127-133b, 14C. Listed in Warner and Gilson  
I: 191.

### **Oxford**

#### Bodleian Library

Hatton 76, ff. 55-67, Old English, 11C. Listed in Ker, N.  
R. Catalogue of Mss containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford:  
Clarendon, 1957) 388, no. 328A, art. 2; "The division of  
the chapters and their numbering I-X agree with the Latin  
text in Ms Bodley 800 (Sum. Cat. 2658) s. xii". Also in  
Sum. Cat. no. 4125B. Mentioned in Ogilvy, J. D. A. Books  
known to the English 597-1066, Mediaeval Academy of  
America (Cambridge, Mass. 1967) 98, (see Dekkers, Clavis  
Patrum Latinorum 257, no. 1155a) and Lapidge, M.  
"Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England." Learning  
and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Ed. M. Lapidge and  
H. Gneuss (Cambridge: CUP, 1985) 63.

Bodley 800, ff. 91-99, 12C. Listed in Sum. Cat I: 476,  
no. 2658.2

Hatton 97, f. 52-62 (Liber Augustini de milicia

spirituali, "though the piece is more commonly ascribed to Basil"), 15C. Listed in Sum. Cat II: 826, 4070.4.

Junius 68, transcript of Hatton 76, 17C. Listed in Sum. Cat II: 979, no. 5179.

Ballard 58, transcript of Hatton 76, 18C. Listed in Sum. Cat III: 166, no. 10844.

#### Merton College

E.1.4, late 13C, Anselm, opuscular, with works of Bernard etc, followed by a series of distinctiones f. 117b, beginning "Quatuor sunt iudicia" and the "admonitio ad filium spiritualem" (Printed Migne PL cii (sic): 683) falsely attributed to Basil of Caesarea. Listed by Powicke, F. M. The Mediaeval Books of Merton College, Oxford, (Oxford, 1931) 237, no. 1216.

#### **Winchester**

Winchester Cathedral and Chapter Ms 14, art. 3, ff. 40-9, 12C. Listed in Ker, Manuscripts in British Libraries IV: 591 (written in England. Probably at Winchester in 12C) 592.



## **Worcester**

### Worcester Cathedral Library

F. 75. 9, Regula Basilii, (inc. f. 115, "Audi fili admonitionem") 13C. Listed in Schenkl XVIII: 51, no. 4313; Floyer, J. K. Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral, rev. and ed. S.G. Hamilton, Worcester Historical Society (Oxford, 1906) 37.

Q. 27. 11, Regula Basilii ad nouicios, (inc. f. 222, "Audi fili") 14C. Listed in Schenkl XVIII: 69, no. 4349; Floyer and Hamilton 122.

## Section II: Manuscripts in non-British Libraries.

(Manuscripts noted by Lehmann are identified by (L) before his sigla; those noted by Kristeller are identified by K., followed by volume and page number).

## **Basle**

Univ.-Bibliothek F.III [(L)B]

Univ.-Bibliothek A. VI 6 (K. V: 43)

### **Brussels**

- Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1 8084-8107 (K. III: 96)
- " " " 15111-15128 (K. III: 102)
- " " " II 2313 (K. III: 109)
- " " " 8261-8270 (K. III: 116)

### **Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania**

- Bryn Mawr College Library, 18 (K. V: 223)

### **Darmstadt**

- Hessische Landes -und Hochschulbibliothek 2768 (K. III: 513)

### **Dresden**

- Sächsische Landesbibliothek A 69 (K. III: 374)

### **Dubrovnik**

- Dominikanski Samostan 36 I 27 (K. V: 438)

### **Dusseldorf**

- Landes -und Stadtbibliothek B 174 (K. III: 522)

## **Florence**

Badia 2774 (K. I: 72)

Biblioteca Moreniana, Fondo Frullani, I, I (K. I: 110)

" " " " E, 120 (K. I: 298)

## **Karlsruhe**

Staatsbibliothek Aug. CLII [(L) A]

## **Koln**

Historisches Archiv de Stadt Koln G B 4 153 (K. III:  
593)

## **Lisbon**

Biblioteca Nacional cod. 1 (K. IV: 460)

" " cod. 24 (K. IV: 460)

## **Madrid**

Biblioteca Nacional 7126, 70-82 (K. IV: 553)

## **Mainz**

Stadtbibliothek 171 (K. III: 604)

" 231 (K. III: 604)

## **Melk**

Stiftsbibliothek 291 (E 81) (K. III: 30)

" 291 G. 44, now 343 (K. III: 31)

**Padua**

Biblioteca Universitaria 1285 (K. II: 16)

**Palermo**

Biblioteca Nazionale 1. F. 11 (K. II: 630)

**Paris**

Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 133 [(L) P]

" " " 10594 (K. III: 246)

" " " 12256 (K. III: 253)

" " " 13594 (K. III: 256)

" " " 13822 (K. III: 256)

" " " 15146 (K. III: 260)

" " " 15696 (K. III: 261)

**Périgueux**

Archives du Département de la Dordogne 21, present shelf-  
mark 172 (K. III: 341)

**St Galle**

Stadtbibliothek (Vadiana) 317 [(L) V]

Stiftsbibliothek 677.7, 10C [(L) G].

Stiftsbibliothek 926, 9C; Regula, trans. Rufinus, with  
Admonitio as Codex, listed as above, 348.

**Salamanca**

Biblioteca Universitaria 2311 (K. IV: 606)

**Salzburg**

S. Paul. Im Lavanttal Stiftsbibliothek 74/3, formerly  
xxviiia 74 (K. III: 44)

S. Peter, Stiftsbibliothek a VI 34 (K. II: 39)

**Trento**

Biblioteca Comunale 2355 (K. III: 190)

**Turin**

Biblioteca Nazionale E. V. 47 (K. II: 179)

**Uppsala**

Universitetsbibliotekat c. 65 (K. V: 19)

**Valencia**

Biblioteca de la Catedral cod. 231 (K. IV: 650)

### **Valladolid**

Biblioteca Universitaria 377.2 (K. IV: 659)

### **Vatican**

Fondo Palatino Latino 556 [(L)L]; (K. II: 391)

" " " 557 [(L) L1]; (K. II: 391)

" " " 362 (K. II: 390)

### **Venice**

Fondo Antico Latino 6.i (2900) (K. II: 216-7)

### **Zadar (former Yugoslavia)**

Nancna Biblioteka 1552/Ms.5 (K. V: 449)

## APPENDIX C

The accent marks in Hatton <sup>76</sup>~~77~~ ff. 55-67 are the work of a scribe rather than the author; similar marks occur on ff. 1-54, and there is no reason to suppose that Ælfric would have annotated this text, even if, as seems unlikely, he had so annotated the Admonitio. Accordingly, the marks constitute a separate critical response to the text; hence I list them here rather than include them on my text.

wé, ær (1)	éác (48)
þeowdóme (4)	cáf (50)
éasternan (8)	wife (52)
wíde (9)	kémpa (57)
bóc, awrát (10)	ongéan (58)
dæle (11)	fýnd (59)
týmde (12)	þé, cámpienne (60)
tæcinge (13)	ongéan, flæsc, blód, þín (62)
awrát, áne, bók (14)	fordónne (64)
déopum (16)	ongéan, gelícan (66)
awrát, nú (17)	ísenne, ísene, býrnan (68)
éác (19)	béo, gewúndod (69)
bóclícan (24)	béo, þín (70)
Gehýr, mín (25)	béo, geléafa, býrnan (71)
éare, ahýld, nú (26)	flán (72)
cámpie (29)	ongéan (73)
Gehýr, béo (31)	móde, mín (75)
swáeran (32)	forþý, forséo, míne, fynd (76)
nú, mínre (33)	wáepna (77)
mé (34)	béon (79)
láre, léornode (36)	þín (80)
wáeron (37)	þín (81)
lár (38)	lífe (82)
nán, mót, þé, genéaláccan (40)	hám (87) gestréones (90)
gewíteð, þínre (41)	underfón (91)
cámpdóme (42) cámpa (43)	béon (94)
þeowdóme (44)	dædum (94)

cámpian (96)  
 gerád (103)  
 gewúndod (104)  
 wéne (104)  
 déađ (105)  
 Bescéawa, cámpast (106)  
 mára, þín (109)  
 stýpel (111)  
 swiđe, héalicne (112)  
 geéndian (115)  
 glíge (116)  
 þíne, fýnd (118)  
 stýpol, weorcstáne (119)  
 getrýwum (122)  
 mínium, béo, án (123)  
 ánum (124)  
 þín, mód (125)  
 ólæceunge, \*gecwéme (126)  
 þé (128)  
 unþéaw (129)  
 Gehýr, nú (131)  
 béo, gepýldi (135)  
 héalde, módes (137)  
 héo, ídel, forséo (139)  
 gewítendlican, wó (139)  
 héo, módinysse (140)  
 ándan (144)  
 forbúge, wísdóm, áséce (145)  
 underþéode, módes, gescéade (147)  
 gescéad, béo (148)  
 mín (150)  
 þín, gelóme (153)  
 þú, dómas, asméast (154)  
 gelíc (155)  
 gréwđ, stréam, wætán (156)  
 gódne, tíman (157)  
 þú, wære, æror (158)  
 mín, béarn (159)  
 þíne, lícion (160)  
 kápđ, wífe, gelíkíe (161)  
 Críste, gelíkian, gecwéman, á  
 (163)  
 wórdum (165)  
 dæđum (166)  
 léas (168)  
 ágen, pæcea (169)  
 scéawiađ (170)  
 fácne (171)  
 \*Uré, ~~swírcen~~<sup>swírcen</sup>, ús, hwílon (172)  
 geswínc, ús (173)  
 hí, ús, þá (174)  
 Nú, wé, hí, láre (175)  
 úre, gescéop, ús (177)  
 ús, úre, néode (178)  
 úre, mágas, ús, gewéman (179)  
 líc, geléafleaste (181)  
 ús (182)  
 wé, weldæda, ús (183)  
 gedwýldum, alýsde (184)  
 écean, lífe (185)  
 ús (186)  
 ús, astáh (187)  
 ús, middanéarde (189)  
 læg, belýcđ (190)  
 éorđan (191)  
 hámas (192)  
 hafenléas, ús (194)  
 ús (195)  
 gedémed, \*unríhtwisum (196)  
 énde (197)  
 démenne (198)  
 lífes (199)  
 \*afedeđ (201)



án (203)  
 þéniað, þénode (204)  
 þwóh, fét, \*háñdum (205)  
 sé, ús (207)  
 hánda (207)  
 róde, éac, fótwyllmas (208)  
 becóm (210)  
 liflican (211)  
 nánum, tálu (212)  
 éac, ús (213)  
 déadan (214)  
 arærde, life, sé, lét, ahón (215)  
 ródegealgan (216)  
 swá, deað, geþrówode (217)  
 arás, deaðe (218)  
 forgéafe, éce, lif, ús (221)  
 ús, edléane, nánés (222)  
 ús, úre, clæne (223)  
 hé, ús, úre (224)  
 life (225)  
 hórde (226)  
 hét, ús, dælan (227)  
 ús, úre (228)  
 ús (229)  
 gást, úre, mód (230)  
 genéalæcean (231)  
 ús, geþéodan, gódum, þéawum (232)  
 ús (233)  
 éac, úre, fácne (234)  
 sé, gelícað (235)  
 gecígéd, untwýlice (236)  
 sé, geháten (237)  
 béarn, æfre (238)  
 drófi, mód (241)  
 tále (243)  
 téonan (244)  
 téonan, gedó (245)

sé, færð (246)  
 mín, béarn, þinum (248)  
 gódes (249)  
 þín, ágen (250)  
 Læt, geléafan (251)  
 léofne, béo, gemýndig (252)  
 án, sóða, gescéop (253)  
 æswicunga (254)  
 mislícað, dó (255)  
 geþéon, góde (256)  
 béo, þín (257)  
 mistímað (258)  
 Adræf, þínre, sáwle (259)  
 onténde, þíne, nateshwón (260)  
 þinum (261)  
 únmihtigum (262)  
 þín (263)  
 gehíwodre (264)  
 képe (265)  
 wórd (266)  
 módes (267)  
 mód, gelícað (269)  
 híwunga (270)  
 Dó, híwunge (271)  
 þé, nateshwón, þinum, fácnes (272)  
 tæl (273)  
 béo, þín (274)  
 læt (276)  
 fóh, æror (277)  
 adræf, hátheortnysse (278)  
 móde (279)  
 ándigendan (281)  
 á (282)  
 gelíc (283)  
 drífað, út, sáe (284)  
 hú, wínd, \*blæwð (285)  
 gelíc (287)

wóðlice, abíteð, scéap (288)  
wínéarde, gelíc (289)  
góde, grówende (290)  
wæðlunge (291)  
aswíndeð (293)  
oncnáwen (294)  
éac (296)  
hátheortnysse (297)  
gemánan (298)  
geféra (299)  
fordón (300)  
éagan (301)  
fúlre (302)  
scéawie (303)  
wíte (304)  
mín, béarn, þíne, ágene (305)  
læt, béon, fúlum (306)  
\*Awénd, þíne, wífmanna (307)  
læs, þé, belúce (308)  
nateshwón, þé (309)  
gelædan (310)  
máran (310)  
híwa, þú, mín, béarn (311)  
gá, mæðena, húsum (312)  
mótian, þín, mód, béo (313)  
ýdelan (314)  
þínce, hefityme, mine, spræce  
(315)  
gelyf, sóð(316)  
gán, gelærda, (317)  
wífmanna, mótian (318)  
sóna, awéndað (320)  
clængeorman (323)  
tolýsede (324)  
unþéawum (325)  
mægðhád, góðnysse (326)  
ágenum (327)  
þéawum (328)  
mót, fúlre (329)  
beháted (330)  
mægðhád (331)  
énde (335)  
behét (336)  
ná, beháttest (337)  
æne, behéte (338)  
nánre (340)  
mín (342)  
forléose (343)  
wífmanna (345)  
fýre, wiðlígeð (346)  
líc (347)  
béon (351)  
ágenre (352)  
forséarað, scínende (354)  
\*wyrtum, wéaxað (355)  
onsígendre (358)  
<sup>geéndat</sup>  
~~geéndat~~ (359)  
þín, sawl, ídel (360)  
énde (361)  
sténce, únwynsumnysse (362)  
andsæte, sténc (363)  
nán (364)  
áxie (366)  
gáf, spræc, ídelan (368)  
aléde (369)  
úrmon, ýrnende, flód (370)  
hí, ætywdon (371)  
geéndung (372)  
awénde, þín, mód (374)  
awénd (375)  
úres, béo (376)  
scínendum, léomum (377)  
gewéndeð (378)  
þínes (380)

þé, úngewiss (381)  
 geféan (382)  
 fácna, þín, fót (386)  
 \*árleasum (387)  
 gódnysse (390)  
 \*unríhtlice (392)  
 þé (393)  
 wólice (394)  
 benæmde, néadlunga, ágenes (395)  
 úre, æht (397)  
 bigleofan (398)  
 séc, ná, máre (399)  
 sé (401)  
 awrát (403)  
 féo (404)  
 ofsléan, gerymed (405)  
 mánlice, forwýrde (407)  
 árleasa, líf (408)  
 Achán (410)  
 fákenlice, hereréafe, ær (411)  
 téonlice, stánnum (412)  
 híwum (413)  
 éac (414)  
 hereláfa (415)  
 forþý (416)  
 ríces, bedæled (417)  
 éac (418)  
 Nabóthes, wínearde, wólice (419)  
 swá, Nabóth (421)  
 ær, ágenum, wínearde (422)  
 árleasa, úrne, belæwde (423)  
 ahéng, bréac (425)  
 gelóme (427)  
 adræfan (428)  
 andsæte (429)  
 hálwendan (431)  
 nán, léodscipe, góldes (432)  
 bócum (434)  
 ríce (435)  
 æ (437)  
 unrihtthæm, þú (438)  
 béo, léas (439)  
 þás, æfre (440)  
 \*An (442)  
 wúrð (443)  
 ríce, swá (444)  
 mé (445)  
 ríca, sárig (446)  
 lífe (447)  
 éode (449)  
 gelíc (451)  
 má,x2 (452)  
 á (453)

APPENDIX Cb: DISTRIBUTION OF ACCENTS

1	x x	38	x	75	x x
2		39	-	76	x x x x
3		40	x x x x	77	x
4	x	41	x x	78	
5		42	x	79	x
6		43	x	80	x
7		44	x	81	x
8	x	45		82	x
9	x	46		83	
10	x x	47		84	
11	x	48	x	85	
12	x	49		86	
13	x	50	x	87	x
14	x x x	51		88	
15		52	x	89	
16	x	53		90	x
17	x x	54		91	x
18		55		92	
19	x	56		93	
20		57	x	94	x
21		58	x	95	
22		59	x	96	x
23		60	x x	97	
24	x	61		98	
25	x x	62	x x x x	99	
26	x x x	63		100	
27		64	x	101	
28		65		102	
29	x	66	x x	103	x
30		67		104	x x x
31	x x	68	x x x	105	x
32	x	69	x x	106	x x
33	x x	70	x x	107	
34	x	71	x x x	108	
35		72	x	109	x x
36	x x	73	x	110	
37	x	74		111	x

112	x x	154	x x x	195	x
113		155	x	196	x x
114		156	x x x	197	x
115	x	157	x x	198	x
116	x	158	x x x	199	x
117		159	x x	200	
118	x x	160	x x	201	x
119	x	161	x x x	202	
120		162		203	x
121		163	x x x x	204	x x
122	x	164		205	x x x
123	x x x	165	x	206	
124	x	166	x	207	x x x
125	x x	167		208	x x x
126	x x	168	x	209	
128	x	169	x x	210	x
129	x	170	x	211	x
130		171	x	212	x x
131	x x	172	x x x x	213	x x
132		173	x x	214	x
133		174	x x x	215	x x x x x
134		175	x x x x	216	x
135	x x	176		217	x x x
136		177	x x x	218	x x
137	x x	178	x x x	219	
138	x x x	179	x x x x	220	
139	x x	180		221	x x x x
140	x x	181	x x	222	x x x
141		182	x	223	x x x
142		183	x x x	224	x x x
143		184	x x	225	x
144	x	185	x x	226	x
145	x x x x	186	x	227	x x x
146		187	x x	228	x x
147	x x x	188		229	x
148	x x	189	x x	230	x x x
149		190	x x	231	x
150	x	191	x	232	x x x x
151		192	x	233	x
152		193		234	x x x
153	x x	194	x x	235	x x

236	x x	277	x x	319	
237	x x	278	x x	320	x x
238	x x	279	x	321	
239		280		322	
240		281	x	323	x
241	x x	282	x	324	x
242		283	x	325	x
243	x	284	x x x	326	x x
244	x	285	x x x	327	x
245	x	286		328	x
246	x x	287	x	329	x x
247		289	x x x	330	x
248	x x x	290	x x	331	x
249	x	291	x	332	
250	x x	292		333	
251	x x	293	x	334	
252	x x x	294	x	335	x
253	x x x	295		336	x
254	x	296	x	337	x x
255	x x	297	x	338	x x
256	x x	298	x	339	
257	x x	299	x	340	x
258	x	300	x	341	
259	x x x	301	x	342	x
260	x x	302	x	343	x
261	x	303	x	344	
262	x	304	x	345	x
263	x	305	x x x x	346	x x
264	x	306	x x x	347	x
265	x	307	x x x	348	
266	x	308	x x x	349	
267	x	309	x x	350	
268		310	x	351	x
269	x x	311	x x x x	352	x
270	x	312	x x x	353	
271	x x	313	x x x x	354	x x
272	x x x x	314	x	355	x x
273	x	315	x x x x	356	
274	x x	316	x x	357	
275		317	x x	358	x
276	x	318	x x x	359	x

360	x x x	401	x	442	x
361	x	402		443	x
362	x x	403	x	444	x x
363	x x	404	x	445	x
364	x	405	x x	446	x x
365		406		447	x
366	x	407	x x	448	
367		408	x x	449	x
368	x x x	409		450	
369	x	410	x	451	x
370	x x x	411	x x x	452	x x
371	x x	412	x x	453	x
372	x	413	x		
373		414	x		
374	x x x	415	x		
375	x	416	x		
376	x x	417	x x		
377	x x	418	x		
378	x	419	x x x		
379		420			
380	x	421	x x		
381	x x	422	x x x		
382	x	423	x x x		
383		424			
384		425	x x		
385		426			
386	x x x	427	x		
387	x	428	x		
388		429	x		
389		430			
390	x	431	x		
391		432	x x x		
392	x	433			
393	x	434	x		
394	x	435	x		
395	x x x	436			
396		437	x		
397	x x	438	x x		
398	x	439	x x		
399	x x x	440	x x		
400		441			

## GLOSSARY

### Note

This glossary lists and defines all words found in the **Text**, and indexes all but very common ones, such as conjunctions, pronouns, the definite article, various forms of beon/wesan and some prepositions. The frequency of such words is indicated in one of three ways: by citing the first six instances followed by etc.; by citing, with page references, Mueller's frequency-count, or, for pronouns, the definite article and forms of beon/wesan, by giving one instance of each form found, with line reference for that form.

The letter Æ follows A; Ð and Ð follow T. The prefix ge- is ignored in alphabeticising words, but the hyphen distinguishes verb forms in the text which do not from those which do always show the prefix. Headwords for nouns are nominative singular; those for pronouns and adjectives are nominative singular masculine. All other forms are cited, with grammatical definition and line reference, except where the spelling of the form does not differ from that of the headword. In such cases, definition and line reference alone are provided. Classes of nouns are indicated by citation of gender; adjectives are assumed to be strong unless defined as weak. Headwords for verbs are infinitives; classes of strong verbs are indicated by arabic numbers 1 - 7 and of



weak verbs by roman numbers I - III. Proper names, including inflected forms, are listed at the end of the glossary. Abbreviations used are:

adj.: adjective	pron.: pronoun
adv.: adverb	vb.: strong verb
conj.: conjunction	wk. vb.: weak verb
def. art.: definite article	anom. vb.: anomolous verb
num.: numeral	pret. pres. vb.: preterite present verb
prep.: preposition	
corr.: correlative	
1, 2, 3: 1st, 2nd, 3rd person	comp.: comparative
	sup.: superlative
	neg.: negative
s.: singular	
pl.: plural	m.: masculine
	f.: feminine
pres.: present	n.: neuter
pret.: preterite	
imp.: imperative	
infl. inf.: inflected infinitive	nom.: nominative
sub.: subjunctive	acc.: accusative
pres. p.: present participle	gen.: genitive
pp.: past participle	dat.: dative
	wk.: weak (of nouns, adjectives)
	subst.: substantive
	poss.: possessive

## A

- a**, adv.; *for ever, always* (163, 282, 379, 453)
- aberan**, vb. 4; *to bear, hold up* (100)
- abitan**, vb. 1; *to devour*; pres. 3 s. **abiteð** (288)
- abysgian**, wk. vb. II; *to occupy, concern oneself*; inf. (95), imp. s. **abysga** (125), pp. **abysgod** (153)
- ac**, conj.; *and, but* (12, 32, 34, 36, 41, 66 etc.)
- acennan**, wk. vb. I; *to give birth to, bring forth*; pp. **akenned born** (189)
- aceorfan**, vb. 3; *to cut off*; imp. s. **aceorf** (127)
- Achab**, see Proper Names
- Achan**, see Proper Names
- adræfan**, wk. vb. I; *to drive away, drive out*; inf. (428), imp. s. **adræfe** (129), **adræf** (259, 278)
- afedan**, wk. vb. I; *to feed, nourish*; pres. 3 s. **afedeð** (201), pret. 3 pl. **afeddon** (174)
- afyllan**, wk. vb. I, with gen. or dat.; *to fill*; pp. **afylled** (246)
- afyrsian**, wk. vb. II, with dat.; *to remove*; sub. pres. 3 s. **afyrsie** (128)
- agen**, adj.; *own, proper*; nom. m. s. (169), acc. n. s. (250, 263), gen. m. s. **agenes** (395), dat. m. s. **agenum**

(422), dat. f. s. **agenre** (352), acc. n. pl. **agene** (305), dat. n. pl. **agenum** (103); **agenum willan**, dat. m. s. *voluntarily* (216, 327)

**ahon**, vb. 7; *to hang*; inf. (215); pret. 3 s. **aheng** (425)

**aht**, (a) n.; *aught, anything, something*; (b) adv. *by any means*; **ne mæg aht** *cannot in any way* (100)

**ahwær**, adv.; *anywhere* (243)

**ahyldan**, wk. vb. I; *to bend, incline*; imp. s. **ahyld** (26), sub. pres. 3 s. **ahylde** (193)

**akenned**, see **acennan**

**alecgan**, wk. vb. I; *to lay down, put aside*; pp. **alede** (369)

**alysan**, wk. vb. I; *to set free, redeem*; pret. 3 s. **alysde** (182, 184)

**alysednys**, f.; *redemption, deliverance*; dat. s. **alysednysse** (220)

**an**, pron. adj. (a) before a noun, *emphatic; one, a single*; nom. f. s. (123), nom. m. s. (253), nom. n. s. (442); (b) after a noun or pronoun, *used adverbially; alone*, dat. m. s. **anum** (43, 124); (c) *unemphatic; a certain*, acc. f. s. **ane** (14); (d) adv.; **on an**, *continuously, at one time* (203)

**geanbidian**, wk. vb. II, with gen.; *to expect* (93)

**and**, conj.; *and* (6, 7, 8, 17, 19, 26 etc.) (166 times, Mueller, p. 69)

**anda**, wk. m.; *envy, enmity*; acc. s. (144)

**andgit**, n.; *understanding; perception*; acc. s. (384), dat. s. **andgite** (16)

**andian**, wk. vb. II *to feel envy*; pres. p. **andigendan** adj. *resentful*, acc. m. s. (281)

**andsate**, adj.; *hateful*; nom. m. s. (363, 429)

**andwlita**, m.; *face, appearance*; dat. s. **andwlitan** (295, 297), acc. pl. (303)

**andwyrđan**, wk. vb. I; *to answer*; pret. 3s. **andwyrde** (439, 441)

**anginn**, n.; *beginning*, nom. s. (117)

**apostol**, m. *apostle*, nom. s. (403)

**aræran**, wk. vb. I; *to raise (from the dead)*; pret. 3 s. **arærde** (215)

**arisan**, vb. 1; *to arise*; pret. 3 s. **aras** (218)

**arleas**, adj.; *wicked, impious*; wk. nom. m. s. as subst. **arleasa** (408, 423), dat. pl. **arleasum** (387)

**ascyrian**, wk. vb. II; *to separate, divide*; pres. 3 pl. **ascyriað** (393)

**asecan**, wk. vb. I; *to search for*; sub. pres. 3 s. **asece** (145)

**asecgean**, wk. vb. III; *to narrate, tell out*; inf. (183)

- asmeagan**, wk. vb. III; *to imagine, conceive*; pres. 2 s. **asmeast** (154)
- astigan**, vb. 1; (a) *to descend*; pret. 3 s. **astah** (187);  
(b) *to ascend*, pret. 3 s. **astah** (219)
- astyrian**, wk. vb. II; *to stir up, arouse*; imp. s. **astyra**  
(254, 261)
- aswindan**, vb. 3; *to dwindle, waste away*; pres. 3 s. **aswindedō** (293)
- asyndrian**, wk. vb. II; *to separate, divide*; pres. 3 pl. **asyndriaō** (393)
- aweg**, adv.; *away* (449)
- awendan**, wk. vb. I; *to turn, change, convert*; imp. s. **awend** (301, 307, 375), pres. 3 pl. **awendaō** (320), sub. pres. 2 s. **awende** (374), pp. **awended** (362)
- aweorpan**, vb. 3; *to cast away*; pres. 2 s. **awyrpst** (151),  
pres. 3 s. **awyrpō** (77), sub. pres. 3 s. **awyrpe** (136)
- awreccan**, wk. vb. I; *to arouse*; imp. s. **awrece** (32)
- awritan**, vb. 1; *to write, record*; pret. 3 s. **awrat** (10, 14, 17, 403), pret. pl. **awriton** (1, 434)
- awyrged**, adj.; (pp. of **awyrgan**) *accursed, damned*; wk. gen. m. s. **awyrgedan** (238), acc. m. pl. **awyrgedan** (63)
- awyrpe, awyrpst, awyrpō**, see **aweorpan**
- axian**, wk. vb. II; *to ask*; pres. 1 s. **axie** (366)

## Æ

**æ**, f.; *law, esp. divine law*; acc. s. (437)

**æfre**, adv.; *ever* (47, 50, 63, 144, 157, 198 etc.)

**æfter**, prep. with dat.; *after*, **æfter þam þe** (203)

**ægðer**, (a) conj.; **ægðer ge ... ge both ... and** (137);  
adj. *each of two, both*, dat. m. s. **ægðrum** (331)

**æht**, f.; *possession, goods, property*; nom. s. (397); acc.  
pl. **æhta** (443, 447), gen. pl. **æhta** (409)

**ælc**, pron. adj.; *each, every, any*; nom. f. s. (41), nom.  
n. s. (396); acc. m. s. **ælcne** (129 x 2, 251), acc.  
f. s. **ælce** (136, 259), dat. m. s. **ælcum** (45,  
234, 285), dat. f. s. **ælcere** (55, 328)

**ælfremed**, adj.; *apart, separated, estranged*; nom. m. s.  
(94, 396); acc. m. s. **ælfremedne** (453)

**æلميhtig**, adj.; *almighty*; nom. m. s. (191); wk. nom. m.  
s. **æلميhtiga** (169), wk. dat. m. s. **æلميhtigan** (338)

**æne**, adv.; *once* (338)

**ænig**, pron. adj.; *any*; dat. m. s. **ænigum** (119, 254);  
*anyone* (43, 97, 126)

**ær**, (a) adv.; *formerly, previously* (1, 10, 422); **ær þam  
þe before** (78); **on ær, formerly** (411); (b) **ærran**,  
comp. adj. acc. m. s. *former* (359); (c) **æror**, comp.  
adv.; *earlier, previously* (158, 277, 367)

**æswicung**, f.; *offence, scandal*; acc. pl. **æswicunga** (254)

**æt**, prep. with dat.; *at (the hands of), from* (37, 93, 200, 383, 435)

**ætberstan**, vb. 3; *to escape*; pres. 3 s. **ætbyrst** (348)

**ætgædere**, adv.; *together, at the same time* (98)

**æteowan**, wk. vb. I; *to appear*; pret. 3 pl. **atywdon** (371)

## B

**Basilius**, see Proper Names

**bād**, see **biddan**

**be**, prep. with dat.; *concerning, about, by* (1, 15, 174, 175, 216, 327); **be dæle** *in part* (12); **be þam þe** *according to* (434)

**bearn**, n.; *son, child, offspring*, nom. s (25, 150, 159, 248, 305, 311, 351); acc. s. (238); dat. s. **bearne**, (123), dat. pl. **bearnum** (87)

**bebod**, n.; *command, order*; acc. pl. **bebodu** (164), **beboda** (168), dat. pl. **bebodum** (49, 56)

**bebyrian**, wk. vb. I; *to bury*, inf. (181); pp. **bebyrged** (217)

**beceapian**, wk. vb. II; *to sell*; imp. s. **beceapa** (443)

**becuman**, vb. 4; *to befall, come to be, become*; pres. 2 s. **becymst** (381), pres. 3 s. **becymð** (117), pret. 3 s. **becom** (210), sub. pres. 2 s. **becume** (304)

**bedalan**, wk. vb. I; *to deprive of*; pp. **bedæled** (417)

**befeallan**, vb. 7, with **on** and acc.; *to fall into*; pres.  
3 s. **befealō** (105, 401)

**befylan**, wk. vb. I; *to defile, profane*; inf. (329)

**begitan**, vb. 5; *to acquire, obtain*; inf. (130, 150), pres.  
3 s. **begite** (132)

**behatan**, vb. 7, with dat. *to promise*; pres. 2 s. **behatet**  
(337), **behatst** (338), pres. 3 s. **behateō** (330), pret.  
2 s. **behete** (339), pret. 3 s. **behet** (336), pret. 3 pl.  
**beheton** (321)

**behydan**, wk. vb. I; *to conceal*; pret. 3 s. **behydde** (411)

**beladian**, wk. vb. II; *to excuse*; inf. (53)

**belawan**, wk. vb. I; *to betray*; pret. 3 s. **belawde** (423)

**belifan**, vb. 1; *to remain*; pres. 3 s. **belifō** (364)

**belucan**, vb. 2; *to enclose, exclude*; pres. 3 s. **belycō**  
(190), sub. pres. 3 s. **beluce** (*exclude*) (308)

**benaman**, wk. vb. I; *to deprive*; pp. **benamede** (395)

**Benedictus**, see Proper Names

**beon/wesan**, anom. vb.; *to be*; (one example of each form)  
inf. **beon** (326), imp. s. **beo** (31), pres. 2 s. **bist**  
(155), pres. 3 s. **biō** (50) **byō** (268), pres. 3 pl.  
**beoō** (324) sub. pres. 3 s. **beo** (69), pres. 3 s. **is**  
(61) **ys** (253), pres. 3 pl. **synd** (34) **syndon** (83), neg.



pres. 3 s. **nis** (432), pret. 2 s. **wære** (158), pret. 3 s. **wæs** (2), pret. pl. **wæron** (37)

**beran**, vb. 4; *to bear (fruit), carry*; pres. 3 s. **byrð** (68, 157, 290), infl. inf. **to berenne** (83)

**besargian**, wk. vb. II; *to lament, be sorry for*; imp. s. **besarga** (258)

**besceawian**, wk. vb. II, *to consider*; imp. s. **besceawa** (106)

**besmitan**, vb. 1; *to defile, infect*; pp. **besmiten** (314)

**besmitennys**, f.; *pollution, defilement*; dat. s. **besmitennysse** (329, 340)

**bestapan**, vb. 6; *to step upon*; sub. pres. 3 s. **bestæppe** (386)

**beswican**, vb. 1; *to seduce, betray*; pp. **beswicen** (342, 418), **beswiken** (414)

**beswingan**, vb. 3; *to beat, flog*; pp. **beswungen** (213)

**bet**, comp. adv.; *better* (262)

**biddan**, vb. 5; *to ask for, pray*; pres. 1 s. **bidde** (373), imp. s. **bide** (383), pres. 3 s. **biddeð** (222), pret. 3 s. **bæd** (209)

**bigleofa**, wk. m.; *food, sustenance*; acc. s. **bigleofan** (398)

**bilewit**, adj.; *innocent*; wk. acc. pl. **bilwitan** (172) **bilewitan** (288)

**bilewitnys**, f.; *innocence*; dat. s. **bilewitnysse** (311)

**bisceop**, m.; *bishop*; nom. s. (2)

**biö**, see **beon**

**biternys**, f.; *bitterness, grief*; dat. **biternysse** (365)

**blawan**, vb. 7; *to blow*; pres. 3 s. **blawö** (285)

**bliss**, f.; *bliss, joy*; nom. s (257), dat. **blisse** (295, 378, 379)

**ge-blissian**, wk. vb. II; *to rejoice*; sub. pres. 3 pl. (118); imp. s. **blissa** (257), pres. 3 s. **blissaö** (292)

**blod**, n.; *blood*; acc. s. (62)

**blostma**, wk. m.; *blossom, flower*; nom. pl. **blostman** (354)

**boc**, f.; *book*; acc. s. **boc** (10, 14), dat. pl. **bocum**, (434)

**boclic**, adj.; *of books, scholarly*; wk. dat. f. s. **boclican** (24)

**bodung**, f.; *preaching*; dat. s. **bodunge** (211)

**breac**, see **brucan**

**broöor**, m., (undecl. in s. except dat.); *brother*; acc. s. (239, 240, 252, 264)

**brucan**, vb. 2; *to enjoy*; pret. 3 s. **breac** (425)

**buton**, prep. with dat.; *without* (43, 55, 171, 223, 234, 285 etc.)

**burh**, f.; *city*; dat. s. **byrig** (2)

**byrð**, see **beran**

**gebyrian**, wk. vb. II, *to pertain to, belong to*; pres. 3 s. **gebyrað** (19)

**byrig**, see **burh**

**byrne**, f.; *corselet*; acc. s. **byrnan** (68), dat. s. **byrnan** (71)

**byrðen**, f.; *burden*; nom. s. (84); dat. s. **byrðene** (102)

**bysgu**, f.; *care, occupation*; dat. pl. **bysgum** (95)

**bysmor**, m.; *shame*; dat. s. **to bysmore shamefully** (118)

**byð**, see **beon**

## C

**caf**, adj.; *bold, ready*; nom. m. s. (50)

**campdom**, m.; *warfare*; dat. s. **campdome** (42)

**campian**, wk. vb. II; *to do battle, fight*; inf. (42, 58, 96); pres. 2 s. **campast** (106), pres. 3 s. **kampað** (57), pres. pl. **campiað** (46, 48), imp. s. **campa** (43), sub. pres. 3 s. **campie** (29), pres. p. **campiende** (23), infl. inf. **to campienne** (60)

**canst**, see **cunnan**

**Cesarea**, see Proper Names

**ceaf**, n.; *chaff*; acc. s. (346)

**cempa**, wk. m.; *a soldier* (54); **kempa** (50, 57), dat. s.  
**kempan** (61, 110)

**geceosan**, vb. 2; *to choose*; pp. **gecoren** (417)

**cepan**, wk. vb. I; (a) *to desire, intend*; imp. s. **kep**  
(272), sub. pres. 2 s. **kepe** (265); (b) *be mindful of*,  
pres. 3 s. **kepō** (161)

**gecigan**, wk. vb. I; *to name, call*; pp. **geciged** (236)

**cildclaō**, n.; *swaddling cloth*; dat. pl. **cildclaōum** (190)

**cildhad**, m.; *childhood*; dat. s. **cildhade** (333)

**cining**, **cyning**, m.; *a king*; nom. s. (107, 414) **kining**  
(418); dat. s. **cininge** (46, 48, 108) **kininge** (52,  
106), gen. s. **kyninges** (56)

**clæne**, adj.; *pure, undefiled*; acc. f. pl. (223), dat. f.  
s. **clænre** (323)

**clængeorn**, adj.; *eager for purity*; wk. dat. m. s.  
**clængeornan** (323)

**clænnes**, -ys, f.; *purity, chastity*; acc. s. **clännysse**  
(137), dat. s. **clænnesse** (4), **clännysse** (22, 334)

**cniht**, m.; *a young man*; dat. pl. **cnihtum** (332)

**gecoren**, see **geceosan**

**costnere**, m.; *a tempter*; gen. s. **costneres** (401)

**gecostnian**, wk. vb. II; *to tempt*; pp. **gecostnod** (202)

**costnung**, f.; *temptation*; dat. s. **costnunge** (401), acc.  
pl. **costnunga** (385)

**Crist**, see Proper Names

**cucu**, adj.; *alive*; nom. m. s. (60), nom. m. pl. **kuce** (198)

**cuman**, vb. 4; *to come*; imp. s. **cum** (445), pres. 3 s. **cymō**  
(197)

**cunnan**, pret. pres. vb.; (a) *to be able*; sub. pres. 2 s.  
**cunne** (385); (b) *to know*; pres. 2 s. **canst** (437)

**gecweman**, wk. vb. I, with dat.; *to please*; inf. (163),  
imp. s. **gecweme** (126)

**ge-cweðan**, vb. 5; *to say, speak*; inf. (75), pres. 3 s.  
**gecwyoð** (243), pret. 3 s. **cwæð** (24, 437)

**cyle**, m.; *chill*; dat. s. **cyle** (356, 399)

**cymō**, see **cuman**

**gecyrran**, wk. vb. I; *to return*; pres. 3 s. **gecyrō** (86)

**cyssan**, wk. vb. I; *to kiss*; sub. pres. 2 s. **kysse** (265)

## D

**Dauid**, see Proper Names

- dæd**, f.; *a deed*; acc. pl. **dæde** (245), dat. pl. **dædum** (94, 166, 268)
- dæg**, m.; *a day*; gen. s. **dæges** *by day* (23), dat. s. **dæge** (218), gen. pl. **daga** (203), dat. pl. **dagum** (15)
- dæghwamlice**, adv.; *daily* (178)
- dæl**, m.; *part, portion*; dat. s. **be dæle**, *in some part* (11)
- dælan**, wk. vb. I; *to share, distribute*; inf. (227); imp. s. **dæl** (443)
- dead**, adj.; *dead*; wk. acc. m. pl. **deadan** (214)
- dearr**, see **durran**
- deað**, m.; *death*; nom. s. (359); acc. s. **deað** (105, 217), dat. s. **deaðe** (185, 218)
- dema**, m.; *judge*; dat. pl. **demum** (196)
- ge-deman**, wk. vb. I; *to judge*; pp. **gedemed** (196), infl. inf. **to demenne** (198)
- deofol**, m.n.; *a, the devil*; gen. s. **deofles** (238, 241), dat. s. **deofle** (202), acc. pl. **deoflu** (23), gen. pl. **deofla** (299)
- deop**, adj.; *profound*; dat. n. s. **deopum** (16)
- derian**, wk. vb. I, with dat.; *to injure*; pret. 3 s. **dereðe** (212)
- digolnys**, f.; *secrecy*; dat. s. **digolnysse** (267)

**dimnys**, f.; *darkness*; dat. s. **dimnysse** (377)

**dom**, m.; *judgement*; acc. pl. **domas** (154)

**ge-don**, anom. vb.; (a) *to do*; imp. s. **do** (255), pres. 3 s. **deð** (178), pres. 3 pl. **doð** (275), pret. 3 s. **dyde** (212), sub. pres. 3 s. **gedo** (245); (b) *to keep, put from*; imp. s. **do** (271, 453); (c) *to put to*; pret. 3 pl. **dydon** (209)

**drifan**, vb. 1; *to drive*; pres. 3 pl. **drifað** (284)

**Drihten**, m.; *the Lord*; nom. s. (440), gen. s. **Drihtnes** (20), dat. s. **Drihtne** (231)

**drihtenlic**, adj.; *divine*; wk. dat. f. s. **drihtenlican** (184, 214)

**drincan**, vb. 3; *to drink* (209)

**drofi**, adj.; *disturbed*; acc. n. s. (241)

**drohtnung**, f.; *way of life, conduct, discipline*; dat. s. **drohtnunge** (7), dat. pl. **drohtnungum** (121)

**durran**, pret. pres. vb.; *to dare, presume*; pres. 3 s. **dearr** (53)

**dust**, n.; *dust*; dat. s. **duste** (353)

**gedwyld**, n.; *error*; dat. pl. **gedwyldum** (184)

**dysig**, n.; *folly*; acc. s. **dysi** (145)

E

**eac**, adv.; *also* (19, 208, 213, 234 etc.); *swa eac so too* (48)

**eadig**, adj. , wk. nom. m. s. as subst.; *eadiga blessed* (1)

**eage**, wk. n.; *eye*; acc. pl. **eagan** (301)

**ealdor**, m.; (*spiritual*) *superior*; dat. pl. **ealdrum** (21)

**eall**, adj.; *all*; acc. n. s. (220, 440), acc. f. s. **ealle** (141, 191) dat. f. s. **eallre** (160), acc. m. pl. **ealle** (253), acc. n. pl. **ealle** (194), gen. n. pl. **eallra** (403), dat. pl. **eallum** (15, 47, 88, 162, 198 etc.)

**eall**, adv.; *entirely* (358)

**eallswa**, adv.; *likewise* (354)

**eallunga**, adv.; *entirely* (138)

**earfoþe**, adj.; *difficult*, nom. m. s. (97)

**earm**, adj.; *wretched*; wk. nom. m. pl. **earman** (209)

**eastern**, adj.; *eastern*; wk. nom. m. pl. **easternan** (8)

**eaþe**, adv.; *easily*; (100, 242, 348)

**eaþhylde**, adj.; *satisfied, content*; nom. f. s. (149)

**eaþmodnys**, f.; *humility*; acc. s. **eaþmodnysse** (141), dat. s. **eaþmodnysse** (188)

**ece**, adj.; *eternal*; acc. n. s. (221), wk. dat. m. s. **ecean** (185), dat. m. pl. **eceum** (195)



- edlean**, n.; *reward*; gen. s. **edleanes** (93), dat. s. **to edleane** *in return* (222)
- eft**, adv.; *afterwards, again* (116, 287)
- egle**, adj.; *loathsome*, nom. m. s. (364)
- ende**, m.; *end*; dat. s. (197); **on ende**, *at the last, finally* (335, 361)
- endeleaslice**, adv.; *endlessly* (382)
- geendian**, wk. vb. II; *to bring to an end, conclude*; inf. (115); pres. 3s. **geendað** (359), pp. **geendod** (78)
- geendung**, f.; *conclusion*; nom. s. (372); dat. s. **geendunge** (117)
- engel**, m.; *angel*; nom. pl. **englas** (204), dat. pl. **englum** (299, 397)
- Englisc**, see Proper Names
- eode**, see **gan**
- eornost**, f.; *seriousness*; acc. s. **on eornost** *seriously* (96, 131)
- eorðe**, f., *earth*; acc. s. **eorðan** (191)
- eorðlic**, adj.; *earthly, temporal*; wk. nom. m. s. **eorðlica** (50, 57), gen. n. s. **eorðlices** (90, 91), wk. dat. m. s. **eorðlican** (46, 108), dat. f. pl. **eorðlicum** (94)
- eorðwela**, wk. m.; *earthly wealth, riches*; acc. pl. **eorðwelan** (101)

**estfull**, adj.; *kindly, liberal*; wk. nom. f. pl. **estfullan**  
(366)

**Exameron**, see Proper Names

## F

**facn**, n.; *deceit*; gen. s. **facnes** (272), dat. s. **facne**  
(171, 234), acc. pl. **facna** (386)

**fadung**, f.; *dispensation, ordering*; dat. s. **fadunge** (174)

**fakenfull**, adj.; *deceitful*; wk. nom. m. s. as subst.  
**fakenfulla** (266), acc. f. s. **fakenfullan** (271), comp.  
nom. m. s. **fakenfullra** (80)

**fakenlice**, adv.; *deceitfully, fraudulently* (411)

**faran**, vb. 6; *to go*; inf. (51, 53), pres. 2 s. **færst** (39,  
88), pres. 3 s. **færð** (246, 247)

**fæder**, m., (undecl. except in dat. pl.); (a) *spiritual  
father*; nom. s. (5), gen. s. (25); dat. pl. **fæderum**  
(37); (b) *God, the Father*; dat. s. (219); (c) *human  
father*; nom. s. (172)

**fæger**, adj.; *fair, beautiful; (of words) pleasing*; acc.  
n. pl. **fægere** (266), dat. f. pl. **fægerum** (205)

**fægernys**, f.; *beauty*; gen. s. **fægernysse** (373), dat. s.  
**fægernysse** (375)

**fæstan**, wk. vb. I; *to fast*; pret. 3 s. **fæste** (203)

**gefæstnian**, wk. vb. II; *to fasten*; pret. 3 s. **gefæstnode**  
(207)

**feagt**, see **feohtan**

**gefea**, m.; *joy*; dat. s. **gefean** (382)

**feallan**, vb. 7; *to fall*; pret. 3 s. **feoll** (420)

**fela**, indecl. pron. and adj.; *many, a multitude of* (206,  
447)

**feoh**, n.; *wealth, money*; dat. s. **feo** (404)

**gefeoht**, n.; *fight, battle*; dat. s. **gefeohte** (51, 420)

**feohtan**, vb. 3; *to fight*; pres. 3 s. **fyht** (81), pret. 3 s.  
**feagt** (410)

**feoll**, see **feallan**

**feond**, m. s.; *enemy, (the) devil*; nom. s. (80, 81), acc.  
s. (58, 67, 74, 89, 100); **fynd**; acc. s. (76), nom.  
pl. (118), acc. pl. (59)

**feorr**, adv.; *far* (271)

**feowertig**, num.; *forty* (203)

**gefera**, wk. m.; *companion*; nom. s. (299)

**fet**, see **fot**

**flæsc**, n.; *flesh*; acc. s. (62)

**flæsclic**, adj.; *carnal*; nom. f. s. **flæsclice** (128), wk.  
acc. f. s. **flæsclican** (127)

- flan**, m.; *arrow*; acc. s. (72)
- fleogan, fleon**, vb. 2; *to fly*; pres. 3 pl. **fleoð** (64)
- flod**, n.; *water, tide*; nom. s. (370)
- folgian**, wk. vb. II, with dat.; *to follow*; sub. pres. 3 s. **folgie** (142)
- folc**, n.; *people, nation*; dat. s. **folke** (413)
- fon**, vb. 7; *to grasp, seize*; imp. s. **foh** (277)
- for**, prep. with dat.; *for, for the sake of, instead of*;  
(13, 20, 52 x 2, 71, 91, 92 etc.)
- forbeodan**, vb. 2; *to forbid*; pp. **forboden** (411), pp. as  
adj., wk. nom. f. pl. **forbodenan** (415)
- forberan**, vb. 4; *to forbear, endure*; inf. (242)
- forbugan**, vb. 2; *to avoid, refrain from*; sub. pres. 3 s. **forbuge** (145)
- fordon**, anom. vb.; *to destroy, bring to ruin*; infl. inf.  
**to fordonne** (64), pp. **fordon** (300)
- foregenga**, wk. m.; *predecessor*; nom. pl. **foregengan** (37)
- foresceawung**, f.; *providence*; nom. s. (123, 173)
- forgifan**, vb. 5; *to give*; pret. 3 s. **forgeafe** (221), sub.  
pres. 3 s. **forgife** (383)
- forhogian**, wk. vb. II; *to scorn, reject*; sub. pres. 3 s. **forhogige** (149)

**forlædan**, wk. vb. I; *to mislead, seduce*; pret. 3 pl.  
**forlæddon** (367)

**forlætan**, vb. 7; *to relinquish, abandon*; pres. 2 s.  
**forlætst** (152), pres. 3 s. **forlæteð** (101), infl. inf.  
**to forlætenne** (448)

**forleosan**, vb. 2; *to lose*; pres. 3 s. **forlyst** (408), pres.  
3 pl. **forleosað** (321), sub. pres. 2 s. **forleose** (343)

**forniman**, vb. 4; *to take away, waste, consume*; pp.  
**fornumen** (358), pp. as adj., nom. m. pl. **fornumene**  
(356)

**foroft**, adv.; *very often* (361)

**forrotian**, wk. vb. II; *to corrupt, rot, putrify*; pp.  
**forrotod** (325)

**forsearian**, wk. vb. II; *to wither, dry up*; pres. 3 s.  
**forsearað** (354)

**forseon**, vb. 5; (a) *to scorn, despise*; pres. 1 s. **forseo**  
(76), pres. 3 s. **forsihð** (270), sub. pres. 3 s. **forseo**  
(138); (b) *to overlook*; imp. s. **forseoh** (309)

**forswelgan**, vb. 3: *to devour, swallow up*; pres. 3 s.  
**forswelgeð** (452)

**forþam**, adv.; *therefore, for that reason* (420), **forþan**  
(180); **forþam þe**, *because* (80, 105, 169, 266, 280,  
390 etc.)

**forðfaran**, vb. 6; *to depart, die*; pp. **forðfarene**, *dead*  
(180)

**forþy**, adv.; *for that reason, therefore* (76, 112, 416),  
**forþig** (373)

**forwyrd**, f.: *loss, destruction*, dat. s. **forwyrde** (407)

**fot**, m.; *foot*; nom s. (386), acc. pl. **fet** (205)

**fotwylm**, m.; *the sole of the foot*; acc. pl. **fotwylmas**  
(208)

**fram**, prep. with dat.; *from, by* (41, 45 x2, 69, 77, 94,  
127 etc.)

**frecednys**, f.; *danger*; acc. s. **frecednysse** (105)

**gefredan**, wk. vb. I; *to feel*; pret. 3 s. **gefredde** (201)

**freond**, m.; *friend*; nom. s. (158)

**ful**, adj.; *foul*; dat. f. s. **fulre** (302, 329), dat. f. pl.  
**fulum** (306)

**full**, adj.; *satisfied, full*; nom. m. s. (450)

**fullfremed**, adj.; *perfect*; nom. m. s. (442)

**furðor**, adv.; *further, superior* (108)

**fyht**, see **feohtan**

**fylgan**, wk. vb. I, with dat.; *to follow*; imp. s. **fylig**  
(445)

**gefylsta**, m.; *support, helper*; nom. s. (75)

**fynd**, see **feond**

**fyr**, n.; *fire*; nom. s. (346)

**gefyrn**, adv.; *formerly* (36)

## G

**gaf**, adj.; *lewd, wanton*; nom. f. s. (368)

**gamenung**, f.; *jesting*; nom. pl. **gamenunga** (368)

**gan**, anom. vb.; *to go, to walk*; inf. (312, 317), pret. 3 s. **eode** (449)

**gast**, m.; *spirit, (Holy) Spirit*; acc. s. (230), nom. pl. **gastas** (63)

**gastlic**, adj.; *spiritual*; wk. acc. m. s. **gastlican** (67), acc. n. s. **gastlice** (29), wk. dat. n. s. **gastlican** (92), wk. acc. n. pl. **gastlican** (67, 99, 113), dat. m. pl. **gastlicum** (21), dat. f. pl. (121)

**ge ... ge**, corr.; *both ... and* (137)

**gealga**, m.; *gallows*, dat. s. **on rode gealgan**, *on the gallows cross* (216)

**gealla**, m.; *gall*; acc. s. **geallan** (210)

**gearcian**, wk. vb. II; *to prepare*; pres. 3 s. **gearcað** (279)

**gearo**, adj.; *prepared*; nom. m. s. (50)

**geoc**, n.; *yoke, a collar*; nom. s. (84), acc. s. (101)

- geogoð**, f.; *youth*; dat. s. **geogoðe** (441)
- geond**, prep. with acc.; *throughout* (64)
- geornfulnys**, f.; *eagerness, diligence*; dat. s. **geornfulnysse** (33)
- geornlice**, adv.; *earnestly* (31)
- gif**, conj.; *if* (38, 39, 42, 101, 117, 124 etc.)
- gifu**, f.; *gift, reward*; acc. s. **gife** (90), acc. pl. **gife** (92)
- gingra**, (comp. of adj. **geong**, as subst., m.) *disciple*; gen. pl. **gingrena** (205)
- gitsera**, m.; *miser, avaricious man*; nom. s. (404)
- gitsiende**, adj.; *covetous*; wk. nom. m. s. **gitsienda** (450)
- gitsung**, f.; *avarice*; acc. s. **gitsunge** (149, 392, 408, 410, 414, 429), dat. s. **gitsunge** (402)
- gegladian**, wk. vb. II; *to gladden*; pres. 3 s. **gegladað** (230, 390)
- glæd**, adj.; *bright, cheerful*; dat. m. s. **glædum** (295)
- glig**, n.; *mockery, ridicule*; dat. s. **to glige**, as a *laughing stock* (116, 431)
- God**, see Proper Names
- god**, (a) adj.; *good*; acc. m. s. **godne** (157), dat. f. s. **godre** (117), acc. m. pl. **gode** (290), dat. pl. **godum**



(232); (b) n.; *virtue, goodness*; gen. s. **godes** (249),  
dat. s. **on gode, in virtue** (256, 292)

**godnys**, f.; *goodness, virtue*; dat. s. **godnysse** (326, 390)

**godspell**, n.; *gospel*; nom. s. (200); dat. s. **godspelle**  
(336)

**godspellic**, adj.; *evangelical*; nom. f. s. **godspellice**  
(211)

**gold**, n.; *gold*; acc. s. (226), gen. s. **goldes** (432),  
dat. s. **golde** (121)

**goldhord**, m.; *treasure*; acc. s. (444)

**grædig**, adj.; *greedy, avaricious*; nom. m. s. (432), nom.  
m. pl. **grædie** (430)

**Grecisc**, see Proper Names

**gegremian**, wk. vb. I; *to enrage, anger*; pp. **gegremed** (268)

**grewð**, see **growan**

**grinu**, n. f.; *snare, trap*; acc. pl. (401), dat. pl. **grinum**  
(387)

**growan**, vb. 7; *to grow, flourish*; pres. 3 s. **grewð** (156),  
pres. p. **growende** (290)

**gylt**, m.; *sin, offence*; acc. pl. **gyltas** (309)

H

**habban**, wk. vb. III; *to have, possess, own*; inf. (66, 114, 228, 229, 339, 436), pres. 2 s. **hæfst** (444), pres. 3 s. **hæfō** (194, 240, 247, 251, 286, 298), pres. pl.

**habbað** (85, 226), imp. s. **hafa** (250, 263, 454), pret. 3 s. **hæfde** (447), pret. pl. **hæfdon** (431), sub. pres. 2 s. **hæbbe** (398), sub. pres. 3 s. **hæbbe** (225), sub. pres. 3 pl. **habban** (335)

**had**, m.; *estate, order*; dat. s. **hade** (331)

**hafenleas**, adj.; *lacking means, needy*; nom. m. s. (194)

**gehalgian**, wk. vb. II; *to dedicate, promise*; pret. 2 s.

**gehalgodest** (305), pp. **gehalgod** (330), (as adj.) nom. n. pl. **gehalgode** (341)

**halig**, adj.; *holy*; nom. m. s. (2), nom. f. s. **halige** (38),

wk. nom. m. s. **halga** (337), wk. acc. m. s. **halgan** (230, 341), wk. dat. m. s. **halgan** (219), n. (336), f. (427), wk. nom. n. pl. **halgan** (114), dat. pl. **halgum**, m. (37, 88, 299, 328), n. (74)

**halwende**, adj.; *salutary*; wk. acc. f. s. **halwendan** (431)

**ham**, (a) adv. *homewards* (87); (b) m.; *home*; acc. pl.

**hamas** (192)

**hand**, f.; *hand*; acc. pl. **handa** (190, 207), dat. pl. **handum**

(205, 206)

**handlian**, wk. vb. II; *to handle*; pres. 3 s. **handlað** (347)

**hatan**, vb. 7; *to command*; pret. 3 s. **het** (227)

**gehatan**, vb. 7; *to call, name*; pp. **gehaten** (16, 237)

**hatheortnys**, f.; *rage, anger*; acc. s. **hatheortnysse** (278, 297)

**hatian**, wk. vb. II; *to hate*; pres. 3 s. **hatað** (237, 240)

**hatung**, f.; *hate, hatred*; nom. s. (260); acc. s. **hatunge** (247)

**hæfð**, see **habban**

**Hælend**, m.; *Saviour*, see Proper Names

**hæs**, f.; *command, order*; dat. pl. **hæsum** (47)

**he** m., **heo** f., **hit** n., pron. 3rd person; (one example of each form) nom. m. s. **he** (6), nom. f. s. **heo** (133), nom. n. s. **hit** (97), acc. m. s. **hine** (53), acc. f. s. **hi** (39), gen. m. s. **his** (14), gen. f. s. **hire** (133), dat. f. s. **hyre** (132), nom. m. pl. **hi** (47), **hy** (180), **hig** (334), nom. f. pl. **heo** (19), acc. m. pl. **hi** (175), **hy** (318), gen. pl. **hyra** (9), **hire** (308), dat. pl. **him** (177)

**heafod**, n.; *head*; nom. s. (70), acc. s. (193)

**heafodmann**, m.; *elder, leader*; dat. pl. **heafodmannum** (428)

**ge-healdan**, vb. 7; *to keep, guard, govern, observe*; inf. (164); pres. 3 s. **healdeð** (168) **healt** (270), **gehealdeð**, *governs* (192), pret. 1 s. **geheold**, *observed* (440), sub. pres. 3 s. **healde**, *should guard* (137), pres. p., dat. f. s. **gehealdenre** (22), pp. **gehealden**, *satisfied* (398)

**healic**, adj.; *lofty*; acc. m. s. **healicne** (112)

**hearm**, m.; *injury, damage, harm*; gen. s. **hearmes** (265)

**gehefegian**, wk. vb. II; *to oppress, weigh down*; pp.  
**gehefegod** (31, 102)

**hefityme**, adj.; *wearisome, grievous*; nom. n. s. (315)

**hell**, f.; *hell*; dat. s. **helle** (451)

**helm**, m.; *helmet*; nom. s. (70), acc. s. (68)

**heo**, see **he**

**heofon**, m.; *heaven*; gen. s. **heofenan** (436), acc. pl.  
**heofenas** (192), gen. pl. **heofena** (444), dat. pl.  
**heofenum** (219) **heofonum** (88, 397)

**heofonlic**, adj.; *heavenly, divine*; wk. nom. m. s.  
**heofenlica** (107), wk. acc. f. s. **heofenlican** (93),  
wk. dat. m. s. **heofenlican** (48), n. (188, 225), wk.  
acc. n. pl. (152), dat. pl. **heofonlicum** (49)

**heorte**, wk. f.; *heart*; nom. s. (376); acc. s. **heortan**  
(170, 260, 384), dat. s. (27, 38, 151, 166, 264, 276  
etc.), dat. pl. **heortan** (428)

**herelaf**, f.; *spoil, plunder*; nom. pl. **herelafa** (415)

**herereaf**, f.; *booty*; dat. s. **herereafe** (411)

**herung**, f.; *praise*; dat. pl. **herungum** (154)

**het**, see **hatan**

**hetol**, adj.; *hostile, fierce, evil*; dat. m. s. **hetolum**

(297)

**hi, hig, him, see he**

**hiwan**, m. pl.; *members of a household, household*; dat. pl. **hiwum** (413)

**ge-hiwian**, wk. vb. II; *to pretend*; imp. s. **hiwa** (311), pp. as adj., dat. f. s. **gehiwodre** (264)

**hiwung**, f.: *pretence, hypocrisy, deceit*; acc. s. **hiwunge** (271), dat. s. (328), acc. pl. **hiwunga** (270)

**hlaford**, m.; *lord*; dat. pl. **hlafordum** (98)

**hleahter**, m.; *laughter*; nom. s. (369)

**hluttur**, adj.; *pure, unsullied*; nom. n. s. **hluttre** (269), dat. f. s. **hluttre** (166)

**gehlyd**, m.; *tumult, disturbance*; dat. s. **gehlyde** (45)

**hlystan**, wk. vb. I; *to listen, to hear*; imp. s. **hlyst** (27)

**hlywō**, f.; *shelter, protection*; acc. s. **hlywōe** (399)

**hogian**, wk. vb. II; *to consider, to take care*; imp. s. **hoga** (112)

**hord**, m. n.; *hoard, treasury*; dat. s. **horde** (226)

**hraðe**, adv.; *quickly, immediately* (55, 278, 420)

**hremming**, f.; *impediment, obstruction*; dat. s. **hremminge** (55)

**hreppan**, wk. vb. I; *to touch*; sub. pres. 2 s. **hreppe** (345)

- hu**, adv.; *how, in what way* (29, 161, 436); **swa hu swa**, *howsoever* (285)
- hundfeald**, adj.; *hundred-fold*; wk. acc. f. s. **hundfealdan** (335)
- hungor**, m.; *hunger*; acc. s. (201)
- hus**, n. *house*; dat. pl. **husum** (312, 318)
- hwa**, m. f., pron.; *who, what*; acc. m. s. **hwene**, *anyone* (256), dat. m. s. **hwam** (305)
- hwær**, adv., and conj.; *where* (366, 368)
- hwæt**, n. pron.; *what* (27, 131); *somewhat* (258)
- hwil**, (a) f.; *time*; dat. s. **hwile** (81); (b) adv. **þa hwile þe**, *for as long as* (60)
- hwilc**, pron. & adj.; *which, what kind of*; nom. f. s. (132, 351); dat. m. s. **hwilcum** (106), n. (30)
- hwilon**, adv.; *once, formerly* (172); *sometimes* (275)
- hwyder**, adv.; *whither* (193); **swa hwyder swa**, *wherever* (51)
- gehyran**, wk. vb. I; *to hear, listen to, (with dat.) to obey*; imp. s. **gehyr** (25, 31, 131), pret. 3 s. **gehyrde** (449), infl. inf. **to gehyrenne** (315)
- hyra, hyre**, see **he**
- gehyrsumian**, wk. vb. II, with dat.; *to obey*; inf. (49, 55), pres. 3 pl. **gehyrsumiað** (47)

**I**

**ic**, personal pron. 1 s.; *I* (27, 28, 35, 76, 123, 366 etc.), dat. **me** (34, 351, 445)

**idel**, adj.; *useless, idle, vain*; acc. n. s. (138); wk. nom. f. pl. **idelan** (368); as adv.; *in vain* (360)

**inngehigd**, n.; *thought, conscience*; nom. s. (350); dat. s. **innegehigde** (123)

**innra**, wk. adj.; *inner*; gen. m. s. **innran** (120)

**isen**, adj.; *of iron*; acc. m. s. **isenne** (68), acc. f. s. **isene** (68)

**Israhela**, see Proper Names

**Iudas**, see Proper Names

**Iudeisc**, see Proper Names

**K**

**kampað**, see **campian**

**kempa**, see **cempa**

**kep / kepe**, see **cepan**

**kining / kyning, see cining**

**kuce, see cucu**

**kysse, see cyssan**

## L

**lang, adv.; long, swa lange swa, for as long as (82)**

**lar, f.; teaching, instruction, doctrine; nom. s. (38, 211), dat. s. lare (24, 34, 35, 36, 175, 427), acc. pl. lare (17)**

**lareow, m.; teacher; nom. s. (6); nom. pl. lareowas (434)**

**lað, adj.; grievous; nom. f. pl. laðe (448)**

**gelæccan, wk. vb. I; to seize, trap; pp. gelæht (387)**

**læg, see licgan**

**gelædan, wk. vb. I; to lead, convey; pret. 3 s. gelædde (185), sub. pres. pl. gelædan (310)**

**gelæht, see gelæccan**

**læran, wk. vb. I; to instruct, teach; inf. (28, 35); pp. gelæred learned (6), as wk. adj., nom. m. s., gelæreda (317)**

**læs, conj. with sub.; þe læs þe, lest (116, 308, 310)**



**læssa**, comp. adj.; *lesser*; nom. n. pl. as subst. **læssan**  
(310)

**lætan**, vb. 7; (a) *to allow*; imp. s. **læt** (276, 306),  
pret. 3 s. **let** (215); (b) *to hold, consider*; imp. s.  
**læt** (251)

**geleafa**, wk. m.; *belief, faith*; nom. s. (71); acc. s.  
**geleafan** (251)

**geleaffull**, adj.; *faithful, believing*; dat. f. s.  
**geleaffullre** (27)

**geleafleast**, f.; *unbelief*; dat. s. **geleafleaste** (181)

**leahtor**, m.; *vice, sin*; acc. s. (129), dat. s. **leahtre**  
(453)

**leas**, adj.; *false* (168, 439)

**leasung**, f.; *lying, falsehood*; acc. s. **leasunga** (141)

**Leden**, see Proper Names

**leodscipe**, m.; *nation, people*; nom. s. (432)

**leof**, adj.; *dear, beloved*; nom. m. s. (440); acc. m. s.  
**leofne** (252), wk. dat. m. s. **leofan** (85, 231), comp.  
nom. f. pl. **leofran** (415)

**leofast**, **leofað**, see **libban**

**leoht**, adj.; *light (in weight)*; nom. f. s. (84)

**leohte**, adv. *lightly, easily, leniently*; comp. **leohtre**  
(11). (BT gives *clearer* for this phrase)

**leoma**, m.; *light, ray of light*; dat. pl. **leomum** (377)

**leornian**, wk. vb. II; *to learn*; pret. 1 s **leornode** (36)

**libban**, wk. vb. III; *to live*; pres. 2 s. **leofast** (82),  
pres. 3 s. **leofað** (239), pres. 3 pl. **libbað** (9, 20),  
pres. part. (from **lifian**, wk. vb. II) as adj., acc. m.  
s. (as epithet only for God), **lifiendan** (159, 167)

**lic**, n.; *body*; acc. s. (347), acc. pl. (181)

**gelic**, adj., with dat.; *similar to, like*; nom. m. s. (155,  
283, 287, 289, 451)

**gelica**, wk. m.; *equal*; acc. s. **gelican** (66)

**licgan** (**licgean**), vb. 5; *to lie, remain*; inf. (276); pret.  
3 s. **læg** (190), sub. pres 3 s. **licge** (349)

**lichama**, wk. m.; *body*; gen. s. **lichaman** (137, 147, 343,  
353, 373, 389), acc. pl. **lichaman** (345)

**lichamlice**, adv.; *physically* (349)

**ge-lician**, **gelikian**, wk. vb. II, with dat.; *to please*;  
inf. **gelikian** (163), pres. 3 s. **gelicað** (38, 235,  
269), pres. 3 pl. **likiað** (319), sub. pres. 3 s.  
**gelikie** (161), sub. pres. 3 pl. **licion** (160)

**lif**, n.; *life, way of life*; acc. s. (9, 221, 408), gen. s.  
**lifes** (199, 380), dat. s. **life** (225, 248), **on life**,  
*in the world* (82, 193, 254, 400, 447), **to life**, *to*  
*(eternal) life* (185, 215)

**liffetung**, f.; *flattery, adulation*; nom. pl. **liffetunga**  
(367)

**lifiendan**, see **libban**

**liflic**, adj.; *living, life-giving, of life*; dat. f. s.  
**liflican** (211)

**lim**, n.; *limb*; nom. s. (274), acc. s. (250, 263), acc. pl.  
**lima** (305), **limu** (341)

**liõe**, adj.; *gentle, pleasing*; nom. f. pl. **liõan** (367)

**lof**, n.; *praise, glory*; dat. s. **Gode to lofe**, as *praise to God* (9)

**gelome**, adv.; *often, frequently* (153, 427)

**losian**, wk. vb. II; *to fail, to perish*; pret. 3s. **losode**  
(410)

**lufian**, wk. vb. II; *to love*; inf. (164, 175, 176, 182, 233  
x2, 352), pres. 2 s. **lufast** (380), pres. 3 s. **lufaõ**  
(101, 105, 171, 235, 239, 279), pret. 2 s. **lufodest**  
(360), pret. 3 s. **lufode** (424), imp. s. **lufa** (159,  
248, 264, 392), sub. pres. 2 s. **lufie** (165), sub.  
pres. 3 s. **lufie** (133, 139, 141, 143), pres. p.  
**lufigende** (3), infl. inf. **to lufianne** (378)

**luftyme**, adj.; *graceful, pleasant*; dat. n. s. **luftymum**  
(155), nom. f. pl. **luftyman** (319)

**lufu**, f.; *love*; nom. s. (128, 308), acc. s. **lufe** (85, 127,  
307, 375), dat. s. **lufe** (20, 246, 302, 307), wk. dat.  
s. **lufan**, as if from **lufe**, (227)

**lust**, m.; *pleasure, desire*; acc. s. (344), acc. pl. **lustas**  
(147)

**gelustfullian**, wk. vb. II; *to desire, take delight*; imp.

s. **gelustfulla** (302)

**lustfullnys**, f.; *pleasure, desire*; gen. s. **lustfullnysse**  
(364)

**gelyfan**, wk. vb. I; *to believe*; imp. s. **gelyf** (316)

**lyft**, m. f. n.; *air, sky, atmosphere*; acc. s. (64)

**lyre**, m.; *loss, destruction*; dat. s. (348)

**lytel**, adj.; *little*; acc. m. pl. **lytlan** (309)

**lyöre**, adj.; *wicked, base*; dat. m. s. **lyöran** (424)

## M

**ma**, adj. and subst. (comp. of **micale**, *much*); indecl. *more*  
(452 x2)

**macian**, **makian**, wk. vb. II; *to make*; inf. (322); pres.  
3 s. **macaö** (267)

**magan**, pret. pres. vb.; *to be able, may, can*; pres. 2 s.  
**mæge** (115, 130, 262, 312), pres. 3 s. **mæg** (40, 100),  
pres. 1 pl. **magon** (183) pres. 3 pl. (322), pret. 2 s.  
**miht** (30, 79, 150), sub. pres. 3 s **mæge** (351), sub.  
pret 3 s **mihte** (436)

**makian**, see **macian**

**gemana**, m.; *company*; acc. s. **gemanan** (298)

**manega**, **manegra**, see **mænig**

**manlice**, adv.; *wickedly* (407)

**man(n)**, m.; *man, one*; nom. s. (103, 207, 212, 243, 294, 298 etc.); gen. s. **mannes** (120, 291, 347, 357), dat. s. **men** (254, 262), nom. pl. **men** (46, 275, 322), dat. pl. **mannum** (82, 204, 210, 221, 255)

**manna**, wk. m. (sing. only); *man*; acc. **mannan** (251, 438), dat. **to manna to manhood** (177)

**mara**, adj., comp. of **micel**; *greater*; nom. m. s. (109), dat. n. s. **maran** (310); as noun, acc. n. **mare a greater quantity, more** (399)

**mæden**, n.; *a maiden*; gen. pl. **mædena** (312), dat. pl. **mædenum** (319, 332)

**mæg**, m.; *kinsman*; nom. pl. **magas** (179), acc. pl. **magas** (177)

**mæg /mæge**, see **magan**

**mægen**, n.; *virtue*; nom. pl. **mægenu** (114)

**mægöhad**, m.; *virginity*; nom. s. (326, 331)

**mænifeald**, adj.; *manifold*; dat. f. pl. **mænifealdum** (120)

**mænig**, pron. adj.; *many*; nom. n. pl. **manega** (394, gen. m. pl. **manegra** (5)

**mære**, adj.; *great, famous*; comp. **mærra** (107)

**mæst**, adj. (sup. of **micel**); *greatest*; wk. acc. n. s. **mæste** (132)

**me**, see **ic**

- med**, f.; *reward*; acc. s. **mede** (335)
- gemengan**, wk. vb. I; *to mingle, to mix*; inf. (341), pp.,  
acc. n. pl. **gemengede** (306)
- gemet**, n.; *measure, limit, proportion, what is fitting*  
acc. s. (451, 454); dat. s. **gemete** (30), dat. pl.  
**gemetum** (162)
- micel**, **mycel**, (a) adj.; *great*; dat. f. s. **mycelre** (33,  
188); (b) dat. pl. as adv.; **mycelum greatly** (140)
- micele**, **mycele**, adv.; *much* (54, 109, 162); **swa micele swa**  
*by as much as* (107)
- mid**, prep., with dat.; *(together) with, among, by means of*  
(7, 27, 30, 32, 33, 35 etc.)(50 times, Mueller, p. 92)
- middaneard**, m.; *the earth, the world*; dat. s. **middanearde**  
(189)
- miht**, f.; *might, power, virtue*; nom. s. (131, 132, 133,  
135, 140, 143 etc.); acc. pl. **mihta** (130, 150), dat.  
pl. **mihtum** (120)
- miht**, **mihte**, see **magan**
- mihtig**, adj.; *mighty, powerful, influential*; nom. m. s.(6)
- min**, 1st person poss. pron. and adj.; *my, mine*; nom. n. s.  
(25, 150, 159, 248, 305, 311, 342), nom. m. s (75),  
dat. n. s. **minum** (123) dat. f. s. **minre** (33, 441),  
acc. m. pl. **mine** (76), dat. n. pl. **minum** (26, 316)
- mislic**, adj.; *various*; dat. n. pl. **mislicum** (125)

**mislician**, wk. vb. II with dat. *to displease*; pres. 3 s. **mislicaõ** (255)

**mistimian**, wk. vb. II with dat.; *to go amiss, go wrong for*; pres. 3 s. **mistimaõ** (258)

**mod**, n.; *mind, heart, spirit*; nom. s (269, 313), acc. s. **mod** (125, 230, 241), gen. s. **modes** (137, 147, 295) dat. s. **mode** (75, 279)

**modins**, f.; *pride, arrogance*; acc. s. **modinysse** (140)

**modor**, f.; *mother*; nom. s. (172)

**motan**, pret. pres. vb.; *to be able*; pres. 3 s. **mot** (40, 329)

**motian**, wk. vb. II; *to converse with*; inf. (313, 318)

**gemunan**, pret. pres. vb.; *to remember*; imp. s. **gemun** (305)

**munuc**, m.; *monk*; nom. s. (93, 162, 317), nom. pl. **munecas** (8), gen. pl. **muneca** (5), dat. pl. **munecum** (19, 332)

**munuchad**, m.; *monastic order*; gen. s. **munuchades** (5)

**munucregol**, m.; *monastic rule*; acc. s. (7)

**muõ**, m.; *mouth*; dat. s. **muõe** (210)

**myc-**, see **mic-**

**myltestre**, f.; *prostitute*; dat. pl. **myltestrum** (306)

**gemyndig**, adj.; *mindful*; nom. m. s. (252)

**mynecenu**, feminine form corresponding to m. **munuc**; *nun*;

dat. pl. **mynecenum** (19, 332)

**mynegung**, f.; *admonition, exhortation*; acc. s. **mynegunge**  
(25, 431)

**myrhö**, f.; *joy, pleasure*; acc. pl. **myrhöe** (436)

## N

**na**, adv.; *not* (34, 322, 337); **na mare** *nothing more* (399)

**nabban**, wk. vb. III; *not to have*; pres. 3 s. **næfö** (451),  
pret. 3 s. **næfde** (192)

**nacod**, adj.; *naked*; dat. n. pl. **nacodum** (165)

**naht**, adv.; *not at all* (348)

**nahtlic**, adj.; *good for nothing, worthless*; dat. n. pl.  
**nahtlicum** (293)

**nahwær**, adv.; *nowhere* (371)

**nan**, pron. adj.; *none, not one, no-one*; nom. m. s (432),  
nom. n. s. (40, 364), acc. n. s. (451), gen. n. s.  
**nanes** (222), dat. m. s. **nanum**, *nobody* (212), dat. f.  
s. **nanre** (340); **nan þing**, *nothing, in no way* (364)

**nateshwon**, adv.; *not at all* (77, 260, 272, 306; 309)

**næfde**, **næfö**, see **nabban**

**næfre**, adv.; *never* (59, 81, 450)

**nægel**, m.; *nail*; dat. pl. **nægelum** (208)



**ne**, (a) adv.; *not, no* (31, 40 x2, 43, 53, 59, 69 etc.);  
(b) conj.; *nor* (34, 35, 40, 52, 99, 100 etc.)

**neacsta** (**neahsta**, **neaxta**, **niexta**), wk. m.; *neighbour*; acc.  
s. **neacstan** (234), **neahstan** (235), **neaxtan** (237),  
**niextan** (250), gen. s. **niextan** (245), dat. s. **niextan**  
(272)

**neadlunga**, adv.; *forcibly, against one's will* (395)

**genealæcean**, wk. vb. I with dat.; *to approach, draw near*;  
inf. (40, 231)

**nele**, **nelle**, see **nillan**, **nyllan**

**neod**, f.; *need*; acc. s. **us deð ure neode** *does what is*  
*necessary for us* (178)

**niexta**, see **neacsta**

**niht**, f.; *night*; gen. s. **nihtes** *by night* (23)

**nillan**, **nyllan** (**ne willan**); anom. vb.; *not to wish*; pres.  
1 s. **nelle** (35), pres. 3 s. **nele** (165, 340)

**ge-niman**, vb. 4; *to take, seize*; inf. (244), pret. 3 s.  
**genam** (419)

**nis** (**ne is**), see **beon** /**wesan**

**niðful**, adj.; *malicious*; wk. nom. m. s. **niðfulla** (283,  
287, 293, 296, 299), gen. m. s. **niðfullan** (291)

**niwe**, adj.; *new*; dat. f. s. **niwre** (35)

**nu**, adv.; *now* (17, 26, 33, 35, 112, 131 etc.)

**nyðer**, adv.; *down* (187)

**O**

**of**, prep. with dat.; *from, out of* (34, 177, 188, 210, 218, 411, 428)

**ofer**, prep. with dat. or acc.; *over* (173); *beyond* (277)

**oferswypan**, vb. 1; *to overcome*; pres. 2 s. **oferswyðst** (89)

**geoffrian**, wk. vb. II; *to offer* ; pp. **geoffrod** (327)

**ofslean**, vb. 6; *to slay, cut down*; inf. (405); imp. s. **ofsleh** (438), pp. **ofslagen** (420, 422)

**oft**, adv.; *often* (266, 408)

**oftorfian**, wk. vb. II; *to stone to death*; pp. **oftorfod** (412)

**olæceung**, f.; *flattery*; dat. s. **olæceunge** (126)

**on**, prep. with dat. or acc.; *in, on, upon, within* (2, 3, 4 x2, 11, 15, 18 etc.); **on an** *continuously, at one time* (203); **on ende** *at last* (361)

**oncnawan**, vb. 7; *to know, recognize*; pp. **oncnawen** (294)

**ongean**, prep. with dat. or acc.; *against* (58, 62, 63, 66, 67, 73 etc.)

**ongietan**, vb. 5; *to perceive, understand*; pres. 3 s.

**ongitt** (360)

**onlihtan**, wk. vb, I; *to illuminate, enlighten*; pp. **onliht**

(376)

**onscunian**, wk. vb. II; *to abhor, shun*; pres. 3 s. **onscunað**

(134, 281), sub. pres. 3 s. **onscunie** (134, 140),

**onscunige** (144)

**onsigan**, vb. 1; *to approach*; pres. p. as adj., dat. f. s.

**onsigendre** (358)

**ontendan**, wk. vb. I; *to kindle, set fire to*; inf. (346),

sub. pres. 3 s. **ontende** (260)

**orsorh**, adj.; *free from care, safe* (45, 79, 312, 382)

**orsorhnys**, f.; *security, freedom from care*; acc. s.

**orsorhnysse** (286)

**oðer**, pron. adj.; *other, another*; gen. n. s. **oðres** (222),

gen. m. s. (394), nom. m. pl. **oðre** (275), dat. m. pl.

**oðrum** (255)

**oððe**, conj.; *or, and* (226, 243, 317)

## P

**pæcea**, m.; *a deceiver ?* (169). BT notes this usage as the only example of the word.

**preost**, m.; *priest*; nom. s. (317)

R

**gerad**, adj.; *instructed, disposed, conditioned*; nom. m. s.  
(103)

**reccan**, wk. vb. I with gen.; *to be concerned for*; pres. 3  
pl. **recceað** (18)

**regollice**, adv.; *according to (monastic) rule* (20)

**gereord**, n.; *language*; dat. s. **gereorde** (18)

**rica**, wk. m.; *rich man*; nom. s. (446)

**rice**, n.; *kingdom*; gen. s. **rices** (417, 436), dat. s. **rice**  
(444)

**rice**, adj.; *wealthy*; nom. m. s. (435)

**rihtwis**, adj.; *righteous, just*; dat. f. pl. **rihtwisum**  
(166)

**rod**, f.; *the cross*; dat. s. **rode** (208), **rode gealgan on**  
*the gallows-cross* (216)

**Romanisc**, see Proper Names

**geryman**, wk. vb. I; *to make room for, to open*; pp.  
**gerymed**; **gif he swa byþ gerymed** *if he has the*  
*opportunity* (405)

**ryne**, m. or n.; *running, course*; dat. s. (380)

**S**

**Samaritanisc**, see Proper Names

**sarig**, adj.; *sorrowful*; nom. m. s. (446)

**Sawl**, see Proper Names

**sawul**, **sawl**, f.; *soul*; nom. s. (102, 360); gen. s. **sawle**  
(130, 131, 133, 135, 140, 143, 348 etc.), dat. s.  
**sawle** (41, 259, 278, 352), acc. pl. **sawla** (223)

**sæ**, f.; *sea*; dat. s. (284)

**sæde**, **sægð**, see **secgean**

**gesæli(g)**, adj.; *fortunate, blessed*; nom. m. pl. **gesælie**  
(333)

**gescead**, n.; *reason*; nom. s. (148); dat. s. **gesceade** (147)

**sceap**, n.; *sheep*; acc. pl. (288)

**scearp**, adj.; *sharp*; acc. n. s. **scearpe** (72)

**sceatt**, m.; *wealth, treasure*; gen. s. **sceattes** (425), dat.  
s. **sceatte** (424), gen. pl. **sceatta** (406)

**sceawian**, wk. vb. II; *to examine, inspect*; pres. 3 s.  
**sceawað** (170), sub. pres. 2 s. **sceawie** (303)

**sceolan, sculon**, pret. pres. vb.; *to be obliged, must, have to*; pres. 2 s. **scealt** (58, 66, 73, 91 114), pres. 3 s. **sceal** (51, 54, 93, 96, 162, 326), pres. 1 pl. **sceolon** (175, 176, 180, 182), pres. 3 pl. (49), sub. pres. 2 s. **sceole** (352), sub. pres. 3 s. **scule** (53)

**gesceop**, see **gescyppan**

**sceort**, adj.; *brief, short-lived*; acc. m. s. **sceortan** (344)

**sceotian**, wk. vb. II; *to shoot*; inf. (74), pres. 3 s. **sceotað** (72)

**scinende**, pres. p.; (**scinan**, *to shine*); nom. m. pl. **scinende** (354), dat. m. pl. **scinendum** (377)

**scip**, n.; *ship*; dat. s. **scipe** (283)

**gescyppan**, vb. 6; *to create*; pret. 3 s. **gesceop** (177, 253); pres. p. as noun, **Scyppend**, m. *the Creator*, acc. s. (133)

**se**, m.; **seo**, f.; **þæt**, n., dem. pron., dem. adj., def. art.; *that one, that, the, he, she, it, those*, (one example of each form) nom. m. s. **se** (1) (71 times, Mueller, p. 97) acc. m. s. **þone** (67) (9 times, Mueller), gen. m. s. **þæs** (56) (15 times, Mueller), dat. m. s. **þam** (32) (20 times, Mueller), nom. f. s. **seo** (128) 5 times, Mueller), acc. f. s. **þa** (17) (7 times, Mueller), gen. f. s. **þære** (130) (9 times, Mueller), dat. f. s. **þære** (36) (2 times, Mueller), nom. n. s. **þæt** (148) (4 times, Mueller), acc. n. s. **þæt** (29) (11 times, Mueller), gen. n. s. **þæs** (147) (3 times, Mueller), dat. n. s. **þam** (92) (7 times, Mueller), nom. pl. **þa** (8) (12 times, Mueller), acc. pl. **þa** (59) (7 times, Mueller), gen.

pl. **para** (388), dat. pl. **þam** (18) (3 times, Mueller)

**ge-secan**, wk. vb. I; to seek; imp. s. **sec** (399), pret. 3  
s. **gesohte** (187)

**secg(e)an**, wk. vb. III; to say, to tell; inf. (18, 28),  
pres. 1 s. **secge** (27, 123), pres. 3 s. **sagð** (167,  
200), imp. s. **sege** (351), pret. 3 s. **sæde** (427)

**seolfor**, n.; silver; acc. s. (226), gen. s. **seolfres**  
(432), dat. s. **seolfre** (121)

**geseon**, vb. 5; to see; pres. 2 s. **gesihst** (256)

**setlung**, f.; setting (of the sun); dat. s. **setlunge** (277)

**gesettan**, wk. vb. I; to lay down, establish; pret. 3 s.  
**gesette** (7)

**settl**, n.; throne; dat. s. **settle** (188)

**gesewenlic**, adj.; visible; nom. n. s. **gesewenlice** (61),  
acc. m. s. **gesewenlicne** (58)

**sibb**, f.; peace; nom. s. (280); acc. s. **sibbe** (143, 279),  
dat. s. **sibbe** (39, 239, 280)

**gesibsuma**, wk. adj.; peace-loving, peaceable; nom. m. s.  
(282, 286, 289, 294, 298)

**sige**, m.; victory; acc. s. (86)

**gesihtst**, see **geseon**

**gesihð**, f.; sight; dat. s. **gesihðe** (301)

**simle**, adv.; always, continually (45, 142, 249, 328),

**symle** (157)

**six**, num.; *six* (15)

**slæp**, m.; *sleep*; dat. s. **slæpe** (32)

**smyltnes**, f.; *tranquility*; dat. s. **smyltnesse** (246, 282)

**snoter**, adj.; *wise, prudent*; wk. nom. m. s. **snotera** (388),  
acc. f. s. **snotere** (384)

**sona**, adv.; *immediately* (320, 449)

**soð**, adj.; *true*; nom. n. s. (316); wk. nom. m. s. **soða**  
(54, 253, 268)

**sopfast**, adj.; *true, faithful*; wk. gen. m. s. **soðfastan**  
(56)

**soðfastnys**, f.; *truth*; acc. s. **soðfastnysse** (142, 270)

**soðlice**, adv.; *truly* (28, 76, 268, 294)

**spellung**, f.; *conversation, discourse*; acc. pl. **spellunga**  
(314)

**spere**, n.; *spear*; acc. s. (72)

**spræc**, f.; *speech, language*; nom. s. (368), acc. s. **spræce**  
(315), dat. s. **spræce** (11, 33), nom. pl. **spræcea** (319)

**sprecan**, vb. 5; *to speak, utter*; pres. 3 s. **sprecō** (266)

**stan**, m.; *stone*; dat. pl. **stanum** (412)

**stedefast**, adj.; *steadfast*; nom. n. s. (156)



**stenc**, m.; *stench*; nom. s. (363), dat. s. **stence** (362)

**steora**, m.; *helmsman*; dat. s. **steoran** (285)

**stream**, m.; *stream*; acc. s. -(156)

**gestreon**, n.; *wealth, treasure*; nom. s. (396); acc. s. **gestreon** (132), gen. s. **gestreones** (90), acc. pl. **gestreon** (113)

**stypel / stypol**, m.; *tower*; nom. s. (119), acc. s. **stypel** (111), gen. s. **stypeles** (113)

**sum**, pron. and adj.; *some, a certain*; nom. m. s. (435), dat. f. s. **sume** (81)

**sumor**, m.; *summer*; dat. s. **sumera** (355)

**sunne**, wk. f.; *sun*; gen. s. **sunnan** (277)

**sunu**, m.; *son*; nom. s. (236)

**swa**, adv. and conj.; *so, thus, such, as* (48, 104, 109, 187, 188, 333 etc.); **swa swa just as** (8, 22, 191, 200, 250, 275 etc.); **swa ... swa as ... as, so ... as, as ... so** (107, 252, 452); **swa hu swa howsoever** (285); **swa hwyder swa wherever** (51); **swa lange swa for as long as** (82); **swa swilce just as** (263); **swa þeah nevertheless** (12, 176, 350)

**swar**, adj.; *heavy, grievous, painful*; dat. f. s. **swarre** (102), nom. n. pl. **swære** (83), wk. dat. m. s. **swæran** (32)

**swasnes**, f.; *blandishment, fair speech*; nom. pl. **swasnessa** (366)

**sweart**, adj.; *dark*; wk. dat. f. s. **sweartan** (377)

**swerian**, vb. 6; *to swear*; inf. (407)

**geswican**, vb. 1; *to cease*; pres. 3 s. **geswicō** (81), pres. 3 pl. **geswicað** (59)

**swicol**, adj.; *deceitful*; wk. acc. n. pl. **swicolan** (386)

**swilc**, pron. adj.; *such*; nom. m. pl. **swilce** (322), dat. f. pl. **swilcum** (268)

**swilce**, adv. and conj.; *as if, just as* (263, 274, 311)

**geswinc**, n.; *labour, toil*; nom. s. (173), gen. s. **geswinces** (91)

**swincan**, vb. 3; *to labour for*; pret. 3 pl. **swuncon** (172)

**swiðe / swyðe**, adv.; *very, greatly* (2, 3, 6 x2, 16, 84, 97 etc.)

**swiðlic**, adj.; *great, mighty*; dat. f. s. **swiðlicre** (7)

**swuncon**, see **swincan**

**geswutelian**, wk. vb. II; *to make evident, reveal*; pp. **geswutelod** (296)

**swyðor**, adv., (comp. of **swiðe**); *more, more greatly, rather* (54, 162, 170, 176, 292, 293 etc.)

**sylf**, pron. adj.; *self*; nom. m. s. (5, 70, 130, 134, 187, 204), nom. f. s. (135, 146), acc. m. s. **sylfne** (32, 53, 409, 425), gen. m. s. **sylfes** (56, 175), dat. s. **sylfum** (71, 83, 255, 327, 334, 363, 383); with declined form of personal pron. **sylf**; s. (94, 168,

298), pl. **sylfe** (223, 225, 233)

**sylfwill**, n. *own will*; gen. s. **sylfwilles** as adv.  
*voluntarily* (321)

**syllan**, wk. vb. I; *to sell*; pres. 3 s. **sylð** (404)

**symle**, see **simle**

**syngian**, wk. vb. II; *to sin*; pres. 2 s. **syngast** (337)

**synn**, f.; *sin*; dat. pl. **synnum** (182)

**synd**, **syndon**, see **beon / wesan**

**syrwung**, f.; *machination, plotting*; acc. pl. **syrwunga**  
(267)

**syððan**, **syððan**, **syððon**, (a) conj.; *as soon as, when, after*  
(86, 89, 449); (b) adv.; *after, afterwards, since*  
(217, 371, 445)

## T

**tal**, n.; *reproach, blame*; acc. s. **tale** (243)

**talū**, f.; *charge*; acc. s. **dyde talū** was accused (212)

**talian**, wk. vb. II; *to consider, account*; imp. s. **tala**  
(274)

**tæcing**, f.; *teaching, instruction*; dat. s. **tæcinge** (13)

**tælan**, wk. vb. II; *to accuse, blame*; imp. s. **tæl** (273)

**teona**, m.; *injury, insult*; acc. s. **teonan** (245), dat. s. **teonan** (244)

**teonlice**, adv.; *shamefully* (412)

**teran**, vb. 4; *to tear, lacerate*; pres. 2 s. **ter** (273)

**tihting**, f.; *encitement, urging*; dat. s. **tihtinge** (241)

**tima**, wk. m.; *time*; acc. s. **timan** (157)

**timan**, wk. vb. I; *to refer to*; pret. 3 s. **tymde** (12)

**getimbrian**, wk. vb. II; *to build, construct*; pp. **getimbrod** (119)

**getimbrung**, f.; *construction*; dat. s. **getimbrunge** (113)

**to**, (a) prep.; *to, for, as* (9, 13, 19 x2, 26, 33, 51 etc.); (b) prep. with infl. inf.; (*for the purpose of*) *to* (60, 64, 84, 97, 111, 198 etc.); (c) adv.; *too* (315)

**tocnawan**, vb. 7; *to discern, recognize*; inf. (385)

**toforan**, prep.; *beyond, above* (108, 110)

**tolysan**, wk. vb. I; *to destroy*; pp. as. adj., nom. m. pl. **tolysede** (324)

**toswellan**, vb. 3; *to swell up*; pp. **toswollen** (361)

**treow**, n.; *tree*; dat. s. **treowe** (155)

**trummys**, f.; *authority*; dat. s. **trummysse** (13)

**truwian**, wk. vb. II; *to trust*; pres. p. **truwiende** (122)

**getrywe**, adj.; *true, genuine*; dat. f. s. **getrywum** (122)

**twa**, num.; *two*; dat. m. pl. **twam** (98)

**tymde**, see **timan**

**tynan**, wk. vb. I; *to insult, abuse*; pres. 3 s. **tynõ** (243)

**P, Ð**

**pa**, (a) adv.; *then* (24, 174, 209, 412, 446); (b) conj.;  
**pa pa** *then when* (202, 209, 415), **pa hwile þe** *for as  
long as* (60)

**pa**, see **se**

**geþafian**, wk. vb. II; *to consent*; pret. 3 s. **geþafode**  
(207)

**þam**, see **se**

**þara**, see **se**

**þas**, see **þes**

**þar**, adv. and conj.; *there, where* (382)

**þære**, see **se**

**þæs**, see **se**

**þæt**, see **se**

**þæt**, conj.; *that, so that* (44, 53, 69, 115, 126, 130  
etc.) (51 times, Mueller, p. 102)

**þe**, rel. pron., indecl.; *who, which* (10, 15, 17, 20, 36,  
37 etc.) (87 times, Mueller, p. 102)

**þe**, def. art. **þe læs þe**; *lest* (116, 308, 310)

**þe**, see **þu**

- þeah**, adv. and conj.; *although, nevertheless* (12, 104);  
**swa þeah þe nevertheless** (176); **þeah þe although**  
 (245, 262, 349)
- þearfa**, wk. m.; *beggar, poor man*; dat. m. pl. **þearfum**  
 (227, 443)
- þeaw**, m.; *custom, way of behaving (in pl.)*; dat. pl.  
**þeawum** (232, 328)
- þegen**, m.; (a) *nobleman*; nom. s. (410); (b) *attendant*;  
 nom. pl. **þegenas** (22)
- þencan**, wk. vb. I; *to think, intend*; pres. 2 s. **ðencst**  
 (111), imp. s. **þince** (315)
- þenian**, wk. vb. II; *to serve, minister to*; pres. 3 pl.  
**þeniað** (204), pret. 3 s. **þenode** (204)
- þeod**, f.; *people, nation*; dat. s. **þeode** (3)
- geþeodan**, wk. vb. I; *to join, unite*; inf. (232)
- geþeon**, vb. 1; *to thrive, prosper*; inf. (256)
- þeos**, see **þes**
- þeow**, m.; *servant*; nom. s. (158)
- þeowdom**, m.; *service*; dat. s. **þeowdome** (4, 44)
- þeowian**, wk. vb. II with dat.; *to serve*; inf. (30, 124),  
 pres. 3 pl. **þeowiað** (171), pret. 3 pl. **þeowodon**  
 (334), sub. pres. 2 s. **þeowie** (44), pres. p.  
**þeowiende** (21), infl. inf. **þeowienne** (97)
- ðes**, m.; **þeos** f. ; **þis**, n., dem. pron. and adj.: *this*,

*these, that, those* (one example of each form): nom. m. s. **þes** (119), dat. m. s. **þysum** (453), nom. f. s. **þeos** (38), acc. f. s. **þas** (191), gen. f. s. **þysre** (197), nom. n. s. **þis** (372), acc. n. s. **þis(s)** (220, 449), nom. m. pl. **þas** (34)

**þillic**, adj.; *such*; dat. m. pl. **þillicum** (374)

**þin**, poss. pron. and adj.; *thine* (one example of each form), nom. m. s. **þin** (70), acc. m. s. **þinne** (74), gen. m. s. **þines** (25), dat. m. s. **þinum** (272), nom. f. s. **þin** (257), acc. f. s. **þine** (260), gen. f. s. **þinre** (344), dat. f. s. **þinre** (38), nom. n. s. **þin** (62), acc. n. s. **þin** (26), dat. n. s. **þinum** (75), nom. m. pl. **þine** (118), acc. f. pl. **þine** (443), dat. f. pl. **þinum** (261), nom. n. pl. **þine** (160), acc. n. pl. **þine** (301)

**þincan**, wk. vb. I; *to seem to*; imp. s. **þince** (315)

**geþincō**, f.; *dignity, rank, office* (351) (BT does not record nom. s., but "Ælfric does not retain '-u' in the nom. s. of other words of this declension" (Pope 926)

**þing**, n.; *thing*; nom. s. (364, 442), gen. s. **þinges** (222), acc. pl. (134, 139), dat. pl. **þingum** (125, 293); *ealle þing everything* (194, 201); acc. pl. **þingon for the sake of** (406)

**þis**, see **þes**

**þonne**, adv.; *then, when* (39, 155, 168, 180, 237, 360 etc.)

**þonne**, conj. with comparatives; *than* (12, 80, 148, 170, 416)



**þreax**, m. ?; *rotteness* (325)

**þridda**, num. adj.; *third*; dat. m. s. **þriddan** (218)

**geþrowian**, wk. vb. II; *to suffer, endure*; pret. 3 s.  
**geþrowode** (217, 220)

**þu**, pron. 2nd pers.; *thou*; nom. s. (29, 30, 31 x2 etc.)  
(71 times, Mueller, p. 103), acc. s. **þe** (32, 35, 118  
etc.) (8 times, Mueller), dat. s. **þe** (28, 40, 60  
etc.) (25 times, Mueller)

**þurh**, prep. with dat. or acc.; *through, by* (184, 214,  
230, 241, 295, 297 etc.)

**þurhwacol**, adj.; *vigilant*; acc. n. s. (384)

**þus**, adv.; *thus* (103)

**þwean**, vb. 6; *to wash*; pret. 3s. **þwoh** (205)

**þwyr**, adj.; *perverse*; as noun, gen. m. s. **þwyres**  
*perversion* (238)

**geþyldi(g)**, adj.; *patient*; nom. f. s. (135)

## U

**under**, prep.; *under* (21)

**underfon**, vb. 7; *to receive, accept*; inf. (91), pres. 2 s.  
**underfehst** (39), pres. 3 s. **underfehð** (90)

**underþeod**, adj.; *subservient*; dat. m. pl. (as noun)  
**underþeoddum** (261)

**underþeodan**, wk. vb. I; *to subjugate*; sub. pres. 3 s.  
**underþeode** (147)

**ungeleaffullice**, adv.; *unbelievingly, in disbelief* (324)

**ungemetegod**, adj.; *immoderate, excessive*; nom. n. s.  
**ungemetegode** (369)

**ungesewenlic**, adj.; *invisible*; wk. acc. m. s.  
**ungesewenlican** (89), wk. acc. m. pl. (59)

**ungewiss**, adj.; *uncertain*; nom. m. or n. s. (381)

**unmihtig**, adj.; *weak*; dat. m. s. **unmihtigum** (262)

**unrihtþæman**, wk. vb. I; *to commit adultery, fornication*;  
imp. s. **unrihtþæm** (438)

**unrihtlic**, adj.; *unjust, unrighteous*; nom. n. s. (396),  
acc. m. pl. **unrihtlice** (392)

**unrihtlice**, adv.; *unrighteously, unlawfully* (424)

**unrihtwis**, adj.; *unrighteous*; wk. nom. m. s. **unrihtwisa**  
(244), dat. m. pl. **unrihtwisum** (196)

**unrotnys**, f.; *sadness*; dat. s. **unrotnysse** (258)

**unscyldig**, adj.; *innocent*; nom. m. s. (213), wk. acc. m.  
s. **unscyldigan** *the innocent man* (406)

**unstilnes**, f.; *disquietude, disturbance of mind*; acc. s.  
**unstilnesse** (240)

**untwylice**, adv.; *certainly, indubitably* (236, 280)

**unþancwurð**, adj.; *ungrateful*; nom. m. pl. **unþancwurðe**  
(186)

**unþeaw**, m.; *evil custom, vice*; acc. s. (129), dat. pl.  
**unþeawum** (325)

**unwær**, adj.; *incautious, unwary*; wk. acc. m. pl. as subst.  
**unwaran** (64)

**unwynsumnys**, f.; *loathsomeness*; dat. s. **unwynsumnysse**  
(362)

**ure, urne**, 1st person possessive pron. adj.; *our*; nom. m.  
s. (224, 426) acc. m. s. **urne** (423), gen. m. s. **ures**  
(376), dat. m. s. **urum** (231), dat. f. s. **ure** (220),  
acc. n. s. **ure** (230), nom. pl. **ure** (37, 172, 179),  
acc. pl. (177, 234), gen. pl. (223, 228)

**urnon**, see **yrnan**

**us**, see **we**

**ut**, adv.; *out* (284)

**uton**, 1st pers. pl. sub. of **witan**, used with inf.; *let us*  
(231, 232, 233)

## W

**wana**, adj.; *lacking*; nom. m. s. (442)

- warnian**, wk. vb. II; *to warn, take heed*; pres. 3 s. **warnað** (409), imp. s. **warna** (342, 345, 402)
- wædlung**, f.; *poverty, destitution*; dat. s. **wædlunge** (291)
- wæpen**, n.; *weapon*; nom. pl. **wæpna** (83), acc. pl. **wæpna** (65, 67, 77), but **wæpnu** (99), dat. pl. **wæpnum** (57, 103)
- wærlice**, adv.; *cautiously* (106)
- wæs**, see **beon /wesan**
- wæstm**, m.; *fruit*; acc. pl. **wæstmas** (157, 290)
- wæta**, m.; *water*; dat. s. **wætan** (156)
- wæter**, n.; *water*; gen. s. **wæteres** (199)
- we**, personal pron., 1 pl.; *we*; nom. (1, 17, 175, 183, 186, 226), acc. **us** (177, 184, 185, 186, 187, 195 etc.), gen. and adj. see **ure, urne**, dat. **us** (10, 172, 173, 178, 189, 194 etc.)
- weamodnys**, f.; *anger, impatience*; acc. s. **weamodnysse** (136)
- wearð**, see **ge-weorþan**
- weaxan**, vb. 7; *to grow, flourish*; pres. 3 pl. **weaxað** (355)
- wegferend**, m.; *wayfarer, traveller*; dat. pl. **wegferendum** (116)
- wel**, adv.: *well, very* (398)

**wela**, wk. m.; *prosperity, wealth, riches*; acc. s. or pl.  
**welan** (392), dat. pl. **welum** (99, 195)

**weldæd**, f.; *good deed*; acc. pl. **weldæda** (183)

**gewelgode**, see **geweligian**

**weli**, adj.; *rich, prosperous*; nom. m. s. (400)

**geweligian**, wk. vb. II; *to enrich, make prosperous*; sub.  
pres. 3 s. **gewelgode** (195)

**welwillende**, pres. p. as adj.; *benevolent*; wk. nom. m. s.  
**welwillenda** (242)

**welwillendnys**, f.; *benevolence*; acc. s. **welwylleendnysse**  
(249), dat. s. **welwillendnysse** (426)

**geweman**, wk. vb. I; *to entice, persuade from*; inf. (179)

**gewemman**, wk. vb. I: *to defile, profane*; pp. **gewemmed**  
(350)

**wenan**, wk. vb. I with gen. or acc.; *to believe, suppose*;  
sub. pres. 3 s. **wene** (104)

**wencel**, n.; *child*; dat. pl. **wenclum** (52)

**ge-wendan**, wk. vb. I; *to turn*; pres. 3s. **gewendeð** (378),  
pret. 1 pl. **wendon** (186)

**weorc**, n.; *work, labour, deed*; nom. s. (291), acc. s.  
(115), nom. pl. (160), dat. pl. **weorcum** (15)

**weorcstan**, m.; *hewn stone*; dat. s. **weorcstane** (119)

**ge-weorþan**, vb. 3; *to become, be*; pres. 3 s. **wyrð** (296, 450), **gewyrðeð** (353, 361), **wyrðeð** (357, 365), pres. 3 pl. **wurðað** (356), pret. 3 s. **wearð** (189, 412, 416, 417, 418, 446), pret. 3 pl. **wurdon** (333), sub. pres. 2 s. **wurðe** (116, 342, 387), sub. pres. 3 s. (78), sub. pret. 3 s. **wurde** (421)

**wer**, m.; *man*; nom. s. (244, 282, 283, 286, 287, 289 etc.), acc. s. (281)

**werian**, wk. vb. II; *to wear*; pres. 3 s. **werað** (65)

**westen**, m. or n.; *wilderness*; dat. s. **westene** (202)

**wide**, adv.; *widely, far and wide* (9)

**wif**, n.; *woman, wife*; dat. s. **wife** (52, 87, 161, 200)

**wifhad**, m.; *woman, female sex*; gen. s. **wifhades** (347)

**wifmann**, m.; *woman*; gen. pl. **wifmanna** (303, 307, 318, 345)

**willa**, wk. m.; *will, desire*; nom. s. (154, 224, 416), dat. s. **willan** (216, 327)

**willan**, **wyllan**, anom. vb.; *to wish, intend*; pres. 1 s.

**wylle** (28), pres. 2 s. **wylle** (42), **wille** (442)

pres. 3 s. **wyle** (228, 229, 238, 242, 244, 280),

pres. 3 pl. **willað** (179), pret. 3 s. **wolde** (426, 435)

**gewilnian**, wk. vb. II with gen. or acc.; *to wish for,*

*desire*; pres. 2 s. **gewilnast** (124, 152), pres. 3 s.

**gewilnað** (228, 388, 409, 452), pres. 3 pl. **gewilniað**

(394), pret. 3 s. **gewilnode** (199), sub. pres. 2 s.

**gewilnie** (249), imp. s. **gewilna** (391)

**gewilnung**, f.; *desire*; nom. s. (148); dat. s. **gewilnunge**

(304)

**wind**, m.; *wind*; nom. s. (285)

**wineard**, m.; *vineyard*; dat. s. **winearde** (289, 419, 422)

**gewinn**, n.; *conflict, strife*; nom. s. (61, 62, 78), acc. s. (29), dat. s. **gewinne** (79, 92)

**winnan**, vb. 3; *to fight, contend*; inf. (100)

**gewinnan**, vb. 3; *to win*; pres. 3 s. **gewinō** (86)

**winter**, m.; *winter*; gen. s. **wintres** (356)

**gewinō**, see **gewinnan**

**wisdom**, m.; *wisdom*; acc. s. (145)

**gewiss**, adj.; *certain, sure*; dat. n. s. **to gewissan** for *certain* (381)

**gewisslice**, adv.; *certainly* (316)

**wistfullnys**, f.; *pleasure in eating*; nom. s. (365)

**gewita**, wk. m.; *witness*; nom. s. (439)

**gewitan**, pret. pres. vb.; *to discover*; inf. (435)

**gewitan**, vb. 1; *to depart, go*; pres. 3 s. **gewiteō** (41)

**wite**, n.; *punishment, torture*; dat. s. (304)

**gewitendlic**, adj.; *transitory*; wk. acc. n. pl. **gewitendlican** (139, 152)

- witodlice**, adv.; *truly* (73, 402)
- wið**, prep. with acc.; *with, against, in exchange for* (23, 59, 60, 100, 156, 313 etc.) (10 times, Mueller, p. 107)
- wiðerweardnys**, f.; *adversity*; nom. s. (41)
- wiðerwinna**, wk. m.; *adversary*; acc. s. **wiðerwinnan** (73),  
dat. s. (69)
- wiðinnan**, prep.; *from within, inside* (350)
- wiðlicgan**, vb. 5; *to resist, oppose*; pres. 3 s. **wiðligeð**  
(346)
- wlite**, m.; *beauty*; nom. s. (357, 378), acc. s. (343, 344, 353, 359), gen. s. **wlites** (372, 389), dat. s. **wlite**  
(391), dat. pl. **wlitum** (374)
- wlitig**, adj. *beautiful*; wk. dat. f. s. **wlitigan** (375),  
gen. pl. **wlitigra** (303)
- wo(d)lice**, adv.; *wrongly, perversely* (288, 394, 419)
- wo(h)**, n.; *wrong, perversity*; dat. s. (139)
- wolcen**, n.; *cloud*; dat. pl. **wolcnum** (197)
- wolde**, see **willan**
- word**, n.; *word, speech, sentence*; acc. s. (170), nom. pl.  
(34), acc. pl. (266), dat. pl. **wordum** (26, 74, 165, 273, 316, 446)
- geworhte**, see **gewyrčan**



**woruld**, f.; *world*; gen. s. **worulde** (197), dat. s. **worulde** (192) **to worulde for ever** (379)

**woruldcaru**, f.; *worldly care, anxiety*; acc. pl. **woruldcara** (151), dat. pl. **woruldcarum** (45)

**woruldcempa**, wk. m.; *worldly warrior*; nom. s. (86),  
**woruldkempa** (65)

**woruldgleng**, m.; *ornament, honour*; gen. pl. **woruldglenga** (388)

**woruldlic**, adj.; *worldly*; wk. dat. m. s. **woruldlican** (61, 110), acc. n. pl. **woruldlice** (65), dat. f. pl. **woruldlicum** (95)

**woruldmann**, m.; *worldly man, layman*; nom. s. (161)

**woruldwela**, m.; *worldly wealth*; dat. pl. **woruldwelum** (98)

**gewrecan**, vb. 5; *to take vengeance*; pp. **gewreken** (421)

**wuldor**, n.; *glory*; acc. s. (138)

**wulf**, m.; *wolf*; dat. s. **wulfe** (287)

**gewundian**, wk. vb. II; *to wound*; pp. **gewundod** (69, 104)

**wundor**, n.; *marvel*; gen. pl. **wundra** (206)

**wundorlic**, adj.; *wonderful*; acc. m. s. **wundorlicne** (111),  
acc. f. s. **wundorlice** (14)

**wundorlice**, adv.; *amazingly* (430)

**wunian**, wk. vb. II; *to live, remain*; inf. (280), sub.  
pres. 2 s. **wunie** (379), sub. pres. 3 s. **wunige** (224),

pres. p. **wunigende** (4)

**wunung**, f.; *dwelling, habitation*; acc. s. **wununge** (229, 279, 322)

**wurdon**, see **weorþan**

**wurð**, n.; *worth, value*; acc. s. (443)

**wurðað**, see **weorþan**

**wurðfullnys**, f.; *honour*; acc. s. **wurðfulnysse** (320)

**wurðlice**, adv.; *honourably* (115)

**wurðmynt**, m.; *reputation, honour*; nom. s. (109)

**wyle**, see **willan**

**wylldre**, comp. adj.; *more glorious*; nom. n. s. (148)

**wylle**, m.; *fountain*; nom. s. (199)

**wynsum**, adj.; *pleasant, delightful*; nom. m. s. (84)

**wynsumlice**, adv.; *pleasantly, delightfully* (290, 355)

**gewyrcean**, wk. vb. I; *to make, create*; pret. 3 s. **geworhte** (15, 206), infl. inf. **to gewyrçenne** (111)

**wyrhta**, m.; *maker, Creator*; nom. s. (253)

**wyrt**, f.; *root*; dat. pl. **wyrtum** (355)

**wyrttruma**, wk. m.; *root* (403)

**wyrð**, **gewyrðeð**, see **ge-weorþan**

**Y**

**ydel**, adj.; *empty, vain*; acc. f. pl. **ydelan** (314)

**yfel**, adj.; *evil*; nom. f. s. **yfele** (148), acc. f. s. **yfele** (304), dat. f. s. **yfelre** (301), wk. acc. f. s. **yfelan** (429)

**yfel**, n.; *evil*; nom. s. (40), gen. pl. **yfela** (403)

**yfele**, adv.; *evilly, with evil* (104, 314, 418)

**yfelnyss**, f.; *evilness, wrong, malice*; acc. s. **yfelnyssse** (259)

**yld**, f.; *old age*; dat. s. **ylde** (358)

**ymbe**, prep.; *about, concerning* (113)

**yrnan**, vb. 3; *to run*; pres. 3 pl. **urnon** (370), pres. p. (as adj., nom. m. s.) **yrnende** (370)

**yrre**, n.; *anger*; acc. s. (144, 276)

**yrnian**, wk. vb. II; *to become angry*; sub. pres. 2 s. **yrnie** (275)

**yrnung**, f.; *anger*; acc. s. **yrnunga** (261), dat. s. **yrnunge** (247)

**ys**, see **beon / wesan**

**yǒ**, f.; wave; nom. pl. **yǒa** (284)

Proper Names

- Achab** (418): Ahab, king of Samaria (3 Kings 21, v. 1)
- Achan** (410): Achan, son of Charmi (Joshua 7, v. 1)
- Basilius** (1, 12, 14, 24; gen. s. **Basilies**, 14): St Basil, Bishop of Caesarea
- Benedictus** (10): St Benedict of Monte Cassino
- Cesarea** (dat. s. **Cesarean**, 2): Caesarea in Cappadocia
- Crist** (nom. 70, 280, 281, 336, 390, acc. 182, gen. **Cristes** 4, 22, 56, 84, 376, dat. **Criste**, 96, 163, 186, 279, 308, 327, 334, 379): Christ
- Dauid** (417): David, son of Jesse (1 Sam. 16, v. 12)
- Englisc** (adj., dat. n. s. **Engliscum**, 18) English
- Exameron** (15): the Hexameron
- God** (nom. 75, 134, 165, 169, 171, 191, 268, acc. **God**, 3, 159, 167, 176, gen. **Godes**, 15, 42, 54, 101, 154 etc., dat. **Gode** 9, 21, 29, 43, 93, 98 etc.): God
- Grecisc** (adj., dat. f. s. **Greciscre**, 3, wk. nom. pl. **Greciscean**, 8): Greek
- Hælend** (m., nom. s. 426, 437, 440, 441, acc. s. 423, gen. s. **Hælendes**, 376, dat. s. **Hælende**, 85 435): the Saviour
- Iosua** (dat. s. **Iosue**, 410): Joshua, son of Nun (Joshua 1, v. 1)
- Israhel** (gen. pl. **Israhela**, 413): of the Israelites
- Iudas** (423): Judas Iscariot (Matt. 26, v. 14 etc.)
- Iudeisc** (adj., wk. m. nom. pl. as subst. **Iudeiscean**, 209, 433; dat. pl. **Iudeisceum**, 428): Jewish
- Leden** (adj. dat. f. s. **Ledenre**, 11): Latin
- Naboth** (421; gen. s. **Nabothes**, 419): Naboth the Jesreelite (3 Kings 21, v. 1)
- Romanisc** (adj. wk. nom. m. pl. as subst. **Romaniscean**, 433): the Romans
- Samaritanisc** (adj. wk. dat. n. s. **Samaritaniscean**, 200): Samaritan
- Sawl** (414): Saul the king, son of Benjamin (1 Sam. 9, v. 2)
- Scyppend** (acc. s. 133): the Creator

LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED

a) Manuscripts

Listed in Appendix B.

b) Printed Texts

- Ælfric. "Ælfric's Translation of St Basil's Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem. An Edition." L. E. Mueller. Ph.D. Diss. University of Washington, 1974. DAI 35-4444A.
- - -. Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon Version of Alcuini Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesis". Ed. G. N. MacLean. Anglia 6 (1883): 425-74; Anglia 7 (1884): 1-60.
- - -. Catholic Homilies: the Second Series. Ed. M. R. Godden. EETS supp. series 5. London: OUP, 1979.
- - -. Colloquy. Ed. G. N. Garmonsway. London: Methuen Old English Press, 1939. Revised edn. Exeter Mediaeval Texts. Exeter: Exeter UP, 1978.
- - -. Grammatik und Glossar. Ed. J. Zupitza. Berlin, 1880. Rpr. with Forword by H. Gneuss. Berlin, 1966.
- - -. The Anglo-Saxon Version of the "Hexameron" of St

- Basil. . . . And the Anglo-Saxon Remains of St Basil's "Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem". Ed. H. W. Norman. London: Smith, 1848. Revised edn. 1849.
- - -. Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics. Ed. B. Fehr. BdASP IX. Hamburg: Grand, 1914. Rpr. with Supplement by P. A. M. Clemoes. Darmstadt, 1966.
- - -. Homilies: A Supplementary Collection. Ed. J. C. Pope. 2 vols. I, EETS os 259. London: OUP, 1967; II, EETS os 260. London: OUP, 1968.
- - -. Lives of the Saints. Ed. W. W. Skeat. EETS os 76 and 82 (1881-1885); rpr. as one vol. London: OUP, 1966. EETS os 94 and 114 (1886-1900); rpr. as one vol. London: OUP, 1966.
- - -. Lives of Three English Saints. Ed. G. I. Needham. Methuen Old English Texts. London, New York: Methuen, 1966. Revised edn. Exeter Mediaeval English Texts. Exeter: Exeter UP, 1976.
- - -. Ælfric's Prefaces. Ed. J. Wilcox. Durham Medieval Texts 9. Durham, 1994.
- - -. Treatise on the Old and New Testament and the Preface to Genesis. Ed. S. J. Crawford. EETS os 160 (1922). Rpr. with 2 additional Mss transcribed by N. R. Ker. London: OUP, 1969.
- Amos, A. C. Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of Old English Literary Texts. Medieval Academy Books 90. Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1980.
- Anderson, G. K. The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1949. Rpr. 1962.

- - -. "Notes on the Language of Ælfric's English Pastoral Letters." JEGP 40 (1941): 5-13.
- Asser. The Life of King Alfred. Ed. W. H. Stevenson. Oxford: Clarendon, 1904. Rpr. 1959.
- Assmann, B., ed. Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben. BdASP III. Kassel: Wigand, 1889. Rpr. with Supplementary Introduction by P. A. M. Clemoes. Darmstadt, 1964.
- Athanasius. The Life of St Anthony. Trans. R. T. Meyer. Ancient Christian Writers 101. London: Westminster, 1950.
- Augustine. Sermones Suppositii De Sanctis. PL 39.
- Bannister, H. M. "Bishop Roger of Worcester and the Church of Keysham, with a List of Vestments and Books possibly belonging to Worcester." EHR 32 (1917): 387-93.
- Barrett, C. R. Studies in the Word Order of Ælfric's "Catholic Homilies" and "Lives of the Saints". University of Cambridge, Department of Anglo-Saxon. Occasional Papers 3. Cambridge: CUP, 1953.
- Basil. Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem. From the edn. of L. Holstein. Paris, 1759, PL 103: 683-700.
- - -. Letters and Select Works. Trans. B. Jackson. Ed. H. Wace and P. Schaff. Library of the Nicene Fathers, ser. 2, vol. 8. Oxford: Parker and Co., 1895.
- - -. Letters. Trans. and ed. R. Deferrari. Loeb Classical Library. 4 vols. London: Heinemann, 1926-34. Rpr. 1961.
- Bateson, M., ed. "De Consuetudine Monachorum." Obedientary



- Rolls of St Swithun's. Ed. G. W. Kitchin. Hants. Record Society 7. Warren and Son, 1892. 171-98.
- - -. "Rules for Monks and Canons after the Revival under King Edgar." EHR 9 (1894): 690-708.
- Baugh, A. C. A History of the English Language. New York, 1935; reissue London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951.
- Bede. Homiliae Subditiae. PL 94.
- - -. In Evangelium S. Matthaei. PL 92.
- Benedict of Aniane. Codex Regularum. From the edn. of L. Holstein. Paris, 1759. PL 103: 665-702. Contains Basil's Admonitio, above.
- - -. Concordia Regularum. From the edn. of H. Menardus. PL 103: 701-1380.
- Benedict (of Monte Cassino). The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English. Trans. and ed. J. McCann. London: Burns Oates, 1952. Rpr. 1969.
- - -. The Rule of St Benedict in English. Ed. T. Fry. Collegeville, Minnesota; The Liturgical Press, 1982.
- Bernard, E. and H. Wanley. Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti. Oxford, 1697.
- Bethurum, D. "The Form of Ælfric's Lives of the Saints." Studies in Philology 29 (1932): 515-33.
- Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Versionem. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969. Rpr. 1994.
- Bischoff, B. Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Trans. D. O'Croínín and D. Ganz. Cambridge: CUP, 1990.

- Blair, P. H. An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England.  
Cambridge: CUP, 1956. 2nd edn. 1977.
- Blake, E. O., ed. Liber Eliensis. Historical Society of  
Great Britain. Camden 3rd series 92. London, 1962.
- Bloomfield, M. W. The Seven Deadly Sins. East Lansing, Mich.:  
Michigan State College Press, 1952. Rpr. 1967.
- --. "Patristics and Old English Literature." Comp. Lit.  
14 (1962): 36-43.
- Bonser, W. An Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Bibliography, 450-1087.  
2 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1957.
- Bosworth, J. An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. 1882-98. Rpr. with  
Supplement by T. N. Toller, with revised and  
enlarged Addenda by A. Campbell. Oxford: Clarendon,  
1972.
- Briggs, C. A. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book  
of Psalms. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1906,  
1907.
- Brook, G. L. An Introduction to Old English. Manchester:  
Manchester UP, 1955. 2nd edn. 1962.
- Butler, E. C. "St Benedict and the Sixth Century." Downside  
Review 158 (1930): 179-97.
- Cable, T. The English Alliterative Tradition. Philadelphia:  
University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Campbell, A. Old English Grammar. Oxford: Clarendon, 1959.  
Rpr. 1983.
- Campbell, J. J. "Rhetoric in Old English Literature."  
Murphy, Mediaeval Eloquence 173-98.
- Chadwick, H. The Early Church. Penguin History of the Church,

- I. Harmondsworth, 1967. Rpr. 1990.
- Chapman, J. St Benedict and the Sixth Century. London: Sheed and Ward, 1929.
- Clark, A. The Life and Times of Anthony Wood. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, for Oxford Historical Society, 1892-1900.
- Clarke, W. K. L. St Basil the Great; a Study in Monasticism. Cambridge: CUP, 1913.
- Clark Hall, J. R. A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. 1898. 4th edn. with Supplement by H. D. Meritt. Cambridge: CUP, 1960 (1966 printing).
- Clayton, M. "Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England." Peritia 4 (1985): 207-42.
- Clemons, P. A. M., ed. The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture, Presented to Bruce Dickins. London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959.
- - -. The Interaction of Thought and Language in Old English Poetry. Cambridge: CUP, 1995.
- - -. "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works." Clemons, The Anglo-Saxons 212-47. Corrected rpr. Subsidia 5 of Old English Newsletter. Binghampton, New York: CEMERS, 1980.
- - -. "The Old English Benedictine Office: CCCC Ms 190: Ælfric and Wulfstan." Anglia 78 (1960): 265-83.
- - -. "Ælfric." Stanley, Continuations and Beginnings 176-209.
- Cockayne, O., ed. Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England. 3 vols. Rolls Series 35. London: Longman

and Co., 1866.

Colker, M. L. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts in Trinity College Library, Dublin. 2 vols. Dublin: Scolar Press, 1991.

Collier, W. E. J. "The Tremulous Worcester Scribe and his Milieu: A Study of his Annotations." Ph.D. Diss. University of Sheffield, 1993.

Cook, A. S., ed. Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers. 2 vols. I, London, 1898; II, New York, 1903.

Crawford, S. J., ed. See Ælfric, Treatise.

- - -, ed. Exameron Anglice. BdASP X. Hamburg: Grand, 1921. Rpr. Darmstadt, 1968. 5-85.

- - -. Anglo-Saxon Influence on Western Christianity 600-800. Oxford: OUP, 1933. Rpr. Cambridge: Speculum Historiale, 1966.

- - -. "The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the Old English Manuscripts in the Bodleian, together with the Worcester Version of the Nicene Creed." Anglia 2 (1929): 1-25.

Crosby, R. "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages." Speculum 11 (1936): 88-110.

Cross, J. E., ed. Cambridge Pembroke College Ms. 25. King's College London Medieval Studies I. London: King's College, 1987.

- - -. "'Ubi Sunt' Passages in Old English: Sources and Relationships." Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund. Årsbok, 1956. 25-44.

- - -. "A Source for one of Ælfric's Homilies." English Studies 39 (1958): 248-51.
- - -. "Bundles for Burning: A Theme in Two of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies." Anglia 81 (1963): 335-46.
- Cuissard, C. Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans, fonds de Fleury. Paris, 1885.
- Dales, D. Dunstan: Saint and Statesman. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1988.
- Damico, H. and A. Hennessey Olsen. New Readings on Women in Old English Literature. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Davies, J. G. The Early Christian Church. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1965.
- Davis, C. R. "Two New Sources for Ælfric's Catholic Homilies." JEGP 41 (1942): 510-13.
- - -. "A Note on Ælfric's Translation of Job 1, 6." MLN 40 (1945): 494-5.
- Davis, N. and C. L. Wrenn, eds. English and Mediaeval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien. London: Allen and Unwin, 1962.
- Deanesly, M. A History of the Mediaeval Church 590-1500. London: Methuen and Co., 1925. 6th edn. 1950.
- - -. A History of Early Mediaeval Europe (476-911). London: Methuen and Co., 1956. 2nd edn. 1960; rpr. with corrections, 1963.
- Décarreaux, J. Monks and Civilization. Trans. C. Haldane. London: Allen and Unwin, 1964.
- Defensor. Liber Scintillarum. Ed. H. M. Rochais. 2 vols.

- Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 117, 117 (1).  
Tournhout: Brepols, 1957.
- - -. Liber Scintillarum; With Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Version. Ed. E. W. Rhodes. EETS os 93. London: Trubner, 1889.
- Dekkers, E., ed. Clavis Patrum Latinorum. Sacris Erudiri 3. 2nd edn. Steenbrugge, 1961.
- Dérolez, R. "Some Notes on the Liber Scintillarum and its Old English Gloss (BM Royal 7 C IV)." Rosier, Philological Essays 141-7.
- Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. L. Stephen. 63 vols. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1885-1900.
- Douglas, D. C. English Scholars. London: Jonathan Cape, London, 1939. 2nd, revised edn. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1951.
- Dubois, M. M. Ælfric, Sermonnaire, Docteur et Grammarien. Paris: Droz, 1943.
- Duckett, E. S. Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars. New York: Macmillan, 1947.
- - -. Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne. New York: Macmillan, 1951.
- - -. St Dunstan of Canterbury. London: Collins, 1955.
- Dumville, D. N. English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism AD 950-1030. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Fedwick, P. J., ed. Basil of Caesarea: a 16th-hundred Anniversary Symposium. 2 vols. Pontifical Institute

- of Mediaeval Studies. Toronto: Toronto UP, 1981.
- Fehr, B. See Ælfric, Die Hirtenbriefe.
- Fox, M. M. The Life and Times of St Basil the Great as Revealed in his Works. Catholic University of America Patristic Studies 57. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1939.
- Fisher, D. J. V. "The Church in England between the Death of Bede and the Danish Invasions." TRHS, 5th series 2 (1952): 1-19.
- - -. "The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr." Cambridge Historical Journal 10 (1952): 254-71.
- Floyer, J. K. Catalogue of Manuscripts preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral. Ed. and rev. S. G. Hamilton. Worcester Historical Society. Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1906.
- Forbes, A. P. "An Account of a Manuscript of the Eleventh Century by Marianus of Ratisbon." Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland VI (1841-6): 33-40.
- Foster, J. Alumni Oxoniensis: the members of the University of Oxford 1715-1886. 4 vols. Oxford and London: Parker and Co., 1888-92.
- Frantzen, A. J. The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1983.
- - -. "The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England." ASE 11 (1983): 23-56.

- Franzen, C. The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.
- Garmonsway, G. N., ed. See Ælfric, Colloquy.
- - -, trans. and ed. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Everyman's Library. London: Dent, 1954. New edn. 1972.
- Gatch, M. McC. Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan. Toronto: Toronto UP, 1977.
- - -. "Ms Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies." JEGP 65 (1966): 485-90.
- - -. "The Unknown Audience of the Blickling Homilist." ASE 18 (1989): 99-115.
- Geerard, M. Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Tournhout, Brepols, 1974.
- Gem, S. H. An Anglo-Saxon Abbot, Ælfric of Eynsham. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1912.
- Gerould, C. H. "Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose." MP 22 (1925): 353-66.
- Gneuss, H. "The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester." ASE 1 (1972): 62-83.
- - -. "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100." ASE 9 (1981): 1-60.
- - -. "Texts for the Dictionary of Old English." Scragg, The Editing of Old English 6-26.
- Godden, M. R., ed. See Ælfric, Catholic Homilies.
- Godden, M. R., D. Gray and T. Hoad, eds. From Anglo-Saxon



- to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.
- - -. "Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary." ES 61 (1960): 206-23.
- - -. "Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition." Szarmach, The Old English Homily 99-117.
- - -. "Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles." Leeds Studies in English ns 16 (1985): 83-100.
- - -. "Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England." Godden, From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English 130-62.
- Godfrey, C. J. The Church in Anglo-Saxon England. Cambridge: CUP, 1962.
- Greenfield, S. B. and F. C. Robinson. A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972. Toronto and Manchester: University Presses, 1980.
- Greenfield, S. B. and D. G. Calder. A New Critical History of Old English Literature. New York: New York Press, 1986.
- Greg, W. W. "The Rationale of Copy-Text." Studies in Bibliography 3 (1950-51): 19-36.
- Gregory. Homiliae in Evangelia. PL 76.
- - -. St Benedict. By St Gregory the Great. Being a New Translation of the Second Book of the "Dialogues". J. McCann. Rugby, 1941.
- Gregory of Naziansus. Select Orations and Letters. Trans. C. G. Browne and J. E. Swallow. Library of the Nicene Fathers, ns 7. Oxford, 1894.

- Gretsch, M. "Æthelwold's Translation of the Regula Sancti Benedicti." ASE 3 (1974): 125-51.
- - -. "The Benedictine Rule in Old English." Korhammer, Words, Texts and Manuscripts 131-158.
- Grundy, L. "God Meditates: A Model for the Salvation Histories in Three Homilies of Ælfric and in his Hexameron." Med.Æv. 61 (1992-3): 198-205.
- Haddan, A. W. and Stubbs, W., eds. Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. 3 vols. Oxford, 1869-78.
- Halvorson, N. O. Doctrinal Terms in Ælfric's Homilies. University of Iowa Humanistic Studies 5. Iowa City, 1932.
- Hardwick, C. and H. R. Luard. Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. 5 vols. and index. Cambridge: CUP, 1856-67.
- Harlow, C. G. "Punctuation in some Manuscripts of Ælfric." RES 10 (1959): 1-19.
- Haymo. Homiliae de Tempore. PL 118.
- Heusinkveld, A. H. and E. J. Bashe. A Bibliographical Guide to Old English. University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, 4, 5. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1931.
- Hickes, G. Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus. 3 vols. Oxford, 1703-5.
- Hicks, C., ed. England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium. Harlaxton Mediaeval Studies 2. Stamford: Paul

- Watkins, 1992.
- Hill, J. "Reform and the Secular Church: Ælfric's Pastoral Letters in Context." Hicks, England in the Eleventh Century 103-16.
- - -. "Ælfric and Smaragdus." ASE 21 (1992): 303-38.
- Hofstetter, W. "Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary." ASE 17 (1985): 139-61.
- Hurt, J. Ælfric. Twayne's English Authors Series 131. New York: Twayne, 1972.
- Jackson, B., trans. See Basil, Letters and Select Works.
- James, M. R. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. 2 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1909-12.
- - -. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. 2 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1906.
- James, M. R. and C. Jenkins. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace. Cambridge: CUP, 1932.
- - -. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Cambridge: CUP, 1899.
- - -. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: CUP, 1913.
- - -. The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. 4 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1900-4.
- Jerome. Letters and Select Works. Eds. H. Wace and P. Schaff. Library of the Nicene Fathers, ns 6. Oxford: Parker

- and Co., 1893.
- Ker, N. R. Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon.  
Oxford: Clarendon, 1957. Rpr. 1990.
- - -. Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. 4 vols. Royal  
Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 3. 1941. 2nd  
edn. London, 1964.
- - -. Manuscripts in British Libraries. 4 vols. Oxford:  
Clarendon, 1969-77.
- - -. "The Date of the Tremulous 'Worcester Hand'." Leeds  
Studies in English 6 (1937): 28-9.
- - -. "A Supplement to Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing  
Anglo-Saxon." ASE 5 (1976): 121-31.
- Kim, S. "The Old English Worcester Marks and Glosses." Annuaire  
Mediaevale 22 (1985, for 1982): 55-64.
- Knowles, D. The Monastic Order in Britain: A History of its  
Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth  
Lateran Council 940-1216. 1948. 2nd edn. Cambridge:  
CUP, 1963; rpr. 1966.
- Knowles, D. and R. N. Haddock. Medieval Religious Houses  
of England and Wales. London: Longman, 1953. Rpr.  
1971.
- Knowles, D., C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London, eds.  
The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales:  
940-1216. Cambridge: CUP, 1972.
- Korhammer, M., K. Reichl and H. Sauer, eds. Words, Texts  
and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture  
Presented to Helmut Gneuss. Cambridge: Brewer,  
1992.

- Kristeller, P. O. Iter Italicum. 6 vols. and index. Leiden: Brill, 1965-97.
- Laing, J. A Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1868.
- Laistner, M. L. W. The Intellectual History of the Early Middle Ages. Selected Essays. Ed. C. G. Starr. Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1957.
- - -. Thought and Letters in Western Europe AD 500-900. London: Methuen and Co., 1957.
- Lapidge, M. and H. Gneuss, eds. Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes. Cambridge: CUP, 1985.
- Lapidge, M. "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England." Lapidge, Learning and Literature 33-89.
- - -. "Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher." Yorke, Bishop Æthelwold 89-117.
- Latham, R. E. Revised Mediaeval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources. London: Oxford UP, 1965.
- Lechner, P. The Life and Times of St Benedict. London: Burns and Oates, 1900.
- Lehmann, P. L., ed. Die Admonitio S Basilii ad Filium Spiritualem. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 12. Munich, 1955.
- Letson, D. R. "The Poetic Content of the Revival Homily." Szarmach, The Old English Homily 139-56.
- Lewis, C. T. and C. Short. A Latin Dictionary, founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary.

- Oxford, 1879. Revised, enlarged and rewritten.  
Oxford: Clarendon, 1958.
- Liebermann, F., ed. Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen. 3 vols.  
Halle, 1903-1916.
- Lipp, F. P. "Ælfric's Old English Prose Style." SP 66  
(1969): 689-718.
- Locherbie-Cameron, M. A. L. "Ælfric's Devils." NQ ns 46  
(1993): 286-7.
- MacLean, G. N., ed. See Ælfric, Alcuin's "Interrogationes".
- McNeil, J. T. and H. M. Gamer, trans. and ed., Mediaeval  
Handbooks of Penance. New York: Octagon Books, 1965.  
Rpr. Columbia UP, 1990.
- Macray, W. D. Annals of the Bodleian Library. Oxford, 1868.
- Madan, F., et al., A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts  
in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. 7 vols. Oxford, 1895-  
1953.
- Marsden, R. "Ælfric as Translator; the Old English Prose  
Genesis." Anglia 109 (1991): 319-58.
- McCann, J. See Benedict.
- McCann, J., trans. St Benedict. By St Gregory the Great. Being  
a New Translation of the Second Book of the "Dialogues".  
Rugby, 1941.
- McCloskey McCrea, C. "Ælfric; His Sources and Style in the  
Lives of Æthelthryth, Oswald and Edmund." Ph.D. Diss.  
Fordham University, 1976. DAI 47-988-89.
- McIntosh, A. "Wulfstan's Prose." PBA 35 (1949): 109-42.
- Meyer, M. A. "Women and the Tenth Century English Monastic  
Reform." Révue Bénédictine 87 (1977): 34-61.

- Meyer, R. T. See Athanasius.
- Minkoff, H. "Some Stylistic Consequences of Ælfric's Theory of Translation." SP 73 (1976): 29-41.
- Morison, E. F. St Basil and his Rule. St Deiniol's Series 3. London, 1912.
- Morrell, M. C. A Manual of Old English Biblical Materials. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1965.
- Morris, R., ed. The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century. EETS os 58, 63, 73. London: Trubner, 1874-80.
- Mueller, L. E., ed. See Ælfric, Admonitio.
- Murphy, F. X. Rufinus of Aquileia 345-411. Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval History, ns 6. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1945.
- Murphy, J. J., ed. Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric. Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1978.
- Mynors, R. A. B. and R. M. Thomson. Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library. Cambridge: Brewer, 1993.
- Napier, A. S., ed. Old English Glosses. Oxford: Clarendon, 1900.
- - -, ed. The Old English Version of the "Capitula" of Theodulf, etc.. EETS os 150. London: Kegan Paul, 1916.
- Needham, G. I., ed. See Ælfric, Lives of Three Saints.
- Nichols, A. E. "'Awendan': a note on Ælfric's vocabulary." JEGP 63 (1964): 7-13.

- - -. "Ælfric's Prefaces: Rhetoric and Genre." ES 49 (1968): 215-23.
- - -. "Ælfric and the Brief Style." JEGP 70 (1971): 1-12.
- - -. "Methodical Abbreviation: A Study in Ælfric's Friday Homilies for Lent." Szarmach, The Old English Homily 157-80.
- Nichols, J. Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century. 9 vols. London: Nichols, Son and Bentley, 1812-15.
- Norman, H. W., ed. See Ælfric, Hexameron.
- Ogilvy, J. D. A. Books Known to the English, 597-1066. Medieval Academy of America. Cambridge, Mass., 1967;
- - -. Addenda et Corrigenda, supplement, Mediaevalia 7 (1984) 281-323.
- The Compact Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd ed. Oxford: OUP, 1991.
- Parkes, M. B. Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992.
- Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina. Ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844-64.
- Paul of Aquileia. Liber Exhortationis. PL 99: 197-283.
- Paul the Deacon. Homiliae de Tempore. PL 95.
- Plummer, C., ed. Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel: with Supplementary Extracts from the Others. 2 vols. Oxford, 1892-99. Revised text on the basis of an edition by John Earle. Rpr. 1929, with Supplement by D. Whitelock. Oxford: Clarendon, 1952, 1965.



- Pope, J. C., ed. See Ælfric, Homilies.
- Powicke, F. M. The Medieval Books of Merton College, Oxford.  
Oxford, 1931.
- Quinn, K. J. and K. P. Quinn. A Manual of Old English Prose. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities  
453. New York and London: Garland, 1990.
- Raith, J. "Ælfric's Share in the Old English Pentateuch." RES  
ns 3 (1952): 305-14.
- Ramsay, N., M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown, eds. St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult. Woodbridge:  
Boydell, 1992.
- Raynes, E. "Ms Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric." Med. Ev. 26  
(1957): 65-73.
- Reinsma, L. M. Ælfric: An Annotated Bibliography. New York:  
Garland, 1987.
- Rhodes, E. W., ed. See Defensor, Liber Scintillarum, with Interlinear Glosses.
- Robertson, A. J., ed. and trans. Anglo-Saxon Charters.  
Cambridge: CUP, 1939.
- Robinson, F. C. Old English Literature: A Select Bibliography.  
Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 2. Toronto: Toronto  
UP, 1970.
- - -. The Editing of Old English. Oxford: Blackwell,  
1994.
- Robinson, J. A. The Times of St Dunstan. Oxford: Clarendon,  
1923.
- Robinson, P. R. "Self-Contained Units in Composite  
Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period," ASE 7

- (1978): 231-8.
- Rochais, H. M., ed. See Defensor, Liber Scintillarum.
- - -. "Les Prologues du Liber Scintillarum." Révue Bénédictine 59 (1949): 137-156.
- Roman, S. M. J. "St Basil the Great and Ælfric in the Light of the Hexameron." Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni 10 (1979): 39-49.
- Rosier, J. L., ed. Philological Essays. Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt. The Hague, Paris; Mouton, 1970.
- Rufinus, trans. St Basil's "Rules". From the edn. of J. G. Benedictinus. Paris, 1722. PL 103: 486-554.
- Russell, N., trans. The Lives of the Desert Fathers. London: Mowbray, 1980.
- Salter, H. E., ed. The Eynsham Cartulary. 2 vols. Oxford Historical Society 49, 51. Oxford, 1907, 1908.
- Schenkl, H. Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britanniae. 13 vols. Vienna, 1890-1908.
- Schröer, A., ed. Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel. BdASP II. Kassel: Wigand, 1885. Rpr. with Supplement by Helmut Gneuss, Darmstadt, 1964.
- Scott, E. J. L. Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum. London, 1904.
- Scragg, D. G., ed. The Battle of Maldon. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981.
- - -, ed. The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts.

- EETS os 300. London: OUP, 1992.
- Scragg, D. G. and P. E. Szarmach, eds. The Editing of Old English. Woodbridge: Brewer, 1994.
- - -. "Accent Marks in the Old English Vercelli Book." NM 72 (1971): 699-710.
- - -. "The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints' Lives before Ælfric." ASE 8 (1979): 223-77.
- - -. "The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript." Lapidge, Learning and Literature 299-316.
- Sisam, K. Studies in the History of Old English Literature. Oxford: Clarendon, 1953.
- - -. "Mss Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies." Sisam, Studies in the History of Old English Literature 148-98.
- Skeat, W. W., ed. See Ælfric, Lives of the Saints.
- Smaragdus. Collectiones in Epistolas et Evangelia. PL 102.
- Smetana, C. L. "Ælfric and the Early Mediaeval Homiliary." Traditio 15 (1959): 163-204.
- - -. "Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt." Traditio 17 (1961): 457-60.
- Stafford, P. "Church and Society in the Age of Ælfric". Szarmach, The Old English Homily 11-42.
- - -. "The King's Wife in Wessex, 800-1066." Damico, New Readings on Women 56-78.
- Stanley, E. G., ed. Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature. London: Nelson, 1966.
- Steinmann, J. St Jerome. Trans. R. Matthews. London: Chapman, 1949.

- Stenton, F. M. Anglo-Saxon England. Oxford History of England 2. Oxford: Clarendon, 1943. 3rd edn. 1971.
- Stephen, L., ed. Dictionary of National Biography. 63 vols. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1885-1900.
- Stevenson, W. H., ed. See Asser.
- Strachey, M. Saints and Sinners of the Fourth Century. London: Kimber, 1958.
- Swanton, M., trans. and ed. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. London: Dent, 1996.
- Symons, T., trans. and ed. Regularis Concordia. London: Nelson, 1953.
- - -. "Sources of the Regularis Concordia." Downside Review ns 40 (1941): 14-36, 143-70, 264-84.
- Szarmach, P. E. and B. F. Huppé, eds. The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978.
- Szarmach, P. "Ælfric's Women Saints." Damico, New Readings on Women 146-57.
- Thomas Tanselle, G. "Classical, Biblical and Medieval Textual Criticism and Modern Editing." Studies in Bibliography 36 (1983): 21-68.
- Thompson, R. L. "Ælfric's Latin Vocabulary." Leeds Studies in English 12 (1981): 155-61.
- Thomson, R. M. Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Lincoln Cathedral Library. Woodbridge: Brewer, 1989.
- Thorpe, B., ed. Ancient Laws and Institutes of England. 2 vols. London: Public Record Office, 1840.
- - -, ed. The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. 2

- vols. London, 1844-46.
- Veilleux, A., trans. The Life of St Pachomius and his Disciples. Cistercian Studies Series 45. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1980.
- von Campenhausen, H., trans. The Fathers of the Greek Church. Stuttgart, 1955. Rev. L. A. Garrard. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963.
- Wace, H. and P. Schaff. See Jerome.
- Wagner, M. M. Rufinus the Translator. Catholic University of America Patristic Studies 73. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1945.
- Wanley, H. Antiquae Litteraturae Septentrionalis liber alter seu Humphredi Wanleii. (Oxford, 1705) (Vol. II of G. Hickes, Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus. 3 vols. Oxford, 1703-5).
- Warner, G. F. and J. P. Gilson. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections. 4 vols. London, 1921.
- Waterhouse, R. "Ælfric's Use of Discourse in Some Saints' Lives." ASE 5 (1976): 83-104.
- Watson, A. G. Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library. 2 vols. London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1979.
- White, C. L. Ælfric: A New Study of his Life and Writings. Yale Studies in English 2. Boston, New York, London: Lamson, Wolfe, 1898. Rpr. with Supplementary Bibliography by Malcolm Godden. Hamden, Conn.:

- Archon Books, 1974.
- Whitelock, D., ed. English Historical Documents I: c 500-1042. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1955. 2nd edn. London, 1979.
- Whitelock, D., M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, eds. Councils and Synods, with Other Documents relating to the English Church; I, 871-1204. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1981.
- - -. "Two Notes on Ælfric and Wulfstan." MLR 38 (1943): 122-26.
- - -. "The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries." Rosier, Philological Essays 125-36.
- Wilcox, J., ed., see Ælfric's Prefaces.
- Winterbottom, M., ed. Three Lives of English Saints. Toronto Medieval Latin Texts. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies for the Centre for Mediaeval Studies, 1972.
- Wrenn, C. L. A Study of Old English Literature. London: Harrap, 1967. 2nd edn. 1975.
- Wright, J. and E. M. Wright. An Elementary Old English Grammar. Oxford: Clarendon, 1923; rpr. 1961.
- Wyld, H. C. A Short History of English. London: John Murray, 1913. 3rd. edn., rev. and enlarged. London, 1927.
- Yerkes, D. The Two Versions of Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's "Dialogues". Toronto Old English Series 4. Toronto: Toronto UP, 1979.
- - -. Syntax and Style in Old English. Medieval and

- Renaissance Texts 5. Binghamton: State University  
of New York Press, 1982.
- - -. "A New Collation of Ms. Hatton 76, Part A." Anglia  
94 (1976): 163-5.
- - -. "Dugdale's Dictionary and Somner's Dictionarium."  
ELN 14 (1976-7): 110-12.
- - -. "The Medieval Provenance of CCC Ms 322." TCBS 7  
(1978): 245-7.
- Yorke, B., ed. Bishop Æthelwold; His Career and Influence.  
Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988.
- Young, J. and P. H. Aitken. A Catalogue of the  
Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum  
in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow, 1908.
- Young, Patrick. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae  
Wignorniensis, 1622. Eds. I. Atkins and N. R. Ker.  
Cambridge: CUP, 1944.
- Zupitza, J., ed. See Ælfric, Grammatik.

This summary sheet should be completed by the candidate. The completed sheet should be submitted by the candidate with two copies of the thesis, two copies of the Notice of financial obligations/matriculation.

Candidate's Surname ..... LOCHERBIE-CAMERON ..... In  
 Candidate's Forenames ..... MARGARET ANN ..... U  
 Candidate for the Degree of ..... PhD ..... (MPhil or PhD etc)  
 Title of thesis ..... Ælfric's Old English Admonition to a .....

Summary:

The anonymous Old English translation of the text to St. Basil has hitherto been accessible only in the 1841 unpublished PhD dissertation of L.E. Mueller. This edition is edited by both editors, but pursues the relevant issues somewhat differently from the work to Ælfric.

I use the single authoritative Hatton Ms 76A as the base text. My introduction includes sections on the history of the text, the possible relation to known Latin manuscripts of the text, the accent marks, and a full list of the annotations in the text, considering the transmission of the text to Ælfric, the monastic legislator to explain the text's currency, the Admonitio within the Ælfric canon. I conclude with a study of the focus, style and structure, arguing that the Old English text has been previously been thought. To accompany my text is a glossary which includes identification of the sources of some of the words. As Appendices I include a transcription of the available version of Ælfric's source, a provisional glossary elsewhere containing part or all of the Latin Admonitio Ms 76A, ff. 55-67v, together with a chart to show